

**Emerging Trends of Emigration and the Impacts of
Remittances Utilization**
(A case study of Khuiratta, District Kotli AJK)

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**Department of Anthropology
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**This thesis is submitted to the department of Anthropology Quaid-i-Azam
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Abstract

Migration is a form of social change and can also be examined as a process of social transformations. In general it can be said that every transition from one social situation to another requires a degree of adjustment on the part of individuals, groups, communities and even nations. Overall, migration entails fundamental socio-cultural, economic and psychological changes.

The social and cultural impacts of emigration on a Kashmiri migrant-sending community are assessed through a review of empirical work and intensive in-depth field study by applying Anthropological tools and techniques. Six decades of massive migration have fundamentally altered the socio-cultural and economic patterns of the village, as well as Kashmiri society in general. Exposure to migrants' relative success, status and wealth has also inspired and increased the aspirations of other villagers to seek emigration. Migration and remittances has enabled the emancipation of formerly subaltern socio-ethnic groups and professional castes of the village, which have subsequently been able to escape from the constraints of traditional peasant society. Remittance-induced construction of palatial houses to establish a status symbol as well as destined for nuclear families. Purchases of household utilities generally improve the living conditions of migrants' families in the village. Remittances enabled the migrants' children and particularly daughters to go to school. The socio-cultural (religious, social, political) and economic impacts of migration clearly demonstrates the villager's reliance on remittance; which has promoted a culture of remittances in the village.

The availability of fast mode of communication has enabled the previously encapsulate villagers to have an access around the globe and get aware of the wider trends. Being forced by a number of factors and inspired by the social remittance, cash and kind remittances; the villagers found their relative success in emigration. Gone through various phases, the earlier labour migration, family reunion and marriage migration has lead the village towards chain migration.

In fact, the village presents a culture of emigration; the villager's everyday's gossip constitutes the discussion about new emigration policies, emigration strategies, available emigration opportunities and expenses. The villager's desires, wishes and craze for emigration as well as their future aspirations are reflected in their social commentary and folk gatherings. The villagers have perceived the emigration as an ointment for all the deprivation and relatively secure way towards more social and economic uplift.

Any household lacking the economic resources and possess low level of living standard is not considered as poor rather a poor family is considered to be the one that does not have a family member who can emigrate abroad.

The migrants has introduces new trends, ideas and patterns of living. The mass migration and frequent flow of cash, kind and social remittances has directed the otherwise deprived villagers to seek emigration with the hope of improvement in living conditions of their families left behind. The new trends, aspirations and opportunities have altered every sphere of the life of the villagers and the otherwise old, isolated and primeval village presents a very diverse, modern, stylish and sophisticated outlook. Obviously, the credit goes to the emigration and frequent flow of remittances to the village.

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Chapter No. 1

1.1 Introduction

The migration is a worldwide process since the arrival of human being in this universe. People have been migrating from time to time and place to place, throughout the history, however reasons of migration may differ with the passage of time across the globe.

Movement of man from one place to another has been taking place since the emergence of man on earth and many vital problems of human life are associated with it. Migration has always left enormous impacts on human life that has been regarded by social scientist as a factor of social change. Migration has not only changed the demographic structures of the areas but brought numerous changes in the socio-economic life as well.

Man is a mobile creature, capable of enquiring, acceptable to suggestion and endowed with imagination and initiative. This explanation of the notion is not only concerned with the mobility as a traditional norm and habit of a nomad but reflects the livelihood pattern as well, his mobility from one place another was

the mean of his earnings. Migration is the physical transaction of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering into another and different one.

Anthropologists and sociologists are agreed that migration is not only a physical phenomenon of movement, but migration involves a move to a new social setting. In this way, migration is a collective activity. Migration from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision making on the part of migrants on the basis of hierarchical order, set of values or valued ends and resulting in change in the interactional system of migrants. Movement of people from one geographical area to another is not a new phenomenon, it is as old as humanity as people from all around the world move from one area to another for achieving better economic and social living conditions and advancement of their position and social status.

Migration involves a move to a new setting and also building a new social setting from where they have moved from. The migration brings socio-economic and socio-political changes not only in the lives of the emigrants but to the families left behind.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Man is a mobile creature and movement of people from one geographical area to another is not a new phenomenon rather it is as old as humanity itself. A large number of people from all over the world move each year across the defined boundaries of their home country.

Sometimes people are forced to flee their homes and seek refuge into another country, while some escape from the environmental and seasonal harshness by leaving their indigenous settlements to the lands of peace. After all a large number of people from developing country seek emigration and asylum into developed countries for achieving better economic and social opportunities.

The trend of migration from Pakistan to outside was started in 1960, when a large number of people moved to Europe and Middle East in search of better job opportunities for lavish earnings because the countries where they moved were considered economically prosperous and the center of attraction for people of poor countries like Kashmir.

The study of socio-cultural change resulted due to the enormous migration is not new to the Anthropology. The study of migration is more than any other branch of Anthropology.

Anthropologically; the emigration and immigration are not only demographic transition from one area to another but involves a vast level of socio-cultural and economic causes, having consequences and implications not only for emigrants but their families and communities.

The issue of emigration is strongly related to remittances and its uses. It is a general phenomenon that families in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K) receiving generous remittances have changed their lifestyle from indigenous to modern. The remittances utilization has not only changed the investment pattern but also left deep impacts on socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions of the area. The migrants and their families may achieve productive capacity and sustainability in their living standard by using their resources carefully and keep their future secure. This situation has created an imbalance in the living standard of migrants and non-migrants. The villagers are anxious to apply various strategies to enhance their earnings by moving to prosperous countries. The trend of emigration emerged because the people's struggle to achieve better economic and social conditions.

In the district Kotli, the people are crazy for seeking emigration trends, especially to United Kingdom. They are applying various strategies to get emigration either through proper channel or through illegal channels.

The present Anthropological study is intended to explore on the trends and reasons of emigration and strategies adopted to get emigration; the study is also emphasized on the ways to utilize the money sent by the migrants and the effects of remittances on socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions of the villagers.

1.3 Objectives

Every research studies either of anthropological nature or related to other disciplines of social sciences, determining of certain objectives are important to keep the main focus of the study under the boundaries drawn by the objectives. The following objectives are selected for this research.

- ❖ To examine the emigration trend and important components of migration;
- ❖ To explore the strategies applied to get emigration;
- ❖ To investigate the aspirations and purposes of the emigration seeking people;
- ❖ To observe the investment pattern and socio-economic use of remittances;
- ❖ To explore the socio-cultural and economic impacts of emigration and use of remittances.

1.4 Hypothesis

The hypothesis is a set of assumptions and propositions that guides the researcher not to deviate from the right direction of research enabling him to create an academic master piece by using different quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The following hypothesis was selected for the current research.

- ❖ Individuals consider emigration as a step towards the advancement of his and his family position and to gain better economic and social living conditions;
- ❖ The main purpose of emigration seeking people has always been the economic development by finding payable jobs, improving living standard and increase of wealth;
- ❖ Migrants and their families may achieve productive capacity and sustain higher living standard by using remittances in a sensible way.
- ❖ Emigration seeking people move from areas of low opportunity to the area of high opportunity.
- ❖ Intimacy with the traditional occupations may break with the increased wealth.

1.5 Significance of study

The movement of human beings from one place to other entails a number of significant implications and consequences for both the locations. It involves the culture's amalgamation which brings socio-cultural change. In a way the socio-cultural change is an imperative topic of Anthropology. Anthropology examines the rapid social and cultural changes by taking into consideration the primitive

and modern eras for facilitating the development initiatives. The issues of emigration and its impacts have various connections with various sub-branches of Anthropology but it is also known as the 'Anthropology of Migration' so this study will be a great contribution in the sub-branch of an emerging discipline in the country.

The study also emphasized to explore the trends and causes related to emigration seeking behavior to identify the factors responsible for emigration. It also explores the socio-economic and cultural reasons, consequences and impacts of migration in addition to the strategies adopted for seeking emigration.

The study would be helpful in understanding the push and pull factors of human migration from one area to another. This study will provide valuable information to the scientist and policy makers about human migration to achieve national and local economic goals. With the rapid development taking place in the rural areas, there is a need for substantial research in the foregoing area of migration in order to understand this phenomenon in proper perspective.

The research with an outline of changes in social, cultural and economic institutions of the society due to migration with a comparative account of past and present will be an asset for the Anthropological research and contributing towards understanding the changing social structure of traditional societies, which are in transition from backwardness to modernism. It will also provide an insight into the social changes through the development initiatives in the traditionally organized societies due to the trends of emigration.

1.6 Selection of the locale

After deciding the topic of research, the next step was the selection of research locale to investigate the issue of migration, the district Kotli has a special significance of migration so that this village was selected for present study.

In addition to its prominence, there are various other reasons for the selection of this locale:

My preliminary visits to the locale were due to its most prominent and outstanding features of migration, after making intensive integrations with the prominent and educated people of the area, it was decided to undertake the

research study there; as it was an ideal place to study the phenomenon of migration and its related aspects.

As a most of the economically deprived areas, the trend of moving outside the country for better earnings is considerable; in Khuiratta, each and every aspect of socio-economic life was influenced as a result of migration. The opportunity for Anthropological investigations had attracted the researcher to undertake research study in this village.

It was considered that the research locale should be remote as-well-as in the vicinity of main road so that I could access the community and move my equipments frequently. In addition, I could maintain some contact with outer world without undue difficulty and expense.

The research locale facilitated me to clearly define the research area, draw the boundaries and delimit the population being studied.

Last but not least, I wanted to find an area where I could communicate with people in their local languages to grasp their cooperation and gather detailed information. Fortunately, I could speak Gojari and pahari languages that are widely spoken in the village.

On the grounds of all the reason mentioned above, I decided to select the village Dhana to carry out a detailed, in-depth, holistic and extensive anthropological research.

1.7 Research Methodology

For the execution of all researches whether natural or social, certain methods and techniques are used to make the research smooth and within the limits of given parameters. Methodology is an important aspect of any research; it is the combination of tools and techniques which are used to collect the information for the research purpose in a specific area.

Methodology refers to the structure of procedures and transformational rules whereby the scientists shift the information up and down in order to produce and organize the increased knowledge. According to Glen and Pelto:

“Methodology denotes “the-logician use” involved in selecting particular observational techniques, assessing their yield of data and relating these data to theoretical prepositions”.

(Glen and Pelto)

According to Russell Bernard:

“The word method itself has at least three meanings. At the most general level, it means the study of how we know things. At a still pretty general-level, it is about strategic choices like whether to do participant observation, field work, a library discussion or an experiment. At the specific level, it’s about what kind of sample you select, whether you do face-to-face interviews or use the telephone, whether you use and interpreter or learns the local language well enough to do your own interviewing and so on”¹

For making the study more authentic, the researcher adopted certain methods and techniques for gathering reliable data for the fulfillment of requisite requirements of the research.

As defined by Pelto & Pelto:

“It is often useful to employ more than one measure or mode of observation in the study of particular cultural institutions”.

(Pelto&Pelto1978:193)

1.7.1 Rapport building

The researcher is supposed to establish good rapport with the members of the community in which he was conducting research. Since it was very difficult for an outsider to collect information from the people, the rapport building with the community members was meaningful for the purpose. As Bailey defined:

“For a researcher, rapport establishment is one of the most essential tasks after entering into the field. But it can be most difficult and consuming task in the field work.”²

1Bernard H. Russell (1944) Research Methods in Anthropology, Qualitative and Quantitative approaches: New Delhi, International Education and Profession Publishers.

2 Baily, Kenneth D. (1978) Method of Social Research, New York The Free Press.p:174

The researcher entered in the community as a stranger having no stake, but with the passage of time and with the help of influential people I became familiar among the community and submerged in local cultural situation and observe what people say and what they do.

1.7.2 Participant Observation

The participant observation was also a technique that helped the researcher in the field of research to assemble information about the society and its people by getting closer to them so that they may feel comfortable while talking to the researcher. In order to jumble with the people, a cordially relationship was built by taking them into confidence about the researcher's academic purposes.

According to the Russell:

“Participant observation involves getting to people and making them feels comfortable enough with your presence so that you can serve and record information about the world's lives”³

³Bernard H. Russell (1944) Research Methods in Anthropology, Qualitative and Quantitative approaches: New Delhi, International Education and Profession Publishers. P:136

1.7.3 Key Informant

The technique of key informants was used by the researcher for making his study unique in nature and a valuable anthropological document, therefore, the selection of key informants was very important. According to the research ethics, the key informants should be aware of the research nature, its requirements so that they may be able to help the researcher accordingly because they are not only the source of key information but they are considered as sponsors of the research. The selection of key informants is based upon their reliability, accessibility and their own acceptance in the community. They are the reliable persons of the community with whom the researcher has to keep close relations being the valid source of indigenous information about their community and the people.

The notion has been defined by Peltó &Peltó:

*“A key informant is a person who has well
Knowledge about their people”.*
(Peltó&Peltó: 1978:79)

Being the integral part of the study, the selection of key informants was important to be chosen carefully from among the community. The aims and objectives of the research were explained to seek their willingness. The key informants also act as researcher's sponsors for legitimizing his presence.

Keeping in view the importance of key informants, the researcher selected three key informants, one was a local school teacher, one shopkeeper and the other was a lady health worker. All the key informants helped the researcher not only to legitimize his presence in the community but also endow with valuable information during the whole course of fieldwork.

1.7.4 Sampling

It is not possible for a researcher to study a heavily populated area to study, observe and interview the entire community members in a specified diminutive period of time. As the concern of this study was with migrant’s families, so a sample of fifty migrant’s households was finalized purposively. However, the representation of all *bladaris* (castes) of the village was ensured. In this way stratified and purposive sampling was used through multi stage sampling method.

As Goode and Hatt described:

“A sample is a smaller representation of a large whole”.

(Goode and Hatt)

The selection of sample size though was a lengthy task, but with the help of key informants and influential of the village, a sample of sixty households was drawn. By clarifying them about the purpose of this academic activity they extended their cooperation with enthusiasm and support me to achieve my objectives.

1.7.5 Socio-economic census survey form

This technique was helpful in collecting demographic characteristics of the emigrant’s households.

Census procedures are often expanded in order to gather much more comprehensive data from the household in the research population

(Pelto, 1970:77)

Socio-economic census survey forms was filled with sampled household, the census survey form are composed of certain features of the migrant’s households like, age, sex, marital status, education, occupation, income, numbers of emigrants, destination of emigrants, frequency of remittances and its utilization. This technique helped to collect quantitative data and explore its quantitative dimensions.

1.7.6 Semi structured interview

Interview is conversation with a purpose specifically to get information. The method of semi-structured interviews was applied by the researcher that provided much qualitative data through interviewing the respondent that was a major source for collecting that eventually proved it worth.

As defined by Good and Hatt:

“A list of points or topics, an interviewer must cover during the interviews. In this case considerable flexibility may be allowed to the manner, order and language in which the interviewer asks the question”.

(Good and Hatt: 133)

To ensure the legitimacy of interviews, a semi structured interview schedule was prepared concerning the basic questions about emerging trends of emigration, its causes and the impact of remittances and its utilization on the socio-economic conditions of the emigrants' families and village. To ensure the authenticity of the information; migrant's families, return migrants, migrants on holidays and the people intended to seek emigration were interviewed.

1.7.7 Informal and general discussion

The method of informal and general discussion was used during the field work in the locale of study for collecting data concerning the general issues of migration and its consequences on the community. I used this technique as one of the major tool of research. The technique was very helpful not only to maintain the friendly ties with the local people but to get very constructive data. Informal discussion helped me to explore many hidden facts related to the research issues.

1.7.8 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

The using of Focus group discussion was also a fruitful tool to discover in-depth information about the respondent's perceptions and their reasoning about the issue and its cost in terms of the socio-economic conditions and related social problems.

The focus group discussion has been explained by Sophie Laws:

“A focus group is a group interview, where six to twelve people are brought together for the discussion; often they have experiences in common, but not always. They may be stranger to each other, or drawn from existing community group, the interaction between groups. It is not a series of individual interviews conducted in a group; the interaction between group members is part of the process and should be encouraged”.

(Sophie Laws)

1.7.9 Case Study Method

The application of case study method was an anthropological tool used by the anthropologists in their research activities in different communities for the purpose of sharing personal experiences and perception of the selected persons from among the community. The importance of case studies has been narrated by Lobovitz and Hageden:

“Major advantage of case study lies in the richness of its descriptive examples that result from intense study of one or few units”

(Lobovitz and Hageden: 1981)

Case study research excels at bringing us to an understanding of complex issues.

Yin defines the case Study method as:

An empirical inquiry, that investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidences are used.

1.7.10 Photography

The photography is considered as the most authentic mean of collecting evidential data by capturing the images of different events, gatherings, locations and historical places pertinent to immigration and its different aspects provided additional support to the research data for making it more genuine and reliable. This technique demonstrated its competence for evaluating the data collected through various Anthropological methodologies. Visual depiction of various scenes and scenarios were taken to make the data more authentic, factual and perfect.

Chapter No. 2

Review of Literature

2.1 Review of literature

The mobility of people from one geographical location to other is a well-established fact and is as old as humanity itself, but the Anthropological does not perceive the migration only a physical movement but social phenomena emerged for attaining the social and economic position to satisfy human needs.

Migration is defined as;

*"Migration is geographical relocation that involves a change of usual residence between defined political and statistical areas, or between residential areas of different types. In general usage the term has been restricted to permanent changes. The two broader classifications are international migration and internal migration. Migration is a form of social change and can be examined as a process of social transformation. In general it can be said that every transition from one social situation to another requires a degree of adjustment on the part of individual, group, communities and even nations. Overall, migration entails fundamental socio-cultural, economic and psychological changes. The motivations of migrants are multi dimensional. Every act of migration can be said to involve an origin and destination".*⁴

The affects of international migration are felt most at the communities of origin and the communities of destination.

*The departure of members of working age disrupts agricultural and other production patterns. It also affects familial and kin relations; the family structures often undergo change in the communities of origin. On the other hand, the destination communities there could be there could be a conflict between the culture of the migrants and the state policies, Communities at local level are generally aware of the social cost of the education, health and welfare of the migrants and this could and often does lead to tensions for policy formulation at both ends.*⁵

The conception of migration has been defined by Eisendadt:

4 Sabiha H. Syed (2003). The state of Migration and multiculturalism in Pakistan: The need for policy and Strategy, UNESCO Islamabad.

5 ibid

*“Migration is the physical transaction of man or a group from one society to another. This transaction usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one”.*⁶

In the light of above, it can be said that the phenomenon of migration has always experienced the process of change owing to the remittances utilization as defined by Beals:

*“Cultural systems are never static. They are, as has been pointed out, influenced by external conditions and environmental forces. Their internal structure is in a constant state of flux due to change in the status of individuals and repetitive change in the status of the community”.*⁷

The people seek emigration with the intention of decision making on the basis of hierarchically order or set of values to ascertain a valued living with lavish and modern family circle in a different administrative unit or country of their choice.

As defined by Mangalam:

*“Migration is relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, proceeded by decision – making on the part of the migrants on the basis of hierarchically order set out values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the intersectional system of the migrants”.*⁸

The basic two definitions of human migration being used in Anthropology are permanent and semi-permanent that are defined by the *Encyclopedia of Anthropology* and J. Connel, B. Dasgupta, R. Leishlay, M.Eipton:

“Permanent or semi-permanent change of residence by a group – spatial movement is assumed of course in this definition but the distance

⁶Eisenstadt, S.N. (1958) Analysis of patterns of emigration and immigration: population Studies, London. P:1

⁷Beals, Alan. R. (1967) Culture in process; New York Holt Rnehart and Winston. P:246

⁸Mangalam, J.J. (1968) Human migration: University of Kentucky Press, Kentucky.

can range anywhere from one town to the next all the way unto intercontinental odysseys. The second way in which the term migration is used is simply to mean a spatial movement of people. Here it is understood that the new residence resulting from the movement is generally quite transitory, in contrast to the first definition and in fact movement itself is an integral part of the group's life style."
(Encyclopedia of Anthropology; 1976: 269)

"People seek emigration not only to get valued end for themselves but for the families left behind who are largely dependent on the flow of remittance from overseas members of their families. When basic requirements are met, remittance often flows into conspicuous consumption. Remittances after are not just an economic phenomenon, but involves complicated set up as well. These remittances are also used to continue the traditional set of values".

(J. Connel, etal1976)

Furthermore, the flow of remittances largely depends upon the nature of job abroad and on the strategy of expenditures and saving as described by Wahba:

"The flow of Remittances depend mainly on 'saving' available to the migrants once all his expenses are met from his earning".⁹

For the understanding of the basic meanings of remittance, Adam said:

"The Remittance defined as monthly or goods sent home by migrant workers, can have a large effect on the accumulation of assets in these rural areas"

(Adam)

The flow of remittance depends on the nature of relationship and contracts between the migrants and their families in their country of origin as clarified by Nishat and Bilgrami:

"Remittance is basically a self-enforcing contractual agreement between the individual migrant and their families. Remittances may than be seen as a device for redistributing gains with relatives shares determined in an implicit

⁹Wahba, S. (1991)What determines workers Remittance: A framework for examining flows from migrant workers with the focus on Egypt's Experience in the 1980s Finance and Development pp: 41 – 44.

*arrangement struck between the migrants and remaining family”.*¹⁰

The remittances are not only utilized but also saved by the recipient families according to choices available to them, the remittances and their use has been conceived by Connells and Brown & Stanwix and Connel:

“A migrant’s first decision with respect to the management of these saving is whether to remit home all his saving as he accumulates them or to keep a proportion of them with him until he returns permanently. A number of factors are usually linked to this decision. For example; if migrant’s families depends for their livelihood mainly on remittance income, it is likely that migrants will remit regularly a considerable proportion of their earnings”.

(Connells and Brown 1955 & Stanwix and Connel 1995)

The massive migration of human beings revolves around a number of factors, the economic needs, uplifting of social status among the community and getting purge of social and domestic problems. The situation has been narrated by Aurora as:

“Once a tradition of migration is established it acts as a “social force” and many people who may not have an economic reason to migration are drawn into it”.

(Aurora 1967: 27)

The phenomenon of migration involves a number of causes, consequences and socio cultural implications. The same have been viewed by Anwar as under:

“Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of an individual or a collectivity from one geographical place to another. The decision to move is based on certain deprivation, stresses, constraints, aspirations, motivations and attitudes felt in the major institutional spheres of the place of origin, as well as known or perceived opportunities at the possible places of relocation. The decision making in respect of movement is influenced through both social interaction and socio-psychological interaction. The decision to migrate and the selection of destination are made within the framework of the above factors and simultaneously within the context of known or perceived constraints

10 Nishat, M., and N. Bilgrami (1991)The impacts of migrant worker’s remittances on Pakistan Economy. Pakistan economic and social review 26:1, 21 – 41

as intervening obstacle and finally the process of migration ends up with change in social and

physical setting at the place of both origin and destination”¹¹

There are number of push and pull factors regarding emigration defined by Peterson:

“Some persons migrate as a means of achieving the new, let us term such migration “innovating Migration”

(Peterson; 1980)

The series of compulsions that encourage an individual to leave one place to settle him in another is popularly known as pushes and pulls theory. The contents of the theory have been narrated by Herberle in the following words:

“People migrate because they are thrust out of former residence (pushed) and they are attracted (pulled) to new places”¹²

Lee has further elaborated the push and pulls factors:

“‘Push’ factors are negative factors tending to force migrants to leave origin areas; while the ‘pull’ are the positive forces attracting migrants to destination areas in the expectation of improving there a lot”¹³

The migration of people from one place to other is dependent on some of the factors likewise; it also has some impacts that affect the internal and external settings especially the community; society and the individuals involved. The fact attached with the migration has been brought under discussion by Zelinsky:

“Migration act as a mean by which more advanced form of human activities spread to different parts of the world and therefore, form an essential part of the modernization process. For example initial development of Australia and North America has been explained in terms of successive migration from Western Europe, since the migrants with them took

11Anwar-ul-Haq (1980) Human migration: A study into the Regional Growth differentiations in the Punjab. P:10

12Harberle, R. (1938) The causes of Rural-Urban Migration: a study Survey of German theories, American Journal of sociology

13 Lee, Everet. (1966) 'A Theory of Migration'. Theory of Migration in Jakson (ed.) Migration Cambridge University Press.

skills, which formed the basis of the economics of new land”¹⁴

There are numerous affects of migration not on the individuals directly involved in the migration process or are the beneficiaries but the consequences are also faced by the community. The whole situation has been explained by Lewis according to his findings:

“It is now well established that of the three components of population change, it is the migration which is by far the most significant at community level. Not only does migration brings about a net gain or loss of population, but, by its selectivity, particularly of young, it can also indirectly effect on community’s population growth rate”¹⁵

The factors of migration are also plentiful, different in nature in different situations as explained by Hance:

“Pull factors are those associated with destination area, push factors are those associated with origin area; intervening obstacle such as ethnic barrier, distance, cost and personal factors push factors are sometimes labeled centrifugal or impulsive and pull factors centripetal or attracting”¹⁶

There are various reasons people prefer to leave from Pakistan. These reasons act as push factors with alternative combination in all areas of Pakistan.

The reasons for wanting to migrate were in order of importance; (1) there was no justice in Pakistan; (2) they would never be able to own a place to live or to rent a proper home; (3) married couples were afraid that they would not be able to educate their children properly; (4) there was no affordable entertainment and recreation; (5) there were too many family disputes often related to behavior patterns of the young which they considered hypocritical; (6) they lived, worked and travelled in terrible environment conditions¹⁷.

14Zelinsky, W. (1971) The hypothesis of the mobility transition geographical review 61, 219-49

15 Lewis, G.J. (1982) Human Migration: A Geographical Perspective, London: Croom Helm.P:172

16 Hance, A. William (1970) Population, Migration and Urbanization in Africa, Columbia University Press New York.p:161

17Arif Hassan with Mansoor Raza. (2011) Migration and Small Town in Pakistan, Oxford University Press Karachi p:50

Emigration to Europe has increased for the last several years but mainly through illegal means because of the huge costs of legal process.

Emigration to Europe has also increased but as it is mostly through illegal means via North Africa and Turkey, accurately estimating its scale is not possible. However, official figures for emigration to Korea and Malaysia are available and it is estimated that 28,000 Pakistanis are working in these countries.¹⁸

As a result of the migration, migrants and returned migrants are inclined towards the quality education of their children.

There is also evidence to show that many Pakistani emigrants did not like the strict nature of the Saudi state. However, in all cases emigrants indicate a major change in their attitude towards education and a desire for improvement in their physical environment. This change, through them, has affected their family members, besides some members of their community as well. They are seen as role models back home, and because of them, people from their families and community also wish to emigrate.¹⁹

Preferences for education have increase and traditional health seeking behaviour has abandoned as a result of emigration.

Education for children was not considered necessary for people of his class. Health issues were God's will. But now he says that even a levy like himself needs education or he cannot get a job. People want doctors and prayers are not sufficient for them.²⁰

Remittances are utilized to improve the facilities and education in the village.

Previously, one used to dig a well, now we have piped water. Before you ate what you produced, now you buy what you eat. Before you needed no education, now cannot get a job without it. Also, previously you needed no money but now you need it and you cannot get it in the village, so you go to the urban areas.²¹

Married migrants send their remittances to their wife whereas unmarried to their parents.

Unmarried migrants remit money mainly to their parents while others send and bring most to their wives and children. Since most permanent migrants are accompanied by their family of procreation one would expect that they would be less important remitters of goods and money to the village.²²

Remittances are utilized on various goods and services, such as investment in business, expenses on ceremonies, purchase gadgets and luxuries as well as meet the expenses of the education and health of household members.

18 Ibid.p:52

19 Ibid. p:54

20Ibid.p:59

21 Ibid. p.134

22 Robin J. Pryor (1979) Migration and Development in South-East Asia: A Demographic Perspective, KulalaLumpur, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New-York, Melbourne.p:206

The major use to which remittances are put, especially among households of temporary migrants, is the purchase, at comparatively cheap village prices, of the basic mundane necessities of day-to-day life—food and to a lesser extent, clothing. Education expenses were an important item to which remittances to the village from permanent migrants in the city contribute, as are the mounting of ceremonies, especially for circumcision and marriage, and the purchase of consumer goods such as pressure lanterns and radios²³.

Remittances are also utilized on construction of sophisticated houses for the acquisition of modernity

One of the most common ways in which movers' urban earnings are invested in their village of origin is the construction of stone-walled, tile-roofed village houses. Such houses are symbols of wealth and prestige in villages and are important to many migrants as a conspicuous demonstration of success in the city and the acquisition of modernity. Work on the house usually begins while the migrant is still absent in the city and it is often built in stages according to the amount of money which the migrant has available.²⁴

A number of migrants want their children to get quality education to get a position in prestigious professions. They do not hinder their hands while utilizing on the education of children.

With regard to the education dimension, heads of mover households tended to be better educated and were more likely to be literate and to wish to send their male and female children to tertiary education institutions than was the case for stayer households. Similarly, movers have had greater exposure to mass media. Of particular importance in this respect was the radio whose penetration was greater than any of the other modern media forms with nearly a half of all movers and a third of stayers listening daily. This does not apply, however, to more traditional pursuits such as mosque attendance in which movers are generally somewhat less regular than stayers. A marginally greater proportion of movers than stayers indicated that they would prefer to go to a medical doctor than a traditional healer if they were sick.²⁵

Migration has both positive and negative effect for both the sending and receiving countries.

Although mass migration to the oil states from other Arab countries has been in progress for less than a decade, it is already evident that this is having a negative impact on the labour exporting states. The negative impact of the labour migration process can be adduced to three factors. The first of these centres on features associated with all income and wealth...Secondly, there are the consequences of economic development based on oil: the lack of any major development of agricultural and industrial potential, the transient

23 Ibid.p:207

24Ibid.

25 Ibid. p:209

*nature of the boom itself, and the unskilled and short-term projects into which many Arab migrants are directed...Thirdly, there is the reluctance or outright refusal of the labour-exporting states to manage the process in such a way as to draw benefit from the migratory flow.*²⁶

Migrants tend to take Tourist visa or pilgrimage visa and then regularize them.

*Illegal migration worked in a somewhat similar fashion. A family member might seek a tourist visa, ostensibly to visit a relative working in the Gulf or a Pakistani without relatives in the region might leave for Jeddah with the ostensible purpose of undertaking pilgrimage to the holy sites in Mecca and Medina. On arrival, the aspiring overseas worker simply disappeared into the mass of tens of thousands of other Asians, moving from employer to employer in search of the highest economic return. Other illegal's found passage on ships and smaller dhows trading between Karachi and ports in the Gulf.*²⁷

Enormous socio-cultural changes have been occurred as a result of mass migration.

*The extravagance of migrant households was another favorite media theme, in television dramas as well as in newspaper reporting. Often the 'luxurious' lifestyle of migrant households was contrasted against the hardships of the brother or father who labored in the Gulf to provide for their families. 'Self exiled fortune seekers separated from their kith and kin live in desert camps and work in double shifts, but manage to generate a constant inflow of foreign exchange', commented one such report. 'Perhaps they endure loneliness, fatigue and degradation but their families back home cherish their newly acquired affluence and status. Their females have discarded burqa (veil) and wear half-sleeves to exhibit their dazzling gold bangles; their youngsters have taken to jeans and disco music, and their elders are preoccupied with purchases of plots and construction of houses in posh localities'. Although such statements offer only a crude sense of what actually occurred, they do at least highlight the process of change which is so much a part of the migrant experience.*²⁸

In the rural areas, family is the basic unit that makes the decision regarding the emigration and manages the funds for it.

If remittances brought about a structural change in Pakistan's balance of payments accounts at the macro level and encouraged decentralized kinds of spending and investment patterns, it was in individual households that their impact was most strongly felt. Most migrants were either married before departure or became married n

26 Fred Halliday (1977) 'Migration and the Labour Force in the Oil Producing States of the Middle East, 'Development and Change p:22

27 Jonathan S. Addleton (1992) Undermining the Centre: The Gulf Migration and Pakistan, , Oxford University Press, Oxford New York Delhi p:52

28 Ibid.p:80

*a return visit. Even in the case of single males, the decision to migrate was a family one. Initial costs were usually paid by family savings or borrowings. With the whole household having invested in the venture, migration carried with it the hopes and dreams of an entire extended family.*²⁹

Remittances flows threaten the traditional authorities, and the migrants' demands social status in the community.

*Pakistani workers, returning from Arab lands with their pockets full of money, is no longer prepared to accept the status quo of the social order from which they had escaped. The returnees demand more social status and authority in society. In their own eyes, they have earned the right to be respected by their long and usually hard periods abroad. But they may have little idea how exactly to go about changing society, or even whether they wish to move it 'forward' or back to older, more traditional ways. Their new social confidence, backed by economic wealth and combined with frustrations at the slow pace of change, may result in tensions.*³⁰

Migrants' households were more likely to participate in an Election campaign.

*Here too the central government, a major traditional source of patronage and prestige, lost out to the more decentralized and diffused sources of power made possible by remittances. Outcomes varied and were not always possible to determine beforehand. In not instances, the shift in influence was played out on a village stage with mainly local consequences. At other times, it led to the emergence of new political figures and surprising election results. The overall result was weakened central authority and heightened local sources of power and control, particularly among groups that had previously not asserted themselves in local political forums.*³¹

2.2 Operationalization

Many disciplines (Demography, Sociology, Human geography, Anthropology, Economics and Political Science) are concerned with the phenomenon of migration but Anthropology explores all the dimensions by having special glance at it.

It is the task of the anthropologist trained in holistic studies to analyze such complex interrelations which co-determine the choice of rural-urban migration as a household strategy. For instance, members of the social network can produce the necessary conditions

29 Ibid.p:136

30 Akbar S. Ahmed. (1986) *Death in Islam: The Hawkes Bay Case* in Akbar S. Ahmed, *Pakistan Society: Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia*, Oxford University Press Karachi.p:57

31 (1992) *Undermining the Centre: The Gulf Migration and Pakistan*, , Oxford University Press Jonathan S. Addleton, Oxford New York Delhi p:162

*for migration such as having information about the place of destination, money to travel and first assistance in town*³².

The migration as a dissuasive concept is a recent phenomena in the discipline of anthropology, many of the anthropologists and sociologists have defined various definitions of migration with its related theories and different causal factors, such a definition generated by Prayer gas a significant value among the researchers and academics:

“Migration involves, change of residence from once community to another and usually crossing of a specified kind of internal administrative boundary”.

(Prayer 1979)

Defining a migrant is not an easy task; and every discipline has its own way of looking at it. Anthropologically, migrants could be defined as per the description given by Hafeez-ur-Rehman Chaudhary:

*“Defining a migrant is not as easy as it seems at first glance. One might suggest that the migrant is someone who moves from one place to another. But it is obvious that not all people who change their geographical position are migrants. For example the students who live in hostels and the tourists and travelers who change their places quite frequently are not migrants. In order to be considered a migrant one must make a move of some consequences. Demographers define a person as a migrant if he changes his place of normal habitation for a substantial period of time preferably crossing an administrative or political boundary in process. This implies that one has to distinguish between a mover and a migrant. A mover is a person who changes his place of residence; a migrant is one whose change of residence takes him into a new administrative unit. Thus all migrants are movers but some movers are not migrants”*³³

The migration being a growing commotion in the district Kotli and its surroundings has a validity to explore its reasons. The history of migration has various variables affecting the process as well as forming a base for its

32Frits J.M. Selier (1988) Rural – Urban Migration in Pakistan: The case of Karachi. Vanguard Books Lahore, p:30

33 Hafeez-ur-Rehman Chaudhry (2006) Socio-Economic Impacts of Migration on Rural communities of Pakistan,p:2

acceleration, therefore the researcher investigated about the pioneer emigrants of the area (their views about travelling abroad, the outcome and consequences faced by them and their families have been included in the case studies).

This phase was further added up by factors actually causing migration to occur in Kotli district such as the uplifting of socio-economic status of the people. Other information about more causal factor was also collected so that a comprehensive data about the history of migration could be gathered for the research. The exploration was further expanded to have information about the types of migration occurring there. Similarly, observation of migratory trends towards different countries was kept under consideration, as the approach of the people was varying towards different countries particularly the Britain being the foremost choice of the people for migration in addition to the difficulties being faced by the migrants during and after their migration. The data about remittance and its flow was investigated with other related factors which was the main cause of emigration to prosperous countries. The significance of remittances has been explained by G.J. Lewis:

“Migration is an extremely important topic for whole of the social sciences since the inflow and out flow of the people has such a far reaching effect on a city or region’s economy its population structure and its social spatial patterns”.

(G.J. Lewis1982)

All the discussed factors of migration are straightforwardly interconnected with the outcome of inflow of remittances as defined by Adams:

“Remittances are defined as the money or goods sent home by migrant workers and these can have a large effect on the accumulation of assets in these rural areas”³⁴

Before going into further depiction of using remittances, it was appropriate to congregate data pertaining to emigrants who were the thoughtful effects on the remittances. This information was in the form of certain factors like age,

34 Adams, Richard. (2005) “Remittances, Poverty and Investment in Guatemala”.In International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain, edited by C. Ozden and M. Schiff. Washington D.C. p:155

educational level, marital status, income, occupation etc., which definitely affect the flow of remittances in one way or the other.

In addition, various facts and figure were collected concerning the income of migrants in the perspective of savings and expenditures; similarly data about difference in values of remittances in various socio-economic classes was also ascertained and recorded accordingly. The flow of remittances in terms of its usage was also the focus of the study, the relevant data was collected on the issue along with its kinds (i) household expenditure (ii) investment (iii) construction.

In addition to household expenditure, the amount and mode of investment at different levels was also the aim of the study being a yardstick for measuring the savings out of remittances by excluding the expenditures. Thus the highest amounts of investments were explored in different socio-economic classes of the area.

In the light of research hypothesis relating to pre-migration and post-migration economic status, the causes and consequences were recorded through case-studies methods to put on a complete picture of initiation of remittance and its usages by the people of the village Dhana.

2.3 Definition of Key Terms

2.3.1 Migration

The movement, temporarily or permanently, from one physical location to another of a population.

(a). Temporary migration implies that the place of permanent residence is maintained while the migrant is away for a period of work in another country or another part of the country. Such migration may occur on a regular or seasonal basis as with transhumance or harvest migration or migration with flocks or herds of reindeer;

(b). Permanent migration implies a clear change of residence based on a decision to move. Clearly there may be some indeterminacy between these two categories and in many instances temporary migrants may end up as permanent.

2.3.2 Periodization

Migration is usually measured over a specific period of time in order to assess its effect. Often this may be governed by other population interests such as the dates of the decennial census. The extent of change in a population between two periods is a product of a combination of these factors, birth rate, death rate and migration. The migration so measured is always the net migration, since it constitutes the net effect of migration only does not record the number of moves that have taken place but have been cancelled out

by counter-moves, not temporary or seasonal moves that have taken place within the period in question.

2.3.3 Immigration

This term is used to describe the process of entry into a country or within it to a different administrative district. International immigration tends to be formalized with border controls at entry and distinctions between categories of entrant made in terms of the willingness of the country in question to give permanent, temporary or visitor status to different types of migrant. Migrants may be excluded because of lack of skills, age, nationality, race, health, lack of funds, or for criminal or ideological reasons. The result of these formal mechanisms is that relatively full statistical data are produced indicating the characteristics of the immigrant population that is admitted.

2.3.4 Emigration

This term cover movement away from a residential location either within the same country or to another country. For the reasons given under immigration above there are often no official records of this process as such within the country. The same in general is true of those who emigrate to another country and most countries do not keep established records of the number of their nationals who are living in another country. Some information may, however, be available for specific administrative purposes such as taxation. Certain categories of emigrant remain in contact with their country of origin through their embassy in the country of residence. These, however, tend to be a minority and figures held by embassies tend to underrepresent the emigrant population to a substantial degree.

2.3.5 Accommodation and assimilation

These two terms are linked and describe the process whereby immigrants become established in a new location. The immigrant as a new Australian or new Briton will meet with varying degrees of acceptance and will gradually learn the requirements of living in the new environment, learning a new language and adapting to different customs and practices. It is a highly complex process. It will vary if the migration is of long or short duration, as will the provision of official aids and schemes to help the immigrant make the necessary adjustments. Clearly the whole question is coloured by the attitude of the immigrant himself and the society to which he has come at both an informal and formal level.

2.3.6 Voluntary migration

This term covers any move in which the decision to migrate is entered into as a free alternative available to the individual. Clearly that decision may be subject to many influences and factors in the individual's market situation but it is not formally constrained.

2.3.7 Forced migration

Such migrations involve moves of necessity for the protection of life and liberty of individuals. They may be political refugees such as the Kashmiris across LOC. In all cases they are people who are imperiled by remaining where they are, in their own judgment or that of others. The extent to which their exile is regarded as legitimate by potential

receiving countries varies and conditions their admission as immigrants and may vary between those who are specifically considered to be political or religious exiles and those who are avoiding penalties for criminal offences or escaping taxation penalties in their home country.

2.3.8 Internal migration

This term involves moves within a country or prescribed area; normally it does not involve formal controls at border points but it does imply movement across administrative boundaries.

2.3.9 International migration

This movement involves individuals or families moving across national boundaries to establish themselves in a different country. Migration always implies change of residence. Such migrations normally involve changing place of living near boundaries that may be able to commute daily to their place of work in the original country of residence.

2.3.10 Return migration

This involves a return and resettlement of a migrant population in their original country or area of residence. Such returns may occur quite soon after the original move or occur at specific stages in the life cycle such as the retirement stage.³⁵

2.4 Reasons for migration

There are many people leaving their native countries in order to find a better place to earn for their families. They may move voluntarily or forced to move, how the number of emigrants is getting higher and keeps increasing which of course better for Globalization, they can share each others' cultures and backgrounds, but they may also damage the host country's culture and environment because the immigrants have a different point of view. One of the best reasons to move from under developing countries to developed countries is job opportunities. In under developing countries, there is a lot of unemployment because of lacking of work field and lack of job opportunities. Therefore, many unemployed from developing countries move to developed countries in order to find a better job opportunity. Somehow, in the developing countries, people tend to live in urban areas because the living conditions are better than in rural areas.

Moreover, people may move to developed countries because the medical treatment and education are much better as compared to the developing countries and sometimes the standard cost of living is much cheaper. In addition, people may have to move because of some reasons such as earnings

35 J.A. Jackson, (1986) Migration: Longman London and New York, pp:5-8

for their love ones, enriching their socio-economic status, natural disasters, wars, crimes, crisis etc. But in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, people are moving in search of lavish earnings both for their families and to strengthen their status in the society. The migration has in fact broadened the economic opportunities; most of the families have changed their living pattern from poor to rich and constructed stunning houses. On other hand the migration of skilled and unskilled manpower is damaging not only the future of the host country but the emigrants' geographical settlements.

Anwar explained the phenomenon keeping in view the Pakistan perspective:

“The migration of Pakistanis to Britain can be explained in terms of colonial links, political freedom of movement and an economic ‘Push’ and ‘Pull’ which slowly developed into a chain migration”³⁶

2.5 Theory of Migration

The anthropologists and other social scientists gave a traditional explanation to the motivation of migration as a series of forces encourage an individual to leave one place and attract him to another. This explanation is popularly known as “Push and Pull” theory defined by Harberle (1983) in his study on the ‘Survey of German theories on causes of Rural Urban migration’.

According to him:

“People migrate because they are thrust out of former residence (Pushed) ad they are attracted (Pulled) to new places”³⁷

Lee’s Push-Pull Theory

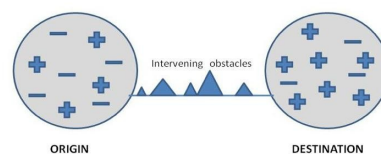


Figure 2.1 Theory of migration (push and upull factors)

³⁶Anwar-ul-Haq (1980) Human migration: A study into the Regional Growth differentiations in the Punjab, p:7

³⁷Harberle, R. (1983) The causes of Rural-Urban Migration: a study Survey of German theories', American Journal of sociology

There are various push and pull factors associated with the decisions of migration various intervening variables assist or resist the person in making decision about migration.

Bogue has summarized the conception of “Push-Pull” factors as:

2.5.1 Push factors

- Decline in a national resources.
- Loss of employment
- Repression or oppression because of political, religious or ethnic membership
- Alienation from a community because one no longer subscribes to prevailing beliefs and value system
- Retreat from the community because it offers no opportunities for personal development.
- Flood, fire, drought, earthquake or epidemic and other forms of catastrophe etc.

2.5.2 Pull factors

- The better opportunities for employment or preferred occupation
- Opportunities to earn a larger income
- Opportunities to obtain specialized education
- Preferable environment and living condition such as climate, housing and community facilities
- Dependency–movement of other people to whom one is related to or is dependent upon
- To join a line of new and different activities, such as games, cultural and recreational activities.

(Bogue 1959)

Since push and pull theory has been characterized as a simple explanation of a complex process, some other aspects have been added into it as explained by Lee:

“Migration should be viewed within the framework of factors associated with area of origin, area of destination, intervening

*obstacles and the migrants' personal factors*³⁸

According to Everett S. Lee, the factors forcing the individuals to migrate can be summarized in the following four headings:

- *Factors associated with the area of origin;*
- *Factors associated with the area of destination;*
- *Intervening obstacles;*
- *Personal factors*

There are countless factors which act to hold the people with their soil such as advantages and disadvantages depending on the personal factors. Similarly, the intervening obstacles are the financial outlay, official restrictions and difficulties, particularly the role of immigration laws and their application that affect the individual mobility. This condition has been highlighted by Anwar:

“Migration is due to socio-economic imbalances between regions certain factors ‘pushing’ persons away from the area of origin and others ‘pulling’ them to the area of destination.”

(Muhammad Anwar)

2.6 Types of migration

Anthropologists differentiate between two major types of migration; these are (i) internal migration (ii) external migration as described in the Encyclopedia of anthropology:

“Internal migration; is dislocative migration with specified political boundaries usually a nation-state second, external migration, which according to the same source means dislocative migration takes places across the identified political bandies usually from one nation state to another”.

(Encyclopedia of Anthropology 1976)

There are other sub-divisions in external migration characterized by Nancie Ganzalaz into five types of migration in her paper ‘Family Organization, five types of migratory labor (1961 – 65)’:

- *Seasonal migration*

38 Lee, Everet, 1966, 'A Theory of Migration'. Theory of Migration in Jakson (ed.) Migration Cambridge University Press.

- *Temporary or non-seasonal migration*
- *Continuous migration*
- *Recurrent migration*
- *Permanent migration*

George Gimlech has also classified the migration in five categories confirming the definition Nancie Gonzalez.

2.6.1 Seasonal migration

The seasonal migration defined by Ganzalez has an academic position that has influenced the anthropologists to adopt in their researches of such nature:

“Seasonal migration are those who travel once a year, either as complete or families or as single adult individual to areas in which great numbers of workers are needed temporarily in such occupations, as harvesting or processing raw food item.”

(Ganzalez, 1961)

2.6.2 Temporary or non-seasonal migration

In many societies and areas a labor surplus exists so families, groups or adults migrate temporarily in promising areas to learn technical skills to establish their economic position.

2.6.3 Continuous migration

The families were usually nuclear travel together in search of livelihood and lived in temporary quarters in different locations. In this type of migration, a family or whole of the villages is involved and the effects of migration are not only on an individual but the migrants themselves.

2.6.4 Recurrent migration

The recurrent migration donates intensification of temporary non-seasonal migration. It does appear in some areas were a larger amount of wage labor is available as explained by Gonzalez:

“In recurrent migration man makes irregular journeys of varying lengths of time to obtain wage labor throughout their productive years”.

(Ganzalez 1961)

2.6.5 Permanent migration

The permanent migration involves all relevant patterns in which workers move from their home areas to other specific location, which offers more opportunities

for employment and where they settle more or less permanently that has been defined by Gmelch:

“Besides these forms of migration anthropologists have pointed out another form of migration also, rarely return migration back to their home land to resettle”.

(Gmelch 1980)

Moreover, another type of migration has been identified recently, circular migration which means the frequent movement between two or more places such as in seasonal labor migration.

2.7 Remittances

Remittances are an important productive output of emigration as well as a major source of earning foreign exchange in labor exporting countries to overcome the obstacles impeding economic development.

“When basic requirements are met, remittances flow into conspicuous consumptions. Remittances are not just an economic phenomenon but involve complicated setups as well. These remittances are also used to continue the traditional set of values”.

(J. Connell, et al: 1976)

Wahba 1991 explains more about the production of remittances;

“The flow of remittances depends mainly on the savings available to the migrant once all his expenses are met from his earnings”³⁹

Adams said:

“The remittances – defined as the money or goods sent home by migrant workers – can have a large effect on the accumulation of assets in these rural areas”⁴⁰

Nishat and Bilgrami have also defined remittance as:

“Remittances are basically a self-enforcing contractual arrangement between the individual migrant and the family.

39 Wahba, S. (1991) What determines workers Remittance: A framework for examining flows from migrant workers with the focus on Egypt's Experience in the 1980s Finance and Development 41 – 44.

40 Adams, Richard. (2005) “Remittances, Poverty and Investment in Guatemala”. In International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain, edited by C. Ozden and M. Schiff. Washington D.C.

Remittances may than be seen as a device for redistributing gains with relatives shares determined in an implicit arrangement struck between the migrant and the remaining family”⁴¹

The remittance’s utilization and saving has been described by Connels and Brown and Stanwix and Connel:

“A migrant’s first decision with respect to the management of these saving is whether to remit home all his saving as he accumulates them or to keep a proportion of them with him until he returns permanently. A number of factors are usually linked to this decision. For example, if migrant’s families depend for their livelihood mainly on remittance income, it is likely that migrants will remit regularly a considerable proportion of their earnings”.

(Connels and Brown 1955) and Stanwix and Connell 1995)

“Considerable proportions of remittances are found to be spent on enhancing household productive assets”.

(Oberai and Singh 1980)

It was likely interplay of emigrants and household factors determines the ability or inability of migrant’s families to shift remittances to investment or savings.

2.8 Theory of Remittance Behavior

Research on remittance behavior suggests that several motives underlie the remittance decision, implying that migrant workers send money home for a variety of reasons. The analytical literature on remittance behavior can be summarized in four main approaches: the altruistic motive, the self-interest motive, loan repayment motive, and coinsurance motive. An increasing number of researchers argue that these models are mutually reinforcing, suggesting that all theories play a role in determining remittance behavior.

The Altruistic Motive

In this view the migrant sends remittances back home out of concern and care for the well being of the family in the home country. Once the migrant secures stable employment and income, he/she will have the satisfaction of sending remittances for the well being of the family. The main prediction of this model is that as migrants’ stay abroad lengthens and as the number of dependents in the country of

41 Nishat, M., and N. Bilgrami (1991) The impacts of migrant worker’s remittances on Pakistan Economy. Pakistan economic and social review 26:1, 21 – 41.

origin declines, the migrants' family attachments will deteriorate and the motivations to remit will weaken.

The Self-Interest Motive

This model states that when sending remittances home, the migrant is mainly motivated by economic and financial self-interest. The migrant, through remittances, invests in the country of origin by buying property and land to accumulate wealth. During the emigration period, the family (acting as a trusted agent) can administer those assets for the migrant. Another motivation to remit is the desire of the emigrant to receive an inheritance from the parents. In this case, those family members who have contributed to increase the wealth of the family (i.e. by sending remittances) become obvious candidates for receiving an inheritance in the future.

Family Contract (Loan Repayment)

This model assumes that migrant and non-migrant family members develop an implicit, informal and internal contract. In this view, the family either finances the travel and establishment costs of migrating or finances investments in human capital of the migrating members (i.e. education). As the migrant settles in the host country and acquires a stable job, he/she is now in condition to start repaying the loan in the form of remittances. This model predicts that the quicker the incorporation of the migrant in the foreign labor market, the faster the remittances flow.

Family Contract (Risk and Income Diversification)

A different type of implicit contract between the family and the migrant is based on the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) theory. This theory states that migration and remittance decisions are not made by an isolated individual, but within the family or the household.

First, it assumes a cohesive and communicative family, composed of members who are likely to trust each other and honor family arrangements. Second, it expects the migrant to return home and rejoin the household.⁴²

42 Solimano, Andres. (2003) "Remittances by Emigrants: Issues and Evidence." Report Prepared for the Economic Development Division of the United Nations, Santiago, Chile.

Chapter No. 3

Village Profile

3.1 Profile of District Kotli

District Kotli was the sub-division of district Mirpur till 1975, and before 1947 the area was the part of Jammu District. Kotli is a hilly area rising gradually towards the high mountains of district Poonch. Its climate is more moderate due to sub-mountainous topography. The River Poonch is passing through Kotli city to be joined by a small river Baan that flows between Wadi-e-Bannah (Khuiratta) and the village Dhana to join the river Poonch at a short distance in the outskirts of Kotli.

The district headquarter is at a distance of 141 Km from Islamabad (the Capital city of Pakistan). It was directly linked with Islamabad/Rawalpindi through a metal led road via Sehnsa and Holar and with Mirpur by two metal led roads, one via Gulpur, Nar, Rajdhani and other thorough Dungi, Charohi. In the past three old routes used to link the district Kolti with Jammu, Rajouri and Poonch; the first via charohi and Bhimber to Jammu, the second via Kotli, Khuiratta to Rajouri and the third via Kotli-Tatta Pani-Poonch-Haveli-Srinagar. After the Cease Fire Line had stretched over the land of Jammu & Kashmir; this natural and traditional route has vanished.

District Kotli comprises of five Tehsils, Kotli, Sehnsa, Nakyal, Khuiratta and Charohi, which embrace the beauty of mountains, valleys, plateaus, plains, rivers, streams, peaks, tombs, temples, forts, green and lush forests, cascades, tradition, customs, modernity and diversity of cultures. Many historical, archeological and religious memories of the past realize that Kotli was not dominated by a single ethnicity rather it had welcome various influences throughout its existence.

3.1.1 Name of the District ‘Kotli’

There are various theories about the origin of its name, according to one theory in ancient times, Prince Raja Shahswar Khan built a small village near the Poonch River and called it ‘Kot’, later renamed as Kotli because of its location in plateau of mountains.

Another theory states that the Gujjar tribe had inhabit various location along the GT Road and when they initiated settling towards East, they dwell on the land of Kotli and named it as Kot (a new town at upright land), which latter on became Kotli.

According to another theory, its name was derived from the Sansikrat word Kotli that was used for taking up of residence.

3.1.2 Prominent features/places

District Kotli is famous for many reasons but is well known and called as Madina-tul-Masjid (city of Mosques) for its mosques. Besides the popularity of Kotli for its mosques, it is also famous for places of interest like Tatta Pani, a tourists and mythical destination at a distance of 26Km from Kotli towards north connected through a metal led road, thousand of people flock to Sulphar springs for spiritual cure for ailments. Nakyal, a tourists resort and Tehsil of Kotli situated at 1524 m above sea-level, just 40 Km away from Kotli.

At the south-east the Khuiratta lies 29 Km from Kotli, a vibrant town famous for annual *Basakhi* (festival). Thousands of people from Kotli and other adjoining districts flock to the festival in spring to watch sports, animal parades and horticultural display. The nearby Bannah is a beautiful area full of natural springs and waterfalls. At Bahees Narah several springs are emerging from the mountains. The area is having an important Hindu place of worship; close to Khuiratta are Bagh Sain Hazuri and Bagh Fatehpur Dehari which are known for their natural beauty. Thousands of people flock to Mai-Ka-Makam shrine at a distance of 4 Km from Khuiratta to pay homage to Mai Toti Sahiba. In the south-west Gulpur is located on the junction of Kotli Mirpur and Kotli – Rawalpindi Road, adjoining Gulpur; Tharochi is known for its castles built in 1460, while in the west from Gulpur on Kotli–Rawalpindi road, Sehnsa is at a distance of 35 Km lies near Holar (the boundary point between Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan). Sehnsa is a Tehsil Headquarter surrounded by Cheer (Pine) forests.

There are various historical, archeological and religious sites around the Kolti that reflect the colors of various religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, and Sikhism), languages and diverse political dynasties in local cultures. The most famous are; Tharoch fort, Karjai fort, Hindu Temples in Khuirtta and Kotli, Tatta Pani *saraan* (inn), shrine of 4710 in the village barmoch, shrine and cave of Sain Dodi Kani at

the top of the hill. All of these sites speaks that the Kotli has centuries old living traditions.

3.1.3 Climate

The village is located in sub-tropical zones and the altitude of the area was ranging from 740 to 1200 m.

A- Rainfall

The average annual rainfall of the village is 114.42 millimeters mostly falls in Monsoon.

B-Temperature

The temperature of the village remained very hot in summer and cool in the winter. June and July are the hottest months (max 37°C and minimum 25°C), while December and January the coldest months (minimum 17.5°C and maximum 30 °C)

C-Wind

The velocity of wind is high in the morning and evening, the wind blows from Northeast to Southwest in the district of Kotli.

D-Humidity

The average annual humidity was 77.16% in the morning while 56.66% in the evening.

E-Soil

The soil of the village was mostly loamy clay and sandy clay acidic with phosphorous ranges from 6.1 to 6.4.

F-Hydrograph

The main sources of water were the natural springs, rainfall, river Poonch and Nala baan and other small streams. People have massive knowledge about natural resources, the vegetation of the area was under biotic pressure due to erosion, fire, deforestation, overgrazing and browsing.⁴³

43 Ejaz-ur-Rehman Indigenous Knowledge on Medicinal Plants, Village Barali Kas and allied areas of District Kotli aJK

3.2 Profile of Khuiratta

Khuiratta lies 29 km southeast of Kotli and 165 km from Islamabad, to the east; It is the second largest town in the district after Kotli city and has an elevation of 2570 meters above sea-level. Khuiratta is situated on the western side of Rajouri (IHK), with Tehsile Charhoi to the west, Rajouri to the east, Noshehra (IHK) to the south, Tehsile Nakyal to the north east and Kotli to the north west.

Khuiratta has its own history. Before the forceful division of Jammu Kashmir in 1947, it was used as a trade corridor between Rajouri and Mirpur. Khuiratta, Khuiratta also known as Wadi-e-Bnah, is a city of Kotli District, Azad Jammu Kashmir. In 2010 it became the headquarters of the [district subdivision](#).

Khuiratta is situated very close to the Line of Control (LOC), the temporary border between Indian held Kashmir and Pakistani held Kashmir. It has some notable small towns and villages namely Barooth, Katasery, Chirri, Darbar Mai Toti, Dharaa, khore kalla chamber, Nidi Sohana. Khore Rachalla, Khore Graan, Chauhan Colony, GheyaienGujjran, Serri, Broat Gala, Anderla Kotehra, Phalni, Bandli, Karjai, Saidpoor, Darkala, Bain Thalla, sarhota samrore, Dehari Baagh, Bindian, Bhiyal, Dheri Sahibzadian, Manjwaal, Thill, Hill Mughalan, Banni Bannah, Sehore, Kohmar Gujjara, Karjai Gujjran, Battal Brehi, Samlar, ChiriPalani Gujjran, Phehan and Dmandah, seri chowki kahotta etc.

Its population is over 100,000 which is mostly educated. The Gujjar, Rajput, Jaat, and Mughal tribes form the majority. List of registered voters in the constituency during 2004 is 89000 i.e., 22000 Gujjars, 18000 Rajput, 16000 Jatt, 330000 other tribes. Khuiratta is in the azad Jammu Kashmir Assembly's constituency, LA-12 Kotli-5. The constituency comprises of main following Patwar Circles of Kotli Tehsil/ Tehsil Khuiratta; Khor, Sarhotta, Dheri Sahibzadian, Seri Majwar, Khuiratta, Bihal, Dhanna, Andarla Katerra, Samlar, Majwal, Sarhuta, Nidi Sohana etc.

A major project currently under way in Khuiratta is the Aziz Welfare Trust Hospital; a state-of-the-art community hospital which the late Mr. Abdul Aziz started building in 2005. Mr. Aziz was a highly respected philanthropist who funded many charitable projects in the area. Mr. Aziz had this dream of building

this hospital to benefit the community, offering free treatment to those who cannot afford it. Aziz died in June 2009. However his legacy continues and the construction of the hospital has been completed. The next stage is to equip the hospital. Another hospital is situated in the close premises of Khuiratta is possessed by Rubina Maalak (political worker). This Hospital is equipped with modern equipments which provide medical and surgical services to the people of allied areas.

Ch. Matloob Inqalabi is Ex member of Kashmir Council & currently the elected MLA of the 2011 election from the constituency. He was also nominated as the candidate for prime minister of AJK, afterward he was appointed as the minister of Education (colleges) and IT. Raja Nisar Ahmed Khan, who belongs to the Muslim Conference and minister of local govt. Khazana/Law etc. He was elected MLA in the Kashmir Assembly General Election held in 2006 for five years; Ch. Muhammad Rafiq Nayyer Ex. minister of Health & Transport. He is very popular among the people. Chaudhary Faqeer Muhammad is another reformer and social worker who is known as Sar Sayad-e-Bannah for the promotion of education in the area. Chaudhary Taj Muhammad is another social and political worker whose mother was the member of Mahraja's assembly. All the people of the area collectively contributed in maintaining the peace and harmony.

Khuiratta has some good educational facilities. There are two degree colleges for both boys and girls. There are also some English medium schools, of which notable are Pasban Science School & College, The Holy Public School & College, Ideal Public School, Pakland School, Allama Iqbal Public School & College, Unique Reformer Public School, Suffa Academy and Stars Academy. One of the earliest and only government schools is the "Government High School Khuiratta".

3.2.1 Prominent places and Events in Khuiratta

There are many unique historical, cultural and natural sites and events in and around Khuiratta.

3.2.1.1 Bahees Narrah/Hindu's Temples

Bahees Narrah (also know as Bahi-Narrah) is a famous place near Khuiratta. This was once the location of 22 water springs which burst out from a mountain side providing fresh water to the locals. It was also a place of reverence and worship in Hindus times. Presently there are only six springs providing water; others having dried up. Several Hindu's temples are also situated in the close premise of the bahees narrah which direct towards the cultural diversity of the area in the past.

3.2.1.2 Karjai Fort

This vast fort near Khoiratta lies in Kharjai village high overlooking the Banaah valley. The grandeur of this fort and the views it offers leave the visitor outstand. However, the fort is falling into ruin. Most of the walls have fallen down, property looted and wild growth taken over.

Currently, there is no program to protect or restore this fort and creeply-crawlies, including snakes, are the guardians here. The AJK government has wasted a colossal potential to develop this heritage site into a tourist destination to serve the public, foreign tourists and the student of history.

The natural beauty at the top of the hill, historic beauty of karjai fort and the socio-cultural beauty of Gujjar's community present a panorama view and possess greater attraction for the people moving to appreciate the nature.

3.2.1.3 Village Gayaein Gujran

The village Gayaein Gujran is situated on top of hill at the road heading towards the Karjai Fort. This village is famous for beautiful and palatial house as well as for its literacy rate. Many gazetted officers in various departments belong to this remote but modern village. Sar sayyed-e-bannah Master Chaudhary Faqeer Muhammad also belongs to this village. A number of ponds are constructed at the top of the hill to store the rain water. The natural resource management in such a remote village presents a model picture of natural resources management and sustainability.

3.2.1.4 Shrine Mai Toti Sahiba/ Historical Gardens

Close to Khuiratta are the Bagh Fatehpur Dehari and Bagh Sain Hazuri which are known for their natural beauty and history.

Thousands of people flock to the Mai-ka-Makam Shrine (Mai Toti Sahiba), some four km from Khuiratta city, to pay homage to Mai Toti Sahiba. This shrine is a great source of spirituality, peace and tolerance in the area.

3.2.1.5 Vadi-e-Bannah

The area comprising of Tehsil Khuiratta is also known as Vadi-e-Bannah due to its natural location in the middle of mountains. A big stream "Nala-e-Baan" is flowing in the middle of the valley. This fertile valley "Vadi-e-Bannah" runs from outskirts of Kotli to Seri and beyond, comprising many villages, small towns, mountains, streams, springs, lakes, plains, historical gardens, fountains and waterfalls and the main city Khuiratta. The vadi is the collection of many cultures, traditions and histories of the past and present. The vadi remained the land of diversity, harmony, peace, prosperity, tolerance and love; for centuries. The situation of bloody Line of Control (LOC); the temporary border between Indian held Kashmir and Pakistani held Kashmir in the close premise of Vadi-e-Bannah brought many harsh memories to the land and people of the area.

3.2.1.6 Basakhi Mela. (Horse & Cattle show)

Khuiratta is also well known for its Basakhi (Mela Maweshyan). In the earlier days the Hindus and Muslims of the area used to celebrate the mela (fair) together but after the forced expulsion of native Hindus from the area, the tradition of fair celebration was continued by the Muslims only. For the last many years this mela has been celebrated in Dehari Bagh. Thousands of people gather from neighboring areas to be pleased about few events of Kashmiri culture and appreciate the brilliant traditions of glorious history of peace and tolerance.

3.3 Profile of village Dhana

The village Dhana of district Kotli was the locale of study chosen for its prominent trends of emigration. The people of the village were simple and mostly uneducated, who were either doing horticulture or keeping livestock to satisfy their domestic needs. But as the Emigration trends their livelihood depends upon the remittances. They own modern and spacious houses are

owned by the families receiving remittances from abroad, middle standard houses either by the landowners, businessmen or non-skilled emigrants, while small and semi pakka or kacha houses by the poor families depending either on the small sized livestock or on a meager salary of a male member working on a petty job in government or private organization at Kotli, Mirpur or somewhere else in Islamabad/Rawalpindi.

Being the integral part of district Kotli, the village Dhana has a beautiful plan landscape in the plateau of hills with same climate characteristics, food pattern, dress pattern, language and culture as of Kotli. The people were desirous of migration to wealthy countries for substantial earnings not only for their families but to strengthen their socio-political status in the village. The emigrant's families were fond of constructing modern houses or converting their old houses into modern houses through the remittances from their family member working abroad.

The village Dhana has two main seasons, one is winter and the other was summer, in winter the weather remained cool from December to February, while hot weather prevail in summer from May to August every year. The Village Dhana has the natural waterfalls and streams of pure water that are the main sources of water for the villagers. The Nala Baan flows in between the village. In earlier days the village was connected to main road through a lift but nowadays a paved road and a bridge over the *nala* (stream) attaches the village with the main road

3.3.1 Seasons

Each area has its seasonal dynamics, while the village has four seasons, summer season from May to September, Autumn from October to November, From the end of November to the mid of March winter season, extremely cold and rainfall was during January and February, the beginning of pleasant spring weather that start from the mid of March to end in April. In April, the temperature starts rising towards the end of June, moon-soon rains starts which continue till the mid of August. The time is measured with reference to the local and indigenous months that are presented below.

Table # 1

S.No.	Local Names of Months	English Names of Months
1	Maan	15 Jan-15 Feb
2	Phagan	15 Feb-15 March
3	Chaiter	15 March-15 April
4	Basakh	15 April-15 May
5	Jaith	15 May-15 June
6	Haar	15 June-15 July
7	Saman	15 July-15 August
8	Padra	15 Aug-15 Sep
9	Assu	15 Sep-15 Oct
10	Katyo	15 Oct-15 Nov
11	Manger	15 Nov-15 Dec
12	Po	15 Dec-15 Jan

Table 3.1: Local names of months

These local names of the months are remembered by the old age people of the village. In old days, the seasonal activities were adjoined with these local months. The crops processing, seasonal variations, rainy seasons, annual ritual and anniversaries were all running in accordance with the *desi mehina*⁴⁴(indigenous month).

3.3.2 Physical Features

The village is divided physically and geographically into three parts, the first part which was mountains, mostly in eastern side of the village; the second part was sub-mountainous these sub-mountainous areas give birth to small valleys in their lap. Both of the parts of the village are raised from the stream flowing from south to north; a small stream flows down from east to join the big stream which further divides the Eastern portion of the village into two parts.

The village consists of big fields, a cricket ground and grass lands towards the hillside. There are several water wells on the banks of the stream. A paved road enters in the village from the west and head towards Eastern Mountains. Big bungalows are situated in the middle of big fields and a number of mosques are situated in the various corners of the village.

There two main crops are sown in the months of November and June and reaped in April and October respectively, that were 'Kanak' and 'mak' (wheat and maize), the allied crops; *saryun* (mustard) and *ramaan* (white beans) are grown with these major crops.

44 The months of the year followed by Bikrami calendar

A Hydro Power Project (HPP) named as Dhana power project is constructed over the Nala Baan which has a capacity to produce two Mega Watts of the power.

3.3.3 Crops and vegetables of the Village

There are two major crops in the village; the Wheat and Maize. Mustard and White Bean are grown as allied crops. In the past, barley was grown as allied crop with wheat and *sooja* (A kind of jute that's cover was peeled to get thread for weaving cots) was grown with maize in their respective season but with the passage of time the cultivation of barley and *sooja* has vanished.

The leaves vegetables like, spinach, mustard, radish and turnip are grown with wheat whereas the hard vegetable like, pumpkin, bitter gourd, *parol* and lady finger are grown with maize. The seasonal combination of crops and vegetable is shown in the table below.

Table #2

Season	Crops	Allied Crop	Sowing Month	Reaping Month	Vegetables
Summer	Maize	White Bean <i>Sooja</i> (jute)	November	May	Bail-booty, pumpkin, bitter gourd, cucumber, Chilly, Tori, Dubri, Al, ladyfinger and Parol
Winter	Wheat	Mustard Barley	June	October	Spinach, Karam, Mustard, Radish, Turnip, Coriander, Onion and Garlic.

Table 3.2: Seasonal combination of Crops and vegetables in the village

3.3.3.1 Wheat

Kanak (Wheat) was the chief production of the area, it was sown in November – December and harvested in April–May. Some people produce it enough for whole year's food needs but a number of people use it as a fodder for animal when green, and other was kept for hen. The husk is saved to mix it with clay and the stalk was used as fodder. Women used to color the *nari* (stalks) and prepare *tokri* (basket for bread). The people get the wheat crushed at local *gharat* (water mill).

3.3.3.2 Mustard

Mustard (*saryun*) was sown as subsidiary crops along with wheat that are used as *neela* (green fodder) for animal and soft leaves are used as *saagh* (cooked vegetable), cooked *saryun* is called as “*Saryun Gho Saagh*” which was very a popular dish. *Saryun gho Saagh* and *mak ghi roti* (maize bread was a famous food combination especially for spring season and its popularity and taste is reflected in local lyrics as well.

3.3.3.3 Maize

Mak (Maize) is another popular crop of the area cultivated as cereal crop during rainy season. The green and dry *Karvi* (stalks) are used as fodder for the animals, while it was also grinded to make flour to prepare *Ghi Roti* (bread) taken with *Saryun Gho Saagh* as a delicious food.

3.3.3.4 White Bean

Ramaan (white bean) is a kind of pulse cultivated as subsidiary crop along with Maize.

3.4 Population

The population of the village according to socio-economic survey was consisting of 1445 inhabitants of both the sexes. All of these people are registered with Union-Council’s office.

Table #3

Sex	Number	Percentage
Male	698	48.30
Female	747	51.70
Total	1445	100

Table 3.3: Sex-wise Division of Population

Male population consists of six hundred and ninety eight persons which was 48.30 percent of the total population. The female population was seven hundred and forty seven, 51.70 percent of the total population. The total population 1445 resides in 160 household which consist of average nine persons per household. The number of total migrants out of the total population is 551, which consists of the 38 percent of the total population of the village. Out of these total emigrants, 357 persons are male whereas, 194 are females. The percentage of male migrants is 25 percent whereas the percentage of female migrants is 13 percent of the total population of the village. The total number of the non-migrants is 894 which consist of 62 percent of the village’s population. Out of

the total number of non-migrants 341 (24 percent) are males whereas 553 (38 percent) are females.

The sample of sixty households was selected purposively by giving due considerations to all the *baladris* (castes) of the village. The sampled households consist of the population of 560 persons, out of it 297 are males and 263 are females. The total numbers non-migrants from the sampled households are respectively 130 males and 176 females. The total numbers of migrants from the sampled household is 167 males and 87females. In this way the total number of non-migrants from the sample households is 306 persons and the total number of migrants from the sampled households is 254 persons.

3.5 Ethnic group

Ethnic group/caste denotes a group whose members claim to be on group because of being descendents of one common ancestor and sharing many social and cultural traits. The ethnic groups were locally known as *Baladri*.

A number of different castes lived in village Dhana, including; *gujjars, Malik, Bhatti, Jat, Mochi, Mughal, Syed, Musali, Taili, Nai, Bazigar* are prominent.

Table # 4

S.No.	Castes	Households	Percentage
1	Gujjar	65	40.62
2	Jat	45	28.12
3	Rajput	20	12.5
4	Mughal	08	5
5	Malik	06	3.75
6	Syed	05	3.12
7	Musali/Bazigar	04	2.5
8	Taili/Butt	04	2.5
9	Nai	03	1.8
Total		160	100

Table 3.4: Caste Distribution in Village

The castes of the village have hierarchical nature, prominent and dominating caste is *Gujjar* followed by *Malik, Mughal, Jat and Rajputs*.

3.6 Culture

According to Margret Mead;

“Culture is an abstraction from body of learned behavior which a group of people who share the same tradition, transmit entirely to their children. It

depends not only on art and services, religious and philosophies, but also the system of technology, the political practices, and the small intimate habits of daily life such as the way of preparing or eating food, dressing, housing, language and religious practices.

The culture of the village was traditional; people were leading simple life, while the families receiving remittance are enjoying luxurious facilities, food habits were normal consisting of traditional food items varying from family to family.

3.6.1 Dress patterns

The dress patterns of the villagers was different in terms of age and sex, old men wear *Kurti, Tanbi* (shalwar, qameez) and put a *dhoti* (a large piece of cloth) on their shoulder. Young men wear trouser and shirt; young boys wear pants, shirts and tie at school. Among females, old women wear *shalwar, qameez* and a traditional cap or *chadar* (a large piece of un-stitched cloth) on their head, young girls wear *kurti, tanbi*, and *chipra* (head cover) on their heads, while the girls use scarf with *shalwar* of white color and *qameez* of sky blue color. The trend of pant and shirt was also emerging among the very young girls. Warm stuff of different varieties was used along with usual dress in winter season. People buy their clothes from Kotli, but also receive from abroad from their family members settled there.

The trend of wearing of three pieces suit with tie is emerging among the young generation, while some of the elders also wear it on special occasions like marriage etc.

Women were found of wearing various ornaments like glasses, bangles, jewelry of different kind, the trend of using ornaments was equally popular among married and unmarried women, while the jewelry made of gold was more popular among the women of wealthy families earning through remittances from abroad.

3.6.2 Food patterns

Eating habits also differs from culture to culture depending on the socio-economic conditions. The people of village Dhana used wheat and maize flour as a major staple food with vegetables and pulses. The villagers also consume

milk and milk products. Wheat bread (*Roti*) was taken every day with *Saalan* (curry) made of vegetables, chicken, beef, *dal* (pulses) while the *lassi* was the common drink used in between the lunch. Rice was also consumed occasionally on ceremonial occasions and for entertaining guests.

Mutton and chicken were generally considered to be special and expensive used for special occasions or for entertaining the guests.

People of the village take their meal four times a day, *nahari* is taken at early in the morning with *chah* (tea) and *paratha* (fried bread) or *sookhi roti* (dry bread) lunch or *dopehar ka khana* was taken at afternoon prepared with pulse or vegetable, eggs, or curry, sometimes dairy products like *lassi*, *makhan* (whey and butter) and *desi* ghee was also used at lunch time, while the dinner (*raat ka kahan*) was usually taken after *maghrib* prayer primed with almost same food items or by adding meat or chicken curry.

3.6.3 Dwellings

The village consists of *pakka* and *semi-pakka* houses. *Pakka* houses were owned by rich people receiving remittance from abroad especially the UK, the houses were well sophisticated and built up on design prepared by the civil engineers called *Kothis*⁴⁵ (bungalows) are made of cement, bricks and steel having decent interior and exterior decorated with tiles. Most of the houses were of double or triple stories. As most of the villagers were abroad, therefore *pakka* houses were common in the village, especially the single story houses. The *Pakka* houses were having one or two washrooms, a separate Kitchen and a drawing room as well.

Semi-pakka houses were owned by government servants and shopkeepers, some of the portion of houses was plastered made of mix material cement, bricks, mud and stones, while some of the portions of single storey house were made of wood, stone and mud.

Only the animal barns are constructed with stone, mud and woods. *Pakka* and sophisticated houses were decorated with carpeted floors, television, dish antenna, refrigerator, washing machine, microwaves and other modern amenities of life. In early days *baithak* (drawing room) was constructed apart from the rest of house. All the houses have courtyard (*Baira*) in front of it.

45 In earlier days the word 'Kothi' was used to denote a single room but nowadays it is used for big palatial houses.

3.6.4 Language

Language is the combination of symbols creating diverse human realities, in the village two main languages were spoken, the most common language was *Pahari*, *Gojari* language was spoken by fifty four percent of population belonged to Gujjar caste being the mother tongue, the Gujjars also speak *Pahari* language as well. A number of people speak Urdu, while educated population also speaks English language. The division of major languages in the village is as under:

Table # 5

S.No.	Language	Frequency (households)	Percentage
1	Pahari	73	46
2	Gojari	87	54
	Total	160	100

Table 3.5: Major Languages of the village

The trend of leaning and speaking English language is common among the villagers, especially the emigrant's families; the students of the families were inclined towards higher studies in United Kingdom and were leaving their homes by acquiring student visas. The emigrants working in the Arabian countries could speak Arabic language to impress the villagers.

3.6.5 Religion

The people of the village Dhana were practicing Muslim; majority of them was from Sunni sect, while few of the households belong to *Shia* sect. The people practice their religion at house as well as at mosques and *Immam Bargah* according to their faith, men offers their *nimaz* (prayer) at mosque there in the guidance of a *maulvi* (clergy man). Women offer prayers at home as they were forbidden to go to mosques under the Islamic Sharia. The people recite Quran (Holy book) early in the morning. Children get religious education at Mosque twice a day. Religion was a complete code of life for the villagers. People offer *Jumma* prayer at *Jamia* (main) Mosque. They also celebrate religious and cultural ceremonies in accordance with the guidelines of the religion.

3.7 Occupations

The village Dhana was situated in arid zone, the agriculture was totally dependent of rain water, however some of the *tandi* (fields) situated near the *Kas* (Stream) were irrigated through the diverted water channels from the streams. In the rain fed areas wheat, maize and *saryun* (mustard) were produced

whereas in the irrigated fields, vegetables such as Radish, Spinach, Turnip were grown in summer and Bitter gourd, pumpkin, Tori lady finger, onion, *thoom* (Garlic) in winter.

People of the village don't rely just on horticulture but they are also engaged in other jobs to supplement their income through cash economy.

Many other people have left their forefather's occupations. Many people have abandoned their fields or given to someone and moved towards foreign countries.

3.7.1 Animal Husbandry

In the village Dhana, some of the families were relying on livestock as their means of living that provide them milk meat and eggs for domestic as well as for sale purposes. They were domesticating usually the cows, goats, buffaloes for getting milk and meat, but the traditional behavior of domesticating animals was gradually decreasing, most of the people were using ready mad milk packs or dry milk power due to meager supply of milk in the village due decrease of animals.

3.7.2 Business

Other off-farming and livestock economic activities were the engagement in running small shops, skilled and unskilled wage labor, government and private jobs, employment in army, school teaching to earn their livelihood.

Due to the massive migration of local people to wealthy countries, the majority of the village population was prosper, people were doing lucrative business for increasing their income to meet the growing needs of their families, some of them were indulged in property business, they buy and sell houses, shops, plots, hotels and having the shares in exchange markets. Thus they were enjoying the advantages of cash economy.

3.7.3 Services/ Technical Occupation

In addition to the villagers association with animal husbandry and business, some of the villagers are involved in technical occupations and employment in government and semi government services, like; teachers, health workers, govt. servants, wage laborers, barbers etc.

Table # 6

Sr. No	Occupations	Male	Female	Total
1	Wage Labor	12	01	13
2	Driver	08	-	08
3	Teacher	05	04	09
4	Health workers	01	02	03
5	Business	10	02	12
6	Govt. servant	07	07	14
7	Army/ Navy	06	-	06
8	Horticulturists	08	10	18
9	Barber	01	-	01
10	Tailor	03	25	28
11	Engineers	01	-	01
12	Factory Worker	01	-	01
13	Working on petrol pump	05	-	05
14	Water Mill/Gharat	01	-	01
15	House wife	-	43	43
16	Student	31	46	77
17	Retired	07	03	10
18	Children under the age of five years	14	22	36
19	Old Age people (Do Nothing)	09	11	20
	Total	130	176	306

Table 3.6: Occupations of the (non-migrants) villagers

3.8 Civic Amenities in the village

Numerous basic civic amenities of life are available in the village, like, paved walkways and streets, mosques, graveyard, shrine, roads, sewerage system and water resources.

3.8.1 Streets/pathways

The footpaths to walk between the houses are spread on the edges of the fields. In the past these walkways were unpaved and slippery. Nowadays the walkways are paved with bricks and concrete. These streets are paved through the common efforts of the villagers, especially with the active participation of migrant's households. Villagers have planted trees and flowers on the sides of street walks which present a modern look of the village.

3.8.2 Mosques

There are eight mosques in the village; all of those are well established with magnificent architecture, geometrical shapes, colors, tiles, domes, and minaret. All of these mosques are constructed with the joint efforts of the villagers. All these mosques are situated in between the clusters of houses; the people of adjoining houses offer five time prayers in mosque. All of the mosques are

facilitated with water and wash rooms so the people could perform *woozu* (ablution). A *jamia* (central) mosque is situated in the corner of the village is lead by an *imam* (clergy man), where the children of the village are taught Quranic Education with translation and the villagers offer Friday prayer. The residence of the *imam* is adjoined with the mosques. The *imam* is served with three times meal by the villagers on their turn. The *imam* is also compensated with cash and gifts by the villagers, especially on the eve of *Eid*.

3.8.3 Graveyard

There are two graveyards situated on the corners of the village. One of the graveyard is centuries old and it consist of few hundred graves. The other one is newly established graveyard because of the shortage of space in the old graveyard. Both of these graveyards are surrounded by boundary walls and gates are installed on the four sides. The old graveyard consist of several big trees in between the graves, colorful flags are hanging from these big tress. On every Thursday, rice are cooked in the old graveyard and distributed among the villagers. Except a few oldest graves, all others are cemented and marked with tombstones. The villagers visit the graveyards on special occasion to lit *agarbatti* (scented-wick) and offer prayer for the deceased people.

3.8.4 Sewerage System of the village

The sewerage system of the village is still underdeveloped. Unpaved channel are leading the dirty water to the stream. Some of the channels are diverted towards the fields. In the rainy season, theses channels are filled with water so that every snag is swapped away.

The people are well aware of keeping the village clean so that they throw waste in a big waste-hole dug by the people in the corner of the village.

3.9 Communication Facilities

Communication facilities, like, telephone, mobile and internet service and transportation facilities are available in the village which links the villagers with the outer world and facilitate the migrants to be in contact with their families from the foreign countries.

3.9.1 Transportation

In the earlier days, village was connected with main road through chair lift over the big stream. The chair lift was installed by a local contractor and he used to charge a nominal fair. Latter on, village was connected with main road through an un-paved road and only the four wheels drive vehicles could access the village.

A few years back, the road heading towards the village was paved and a bridge was constructed over the big stream so that all types of vehicles are accessible to the village. Every household of the village is connected to the road; the construction of new house is starter after connecting it with the road.

In old days, bits and pieces were brought to the village on heads and shoulders but nowadays, small stuff is carried to the village on vehicle. Every household has at least a vehicle or motorbike that keeps running between village and city, so that the transportation is not an issue for the villagers.

3.9.2 Telephone/Mobile phone/Internet

Digital and landline home based service is provided to the village for the last few years by the SCO (Special Communication Organization). Initially, a few households had telephone connection but nowadays every household have at least one connection.

In addition to Special Communication Organization, some private companies (Telenor, Jazz, Ufone and Zong) have also installed their towers on high mountains which provide excellent communication services to the mobile phone users.

In almost all of the sampled households, five to seven members have latest mobile phones with the connection of multiple companies. Some of the villagers have more than one mobile phone at a time. There is a great competition among the young people to possess latest models of phones and golden numbers of various mobile phone service providers. The mobile phone has become a valuable gift so that the migrants always bring variety of mobiles for their beloved ones.

3.9.3 Post office

There is no post office in the village, but a post man is appointed in the main post office at Khuiratta who is providing postal services to the village. In the earlier days, the villagers used to receive letters and money orders frequently but

with the invasion of latest mode of communication postal service is less valuable for the villagers.

3.10 Utility Facilities

3.10.1 Educational Facilities

There are two government schools available in the village Dhana, one for girls and other for boys. Both of these schools provide education up to 8th class. Both of these schools are well equipped because the migrants from the village have also contributed in the up gradation of the schools through the provision of water supply, library and computers. The educational standard of the school is good because the return migrants and their school going children had equipped the teachers and student with modern trends and ideas for quality education. After getting education up to middle level the students are admitted in high school at Khuiratta.

In addition to these government schools, three private schools are launched by the return migrants. Two of these schools are up to 8th class while one of those is up to 10th class which provides education in science and arts groups. All of these private schools are providing education in co-education environment and concentrate upon the personality grooming. The children studying in private schools are found to be more confident and expressive. The children of influential families that are getting lavish amounts through the frequent remittances from abroad are getting education either in private schools situated in the close premise of the village or go to Khuiratta and Kotli in quality education institutions. The children of the village get religious education in the main mosque of the village by the *imam*.

The trends of getting education is increasing day by day because the villagers are well aware that uneducated people will not be able to get emigration with out certain levels of education. Moreover the villagers are found of giving English education to their children so that they prefer private schools.

3.10.2 Health facilities

There was a surgical complex nearby established by an emigrant settled in England that provides medical services to the villagers as well as to the people of other areas. There was also a FAP (First Aid Post) established by the government. Lady health visitors and lady health workers (LHW) were also

providing their services to the villagers. A lady health worker (LHW) has established her Health House (H.H) where she was providing family planning and mother child health services to the women. In case of serious ailment, people take their patients to Tehsil Headquarter Hospital (THQ), District Headquarter Hospital (DHQ) or Rural Health Center (RHC) either at Khuiratta or Kotli.

3.10.3 Electricity

The village was electrified during early eighties. Each and every household of the village have separate electricity connection through a separate transformer installed for the village Dhana. Because of the electricity, people use electric appliances like washing machines, televisions, refrigerators, computers, motors, iron, tape-recorders, fans, air-conditions, boilers, juicers, blenders, heaters, and other electrical appliances, which facilitated the villager's life. The problem of load shedding has overcome after the completion of Dhana Power Project. Some of the households possess UPS (Urgent Power Supply) and mechanical generators that are used on ceremonial occasions to counter the breakage of power supply.

3.10.4 Water Supply

There is no permanent water supply scheme in the village. The stream is the major source of water for all villagers. Some people have established their own-water supply from the stream through electric motors. There was a big well (*khu*) which was commonly used by the inhabitants of the village, while some of the families have installed hand pumps for getting underground water.

3.10.5 Fuel Resources

The villagers are deprived of gas facility though gas pipeline. They use gas cylinder and fire wood for cooking.

The fuel woods are the major source of the fuel in the village. The migrant's families can purchase woods from the stall and shift to the village on jeep. The gas cylinders are used by the migrant's families. Mostly the short time cooking tasks are completed on gas stove whereas the big tasks are completed on firewood.

3.10.6 Shops

The villagers visit the small bazaar situated at main road near the village to buy common use commodities like vegetable meat, cloth, footwear, grocery, flour

etc. The tailoring shops, bakeries, *karyana* (grocery), books and soft drinks are available in the bazaar. A small *khokha* (small shop mad of wood and tin) situated in the village also provide some of the daily usage items such as sweet, toffee, biscuits, milk packs, tea bags etc. The villagers occasionally visit the Khuiratta and Kotli bazaar to purchase major stuffs.

3.11 Recreational Facilities

There are two recreational facilities available in the village; on is the small park that is established with the joint efforts of the migrants. The park is filled with see-saw, falls, rock, roll, dangle, hang, sway and swing. The park is surrounded by a boundary wall and decorated with a variety of flowering plants and grass. This park is a major source of the recreation for the women and children.

A ground is situated in a corner of the village where the village's boys play cricket and volley ball at the evening. The pitch for playing cricket is paved with cement and the net and polls are installed on a side for volley ball. The ground is surrounded by the boundary stones and few plants are planted in a corner for shadow. The ground is especially crowded during the holidays of a young migrant.

Chapter No. 4

Emigration Trends and Remittances utilization

4.1 Emigration and Remittances

Migration is a phenomenon as old as human beings. The human beings have tendency of moving from one place to another for various socio-Political and economic reasons. Migration could be permanent or non permanent and voluntary or involuntary. It could be from one part to another of country or from one country to another. People always want to migrate because they are not satisfied with what they have and/or inspired by their destination because human beings want better socio economic position than they have it at present.

The migration and its different types, its allied factors and its various components have been the topic of interest for the Anthropologists in different periods of time, which shows the migration has always been the burning issue around the globe due to its controversial consequences not faced by the immigrant, his family and his country but the host country too. The process of migration exerts the socio-cultural, demographic and economic influences over both the areas of Emigration⁴⁶ and Immigration⁴⁷ through the process of adaptation, acculturation, amalgamation and assimilation; obviously, these areas hold prime importance for both the biological and social anthropologists.

According to Lewis's (1982);

“The researcher observed ‘spatial migration’ in the village consists of both internal and external migration. External or international migration was on larger scale than internal migration. Both type of migrations influenced the life of the village’s people and brought many changes. The focus of the study was on international migration to discover its causes, consequences both good and bad, use of remittances and investment strategies”.

Emigration can be defined as;

Migration means crossing the boundaries of political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period (Boyle et al 1998) while International Migration (Emigration) means crossing the frontiers which separates one of the world’s approximately two hundred states from one another.

One of the most promising outcomes of the Emigration for the community in particular and country in general is emigrant’s remittances.

46 Outflow of people from an area

47 Inflow of people to an area

Remittances can be defined as;
“The portion of an international migrant’s earnings sends back from the host country to the country of origin”.

Emigration and remittances utilization is closely associated with each other. The areas with high emigration will tend to receive more remittances. In turn it not only gives rise to change material culture rather altered the manner of thinking of the people.

4.2 History of Migration in the village

The process of Kashmiri migration to Britain took place in phases. The most important phase was from mid 1950s to 1960s. Migration took place from selected areas of azad Jammu Kashmir, in particular from the districts of Mirpur and Kotli.

In March 1846 British took over the control of Kashmir Valley but instead of annexing it in the British Indian rule transferred 'for ever in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh; all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies. This treaty was signed on 16th March 1846. Subsequently, various studies were carried out of the geography, economy, politics, cultures and ethnic composition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir by several British military and civil officers on their visit to Jammu Kashmir.

Other regular British visitors to Kashmir were the military and civil officers who either did not want or could not afford trips back home during summer holidays. For such officers Kashmir became an ideal place to escape the scorching heat of Indian plains during summer.

According to Yousaf Saraf (1977) in the summer of 1833 Colonel Thorpe came here to spend his holidays. More likely while socializing with the local elites he caught sight of the daughter of the local ruler and forgot everything else. Her name of was 'Jani' and she was exceptionally beautiful. The love at first sight blossomed to the point that the Col. found it impossible to leave without 'Jani'. He converted to Islam, married and brought her with him first to India and then Britain in mid 1830s.

One of their sons Robert Thorpe joined army and went to visit his 'motherland' in 1860s. By now Kashmir was formed into a princely Kingdom with Maharaja Ranbir Singh on the throne. While in Kashmir Lt. Robert Thorpe also became involved but not with the beauty but misery of Kashmir and wrote a famous book 'Cashmere Miss-government'. During his stay he traveled around in primary data on taxation, shawl industry, judiciary and police systems and the actual execution of various laws and polices. He wrote several articles severely criticizing British government for selling Kashmir and Maharaja Government for suppression and exploitation and argued for annexation of Kashmir in British India. According to father Biscoe who visited Kashmir in 1890 Thorpe was ordered by the Maharaja Government to leave Kashmir and on refusal was bounded with his *Khaatt* (cot) and carried out of the Kashmir boundaries by the soldiers. However, he managed to escape and returned to Srinagar but of no avail as next morning he was found dead after breakfast on 22nd November 1868. He was buried in the British cemetery at Sheikh Bagh Srinagar, Jammu & Kashmir.

(Shams Rehman)

These fascinating events paved the ways for the migration from Kashmir to Britain that later developed into chain migration along with the contribution of other factors.

People from Azad Jammu Kashmir, especially from the Mirpur district, started to work as industrial labour in Bradford and Birmingham well before the partition in 1947. However, this emigration was small and limited to a few hundred persons. In the 1950s and 1960s this number increased substantially. One of the reasons for this acceleration was that parts of Mirpur town and its surrounding areas were converted into a huge water-storage area as a result of a mega project, the Mangla Dam. The British government awarded the affectees of the project emigrant status as part of a compensation package since it was one of the international guarantors for this irrigation project. Professionals, especially doctors, also emigrated in small numbers to the UK and the USA during this period.

Large-scale emigration however, only began in the 1970s as a result of the building boom in the Middle East, first in the Gulf, and then in Saudi Arabia and Libya.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that working class person emigrating abroad are not the poorest of the poor but those who have skills and relatively, a higher level of education. This is because for emigration one needs considerable funds, information regarding employment opportunities abroad, knowledge of recruiting agencies, and emigration networks”

Migration System Theory suggests that:

“Migratory movements generally arise from the prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties”⁴⁸

Historically, the two exporting areas of Jammu Kashmiri migration had a tradition of sending at least one member of each family into other parts of the sub-continent for work to supplement the income of the extended family. From the district of Mirpur (of which Kotli was a sub district until the early 1970s) men joined the British merchant fleet operating from Mumbai (Bombay) as stokers and other arduous roles. Particularly during both the World Wars Kashmiris from Mirpur (at that time Kotli was a tehsil of Mirpur) became an important source of recruitment for the British.

Kashmiris also joined the armed forces of British India and like thousands of other servicemen from the sub-continent, served in the war with Allied forces in many parts of the world, both as part of the Kashmiri contingent and directly serving in the British Indian army. At the end of both World Wars some of those working on ships settled in Britain. These pioneers became an important factor in chain migration subsequently from Azad Jammu Kashmir in the 1950s.

Arguably, the central determinant of this phase of migration is considered to be the construction of the Mangla dam, on the confluence of the river Jhelum and its tributary the Poonch. As a result of the construction of the Mangla Dam; most fertile land in Mirpur including the old town of Mirpur itself was submerged under a hundred feet of water along with the graves of once living Kashmiris.

48 Stephen Castle and Mark J. Miller (2003) *The Age of Migration* (third edition) published by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN New York, p:26

The construction of the dam resulted in the displacement of at least twenty thousand families. The displacement of population, and the tradition of moving away from the region in search of work, contributed towards migration to Britain. The little compensation that the affected families received was put to use for a passage to Britain for at least a member of the family. The process of migration which could be described as chain migration thus came into operation.

Furthermore, British immigration controls in the 1960s contributed to the nature of settlement, particularly the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act (CIA). This Act, while placing restrictions on new economic migrants, nevertheless created legal opportunities for those already in Britain to bring in families and dependants. With the arrival of wives and children the 'transient' nature of single male migrants became steadily settled and permanent, thus bringing about new dimensions and imperatives for migrant settlers in social, cultural and religious domains.

With the passage of time, these early emigrants became role model and the source of inspiration and information for the neighbourhood. The process of migration got acceleration and the migration trend took its momentum with the successful journey and economic achievements of earlier Jammukashmiris. The earlier migrants, inspired, informed, motivated and sponsored other people of their kin group, biradri and Gran (village) to migrate, thus the chain migration started in the area. The trends of emigration is at its peak; a young person as enter in the working age, first look for an opportunity to migrate to UK, other European countries and then lastly for Arabian States. Every young person seeks information, explore opportunities for him and then makes efforts to manage his successful emigration. This situation has turned into craze in the village and it is reflected in everyday gossip taunts, messages and social commentary of the area. Many the singing competition (sher khawani) and dramas produced in local languages highlighted the desires and dreams of the young people before and after seeking emigration.

United Kingdom or Britain was the first country who welcomed the foreign immigrants but the increased inflow of skilled and unskilled labor damaged its job providing system, to decrease the inflow of people, some restrictive measure were taken by the British government and as a result the movement of people from Kashmir was restricted to some extent.

Meanwhile, as consequences of Shimla treaty the Cease fire Line on sacred land Jammu and Kashmir was converted in to Line of Control (LOC) in order to get

the Pakistani prisoners release from the Bangladesh. The movement of people of both sides of Jammu Kashmir across the border was blocked, which adversely affected the daily life of people.

In the 1970s the trends of migration to Arabian countries emerged at huge scale because of the friendly relations of the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto with the political elite of Gulf countries. The migration was facilitated for Pakistanis to Saudi Arabia, Libya and other rich countries. A large number of people from Azad Jammu & Kashmir and particularly from district Kotli migrated to earn their livelihood. But the craze of going to Britain remained in minds. Some of emigrants made successful efforts while working in Arabian countries to migrate to UK while many of them kept on working in oil rich states. These migrants made effective contribution in the national development, Socio-economic uplift of the area and alleviate the poverty and miseries of their families.

4.3 Types of migration

The migration and its different types have been the topic of interest among the anthropologists in different periods of time that shows that the migration has always been the burning issue around the globe due to its controversial consequences not faced by the immigrant, his family and his country but the host country too.

According to Lewis's (1982); views, the researcher observed 'spatial migration' in the village consists of both internal and external migration. External or international migration was on larger scale than internal migration. Both type of migrations influenced the life of the village's people and brought many changes. The focus of the study was on international migration to discover its causes, consequences both good and bad, use of remittances and investment strategies. By applying Nancis Gonzale's classification of migration discussed by her in a research paper 'Family Organization in Five Types of Migratory Labor', the researcher experimented some of the classifications common in the migration practices of village Dhana. Nancis represented the following types of migration:

- Seasonal migration (movement of people due to seasonal variation);
- Temporary migration;

- Continues migration (These people hold visas for long duration. During this period they keep on moving between the country of their origin and the country of their destination);
- Recurrent migration
- Permanent removal
- Permanent returnees

Temporary Migration, continuous Migration, Recurrent Migration, permanent removal and permanent returnees are the categories of the migration that are practiced in Dhana.

Firstly, permanent removal exists usually in the removal of the whole family or few of its members. The permanent returnees are those who went abroad but due to some reasons they have to come back. Those returnees who wanted to remain abroad but because of facing various circumstances had come back, while some of them forced to return due to non-adjustment in an alien culture.

Table #7

Households of permanent returnees	Households of Permanent Removals	
	Household of permanent removal (on visit)	Households whose on or more members are migrant (s)
9 (15%)	4 (6.66%)	47 (78.33%)

Table 4.1: Types of the households of Migrants

It has been explored that 78.33% households have one or more migrants, 6.66% are those are permanent removal 15% of households to permanent returnees. In permanent removal two types of households were found:

- (i) Households of migrants from where one or two or more family members moved abroad;
- (ii) Households of migrants whose all members' have settled abroad permanently but kept on visiting the village at different intervals.

The following major types of migration have been found in the village:

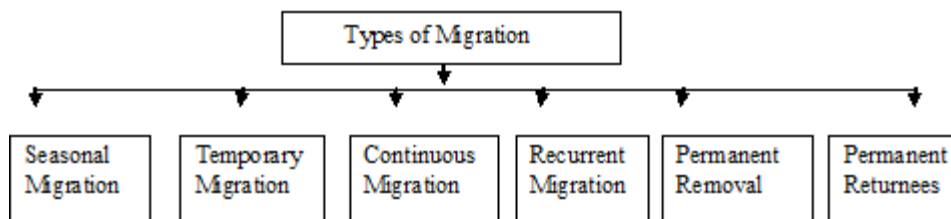


Figure4.1: Types of migration in the village

All of those settled in foreign countries, many of them have left their families, relatives behind, they visit their left-overs whenever possible, usually they visit after fixed intervals to see their relatives or to join any family/community occasion like marriage death etc.

4.4 Reasons / Behavioral determinants of the migration Trends

The movement of people across international boundaries has enduring economic, social, and cultural implications in both origin and destination. During the last several decades, an increasing number of people have undertaken long journeys not only to find a source of livelihood in foreign lands, but to support family members left behind through the transfer of remittances.

The exposure to migrants' wealth and status symbols is frequently said to have given rise to the emergence of a culture of migration, in which international migration is perceived as the main avenue of upwards socio-economic mobility.

(Fadlollah, 2000: 132-46)

There were certain behavioural determinants behind their craze of emigration among the villagers which act as a strong reason behind the decision of emigration.

A large number of studies have been conducted on migration and it has been identified that the people move not for one or two reasons but combinations of several reasons. Dr. Mohammad A. Rauf defines reasons of migration in his article as:

“Migration is the Response by humans to a series of economic, social and political stimuli within the

environment”

(Rauf 1985: 6)

There are a number of economic, social and political factors by which the process of migration can be explained. Kashmiris as economic migrants like other South Asian and Commonwealth immigrants were affected by the ‘push pull’ effect as well as other factors which subsequently developed into chain migration.

(Anwar, 1979)

As economic migrants, Kashmiri men left their homeland with the intention of working in Britain for a short period and returning with savings which would be used to improve their standard of living. Kashmiri migrants first settled in the industrial heartland of Britain, mainly in towns and cities such as Bradford, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds and Luton on account of the availability of unskilled work. At this stage Kashmiri migrants considered their presence in Britain as transient rather than permanent, thus obviating any necessity for assimilation or integration.

(Zafar Khan)

There are various motivational, forcing and/or attracting behavioral determinants behind the increasing craze and emerging trends of emigration.

4.4.1 Motivational and/or forcing Determinants of Emigration trends in the village

There are various combinations of different factors which are motivating the villagers to proceed abroad. Most of these factors are about the origin. There is a series of other factors that compel a person to leave the village (push forces) and be attracted to foreign countries (pull forces) as a ‘model of push’ and pull forces given by Herberle (1983). Both of the factors seem operative in the village. The researchers interviewed 60 households having one or more members are abroad/have returned back due to certain reasons. There are various reasons that motivating and/or forcing the villagers to make their ways across the seven seas.

The desire for earning money and to achieve better living standards has been found as a major cause of migration, sixty percent of the people migrated for earning money and getting high living standards, five percent moved to rejoin their families, five percent have got married with Europeans’ nationals, twenty percent moved to the area of high opportunity because they had no sources of

earnings at origin, four percent of the villagers moved to meet the heavy expenses of various life events and construct a house, four percent of the villagers migrated to perform pilgrimage, whereas one percent of the people of the village went abroad on an official posting while some of them proceeded abroad to meet their relatives.

The Presence of relatives and/or friends abroad acted as a role model for the villagers. They are the great sources of information, inspiration and sponsorship for other villagers.

Migration through marriage with a foreign national is another mean of migration under practice for the last twenty five years. Those who belonged to lower middle class migrate through marriage; work there as a wage labor or factory worker and earn money forgetting high standards of living.

:

- The lack and decline in natural resources in/around the village (Land, Forest, water, and environment), the demographic growth in the village and small land holdings increased dependency on the capital which could only be generated from foreign countries.⁴⁹
- The decline in subsistence economy due to less average rain fall in the area has led the villagers to move to the foreign countries.
- The villagers used to have low living standard and lack economic opportunities, these conditions had plunged them in suffocation and obsession.
- The loss of employment and having no opportunity for employment has led the villagers to make their way towards foreign countries.
- They prefer to hire a more luxurious life and are contained by the living condition abroad.
- Dependency, such as migration of a bride to join her husband and vice versa.

49 People have abandoned their traditional and local subsistence patterns (horticulture and cattle rearing) because of the low average rain fall for the last few years.

- The villagers making their efforts to seek emigration due to inherent intentions of the Socio Economic uplift of family

- The massive and widespread conflicts with neighbors and/or relatives forced a number of villagers to go to foreign countries
- Political repercussions' and restriction on the movement across eastern border due to Jammu & Kashmir Conflict.⁵⁰

The information of valuable opportunities in the area of destination lead the mass migration. The new emigrants are facilitated by their kin relatives, friends and those having territorial affiliation with them. These people do not face any problem in finding jobs and earning money. That nature of migration caused chain migration in the village.

Unstable economic conditions have stroked people to migrate by leaving their homes and families behind, those who were dependent on agriculture were forced to migrate due to unstable conditions of agriculture produce not sufficient for their needs; moreover, uneducated and unskilled who could not find any earning opportunity in their country, migrated to labor oriented countries because doing labor in alien culture was not difficult for them. But unfortunately, the new movers could not get more to stabilize their families economic position as compared to those who migrated 10 or 20 years before.

4.4.2 Attracting Determinants of Emigration trends in the village

There are certain factors that attract the villagers to take the decision of migration. Most of these are about the destination.

- The villagers are attracted by the opportunities to earn a large portion of income and expected to have better economic opportunities in the area of destination.
- The earlier migrant from the villagers have superior opportunities in the area of destination.

⁵⁰ People have abandoned their traditional and local subsistence patterns (horticulture and cattle rearing) because of the low average rain fall for the last few years.

- Provision of financial aid in the form of security given by government of Britain to the emigrants.
- The villagers have assumed that they would have more opportunities to get more and more money;
- The villagers are well aware that the price and value of foreign currency in comparison to Pakistani currency is much higher.
- The villagers are expected to have good educational and employment opportunities for their children in an environment with more political freedom.
- The villagers are intended to improve Socio-economic status of their families and they have perceived that emigration is the best way to meet their intentions.
- Being inspired by the earlier emigrants, the villagers try their level best to follow the beaten path.

For the villagers; the Britain was more appropriate for better earnings and personal freedom as compared to the Arabian countries. It is the reason that motivates them to make their journey to Britain without opting to depart anywhere else.

4.4.3 Other determinants of Emigration trends in the village

Besides these motivational, forcing and attractive determinants that has promoted the emigration in the village as suggested by the transitional theory are:

“Rapid improvements in the technologies of transportation and communication made it increasingly easy for migrants to maintain the close links with their areas of origin. The people migrate between a number of places where they have economic social and cultural linkages”⁵¹

The availability of the Telephone, Television and more recently the facility of Mobile phone and the availability of internet service in the area has facilitated and promoted the emigration trends in the area. The young people have access to the information regarding the institutes and their admission process abroad on

51 Stephen Castle and Mark J. Miller (2003) The Age of Migration (third edition) published by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN New York, p:28

much more faster rate than the previous decade. These determinants promoted the emigration trends among youth through student visa.

Emigrants from 'Dhana' are in close touch with the village's life through constant interaction via, fax, letters, E-mail, phone calls and through message on favourite T.V programs to their families and friends.

The villagers have perceived that a person either working in Kotli or in England are equally distant from the village so one should not be worried of missing the village while working in foreign countries. Due to fast mode of travelling, the migrants can join the family on special occasion. Remittances and messages are also transferred through the other emigrants because due to the mass migration in the area the probability of migrant's travel is much more than the earlier days. Remittances are preferably used to improve the communication system of household. It's the reason that the 'in-kind' remittances consists of TV, mobile phones, computers and Lap-Top.

It has been observed that whenever a migrant asked his children's demands as somebody would be approaching them soon, it would probably a sophisticated and stylish mobile phone with options of camera, bluetooth and internet options in it. The demand for lap-top on migrant return is common among young people of the village.

The mobile phones have become an important gift by the migrants to their relatives and friends instead to the watch and Tape-recorders.

Table #8

S.No	Reason of Emigration	Numbers of Migrants
1	Socio-economic uplift of family	185
2	Better earning opportunities in the area of destination	148
3	Inspired by earlier migrants	125
4	Low living standard, suffocation and obsession in the village	123
5	Decline in traditional subsistence patterns	147
6	Intentions for luxurious life/ improvement in living standard	107
7	Conflicts and political repercussions	117
8	Marriage with a foreign national/family reunion	99
9	Freedom, better opportunities and value of foreign countries	88
10	Fast mode of communication and travelling	75
11	Financial aid by governments of the developed countries	82
12	Intentions to meet the cost of various life events and establish a business on return	82
13	Studies	45
14	Pilgrimage/visit	119
15	Others	55

Table 4.2: Reasons of Emigrations

The push and pull model of Herberle (1983), seems operative in the village with some additional and alternative options.

The above mentioned reasons are the major push and pull determinants of the emigration from the village. A large number of people have migrated for various reasons so that the percentage for any specific reason was not drawn. However, it seems that the major intentions behind the decision of emigration are the socio-economic uplift of the family because the villagers consider the emigration as a step towards the advancements. The other motives for emigration includes that the villagers do not have earning opportunities in the village because the traditional mode of subsistence has abandoned due to the environmental and strategic conditions. The villagers have assumed that there are not vast distances in between the village and foreign destination after the invasion of fast mode of communication and traveling so that they do not hesitate to move for longest journeys for earnings. A large number of the villagers have inspired by the socio-economic status and living standard of the earlier migrants, they have perceived better economic opportunities in the area of destination, they are well aware of the freedom of expression, value of

foreign currency and the financial aids given by the government of developed countries. Some of the villagers were forced to alienate the conflict with their relatives and neighbors; a large number was feeling suffocation and obsession by low living standard and they were wishful to have a luxurious life. A handful number of the villagers have migrated to rejoin their families and many others have got married with foreign nationals. A significant proportion of the villagers have migrated for pilgrimage and visit, whereas, many others have gone for their studies.

4.5 Phases of External migration

The massive scale external migration was started in early 60s with the help of migration pioneers of the villagers that correspond to what Aurora has described'

“Once a tradition of migration is established, it acts as a social force and many people who may not have economic reasons to migration are drowning into it”.

(Auroza 1967: 27)

The first of these was the male labor migration of the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s were motivated largely by the perceptions of high wages; the second is the family reunion that occurred from the mid 1960s through to the 1980s. The third phase, that of marriage migration, beginning in the 1980s and continuing throughout the 1990s to the present day. The pioneer migrants were the investment of their families in the hope that their remittances would be used to improve landholdings, built a better house, marry a family member and start a business. These earlier migrants identified themselves as breadwinners, migrating to foreign countries to solve their families' economic problems and raise their social status. Men's opportunities for migration were thus shaped by their gendered roles as producers, and by their access to the migration networks. Male networks, mostly consisting of male kin or friends from the village, formed bedrock of migration and settlement by providing the information and contacts needed for travel, accommodation and employment.

During the first phase of migration it was men alone who went abroad. Wives and children were left at home with their families, to whom periodic visits were made after intervals.

Table# 9

Sr. No	Phases	Strategy	Period	Travel Through	Documents	Present Scenario
1	Labour Migration	Beginning of migration towards Britain	Before 50-60 Years	Ship/Ferry (launch)	Passport/ Without any legal document	Chain Migration
		Migration of Elder Child	40-50 years before	Aero Plane	Voucher with Passport	
		Labour migration towards oil rich states of Arab	40-45 years ago	Aero plane	Passport	
2	Family Reunion	Migration of Families	Before 30-40 Years	Plane	Visit Sponsor and Passport	
		Obstacle in Migration	Before 20-30 Years	Plan	Non availability of permanent visa, Nationality could be achieved through wife or husband	
3	Marriage migration	Mass Migration Towards other countries	Before 10-20 Years	Plane	Through Marriage with a UK or Europe's nationality holders,	
4	Student Migration	Mass Migration towards Europe	For the last 10 Years	Plane	Studentship	

Table 4.3: Phases of external Migration

The table shows the different periods about the movement from the area of origin to the area of destination. Initially, it was a slow and gradual process. There were only four to five people who migrated in earlier stages and after settling there, they managed to take their families and relatives. After settling there, the families, particularly the wives achieved better facilities especially in Britain and managed further migration of their relatives. In a way the labor moved at first stage, then their families joined them and marriage migration came into practice. Latter on some of the villagers' looked for emigration on the basis of studies; all of these phases gave rise to chain migration. The massive movement disturbed the social and economic fabric of host countries; they were

afraid of further incoming of immigrants and were making new policies to stop the threat.

“Once the movement is established the migrants mainly follow the beaten path and /or helped by relatives and friends already in the area of immigration. Networks based on family or on common origin help provide shelter, work, and assistance in coping with bureaucratic procedures and support in personal difficulties”⁵²

The British government introduced strict laws some years back to stop the great trend of migration. With the introduction of new policies, it was very difficult for everyone to migrate through proper channel, by deviating from the laws, for permanent settlement abroad; the people were getting visas through illegal sources like illegal practicing agents and taking risks of playing with life on the harsh borders and vindictive seas in order to reach at their desired destination.

4.6 Countries of Emigration

There are several countries which are highly preferred by the villagers to be their desired destination. United Kingdom is the first priority of the villagers, then other European countries and North American countries, and then comes the oil rich states of Arab and lastly the Far East. For the last twenty years after the strict rules and laws passed by Britain Government, the trend of migration changed from Britain to other European and Middle Eastern countries. The data (of earlier migrants) presented in the table also support the choice and preferences of the villagers regarding their destination. The high preferences for UK is justified by the villagers by stating,

"Banda apna alaqa, maan baap, pehan pra chori teh karoon bar ve reh teh fir kusay changi jagha jai na" (A person leaving the village, his parent, sibling and home should move somewhere very excellent to live).

Table# 10

Sr.No	Countries	Households	Percentage
1	United kingdom	110	43
2	Germany	21	8
3	Greece	09	3.54
4	Sweden	04	1.57
5	Norway	02	.78
6	Spain	11	4.33
7	America	04	1.57
8	Canada	02	.78
9	Saudi Arabia	47	18.50
10	Dubai	28	11
11	Kuwait	09	3.54
12	Behrin	05	2
13	Muskat	02	.78
Total		254	100

Table 4.4: Courtiers of emigration

4.7 Financial resources for migration

It would be strange to note that the number of earlier emigrants of village did not face problems for arranging finances for their migration to foreign countries. The close relative and biradri member help each, while some of the villagers encountered numerous problems for arranging finances for their travelling.

Table#11

Sr. No	Sources	No. of Migrants	Percentage
1	Loan/help from Friends/ Relatives/husband	67	26.37
2	Own Money	43	16.92
3	Loan from bank and Money lender on interest	32	12.59
4	Government	03	1.18
5	Communal collection	11	4.33
6	Remittances send by the early Migrants	76	29.92
7	Selling wife's jewelry, cattle and land	22	8.66
		254	100

Table 4.5: Sources through which people managed money for Emigration

It was observed that many of the villagers went abroad through the sponsorship of their relatives and village fellows particularly during the financial crises. Accordingly, 33.3% migrants easily went without facing any problems, 1.18% went through their official mechanism, 26.33% took loan from banks and money lenders, while 16.92% of the villagers used their own financial resources which indicate that some of the people were financially strong. A number of villagers (8.66%) went abroad by selling land, cattle, jewelary and shop, 4.33% were supported by community and 29% used remittances.

4.8 Problems faced in Seeking Emigration and during the stay in foreign countries

The villagers leaving their country of origin and moving across an international boundary have to face many problems; the earlier migrant of the village may act as a great source of support in the country of destination.

Problems faced by migrants in foreign countries were usually related to their lodging and boarding, daily expenses, efforts for their employment and so on. The newly arrived people also face problems due to their dependency over others till their settlement, regarding their accommodation, housing problems, non-availability of jobs, problems related to language, unawareness about the cultural norms localities. Already well settled migrants also face problems for supporting new-comers relatives, friends, villagers and *biradri* members because of continuous demands in adaptation of cultural traits of foreign countries. The illegal status of the migrant is itself a big problem, not only for the migrant but for the person supporting him.

The behavior of employers, supervisors, was found to be less satisfactory and even arrogant. The return migrants from the Saudi Arabia have explored that the dual nature of Saudi laws is a kind of hanging sword over the head of *kharjis* (foreigners in Saudi Arabia), because the Saudi laws protect their wrongdoers national on the exploitation of lawful foreigners.

A few of the villagers and return migrants told that agents and sub-agents had collected their passports and identity cards along with an advance payment at the time a promise of overseas employment was made. This practice prevents applicants from approaching other agents. If the agent is subsequently unable to place the applicant, the advance payment is returned not at one time, but in installments.

Exploitation through ambiguous job contracts; migrants are sometimes presented with a new contract to sign, often in Arabic or English, languages they do not understand. Fixed amount is paid to the *kafeel*(a sponsor) for getting a legal status in Arabian countries. When their contract expires, even if renewal is not difficult in theory to secure, migrants still have to pay for it; some people had returned because they could not afford such big amounts.

Recruiting agents, family, relatives, friends and community members with migration experience provide initial contacts and information. When a person emigrates, every individual that they know represents social capital in the form of one more contact in the destination country.

The villagers saw several advantages of using sub-agents: they were familiar with the individual's personal backgrounds and also had knowledge of the agency's requirements. If problems arose later, the sub-agent could easily be approached to help resolve these or to return any advance payments made.

An *azad*(free) visa is much expensive but it allows the migrant to work for any employer or company while abroad, in turn the migrant has to pay a fix amount to a *kafeel* (employer) to get him legalize.

4.9 Characteristics of migrants

Majority of men of working age are the emigrants from the village, it is therefore, important to examine variables such as the period of migration, countries to which migrated, age, sex, status, educational status and occupation of migrants to understand the phenomena of remittance and its use according to income level. All characteristics were discussed with reference to 60 sampled households.

4.9.1 Period of migration

The period and duration of migration depends upon the creation of economic conditions and making of assets in the village and other places. Period of migration has been started by the end of 1950.

Table #12

Sr. No	Period	Permanent removal			Permanent returnees		
		M	F	T	M	F	T
1	1950-60	17	6	23	9	2	11
2	1961-70	65	18	83	42	5	47
3	1971-80	105	56	161	76	21	97
4	1981-90	145	78	223	135	61	196
5	1991-2000	187	93	280	195	85	280
6	2001-2011	211	67	278	106	57	163
Total		730	318	1048	563	231	794

Table 4.6: Period of emigration

The data shows that the pace of emigration and return was slow in the earlier decades which rose significantly during the upcoming decades. It has gained acceleration during the 1971-80. The villagers have not only migrated to the foreign countries but the earlier migrants have also returned to the village.

The data collected from the sampled households shows that both the males and females have migrated from the village however the proportion of female's migration was low than the male's migration. From the beginning, 730 males and 318 females have migrated, out of that 563 males and 231 females have returned to the village. The difference of the permanent removal and permanent return shows that; at present, 167 males and 87 females are out of country.

The lineage and neighborhood loyalties played a significant role in the early emigration, majority of the people moved with the help and co-operation of earlier emigrants. A number of the villagers have returned back due to the growing age and they provided a chance to the next generation to go abroad.

4.9.2 Age of migrants

The age of migrants was another characteristic of migrants that has a profound impact on the working conditions.

According to the given collected data, 43.9% migrants were under 20–29 years, migrated to foreign countries to earn money and achieve better standards of living. People of theyoung age were considered more active and devoted to their work. To migrate in late fifties, itwas regarded as undesirable. Those who migrated in young age of 20 years have completed their tasks and came back by attaining the age of 50 years and above after spending major part of their lives.

Table #13

Sr. No	Age Level	Permanent Removal			Permanent Returnees		
		M	F	T	M	F	T
1	1-10	09	07	16	-	-	-
2	11-20	14	15	29	05	02	7
3	21-30	43	18	61	10	05	15
4	31-40	54	24	78	16	08	24
5	41-50	33	17	50	19	09	28
6	51-60	10	04	14	27	14	41
7	61-70	03	02	05	22	12	34
8	71-80	01	-	01	07	07	14
Total		167	87	254	106	57	163

Table4.7: Age Distribution of permanent removal and permanent returnees

In terms of the age of the people ever migrated or returned from the foreign countries to the village eight age categories from the year one to eighty years of age. At present nine males and seven females of age 1-10 years have either born in foreign countries or migrated from the village, fourteen males and 15 females of age 21-30 years, 54 males and 24 female of age 31-40, 33 males and 17 females of age 41-50, 10 males and 4 females of age 51-60 years, 3 males and 2 females of age 61-70 years and one male of age 71-80years have migrated to a number of foreign countries. At present, the village has a number of returned migrants; five males and two females of age 11-20 years, ten males and five females of age 12-30 years, sixteen males and eight females of age 31-40 years, nineteen males and nine females of age 41-50 years, twenty seven males and fourteen females of age 51-60, twenty two males and twelve females of age 60-70 years and seven males and seven females of age 71-80 years have migrated to foreign counties at least once in their life but they have permanently returned to the village.

4.9.3 Educational Status of migrants

The literacy rate in village was very low in earlier days. The table presented below shows that majority of the male migrants at the time of their emigration were either matriculate or less than matriculation.

Table #14

Sr.No	Educational Status	No. of Male	No. of Female	Total
1	Illiterate	29	12	41
2	Pre-Matriculation	47	17	64
3	Matriculation	33	21	54
4	Inter/ Graduation	35	20	55
5	Master-Above	09	04	13
6	Not Started yet	14	13	27
Total		167	87	254

Table 4.8: Educational level of Migrants

The trend of education among the children of migrants has tremendously changed; they are getting latest education in foreign schools and universities rather than getting jobs. In Britain, children not only continue their studies but were also engaged in part time jobs. People who did their matriculation level at the time of migration, were in government service particularly employed in Army and Navy. The children of migrants in the village are also getting education in English medium and quality education schools. As the education is helpful in attaining emigration, the villagers make efforts to reach certain levels of education to get the emigration successfully.

4.9.4 Occupation of Migrants

According to the socio-economic survey, 17.8 percent (42 people) migrants were engaged in different driving, while 6 percent of males and females are factory workers. The major job adopted by 22.44 percent of the people was of wage labor. The percentage of various occupations is shown in the table below.

Table #15

S.No	Occupation	No. of Migrants	Percentage
1	Driver	43	17.8
2	Factory Worker	15	06
3	Wage labour	57	22.44
4	Government Servant	05	1.96
5	Shopkeeper	11	4.33
6	Tailor	06	2.36
7	Business	13	5.11
8	Waiter	25	9.84
9	Teacher	03	1.18
10	Newspaper Seller	07	2.75
11	Students	13	5.11
12	House wife and Children	31	12.20
13	Others	25	9.84
	Total	254	100

Table 4.9: Occupation of Migrants

Permanent migrants were either driving taxi or were working as wage-labor in the factories, while women were serving as teachers, house wife and factory workers. The position of highly qualified people was the same due to meager opportunities of proper jobs.

4.9.5 Income of emigrants

Majority of the migrants are getting Rs.30, 000–60,000 not only in European countries but also Arab countries. 99% taxi drivers are getting income under Rs.60, 000 to 70,000 per month in Britain while workers of the same occupation in Arab countries are getting Rs.35, 000–40,000 per month. The opportunity to get more and more money was brought people towards adopting taxi driving. It might be the reason that people prefer to go to England rather than any other countries. Saving and investment totally depends upon the degree of income of migrants.

4.9.6 Frequency of home visit

Majority of people (44.88 percent) visit their homeland usually after two years due to heavy cost of traveling, visa restrictions and children's education. Some of the migrants, some of them prefer to visit on different occasions like marriage, death, construction of houses, sickness of parents or on Eids.

Table #16

S.No	Frequency of Home Visit	Numbers of Emigrants	Percentage
1	Quarterly	5	1.96
2	Bi-annual	13	5.11
3	Annually	38	15
4	After two years	114	44.88
5	After three or more years	32	12.59

6	Very rarely	6	2.36
7	On urgent and ceremonial occasions	46	18.11
Total		254	100

Table 4.10: Frequency of home visit

4.9.7 Past and present economical conditions

Past always plays significant role in creating and building new and existing position for the present. The migration from the village began to alleviate the poverty and uplift the socio economic status of the families. The earnings of emigrants in foreign countries and frequent flow of remittance have changed economic conditions of the villagers.

4.9.7.1 Economical condition before migration

By their caste, the people of Dhana village are Gujjars, Jatts, Rajputs, Maliks, Mughals, syeds, *Taili* (cotton carder), *musalis* and *nai*. According to the people, except three or four extended families, others were living in severe economic crises, while the Gujjars and Jatts were financially better. There was no trend of education in the village and all the subsistence were driven out of agriculture and cattle. People used to seek health from *pirs* and/or applied traditional methods. There were strong communal ties and all the heavy tasks were carried out with the participation of all the villagers. Kinds and services were frequently exchanged with each other to fulfill the needs of all the villagers. People used to live in small *Kacha* houses, mostly along with their animals because they could not establish separate living portions due to their severe economic conditions.

4.9.7.2 Economical condition after migrants

Modern economic structure emerged after the migration which has replaced barter system with cash system. A person desiring to go abroad has to spend handful money that is required to fulfill the visa and travel expenses.

To meet the expenses of migration, people were compelled to manage their travelling cost by taking loans from their relatives and friends. The repayment of loans is the first priority after the migration.

Due to the frequent flow of money, people spend it excessively on every day usage, building big and sophisticated houses and all the other expenses are drawn out of the remittances.

Migration exerted impacts on changing economic status of the people, through the flow of remittances, 53% lower class people shifted to upper class, 28.12%

of middle class have moved to 43.75% higher upper class that changed the whole social situation of the village; the 18.75% of upper class has risen to 34.37% due to economic improvements. The migration has contributed in the decline of old socio-ethnic hierarchies because the professional castes have entered into the mainstream.

Everything is purchased from bazaar. Land and cattle are no more the major source of subsistence. Many villagers have abandoned their lands or temporarily gave it to the poor people of allied areas. *Pirs* (faith healers) and quakes are no more consulted to deal with ailments rather specialist doctors are preferably consulted to seek advice and medicines for the treatment of various ailments. Big and palatial houses are constructed and stylish cars and motor bikes are purchased out the remittances. All these determinants reflect that the villagers have significantly improved their economic conditions.

4.10 Sources applied for Emigration

The source through which migrants went abroad was important to discover for the migrants and their families. The basic sources information and support were the kinship and friendship ties through which people went to foreign countries. Moreover, a pioneer emigrant Mr. Ghafoor Gujjar also facilitated his family friends, relatives and other known persons of the village Dhana for migration, majority of people from the village moved with the help of others, while by using other sources as highlighted in the table below:

Table#17

Sr. No	Strategy	No. of Migrants	Percentage	Sources	No. of Migrants	Percentage
1	Employment visa	58	22.83	Kinship relation / Relatives	48	18.89
2	Studies	42	16.53	Friends	16	6.29
3	Marriage/Paper Marriage	25	9.84	Marriage/Paper Marriage	36	14.17
4	Tourist/visits	27	10.62	Agent	54	21.25
5	Crossing Borders/ illegal means	15	5.90	Government/OEC	13	5.11
6	Pilgrimage	46	18.11	Illegal means	15	5.90
7	Family Reunion	24	9.44			
8	Sponsorship by relatives/friends	11	4.33	pilgrimage	46	18.11
	Others	6	2.36	Others	26	10.23
	Total	254	100		254	100

Table 4.11: Sources through which the villagers used to seek Emigration

The above statistics shows that the villagers have applied various strategies to move towards foreign countries; 22.83 percent people migrated on employment visa, 18.53 percent migrated on student visa, 9.84 percent migrated on marriage, 10.62 percent migrated as tourist/visitors, 5.90 percent crossed the international borders, 18.11 percent migrated on pilgrimage visa, 9.45 percent migrated for family reunion, 4.33 percent migrated on sponsorship by a friend/relative and 2.3 percent of the people migrated on other kinds of visas.

The migrants have applied various sources to seek successful emigration; 18.89percent people applied their kinship relationships, 6.29 percent of the people applied friendship, 14.17 percent got married with a foreign national, 21.25 percent went through an agent, 5.11 percent gone through government and OEC, 18.11 percent went on pilgrimage whereas 5.90 percent have migrated through illegal means.

4.11 Strategies Applied by Migrants to get Emigration

The earlier emigrants act as role model and the trends of emigration is increasing day by day and the villagers apply various techniques to seek Emigration which ranges from an employment visa for oil rich states to crossing an international border illegally in order to enter in the developed state of Europe.

4.11.1 Employment Visa

Employment based visa is the best strategy of villagers ever intended to seek Emigration. The people of the village interested in emigration seek employment visa for Arabian countries through the sincere efforts of their relatives and friends; who are already working in those countries, or through the travel agents and OEC. The request for an employment visa is made by the elder of a young person to somebody who is in foreign countries. The other young boys come to know about a visa opportunity through their peers or through the newspapers where these opportunities are advertised by the recruiting agents.

The preparation starts with getting a passport. For some days the young boys keep their passport in their front pocket letting know everybody that he is planning to go abroad. Then the passport is submitted to the travel agency with a little or full fee in advance. The efforts are made to find trustworthy agents and information is obtained from earlier experienced. Mostly the photo copy of passport is directly send to someone in UAE in order to get a direct by name visa or passport is submitted to the travel agent through a trustworthy intermediate person in order to alleviate frauds.

In the next step efforts are made to cure the hepatitis and other common diseases that are the main hurdle for the young people to go abroad. For the treatment of these diseases *hakeems* are preferably consulted for their earlier success stories. If the candidate has successfully gone through the medical examination it ensures that the visa would be stamped by the embassy. Afterward the candidate applies for insurance and NICOP and preparations are made to leave. The person intended to leave is called on lunch and dinner invitation by his relatives and friends where the past incidents are recalled and expectations regarding the reunion in future are made. Meanwhile the *rishta* (spouse selection) arrangements are made by the parents for the boy and marriage is delayed till their arrival back.

On the eve of leaving all the relatives, neighbors and friends get together in the house of departee' where all are served with food and tea and sit for late at night while making fun and poetry competition. On the next morning all get together again and the scenario turns sorrowful direction and sorrows are shed over the departure. All people make prayer for successful return while embracing the departee'. Some time a remembrance photographic session is held in which the old people are specially represented along with the departee. Because it is commonly expected that old ones may die before the arrival of the person going abroad and it is their last session together. All the people disperse after the departure and only few join him till the town and only one or two close persons join him to say see-off at airport. The departee(s) keep on looking back until the house and village is out of seen.

Mr. Mehboob was the member of poor family living in the village. His father used to earn livelihood through a hard job of working in the coal mines. Mehboob joined Pakistan Army in order to support his father because he was elder among the family members. Latter on he got married with his Mother's sister's daughter, and then supported his sisters to get married. Fortunately he was employed in the Army Medical Corp (AMC). After his retirement he applied for an employment visa for Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). There he had earned handsome amount. He sends remittance remittances to his father to fulfill the everyday household needs. He spends several years in Saudi Arabia, but it was not his final destination because he was intended to reach United Kingdom (UK). He was interested to educate his children in better institutions, but the quality school was not available in the village and he could not bear the expenses of shifting his family to the city.

He collected an amount of money with his intention to start a business in Kotli for the sake of the education of his children. He came back and established a hotel in the city. He moved his family in a rented house in a corner of the city by letting his parents and a younger brother in the village.

Meanwhile he continued his efforts for reaching UK. Luckily, he goes a visit visa for Britain through an agent for the duration of six months. During his visit he joined a transplant center in Birmingham with the support of an earlier emigrant. Afterward he successfully got a work permit and latter on became a UK national. He called all his children and wife to UK. He sends remittances to his brother in the village who has constructed a big house and a plaza in Kotli and raised the standard of his hotel.

4.11.2 Student visa

Getting Emigration through student visa is common among the youth of the village. The efforts for the attainment of student visa have accelerated after the influx of internet services in the area. Many young people apply for admission in various colleges and universities of UK and other EU countries. After getting admission letter the arrangements regarding the bank statement and visa application are made. In this process people manage money through the collection from friends and relatives; other people consult with travel agents who charge interest for a genuine bank statement.

Young boys with low educational background run their admission and visa process through the travel agent who charge forty to fifty thousands including the charges for bank statement.

A student visa is achieved in five to seven lacs rupees including college fee, embassy fee, and agent fee and travel charges. The duration of such visa ranges from one to two years.

Zeshan raza, a young boy of the village told me that one of his masair (mother sister's son) went to UK three years ago on student visa by spending seven lacs. He used to attend his classes for four days a week during the first half of the day, for the rest of the time he worked on a departmental store. He earned money to pay the college dues, afford his living cost and maintained his legal status. He regularly sends money to his family and saved a sum of money which he brought on his return with him. He celebrated marriage with spending a large amount of the money. He then applied for his wife's student visa and now they are earning in UK.

This strategy is applied by people who have enough money that could be spend just to pay fees for few semesters at earlier stages. People can enter in EUCs/America with a different visa and they can prolong their stay by applying for a student visa afterwards. In this strategy a person takes admission in a college in UK and other European countries by paying its fee.

Mr. Zahoor elaborated the story of his elder brother. Masood went to United States in 2006 by marrying with paternal uncle's daughter. Their post marital life was not successful and the conflicts lead them towards separation. He changed his status by applying for a student visa. He took admission in some private college in Washington and paid his fees for the first semester. He got extension in his stay because his status was changed to a student. He had to live a hand to mouth life after paying college fee he had no money to bear his living cost. His uncle's family in Washington expelled him out of their house because they thought

Masood will not be able to get a permanent status and would be dangerous to them. They were afraid that FBI. can become suspicious on them because of Masood's presence. Masood managed his accommodation with another Pakistani family and got a job in a restaurant. After few days he went to an attorney who advised him to apply for a labor certificate or a work permit for which he had to pay lawyer 2000 dollars, he kept on using his credit for his college fees, living cost and attorney's fees. Finally, when he got a work permit he showed him self a bankrupt so all of his credit became half and now he could work. He started working at a toll plaza at nights and worked at a gas station in the morning time that gas station was of an Indian who sponsored him and he got his green card after five years that is in 2011. Now he is working to collect a sum of money in order to come back and get married again.

4.11.3 Tourist Visa

Become a tourist in order to seek emigration to UAE, UK and any other European and American country is another strategy ever applied by the villagers. Many villagers have successfully achieved Tourist visa for EUCs, particularly for UK. This strategy needs heavy bank statements in order to assure the authorities that you have enough money to travel and manage living costs during journey. The tourists travel with the hope that at least he would be able to earn his traveling cost and attains an international exposure with minute expenditures. If the tourist got much success than expected before it will be a bright turn for the whole family.

Mir Muhammad told me that his son Muhammad Akbar was fond of going to Great Britain. He had his own shop in main bazaar Khuiratta where he used to sell husk bundles, fire wood and flour. He was married and had three sons and one daughter He was hardly able to manage daily living of his family. Yusaf was another early migrant and a good friend of Akbar. He was well aware of the Akbar's interest in emigration to UK. Once the Yusaf was on leave, he informed the Akbar that the Govt. of UK has relaxed tourist visa policy for the people above sixty years of age. Yusaf encourage him to apply for visit visa as early as possible. Akbar managed his actual bank statement by selling jewelry of his wife and little amount he borrowed from his friend. He submitted his visa application through an agent whose success rate is very high for UK visas. The agent charged fifty thousands and after a month he congratulated with the news of six months visit visa for UK.

Muhammad Akbar handed over his shop to his elder son and departed for UK four years ago. For the earlier two year he got an extension in his visa and after that he started working on a restaurant. He earner their sum of money and send it back. His son abandoned the shop and purchased a piece of land in the main bazaar and constructed eleven shops over it by utilizing the remittances send by his father. The elder son established a general store in one shop and running it

successfully. The younger sons of Akbar are studying Engineering in a college at Rawalpindi. Akbar has delayed his tour to his village until his younger sons complete their education and at least one of them would be successful in getting student visa for UK.

4.11.4 Medical visa

Some of the villagers try to get visa for United Kingdom or other developed countries on the basis of health. For instance, they show their health certificates to the embassy justifying that the person needs proper medical facilities which are not available in Pakistan. This visa is issued to the people who really have some health problem and for which they want a better treatment and of course they should have enough money to show that they can afford hospital dues. This strategy includes in the category which is used before coming to UK because some times people do not really have to get medical attention for them but they just use their disease to get visa. This strategy is applied by the people who have two or more family members abroad and they have no other choice to join them. They can manage to show enough money to warrant the treatment cost abroad.

Case Study-1

Mr. Shahid articulated the story of his elder brother Tahir who went to UK three years ago. *Tahir applied for a medical visa for UK because he had an infection in his leg which had went into his bone so he needed a surgery. Although the surgery was possible in Pakistan but he utilized this opportunity to get a visa so applied for UK visa on the basis of his Medical grounds. Embassy took few medical tests and issued the visa to him and his wife and a two years old son as well.*

Tahir had passed MBA but he was not satisfied with his job as a private school teacher; he wanted to live in European world. He did not have any relatives in U.K but had few friends already living in UK. They were very helpful to him in the beginning and also helped in changing in his status.

After reaching United Kingdom, he successfully went through one surgical operation. His friends made him plans that he could apply for a loan by showing that he had been robbed by some people who have taken his money which he was supposed to transfer in bank. Tahir got a loan from a bank for his medical expenses. His wife stayed in London for few months with one of the Tahir's friend's family. Tahir went to Birmingham and there he applied for a labor certification because he was under treatment so he needed to stay in UK and for that he had to work to earn his livelihoods. All of this was done by his friend who used to work at some immigration lawyer office and knew all the rules and steps which were necessary to help him get permanent status. After getting labor certification his wife and son came and stayed with him at his friend's residence. When he got his labor certificate he started driving cab and got sponsored from a cab company and rented an apartment for his family. These circumstances lead him and his family to get permanent status in UK.

4.11.5 Getting Marriage to a EUCs/ UK National

As a result of immigration controls in the 1970s, this second phase gave way to a third phase – known as marriage migration, in which spouses and dependent children became some of the few remaining groups eligible for entry to the UK. This phase remains in force today, although with some modifications. The largest component of migration from Pakistan during the third phase has been young second or third generation British Pakistanis who marry ‘back home’ i.e. in Mirpur and who, on their return to Britain, bring brides or bridegrooms, particularly cousins, with them (Shaw 2000).

From 1964 a major change in Pakistani settlement took place as wives, children and young brides began to join their men already settled in places such as Oxford and Bradford (Shaw, 1998: 45).

The getting emigration through the marriage or paper Marriage with EUCs and UK national is the most widespread strategy applied by the villagers. The children of migrants are married with the children of non migrants’ siblings. The marriage of cousins (both cross and parallel cousin) is not only permitted, but is preferred; the siblings have the right of refusal with respect to the marriage of each other’s children.

Some young men are trying their hand to involve themselves in small business, other spend their time drinking tea, playing cricket and squander with a friend on motor-bike, hoping that something will turn up-perhaps in the form of an opportunity to marry a cousin from Europe, particularly from Britain.

The underlying cause as mentioned by the villagers is that; it is life time compensation by the migrants to their non migrants’ siblings who took care of old parents in their absence.

The old generation of the village, even though settled in the UK, tends to keep traditional values alive. Though influenced to some extent by the western culture, they strictly follow local traditions whenever they visit Kashmir along with their children to attend any family function. Most of them prefer to find a spouse in Khuiratta for their children so they could invite other members of their clans to live in Britain.

In other dimension the earlier migrants managed a marriage of UK National with a non Migrant of the village which enables the non migrant to apply for emigration on the marriage grounds.

The legal and illegal migrants who have entered in UK by any means could marry a UK national in order to get legalize and permanent.

Case Study-2

Mr. Hameed told me that his younger brother Yusaf did his Msc a few years ago. After a tire some practice he could not find any job so he decided to go abroad. He applied for admission in a college in UK and mange bank statement by borrowing from a money lender and successfully managed to reach UK. He worked there for few years and repaid the loan and managed his living cost. I did not force him to send remittances for household expenditures.

Mr Yusaf got married with a Mauritius migrant UK national in order to be UK nationality. Our father had heart attack when he came to know about the yusaf's marriage and died afterward. He was unaware of the circumstances and dreamed of the Yusaf marriage with his brother's daughter, but he sensed breakdown when he heard about the incident.

Yusaf got residence in his wife's house and started working in a dialysis center.

Meanwhile, he applied for citizenship in UK and got it successfully. He came back after six years and got married with Uncle's daughter and took her with him. Now they both are working there together and regularly send money for us. They have got a plot in Bahria Town Rawalpindi and another in River Garden housing scheme Kotli. Yusaf also send a large sum of money to construct a new house in the village and refurbish and fenced the father's grave.

4.11.6 Getting Paper Marriage to a EUCs/ UK National

Paper marriage is another popular strategy used by people to seek emigration from their origin to UK, USA and other EUCs and then to seek immigration in their destination.

Kin who were unable to migrate in their own generation may benefit vicariously from the transnational marriages of their children. Deliberations over marriage alliances can be fraught with emotional recrimination, as the competition for British *rishta* (spouse) can be intense

This term paper marriage refers to the marriage which is only shown in papers but in actual a couple is not living together.”

In this strategy a the relatives and friends of a non migrant person at destination play an active role who can make a pact with some British citizen that he/she would do a paper marriage but would not live together and the marriage accord will only be limited to papers. Sometimes they have to pay a lot of money to the person who is ready to compromise. Kashmiri use this strategy in order to call

the non migrants from the village and get their citizenship in the UK. Secondly this strategy is mostly applied by the people who are not well educated or who can not apply for student visa so for them getting married is the easiest way.

After the Govt. of UK has imposed the compulsion of English language certification for a person to apply a marriage visa the situation turned tightening for the villagers. Which the

“Thereby denying members of transnational families the right to marry by choice, Government limits on immigration from outside the European Economic Area (EEA) and investment in the training and recruitment of UK workers have led to English language proficiency being linked to issues of employment, welfare, cohesion and ‘integration’”⁵³

But still many young people of the village are making efforts to learn English language in order to get successful marriage based emigration. Many of them are attending English language institutes at Kotli and Mirpur. Some of them are afraid that failure in English language proficiency would lead them towards failure in getting married with a UK national fiancée.

4.11.7 Sponsorship through Kinship /Friendship ties

Kinship ties are the first and foremost source the people of the village used to seek emigration to UK and other European and Arabian countries.

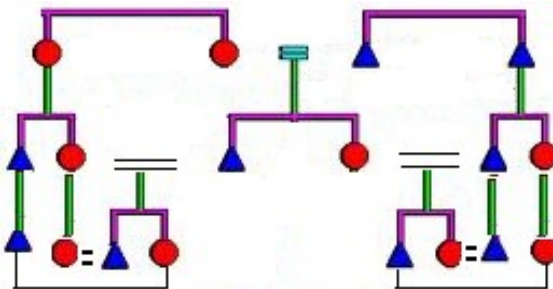


Figure 4.2: Marriage of cross cousin and parallel cousin have become an important strategy for emigration

According to the diagram, at the first step is that one male member went to European countries by applying various strategies and seeks immigration there while other males remain in the village to look after the household and old parents. Meanwhile, they seek employment in the city or establish any business

⁵³Tony Capstick (2010) Language and migration: The social and economic benefits of learning English in Pakistan

by utilizing a sum of remittances send by the migrant. On the return of migrant he used to get married from within their respective kin group; mostly from he same village. In this way most the villagers easily managed to transfer their wives to the European countries particularly to UK.

In the second phase, the children born were either married to their cross and/or parallel-cousin from both matrilateral and patrilinear groups to continue the emigration across generations. At this stage the children of non-migrants are preferably married with the children of the early emigrants and they are expected to transfer their spouse to UK and other European countries.

In this way, the persons who were left behind in order to run household chores would have a chance to get success immigration of their children in UK. These patterns endorse the fulfillment of traditional responsibilities and expectations of kin group; as well assure the integrity and harmony of the kin group even after the transmigration across the continent. The interesting aspect of this strategy is that elder generation (male and female) of the migrants involves both of their matrilineal and patrilineal kin groups in promoting the chain migration of next generations.

Mr. Khalid and his brother Arif was successfully running a karyana (grocery) shop in the local bazaar. Khalid handed-over his shop wholly to his brother Arif and migrated to UK on visit visa 10 years ago. In UK he applied first for work permit and then for nationality and successfully got it. After getting his citizenship he applied for the family visa (for wife all along with six children). After few months he received them all in Birmingham. At that time all his children (three male and three female) were under the age of eighteen years. The children were entered in to the schools and Azam kept on working in a hotel.

Meanwhile, Mr. Arif and his wife looked upon the household chores and constructed a big house with the remittances received from Khalid. Prior to their emigration Khalid's daughter was engaged with Arif's son and Khalid's son was engaged with his wife's brother's daughter. But after the migration of Khalid's all family, they looked upon alternative arrangements of the spouse selection of their children; keeping in view the age and gender of all the children of marriage-able kin groups, but efforts were made to involve the children of Khalid's brothers and sisters and Khalid's wife's brother and sister. According to Arif this pattern will ensure the kin harmony both in UK and in their native village. As well as fulfill the expectations and responsibilities of all the

people. He articulated that the expectations of all kin members towards Khalid and his family have changed after their successful migration. He explored that the kin who could not be accommodated with reference to their emigration process at this stage would be given preference in the next phase.

In case of the Emigration towards Arabian countries; already settled kin, friends, known people and other villagers arrange suitable employment visa for any person who is seeking emigration. The Biradari system has also played a key role in employing the people who have no close relative with the helping-hands. A small number of people seek employment through the travel agents after they come across advertisement in newspapers. Only a few people went abroad through OEC or BEOE.

Case study-3

Mr. Shabir went to Saudi Arabia in late 1970s. He got a job as driver in a foreign company in Jeddah. After some time when he settled there, he managed a work visa for one of his malair (maternal cross-cousins). After the successful emigration of his cousin he strengthens his relations with the company manager and managed another visa for a phuphair (Paternal cross-cousin) named as Rasheed. With his serious endeavors to help out the poor families of his biradri in the village, Shabir became the first popular figure among the villagers and known as the great source of Emigration.

Mr. Rasheed successfully got a job of family driver with the company manager. Rasheed with his loyalty to work and politeness in his conduct created a friendly environment not only with the staff members but with the manager and his family. By using his position, he was able to get more visas for skilled and unskilled employment in his company. He transmitted the visas to a local travel agent for on agreed amount of money, the practice of sending visas continued for many years. Through the trade of visas, he earned lot of money in addition to his own salaried income.

Rashid favored some of his poor relatives by providing them employment in his company; he also managed the migration of his, brothers, brothers-in-law, nephews and many other people of his Biradri and village.

During the fieldwork he was on holidays in order to celebrate the marriage of his younger brother. He told me that up till March 2011 he had successfully employed more than 200 persons in his company and struggling to adjust more.

“Is saal gha triya mina tak main jo doa soa tein zayada banda, apna pra, paniya, sala, sandu, patriya, panja te biradri, alaqa te graan gha aur bahoon sara lok mein jo maan- baap ghayan dwaan te allh ghi mehrbani nal kharya hain par minu is par koi gamand nahi balkay khushi hai kay maan baap ghiyan dwaan naal allah ne mino himat dity he. Aj tak jis ve banda ne minu visa waste keyo hai

te hoon mukriyo nahi, te kisay ve banda ne apna visa te kam baray kaday ve gilo nahi kyo)".

He articulated that he has purchased a plaza in the bazaar bought a carry for his elder son, with his earning through hard work for the last many years. He explored that he is pleased that with the source of his parent's prayer and his serious efforts he had helped his family members, kins, biradari people and friends and other villagers in getting worthy jobs in Saudi Arabia. With the grace of God all are successfully earning sufficient amounts for the socio economic uplift of their families and no one has accused him of any failure regarding their migration process and their employment in KSA. He did not feel pride of his achievements rather feel pleasure in employing many people. He has never refused anybody, who ever asked him for visa. He expressed confidently that he would try to employ more people in Saudi Arabia.

4.11.8 Crossing Border

Crossing international borders is another strategy used by the villagers in order to seek emigration on a minimum monetary cost but the cost of life. Mostly, there is are high risks involved in border crossing with out having documents because if being seen the person can be shoot, jailed or deported right away and handed over to FIA. This strategy is used either in a group or some times as an individual.

Illegal migration refers to migration across national borders in a way that violates the immigration laws of either the country of origin or the destination country. Under this definition, an illegal immigrant is a foreigner who either has illegally crossed an international political border, be it by land, water, or air, or a foreigner who has entered a country legally but then has overstayed his/her visa. People opt for illegal migration even though they know the consequences they will have to go through if they are caught. A lot of people even die before reaching out to the destination. Restrictive immigration policies of western countries could even lead to the educated class to follow illegal means if the poverty conditions in the country force them to do so. One of the reasons for the illegal migrants could be high cost of migration. People tend to find the illegal ways as cheaper when compared to the actual cost. Another reason could be lack of access to information regarding regular migration practices and procedures. The middle man involved in the process at times tends to misguide the people, especially women.

Unfortunately the access to the data of illegal migrants or those who are deported to Pakistan for violating the laws on migration is very limited therefore it is difficult to assess the real size of the problem. Despite increased efforts at the border control, an estimated 3.5 million to 4 million manage to migrate without authorization every year. In today's world, especially after September 11, 2001, security has been tightened almost everywhere around the globe and it is not an easy task to

migrate illegally; however illegal migration continues in the shape of reported mass deportation of illegal Pakistani migrants from countries such as Oman, Turkey and Greece.

(PILDAT 2008:12)

Villagers use this strategy in the form of groups in order to enter in the Europe, by using the rack of Pakistan-Iran-Turkey and Greece or the alternative route of Egypt-Spain. Educated and uneducated young boys do take the risks of their lives in order to fulfill their inherent desires and for the socio-economic uplift of their families.

Case Study-4

Mr. Shaukat is a young man of the village whose forefather migrated from occupied Kashmir during the early seventies in order to escape their persecution by the forces; he was an infant at that time. His father was a shopkeeper in occupied Kashmir but after the migration they had to face harsh poverty. His father worked as a labour in order to earn the livelihood of his family and motivated his children to get education. He passed his B.A examination; unfortunately his father died little after and all the responsibilities fall upon his shoulder because of being elder among his siblings. He tried his level best to find any govt. job on the basis of his qualification, because he was unable to access any approach and pay the heavy cost of bribe for it. His family was going under starvation and extreme conditions those days. He could not bear that situation so he decided to take risk, keeping in mind “instead of living worst, it’s better to die off to get rid of these harsh conditions” so he decided to move abroad by taking risk of crossing an international border. He consulted some other persons who were geared up to travel to Greece while crossing the border of Turkey. He requested the leader to let him join the group and traveled without informing his family. After a long journey for many days by feet, bus, and by boat they reached at Greece. It was the final play of their fate, some of them were gunned down and many of them were caught by the Greece border forces. Shaukat and his two colleagues successfully crossed the border by escaping the forces. Because of being illegal, they joined a job in a factory on low wages. It was fifth month he had no contact with his family because he did not know the process of making phone calls and never asked any one due to the fear of being illegal. One day he came across an earlier Kashmiri migrant and informed hi of the entire situation. The earlier Kashmiri helped him making phone call and provide him accommodation. His family amazed and pleased on his phone call because they already offered his funeral. He kept on working and in the factory and send money to home. His younger brother bought a Jeep and, two sisters were married and a middle size Pakka house is constructed with the remittances send by his elder brother. It had passed six years but he could not come back due to his illegal status. Things were running frequently, but on an unfortunate movement his hand plunged into the machine and separated. The factory staff provided him first aid.

His employer had sympathy towards him but he could not do anything due to his illegal status. His employer himself was afraid of being jailed for employing an illegal. The employer offered fifty lacs Pakistani and apologize him to travel back to home country as early as possible. He agreed and his employer made all the necessary arrangements to travel him to Pakistan with a missing hand but a saving life.

Nowadays he is running a shop in the main bazaar and the construction work of his personal market is underway. Meanwhile, he supported his younger brother to get a student visa for England. He had got married and living with his mother, wife and a small son in the local village. He is of the view that risks make a person successful man.

There is another similar case:

Mohsin works as a tailor in Kotli. His family in the village has dependent on his income and that his mother's brother who is also a tailor and who trained him at his shop. During the training, his manvaan (mother's brother) fed him and gave him pocket money.

Two of his friends migrated to Spain and sent their families a lot of money, with which they improved their houses and sent their children to study in private schools at Kotli. Mohsin wanted to do the same, and gain education of his younger sibling. The friend also wrote of wonderful lifestyles they had in Spain. So Mohsin decided to emigrate, and contacted an informal agent who took three lacs from him. His family raised this money by selling some land and borrowing from friends and relatives.

The agent arranged a passport and visa for Egypt. On arrival in Cairo, Mohsin met the agent's contact there, who put him up with other Pakistanis, Sri Lankan, and African in a run down house in a slum outside the city. He waited there along with other Pakistanis, Sri Lankan and African in a run down house in a slum outside the city. He waited there along with other Pakistanis to be transferred overland to a port and from there by boat to Spain. Delay kept happening, money ran out and he met some returning migrants who had not reached Spain and reported rumours of rough seas causing sinking boats and deaths.

So Mohsin decided not to continue to Spain. He and three other Pakistanis put their resources together and traveled overland and by boat to Saudi Arabia where one of the companions had connections. Once in Saudi Arabia, Mohsin was able to contact his family who send him funds to come back. However since he was an illegal emigrant, he was afraid that he would be arrested; he was advised to surrender to Saudi authorities, which he did, and with the help of the Pakistani Embassy he was repatriated to Pakistan.

His family is poorer now than before and in debt. Mohsin feels that he has let them down and also disgraced himself. So, he plans to try again, but this time to the Far East.

4.12 Remittances and its Utilization

The occasional transfer of cash and kind or other resources from the out country migrants to their left over family members or the gifts and money brought with them on their final return in the village and the help extended to overcome the mishap and obstacles impeding economical development all are composed of remittance in the local situation.

Migrants who work as labors received an average, five to eight times what they would receive from employment in their home countries. Migrants are usually discouraged from bringing their families where they work. They make great efforts to limit their consumption during employment abroad and transfer large proportion of their earning to their families resultant increases in financial capacity, which sometimes enable migrants and their families to acquire productive assets. So the flow of remittances depends mainly on the saving available to the migrant once all his expenses are met from his earning.

It has been observed that direct result of migration on the economy of the village is the flow of money, which causes economic diversification.

4.12.1 Economic diversification

According to Epstein:

“Economic expansion in the underdeveloped rural communities is normally the result of an interaction between external stimulus and internal response. There are few, if any village economics where economics growth has been internally generate. Usually new opportunities for villagers are either the result of conscious planning by state, or other external authorities, or they are by-product of private enterprise activities in the wider economy. Rural residents may face one dominant, or a combination of different types of new economic opportunity. The whole community or section there of may respond positively to some new chance while rejecting or neglecting others for no obvious rational reason discernible by out sides. It is therefore essential to examine the total range of new opportunities which come within reach of villagers to be able to analyze the regularities if there are any, in their response”.

(Epstein 1973:5)

By the end of 1950's and beginning of 1960's people of the village “Dhana” indulged into emigration process as and when the job opportunities were

announced by the Government of Britain. With the success of a first immigrant in getting job and earning money in a European country, the migration at massive level started. Due to at huge migration of male members of the village and replacement of barter system by cash economy, it decreased the intensity of agricultural activities in the village. They adopted other means for their earnings instead of their dependency on agriculture.

An inflow of remittances into a rural area led to a surge in expenditures in housing sector that further generated income and job opportunities for the poor and unskilled labors not only within the village but also outside the village particularly in urban centers.

The efforts in search of alternate income sources perpetuated the economic diversification. There were following sources of income adopted by the villagers:

- (i) **Off-farm activities:** The wage earning from off-farm activities by working in government and private sector's employment including profit from non-farm enterprises related to business.
- (ii) **Agriculture:** Earnings from home production and working as wage labor in crops production process.
- (iii) **Live Stocks:** income from livestock in the shape milk, meat, and eggs. Few households sell the livestock products to villagers.
- (iv) **Rental:** Income from rent received by ownership of assets such as land, houses constructed in urban centers or market and hotels.
- (v) **External remittances:** income from an international migrant.
- (vi) **Internal remittances:** income received from an internal migrant working within Pakistan.
- (vii) **Others:** income from pension to retired employees of Army, Navy and the government institutions and pension from UK as per the modified policy.

The sources of income changed with the migration of male members of the village, while before the migration, wage labor, agriculture and livestock were the basic sources of income. It shows that village economy has been influenced and changed due to out-country migration which resulted in economic diversification by external remittances.

Saving was the basic characteristic that made the flow of remittances more smooth and easy depending on the income level of migrant. It was necessary to see the earning of the migrant to understand the frequency of remittances.

4.12.2 Culture of Remittances

The movement of people across international boundaries has enduring economic, social, and cultural implications for the village. During the last several decades, an increasing number of people have undertaken long journeys not only to find a source of livelihood in foreign lands, but to also support family members left behind through the flow of remittances.

Remittances, defined as the quantity of currency that migrants earn abroad and then send home to their families and communities. It also includes the kinds (electronic appliances etc.) and the ideas (information regarding the emigration and employment opportunities in the country of destination) brought by the migrants.

Migration from the village has played a central role in the “landslide of social, political and economic changes. Migration has also accelerated the breakdown of ancient socio-ethnic hierarchies in the village. In fact, migration has contributed to the creation of a new social stratification; with international migrant households forming a new kind of “migration elite”. In many respects, the new socio-economic dividing line in the village.

Much money is handed over personally and migrants take many goods (e.g., electronics, household appliances, jewelry, cars, spare parts, toys and clothes) to the village as gifts or as merchandise. Remittances; in terms of cash and kind are also transferred through; other migrants, hundi, banks, Money Transfer Companies (MTCs). However, the most preferred mechanism for remittances transfer is hundi system due to the easiness for both sender and receiver. The earlier migrants from the village have become a great source of information and inspiration, which has accelerated the emigration trends and resulting remittances in the village.

The vast majority of men, often spent over two years away from home at a time, on their return to the village the first few days are spent on visiting family, friends and neighbors, re-establishing family and kin ties. The purpose of the visits is to present gifts brought back from the place of migration, as well as the

gifts, letters, cassettes and photographs from family members still working abroad. Perhaps, most importantly, these are the times when family news was exchanged and tales were told of the time spent away.

The inflow of remittances substantially contributes to income growth. The actual contribution of migration to income growth and poverty alleviation is likely to be higher, found that the average migrant's household's income was much higher than the non-migrant household's income, and that this was largely the effect of remittances. International migration is a highly effective way of enormously improving the financial situation and living conditions of households.

Remittances tend initially to increase with migration duration and the size of the household left behind, although they tend to decrease after family reunification. Remittances tend to depend upon the economic conditions of the household, income of the migrants, duration of stay abroad, age, education level, and number of dependents, marital status and the occasional need and circumstances of the household. Even those who are most securely settled overseas invariably continue to remit a portion of their earnings back home, and most stay much more involved than this, making regular visits back home, few fail to buy more land and most important, of all, to build themselves an elaborate new house. This partly reflects a concern for honor and status and the wish to demonstrate how much success the migrant achieved overseas; but it also reflects a desire to build up security against the day when they finally return home. It is easy to become addicted to remittances income, indeed it is often in the interest of those who have stayed behind to encourage migrants to stay overseas for as long as possible, provided that they can be sure that they will continue to send back remittances; that way they can continue to reap the benefits of migrants' labor elsewhere.

They too send money back to their parents, fiancées and wives, contribute towards the cost of their parents' health care, and siblings' wedding and thus reassure families of their success in foreign country. All of these early phases along with the short term migrations for the care of elderly kin in the village gave rise to chain migration.

Emigrants are expected to fulfill their kinship obligation by extending material support to their families especially to the very old, very young, wives, parents and the destitute.

The remittances are mostly used for conspicuous consumption (e.g., luxury houses, videos, television, satellite dishes and cars), daily living needs, occasional and ceremonial needs, marriage of children and siblings, medical treatment, education of children, purchasing property, charity and savings or investments.

Remittances have not only enabled the migrants' households to construct modern houses, but also permit the purchase of land, and the setting up of commercial establishments and small and medium-size shops, purchasing automobiles and construction of plazas; that are rented latter on. A large amount of remittance is used to help the other villagers to come out of the severe crises and to seek emigration to any of the foreign country. In this way, the arrival of remittances on a large scale had not only begins to upset the local social structure and status of the household members but the arrival of remittances is a powerful spur to further emigration and the resulting processes of chain migration is self-fueling.

The migrants have appointed their recipient to deal with the remittance send by them. These successors are usually the brother, son, father or wife of the migrants. The migrants are informed on phone calls or through other migrants for the occasional, accidental and regular household's needs. The migrants are also requested for the nominal amount of the money with in a due duration. The migrants send the money through various channels and inform the recipient on phone calls. The arrival of remittances provides a chance to the recipient to have a sigh of relief and decides the preference of expenses. If someone in the village is in dire needs, he or she makes the phone call to their honorable migrants. In turn, the migrant will inform his heir/appointee to grant a sum of money to the person in crises. The migrants on holidays are specially visited by the poor villagers in expectation to receive a gift or an amount of cash. The migrants are repeatedly inquired about their amount of earnings in foreign countries so that the villagers could set their expectations towards them; failing to meet these expenses, the migrants and their families would lose their repute. In order to counter these conflicting situations, the migrants used to make blame excuse or justifiable arguments.

The migrant's income is also inquired through other migrants by their competitors. The villager's expectations towards migrants and the migrant's

acceptance to their liabilities have raised a competition among the migrants to sustain their reputation among the villagers. The migrants contributing in the village's affairs are honored among the villagers and they are specially counted on ceremonial occasions, their arrival in the village is marked with invitations and memorable events rather the less contributing migrants are considered misers and they are not given any importance in the village which some times leads them towards isolation. There is a famous proverb about the less contributing migrants; *kanjoos makhy choos* (miser are skinflint). Due to these abusing consequences, the migrant's tries their level best to in close contact with the village's affairs through phone calls, money transfer and sponsor the emigration of the young boys of the village.

As the village is heavily dependent on remittances, a culture of dependency often sets in. In a variety of contexts it has been observed that household members simply stop working and wait from month to month for the overseas remittance. Young men of the village prefer to remain unemployed and wait for the possibility that they themselves will migrate. In short, the remittances are one of the most visible and beneficial aspects of the ways in which international migrants are reshaping the village.

4.12.3 Description of Remittance

4.12.3.1 Social Remittances

Social remittances are the ideas, information, aspiration, inspirations, trends, behaviors, identities, and social capital that are being brought by the earlier emigrants to the village. Social remittances shape and influence conspicuous consumption in the village, as non-migrants wish the fancy clothes, electronics, gadgets, automobiles, sophisticated houses etc. that their return-migrant neighbors bring back from the foreign countries. Social remittances also include gender parity beliefs that act to empower women. Social remittances also include the information about the strategy to seek emigration and manage the allied pre-requisites; in a way the social remittances has become a prime cause for the increasing trends of emigration and remittances utilization. In other words it has contributed significantly in promoting 'chain migration' in the village. The social remittances do not only in the promotion of emigration trends but also acted as a grand agent of socio-cultural changes in both the material and

ideological culture of the villagers. The social remittances are transferred to the villagers through the phone calls, letters, fax, pictures, videos, and the migrant's arrival act as a main source of the transfer of social remittances in the village.

4.12.3.2 Monetary Remittances

Remittances represent a powerful economic and social force that is changing the structure of everyday life of the village. The Kashmiri migrants sent back over millions of dollars, pounds, Riyals and other foreign currencies' to their families. The migrants from the village also send foreign currencies to their families in the village. These remittances possess higher value for the villagers because when these foreign currencies are converted into Pakistani currency, it gives a plenty of amount. These amounts are utilized to meet various regular, occasional, accidental and ceremonial socio-economic needs of the migrant's family. On his return, if a migrant has not fetched a gift for someone expecting, he/she is compensated with foreign currency note or equivalent amounts in Pakistani currency to retain the social relation. In addition, the promise is made to fetch the expected gift on the next return. If a migrant is intended to return permanently, he would fetch as much as foreign stuff to meet the expectation of all the villagers towards him. These foreign currency notes are sometimes kept safe, and exchanged at higher currency rates to get an additional amount.

4.12.3.3 'Kind' Remittances

In addition to the monetary and social remittances, the migrant fascinatingly transfer the 'Remittances in kind'.⁵⁴ This description of remittances includes; mobile phones, watches, calculators, lap-top, computer, CD player, VCR, tape recorder, radio, Television, refrigerator, iron, blanket, clothes, *taswih* (rosary), digital camera, video camera, handy cam, cosmetic, perfumes, prayer mats, rare medicines, rare spare parts, rare books, jewelry, pictures, juicer machines, iron, electric shaving machines, blenders, rechargeable electric torches, sewing 'machine and many other modern electronic and electrical gadgets. These imported gadgets possess higher value for the villagers. These modern gadgets are given in gifts and dowries. The demand for any specific stuff as made on phone calls as the migrant informs his family in the village about his preparation to leave for the village. The migrants make their efforts to fetch as much as foreign stuff as they can to give it in gifts to a number of people. If the people

54 Imported and foreign stuff possess higher value in the village

expecting for a gift is not given a imported gift, it may disrupt the relations. If a migrant could not fetch as much foreign stuff, he keeps the news of his arrival as secret because he has to purchase a lot of stuff from Pakistan for gift giving. In this way, the villagers perceive the gift as foreign stuff and the higher value of gift is retained.

4.12.4 Frequency of remittances

Most of the migrants sent remittances regularly to their families left behind, but overall position of the remittances was not uniform because of payments, saving and substantial used on occasional expenditures etc. The money was usually remitted monthly but sometime on acute need. In the village Dhana, the households of migrants were receiving remittance in cash on monthly and/or occasional basis, while most of the migrants bring their savings with them on return.

About 85 percent of the permanent returnees brought remittance at their final return both in cash and kind while 1.5% of the migrants doing their own business were sending reasonable amounts to their families on regular basis either to invest or to buy a property. The amount received by the families at village were estimated to Rs.10,000 to Rs.20,000 on monthly basis, while additional remittance were on demand.

The families permanently settled abroad bring a large amount of money with them on their return to invest in a profitable business or to purchase property, while on usual visits the migrants have to managed extra money for presenting gifts to family member, relatives and friends or cash delivery to the needy people.

The nature of remittance, whether regular or irregular, heavy and meager amount that all depends upon the kind of relationship between the migrants and their families and upon the needs. The data about the average monthly remittances reveals that:

28.12% households were receiving Rs.15000.00 to 25000.00

53.15% households were receiving Rs.26, 000 to 50,000

18.75% households were receiving Rs. 51,000 to 70,000 and above

Besides this, the occasional returnees on their holidays after different intervals of time also bring a reasonable amount of with them to meet the traditional and

cultural expenses. The migrants of poor class could not visit their homes occasionally because of heavy expenses of travelling.

4.12.5 Composition of remittances

The remittances sent by the village migrants is composed of both cash and kind. A major part of the remittances was in the form of cash, but the pattern of remittance was not uniform. Migrants send money on irregular basis depends on their saving capacities. Remittance includes both the risk sharing and altruistic motivations in terms of consumption and investment.

Most remittances reach family members especially spouses or parents and many recipient households are headed by women. Remittances are used primarily for consumption and investment in human capital (education, health, better nutrition). Investment in land, business, and housing is also relatively common but secondary to satisfying daily needs and meeting expenses related to human capital. Still less remittance money is used for investments in either savings or in business, or to repay debt, such as a loan for the expenses of going abroad.

Second is the view that remittances fulfill an obligation to the household, one based on affection and responsibility toward the family. The migrant is simply part of a spatially extended household that is reducing the risk of impoverishment by diversifying across several activities.

Table #18

Motivation	Consumption	Investment
Risk sharing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remittances help household cope with risks. • Cash receipts are used to purchase daily food and luxury consumables or to purchase locally available essential services (health, education). • Ensures the household functions day to day. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remittances help households manage idiosyncratic risks. • Investment in assets such as purchasing land modern gadgets, establish business and construct palatial houses which help households to cope better in future.
Altruism	Goods and gifts are sent to the household to fulfill altruistic obligations to the family.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remittances are used to expand available capital assets. • Indirect benefit to the household, but long term benefit to the wider community.

Table4.12: Remittance Motivation and Use

A large amount of cash was sent through various sources, while limited amounts were brought by relatives or migrants themselves in foreign currency to be exchanged through banks, money exchanger or unfair means. Remittances in form of cash for donations were always sent through the banks. A considerable part of remittances was in the form of goods like clothes, gold, electric appliances for personal and domestic use.

The additionally demanded money was sent through someone visiting the village or brought by the emigrants on their normal visits by adding the amount for distributing gifts for the family and *biradari* members.

4.12.6 Sources of Remittances collection

The external remittances account for relatively large shares of total household income as few of the households totally depend upon remittance either in form of money or goods, thus the external remittances have a positive and significant effect on the accumulation of structured and physical assets of the village.

The data was collected on the external remittances and amount of remittances transferred by the migrants to their families. Most of the people were somehow reluctant to share the information about the amount of money sent by the migrants, but after making continuous efforts, the researcher was able to collect such information.

There are various channels through which the migrant's left over in the village receive the remittances send by them from foreign countries. There is no fixed or permanent source of sending/receiving remittances. There are various determinants' in this regard:

The choice of migrant regarding the remittances sending,

The country of destination; from where the migrant is sending remittances,

The availability of service delivery in the village,

The number of co-villagers in the country of destination,

The number and gender of household members in the village,

Relations with the currency exchange dealer in the area of origin,

Fewer complication and formalities involved in sending and receiving,

The amount an agency charges over the remittances sending.

Trustworthy, easy and fast mode of collection/delivery from/at door-step.

Depending on these determinants, there are few sources that have been preferably used by the villagers.

Hundi is most preferred source of receiving remittance by the villagers. There are various currency exchange dealers in the area who provide their services (collection from the migrants in foreign country and its delivery in the villages) at door step and within very limited time even on just a phone call. The collection of remittances from foreign country and its delivery in the village involve no complications and formalities in terms of paper work and justification of earning. These currency exchange dealers have their source persons in foreign countries that collect foreign currency from the migrants in their country of destination and inform the currency exchange dealer on phone call by giving *hawala*, the currency exchange dealer deduct certain amounts and deliver the rest of the amount to the person nominated by the migrant or deliver the remittances at the door step of migrant's household in the village. This source is preferably used by the Arabian countries' migrants and their left over in the village.

It was also difficult for both the sender and the households receiving the remittances to banks during normal banking hours. The procedure involved, including the paper work, are also a major obstacle in using the banking channel for transferring money.

There are various other reasons for such kind of preferences for *hundi* over the other procedures of money transfer; it is either the preference of migrant, preference of household or the preference of both migrant and household due to the difficulty involved in banking, no time to visit banks during working hours, too much time involved in banking procedures, bank staff is not friendly, distance to bank, high cost involved in money transfer, migrant have no access to bank in the sending area.

The bank is another source of receiving remittances by the leftover of the migrants in the village. The migrant pay his amount in any foreign bank in his country of destination by filling a form regarding the details of name of bank and its SWIFT code as well as the account number and the of the account holder. The foreign bank transfers this money in the account of the nominated person. In this way a villager have to open an account in a local commercial bank that involves complications, justification and paper work. It also takes a time of one week or more. This source is commonly used by the UK and European countries' migrant's left-over for money transfer.

The Money Transfer Companies like, Western Union is another source of receiving remittances; this is an international Service dealing in currency exchange and remittances. It provides both normal and urgent services on varying charges. The method of money transfer through Money transfer Companies (MTCs) is used to transfer the money for urgent needs, because it is a fast mode of transfer. The WU has its branch in NBP and deliver the remittances to the villagers send by their migrants' members from foreign countries. The remittances' sending through other migrants is another common source which has found in the village. There are hundreds of migrants from this high emigration area to many Arabian and European countries. These migrants have maintained their territorial affiliation in foreign countries; on their return from foreign country to the village, they inform each other and inquire of sending anything for their families. The frequently visiting migrants fetch both

the remittances in kind and cash as well as messages and letters for the migrants left over in the village.

Last but not least, the migrant themselves brings cash and gifts for their family members, kin, neighbors and other relatives on their occasional return to the village.

It is probable that a household may receive remittance from various combinations of alternative sources due to the presence of its members in many foreign countries. The proportion of households receiving remittance through various channels is shown in the table below:

Table #19

S.No.	Source of Receiving Remittances	No. of Households
1	Hundi/Hawala	179
2	Banks	93
3	Money transfer companies (MTCs)	67
4	Other migrants on their visit to their village	106
5	Migrants (himself) on his Return	215

Table 4.13: Sources of remittance collection

The migrants number of ways to transfer money so that the villagers have to receive through the similar source; multiple sources are also applied by a number of emigrants so that the percentage of the sources used for money transfer could not be drawn. However the statistics shows that the *hundi* system is most preferred source of money transfer other than the migrant himself fetch the remittance on their return. The choice of the selection of the source of money transfer depends upon the mutual consent of the sender and receiver, however the choice and easiness of the sender is given preference in this regard.

4.12.7 Utilization of remittances

The most important determinant of savings was the income and expenditure incurred by the migrant during his migration abroad. It was observed that a substantial proportion of income was retained abroad by the majority of migrants, while a non-substantial part of income was incurred as living expenditure abroad and transferred in the form of remittances to their families.

The saved amount was utilized either to construct a house, to invest it in a profitable business or for running own business after their return, but those who could not manage savings for different reasons face abnormal consequences at home.

The utilization of remittance by the migrant's households was the subject of interest for many researchers mainly to channelize the resources to productive uses. The basic rationale behind the approach was to divert the savings to productive investment to supplement the overall earnings of migrant on his return keeping in view the consumption of money for land and housing by losing the real potential of the remittances.

To investigate the issue, a reasonable amount of data was collected for the use of remittances by the migrant's households.

4.12.7.1 Regular and occasional household expenditure

The remittances are the major source of income for villagers in improving economic conditions. All the households in the village use remittance on occasional household consumption. Remittances were treated only as a supplementary household income by majority of households. Few households totally depend on remittance particularly the nuclear families of the village.

In the past, the consumption revolved around the agricultural activities and a small portion of the income was spent on luxury items, practiced only in some wealthy household. Essential necessities of life like food, clothing, construction of houses, expenditure on ceremonies, payment of utility bills etc., was not the luxurious expenditure but to spend a great deal of income in regular and occasional consumption. The regular and occasional household expenditure involves”

- i) Residential expenditure
- ii) Expenditure on agricultural activities
- iii) Everyday expenditure
- iv) Expenditure on ceremonial functions.
- v) Payment of utility bills

It has been noted that the amount of utility bills (electricity, telephone, mobile, gas cylinder, fuel woods, internet etc) is much higher. Because the facilities are highly used among the migrant's families; electricity is used to operate a number of electronic and electric appliances, enormous phone calls are made to friends, relatives and migrants several times a day. To operate the mobile phones a number of cards are utilized in a day and even kept reserve in the pockets. Fire-

woods and gas cylinder are heavily utilized to prepare food stuff. All of these expenditures are drawn out of the remittances.

Case Study-6

Muhammad Rafiq was elder among his four sisters and seven brothers. His father was a aari-kash (saw-worker). Rafiq joined the Pakistan army at early adulthood. He got married and managed to get married all his siblings until his retirement. After the marriage of his brothers he had to establish his own household for his wife and five children. He could hardly constructed two rooms that all his savings had gone. His children reached at school going age. He had to spend all his salary on household expenditures, children's education and mother's health. He could not save a small amount until his retirement. On his retirement he put a sum of money in his Post office account and utilized other on getting a visa for Saudi Arabia.

He is working as a driver in Bin Laden Company for the last four years and sends twenty five thousands every month in his wife's UBL account. His wife run all the household chores including, children's care, managing their educational and everyday needs, brings food items and animal fodder from main bazaar on jeep. Collect the hay for animal and attend all the social activities of the village.

Rafiq has planned to collect a sum of money in order to bring with him on his return so that he would construct a house during his stay. In his next round he would collect an amount of money for his elder children's marriage. He would manage his elder son to go abroad preferably to UK on student visa. After a settlement of his son abroad he will come back permanently and buy a jeep with his collection.

The migrants do not only earn to send remittances to their left over but also makes their efforts while keeping in view the future prospects as well. The migrants would not come with empty hand but with a collection of money, after employing some of his relatives particularly his brothers and sons.

4.12.7.2 Construction of Houses/ Residential expenditure

The provision of shelter is one of the basic needs for human survival, for that purpose people try to get higher living standards and build modern and spacious houses by using all kinds of latest electronic devices, stylish electric appliance and other technological innovations to make the house comfortable according to their needs.

According to Anthony D. King:

“Buildings are essentially social and cultural products. Building results from social needs and accommodate a variety of functions-economic, social, political, religious and cultural their size, appearance, location and form are governed not

simply by physical factors but by a society's ideas, its forms of economic and social organization, its distribution of resources and authority, its activities and the beliefs and values which prevail at any one period of time".

(Anthony-D. King)

Having paid the costs of their passage and met the subsistence needs of the remainder of their family, the next target of migrants is usually to build a splendid and prestigious new house in the village. The response of the villagers highlights the use of remittances by different households, majority of them repair or built new houses, that was the most important use of outside earning by all classes of the households in the village.

There were two ways of residential expenditure:

1. Renovation
2. Construction of new house

Building or renovating of houses was considered being the foremost duty of the migrants on their first visit to the homeland. Building a new and big house was considered status symbol as well as sign of competition for the villagers. They also spend a part of their income on construction or on repair of their houses. A well-built house on modern principles, particularly on urban style was the symbol of prestige.

The housing patterns in the village from are based on modern architectural designs. Majority of the houses have modern facilities, modern kitchen appliances and English style bathrooms. The huge and spacious residential buildings made by the emigrant's families are known as *Pacca* house or *Kothis* and clearly indicate the obvious use of remittances. There are two types of houses in the village.

- i) *Pakka* (Bricks, cement and lintered)
- ii) *Semi Pakka* (Mixture of mud and brinks)

There are few semi Pakka houses in the village which are mostly constructed before migration. Each and every newly constructed house is based on double or triple story, only few of old houses have single story. The structure of houses has changed from *Kacha* house to *Pakka* and modern house

Before the emergence of emigration trends, the entire houses were *katcha*. Out of the sixty households, 55 houses are completely pakka and 5 houses are semi pakka, whereas, there is no kacha house in the village at present.

Some of the migrants preferably utilize their remittances in the construction of new houses just to gain honor and prestige. If a migrant had spent many years overseas but not constructed a new house, he/she is considered as *nalaiq* (illegible). The other villagers and relatives express astonishingly;

Oh aanjain tak makan ni banai sanya, uss ni kamai na kay faida.

(He/she has not constructed the house yet, is there any usefulness of his earnings!)

Case Study-7

A villager, Abid Hussain of 31 years old went to England five years ago with the help of his in-laws. He earned 60,000 to 70,000 rupees monthly during his five years stay. He has two sons and wife with him in England. His family in the village includes an elder brother, a younger brother and a sister. Elder brother is a teacher in a village's school and was getting very meager salary of Rs.6000 that was not sufficient for his family. His younger brother was unmarried and was unemployed. Abid had lot of responsibilities of families in England and in the village. In the prevailing circumstances he was inclined to construct a new house. After making arrangements, he started constructing the house in 2008; his brother and cousin helped him for supervision and collection of material from the market. At last the house was completed by spending twelve lakhs rupees. Immediately after the completion of house, marriage of his brother was celebrated in a colorful way.

Case Study-8

A returnee Safdar constructed a house by spending huge money during his stay in England. His house is called as *Kothi* (bungalow) because it contains three stories constructed over a vast area with stylish, expansive and durable stuff is used in it.

Safdar was a son of poor cattle-herder of the village. They had lived a hand to mouth life in their childhood. They were four brothers and three sisters used to live in an extended family. Their house was too small and cattle were also fastening in it. The use of fire wood in the small house without proper ventilation turned it black from. It was really terrible to live in that situation but there was no other option. They always questioned their parent that when they will have open and clean house but their parents had nothing to say because they could hardly afford subsistence.

The construction of a sophisticated house was his dream from early childhood. At the age of sixteen years he moved to Mirpur to work as a laborer in the construction of Mangla Dam and worked there for three years. A few earlier migrants of Chaksawari came back on their first turn after migration. They started construction of houses and he worked as labor. He was very active, hard worker and loyal to his job. Mr.

Saleem, an early migrant informed him to get ready to migrate to England. All the necessary arrangements were made by his well wisher and he reached England in the early eighties. He kept on working hard as a waiter and then as a taxi driver in Birmingham. He used to send money for his parents and siblings and brought his two brothers and two paniya (sister's husband) to UK. He collected a large sum of money and returned on his first tour to his native village after five years. After meeting all the relatives, neighbors and friends he handed over the gifts and the remittances send by other emigrants for their families. He met an architect designer in the Mirpur and got a design for his house. He hired expert Mistri (labour) from Mirpur. He laid down the foundations and made other necessary arrangements and handed over the supervision of construction work to his younger brother. He kept on sending remittances to his younger brother for further works and three stories were raised within the next one year. Within the next year he collected a sum of money and visited his village for two months. During his stay he got his house plastered, bejeweled with modern lights, ornamented with attractive colors and smoothed with stylish and sophisticated tiles. He dangled attractive curtains from the windows and doors. He constructed a stylish wall around the house over the area of two kanals, planted flowering plants inside and installed an ornamented gate at the front. He installed two cheering plates stating Gujjar's House one at the main gate and other at the front side of the top floor. It was the fulfillment of his dream which he used to saw during his childhood. On his other visits he ensured all luxuries, furniture, electrical and electronic appliances to be installed in his new house. Nowadays he is living with parents and wife in his house in the village whereas his children are in England. He summarized that all these life time efforts were made to abandoned the suffocation of living in small houses and by the grace of God and with the prayer of parents all come successful. He stated that house is precondition to ensure one's prosperity and success. The pitiable houses made the well-off people underprivileged and good quality houses made the meager very prosperous.

There were certain other cases of the similar nature, having a reasonable house, a huge amount for having another was not appropriate. In a similar case, a emigrant constructed his house with the cost of 20 to 30 lakesof rupees but no one is present to live this because all of his family members are in England and only occasionally visits the village usually once in a year.

People of the village renovate and construct new and sophisticated houses because of the following reasons:

- i) Bad condition of old houses.
- ii) It is best use of money
- iii) Need for time
- iv) Necessity for family-future planning for children
- v) For comfort

- vi) Big houses because of different occasion or ceremonies like marriage deaths etc.
- vii) Big stylish houses are status symbol
- viii) Construction of big houses is a game of competition and everyone make great effort to prove him/her better than others villagers.
- ix) It is a reaction to the suffocation that they had felt in their days of poverty in their small congested houses.

There were the individual views of migrants and their families; but, according to local people, it is;

- i) Wastage of money
- ii) Competition among the village people
- iii) They have more money to invest
- iv) Show off of money
- v) Higher status.

There were also some other views of both migrants and non-migrants, migrant were of the view that construction of houses is necessity while non-migrants believe that it was an extra use and wastage of money.

Every new house has averagely 9 to 12 rooms and 3 to 4 bathrooms. Most of these houses are consist of triple storey buildings. Usually two rooms have one attached bathroom. All new houses (constructed with in last 8 to 10 years) have modern English architectural design. Double or triple stories are made from front elevation. Some old houses are renovated with new modern style. After the process of migration had accelerated, the first modern house in the village had been constructed in 1977. It was constructed by following maps designed by architects, which presents modernity and future trends in its structure.

A new and modern style house is constructed over an area of 2 to 2½ *Kanals*. The average cost ranges from 50 to 55 laks rupees while the cost of the renovation of an old house; it depends upon the number of rooms and bathrooms.

Last but not least the *Khatam* ceremony held in the newly constructed house. It signifies the peaceful living in the new house and getting the blessings of God. Previously this ceremony used to hold in a very simple way but nowadays a lot of money is utilized on it and a large number of guests are invited. It is considered notorious if a person spends less on the ceremony in comparison to the price of his house.

4.12.7.3 Expenditure on horticulture

In old days the subsistence patterns was totally dependent on the horticultural activities and cattle herding. Men and women all used to work on various occasions from land preparation to grinding the grain at the water mills. All these tasks were traditionally performed by using indigenous techniques and technology. Fields were prepared by removing weeds and stones and balancing the hedge of mountains, it needed lot of efforts and time.

In the early seventies the remittances send by early migrants was incorporated in the construction of *tandis* (fields) and two crops (*kanak* and *mak*) and some allied crops and vegetables were produced yearly. The *chaiter* (fields situated at the bank of streams) were irrigated through the water channels drained from *kas* (streams) and rice was produced. Remittances' send by early migrants were also incorporated in purchasing lands for further cultivation as well as for purchasing oxen for outstanding ploughing. The land was ploughed twice or thrice before sowing seeds and women used to put *Pa* (dung) on the fields. Boys were encouraged to plough the fields rather girls used to perform weeding, hoeing, and cutting. The elder women were expected to clean the *baira* (courtyard is cleaned with mixed dung with mud for the separation of grains) for separating the grains and prepare *coolly* (mud bins) for storing the grain and graze cattle. The boys and children along with an elder were expected to get the grain crushed at *gharat* (water mills situated at heavy streams) and bring the flour back. Elder men used to prepare *Hal* (fine quality wooden plough) and *Kathar* (wooden boxes for grain storage), and other wooden technologies like *phay*, *tringle*, *jandra* and *maj*, *ehli ogh*, *sam*, *nari*, *khund*, *phorry* and *mungli* in order to perform various task at various stages of crop processing.

With the emerging trends of emigration and frequent flow of remittances the agriculture patterns were mechanized. The tractor replaced *dand* (oxen) and everyone in the village linked the road with their fields for the entrance of tractors and thresher leads to the extinction of traditional procedures of crop processing, as a consequence the traditional tasks and skills disappeared. The emergence of new trends in subsistence leads towards the promotion of male and female education in the village.

Though the people of the village were inclined towards modern economic activities, yet their intimacy with their traditional economic system has broken, and even if it retain at small scale, the mechanical equipments like thresher and tractor are in use even by the small farmers.

In the village, most of the land was *Barani* (rain fed area). The low average rain fall and mass migration leads to the situation where agriculture was no more the major mode of subsistence for the villagers. The direct effect of migration was the factor for diminishing agricultural production because male went abroad in the hope of much better earning for their families. Their female in the village have to work in the field, which was basically the responsibility of males. In this way, the quality of work was affected and land became less productive than before. As a consequence the people of the village has abandoned their traditional occupation any fields are lying vacant without any production or temporarily handed over to the servants in order to produce fodder for their animals.

4.12.7.4 Everyday expenditure

A large portion of remittances was used on everyday expenditure. Families belonging to lower or middle class usually utilize remittances on the daily life expenses like food, clothes, health and education, while upper class, having more remittance uses the money for construction of houses and purchase luxuries:

a- Expenditure on food

An important use of remittances in the routine household needs was food. The patterns of food have been changed after migration due to the frequent flow of remittances. People guzzle more money on acquiring seasonal fruits, vegetables, meat and milk etc from the local bazaar. There was a big difference in the pre and post migration dietary patterns.

Meat was very rarely used before migration because it was unaffordable for the poor people of the village. Milk, Fruits, eggs, vegetables, grains and milk were locally produced. Land and animals are major source of production and only a small amount is consumed rather a large amount is sold in the bazaar to generate income. In some houses people still grew vegetables whereas many of them have abandoned this activity.

After the migration, the increased flow of cash has changed the consumption habits. The early clay and Brass made utensils have been replaced by modern and imported dinner sets. Each and every piece of dinner set is specified for a single dish instead of one device for all dishes in old days.

Nowadays, people preferably use meat and chicken many times a week. Seasonal fruits are regularly used and all time available in the refrigerator. Cold drinks were the inevitable products before the trends of migration but after migration the diverse variety of cold drinks used by the families of migrants and other is put in the refrigerators to serve the guests. The eatable products which were sold to generate income before migration are preferably purchased from the bazaar to consume.

Case Study-9

Abdul Hussain, a sixty years old man of the village articulated that:

“We used to consume meat only on qurbani and a small amount on the marriage and Nayaz, because it was beyond our affordability. We could hardly afford the roti. We used to work on the field and grazing animals in the khalsa and receive on roti per person at the time of meal. The bread was consumed either suki (dry) or with water. The makhan (butter) ki (ghee) and dud (milk) and antra (eggs) were sold in bazaar to purchase other necessities. We used to rear cattle to sell in mandi instead of consuming. We have to produce each and every thing from subsistence agriculture and cattle. Local fruits like Hari (Apricot) garida, paghara (fig) daroona (pomegranate), rawara (peach) amb (mangoes), shatoot, tussah, danooli and bair were consumed by the villagers and fruits from market are not purchased at all. All the people collectively worked on the field and hardly a member of household was abroad.

After the emergence of emigration trends the family members went abroad send money and everything is purchased from the bazaar. Although we still work on fields but no with the same dedication so the field are less productive and only generate the fodder for buffaloes. The chicken and goats are not sold rather purchased from the market to consume. Our refrigerators are filled up with the meat, fruits, vegetables, cold drinks and eggs, but in our bitter days all these eatables are consumed once in a blue moon”.

All the households interviewed showed that a household comprises of five to seven persons spends thirty to thirty five thousand per month on the food consumptions.

b- Dress expenses

Dress was another basic need of human being and an important manifestation of culture. Dresses in a Muslim society are designed and intended to cover human body, as nudity is prohibited in Islam and is also designed to protect people against cold, heat and other climatic hazards. In the past, people, therefore, wear simple dress with a purpose of covering all parts of body but now with more advancement and modernization, people of the village were more attracted towards fashion in dress pattern.

Migration played very important role in changing the ideas of people regarding their dress patterns. Nowadays the dresses used by the villagers are made from expensive imported material. Among migrant families, the trends of wearing imported and expensive clothes has become an important trend in showing off their wealth and social status.

A large part of remittance is spent on purchasing ready-made and unstitched clothes. The women of village are very keen towards wearing different texture of clothes with the introduction of costly imported dresses material with an additional tendency of getting the cloth stitched by the urban tailors of Kotli and Khuiratta. Women generally pay Rs.300 to Rs.500 per suit for normal stitching, whereas the ornamentation and embroidery and special stitching are charged additionally. Majority of people wear imported clothes send by migrants from foreign countries. An average household consists of 5-7 persons spends almost forty to fifty thousand on dresses with varying degree of gender proportion in the household. Besides the remittances utilization on major dresses, a portion of remittances is utilized on a variety of stylish foot-wears.

4.12.7.5 Expenses on Cosmetics, Perfumes and Ornamentation

Among the migrant's families in the village; a huge portion of remittance send by the migrants from the foreign countries is utilized on the cosmetics, perfumes and body ornamentation. Depending upon the gender proportion of the household; the households with more female members were observed as spending massive amounts on cosmetics and body ornamentation.

The women from the migrant's households occasionally visit the cosmetic store in the min bazaar Khuiratta and/or Kotli and spend huge amount out of the remittances on cosmetics and body decoration stuff.

The young girls of the village also visit beauty parlor to have their body ornamentation. This is the reason that the number of beauty parlors in the area is increasing day by day. These beauty parlor charge excessive amount for their services, but it is not out of the range of a migrant's family member because of the frequent flow of remittances from abroad.

The boys from the migrant's family also use variety of perfume to produce fragrance around them. They prefer to purchase expensive, long lasting and imported perfumes by utilizing a sum of money. The young boys use variety of Gel for molding their hair style. The boys have their facial and hairs cutting at fashionable barber shops situated in Khuiratta and spend a lot of money on it. The young boys with raised hairs, baggy trouser, imported perfumes, a bracelet of colorful threads, a locket and English shoes are often called as *British*. The young boy possessing these qualities is expected to be the son of brother of a migrant. Both the boys and girls from the migrant's families spend gigantic amount on their body ornamentation. They prefer to purchase imported stuff over the indigenous one or demand it from the migrant to fetch it along with him on his return to the village.

4.12.7.6 Expenses on transportation and travelling

A major part of remittances is used for buying lavish motorcars, villagers Suzuki vans and motorcycles, Toyota, Buses, Jeeps and trucks and other vehicles run over the roads of the Tehsil Khuiratta are mostly owned by these migrants. The migrants to the oil rich states have purchased these vehicles from both luxurious as well as business perspectives whereas the migrants to the Europe and other developed states have only luxurious perspective. A number of the villagers have dual residences both in the village and in Mirpur, Kotli or Islamabad and were using costly vehicles to travel from one place to the other. A luxurious car is part and parcel for the villagers having gigantic and precious *kothis* (Bungalows). A number of migrants purchased expensive vehicles and lodged in the garage of their sophisticated houses. These vehicles are only occasionally driven by the migrants on their occasional visit to the village. Most of these vehicles are stuck over with the name of sons and daughters of the migrants or the *biradri* name is highlighted over the vehicles.

Almost every household have at least one motor-cycle that is run by the young boy in order to bring daily usable from the bazaar or to drop the guests at the bus stops. These motor bikes keep on running between village and city several times a day while driven by the young son of the migrant accompanied by the son of another migrant, both with raised hairs in *engalandi* style, wearing a baggy trouser, red shirt and English shoes, having clean shaved and sometimes a loop in the ear, a ring on the thumb, a band of colorful stings in the wrist and a piece of cloth on their neck. Sometimes these boys abandoned the cylincers and have race of motor bikes which produce an annoying sound. These young boys of migrants use these motor bikes for their annual tours on *Eid* to Rawalkot and other beautiful resorts in the form of groups. Whenever their cricket teams go on to play in other cities they also ride through these motor-bikes.

Among the returnees, tenof them acquired Suzuki cars, Toyota, land rovers and Suzuki, Jeeps, Pejero and Toyota Hiluxe etc from the business point of few. These vehicles are given to the local drivers to run on public transport routes and special booking. Families of migrants usually prefer to hire private Suzuki vans and Cars and Jeep for going outside the village and for transporting household eatables and animal fodder from the bazaar to the village. Approximately 1000 rupees are spent on traveling from village to Kotli city on special booking whereas it charges 60 rupees on public transport for the same distance. Only 65% of migrant families have their personal vehicles while others hire it on rent or travel through public transport. Permanent settlers in foreign countries buy or hire automobiles on their visit to village.

All the families of migrants have links with their relatives in other cities and villages. They all have their personal cars, prado and Pajeros to travel to their relations. They drive either personally or have hired drivers on daily/monthly salaries, while nuclear families where the male members are out of country, there the trend of female driversare emerging day by day.

4.12.7.7 Expenses on Luxuries/ Modern Gadgets

Any social change brings many changes in the society; as all the institutions of the society run in association with others and change in one institution may affect all others as the effect of migration, people adopt new ideas from other countries. The impact of modernization, contact with foreign countries and the

exposure to the modern means of communication through Radio, Television, Mobile, Newspapers, and Internet has accelerated the pace of change in the village. The increased flow of money from foreign promoted a trend of spending more on the luxuries.

Migrants' houses are full of modern gadgets because a large amount of remittance was spent on luxury items. For the last two years, trend of using mobile has increased; all the households have at least one or mobile phones with a number of connections of various companies.

Majority of the families have varying quantities of TV, VCR, CD Players, Tape recorder, DVDs and Mobile Phones, Computers, Radio, Camera Video Camera, Handy-cam, Movie maker, Refrigerator, and Washing Machines and other electrical and electronic and mechanical appliance.

Modern luxurious Motor Bikes, Cars, Pajero, Prado, Surf, XLI, Saloon any many other latest models of vehicle are possessed by the migrants. Many of these vehicles remain idle and only occasionally driven by the migrants on their occasional visits.

The modern houses are also filled with modern and expansive furniture that is made up of special aromatic woods. Rooms are filled up with various combinations of the furniture stuff. Drawing room is specified for guests only and that is filled with stylish and comfortable beds attractive sofa with soft seats and cushion. Dining rooms are adorned up with dining table, chairs and variety of gorgeous and imported utensils systematically arranged over the dining tables.

During the load shedding, people of the village also use generators and UPS. There is no gas supply in the village; therefore the use of gas cylinders is frequently used by migrants' families in addition to the firewood. Electric motors are also used by the migrants' families in order to fetch water from the well and stream instead of fetching it on women's head before the migration has taken place.

Availability of luxury items makes difference between migrants and non-migrants households. A large proportion of remittances comprises of 'remittances in kind' usually consists of luxurious items and a hefty amount of 'remittances in cash' is utilized to purchase these modern gadgets and luxuries.

4.12.7.8 Expenses on education

No one in the world can deny the over whelming importance of education in the process of nation building and human development. Every civilized society is desirous of progress in the modern age, assigns top most priority to the acquisition of knowledge and spends huge amount of their earnings on the education in order to curb and eradicate ignorance.

In the village Dhana, the education of both male and female was not the priority of the villagers before the migration process has accelerated. In those days a person who could read the Holy Quran was considered as an educated one. Mostly the parents taught the Holy Quran to girls home and the boys were sent to *Immam* in local *masjid* at morning. Some of the boys were admitted to local *madarsa* for the *hifz* (memorization) of holy Quran.

All other boys and girls of school going age were engaged in the major subsistence patterns; agricultural activities, wood-cutting and cattle herding. As the emigration trends has accelerated the trends of education emerged in the village. With the passage of time education of children had become a priority area for the migrants.

A handsome proportion of remittances send by the migrants are specified for school going age children for their school fee, tuition fee, transport charges, books, stationary and dress expenditures and pocket money. Depending upon the earnings abroad, migrants prefer the admission of their children in the schools that provide quality education and personality grooming. The trend of madarsa education is on the way of extinction.

Nowadays, English medium schools are highly preferred over the Urdu medium and govt. school because migrants want their children to be well groomed, English speaking and educated in accordance with the upcoming modern trends, which they have exposed off in foreign countries. Although the schools are not far away from the village even then the transport is managed for pick and drop of school children. Some of the children are dropped at school on the motor-bikes and personal vehicles while the others travel through the Suzuki that is collectively hired by the villagers for their children on monthly basis.

With the emerging interests of the emigrants the trend of opening English medium private schools in increasing day by day. There are many schools

around the village that are situated at a shorter distances. Children of primary classes are preferably sent to the English medium private schools that are shortly situated to the village, whereas the elder children are sent to the quality schools in Khuiratta and Kotli. The daily expenditures and the amount of pocket money is given due consideration in accordance with the travelling distance of school going children. The amount of pocket money ranges from ten rupees (primary level students) to hundred rupees (college level students) per day. A number of college boys travel on their personal vehicles and motor-bikes mostly along with their school age siblings studying at Khuiratta and Kotli. The students of higher classes are encouraged by the parents to manage their tuition beyond their regular studies, whereas, the home tuition is managed by the parents for their younger children.

The dress and shoes for school going children are organized in more than one pair. The dress and shoes remained pressed and polished in personal cupboard of each child; mostly a home servant is employed for the provision of such kind of services. Most of the migrants have provided their children; computers, electronic dictionaries and scientific calculators for the enhancement in their education. A number of migrants have promised their children for expansive rewards in return to their excellent educational achievement, mostly these rewards includes Laptop, motor bike, car or a family visit to a desired tourists spot.

Muneer a migrant to UK was on his visit to the village for the period of a month; articulated that:

Case Study-10

Our educational system in govt. schools and madrasas spoils the personality of children by punishment and limit the children to certain memas by hindring all other dimensions. In fact the teachers are not well trained so that they employ violent methods in order to hinder their weaknesses. He explored that if there were someone to look after his old parents he would have brought his children with him in order to provide them modern education. Lacking this opportunity; he do not hesitate to spend on the education of his children, he had purchased a car and his elder son drive it provide pick and drop service to all other children to school. As the children grow elder he would mänge to call them UK by letting other stay in the village. On the successful arrival of all the children to UK, he would return permanently to look after his parents.

(Muneer; a Temporary Returnee)

In the joint and extended families, if a person has migrated abroad and interested in his children's education; he would equally sponsor the education of his left-over brother's children, because the lingering brother is looking after the older parents and the children of migrant in addition to the performing household chores and looking after his own children. Therefore the budget is maintained from the remittances sent by the migrants keeping in view the educational expenditures of all the school going age children and every one of the non-migrant's children receive an equal share to that of the migrant's children.

Some of the migrant's families have settled in urban areas like Kotli, Mirpur and Islamabad because of children's education. Getting higher education is the priority of the people, about 9% people were post-graduate degree holders, 16% were graduates and 25% have passed intermediate and still continued their education, while most of the young age villagers are matriculates. Migrants who are permanently settled in Britain or other countries want their children to get settle in those countries. A handsome number of the villagers have gone abroad in order to get higher education, as they do not want to spend big amount of money on education.

There is a big difference between migrants and non-migrant families towards education trends. Most of migrant's families are living in Kotli in order to run their business and for better education of their children. A majority of non-migrants who could not afford their living and travelling cost to urban areas and the educational fees of private schools, they used to send their children to government schools.

4.12.7.9 Expenses on medical treatment/ health

A substantial part of home remittances from abroad is used on medical treatment in case of the ailment of any member of the household or for the regular check-up of old age parents, infants and pregnant women from the private clinics and maternity homes situated in Khuiratta and Kotli. For the common diseases and little injuries, there are three small clinics run by paramedics. These clinics treat the ailments of the villagers by charging a

minimal fee. Mostly the non-migrants visit these clinics, whereas the migrant's families prefer to go to private hospitals in Khuiratta and Kotli.

Govt. hospitals are less entrusted by the emigrants and their families due to their rough dealing of their staff, unhygienic conditions, rush and treatment by the less educated paramedical staff. One of the returned migrant explored that, its better to die off than visiting govt. hospitals in case of any ailment. A few villagers have established their private clinics both in Khuiratta and Kotli by putting a huge sum of remittances and their earnings in foreign countries. The clinics provide surgical and medical services to the villagers as well as to the other people of the area. The people of the village preferably visit these hospitals and utilize a huge amount of remittances sent by the migrants on the treatment of their ailments.

The migrant's families hire VIP rooms, whenever anyone of their family member is admitted in private hospitals. These VIP rooms charges extra amounts and provide luxuries services like, refrigerator, TV, Telephone, a bed for patient and a sofa for the assistant in a room, and an assistant outside the room. In case of accidents or any emergency situation in the household, the migrants send an extra amount of money in order to tackle the situation. The patients are driven to the hospitals on ambulance and comfortable private vehicles instead of public transport. Blood is purchased in advance for any surgical operation. The guests' visiting the patients is served with food and drinks. The purified and packed water is used for general drinking. All these expenditures are drawn from the remittances send by the migrant to the villagers.

4.12.7.10 Repayment of loans

The repayment of loans was also a big way of using remittance. The new migrants and their families borrow money from the earlier migrants or from money lender and banks in order to run their household expenditures, tackle any urgent situation (marriage, death, accident, loss or ailment) and manage the funds for travelling abroad. The money is borrowed well before the migration and even after the migration if the migrant is not settled in his job. After the emigrants' starts earning, his first task is to repay the loan and interest charged over that in order to get rid of heavy burden. Usually the villagers do not borrow

rather the well off people helps the poor's at the time of crises and relax them to return after confident settlement of migrant in foreign countries.

4.12.7.11 Expenditure on ceremonial activities

After repaying loans and meeting the routine household needs; the most important use of foreign remittances was the ceremonial activities celebrated in the village like marriage, childbirth and death. The migrants themselves visit these occasions if it is going to be held within the family, *biradri* or neighborhood and spends lot of money on various stages of the ceremony. If the migrant is unable to join these special occasions; he sends money to ensure his participation and makes phone calls to express his pleasure and condolence with the active participants of the ceremony to realize their presence.

a-Marriages

A considerable part of the remittances is spent on wedding ceremonies for buying jewellery, new fashionable clothes, shoes, cosmetics, hosiery, bits and pieces for the ornamentation of bride and groom, stuff for the decoration of house, edible and eatable substances, furniture and other necessary items that compose *daaj* that is to be given to the bride. The allied expenditures are made on the arrangements of marriage ceremony which includes the decoration and lightening of the house, seating arrangements for guests, tent and cartridge arrangements, cooking and serving arrangements, sweets, musical instruments and bands, arrangements of the gathering of *mehfilsher khawani* (singing competition) and the arrangements of decorated cars for travelling.

The quantity and price of the dowry has been tremendously increasing, therefore the migrant families spend more money on buying the needed items in order to maintain their social status among the *biradari* and other villagers. The average expenditure on marriage made by the migrants was estimated during the field work:

- Rupees 6 lacs from the bride side;
- Rupees 5 lacs from the groom's side

The amount of jewelry ranges from 10 to 15 *tolas* with varying capacity of villagers and depending upon their relations to the bride's family. The expenditures for jewelry, bridal suit and bits and pieces for bridal makeup are paid by the groom's side. Average cost on jewelry was about 3 to 4 lacs rupees.

Among migrant families a large amount was spent on bridal dress, round about 25 – 35 thousands rupees while groom's dress was not as expensive as bride's dress. The trend of wearing three piece suits by groom on the day of marriage is emerging in distinction to the white Shalwar-Qameez that was worn by groom in old days.

Expensive and luxurious cars are specially decorated to accompany the marriage procession. Some of the cars are hired on rent from rent a car and a sum of money is utilized over those.

The bands (musical instruments) are managed to accompany the marriage procession. These bands charge a huge amount of money that is paid by the migrants to celebrate the joys.

Handsome, specially ordered and expansive cards are prepared for inviting the people. A large sum of money is utilized over the specially designed cards. The names and mobile numbers of the brother, friend, community influential and the names of migrants along with their destination are specially mentioned over these invitation cards.

Other than making arrangements of food, decoration, ornamentation, bride and groom make up, by utilizing the remittances; a large sum of cash is weaved and showered over the groom and the *doli* of bride. The showering of money at various stages over the groom continues till the end of marriage.

Firstly, at the night of in the *tail* ceremony, when the groom along with his friend line up to walk slowly; his brothers, cousins and friends weave the currency notes over the groom and his friend and ask the drum beaters to catch the notes and out loud the *bayl*(loudly call the names of groom and his friends), afterward the money is blatantly showered over the groom and let the drum-beaters rush to collect the currency notes.

Secondly, when the *jundge* is ready to leave for bride house, the groom along with his friend stand up in the courtyard and let his brother and friends shower currency notes on him.

Thirdly, when the marriage procession reach at the house of bride, the brother and friends of groom expressively spread money over the groom and his friends.

Fourthly, the groom himself showers the currency note over the friends and drum beaters who loudly beat the drums in front of groom to signify the greetings to him after the *nikkah* ceremony has held.

Fifthly, the sisters of groom showered notes and coins over the bride's doli, when it reaches to the groom's house.

Lastly, the villagers, friends and relatives get together in the courtyard of groom's house; the drum beaters beat the drum and play the flutes on the demands of people. The groom sits somewhere in the middle of gathering and let others weave currency notes over his head and the drum beater catch the notes.

After the second day of ceremony another team of drum beater visits the groom house and demands their share. The groom gives them a handsome amount of money and other edible stuff.

These were the various situations and stages of marriage on which the migrants excessively utilize money to explain their status and celebrate their pleasur. The reason behind such and excessive use of money is that after abusy and tiresome schedules of migrants they find it an occasion of celebration for them.

a-iFeast on marriage

Giving feast to the participants on marriage is an important component of marriage ceremony. The feast usually consists of following dishes served by migrants and non migrant families.

Table #20

Migrant Families	Non-migrant families
Good quality rice <i>pulao</i>	
Mutton curry	
Chicken and Mutton roast	Rice Pulao
Chicken boanless	Meat (Mutton/chicken/beef)
<i>Naan</i> and/or <i>roti</i>	Sweet dish (zarda)
Vegetable and <i>Daal</i> (lentils)	
Sweet Rice (<i>mithay chawal</i>)/ <i>Kheer</i>	
<i>Raita</i>	
Salad	
Cold drinks in diverse varieties	
Tea/ <i>Qahwa</i> (served in disposable cups)	

Table 4.14: Feast composition at marriage

The *pahaji dar*(people in reciprocal circle) are served with food while sitting on the comfortable chairs in the halls or under the canopy installed outside the house. The varieties of dishes are organized on the tables by the villagers and relatives or by waiters. The guest themselves are let to their meal regarding their choice.

People of the village strictly follow the rules and regulations laid by the village traditions. By following the traditions, the people usually celebrate marriages within the village as they have big places in the houses and also because of presence of all relatives and neighbors within the village so that the marriage hall is not hired.

After finishing with meal, the guests pay *nendra*, which is written over a notebook to keep the record and realize the presence of each guest. The amount of feast price among the migrants ranges from five hundred to five thousand.

b-Death

Many ceremonies are linked with the observance of death rituals. From the day of death until the 40th day number of ceremonies were observed being customary such as “Chothay Ka Katham” (after 4th day) *Jeiveinrat*’ (Thursday), *pandrawan* (15th day) and ‘*Chaliswan*’ (at 40th day), *tehara*(annual) etc.

First and fourth day are special days which are accompanied with the recitation of the Holy Quran and serving of one time meal to the *darvesh*, poor and the villagers. Average cost of *Jumerat* comprises from Rs.10000 to Rs.15000, for

pandrawan and *chaliswan* Rs.100000 to Rs.200000 utilized in cooking different dishes such as Chicken, Rice, Roti Zarda etc., for serving to the participants.

Hafiz is requested to recite as many holy Quran as they can till the observance of *chaliswan*. The total number of recited Holy Quran by hafiz, relatives and other people for the forgiveness is counted in the prayer offered at *chaliswan* and offered to the *maulvi* to include in the prayer. This prayer is offered over a variety of edible thing, fruits and dishes which are distributed among the participants. The *hafiz* is specially compensated with clothes, gifts and an amount of money in return to their recitation for the departed soul.

During the observance of death ritual the poor are given special consideration and a large amount of money is given to them with the request to make prayer for the forgiveness of departed soul.

If a migrant from the village could not come at the death of any of his family members, he sends a large sum of money (beside regular remittances) to perform the death rituals and serve the people came to offer *fatiha*(condolence). The bereaved relatives, friends and neighbors are specially offered with a large sum of money at the occasion of death and accidents to bear their unusual expenditures.

On the 40th day of the death the grave is plastered and tiled with decorated tiles, fenced with stylish and colored iron bars. The family members and heirs of departed ones get together and offer prayer over the edible eatables. Afterward only an annual ceremony held in memorial of departed soul.

c-Child birth

Certain other occasions of happiness are celebrated in the village on the birth of child. The childbirth is celebrated particularly on the birth of male child and sweets are distributed among the neighbors and visitors. On the birth ceremony a great deal of money is spent, especially the migrant families in the village use such occasions for strengthening their social status by arranging valued feast *aqeeqa* and *Sadqa*.

On the 7th or 9th day of the child birth a ceremony held in the household in which the *maulvi* offer the prayer over edible stuff and participants are served with it. The child is circumcised(in the past by the barber and nowadays by surgeon)

and hairs are cut. The guests came up with sweets and new clothes congratulate the parents of the child.

This ceremony, as believed by the villagers signifies for the peaceful and successful life of the newborn. The mother of new born is served with edible foods for forty days and allowed for rest by relaxing her from responsibilities for the forty days after child birth. In the migrant households a servant is employed for the performance of routine household chores and look after the newborn and mother of the newborn.

d-Foundation stone and House completion ceremony

Two ceremonies held in village regarding the house construction; one ceremony is celebrated at the earlier stage of house construction when the foundation stone is laid down. The other ceremony is celebrated after the completion of a newly constructed house in which all the relatives and villagers are invited that was called '*Kothi Ka Khatma*', on the occasions all the participants come and pray for the blessing of God for the new house. Food is served to the participants after completion of prayer on edible stuff is offered by *maulvi*. Approximately Rs.40000 to Rs.50000 is spent these occasions.

These ceremonies are compulsory to be celebrated to assure a peaceful and harmless life in the new house. Without the observance of these ceremonies the big and sophisticated houses are perceived as useless by the villagers. Villagers articulated this situation as "one has constructed a bungalow but not assured peacefulness in it".

4.12.7.12 Remittances utilization on *Pahaji*(reciprocity) and Gifts Giving

A large proportion of 'remittances in kinds' are given in the gifts to the relative, neighbors and friends. These imported gadgets possess higher value for the villagers. These modern gadgets are given in gifts and dowries. The demand for any specific stuff as made on phone calls as the migrant informs his family in the village about his preparation to leave for the village. The migrants make their efforts to fetch as much as foreign stuff as they can to give it in gifts to a number of people. If the people expecting for a gift is not given a imported gift, it may disrupt the relations. If a migrant could not fetch as much foreign stuff, he keeps his arrival as secret because he has to purchase a lot of stuff from

Pakistan for gift giving. In this way, the villagers perceive the gift as foreign stuff and the higher value of gift is retained.

Pahaji (reciprocity) is a special juncture widely practiced in the Jammu & Kashmir, which donates gift and money exchange on certain occasions. In Punjab it is referred as *vartan bhaji*. Literally, *Vartan Bhaji* means “dealing in sweets and relationship”. Gift exchange takes place between individuals as well as groups’ on certain occasions such as marriages, childbirth, building a new house, death or any mourning, return of a migrant or pilgrim, sickness and any unusual and accidental incident.

Migration has been influencing that kind of traditional gift exchange;

“when basic requirements are met, remittances often flow into conspicuous consumption, remittances and not just an economic phenomenon but involves complicated set up as well these remittances are also used to continue the traditional set of values”.

(J. Connel and B. Dasgupta)

Pahaji is a reciprocal relationship, it helps in keeping the solidarity within Biraderi and among the kin and villagers. There are very strong, permanent or *Pakki pahaji* in the village Dhana.

As Hamza Alvi, described two types of *Vartan Bhaji* (i) *Pakki* (permanent) (ii) *Katchi* (temporary).

Pakki or permanent *Vartan Bhanji* is being practiced among migrants and non-migrants households of the village. But regular and high frequency of *Vartan Bhaji* was practiced among migrants rather than non-migrants because sometimes it makes difficult for the poor to handle the situation. A large part of remittances is spent on *Vartan Bhaji* locally called “*Pahaji*.”. The practice of *pahaji* is very much affiliated with female. Female usually perform and participate in such activities. The custom of *Pahaji* is wide spread in the village’s life. Description of *pahaji* in its practice on various occasions is:

a- Pahaji on marriage

High frequency of practicing *Pahaji* has been observed on various stages of the celebrations of marriage ceremony; gifts are given in the form of a large amount of cash and kind. *Pahaji* is practiced on certain occasions of marriage ceremony which are given below:

- Giving and receiving invitation was the first step in Pahaji relationship. Invitations are given to the people through modern ways of "card giving" instead of old and traditional system of *sada lanan* (invitation) through *Nai* (in turn *nai* was given cash amount with grain or eatables). The people invited are called as *pahaji dar* and the people of the area who are not invited on certain grounds are said as '*we have no pahaji with those*'.
- In the Pahaji of "*Pachara*" or "*Pachari*" a lot of things are given to the bridal or groom and their families consists of clothes, cosmetics, household utensils, gold, money and other necessities. A large sum of remittances is utilized on such kind of Pahaji. On several occasions the migrants participation is part and parcel of the ceremony, but unable to reach; he/ she sends money and ask any of his close relative to perform instead of him/her.
- Most of the invitees, especially the close relatives on the marriage were bound to give *Neendra* in cash or kind, the amount is not fixed rather it is a volunteered activity. Some of the participants also present gifts like; costly clothes, utensils, electric appliances etc. *Neendra* was given to groom according to established *Pahaji* relationships by checking the record from note book written on the similar occasion in ones own household. The migrant families usually give costly gifts and heavy amount on the occasion to impress other and to maintain their influence in the village. It was observed during many of the occasion of similar nature where the migrant families gave 50,000 rupees in comparison to 2000.00 rupees by non migrants.

'Salami' is given to both the bride and the groom in their arrival in each other's house, which is again given in accordance to Pahaji relationship. Migrant families usually give 500 to 1000 rupees to the marriage couple.

In addition 'Bathwaira' is a type of dinner inviting all the close relatives after the marriage comprising of expenditure ranging from 20 – 25,000 rupees in Dhana.

Case Study-11

Shabir went to Spain a few years ago. His immigration process had delayed over there for certain reasons so he could not come back. In his absence several ceremonies and funerals have been observed in the village.

His brother explored the Shabir was very social in the community life so he represented himself through the remittances in order to realize his presence and always make phone calls on the eve of some special occasions in the village.

A few years back, the marriage of his sister's daughter was celebrated. He was anxious to join this occasion but failed due to the delay in his paper work. He sent seventy thousand rupees and asked his younger brother to actively participate at various stages on his behalf. Meanwhile he made phone calls and marked the scenarios in which he was desirous to participate. On the day of ceremony he made several phone calls and realized his presence while talking to his pehan (sister and bride's mother), paniya (Sister's husband), boti (bride), maraj (groom) and some other people of the village. On his return he offered fatiha (condolence) with the bereaved families of dead one's in the village and invited the latest married couples on a collective dinner.

b-pahajion death

In case of death in the *biradari* or village, the neighbors cook the food for the participants and bereaved family that is offered after burial is concluded. The *maulvi* make an announcement after the *janaza* (funeral) prayer in which he declares the name of neighbor who has cooked the food and request all the participants not to go without having their meal. Afterward the bereaved family is served with food by the neighbors.

The people come to offer condolence is also served by the neighbors. Traditionally; the closes relatives and neighbors willingly bear the expenditure of every Thursday's ritual '*Jumarat*' in which 7000 to 8000 rupees are paid to the deceased's family for *Jumarat Khatam*. They also spend on drinks and food for the guests from their own pocket and actively accept the responsibilities of management of all the expenses by letting the bereaved one's free to share their sorrows with other people.

The migrants from the village send money to fulfill the expenditures of this special occasion. The special package of remittances is also shared with neighbors and kin to bear the expenses of the bereaved occasion. Similar

patterns are observed on the similar occasion in other's household for the fulfillment of the expectations of *Pahaji*.

c-Pahajion child birth

The childbirth was another occasion where *pahaji* is practiced; relatives, neighbors and friend participate to celebrate the childbirth to congratulate the child's parents. They present cash and kind gifts according to their economic status but usually 100-500 rupees along with a suit and sweets given in return to *Pahaji*. The sweets are distributed among the families who have *Pahaji* relationship with them. Closest relative of the parents of newborn presents clothes and toys for the child and gifts for other family members. In this way 10-15 thousand rupees are spent on the occasion. All the expenditures were met out of the remittances by the migrant's families. Migrants themselves bring costly gifts and toys from foreign countries for the newborns of their siblings and relatives on their return to the village.

d-Serving of annual feast, feast on the arrival/departure of a migrant/ pilgrim, *aftari* and *Nayaz*

A large amount of remittance is used on feasts locally called '*Roti Pakana*'. The feasts are usually arranged annually and/or on the arrival/departure of a migrant to/from the village. The collective meal for relatives, neighbors and friends is also arranged when someone return back after performing *Hajj/umra*. The feast is served sometime to the whole *biraderi* and sometimes just to the concerned family. Sometimes the feast is voluntarily arranged by the migrants and their families for the neighbors, friends and relatives in order to promote harmony and good relations among them. Mostly, the feast is arranged during the month of *ramazan* and *aftari* is offered to friends, relatives and villagers. All the participants are served with edible stuff, various drinks and variety of dishes. About five to six thousand rupees are spent on arranging such type of food for four to five families.

In addition to the annual/occasional feasts; the *nayaz* is another ceremony which is of more religious in its nature. In which one or two goats are slaughtered and rice are cooked to serve the participants. The *maulvi* offers *dua* over edible stuff and fruits that is distributed among the guests. The *nayaz* is offered to supernatural beings in order to get rid of suffering, sorrows and serial

deaths/ailments in the household and to liberate the house from harmful beings and appease the God. On these entire scenarios feast is served to male and female separately, the food for elder people in the neighborhood is given on their residence. The expenditures for the feast on all these occasions are extracted from the remittances send by the foreign migrants.

4.12.7.13 Investments and Savings of Remittances

It is well established that investment plays a crucial role in economic development of an area and remittances also has the similar impact. The remittances are the main source of investments by the villagers; the families that frequently receive remittance are better able to invest in various sectors, like business, property and saving certificates. The remittance in the village are not only used in unproductive activities like regular and occasional consumption but also used in productive activities in the form of investment.

The remittances usedfor investment basically depend on the savings out of remittances and the earnings of the migrant.The careful use of remittancesfor regular household consumption and the intention to increase economic productivityenable the villagers to invest for productive use of money to generate income and to secure their future. The sum of investment by all producing units must be identically equal to the sum of saving by all consumer or income-receiving units. It has confirmed that investment and saving are interrelated to each other.

The investmentspattern of migrant families of the village depends upon the remittance flow, which was again dependent upon the self-assurance and self-confidence with job, nature of visa and legal status, expenditures of migrant abroad, number of dependent, economic condition before migration, priority areas of investment (loan repayment, construction of house, marriage and death of any dependent and lastly the savings and investments), savings and earning of the migrant in their destination. According to the respondents, about 53.12% of income and remittance were invested in different productive schemes. Investments by the migrants and their left over are made in the following areas.

4.12.7.14 Purchase of Land/Plots and Construction of Shops/Plaza

After fulfilling the basic needs, everyday household expenditures, completion of house and marriage of dependent(s); the first and foremost priority of the migrant and their residual members is to invest in purchasing property and/or construct shops, market and plaza in Kotli, Mirpur, Khuiratta and Islamabad. Out of forty five households of migrants, forty two have invested in various housing schemes or purchased uncultivated lands nearby cities, constructed markets and plaza in Kotli and Khuiratta. The various housing schemes in which the villagers have so far invested are; Roli hills housing Scheme, River Garden Housing Scscheme Kotli, New Mirpur City, Bahria Town, DHA, Motor way city and Al-haram city and Jammu & Kashmir Cooperative Housing Society(JKCHS), Islamabad. Few of the villagers have more than one plot in any of the housing scheme in the name of various heirs. Some of the villagers have purchased private property around Kotli and Khuiratta, keeping in view the upcoming developmental trends of the area. A number of earlier migrants have constructed and/or purchased shops and markets in the big cities around the village. Various villagers have invested in more than one areas and schemes. They are of the view that;

Zameen tusan ki kaday ve naqsan ni deni, faida hi desi (Land never give you loss rather it always gives you profit).

One of the villager revealed that, their forefather had gone through starvations but they had purchased the lands out of their earnings. Now they have died but not took their lands with them, those lands are for us. If they had not invested in their time we would be like nomads. Now it's our turn to think for future generation in the same way as our forefather had thought about ourselves.

The migrant's families who have invested in the construction/purchasing of shops and markets in Kotli and Khuiratta are now able to generate profit out of it by selling or receive a monthly income from the rent. The investment in shops, plaza and market has found to be the priority of the migrants who are working in oil rich states. When they returned permanently, they establish their business in one shop and other are give on rent to generate income.

Case Study-12

Mushtaq Hussain went to Saudi Arabia in 1985 with the support of his elder brother. He started working as a Crane Operator. He was intended to improve productive capacity and improve the living standard of his family by finding well paid jobs. He regularly sends remittances to his father for his medical treatment and meets the household expenditures. He kept on saving a sum of money with him. On his first visit after the six years he purchased three shops in the main bazaar on a nominal price. As the area was not much developed so his shops remained close for many years. Now he has returned permanently to look after his father, he has established a currency exchange shop in one of his shops and gave two other shops on rent. As he is well known and entrusted among the migrants, they send remittances to their families via him. He charges a little amount for his services and provides the remittance to the migrant's family in the village. In this way he could generate enough income to sustain his family.

Case Study-13

Hameed was serving as a lecturer in the local college a few years back. One day he came to know through OEC advertisement in a national news paper, demanding the services of his subject lectureship. After successfully going through all the procedures he was deputed to the Embassy School in Muscat in 1998. He could hardly fulfill the expenditures of his family before migration but after the migration he had invested in DHA Homes on a quarterly installment of one hundred and fifty thousand. After the installment had finished he invested for a plot in OPF housing Scheme on the quarterly installment of One hundred and forty nine thousand. After two and half year the installment had finished, he invested in River Garden Housing Scheme Kotli for two plots and submits a quarterly installment of two hundred and nine thousands. Meanwhile he invested in two saving certificates, each of cost five hundred thousands. He has permanently returned in 2012 and joined his service again. He has established a private school in Kotli up to class 10th which he is intended to expand after his retirement.

4.12.7.15 Savings in Banks, Post Offices

Many villagers have saved their money in various branches of, MCB, HBL, UBL, ABL, NBP and the Jammu & Kashmir bank. Some of these banks provide a minimal amount of profit on annual basis, so that the money remained safe and keep on increasing.

The migrants and other villagers came to know through these profit schemes from each other, through advertisement in newspapers, announcements in Electronic Media, Internet, billboards on various main roads, bank employees and the notice insert over the ATM machines. A number of banks branches in Kotli and Khuiratta offer account services with additional ATM services without any extra charges on transaction from any of its branches across the country,

however transactions from the ATMs of other banks, fifteen rupees are cut down from balance on each transaction. These banks advertise their newly introduced their new schemes on ATM machines, where every user can come to know about it.

Case Study-14

Mr. Qaisar, the elder brother of a migrant explored that bank has facilitated the cash transfer through ATM services across the country. He had provided his brother all the details regarding his account number, Bank Branch code and swift number. His brother always sends him remittances from UK in his bank account in Kotli and informs him on phone call.

Out of the remittances; Qaisar has to pay the quarterly installment of his brother's plot in Defense Housing Authority, Islamabad. He never took the cash with him rather use ATM service from any of the Bank Branch and pay the installments. The staff of the bank in kotli knows him personally, and if needs extra cash, he make phone call to the bank and request them to confirm his signature to a bank branch in Islamabad, and receive the cash from Islamabad.

One day the Qaisar was using ATM in Kotli where he came to know about Engro Saving Certificate through an advertisement on ATM machine. He applied for this certificate by investing fifty thousand rupees which gives him ten thousand in his account bi-annually. The bank assured him that whenever he needs cash, he should inform the bank in advance otherwise he can continue with Engro Saving Certificate up to three years and receive the profit.

The other lucrative way of savings get saving Certificates from the Post office and/or open a saving account in the post office. The PO offers a variety of certificates which costs one lakh to five lakhs on the fixation of an equal amount for the period of ten years. The person cannot withdraw the cash before the maturity otherwise he/she has to abandon from the various amount profit at various stage of his savings. The post office account is relaxing regarding the withdrawal of cash but it offers small amount of profit.

Asaving certificates of cost five lakh gives the investor a total sum of fifteen lakh (including the five lakh which was invested) after ten years. These saving certificates deduct the *Zakat* amount (following the Islamic law) on the maturity of certificate. If one is willing to alienate himself/herself from *Zakat* deduction he/she has to submit *halaf-nama* (an oath certificate) in the post office that assures that the person will pay *Zakat* by himself.

The elder brother of Qaisar had transferred rupees ten lakh in the bank account of Qaisar. He was intended to come back to village and desirous

to construct a house. The construction of house was his first priority because their old house which was constructed by their father turned congested with the passage of time. He could not construct a house because the land was not divided among the brother. At the end of his leave he withdrawn six lacks from Quasars' account and purchased a saving certificate of cost five lacks from the post office. He also have opened an account in the name of his wife a submitted eighty thousand in it. He gave the rest four lacks to Qaisar for the household expenditures. Qaisar explored that his brother was confident with the situation because his money is safe and secure.

4.12.7.16 Insurance Policy

Insurance policy is another area in which the migrants and their left over are interested to invest. There are various insurance companies in the area like, State Life Insurance, EFU Life Insurance and Adam Ji Life Insurance Company. All these companies provide alternative and attractive combinations of various lucrative packages that attract the migrants and villagers to invest in these companies. The customers have to purchase a policy for a specified period of time and the amount ranges from few thousands to few lakes. These companies provide a lucrative profit on the maturity of the plan along with the benefits of the coverage of various diseases and accidents. The migrants and their families are highly interested to invest in the insurance policies because it minimizes their risk after the migration and on their return. In case of the accident, ailment and/or death of the migrant, the rest of the member would have a socio-economic assurance.

The representatives of these insurance companies have established their offices in Kotli and Khuiratta and they remain aware of the departure and arrival of someone from the village through their contacts. On the arrival of a migrant, the insurance service providers invite him in their office or offer them a cup of tea on hotel in the bazaar; meanwhile they convince the migrant to purchase an insurance policy for them.

4.12.7.17 Purchasing Jewelry

Purchasing jewelry is another area of investment which is more prevalent among the migrants' families in the village. Due to the fluctuation in the gold price, they buy the jewels/jewelry on low price and sell it when the prices go high. During this period, the women of the migrant's families wear these jewelry for their body ornamentation and express their social status.

Many women of various ages were seen wearing bracelet, gold bangles, expansive gold necklace, Ear ring, nose rings and finger-rings. A few girls were also seen with anklets as well. There are many shops of Goldsmiths in main bazaar khuratta and *Sarafa*Bazaar Kotli. The village's women visit these shops frequently to purchase beautiful jewelry on receiving remittance and on the visit of migrant to the village. Mostly the jewelry is purchased when the price are low and sold after use when the price is high. The old and used jewelry is sold in order to purchase new and modern style jewelry. The jewels are also purchased on low price and kept safe to sell again on high price to generate profits.

A variety of Gold jewelry is purchased on the marriage by the groom side for the ornamentation of bride. Among the migrant's families parents and siblings of bride also purchase golden jewelry to give as gift.

The male migrants to the Arabian states also bring cheaper Gold jewelry from their country of destination to bejeweled their brides on their marriage. In this way a large sum of money is saved and the marriage ceremony is celebrated in accordance with customs. The gold is measured in weight and its basic unit is *tola* the amount of one *tola* ranges from 50-60 thousand.

These gold jewels are kept saved and only sold when the family is in crises or to manage the funds of a person intended to go abroad. If an elder woman dies while leaving her personal jewelry, it is distributed among his close relatives, mostly among siblings and children. The selling of wife's jewels without her consent is considered notorious among the villagers; however her voluntary willingness to cope family crises is appreciated as well.

4.12.7.18 Keeping Foreign Currency

Due to the foreign currency exchange rates fluctuation, the migrants and their left-overs keep the foreign currency as a reserve income. The foreign currency is only exchanged when the rates are high. Some villagers have adapted it as a business. They purchase foreign currency when its rate are low and expected to increase soon. In this way they could generate the profit for their livelihood.

The left over ask their migrants members to send them foreign currency through other migrants and keep it save while remaining aware of the market fluctuations regarding the currency rates and get it exchanged when the rates are

high because when the remittance are send through banks it is immediately transferred to the Pakistani rupees at the rate of the receiving date. The commercial banks receive the remittances amounts in foreign currency and give it to the receiver in local currency, in this way the transfer rates may be less than the rates of next day, which deprives of the receiver from certain amounts. If the system keeps running normally without the incorporation of foreign currency; it remains un-exchanged till the rates are very high.

The other interesting way of keeping foreign currency is that the foreign currency is given to the local currency exchange. The transfer rates are not received immediately rather the currency remains safe with the currency exchange; the exchange rate is charged of the date when the rates are very high and expected to decline soon. However this strategy requires technical knowledge and updated information regarding the market situation but the villagers through their personal networking and media are well aware of it.

Some of the migrants have opened their foreign currency accounts in various branches of the Askari Bank (the only bank permit foreign currency accounts opening) in order to save their huge amounts. This currency remains safe and secure with the banks and the migrants only withdraw it when the rates reach at climax.

On their return to the village, the migrant visits the relative, friends and neighbors and give the foreign currency to the needy people and for having first look at the newborns (who have born after their departure from the village) of close relatives.

The drum beaters of the area visit the migrant's household in order to celebrate the joy of their successful arrival. They beat the drum in the household and the migrant compensate them with foreign currency notes to the drum beaters which possess a special attraction for the Drum Beaters.

The small foreign currency notes are also kept safe as keepsake, if given by someone special in order to remind him/her. The idle and outspoken people of the village also demand a foreign currency note from a migrant on his visit to the village; on the excuse of their joblessness, severe crisis of the past, ailment of any family member, educational expenses of their higher class children, the special care they have taken off the migrant's household in their absence and prayerful remembrance of the migrant in his/her absence. This request is some

times endorsed by any of the members of migrant family. The request is simply made by saying; *saith sab aj assan ki ve koi barayna note dassi shoro* (rich man! Could you please show (give) a foreign currency note today) or by outspokenly saying while meeting with the migrant; *aj te main sirf baray na barra note hi kinsaankiyan kay tusan aaye baray arse baad ae ho na* (today, I will take only a big foreign currency note because you have arrived after a long time).

4.12.7.19 Help/Loan to the Neighbors, Friends and Relatives

The migrants and their left-over's givehelps the friends, relatives and neighbors at the occasions of crises and pleasures. The people in crises are voluntarily cooperated out of remittances or those people made request to the migrant's family or directly to the migrant by making a phone call requesting certain amounts of money by justifying the dire needs of the happened/ up coming happenings. The migrants then inquire from his family about the character and needs of the person's demanding help. The final decision of the amount to be paid in help/loan is made by the migrant who asks his incharge/appointee in the village to pay off certain amounts for a specified period of time (if paid in loan). The on time return of the loan assures that the person has fulfilled the promise and expected to be helped if future.

The voluntary/ demanded help of the needy villagers are made on the occasion like; marriage, construction of house, ailment of any family member, accidents, educational cost of the children, death of any family member, a family member going abroad, purchasing a milk giving buffalo, repayment of loan, construction of water-well/tank, establishing any business purchasing vehicle or any other dire need of the family. The loans are often given on the demand made by some one that also includes all the above mentioned reasons. The loans are not made to a single person beyond few thousands without the return of prior loans taken by him/her. If the frequent demand of loan arises, the migrant and his family don't refuse directly in ordered to retain the expectations rather excuses of excessive personal expenditures are made or the pedestal of demand is lowered by making excuse of sufferings and problems faced by migrant in the foreign countries.

It has been observed that the village the help (not taken back) is often made to close relatives or the people of close relations, whereas the loan are made to distant relations. The amounts for both the loan and help are extracted out of remittance send from foreign countries. The loan act as reserve money for the migrant's family and it can be demanded back when the needs arise from with in the family. Loans are sometimes made secretly and directly by the migrant's family to the people demanding. The people who are given loan and helped by the migrants and their family are expected to contribute materially and/or immaterially at the time of crises and the occasions of cheers and sorrows. The people who took care of migrant's old parents in their absence are specially considered for help in their critical situation by the migrants.

4.12.7.20 EstablishBusiness

The saving pattern of the migrant's families in the village is not only limited to purchase and sale of residential and commercial plots, construction of shops and houses for rental purposes and investing in profitable schemes in banks and Post Office their or purchased gold rather the concrete form of business are also established by migrants and their families, which includes the which includes the establishment of hotel, restaurant, travel agent office, currency exchange, rent a car show room, shops and purchase vehicles to be run as special booking vehicles and/or public transport vehicles.

a-Hotel Business

Establishing of hotel and restaurant is most common form of business that have adopted by the migrant and their left over and permanent returnees of the village. Most of the hotels and restaurants situated in the Khuiratta, Kotli and some of the restaurants in Mirpur are established by the people of the village. The establishment of the hotel business by the migrant's left over and returned migrants gave rise to the new trends in hotelling service in the area by raising the competition among them.

While working abroad the migrants keep future prospect in their mind and channelize their efforts in the same way. It has been observed that the returned migrants did not only concentrate on the immediate needs of the family rather looked beyond upon the earnings after their permanent return.

Case study-15

Sabir went to KSA at the age of 24 years in 1980. Being elder among his siblings, he had to fulfill a number of responsibilities in order to fulfill the needs, demands and expectations of his family. His father was running a tea khokha at main bazaar of Khuiratta and all the expenses of his family were drawn out of it. Sabir had three sisters and two brothers that all were entering into marriageable age. The expenses for such enormous activities could not be drawn out of father's business because it was hardly fulfilling the family's daily needs.

Sabir got the visa with the help of an earlier migrant of the village. He managed his travelling cost through communal collection and loan. He started working at a Pakistani restaurant at Riyadh. For the few initial years he alleviated his loans. He sent remittances to his father to manage the marriage of his siblings; meanwhile he collected a sum of money with him for any dire need in future.

He asked his younger brother to expand his father's khokha into a small hotel in order to ease out the father and look after the house instead of departing abroad. He had send remittances to him for that investment. For the few months hotel of his brother ran successfully but afterward situation lead to failure. Sabir again send remittances to his brother to reestablish the hotel. The situation again turned successful.

After six years he came back to the village. He renovated his house and got married. On his return to KSA he collected a sum of money and send to his brother to purchase a piece and land near his hotel and latter on construct shops and rooms over that. His brother acted accordingly and shifted his hotel in his personal building, wherehe not only got himself relieved of the rent rather he himself rented his rooms to generate more income. Meanwhile his father got ill and Sabir had to come back permanently. On his return he married his younger siblings in order to relieve the responsibilities of his father and managed student visa of UK for his younger brother. Meanwhile his brother who was running the hotel expressed his desire to have at least on tour for any foreign countries. Sabir managed a driving visa of Saudi Arabia for his brother and accepted the responsibility of running the hotel. His two brother had send him remittance from UK and Saudi Arabia with which he constructed a big Kothi in the village a purchased two plots in Roli Hills Housing Scheme Kolti. Latter on he purchased a piece of land on newly constructed by pass road in Kotli. Latter on, he constructed a plaza over there and asked his brother to come back from Saudi Arabia and run a hotel over there.

b-Shop keeping

Shop keeping is another business area for which the interests prevailing among the villagers. The return migrants have established a few shops in Khuiratta, Kotli and in the premise of the village. The skilled returnees have established these shops regarding their skill areas like; plumbing, electrition, auto spare

parts and medical store. Whereas, the unskilled returned migrants have established the shops of general usage items.

Case Study-16

Mr. Ghafoor, went to Saudi Arabia in 1989 at the age of 40 years. At that time he had three sons and three daughters. He left his family alone and worked as an electrician in Riyadh for several years. During that period he constructed a house in the village and encouraged his children to get education. His elder son Kamran had just reached to the class B.A; Ghafoor asked him to continue his education as a private candidate and also establish a general store in the main bazaar Khuiratta with a little investment out of remittances.

Ghafoor's brother in law (sala) offered a shop out of his market to his nephew (kamran) to run a shop without any fare. Meanwhile, his son ran the shop successfully along with his studies. He asked his son to extract the household's expenses out of shop and invest the remittances to expand the shop.

Unfortunately, Ghafoor suffered from sugar in KSA and ultimately he had to come back. The conflict emerged in the house on his arrival so that kamran had made his way to Saudi Arabia with the support of a friend of his father by letting his father run the shop. He worked as a driver and send remittances to his father for household expenses and for the expansion of shop. Along with his general store Ghafoor established another shop in front of it consisting electrical appliances. Latter on, he sold his general store and expanded his electric store. He was very skillful in his job so that the local thekaydar accessed his services for the wiring of big kothis. He ran his shop along with the part time job as an electrician. As the situation got better he recalled his son back and asked him to apply for a student visa to United Kingdom. After his son successfully reached UK one of his Sala (wife's brother) offered a marriage proposal of his daughter with Kamran. After the successful marriage Kamaran became a UK national because his wife was already a UK national. Ghafoor and two younger sons are nowadays running successfully by offering stylish and expansive electrical appliances, where as his elder son became a UK citizen.

c-Investment in Transportation

The investment in the transportation sector is another area of the interest among the migrants and their left over. The investment in transportation is made in two ways; that is in small vehicles (suzuki, jeep, car, carry) for special booking and the big vehicles (truck, bus, tyota) to be used as public transport vehicles. The public transport vehicles owned by the villages run between Kotli-khuiratta, Khuiratta-Pindi, Khuiratta-Mirpur and many local and allied routes of the areas. The special booking vehicles are driven only on the demand, mostly these vehicles keeps running between Kotli and Khuiratta because most of the

migrant's families hire these vehicles on rent to travel. These special booking charge one thousand to fifteen hundred rupees for per travel from Khuiratta to Kotli. These vehicles are mostly driven to transfer patients from the village to Khuiratta or Kotli.

The public transport vehicles are driven by the drivers and the special booking vehicles are often driven by the owner. For long routes travelling a driver may be hired on daily wages. These drivers also act as an agent in the area and if any demand arises for booking, they refer the vehicle of someone who provides them incentives. The special booking vehicles are used to pick and drop the migrants from the airports. As long as the migrant stay in the village the vehicle remain under his personal usage, afterwards the vehicle is used for booking.

The jeep, Suzuki and trucks are used fro loading goods. Trucks travel from Rawalpindi, lalamusa to Khuiratta; whereas, the jeep and Suzuki transport the goods from Khuiratta to the local areas. Jeep possesses the quality of four wheels drive that's why it is considered as *Paharan ghi shehzadi* (princess of hills). The jeeps run on unpaved roads to the mountainous areas and generate the income for migrants and their left over.

The vehicles owned by the migrants are specially decorated and kept fit mechanically. These vehicles provide services for marriage procession. Whenever there is any political activities in the constituency, the vehicle are voluntarily incorporated to support the candidate. The vehicle owned by the villagers are highlighted with the name of son, daughter and most often with the name of *biradri*. Most of the vehicles possessed by the migrants are seen as associated with the name of biradri like, Gujjar coach, Bhatti coach etc. These vehicle act as subsidiary income for the migrant and their families as long as the migrant is abroad. After the migrant permanently return to the village the vehicle(s) becomes the major source of income.

Case Study-17

Muhammad Farooq served in the army for eighteen years. He retired a few years ago. He lives in an extended family that consists of his two sons, wife and his mother. His father died of an electric shock when he was at his early childhood. He has seven brothers; all have got married and established their nuclear families. His elder brother is running a shop in the local bazaar whereas all others have migrated to UK, Germany and Spain through various channels. After his retirement he purchased a pick up to transport the animals from one mandi (cattle

market) to the other. He was the only source of his migrants' brother for remittances transfer. He acted as a trustworthy member for all of his brothers. All his brothers allowed him to extract a portion out of the remittances send by them to purchase a car. Meanwhile he purchased three plots in Islamabad and two plots in Kotli for his brothers and afterward started construction. He had to travel a lot here and there so that the car was a good source for him. He was wise enough to find any booking for Rawalpindi and Kotli whenever he was intended to travel for his personal job. In that way he collected a sum of money and purchased a Toyota to be used as public transport from Khuiratta to kotli. Latter on, he had established a rent a car in Khuiratta and became a major transporter of the area. He deals in all types of vehicles and provides his services for the occasions need vehicles for transportation. He is famous for clean, mechanical fit and decorated cars in the area so that his services are hired for marriage processions and the pick and drop of migrants from Airports. Whenever any of is brother from foreign countries come to the village he give one of his car to him to roam around, after his departure the vehicle is again indulged in the business.

d-Currency Exchange and Travel Agent Office

Currency exchange and travel agent services office are opened by the returned migrant of the village. As they are well aware of the situations while residing abroad; they provide services while using their personal links and expertise. There are five villagers who have established their offices in the main bazaar Khuiratta and Kotli. These service providers have frequent links with other people in many foreign countries. These service providers look up for the demand for any specific category of the visa and inform their links abroad to manage the visa. They also make arrangements regarding the passport, Embassy processing, Air travel and Ticketing. Being local, they are trustworthy among the villagers and other people of the area as they have managed to send many people to a number of foreign countries.

They also use their old and new links to deal in currency exchange. Their links collects the remittances from the people abroad and to the currency exchange dealers. These dealers provide the money to the receivers at their residences and charge a minimal amount for their services. They also attract the customers through their personal linkages in the rural areas and in many foreign countries. The provide currency exchange equivalent to that of Islamabad so that the migrants and their left over get their foreign exchanged from them.

e-Petrol pumps

The establishment of Petrol pumps along with the major roads of Kotli and Khuiratta is another area in which a number of villagers have invested and many others are intended to invest in the future. The villagers told that, it is a very much lucrative business and the one who has established a Petrol Pump needs not to seek emigration for earning rather he could earn much more from this business.

The petrol pumps are established with the joint venture of the major oil suppliers and the person willing to invest in this business. The land is provided by the migrants at feasible locations along with major routes. Many of the migrants have already purchase land along with roads and when they would be intended to return back they would establish Petrol Pumps to generate income.

Case Study-18

Jamal Din (egos) is a member of an extended family; he was the elder son of his parents. He had planned the large pieces of land to cultivate the crops along with the support of his father. He used to graze the cattle and cut the woods from the forest to earn the livelihood for his family. He had to feed fifteen members of his family. The land had become less productive and the livelihood of such a large family could not be extracted out of it. He was wishful to seek emigration and find lucrative jobs in a foreign country to improve he socio-economic conditions of his family. He migrated to Spain a few years ago. He has been working in Spain for twelve years. After three years of emigration when he had strengthened his economic position, he asked his brother (in the village) to purchase a house in Kotli and shifted a part of family including school age children in the city and let a fraction of family in village. Ego's old parents were left in the village along with ego's wife and small children whereas the ego's brother, brother's wife, brother's children and ego's school going children were moved to city. Ego's father looked after the land and a portion of family in the village whereas ego's brother looked after a segment of family in city and established a petrol pump alongside main road in the city. The children were admitted in quality school. After the ego's and his brother's children graduated he managed their emigration through the student visa. Afterward ego returned permanently to expand the business in companionship of his brother and look after the parents in the village.

4.12.7.21 Establish service cum Business

The establishment of community services cum business is prevalent among the migrants and their left over. These services cu business which are found in the village includes the hospitals and schools.

a-Hospital

A few years ago, Rubina migrated to UK at the age of 15 years along with her family after her father attained UK nationality. She was anxious to do something for the betterment of the people of her area. At the time of emigration she was in class 9th. She continued he education in UK and achieved the degree of gynecology from an institute in UK. She practiced there for several years to earn and to master he skills. She came back after ten years and constructed a sophisticated building in the hill side of the village to establish a hospital. She started providing services at minimal fee to the poor women of the area. She hired the services of on call doctors from Kotli to provide services to the other patients of the area. Her hospital became popular among the people for its charges, fast and well behaved services and clean and hygienic conditions. She resides in her hospital and provides services any time the people needed. She has employed many people for paramedical services and encouraged many others to polish their skills from UK. For her excellent services many of the migrants of the area sponsored hospital machinery and ambulance services.

b-School

Rafiq was a lecturer in mathematics in the local Govt. College. He migrated to Muscat a few years ago through Overseas Employment Corporation on deputation. He spent ten years in Muscat and collected a sum of money in addition to a big building; he constructed in the village. He was anxious to do anything regarding the betterment of educational quality in the area.

He came back and joined his service on the same post. Meanwhile he established a private school in his building and started the provision of education up to class 10th. He charges minimal fee and provide quality education in addition to personality development of the children. He became very popular in the area for his services. Many people of the area withdrawn their children from other schools and admitted to his school. He is intended to expand his school up to university level after his retirement from the Govt. service. For his quality of services; many of the migrants joined him on parents' day in the school and offered their support. Many of them have sponsored school library, compute lab, Children Park, transportation and awards for the bright stars on annual result.

4.12.7.22 Expenditures on community services and Social Welfare

In the village, the funds for the community services like; Construction of *Maseet*, payment to *Immam*, construction/ renovation of *Khanga*(hermitage) Digging of *khuo*, Community water scheme, repairment of transformer, Ambulance, NGO/Trust, helping others in crises, Helping others on their life cycle ceremonies, pavement of footpaths, rewards for school children and the funding to the poor villagers for their emigration process are always extracted out the remittances send by the migrants from foreign countries.

For the management of all these community services migrants are expected to pay double than a non- migrant.

a-Construction of *Maseet* (Mosque)

The extraction of funds from remittances for the construction of mosque is the most widespread phenomenon among the villagers. There have been constructed many mosques in the area out the funds of the migrants. The construction task could be divided among the villagers or the funds could be collectively utilized for it. For the collection of funds *masjid* committee make timely announcements. The migrant's families are expected to pay twice than the non-migrants.

The villagers who are hesitant or resistant to pay for the mosque fund are considered as un-Islamic so that every one tries to contribute as much as possible. The people who pay more than the others are specially announced by the *Immam* in the announcements and during the gatherings so that they are reputed and honored among the villagers. Some migrants voluntarily offer themselves to accept the responsibility of the construction, renovation and decoration of certain portions of the mosque. It is believed that: *Allah gha kaar wich ditto wo kiday zaya ni jaan lagho*(any contribution in the house of Allah will never be useless)*da dunia satar Aakhraat* (if you give ten here (in mosque) you will receive seventy there (in the life after death).

The villagers who cannot contribute in terms of cash or kind, they are expected to contribute in terms of services in laborious tasks. On the arrival of any migrant the imam or the chairman of *masjid* committee visit him and ensure his contribution. Any migrant can contributes more than the demands made by the

committee or *Immam*. In case he contributes less so that he would have to provide justification.

If the main portion of the mosque has completed then the allied portion (wash room, *Immam* residence) are started and frequent water supply is ensured. As long as the residence for *maulvi* is completed along with the mosque, he is supposed to reside in the nearby house of migrant. As he settled down in his official residence, then each household availing his services is supposed to provide him one time meal on their turn.

The *immam* is paid out of the remittances of the migrants. The villagers whose children get religious education from him are supposed to pay an extra amount (mostly hundred rupees for each child). The *Immam* is specially compensated by the migrants during the month of Ramazan and on the eve of *Eid*. He is given new clothes, cash and sweets for his services during the *Namaz-i-tarawi* during the Ramazan. The migrants on their return to the village bring any gift for the *imam masjid* and some times he is asked on phone of his choice.

A villager named Abdul Hussain, is working in Saudi Arabia for twenty two years under one Kafeel. On his last return, he was paid by his kafeel to construct a mosque after his name in the village Dhana. He honestly utilized the entire amount on the construction and ornamentation of the mosque, the remaining balance he utilized on purchasing soft carpet for the mosque. He took the snaps from all the direction of mosque and showed to his Kafeel in Saudi Arabia. On the excellent completion of masjid, his kafeel offered life time sponsorship of an Immam to be appointed in the mosque.

b-Welfare Trust and Ambulance Service

The villagers have established a welfare trust after the name of their village which provides welfare service to the poor, orphan, widow, and needy people of the community. The ambulance service under the trust is also established by the villagers. A small office is maintained in the small bazaar situated near the village. A local school teacher and the Lady Health Worker (LHW) offered their volunteer services for the maintenance of records, funds and ensure the provision of services to the needy people of the area. A local driver is hired to drive and maintain the ambulance, which is paying out of trust funds. The funds for the trust are extracted out of the remittances send by the migrants from foreign countries. An account has opened on the name of trust in the local azad Jammu & Kashmir Bank. The account No. is shared among all the villagers, any

one willing to pay for the trust can submit their cash directly to the bank or pay to the trust staff and get a receipt. The migrants can also transfer their funds from their country of destination to the trust account in the village. Trust staff maintained the monthly transactions summary and bank statement that any of the villagers, migrant or official can investigate at any time. About ninety percent of the funds for the village trust are managed from direct or indirect contribution by the migrant and their families.

c-Help others in Life crises/ Life Cycle Ceremonies/ Manage funds for other's Emigration

Migrants and their families in the village are a great source of hopefulness for the people of the village in crises. Occasionally, a portion of remittances is utilized to finance those people to come out of their crises. The people in crises usually make request to the migrant's family in the village or to the migrant on the phone calls, inform them of their crises and seek out help; in both the situations migrant makes the final decision. The migrant inform his mediator in the village dealing with his remittances and the request is fulfilled. Sometimes the help is made voluntarily, but it depends upon the social character of the person, severity of his/her crises and his/relations to the migrant and his family in the village.

It has been observed that usually the people in crises seek the support of migrants at marriage of any family member, ailment of family member, accident, death of a family member, construction or renovation of house, to meet the expenses of emigration process and to accomplish the cost of the education of children in higher classes.

Usually the migrants extend their support to their neighbors and relatives on the major life cycle incidents, accidents and crises. All these funds for support by the migrants and their left over are managed out of the remittances.

In turn, the people helped out at the time of crises do took care of the migrants and their families in the village and extend their support, whenever needed.

Case Study-19

Aslam went to Kuwait a few years ago to work as an optician fifteen years ago. He successfully managed to employ two of his chacheray (patrilineal parallel cousin) and one of his in Kuwait. Nazir was a poor but a jolly person living in his neighborhood in the village. Nazir used to work as labour around the village to earn livelihood for his family. Although Nazir did not have any blood relation but he called upon Aslam's mother as Baivi (elder sister) in turn Aslam used to call him mavmon (mother's brother). Whenever Aslam visited his village, Nazir used to spend most of his time with him and made lot of fun. A few years ago Nazir died of heart attack by letting his family helpless. After the Nazir's death, Aslam took care of his family and encourage his elder son to learn welding skills. As the Nazir's son mastered welding skill, Aslam managed a visa for him and motivated his brother and cousins to meet the travelling cost. Ultimately, he was successful to employ the son of late Nazir in Kuwait and now he is earning enough to support his family in the village. It all happened because of Nazir's jolly relations with him and with his family in the village. That's why he felt that he is the only console of Nazir's family and extended his volunteer support to bring them out of severe crises.

d-Pavement of footpaths and Volunteer offerings to Schools

The footpaths and small street lying in between the big, sophisticated and stylish houses and road heading towards the village are paved out of the remittances send by foreign emigrants of the village. The village's trust and *masjid* committee collected funds from all the migrants and employed labor to pave the road and footpaths of the village. Due to their volunteer cooperation extended for the betterment, the village presents a modern look at first glance. There are few other volunteer offerings made by migrants in the local school. A village emigrant to UK offered latest computer to the office of the headmaster of the local govt. school. Another migrant of the village sponsored the price of hundred books for the school library. Another migrant managed to plant the tree in the corners of school and along the roadside and fenced them by pasting the names of late villagers, for their memorial and reward for their soul. All the funds for these volunteer offerings are made out of the remittances and earnings of the village emigrants to the foreign countries.

e-Digging Community *khou* (well)

A few years ago there was a severe draught in the area and afterwards the earthquake led to the shortage of water in the village as the old well has dried. The villagers made their collective efforts to cope with the situation and the migrants and their families contributed with an open heart. Three old wells were deepened and two new ones were dug out to eradicate the water shortage in the village. The non-migrants contributed through their labour and migrants and their left over incorporated a portion of their remittances. A number of migrants have hollowed up bores in their land and/or in the baira of their house to accomplish the water needs of their household.

f-Expenses on *Qurbani* (sacrifice), *Zakat* and *Umra/Hajj* (pilgrimage)

Migrants and their families in foreign countries are bonded with the people of their origin through their Muslim Brotherhood. These people are obliged to perform their religious obligations. They prefer to pay *zakat* and *fitrana* to the poor living in their neighborhood in the village. The payments are made in the form of cash and/or kind on the basis of their earnings in foreign countries and the charges are measured with reference to their country of destination. The migrants prefer to pay these religious obligations during the month of *ramazan* and on the eve of *eid* to include the poor in their joys. The migrants inform or remind their families regarding the payment of these religious obligations out of the remittance sent by them from their country of destination.

Sometimes, when the migrants indulge in severe crises out of their country, they inform their left over to pay *sadqa* out of their remittance so that they could get rid of their problem.

The migrants and their families in their village spend huge amount on their sacred journey to *Makkah* in order to offer *hajj* and/or *umra*. Some of these migrants sponsor other poor people of their area of origin to perform their religious duties. The slaughtering of animal(s) on the eve of *eid-ul-azha* in remembrance to the sunnah of Hazrat Ismail is obligatory for all Muslim who can bear its cost and have no charges and interest upon them. The migrants prefer to fulfill this obligation in the village so that the meat could be distributed among the poor people of the area. If a migrant is unable to come to the village at that

occasion, he/she informed his choice for qurbani to his family in the village. Most of the migrants of the village slaughter animals in the village and distribute the meat among the refugees residing in the camps for the last many years. The funds for all these expenses are managed out of remittances send by a migrant from a foreign country.

4.12.7.23 Recreational use of remittances

Along with the usual, social and ceremonial use of remittances in the village; the recreational usage of remittances is part and parcel of the migrants (on their return) and their families' everyday life. The villager incorporate huge amount of remittances on their recreational activities. There are several occasions of recreation and various unique and diverse ways of remittances utilization; some of these are:

a-Mehfil Sher Khawani (Lyrics Singing Competition)

The local culture of the area is very rich in terms of its lyric, traditional ways of singing and various tunes of musical instrument. The busy schedules of working hours, worries and sufferings deprived the migrants of the richness of the native culture for many years in the foreign countries.

On their return to their village *mehfil sher khawani* is specially organized by the villagers in their honor. There are various traditional famous singers of the area who are specially invited to attend the function.

Mostly, these *mehfils* are organized along with the marriage ceremony of someone in the village; especially on the marriage ceremony of the brother of a temporary returnee. Usually these mehfiles are supposed to be held at night.

Special seating and lighting arrangements are made by utilizing a huge sum of money out of the earnings of the migrant. An upraised stage is decorated with lights and colorful pieces of clothes and chairs are arranged in the hall where the audiences sit to enjoy the function. Open invitation is given to the people of the area through pasting banners at prominent places by clearly stating the reason of the *mehfil*; like *basilsila shadi khana aabadi* (in the marriage ceremony of someone) or in respect to the return of a migrant.

A pan flex banner is hanged over the stage to welcome the audience with the names of few migrants along with their destination and photographs of the innermost figures of the gathering.

Main and central figures of the gathering are supposed to sit on the stage, the front rows of chairs in the hall is reserved for the guests and other are left for general audience, outstanding sound system is installed in the corners of the hall. The participants and actors are served with food before the function starts.

The singer appears joyously and the hall expresses excitement with clapping. The singers start with the name of Allah, and keep on ringing the tunes for few minutes without singing. The admiration of the main participant of the event is made in the form of lyrics sung upon the tune of the musical instruments so that the currency notes are being sprung upon the singers by the migrants, their brother, friends and the general participants.

The singers compete each other by their taunts and mocking by callin their names in their lyrics and ignite the emotions of the emotions of the participants so that the showering of currency notes upon singers boost. In between the singing,the singers' eloquent funny jokes to relax the audience and in turn receive their admiration through laughing, clapping, whistling and excitement.

While the singing is ongoing, the audiences make demands for special singing along with the name of few migrants and with their destination written on a piece of paper. The singer recounts the name of the person by saying; (*is shaer ni farmaish kity ae ji riaz saab auran jeray aj kal saudia wich hai te pesh e khidmat hai*)"This verse is desired to be sung by Riaz, who is now in Saudi Arab and it is represented to him ".

The sufferings of the people of Jammu and Kashmir due to the presence of line of control and the desire for the eradication of this bloody line are also reflected in traditional lyrics. The singing competition continues till mid night, during this time a lot of money is showered upon the singers to appreciate them while singing and at the last they are compensated with a pre-decide sum of money. The trend of organizing singing competition in respect of migrants is emerging day by day along with the emerging trends of emigration and a huge amount of remittances is utilized over it.

b-Tourism and travelling to famous tourist spots along with Family/Friends

Fed up of their busy schedule in foreign countries; the migrants upon their visit to the village preferably managed a visit to any tourist spot along with their family or friends by utilizing a sum of money out of their pockets. The married migrants organize these trips along with their families in a formal way by making all the prerequisite arrangements, whereas the unmarried temporarily returned migrants prefer to organize casual visit along with their village friend and chums. The visits with the friend are preferably organized on motorbikes. The famous tourists' spots which are commonly visited by the migrants their families and friends for their recreation are; Nakyal (a hilly area of Kotli), Banjosa, Rawalakot, Toil Pir, Chiri Kot (one can closely see the city of Poonch situated in occupied Kashmir across the cease fire line), Mehmood Gali, Haji Pir (one can see the Sirinagar; the summer capital of Occupied Jammu and Kashmir), Neelum Valley, Leepa Valley, Sandhara, Kanyat, Hari Gala (famous for the shrine of Sain Dodi Kani and the cave of snakes), Mangla Dam, Samahani, Bhimber (one can see the Jammu; the winter capital of occupied Jammu & Kashmir), Tatta Pani, Chandi Pur, Mirpur and many places of Palandri. The tourists' spots present a tremendous, fantastic and eye-catching look because every spot have different dimensions of colors in various seasons of the year. The migrants' children exclusively organize the trips during their summer vocation and on the eve of *eids* by utilizing a sum of remittances; that is sometimes specifically send by the migrant for a school going child.

It has been observed that when a migrant send an envelope of foreign remittances, mobile or any other composition through another returning migrant; he send a foreign currency not out of that envelop specifically for a child who would come to receive that envelop on its arrival to the village. The elder child/school going child is informed by migrant on phone call regarding the arrival of someone fetching something for him/ her. The college age boys usually collect these remittances to manage their tour along with a group of many other children of the migrants.

The young age people have expressed anxiously that once they could have seen the area of Jammu and Kashmir across the bloody border; that has divided

thousands of people on both sides and many of them have died along with their desire of meeting each other once in a life. While having gossip with a group of young children on the topic of tourism in the area, some of them explored that there are various tourist spots and high peaks with natural beauty, but unfortunately all have been occupied by the armies. They expressed their inherent desires that the area should be free of weapons, and people of both sides should be allowed to freely and frequently move without any fear and the peaks should be planted with flowers for fragrance instead of weapon's smell. They expressed their concerns that the armies flame up the fire during the hot summer's months in the dense forest on the border to clear the weeds and grass, in order to monitor the movement of people. It has not only spoiled the natural beauty of the area rather changed the environment of the area, that why they are suffering from water shortage. They explored that during the fire on border most of the wild animal moves towards the population and many of them have to abandon their life. They emotionally expressed that they will not accept the border at any cost and they are hopeful for justice by the international community.

c-Arrangement of Tournament

In honorary to a temporarily returnee his play mates arrange a cricket tournament, mostly the migrant of the young age group come at once from various countries through their frequent contacts on phone. Their non migrant playmates organize tournament have a get together and recall their memories of the past. These tournaments are organized in the local high school ground and a number of team from all over the district participates in it. The event last for several days, it provides the migrants an opportunity to enjoy their holidays while having a play and fun with their playmates and friend in the village. In turn these migrants sponsor various event of the tournament out of their pocket. The final ceremony is celebrated colorfully and joyously a various prominent personalities are invited. They are warmly welcomed on the bet of drums and bands. These prominent personalities and the temporarily returned migrants announce prizes for the winners and excellent performer of the event.

d-Cock/ Dog Fighting

Remittances utilization in terms of recreation on the cock/ dog fighting is most common phenomenon among the young male from the migrant's family. It has been observed that among the forty five household of the migrants thirty five households have kept a dog as pet, whereas fifteen have kept *aseel kukar* (a type of cock famous for fighting) as a pet. The cocks and dogs are reared by the young boys of the migrant's families with the special food and care. The cocks are kept under the buckle while patting it whereas, the dog's lash remain in the hands of the owner. The dog is prevented from squandering in order to keep him strong for fighting. Often these dogs or cocks are let for the competition on the village level in the small groups in the presence of a small number of audience and the winner of the local competition are encouraged to fight in the big competition at district level. The bigger events are organized in the spring season in the vast grounds of the area and a large number of the audience especially the migrants and their left over influx to recreate themselves by utilizing huge amounts of money on bets and challenge to each others. A huge amount out of remittances is utilized on the drum beaters and to transport the supporters of a dog to the ground. The owners of the winner dogs are given precious awards by the organizers.

Case Study-20

Ahsan is the younger among his siblings. His elder brother, Raqeeb has migrated to UK. Raqeeb was much found of dogs and cocks in his childhood but after, his emigration Ahsan continued with his job. He articulated that one of his sisters has married to Dadyal (Mirpur) so that he frequently visits her. The Dadyal is famous for mass emigration to UK and emigrants left over are very much fond of dog, cocks, pigeon, and peacocks, teetar (Partridge) and batair (quail). He has purchased two seal cocks with three thousands rupees each and a bitch with twenty five hundred rupees from a young boy in Dadyal. He put the cock in the cage and fastens the bitch inside the room so that they cannot squander around with hen and levanter dogs and only entertain them at morning and evening. He provides them special and precious feed which is also available only in Dadyal in order to keep them fit and strong. Last month he matched his bitch with the last year's winning dog in palandri; in order to produce strong dogs. He used to bath his bitch twice in a month so that she remains healthy and active to give birth to active and healthy dogs. He let his cock fight with the cocks of the other boys of the village and prepare him for the upcoming big event of the area. He explored that the dogs produced by the bitch will be reared with special care which would be accede to fight on the arrival of his brother from

UK. He expressed that his brother will only come to participate in the huge dog fighting event in the Dadyal because his brother is anxious to be a winner of the event in order to recall his past memories; as once his dog had won two lack rupees from the same event, before his emigration to UK.

4.12.7.24 Remittances utilization on Political Activities

A large number of migrants and their leftover are huge source of funding for the candidate contesting in local and state elections. During the election campaign enormous flow of remittances and its utilization had been observed in the village. Migrants and their families in the village make their full efforts to get their candidate winning; So that, they do not hesitate to spend money on various stages of the election campaign. Advertisement, announcement, preparation of banners, post cards, provision of vehicle, fuel, arrangement of jalsa/jaloos (procession and gathering), arrangement of feasts and cold drinks in corner meetings, arrangements for drum beaters for welcome to political figures and supporter, establishment of election offices in various corners of the constituency and provide them flags and posters, sponsor travel expenses to the voters and convincing the voters and meeting their demands in favor of their candidate are major area of remittance utilization found in the village.

a-Expenses on Election Campaigns

Remittances utilization on the political activities in the village is commonly found during the election campaigns. Migrants and their left over in the village back their candidate with full commitment and devotion by utilizing an enormous amount of money out of their remittances.

Various tasks are divided among the migrants and expenses beyond their responsibilities are appreciated. The candidate and his close up supporters keep the record of all the expenses made by the migrants in terms of cash and kind and their volunteer support is counted on various occasions and their demands are fulfilled on priority basis after winning.

b-Provision of Vehicle

It had been explored that the migrant's families provide their reserved and running vehicle to their supporter in order to process their election campaigns. Flags of supporters are weaved over these modern, sophisticated and expensive vehicles in order to show their strength and impress the voters in favour of their

candidate. Most of these vehicles are spattered with the poster of the candidate. These vehicles are provided voluntarily and sometimes the fuel is filled as well. The vehicles of the migrants running for commercial purpose are also integrated in the support of candidate for the pick and drop of the service to the people of the far flung areas of the constituency. The young boys of the migrants accompany the political processions of their candidate along with a flag over their motor Bikes. They represent themselves in the front rows of the procession and chant the slogan in favor of their candidate. Some people hire the vehicle to accompany them along with the procession whereas many others sponsored to higher vehicles on major drives of the candidate's show-off.

c-Expenses on banners and posters for advertisement

A massive amount out of the remittances is utilized on the preparation of pan flex banners and posters in the support of their candidate contesting for election. The banners and posters are specially and orderly prepared from major printing press of the Kotli. The migrants (along with their names and destinations) their sons and their brothers are specially represented over the banners and posters with their photographs along with the photographs of the candidate. These banners and poster and banners are prepared in various sizes and hanged and pasted in various corners junctions of the constituency to boost up the winning stance of the candidate.

d-Expenses on *Jalsa*, Feast and Welcome

The candidate contesting for the election is specially welcomed by the migrants and their left over in the village by utilizing a colossal amount out of their remittances. Lot of arrangements is made to ensure the success of political gathering during the election campaigns. Some of the migrants sponsor food arrangements for the participants while other sponsor tent age. A lot of arrangements are made to ensure the warm welcomes of the candidate and his party leaders on the *dhol* (drum) beating at their arrival to various corner meetings and *jalsa*(big gatherings). The expenses for all these arrangements are extracted out of the amount of remittances send by the migrants from the foreign countries.

e-Travel sponsorship and meeting the demands of the voters.

During the process of election, the migrants of the village make efforts to ensure the arrival of as many voters from out stations to the constituency as possible to cast their vote in favor of their candidate. They sponsor the travelling expenses of their voters to ensure the winning of their candidate. During the last election a migrant of the village booked two sections of the train out of his pocket, from Karachi to Rawalpindi to bring the local voters to the village. Another migrant sponsored hundred return tickets for the migrant in Dubai to ensure their vote in favor of their candidate.

Migrants and their left over in the village makes their efforts to convince as many voters of the constituency as they can; in favor of their candidate. In return the demands arise by the voters are fulfilled immediately out of the remittances or ensured to be fulfilled of the successfulness of their candidate. Most of the demands are made by the voters regarding the employment of their son or brother; the migrant ensure the provision of an employment visa in foreign country.

Table # 21

S.No	Sphere of remittances utilization	Number of Households
1	Every day household's expenditures (food, dress, travelling, utility bills)	60
2	Regular, occasional, accidental (ailments) and ceremonial (marriage, death) expenditures, <i>pahaji</i> and Gifts	55
3	Construction of palatial houses	51
4	Cosmetics, perfumes and body ornamentation	43
5	Investment in horticulture	13
6	Purchasing luxuries and modern gadgets	60
7	Education and health of migrant's family members	45
8	Repayment of loans	17
9	Investment in saving and business	48
	Purchase land/plots and construct shops/plaza	25
	Savings in bank/post office	34
	Insurance policy	15
	Keep foreign currency	05
	Purchase jewelry	09
	Help/loan to friends/relatives	11
	Establish Business (hotel, shops, petrol pump, transport currency exchange dealers and travel agents)	24
10	Establish Services cum business (hospital, schools)	08
11	Expenses on community services/ social welfare (mosque, welfare trust, help others in life crises, charity, <i>zakat</i> , pavement of footpaths, community well, volunteer offerings to schools, boundary wall of graveyard)	56
12	Recreational use of remittances (mehfil-e-sher skhawani, tourism, tournaments)	19
13	Remittances utilization on political activities (election campaigns etc.)	60

Table 4.15: spheres of remittances utilization

Out of the sixty migrants sampled households, remittances send by the foreign migrants are utilized on various spheres and priority areas. The most preferred areas of remittances utilization are the everyday's household's expenditures and the construction of palatial houses. The migrants and their left-over in the village spend on socio-political, charitable, religious, recreational, economic and community development issues. The investment and utilization is made in a number of areas so that the percentage of any specific domain could not be drawn.

4.12.7.25-Earning of returnedmigrants

During their stay in foreign countries, the migrants don't only earn to run the everyday household needs of their families in the village rather look up for their future aspirations regarding the earnings on their permanent return. During their

stay in foreign countries, the migrants collect a sum of money that they could invest to earn for their families on their permanent return. Out of sixty, forty five households had one or more returnee. Two of them were appointed on government along with their families for a specific period. While their service, all the facilities were provided by their employer from accommodation to health expenses. During their stay they were getting handsome salaries. They took advantage of the situation and collected considerable amounts and intended to invest in order to meet their expenses after their retirement.

Table #22

Reason of return	Frequency	Percentage
Contract Expired	23	14.11
Visa issues	10	6.13
Wanted to work in area of origin	17	10.42
Not satisfied with job/Social environment	16	9.81
Got better opportunity in the area of origin	31	19.01
Fewer opportunities of career advancement	15	9.20
Racial and Cultural discrimination	9	5.52
Targets of emigrations has achieved	12	7.36
Family	30	18.40
Others	163	100

Table 4.16: Reason for return

Case study-21

Muhammad Akbar, a returnee of 62 years age. He was sent on a Naval Mission to England in 1967 for the deputation period of three years along with his family. He articulated that at the time his posting, he was young and energetic person. During his stay abroad all the required facilities like accommodation and transportation were provided with a monthly salary of Rs.8000.00 which was more than enough to escort a luxurious life. On the completion of his deputation period, he came back in 1970 and retired after two years. After his retirement, he managed a shop in the village by spending his savings. He could earn Rs.15000.00 per month in addition to his pension.

Case study-22

Haji Sadique is another returnee in the village. During his service in Air force he had an experience of migration. He was posted in Kuwait at the earlier stages of his service. He migrated along with his family and spent most of his service life from 1964 to 1997 in Kuwait. During his service, he earned sufficient amount of money through his salary and allied allowances of being employed in a foreign country. His monthly salary before migration was Rs.850 but after migration he used to receive Rs.6000 per month that increased up to Rs.40, 000 at the time of his retirement. After his retirement, he came back with a lofty savings and invested in construction of housing in Islamabad. Nowadays, he is getting a rational income along with his pension. The monthly income he was receiving was more than his family needs that enabled him perform Hajj along with his family and to save his extra income for further investment.

Case study-23

Haji Muhammad Sakhi, is another returnee of 55 years. He elucidated that he had migrated to England in 1961 with the help of his uncle through voucher's prevalent practices, while financial help was provided by his relatives. He joined a transport company as driver in England. He used to earn 15,000 to 20,000 rupees per month. In 1981, he constructed a house in the village and returned back due to his tiring job and other problems. He invested his savings in shop keeping business in Khuiratta just to sustain his family's needs and his social status among the community.

Case study-24

Mr. Amir is another returnee; 39 years of age. He discussed his knowhow about the migration and its consequences in an informal meeting. He migrated to France in 1997 and after spending a few years of hard work there, he moved to Italy. In both the destinations, he worked hard and earned 40 to 45 thousand rupees per month and saved rupees 15 lacks in addition to the amount send to his family in the village. He returned back in 2004. On the basis of his qualification, he joined the teaching profession after his arrival in his village. He could earn a rupee 7000 in addition to rupees 5-8 thousand rupees generated through a Suzuki van that was run by a driver for loading purposes.

Case study-25

A permanent returnee, Muhammad Saeed of 45 years age exposed his migration events during an informal meeting. He migrated to France in 1999 by adopting illegal means and then moved to England after spending few years as wage labor in France. During his stay he worked hard in England and earn 30-35 thousand rupees monthly but could not manage to save due to his own expenses and the expenses of his family in village. After spending very laborious 4 years, he came back in 2004. He started his career as driver and earned 20-30 thousand rupees per month to fulfill the needs of his family. He could not change the socio-economic conditions of his family because he had no saving to invest in any lucrative business.

Case study-26

Another returnee, Rehmat of 55 years of age narrated his concerns about the migration and the outcome of his move to Saudi Arabia 1996 on Umra visa. According to him, he was facilitated by his relatives to work there secretly. He remained upset for having illegal status that could harm his future in disclosure and could not work with complete peace of mind due to an unknown fear and returned back after spending a few disturbed years in 2000, without any saving.

4.12.7.26 Out country earnings

The most important determinant of savings was the remittances, depending on the monthly income and expenditure of the immigrant. It was estimated that average income of the migrants in different foreign countries was 30,000 to 40,000 which 19% of total income category. Income categories of migrants of permanent nature are as follows:

i) Less than 10,000	7.1%: mostly engaged with wage labour and shop keeping in Arab countries.
ii) 10,000 to 19,000	9.5%: also are wage labour in both Arab and European countries like France and Holland.
iii) 20,000 to 29,000	23.8%: these people work as a wage labour and do factories in both Arab and European countries.
iv) 30,000 to 39,000	19% it is the marginal percentage in all income categories these people usually work as a factory work and few are tailor both in European and Arab countries.
v) 40,000 to 49,000	23.8%: engaged with taxi driving and few are with business.
vi) 50,000 to 59,000	9.5%: few are teaching three are wage labour.
vii) 60,000 and above	7.1% are government servant and doing their own business.

The average income of a migrant was Rs.30, 000 to Rs.40, 000 and income of 16.6% migrant was one lack and 85 thousand rupees, which was considered a big monthly earning.

Income of any category depends on the type of occupation adopted by the migrant, whether skilled or unskilled, was divided into different categories. The division also throws light on the aspect that European countries have given many facilities to their workers in different companies, firms etc., as compare to other European countries. They were provided lump sum cash along with other different fringe benefits which not possible in their country like old and sick allowance, unemployment allowance, disabled allowance etc. But unfortunately there were many people who were clever enough to misuse the opportunity by making them capable for falling into one of the categories and made false statements just for few pounds.

In this way they are able to get enough money for their selves 20 – 25 thousand rupees are given to sick people and 10–15 thousand are given to students by the government of Britain.

It was known that the income from employment was not only the source of earnings but also the government's contributions in providing financial aid that helped in maintaining the position of the migrants. Sources of income in foreign countries can be categorized as following:

- i) Jobs: Working in government and private firms where people work as wage labor including business.

- ii) Rental Income from investments in housing sector by buying houses and shops and rented out for certain amount of money on monthly basis.

- iii) Security Income from unemployment allowance, sickness allowance and old age benefits. Though it could not be called income but financial aid for needy people.

4.12.7.27 Factors affecting the investments

As it is clear that majority of the migrants belong to lower class before migration. As mentioned earlier that 53.12% migrants belonged to lower class, 28.12% belonged middle class and 18.75% were belonged upper class and these upper class migrants were very early migrants who migrated in late 50's and early 60's. All the migrants went abroad to boost up their family's socio-economic living standards in the village. They went abroad after facing many difficulties, but due to proper guidance of early migrants, they could invest their earnings in productive channels.

The emigrants whose economic conditions were good before the emigration were investing their earning through different channels in cities or village. At the earlier stage, the migrants saved more and remit less, which made it possible to invest in business, buying property etc. Migrants who belonged to middle class before migration were moved to upper class status because of receiving a reasonable flow of remittances and by owing more property and earning through investments. Similarly, the lower middle class families have also enhanced their social status as an outcome of migration and getting reasonable money regularly in addition to their own income by agriculture, livestock or through their business activities. They have also increased their local income through investments made with the financial assistance of migrants.

It has been explored that 31% of the households with the poorest economic background were able to invest in between 50,000.00 to 150,000.00 rupees to expand the scope of their income. As per respondent's from migrant families, being the lowerclass members, their investments were increasing with the duration of their immigrants abroad through frequent flow of remittances.

Table #23

Income Category	Total Migrants	Average Monthly Income Rs.	Average Expenditures Rs.	Average Remittances Rs.	Average Savings Rs.
20000-30000	13	20000	4000	13000	3000
31000-40000	18	35000	70000	20000	80000
41000-50000	11	45000	10000	25000	10000
51000-60000	79	54000	13000	27000	14000
61000-70000	68	67000	17000	32000	18000
71000-80000	36	76000	20000	37000	19000
81000-Above	29	83000	23000	39000	21000

Table 4.17: Expenditure and savings of migrant's income

There are various factors that contribute to determine the expenditure, remittance, savings and investments; not only pre-migration economic condition and duration of stay affect the investment behavior but also the level of education in the migrant families, occupation and nature of migrant's job in foreign country, migrant's level of education, age and marital status, pre-migration economic conditions, number of dependent and the number of earning hands in the family, priority areas of investment, intentions of the duration of stay abroad and the future prospects. Different case studies have been made the part of the research to highlight the ups and downs of the migration and remittances investment behaviors.

Case Study-27

Shabir Ahmed; a 38 years old villager educated up to Intermediate level went to France through an agent after paying three hundred thousand rupees in 1997. He stayed for six months in France and worked as a shopkeeper and earned Rs.30, 000 to 35,000 per month. He migrated to Italy after six months and then travelled to England after few weeks. Due to the presence of his relatives in England he had not to face as much difficulties as he faced in France and Italy. After having no other option of livelihood, he preferred to adopt the profession of taxi driving. He could earn 50,000 to 60,000 rupees per month. He continued with his profession for three years and saved 10 lack rupees. Due to some personal problems he could not stay more than three years and returned permanently in 2001. He brought his earning worth rupees 10 lack and 55 thousand with him. After making careful analysis of his family's expenses, he invested eight lack rupees for purchasing a residential plot in Islamabad. In order to continue his financial support to the family, he started teaching in a school for 4000 thousand rupees per month. He purchased a Suzuki Van and a driver is hired to run it as special booking vehicle that further enhanced his income. After a period of time he invested a small amount in a general store in the village that is driven by his father. Thus he has managed to earn Rs.40000 to Rs.50000 rupees per month that is sufficient to meet the every day needs of his family. On the other side the plot which he had purchased with the cost of eight lakes, now costs forty lake.

Case Study-28

Muhammad Ayub, a 53 years old villager migrated to England with the help of his uncle. He managed his travelling cost by taking loan from relatives and villagers in 1971. In the beginning he worked in factory in Manchester, afterwards he started driving a taxi. After eight years of hard-working, he earned an enormous amount of money and decided to stay permanently in UK. He bought his own house and brought his family to stay with him in England in 1979. He engaged both of his sons

in the taxi driving. Each of his sons was earning 30,000 to 35,000 per month. His total monthly income exceeded around two lakh rupees per month.

Ayub constructed two houses one in his native village and other in Islamabad while the houses constructed in Islamabad was given on rent and earning attractive income. As for as the use of money was cornered, he has to spent on daily use commodities, travel expenses for visiting the homeland, helping the relatives in village and on the gifts for the relatives.

Case Study-29

Another villager, Mr. Yasir Ahmad of 40 years of age migrated to France through an agent by spending rupees three lakh rupees in 1998. Before migration, he was a Suzuki driver; he sold his Suzuki to manage the travelling cost. He worked in a factory there on monthly salary of 30,000 rupees out of which he used to send 10,000 rupees to his family after every two months. Being a livestock family, his wife was also supporting the household's economy by selling milk and gets 6000 rupees monthly. Before his migration, Yasir built two rooms in his old home by taking loan, which was also an outstanding against him. He worked hard for earning and saving the money to clear his loan and for investment purposes. The remittances sent by him were only used for household expenditure, repayment of loan and other traditional and ceremonial activities so he could not save it for investment. It was unfortunate for him that he could not change the standard and status of his family that remained the lower class even after the migration to a wealthy country. After deciding his permanent stay in France, he brought his family to stay with him in 1979 so that he could save something for investment to secure his family's future.

Case Study-30

Saleem, a member of lower class family of the village migrated to Saudi Arabia in 1997 with the help of his brother, to earn and change the social and economic status of his family. He was earning 30,000 rupees per month and sending 20,000 rupees after two months. After his migration he managed to renovate his village's house by spending three lakh rupees and bought a house in Kotli from which his family was receiving a rent of rupees 9000 per month. He also married his daughter by spending two lakh rupees to celebrate the marriage ceremony. He was visiting the homeland after every two years to see his family members with gifts; not only for the family but also for the relatives. He has to spend two lakh rupees on travelling and buying gifts. He spend major portion of his income in household expenditure rather any kind of investment. His wife was a wise woman; she used to save quietly rupees 4000 from the remittances sendfor household's expenses. On his

return, Saleem was preparing to construct a new house in the city with his wife's savings plus the rent collected from the earlier house in Kotli.

All the case studies shows that factor like pre-migration economic status, duration of stay abroad, occupation, and age, educational level have very much influenced the investment behavior of migrant families.

Chapter - 5

Socio-Economic impacts of Migration

5.1 Socio-cultural impacts of Migration

One of the outstanding characteristic of human behavior that contrast sharply with that of all other animals is the degree to which humans live in a world of symbols and conventional understandings that Anthropologists termed as culture. It is a learned and shared behavior that is transmitted from one generation to another. It is human way of living. It is the body of learned beliefs, traditions; patterns of subsistence and survival which are shared among members of any society and that guide their behavior.

Culture can mean “social heredity” or the inheritance people learn while being brought up within a particular group of people.

E.B Tylor has defined culture as;

“That complex whole which includes knowledge belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits that is acquired by man as member of society”

(Tylor, 1871, Vol.1:1)

The process begin at birth, as infants are molded to conforms to the standards of the family and society into which they are born the child is also heir to a tradition that has been transmitted socially for upcoming generations.

The Sociologist Emile Durkheim expresses;

It becomes immediately evident that all education is a continuous effort to impose on the child ways of seeing, feeling, and acting which he could not have arrived at spontaneously. From the very first hours of life, we compel him to eat, drink and sleep at regular hours, we constraint him/her to cleanliness, calmness and obedience, later we exert pressure upon him in order that he may learn proper consideration for others, respect for custom and conventions the need for work etc. if in time this constraint ceases to be felt. It is because it gradually, gives rise to habits and to internal tendencies that render constraint unnecessary”

(Durkhei

m, 1895:6)

Gone through various stages of life the culture get automatic, regular, voluntary, involuntary, deliberate, conscious, unconscious and gradual modifications and alterations as its members get influenced by the outer world by lending and borrowing the cultural traits through the process of adaptation, assimilation,

acculturation and amalgamation. The fast mode of communication, rising globalization and the emerging trends of emigration has picked up the pace the change in existing cultural patterns. Culture cannot alienate the foreign influence by any means.

Cultures are enriched by influences from abroad; there are no so-called pure cultures anywhere on the planet. All great cultures borrow from other cultures, and then adapt them and make them their own. The histories of music, science, art, literature, and commerce all show that the most creative are those that are not afraid of foreign influence, but are willing, not merely to copy from others, but to adapt and reshape and make them their own, to their own cultural benefit. Cultures that refuse that process die.

The Migration is an economic, social, political and geo-strategic process that affects those who move, those who stay behind, as well as the places of origin and destination. The people living in one part of the world basically moved to other parts for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. People migrate with the hope to improve the living conditions of their families left behind.

Migration is a form of social change and can also be examined as a process of social transformations. In general it can be said that every transition from one social situation to another requires a degree of adjustment on the part of individuals, groups, communities and even nations. Overall, migration entails fundamental socio-cultural, economic and psychological changes.

The culture of the village was influenced by the extensive out flow of people to various rich and developed countries and by the frequent flow of remittances.

Migration is not only a factor explaining change, but also an integral part of change itself to the same degree as it may reciprocally enable further change. Other processes, such as improved education, increasing exposure to electronic media, improved infrastructure and tourism also play a key role in opening people's eyes to the wider world and helping to raise aspirations.

Culture manifest itself in migration process for three groups of actors; the migrants, those remaining in the sending area and the people already living in the recipient location because the process of separation and assimilation play a significant role in exerting socio-economic impacts on either location.

This chapter will highlight the impacts of emigration and remittances on the social and economic structure of the village. The description consists of the

structural and functioning of every sphere of social life whether influenced negatively or positively as a result of popular and crazy trends of emigration among the people the village.

Cultures are enriched by influences from abroad; there are no so-called pure cultures anywhere on the planet. All great cultures borrow from other cultures, and then adapt them and make them their own. The histories of music, science, art, literature, and commerce all show that the most creative are those that are not afraid of foreign influence, but are willing, not merely to copy from others, but to adapt and reshape and make them their own, to their own cultural benefit. Cultures that refuse the borrowing and lending of cultural traits, that dies.

The available indication suggests that migration and remittances have considerably improved living conditions, income, education and spurred economic activity through agricultural, real estate and business investment, from which non-migrants indirectly profit, lead to the breakdown of traditional, stable communities and regional economies, leading in turn to the development of passive, non-productive communities, which become increasingly dependent on remittances. This has transformed migrant-sending village Dhana where migration is perceived as a household response to income risks, since remittances serve as income insurance for households in the country of origin. In addition, migration is ascribed a vital role in providing a potential source of investment capital, which is especially important in the context of the imperfect credit (capital) and risk (insurance). Migration is also be a strategy to overcome various miseries, sufferings and constraints, enabling households to fulfill everyday and intermittent needs, invest in productive activities and to durably improve their livelihoods and lifestyle.

5.1.1 Emergence of the ‘Culture of Emigration’

The trends of emigration in the village is accelerating day by day and the young villagers are ready to sell their costly belongings (Jewelry, land, Livestock, land, Shop, vehicle) to meet the cost of emigration.

The exposure to migrants’ wealth and status symbols is frequently said to have given rise to the emergence of a culture of migration, in which international migration is perceived as the main avenue of upwards socio-economic mobility.

Emigrants have become role models for the rest of the villagers. Their occasional return during the holidays and exposure to the relative wealth of migrants and their direct relatives has increased the sense of relative deprivation of stay-behinds. Migration has had an important influence on life rhythm and seasonality. Instead of the sowing and harvest seasons in autumn and spring, working all the day long in the fields and grazing cattle in the forest side, one may perceive a charm in moving towards Europe or to the oil rich states of the Arab to earn and come back with a prestigious position.

The villagers perceive international migration as the main avenue of upwards socio-economic mobility and get the fulfillment of inherent dreams. For many youngsters, the question is not so much whether to migrate, as when and how to migrate. The hopes of many young non-migrants are focused on marriage with an international migrant as the most secure way of migrating abroad.

It has been observed that young boys of the village are found of seeking emigration; while sitting on hotels, travelling in public transport, walking in the bazaar and sitting in the ground to entertain a cricket match; frequently discuss the issue of emigration. The earlier success stories are recounted, Future prospects, possibilities and latest emigration policies (especially UK's) are heavily discussed in everyday's chit-chat and social commentary of the villagers. The every day taunts and appreciation are also expressed in with reference to emigration and aspiration to go to England. Some of the commonly spoken taunts, wishes and appreciations are: Jeray ethay koray oh makay ve koray (One who cannot perform every day tasks in the village is unable to seek emigration) ae moohn te London! (You don't hvae the qualities to be in London), meeki ve kharo Englnd (Could you please bring me England) ya twaray nakhray en te ya visa denay ne velay Englad alyan ne nakhray honay (You are as arrogant as the England's official at the time of processing visa application), ae pound na kamala a na (pounds make the way), Ae toon ten a bolna! Euro bolnay (your confidence lies in the Euro), ooh bahar ke gaya us ne putar te muloon mummi dadi bani ghay (as he went abroad, his son(s) look likes prince), Europe allyaan niyan te moajan hiyan (European emigrants spend luxurious life), tuki pondan ne bo chari ni hoon ton saray naal kuthay gal karma hein (You have started smelling ponds, that's why you have stopped talking

with us).

During an informal discussion with a group of young boys; some of them articulated that UK is their preferred destination because:

“It were the British who had played a significant role in drawing a bloody line over the sacred land of Jammu & Kashmir so that they should adhere us at least few economic reimbursement because our economy is severely damaged due to the restricted movement across the border”

The young boys of the village possess information regarding all the dimensions of emigration, even the information concerning illegal migration. The young boys intended to apply for student visa make efforts to speak English well before the commencement of their emigration process. Every young boy is intended to have at least one trip to any foreign country at any costs even taking the risk of their lives. One boy of the village articulated that,

“I want to go to England either I want to be dead”

It has been observed that a young boy abandoned from college, having no job; would be expecting to have marriage with a European national (*chachair, malair, masair, phupair*) cousin. A number of young boys and girls from the village have already migrated to Europe through cousin marriage. Some other young villagers have achieved student visa and then regularize them in Europe through cousin marriage. Those who could not seek emigration either through studentship or marriage seek visit visa, labour visa (for Arab States) or take the risk of life while crossing an international border in the hope of successful entrance to one of the developed nation of charming Europe.

The migrants on their return to the village fetch the bags full of clothes, electronic appliances, Mobiles, Rechargeable lights, Tape recorder, CD player, Computer, Lap-top, watches, Digital camera, toys, Television, medicines, books, spare parts, letter written by the other migrants to their families, cash remittances and various other appliances. These bags are received by the people who would be present at the Airport to welcome the returned migrant. These bags are kept a side and in the household and waited to be opened by the returned migrant. The people who are expecting to have something for them at time of opening the bag would be present at that time. At last the bags are

opened by the return migrant and every person on the spot would be give at least one item of their choice; the left over are compensated with cash. After the arrival, the migrant stay in household to have the rest and relieve off the exhaustion of long journey. Afterwards, the return migrant visit the neighbors, relatives and the villagers and offer the *fatiha* for the departed souls as well as to congratulate for the occasion of pleasure that had occurred in their absence. The return migrant specially visits the household of other migrants and hand over the cash and kind remittances as well as the messages that were given by the other migrants of the village from their country of destination

With the emergence of emigration, the perceptions of the villagers regarding the poverty and richness have changed. Any household lacking the economic resources and possess low level of living standard is not considered as poor rather “a poor family is considered to be the one that does not have a family member who can emigrate abroad”. While a person has left for foreign lands for better economic prospects, emigrants leave behind their siblings and parents whose welfare over the time remained tied to the remittance and while the emigrants accomplish success and wealth abroad they remained increasingly concerned about the welfare of the aging parents left behind in the village. If a son has already formed his own household, the remittances are sending to the two directions; one to the wife for the every day household consumptions and for children’s caring and the other to the father who may use them for a variety of purposes; investment, house improvement, everyday subsistence, spend on the marriage of his other siblings and children, meet the medicinal cost and save a small living allowance to enable him to purchase certain essential commodities, such as cigarettes or a mug of tea with his friend at the tea shop in the local bazaar. A large part of household cash income is thus derived from the earning of its male migrants, and the more sons a household has migrated to foreign countries, the wealthier it tend to be.

The rising aspirations among the youngsters of the village and the outward-looking mentality remain the consequence of the exposure to the perceived success of migrants and it is a major factor in perpetuating and probably intensifying, magnifying and accelerating these processes at the local level. Other processes, such as improvement in education,

increasing exposure to electronic media, fast mode of communication, improved infrastructure and frequent visits of migrants to the village also played a key role in opening villagers' eyes to the wider world and helping to raise their aspirations.

The socio-cultural impacts of migration tend to receive a bad press. Migration has caused the young people of the village to disdain local wages and manual work. As a consequence of the migration culture, youngsters cannot imagine any local improvements through their own initiative and do not believe that they can build their future in Khairatta.

It has been commonly argued that migrants create an unrealistic perception of Europe, especially of UK because they are a major source of information, aspiration and inspiration for the rest of the villagers. Non-migrants are said to have exaggerated images of living in Europe through the media and the tendency among migrants to show off during holidays. The villagers perceive that the salaries in Europe easily exceed by five to ten times than the earnings in Khairatta or Kotli, as well as the prospect of increased personal freedom and the access to public healthcare, schooling and social security do, however, seem to justify the strong desire to migrate.

Besides all these aspirations and intentions among the young people of the village; migration demands considerable and increasing costs and risks and is therefore generally a well-considered and well-prepared decision, in which family and community members are often heavily involved and make all the allied arrangements for the person, intended to emigrate.

Such rising aspirations push people to exploit their talents, capability and aspirations to become more productive and to increase their well-being, in which people's horizons widen and their capabilities, aspirations and fulfill the family's expectations through sending regular and occasional (on marriage, death, child birth, accident, big loss and ailment) remittances.

Remittances are used primarily for consumption and investment in human capital (education, health, better nutrition). Investment in land, livestock, and housing is also relatively common but secondary to satisfying daily needs or to repay debt, such as a loan for the expenses of going abroad.

Remittances by the migrant to his family in the village fulfill the prime obligation to the household, one based on affection and responsibility toward the family. The migrant is simply part of a spatially extended household that is reducing the risk of impoverishment by diversifying across several activities viewed this way, migration is a family decision. The migrant uses established networks, *biradri* and territorial affiliations for seeking emigration, potential employment opportunities in foreign country and the transfer of funds and other resources back to the village.

The arrival of remittances on a large scale soon begins to upset the local social structure and status of the household members in the village. The vast majority of those who made up the early waves of village's emigrants were young males from households of middle socioeconomic rank within the villages.

The majority of migrants are younger than age late 20s and early 30s, and likely to be the oldest son of the household, and receiving households are therefore more likely to be led by older relatives, usually parents or grandparents. Funds remitted are often used on education of siblings and children who may also migrate eventually, or on the health needs of elderly relatives. Indeed, the provision of health, education and construction of a house is frequently a large factor in the motivation to migrate.

Families with access to such transnational links soon become massively advantaged; disrupting established socioeconomic hierarchies in their village, while the poorest families drew on their links with more affluent patrons, who were often willing to facilitate their clients' sons' passage overseas. Thus the reconfigured patterns of wealth and status in the village caused by the arrival of remittances were themselves a powerful spur to further emigration and the resulting processes of chain migration.

Gender and power distribution in the household have changed. Gender and generation also shape normative expectations about family roles and flows of obligations and responsibility between kin. Ideologies surrounding obligations and responsibilities towards kin emerge as utterly central to the experience of migration between the village and Britain. *Biradri* members are expected to provide assistance to each other, especially where the precise relationship is known and felt to be close.

As the village is heavily dependent on remittances, a culture of dependency often sets in. In a variety of contexts it has been observed that household members simply stop working and wait from month to month for the overseas remittance. Young men of the village prefer to remain unemployed and wait for the possibility that they themselves will migrate. Remittance is one of the most visible and beneficial aspect of the way in which international migration has reshaped the village's socio economic structure.

5.1.2 Loss of Community Life

As a result of massive emigration; the villagers has observed a decline in the community integrity and collective life of the village. Today the 43.20% people of the village have migrates abroad in order to have the socio economic uplift of their families. The majority of the migrant lie in the young age category that had migrated by letting their children, women and old age people in the village. This loss of population has given rise to considerable concern over the ultimate fate of the community. Consequently, the heavy tasks performed by all the villagers collectively have abandoned and the alternative ways have emerged in the village.

Many villagers articulate that there used to be a great number of the social gatherings and recreational events in the village several years ago; such as female gatherings on the community well, children gatherings in *taka* (community land for cattle grazing) and on *jabri* (pond) to graze and water their cattle and the villagers gathering at shrines on each *jeweinrat* (Thursday) and cook edible food and annual *mela* (festival). Male informants over the age of fifty years recalled that the village used to had a big gathering of folk singing after every harvest season and occasional folk singing at night at the house of an elder man of the village (mostly on the arrival of any friend or relative from across the cease fire line). There had been a *chontra* (A common sitting place raised from the land and shadowed with big *piple* trees) near the stream where the old age people used to sit together and gossip for long time at the sizzling and chilly afternoons. But now days almost all of these gatherings have vanished because people are not much interested and could not spare time for these traditional gatherings and festival because of their jobs, business, hectic schedules and migration of young persons.

The small tasks regarding the house construction, cultivation, hay collection, celebration of life cycle ceremonies were performed individually or with the little assistance of neighbor and relatives whereas the community was supposed to perform all the heavy and tiresome tasks together. People used to prepare the lands for cultivation and house construction, whenever a heavy stone appeared; the neighbors were called to move the stone aside. Similarly, big *karri* (rafter) were pulled from the nearby forest in order to prepare the roof of house; all the villagers were informed in advance and plan is unanimously decided to pull the heavy rafters from the forests.

The *ladi* (putting mire on the roof) was another heavy task which needs to be completed in one day. The community was called for the final stage after all the initial stages had been completed.

Letri (hay cutting) was another task needs the community participation. In the month of *assu*; the *letri* was called upon by each household for the collective cutting of the grass from their lands and collected as fodder for animals for the upcoming *siyala* (winter) season. Each household could have at least one *letri*, whereas the exceeding was not denied by the community. Men and women all used to participate in *letri* in the opposite corners of the *rakh* (grass land) and the drum beaters follow the men side on heavy drum beat to stimulate them for getting acceleration to compete each other. On the rhythmic beat men did not even care for their own fingers under the *drati* (sickle). In this way the task needed several days could be completed in few hours. All the participants were served with *desi* ghee, sugar and wheat bread offered by the neighbors.

Life cycle ceremonies were also celebrated collectively by collecting *panda* (utensils), *khut* (beds), *phuri* (mats) and other stuff was collected from the neighborhood. Women of the village used to decorate the ceremonial house and fetch the water for the ceremony from the well. Men of the village were supposed to cut the woods from the forest and fetch the eatable stuff from the bazaar on their shoulders. The guests attending the ceremony were resided in the neighbor's houses. On the basis of age and gender, every one used to ensure his/her participation in the communal tasks; the absence of any one was inquired and the negligence was extremely and publicly criticized by all the villagers. On the occasion of the death in the village everyone was expected to abandoned

their everyday tasks and participate in the funeral and burial. Grave was dug and prepared by the skilled villagers whereas the allied task was voluntarily performed by all other villagers. A big *kahu* tree was cut and saw workers used to prepare *takhta* (wooden safeguard) to cover the grave opening. The bereaved family was served with food for several days by their *gamandi* (neighbors). If any one in the village got ill he/she was brought to the hospital in city by the villagers in a cot on their shoulders; the procession was accompanied by several other villagers whereas all the everyday tasks of ill persons were collectively performed by all other villagers. In case of any big loss; (serial death, death of *mais* (buffalo), loss of *ka* (hay) in fire or rain, house damage, frequent ailment) the household was compensated by all other villagers.

Profound and prolonged tasks in cultivation were also the tasks of community. A large number of the *dandan ghi jori* (couple of oxen) were employed to plough the lands in minimal time. Women used to perform *godhi* (weeding) and used to perform *katai, twai*, (reaping, collection) and separating tasks. Water (cool) channels were collectively linked with *kas* (stream) to irrigate the *chaiters* (irrigated fields) of *tahien* (paddy).

A number of such activities depend upon the presence of young people in the village; since a large number of people emigrated to many foreign countries; these events have expired. The impacts of the absence of young members on the community are manifold. Without their participation the collective performance of heavy tasks in the village is impossible so that the villagers have abandoned these tasks and found alternatives. Heavy flow of remittances has changed the village architecture so that the heavy tasks regarding the house construction has discarded. The pavement of roads, invasion of tractors, thresher and excavators has abandoned the heavy tasks related to cultivation, reaping and digging. Tent and cartridge services are employed in the marriage that has freed the people from the dependence on each other. Smooth and cemented surface and bricks are reserved in graveyard for any sudden death. For the performance of routine and occasional small tasks; labor is employed on cash.

According to one of the old age respondent:

“*Jab tak log aik ki kuwein ka pani istimal kertey they dil aur damag aik they likin abb pani ki takseem dilon ki takseem ki wajah bani hey*”

(Until people used the water from the same well they were united by heart and mind but the provision of water supply to each home is the reason of distances in hearts among them).

An additional reason for decline of social relations and interaction among the villagers is influence of mass communications (radio, television, mobile, and fast mode of transportation). The absences of 45.70% young villagers have lead towards the major loss for the community. The increasing emigration trends and frequent flow of remittance lead every task to be completed on cash; that freed the people form communal interdependence.

5.1.3 Impacts on Education

Frequent flows of remittances and increased resources have made it possible for the migrant's families to send their children to private English medium schools in the neighboring areas. Such practice is normally not economical but it does satisfy their desire to provide maximum benefits to children towards the development of their future life by investing in their education. Gender discrimination in terms of education attainment has abolished and female formal education is given due importance in the present scenario. The women of the village is no more confined to household chores and agriculture activities but they have proved their competencies in every walk of life by including their names in distinctive academicians of the village; presently the DEO (District Education Officer-women) also belongs to the village Dhana. The migrants and their left over is of the view that female's formal education is more important than the male's; because they perceive that

A male's education is the education of only a single person rather the female's education is the education of generations.

A number of migrant's from the village have settled their families or a portion of family for the sake of the education of their children and siblings.

“Educational facilities formed the primary motive for households to settle or resettle in the city and thus came before the quest for better living conditions and investment opportunities (Berriane, 1996: 376) Whereas international migration was not or only slightly selective for education international migrants' children were better educated and exhibited higher school enrolment rates than children from non migrant households (Bencherifa, 1996: 418-9)

Furthermore, that these have left positive impact also applies to women and that international migration therefore plays an accelerating role in closing the gender

gap in education. Remittance enabled investments in the human capital of children may thus be another motive to relocate migrant households to towns with better educational facilities.

A large number of migrant's households (67%) have arranged (home) tuition for their children. This has been done mainly because of the fact that the well satisfied or the migrants want the excellent quality of education for their children. Investment in the education of children is the priority area for migrants of the village dhana. The desire for education has no limitations as far as its level is concerned. They wish to send their children to better schools so that they may prepare them well for their future.

However due to the absence of head of the family, the children particularly the boys have become more vulnerable and don not pay required attention towards education.

“I wanted my son to get higher education but he left studies when he was in class 11th. I always took great care of his moral and educational training but I cannot watch him with the full attention because of other extra household chores. I have to perform diverse duties. For instance if my son goes to play cricket or kairam without my permission and I punish him, he will runs away from home. I cannot take harsh measures in this regard”.

Many of the young boys of the migrants had bunked the school in the absence of their father. Due to the heavy flow of remittances they managed all the household chores and dealt with the remittances. The pockets full of cash made them proud, spoiled and (mummy-daddy) soft. The have indulged in playing, smoking, dog fighting, driving bikes and motor cars and squandering along with age mates and friends.

A returned migrant of the village articulated that;

“I have not ever deprived my son and always tried to meet his needs. During my stay abroad I permitted him to deal with the cash. Initially the things gone better but the situation turned worst with the passage of time. My son spared a sum out of remittances and purchased a bike, at the beginning he started bunking classes but with the passage of time he withdrawn education and indulged in playful activities. When I stopped funding, he stole the goat of a local herder and sold in the local market to meet the fuel cost. When I returned I put my son on the right track. In my absence my son had bunked school. I motivated him to enable him for a student visa for England while running a small shop in the

Khairatta. He passed his intermediate examination and successfully managed to reach UK on a student visa”.

It was observed that that the children of the migrant’s families are not interested in getting higher education because of the following reasons.

Since all facilities of life are easily available to the children, they do not want to put their earnings and efforts in getting education. They are confident of their sound financial future because they think their parents income and wealth is sufficient for them. Due to the presence of servant in the household the children are becoming dormant and lethargic. The leniency of parents is another major factor for the decline in education.

5.1.4 Impacts on village infrastructure

The economic prosperity after migration has affected the infrastructure of the village and lifestyle of the villagers from all direction and dimensions. The affects re very explicit which could be empirically verified, before the migration almost all the houses were *kacha* and looked like cottage and huts but after the migration almost all the houses are *pakka*, one could see the big, sophisticated and stylish houses scattered over the vast areas.

Prior to migration, the village was having archetypal village outlook, lacking basic amenities but after the emigration trends, the village present a modern look with the availability of all the basic amenities of the life.

Migrant have not only worked towards their family progress but also made efforts for the improvement in the basic infrastructure; besides building new houses they also gave fund for the construction of the streets, roads, mosques, hospitals and schools. Mosques were renovated or newly built, schools were provided with furniture and teaching staff, roads and streets were constructed and paved, and the existing infrastructure was given new and modern touch. One of the prominent features was the migrant’s contribution towards betterment of poor people by helping them in preparing dowry on their daughter’s marriages providing them with soft loans for doing work in the village and gave them jobs as drivers and servants. Some of the migrants have donated their land to schools and mosques.

A number of socio-economic changes have been taken place in the village infrastructure. Before the emergence of the emigration trends the conditions of the village was not good because there were not even unpaved roads, people used to fetch all the usable on their shoulders.

Men, women, children all picked up the *chung* (grain pack) to the *gharat* (water mills) and get the flour on their shoulders and *khoti* (donkey) back to the village. There was only a central *bawali* (water well) of the village, and the women of the village used to fetch the water in *gadwa* on their head. The houses were like small cottage and huts where human and animals used to live together. Fire woods collected from jungle were used as fuel. There was only a Govt. Boys Middle School situated at a distance of two kilometers from the village, where male and male were supposed to get education together. There was only one mosque at a distance of one kilometer from the village. The trends of religious education and Hifz-e-Quran was considered important than the general education. The young boys were admitted to the *madrassa* (religious seminaries) in Kotli. There was no trend of latrine and open defecation was commonly practiced in various corners of the village. The *bandi* (animal's barn) were cleaned by women and the animal's excreta were removed with hands without any safety measures. There was no electricity in the village; *batti* (kerosene oil lantern) and *deeni* (pine woods) were used to light the surroundings and paths. There was no concept of fan, as it sees that there were no blistering summers. Women used to perform their everyday tasks in the day and run the spinning wheels to get wool from the wool of the *ped* (sheep) and hairs of goats. The prepared wool was given to the *qasvi* (weaver) to get blanket woven. Husk was separated from the grain in open air without and electric fan. There was no concept of locks at doors; the doors remain open even in the absence of all the members of the house. There was a complete harmony and trust among the villagers. The guests were resided with the other members of the household and no extra arrangements were made regarding their accommodation and feast. The cots (made of wood and goat's hairs) were alternatively used instead of various kinds of furniture. The beds were made with torn clothes which consist of several sheets of covers.

The messages were transferred in steps through other persons, the urgent message and messages at small distances were transferred through *aalaa* (person with loud voice used to announce the message from the peaks).

Migrants in foreign countries contacted with their families in the village through letters and other visitors of the area. In the harvesting season, couples of oxen were employed to plough the field which lasts for several days. The *pheer* (place for the construction of house) was prepared by using traditional methods of digging and stabilizing, many of the members of the household had to work for several months. The *Kanak* (wheat) crop was separated by women of the village whereas the *mak* (maize) crop was separated by the men of the village. These tasks were collectively performed by the villagers and it needed a lot of efforts, pain, labor and strength on their part. The villagers had to stay on their fields during the whole season for caring, weeding, hoeing and fertilizing their crops.

The migration has resulted in economic stability of people and this has changed the whole picture of the village. After working meticulously and persistently for several years in foreign countries, the villagers returned with a passion to have the similar infrastructure in their village. The pocket full of money and the mindset full of enthusiasm, of its members; the village dhana has witnessed a great impact of emigration, which has tremendously changed its ambiance.

The infrastructure of the village before migration and after migration presents opposing pictures. There were 160 households of the village out of which ninety percent were fully *Pakka* whereas ten percent was semi-*Pakka*. These houses were constructed on modern maps designed by architectural engineers. In the village 57% houses have been constructed in triple story sophisticated and stylish modern houses, *pakka*, 25% houses are single story and only 10% are double story houses.

The animal barn is not constructed alongside the big *kothi* (sophisticated houses) rather it is constructed at a distance from human residence. The *rasoi* (kitchen) is constructed in a corner of the house and filled with gas cylinder and decorated with modern dinner sets.

Asphalt road is heading towards the village and the footpaths leading towards house are paved and cemented. All the usable luggage are brought up from bazaar on vehicles and motor bikes. The eatables are purchased at once for a month in advance and transported on vehicles to

the village, and even small items are not picked up in hands from bazaar to the house.

The migrants have planted memorial trees alongside the foot paths and trees named with the deceased members of their family. There are number of water pumps and several *khu* (water well) in the village. All the migrants have installed electric motors to have the piped water from the wells and *kas* (stream). The stylish houses consist of flushed bathrooms attached with rooms that are smooth with sophisticated tiles and packed with allied paraphernalia. Curtains of expansive cloth are hanging from the *darwaja* (doors) and *dawarien* (windows) and stylish, splendid and sparkling electric light are glittering over the roofs and inside the rooms. Air conditioned and sophisticated fans are installed for cooling, big houses are enclosed with stylish boundary walls and ornamented Iron Gates at main entrance are accompanied with luminous electric tune bells. At present 90% of the households of the village have digital phone connection, besides this every young person of the village have at least on mobile phone with several connections from different companies. Several calls are made to locate the persons even at small distance. The migrants have brought the computer for their school going children that are occasionally connected with digital phones to access the internet to have chit-chat with the migrants in foreign counties. The modern houses are furnished with various kinds of expansive furniture. The *baithak* (guest room) are specially decorated with modern appliance and equipment. The beds are covered with stylish, soft and cleaned bed sheets. Several villagers have abandoned the cultivation of crops (*bari bhaal shori hai*) on their *bari* (land for cultivation) or the lend it to the poor people of the neighborhood. The villagers who still practice cultivation employ tractors for tilling the land, labor for reaping and thrasher for separating. It needs a sum of money and small amount of time on the part of the villagers. The crops once sown are not cared afterward and reaped only at the end of the season.

Table #24

S.No	Modern Gadget	No. of households	Percentage
1	Mobile Phones	60	100
2	Television	58	98
3	Tape/Radio	48	80
4	CD/VCD player	43	71.66
5	Computer/Lap-Top	39	65
6	Refrigerator	47	78
7	Washing Machine	50	83
8	Sewing Machine	53	83.33
9	Digital camera/ handy-Cam	54	90
10	Motor Cycle	49	81.66
11	Cars/vehicles	41	69
12	Digital Phone Connections	54	90
13	Other latest electric and electronic gadgets	57	95

Table5.1: Possession of modern gadgets and electro-mechanical equipments

In the sampled households 98% have at least one television along with dish antenna, 78% have refrigerator, 83% have electric washing machines, 80% have digital phone connection, 43% have CD player, 90% have Digital Camera, 23% have Handy Cam, 81.66% have at least one motorcycle and 69% have at least one vehicle either for business or luxurious perspective, 83.33% households have sewing machine; the sewing machines are operated by the women to sew the curtains and pillow's covers.

Some people have donated land for mosque(s), roads, and community water well and school and the migrants spend over the construction of mosque, pavement of roads, digging community well and donated computer(s) and books to the local school. The villagers have also reconstructed the local shrine. In the village, a large sum of money is utilized on the construction of mosque, decoration of houses, clothing, jewellery, vehicles and luxuries.

Among the return migrants and the migrants left over in the village Dhana, 61% invest their money on construction of house, marriage, clothes, consumption and other luxuries. About 39% prefer to invest purchasing real estate, plots,shops

and vehicles. Some of them have saved money in post office, banks and insurance companies. A handful number of the villagers have invested in more than one area of investment with alternative combinations.

5.1.5 Impacts on Family system

A visible effect of migration on family system was observed that emigration of the people, particularly of males towards foreign countries affected the basic unit of social organization; the family structure. The joint and extended family system was diminishing; the traditional relations among kin relatives were losing their grip while the relationship between the husband, wife and extended relatives were taking new directions, usually leading family conflicts.

Traditionally,

migrants leave their wives and daughters behind with their extended family, who protected their chastity. In

this context, remittances destined for the entire extended family household as the literal price that the migrant pays for this control. In this way men were able to migrate without risking their families' honor. However, nuclear family households have increasingly become the norm over the past decades.

It was observed that, tensions on remittance among the wives and parents of the migrants have played an accelerating role in the breakdown of extended families and have stimulated the nucleation of family life.

Migration is also seen as a major cause of the increasing number of female-headed households in the village.

The child-mother affiliations seemed to be getting stronger due a long absence of fathers that was creating the social and economic hegemony of women in the families taking away the new generation from the indigenous norms and traditions prevalent from centuries.

As described by D'Emilio (2007), the longer the separation between the migrating parents and their children, the more children lose parents' reference in the management of the household, their authority and their role as providers of love and material care. Parents are gradually replaced by other family members, or the children take upon themselves the task of parenting. The feelings of rejection, abandonment and loss follow the children left behind, and cannot be compensated by the material gifts and remittances sent from abroad. To some extent the recent technological advances in terms of e-mail and affordable telephone calls might allow

the transnational families to form and foster social ties even at a distance (UNDP 2009: 76).

In the village Dhana, people used to prefer extended and joint family system was a norm in the past. It was considered as a sign of unity, strength, harmony, social care and effective in the performance of collective economic tasks. The family was headed by an elder man along with the subsidiary assistance of elder woman of the household. All the resources were managed and occupied by these elder members of the household who were considered as a decisive authority and their decisions were accepted by all other members of the household. The elder member used to distribute all the tasks and resources and monitor all the activities while looking at the future needs and issues of the household. The married sons were allowed to establish a small residential unit in the household without separating *chullah* (hearth). The male members were allowed to go out for labour while leaving their children in the collective protection of extended family.

Nowadays there exists a high level tendency towards the nucleation of family, especially among the migrants. They don't like to live with combined and shared families. A number of families have migrated in foreign countries to join their earlier migrant members. They want to enjoy their married life independently. Many others have migrated to urban areas for the sake of the quality education of their children. The nuclear families of the migrants in the village consists of his children, wife along with one extra member, mostly his younger brother or sister or his wife's younger brother or sister.

These family patterns emerged as direct result of emigration and remittance flow, because the conflicts come out between the wife and other patrilineal members of the migrant household that lead towards the nucleation of migrant family. As a result the migrant has to construct a house in one corner of the land given by the parents in inheritance that relieved the migrant from bearing the expenses of large extended family and diverted him to saving and investment.

The migrant from extended families of the village seldom send remittances directly to the migrant's wife, but generally to one of them within the household. Traditionally, the laws decide on the use of remittances. This situation is widely known to generate

numerous conflicts between migrants' wives and their in-laws, because they expect to gain significantly in personal liberty and privacy, the wish to have one's own house away from the authority of their parents-in-law. This creates a push for migrants' nuclear families to establish their own households by constructing a new house either in the village or in nearby towns. Besides increasing the personal liberty of migrant wives, this can also be an effective strategy for migrants to escape from the heavy financial burden of supporting large extended families. Such intra-household tensions about remittance use accelerate the break-up of extended families and lead towards the promotion of nuclear family system in the village.

One disadvantage of male migration is resulting in semi-permanent settlement leaving their old parents alone. On the other hand some families form a stem family old parents living with one of their son, his wife and children due to the other grown-up sons had gone abroad permanently or impertinently. Tendency toward taking the families away by the male workers of this village forms a variety of family dis-integration. Not only it splits the traditional joint family structure impertinently, but also it creates a permanent damage to the demography and the traditional family structure of the village.

5.1.5.1 Nucleation of Family within the Village

Increased earning from abroad raises the standard of living. In case, if a male get married and/or have children, his wife starts wishing to get a big share of expenditures. It consequently creates a domestic crisis, which leads to the separate home which lead towards the nucleation of family. As;

About 12 Years ago, ego (Mohammad Akram) left for England. On his first return visit he got married, for some reasons he could not take his wife with him. Ego's other married brothers have been working on the fields and as a labour in the city. Ego used to send money to his father, who again distributed it among the family members according to their needs. After about five years as the children grown elder and admitted in school, ego's wife began to object to this distribution and desired to get a larger amount of money sent by her husband for the care and education of children. It created a conflict. At last ego came and constructed a new house. Now ego's wife and children are living separately. Ego's wife had opened a bank account and receives monthly remittance send by her husband to mange all the expenses, including the children education and every day needs of the household. Ego some times send small amount of remittances for his parents to keep them agree and caring towards his children in the village.

5.1.5.2 Bifurcation of Family (One part in the village and other in the city)

Out country migration however resulted in the form of internal (within country) migration. There are 28 persons who had been working in Kotli and Mirpur had moved their wives and children and the school age children of their brother along with them. The rest of the family members were left over in the village to care the elder parents. In this way the family is bifurcated in three parts;

- The migrant(s) in foreign countries,
- Migrant's wife, small children and old parents in the village,
- Migrant's school going children along with his brother's wife and children in the city. (In case there is no brother in the village, the liaison is developed with married sister and the brother in law).

The basic underlying theme behind such family separation is the migrant's desire for the education of his children.

In this way the migrant's married brother(s) find a job or establish a business in the nearby city and move his wife, children, and the school age children of his migrant brother to the city. In this way the remittances by the migrant is send to the brother in the city to bear the educational cost of all the children and the rest of the amount is paid to the parent and wife in the village. The migrant's brother residing in the nearby city occasionally visit the village to attend the ceremonial occasions or to inquire the well being of his parents. During the summer vocation he children in the city rejoin their family in the village. All the ceremonies are celebrated in the village. In case of the death of any member whether internal migrant (in the city) or the external migrant (in foreign country); the deceased is brought up to the village for burial. The village is considered as permanent residence, the migrant stay in foreign countries underlie economic reason and the earning for his family and his brother stay in the city based on the education of children and investment in lucrative business.

Ego (Jamal Din) is a member of an extended family.

He has been working in Spain for twelve years. After about three years of migration when he had strengthened his economic position he asked his brother (in the village) to purchase a house in Kotli and shifted a part of family including school age children in the city and let a fraction of family in village. Ego's old parents were left in the village along with ego's wife and small children whereas the ego's brother, brother's wife,

brother's children and ego's school going children were moved to city. Ego's father looked after the land and a portion of family in the village whereas ego's brother looked after a segment of family in city and established a petrol pump alongside main road in the city. The children were admitted in quality school. After the ego's and his brother's children graduated he managed their emigration through the student visa. Afterward ego returned permanently to expand the business in companionship of his brother and look after the parents in the village.

Though the migration trend enhanced the trend of nuclear family and offshoots of the joint family, yet pooling the whole family income, all the major decisions relating to finance, ceremonies and marriages, etc. are taken jointly because the kinship is strongly incorporated in the behavior of the villagers and it could not be relinquish from their life; even after a person migrate along with whole family (wife & children) and he she would be bound by strong kinship obligations towards their left over in the village.

Table #25

S.No	Type of Family	No. of H.H	Percentage
s1	Nuclear	28	46.66
2	Joint	23	38.33
3	Extended	09	15
Total		60	100

Table 5.2: Types of the Families of the Village

However the statistics about the family structure before the emigration trends is not available but the qualitative dimensions shows that the villagers used to live in larger groups and the ratio of extended families was higher. Nowadays, 46.66 percent of the families are nuclear, 38.33 percent are joint and only 15 percent are extended families. The joint and extended families are preferred when all the males in a households are intended to emigrate, so that they left their wives and daughters in the supervision of one oldest male otherwise the nuclear family is preferred. A number of old age villagers have reveled that, in old days they had no access to capital so that there was a great love, affection and harmony among the villagers, now, as the frequent money is flowing in the village, the affection and love has gone from the village. In old days, living together was first and foremost priority of the villagers and all the people were independentbut

nowadays every one wants to be independent, individualistic and self-sufficient so that living in extended family is considered as burdensome and a barrier to someone's liberty.

Case Study-31

Mr. Mahroof went to England fifteen years ago. At the time he departed from the village he was very sad but the poor economic condition of his family did not allow him to stay in the village any more. After two months of migration, he got a very reasonable job in a hotel whose owner was also a Pakistani. After a month the owner of the hotel denied to pay to him. The situation displeased him and as a result he left the job. After a week he got another job in the hotel but now the owner was an English man. He gave a handsome salary that enabled him to send 50,000 rupees to his family staying in the village. He was so happy on his achievement and continued his efforts with honesty and became the counter manager. He told the researcher that it was difficult for him to earn such a big amount in Pakistan that he was getting in England in a month. The situation remained calm for few months but the conflicts produced in the family on the issue of remittances so that he started sending separately for his wife and parents. These situations lead towards the separation of chullah and handi (cooking) and ultimately he had to construct a separate house in the village. He adjusted the situation by managing a visa for his younger brother. After the successful employment of his younger brother he go relaxed him from the expenses of his parent's family so that he saved a sum of money to construct a plaza in the city.

Case Study-32

Mr. Rasheed Gujjar was a 38 years old boy of the village who graduated from the govt. College Kotli. After the death of his father he had to discontinue his studies and earn the livelihood for his family. He considered the emigration as a step towards the advancement of his family position and to gain better economic and social living conditions. One of his uncles sponsored him and he proceeded to England five years ago. He used to work at an Airport and earn one lack and ten thousand rupees per month. According to him "Kashmir main rehtey howey agar hum 6 bhai be kamatey to itna na milta jitna ajj main akela kama raha hoon" (while living in Pakistan we six brothers could not earn as much as I earn alone in England).

He explored that along with the fulfillment of al the routine expenses, he had managed the expenses for the emigration of his two younger brothers and got married on his own expenses. He is constructing a house in the village because he will have to evacuate parental house after the marriage of his younger brother.

Case Study -33

Mrs. Khadija was a widow and his husband was a farmer, she had 5 children. Her parents were very poor like her in-laws, one of her husband's relatives proposed her for marriage, the proposal was accepted by her parents and she was migrated to England for marriage. She was a skilled in making rugs and woolen dolls. She could earn herself by utilizing her skills. She met a Norwegian woman and requested her help in finding a job. After a few weeks, she was deployed in a fruit factory for packing the fruit in big jars on a reasonable salary. She was well established, her children were getting education in England, and she could also manage to send money to her parents in the village dhana.

According to her mother: “

Minu tii gha maqadran tein bahoon dar lagay so par haun aj sara usay gha maqadran gho khan yoh saro saro mera mola gho karam hei.”

(I was frightened of my daughter's fate but today we are eating from her income just because of blessing of Allah).

Case Study -34

Mujtaba was forty five years old man lived in England from last twenty years; he was married and has three sons and one daughter. He stated that;

“merey pass itna be na tha keh main aik cigaratte hi khareed leeta merey sarey rishteydar bohat ameer they likin koi meri madad nahi kerta tha na hi muje apni beeti ka rishta deeta tha, phir mera aik dost muje England le gaya jahan say meri qismat khulna shuroo howi. doa sal bad jab main wapis aaya to her banda muje apni betti dene per tiyar tha, ajj main itna hai keh merey noker ki jeib be kabhi hali nahi rehti”

I had not enough to purchase even a cigarette, all of my relatives were rich but no one was ready to help me and give his daughter in marriage. One of my friends brought me England so that my fate started turning. When I returned after two years, everyone was wishing to give me her daughter in marriage. Nowadays, I have enough, so that the pockets of my servants not remained empty.

5.1.6 Impacts on Village's conflicts

On one side migration has empowered the women of the village and on other side young males who were most often involved in disputes have gone to foreign countries; it lead towards a significant decrease in the intra household and inter households conflicts.

In the past, women were most often had victims of these conflicts but nowadays they are more liberated from these conflicts, it is because of the changing role and status of women in the village.

Migration can be a way of fulfilling women's interests. For women who stay behind, the migration of their husbands may mean escaping a conflicting relationship for a period of time. Nevertheless, this will depend very much on their ability to manage other relationships inside and outside their households during that time. For migrant women, migration offers an opportunity to engage in waged labour and to work outside the reproductive sphere. In some cases, migration may even bring the learning of new skills for working women. However, in the case of intra-rural migration many women end up both working in the fields and cooking for male workers, and hardly any new skill is learnt.

(Abril and Rogaly 2001)

In the old days, the villagers used to have frequent conflicts over the land, water resources and community grazing pastures, because the land and cattle were a major source of subsistence. The other main reason of community conflicts was the marriage alliances, because endogamy was strictly practiced and the villagers had limited choices.

As a result of migration, the patterns of subsistence have changed from cattle herding and horticulture to remittance. The dependency over the land has decreased and even abandoned and the cattle are no more the need of the migrant and their families. Significant decline in the intra-village conflicts have been observed for the last few years.

Endogamy was strictly practiced in the village during the past days, every one had to made marriage alliance out of limited choices so that frequent conflicts occurred over the issue.

The villagers were not well aware of the outer world by any mean. They used to perceive that the world only lies in the village; in fact many of the elder people of the village had not gone out of the village at least once in the lifetime. The narrow thinking encapsulated the village inside the limited vision and mountainous boundaries around the village. Every one in the village tried his level best to occupy maximum resources, the water resources, *taka* (grazing pasture), *khalsa* (Govt. land) using pathways from one's land, trees standing over the boundary of one's land, passage of rain water and the cattle crossing the *seein* (threshold, border) entered in other's land, issues over marriage alliances, conflicts with daughters-in law were all the major causes of the conflicts among

the people in the village. These situations had lead the villagers to form intra village alliances and frequent feuds.

An old man narrated the incident of a big feud in the village.

The two sides of the village separated by the stream were occupied by a pioneer of the village. He inherited his land to two of his sons' one side to each son. Due to the mistrust among them, they could not form marriage alliance for their next generations so that frequent conflicts blow up among them over the generations. Once the both side had a big conflict over the common property (meadow) of the village, there was a big tree over there and one party cut it down, other realized that they are going to occupy the land, they called their members and held an open war in which one person was murdered. Afterwards, came across each other, they blocked the pathways of each other and hold social boycott with each other, no one was supposed to attend each others ceremonies (the oldest members woven with each through affine and blood relations were exempted from this social boycott as the situation cooled down). The two parties formed strong alliances through marriages, in order to keep them internally strong.

The issue remained blowing and the conspirator played a significant role to involve both the parties in frequent conflict. The victim's party attacked several times to take the revenge. The winner party escaped the conflict by sending their young men to foreign countries and became economically strong. The other party had no option to make the balance of power so that they also managed visa for their young members. The young villagers of both the parties gathered in foreign not as kith but as kin. In the foreign land they were once again bounded into territorial affiliations and kinship ties.

(Noor Hussain, An old villager)

Furthermore he articulated that, he had not gone to local bazaar till the age of 30s and did not go for Kotli bazaar till the age of fifty years. It's the God's will that he has performed Hajj with the assistance of his sons, working in Jeddah.

The massive migration has changed the subsistence patterns of the villagers land and cattle are no more important for the villagers because of the frequent flow of the remittances. Mass migration from the village has opened up the eyes of the villagers to perceive the outer world and capture global experiences, which are frequently discussed in the village on their return. The promotion of female formal education has decreased the conflicts over the formation of

marriage alliances. The global separation of once close neighbors has promoted sympathy for each other, and the migrants make joint plan of their visit back to the village through mutual communication on phone calls. The enormous migration of young males of the village resulted in an innovatory decline in the village conflicts.

5.1.7 Impacts on Religious Activities

The people of the village Dhana belongs to *sunni* and *shia* sect. As far as the religious activities are concerned, a portion of earning from abroad was also invested for aforesaid purpose. They spend money for the maintenance of village Mosques and Shrines. There were seven Mosques in the village. On inquiring from the informants regarding the strength of *namazi*, it was told that 80-100 persons were the regular *namazis* of the main *Jamia maseet* (main mosque). Whereas the strength at *junvoa* (Friday) prayers the strength increased up to 150-200. In other six mosques the ratio of *namazi* was not more than 50. Women's were also becoming religious with the passage of time. The women offer prayer either at home or in mosque, in order to thanks Allah for his blessing upon them, while elder persons were more religiously active comparatively with young's one. The women and elders were seen offering prayers for the successful emigration of their family members. The young persons also get inclined towards the religion as they start the process of their emigration.

About 13 people having the age of 35-60 years proceeded to perform Hajji from the village Dhana in the year 2010, the similar numbers continue every year. The pilgrimage portrays the sound financial position of the villagers and reflects their passion toward religious duties. The dwellers of Dhana cook *daigh* (rice in a big pot) on *Eid Melad-un-Nabi* (birthday of Prophet Muhammad PBUH) and other religious festive and give *Zakat* regularly. The well off families of the village some time send the poor people to perform Hajj with any intention of showing their social status but only for the sake of Allah.

Case Study-35

A women resident of the village did not offer even a single prayer in the past because she did not have enough time for prayers. She had lot of responsibilities on her shoulder. Secondly, she thought that why she should be thankful to Allah as He has gave nothing to her family. After the migration of her husband and brother-in-la; their economic condition was improved and she started offering five times prayers in order to thank Allah Almighty for His blessings upon her family.

5.1.7.1 Religious association

The people of the village Dhana have respect and faith on the saints, they visit the shrines situated in different parts of Jammu & Kashmir for their prosperity and happiness. They also attend Urs of Mai Toti sahiba and Baji Sab. A number of the residents have taken *bait* (Oath) on the hand of two holy *bazurg* (saints) namely Mai Toti Sarkar (Khuiratta) and Baji Sab (Rehain Shareef). Inhabitants have strong faith and association with both of the *darbar* (shrine) and considered them as their *rahber* (pathfinder, torchbearer).

5.1.8 Impacts on the perceptions about Magic or sorcery

There was strong belief in magic and sorcery in the village prior to migration. The villagers used to seek the solution of all of their problems in magic. There were strong intentions among the people to consult the magicians and shamans to get their problems solved and acquire to fulfill their inherent desires. There were a number of *pirs* and *aamil* (shamans) in the close vicinity of the village. People of the village used to visit those occasionally to seek the solution of various problems, evils, harms and troubles.

There are some common problems for that the shamans and *pirs* were consulted:

To have handsome production of grains for the season,

To have better socio-economic condition of household,

To have a son,

To have the successful marriage of a son and/or daughter

To break the chain of serial deaths/ailments in the household

To break the harmful impacts of the magic already applied by someone

To seek the emigration of any family member

To seek the cure of various ailments

The *pirs* and shamans used to apply various techniques and strategies to get the problem solved. The prominent and successful shamans were consulted again and again for the successful running of everyday's matters. The *pirs* used to give various kinds of *taweez* (amulets); one for successfulness of any matter, one for blocking the harmful effects of the magic applied by others and others to harm the enemies. These amulets were either hanged on various corners of the house, paths and other destinations or fasten on the body parts or hanged on neck.

The shamans used to apply various strategies regarding the nature of problems, various materials and substances were demanded from the person seeking the solution. The shamans used to perform various techniques over the substances and gave to the person to spread it in various corners to alleviate his/her miseries and/or harm the enemies.

One of the women of the village informed that she was childless after many years had passed of her marriage. She had consulted various hakeems (traditional healers), but she was not successful. At last she consulted a shaman who informed her that someone has applied black magic to stop her productivity. The shamans demanded a black cock from her and exhume the magic, the torn pieces of clothes appeared; for that shaman had analyzed the breakage of her fate. The shaman demanded the water from seven wells around the village and leaves from seven species of trees. The shaman recited various verses and tuna (magic) over the substance and asked her to drink the water mixed with leaves for a month, early in the morning. She continued with the strategy and now she has two sons.

Nowadays, one of the prominent attribute of the villagers is that they do not have any faith in *JaduTuna* (Magic and sorcery) and strongly discourage the evil practices. They are no more practicing the *Jadu* to harm others and get personal benefits, people do not associate their failures and success with *jadu tuna* (magic). The migrant's families believe that magic and sorcery has nothing to do with one's success and failure rather it depends upon one's personal efforts and sincerity to the task. They perceive that the cause of ailment lies on medicinal and biological grounds and magic has nothing to do with it.

5.1.9 Impacts on Language

The villagers are fluent in two languages that are; *Gojari* and *Pahari*. Some of the migrants could speak perfect English. After the modification in the British's immigration and asylum the English language is declared mandatory for all the people seeking emigration. There are a number of institutes in the Kotli that are offering English language courses to the people intended to seek emigration.

The kinship terminologies of the villagers have changed due to the mass migration from the village. Various relations are expressed by using English terms instead of traditional terms.

Table #26

Gojari	Pahari	English
Papo	Abba	Daddy, Father
Maan, Bai	Ammi, Amman	Mamma, Mother
Bahi, Para, Lalo	Payya	Bro, Brother
Baivy, Bajee	Pehan, Bajee	Sis, Sister
Dado Papo	Dada jee	Grand pa Paternal Grand Father
Dadi Maan	Mayan	Grandma, Paternal Grand Mother
Nanno Papo	Nana Jee	Grand Pa Maternal Grand Father
Nanni Maan	Nani Jan	Grandma, Granny Maternal Grand Mother
Puwa	Phoopi	Papa's Sister, Aunty Father's Sister
Chacho/Tayo	Chacha/Taya	Papa Bros, Uncle Father's Brother
Masi/Khala	Khala	Mama's Sis, Aunty Mother's Sister
Mavoo	Mamoon	Mama's Bros, Uncle Mother's Brother
Jamai	Jamatra	Son-in-Law

Noonh	Noonh	Daughter-in-Law
Salo, Der, Jaith	Salah, Der, Jaith	Brother-in-Law
Sali, Nannan	Sali, Nannan	Sister-in-Law
Soro	Sorah	Father-in-Law, Papa
Susoo	Suss	Mother-in-Law, Mama
Pawi	Bhabi	Brother's wife, Bajee
Paniyo	Behnoi	Sister's Husband, Bahi
Manvi	Mamee	Mother's Brother's wife, Aunty
Chachi	Chachi	Father's Brother's wife, Aunty
Masro	Khalu	Mother's Sister's husband, uncle
Phupo	Phupa	Father's Sister's husband, uncle
Malair	Malair	Mother's Brother's Children, Cousin
Chachair/ Dada potra	Chachair	Father's Brothers children, Cousin
Masair	Masair	Mother's Sister's children, Cousin
Phapair	Phapair	Father's Sister's children, Cousin
Potro	Potra	Paternal Grand Son, Cousin
Potri	Potri	Paternal Grand Daughter
Dotro	Dotra	Maternal Grand Son
Dotri	Dotri	Maternal Grand Daughter
Patrio/Patri	Patria/Patri	Brother's Children
Panjo/Panji	Panja/Panji	Sister's Children

Table 5.3: Change in Kinship Terminologies

Various English terms are commonly used in every day's language. Common salutations have been replaced with new patterns like; *aslam-o-alaikam* and

wa`alai-kam-salaam have been altered with ‘*hello and hi*’. Various English words are commonly articulated in common speaking. Some of the common words that have been used instead of local words are:

Main twaray kini achna saan par maray guest aai ghay (I was coming towards you but my guests have arrived). Mein end tak tuki follow karsan (I will follow you till the end). Main apnay friend ne ghar jasaan kiyan kay uski marriage ni greeting ve deni hai (I am going to visit my friend as I have to say him greetings). In the every day’s chit-chat of the young people almost every third sentence has been found to be composed of few English words.

One of the foremost reasons behind the change in linguistic patterns is due to the younger’s preference to speak English. A number of young people start speaking every day’s English well before the proceeding of their emigration. The young people feel proud in speaking English, and a person having excellent level of speaking English is appreciated by the other. The young people prefer to make their everyday’s discussion in English language. It increases their proficiency in English and ensures their employability in their destination.

5.1.10 Impacts on Life Cycle ceremonies

People around the world celebrate the ceremonies of birth, initiation, puberty, marriage and death. These ceremonies are called as life cycle ceremonies, which involve different kind of rituals and customs that vary cross-culturally. Life cycle ceremony is defined as;

“A person’s life cycle ceremony consists of culturally defined age categories through which he or she passes between birth and death, it includes stages such as birth, childhood, puberty, marriage, adulthood, old age and death; each stage in the life cycle carries certain cultural expectations. An individual move through these stages, their overall role in society changes, all these stages recognize at least three major distinctions in the life cycle; childhood, adulthood, old age, these stages are convenient to discuss life cycle ceremonies, but it is important to discuss how culture vary in how they conceive of these stages, and how transition from one to the other are recognized and marked.”

Previously, all the communities around the world had distinct marriage practices with slight and vast variations from each other. The traditional communities used to celebrate the life cycle ceremonies in particular seasons and the ceremonies lasts for several days, lot of arrangements were made to mark the distinction of these transition phases of an individual’s life.

With the passage of time, frequent contacts occurred among the communities through the fast mode of communication and travelling. People around the world came into frequent contacts which was previously impossible. This cultural diffusion brought enormous changes in the social life of traditional communities and the village is no exception. Mass emigration from the village and frequent flow of remittances to the village altered the social scenario of the village, which brought many changes in the life cycle ceremonies of the village.

5.1.10.1 Migration and marriage

The villagers who have migrated to England in the era of 1960-70 are marrying their children by finding a suitable spouse (preferably a cousin). Marriage ceremony takes place in the village and then the couple move to foreign country. In this case either bride or groom has to leave his/her family of orientation and migrate along with his/her spouse. During the course of fieldwork ten marriage ceremonies took place in the village out of that eight couples have migrated to European countries. Since the marriages were confined to same ethnic groups of Jatts, gujjars, malik, Syed and Rajas that sometimes lead to unmatched couples which sometimes result in divorce or separation, but most of the marriage remained successful. The ideological differences are minimized prior to the marriage through frequent phone calls and chatting. The occasional visits of migrants and frequent gift exchange among the couples have also played an active role clarifying the ideology and the expectations of either spouse. A number of arranged couples have fallen into love with each others that has increased the ration of successful marriages.

5.1.10.1.1 Impacts on marriage patterns

Marriage is a social union or legal contact between the people that recreates the kinship. It is an institution in which interpersonal relationships intimate and sexual relation is acknowledged in variety of ways, depending on culture in which it is found. Such a union is often formalized via a wedding ceremony. People marry for many reasons including social, emotional, legal, economic, spiritual and religious. These might includes arrange marriage, family

obligations, legal establishment of family and legal protection of the children etc.

The people of the village Dhana had developed a fascinating diversity of regulations and customs concerning prohibition and preferences for marriage patterns, as well as exceptions, patterns of spouse selection and number of spouses as well as the pattern of marriage celebration.

5.1.10.1.2 Impacts on the rules of the selection of spouse

In the past, the people of the village Dhana strictly practiced endogamy with in the *kunmba* (lineage) and *biradri* (caste) regarding the selection of spouse. Usually the people preferred to marry within their *biradari* that was considered as an emblem of family honor, individual prestige and indicated group's solidarity and strength. The marriages ceremony was highly routinized and embedded in the *biradari* system. The responsibilities and the symbolic rituals of these important socio-cultural events were group oriented in which aged and elderly members were the important ones in making decisions. The methods of selecting spouses was the responsibility of the family elders, therefore, usually the elders of the boy's family took the initiative in the negotiations for marriage. But it did not mean that after the final word of the family the bridegroom were completely debarred from having a say in the matter. They had the right to show their interest but it was considered as undesirable according to prevalent traditional norms in the village.

Cultural patterns had a strong influence in the selection of spouse; one had no opportunity to look beyond the set patterns. Lineage and caste bonds were so strong that one had no opportunity to come out of it. It was the family that used to decided who is married with whom and when to marry.

Mostly the leader of the village used to decide the marriage proposal with the assistance of the head of the household, mostly the grandfather; and the families and the couples had to obey the decision. There was no opportunity for refusal and the offenders had to face consequences. The elders were of the view that females should not be given a chance to select a spouse for them because it would spread vulgarity in the society and disturb the equilibrium in the community. Most often the spouses were decided at their earlier childhood when they did not even know about themselves. The selection was shared with other relatives so that no one came to ask for the son/daughter who has already been engaged. The earlier engaged couples came to know about their spouse in their latter adulthood so that the marriage was celebrated soon after. In a way the

selection process used to decide soon after the birth of someone and one had to bow before the will of elders in their adulthood for what had decided regarding the spouse. Once the spouses were matched there was no chance of rejection except in the case of the death of the spouse.

As an affect of mass migration lot of changes has been taken place in the pattern of spouse selection. The role of village leader and grandparents has decreased in making marriage proposal. Nowadays, one's parents and elder siblings decide about the spouse with his/her consent. In this process one (both male and female) can express their desire and choices. The refusal on the part of young one's is not considered bad rather other suitable matches are explored soon after. Females are given equal chance to speak about their choice and refusal. Once matched couples can be remarriages as there are no restrictions in this regard.

Although the villagers still consider the *biradri* as an important factor in the selection of spouse but in addition, they have started considering economic, educational and emigrational along with it. The marriage is considered as an important source for emigration seeking young villagers, so that the spouses are selected in a way that it can accommodate maximum villagers to seek emigration.

The phenomenon of love marriage was totally absent in the village in the old days but the trend is emerging rapidly among the young generation of the village. There are few successful cases of love affairs that had resulted into marriage and then the couple stayed at village or moved to UK.

5.1.10.1.3 Impacts on considerations to socio-economic and physical features of either Spouse

In the old days the marriage was a social, political, economic and religious obligation. The couple had no preferences in terms of their physical characteristics rather the chastity and obedience of the girls was most demanding factor in the community. Nowadays, the physical features like, white color, tall stature and good looking personalities are preferred to be selected as one's spouse. In addition the wealthy and educated families are preferred for spouse selection. Most of the villagers prefer to select an educated or emigrant person (particularly UK's) as a spouse for their daughter/son. It is generally perceived in the village that marriage with an emigrant or educated one means good future.

5.1.10.1.4 Impacts on the expression of consent prior to selection

Before the trends of education and emigration were not much materialized in the life of the villagers, no one prior to marriage was asked about his/her consent regarding spouse; it were community influential and head of household who used to decide the marriage proposal. After the disclosure no one had a choice of refusal.

Nowadays, the young people of the village can say anything about the selection of spouse or even refuse it at all. The role of community influential and grand parents had declined. Although it is generally considered as ghastly but the younger people could decide their spouse by themselves; and the credit goes to remittances.

In old days the couple who was going to be married was not given a chance to have a look at each other; especially the girls only came to know about their marriage a few days prior to the ceremony. Nowadays the younger people of the village are specially given a chance to have a brief discussion or have a look at each other before their wedlock. The initiative is taken by male who can visit female at her household by making certain excuse. Without seeing each other the younger generation of the village is resistant to choose some one as his/her marriage partner.

5.1.10.1.5 Transition from Endogamy to Exogamy

As a consequence of mass migration 'endogamy' is no more a pre-requisite criteria for the selection of spouse rather a transition has occurred from endogamy to exogamy. Till the early 1990s most of the people (97%) of the village prefer to marry their children within the biradri and lineage and hardly 3% could be flexible in this regard because the villagers used to establish and strengthen their alliances through endogamy and exchange marriage and the alliances could be formed easily on the basis of the earlier relations. Spouses

could be searched out easily and no one could remain un-married or have had difficulties in searching a spouse. The endogamy was a way to resolve the conflicts because all the people were bound and woven with each other. Most preferably the patrilineal parallel cousin's marriage were practiced to keep the inheritance within the close group and kept the *prawali* (brotherhood) very strong.

Nowadays, the villagers are of the view that there is no harm in marrying outside the defined group if the suitable spouses have been found outside. The 55% of the villagers are of the view that going for exogamy should not be banned rather it should be flexible, 60% of the villagers favoured caste marriage, whereas 40% favoured village-endogamy. Only the 45% of the villagers favored strict endogamy within the caste and lineage. These opposing dichotomies regarding the selection of spouse seem to have emerged as a result of mass migration from the village. It is clear that along with other trends of modern age; migration has played a significant role in abolishing the rigidity making the villagers more flexible in terms of spouse selection.

The people favoring the exogamy are of the view that it provides them with refined breed after one has gone through a series of endogamous marriage. They are of the view that people are not extending expected cooperation after the endogamous marriage so that it creates tensions within one's own people; it is better to go outside for a spouse so that both parties will be caring, careful and cooperative to each other.

The young people of the village not only seek emigration through marriage but they also prefer to marry with educated women because they perceive that an educated woman can effectively run the household in their absence.

There were lots of risks associated with the 'exogamy'; some gone for exogamy would have to face a lot of pressure from inside the group, in case of failure he/she had to face criticism, shame and taunts; at certain level he/she might be married against his/her choice. It was difficult for either spouse to get settled with a new relative. If the conflict emerged out after the marriage that led the marriage towards failure because there was no mechanism to settle that due to the lack of mutual bonds. As a result of exogamous marriage; the interference of other groups was not tolerated at any cost, so that the endogamy was preferred over exogamy. Migrant's families are of the view that there is no harm to go

outside for a suitable marriage spouse rather to feel pressurized and depressed by the endogamous group. They are of the view that, exogamous marriage minimizes the pressure form inside the endogamous group because the outer affine would be helpful in rough and tough situations and chances future alliance are broadened and the likelihood of the emigration of further members will be increased out of new alliances.

5.1.10.1.6 Impacts on the preferences regarding family structure

Before the emergence of the emigration trends, the people used to prefer extended families because the authority of elder man was highly considered. People used to establish marriage alliances with extended families. He was supposed to exert full authority over the others for effective management of household. Nowadays people used to prefer to marry their daughters because they perceive that daughter would not be able to enjoy their life under the authority of elders and they will be crushed under the heavy load rather the remittances will go to the elder man of the household. Mostly a separate room in the existing house or a separate house is demanded before giving the daughter into wedlock. The migrants are of the view that every one is responsible for his/her owns life and one should not put burden over others. Most of them articulated that nuclear family is the best place for the socialization of the children under the supervision of an educated mother.

5.1.10.1.7 Preferences regarding marital arrangement

The people of Dhana accustomed to marry within the *biradari*, the marriage preference for a spouse was given to patrilineal parallel cousins (Father's brother's son/daughter). In the process of selection of spouse, the boy's family initiates the search for an honorable and reputable family with a marriageable girl. Contacts are made particularly through the women of the potentially allied households and in the negotiations the groom's mother, mother's sister (*mosi*) and almost one female servant used to play a major role. In doing so they were able to save their men from dishonor in case of refusal of the proposal. After the consent of marriage, men of both sides meet to cement the agreement.

As reported by majority of the villagers, quite contrary to its traditional customs and rituals, the village has been losing its traditional patterns of marriage over

the last few decades because of migration of men. Exogamous marriages (out of *biradari*) are in practice in the village by deviating from the centuries old norms of endogamy. Since 2005, about thirty marriages took place out of *biradari*, but percentage of marrying girls from outside the *biradari* was higher than giving the girls; as giving the girls for marriage outside the *biradari* was not considered an honorable act. Another reason was the giver's intention; most of them wanted their daughters to be married within a rich and migrant family. From the groom side, prefer to choose a girl with expectations of precious and modern dowry and the chances for the emigration of their son.

5.1.10.1.8 Residence after Marriage

After the marriage partilocal residence is commonly practiced in the village since old days. For the last few years neo-local residence is in practice. Villagers are of the view that ultimately one has to establish his own household at certain stages of his life so it is better to establish separate household at the beginning so that intra household conflicts could be escaped. The separate room in existing household or a separate household is demanded from the boy by the girl's family in order to ensure neo-local residence after marriage. The emigrants of the Europe in the village get married in the village and then move the spouse along with him/her to Europe.

5.1.10.1.9 Impacts on marriage ceremonies

Traditionally, the marriage ceremonies were of graceful events but the pattern of marriages has changed due to the massive migration from the village. The traditional practices regarding the marriage celebration spread over a lengthy process have been curtailed due to non-availability of men or their shortest stay in the village. Thus, the lengthy marriage ceremonies were not frequently seen in the area.

The earlier marriage ceremony last for few days and lot of arrangements were made by the villagers to celebrate the ceremony. Nowadays, as many of the young people have been migrated to number of foreign countries, their get to gather last for only a few days so that they can celebrate only shorter ceremony but even then lot of arrangements are made to celebrate the marriage of beloved ones in the village.

In the past; after the negotiations regarding the selection of spouse is completed, a ceremony was arranged in the either's households to declare the selection that ceremony was known as *choor kholna* (opening a secret bag). During the earlier days the secret bag was composed of edible items and a piece of clothes for the either spouse by each other. Nowadays, this secret bag is composed with lot of arrangements and many expensive items were put into it. Mostly, the bits and pieces in the bag consist of gold jewelry, expensive clothes, sweets, cash, cosmetics and perfumes etc. The bag is opened in a ceremony and accompanied with colorful and musical events.

Previously, the marriage ceremony last for few days, all the villagers and relatives used to participate actively and all the arrangements were made locally; some people used to participate in terms of kinds and others in term of services. The arrangements were made collectively on the basis of reciprocal relations. One's happiness was considered as all's happiness.

On the occasion of marriage ceremony, the groom and his friends used to wear white clothes and put the *haar* (necklace). In addition, the groom was distinguished with a *sehra* (garland). The marriage procession was departed by the elder women of the village by individually *mithyan dena* (kissing), *haath kumana* (weave hand over bride and groom) and *thapna dena* (pat the groom and bride) with good wishes and prayed for their peaceful return with bride. The marriage procession was lead by the village elders. The marriage procession was accompanied by the drum beaters, villagers and relatives to the bride's house. The groom and his accompany was warmly received by the bride's accompany. The traditional songs expressing appreciations were sung by the girls and flowers and *makhana* (sweet) were showered over them. One of the traditional songs is;

*aaya bijli da lashkara main qurban jani aan, nikyan motyan nu le kay
aay main qurban jani aan, kurian te mardan nu le kay aaya main
qurban jani aan.*

(He (groom) is like a glittering star, he came with younger and elders, men and women and I adore him/her).

The marriage procession used to stay at bride's house at night. The groom's procession was welcomed and served by the bride's relatives, friends and neighbors. The *desi ghee* (pure oil) along with wheat bread and *shukar* (sugar)

was used as meal. The traditional singing competition, joking, humor and gossip used held among the various categories of participant on the basis of age and gender. The next day bride used to worn jewelry and clothes brought by the groom. The bride was fetched to the groom's house in a *doli* (a wooden *palky* covered with red cloth) carried on the shoulders by the young men of bride's village). After the procession reached at groom's house, all the participants were served with edible foods; the *pajidar* were supposed to pay *nendra* (feast price) whereas the *pachao* (guest from bride side) were not liable to pay feast price. After all the participants were served with meal; the traditional competitions like *bazoo-giri* (wrestling), *boodroon chana* (weight lifting) were held among the males and singing competition held among the female. The ceremony used to last till late at night, on the next day the participants dispersed and ceremony is finished.

The organizer of the ceremony tried to celebrate while spending frugally. The villagers used to take part actively and all the arrangements were made locally with the support of neighbours. *Phuri* (locally prepare mats made up of (*tehal*) paddy's stalks) were used to spread on the floor for sitting, and earthen pots were used for serving the feast to the participants. All the occupational castes were supposed to play specified and active roles; the cobblers made *jora* (embroidered shoes for bride and groom), *nai* (barber) was supposed to invite the people and prepare the groom to lead the procession, *taili* (carder or cotton-comber) was responsible for making *razai* quilts and *sarhana* (pillows), *sinyara* (goldsmith) was supposed to prepare jewels, *darzi* (tailor) was supposed to sew the clothes.

For the last few years, immense changes have been taken place in the marriage ceremony, as a result of mass emigration from the village. The marriage ceremonies have been confined to just two days, the customs of *mayoon* (imposing the restrictions on the bride and groom, not to move alone) and *mehndi* (pasting henna over the hands of bride and groom) are combined and usually held on night. Previously, the *mayoon* was celebrated three days before the *mehndi* and an important traditional custom of *munda nahlana*, *chokki charna* and *the salami* were the integral parts of marriages but those are no more practiced in the village. The ceremony of *munda roosna*, which was quite famous in the past few decades, has also diminished because people don't have

enough time to attend such time consuming ceremonies. The ceremonies like *garoli bharna* (fetching holy water for the shower of bride and groom) and *chowki charna* were also non-existence because the villagers think that celebration of such ceremonies is insignificant, time consuming and old-fashioned.

Instead the new trends regarding the marriage ceremony have emerged in the village. Marriage proposals are communicated on phones and the pictures of either spouse are shared with each other through internet. The role of village's leaders and family's elders have abandoned in making marriage proposals. The younger engaged with each other keep communicating each other frequently on phone calls. Intercontinental families of the village remain in contact with each other and the marriage day is finalized unanimously. Previously, the marriages were usually celebrated in the *besakh* (April-May) and *mannger* (October-November), because in those seasons the villagers were free from their seasonal tasks of reaping and harvesting the crops. Nowadays, in the month of June and July frequent marriage celebrations held in the village. Most of the migrants of the village visit their families in the summer vacations so that they could have a chance to attend these marriage celebrations. The traditional roles of the villagers have extinct regarding the arrangements of marriage. All the stuff is purchased from the bazaar and transported to the doorstep of the household. Ready made stuff is purchased in terms of clothes and jewels. Tent service is hired, so that the cots, chairs, mats, cooking pots and utensils are not gathered from the villagers. The traditional roles of professional castes have been abandoned. The people are invited on the sophisticated and stylish cards and extraordinary arrangements are made to serve them with a variety of dishes. The tradition of serving guests with *desi ghee* have been replaced with rice, chicken's roast and mutton's curry, *raita*, salad and sweet dish(es). The earthen pots have been replaced with sophisticated and ornamented dinner sets. Attractive seating arrangements are made by incorporating sofas and comfortable chairs and tables under the colorful canopy and in the halls of big houses. Services of professional cooks and waiters are hired to serve the guests. In addition to the traditional participants of the marriage ceremony, various political personalities, influential and officials are invited in the ceremony. The snaps sessions of bride and groom are published in the state's newspapers.

The groom's and bride's processions are transported on luxurious cars; decorated with flowers.

On the wedding day firework is extensively practiced by the richer families which cost about more than twenty thousands rupees. *masali* (folk performers) were invited to perform on marriages by the migrant's families and paid with thousands of rupees just to show off their monetary status.

5.1.10.1.10 Impacts on *daaj* (dowry) and *gehna* (jewelry)

Composition

The dowry was/is given voluntarily to the bride by her parents, most often it is considered as substitute to the inheritance. Because of improved economic conditions of the villagers, the families were spending lot of money on marriages, particularly on dowry, jewelry and food arrangements. Many resourceful persons of the village told, that before migration some of the families were so poor that they had to sold there livestock in order to purchase dowry for their daughters, but the situation has changed after the migration. The expenditure on dowry was about 15,000 rupees that has been risen to more than one lake rupees; depending on the family's economic conditions. Utensils of brass and silver for dowry have been replaced by marble and stainless steel which are quite beautiful, durable and have retail cash value.

In old days, the dowry was composed of *khut* (cot), *pehri* (stool), *razai & talai* (quilt), *srhana* (pillow), *gadwi* (silver pitcher), *balti* (bucket), *tawa* (cradle), few chairs, a piece of cloth and a set of *panda* (common utensils) made up of silver.

For the last few years, the dowry composition has changed. Nowadays, the dowry consists of a set of beds, sophisticated chairs and tables, television, refrigerator, washing machine, mattress, stylish cabinet, dining table, dressing table, clothes, a box full of tea sets, water sets and modern dinner sets. If the couple is intended to go abroad after the marriage then an equivalent amount of dowry is submitted in the bride's account.

The table below shows the marked difference between the present and the past dowry practices before and after migration.

Table #27

After Migration	Before Migration
Current dowry practices	Past dowry practices
30-40 expensive stitched clothes	4-8 silk clothes
Electronic Appliances	no electronic items
Fridge	-
Television	-
DVD Players/VCR	-
Washing Machine and	-
Food Factory	-
Iron	-
Utensils	Utensils
3-4 Marble Dinner Sets	1 Sauce Pan
Water Sets	1Plastic Dinner Set
Stainless Steel Pan set	1Steel Water Set
Tea sets	-
Furniture	Furniture
Furniture of about 3-4 lac	2bed
-	2chairs
Household Items	Household Items
4 Foam Quilts	2 Cotton Mattresses
8-10 Cotton Mattresses	2 Traditional Cotton Quilts
2 Blankets	-
10-12 Bed Sheets	-

Table 5.4: Impacts of emigration on dowry practices

The *gehna* was demanded by the bride side in order to ensure the worth of the bride in her new house. In earlier days the jewelry was demanded by keeping in view the economic position of the groom. Exchange marriages were the best strategy to minimize the cost of jewelry. The jewelry was composed of both silver and gold jewels, which consist of *nali* (a big golden nose ring), *gani* (golden necklace), *mareeda* (two silver armlets) and *chap* (two or more finger rings mostly made of silver). After the negotiations, the services of *sinyara* (goldsmith) were hired to prepare the jewels. The groom's family was supposed to make collective efforts to meet the cost of jewelry. The jewelry was brought up to the bride house on the wedding day that was worn by the bride. Mostly the mothers offered their jewels to their sons to get it refined for their marriages. Sometimes another woman's jewels were offered decisively as a new one which aroused conflicts among the both sides on the exploration of reality. If the bride's side came to know about deceive at the wedding day, the groom's side had to go back without the bride; mostly the issue was resolved with the involvement of elder of both sides.

Nowadays, the jewelry is no as much vehemently demanded as it was demanded in the past. The groom's family is expected to bring it as much as they can afford it. If it is brought less than the expected, then it considered as an insult to the bride side. It is commonly said for them; *baroon teep tap, androon haider abad* (apparently they are looking very well off but actually they are zilch). The groom side takes care of the expectations towards them and makes efforts to present the jewels as much as they can. The silver jewels have extinct; only the golden necklace, bangles, rings, nose rings, earrings, armlet, necklace and anklet are considered as an excellent composition of jewelry for the bride. The ready made sets are purchased from the *sarafa* bazaar even at the eleventh hour to the marriage ceremony. The money is paid on the spot out of the pocket of groom and all the family need not to contribute in meeting the cost of jewels.

5.1.10.1.11 Impacts on Ideal age of marriage

In the earlier days, the villagers used to practice early age marriage and engagement because it was easy for the parents to choose a spouse for their children at earlier stage. The children engaged at earlier stage are informed about their fiancé at their adulthood. Already engaged younger had fewer chances to squander around them. The spouse selection at earlier stages ensured the marriage ability of all the children, discourage the vulgarity and maintain the honor of elders. The late age marriage was the sign of danger for the parents. The ideal age for the marriage of girls was 16-18 years and for males it was 18-20. The age of female should be two years less than the age of male.

Nowadays, the perceptions regarding the age of either spouse is changing rapidly. Chastity and virginity is not the preference of the villagers rather a foreign nationality of spouse had become a major preference for them. The villagers are not in favor of early age engagements and marriage rather they keep the option open for them. The age difference in male and female do not matter for the villagers rather the foreign nationality and employment are the factors which are preferably considered while the selection of spouse.

5.1.10.2 Death

Death is a compulsory happening in humans' life cycle, while the funeral ceremony is another area which was more influenced by the trends of migration

in the village. In the past, following rituals were accompanied by the death ceremony.

The most important duties the villagers have towards the dead can be summed up in the following points: *ghusal* (ritual washing), *maatam* and *bain* (mourning and bemoaning) enshrouding the body, *namaz-i-janaza* (funeral prayer), *dafnana* (burial) *dua* (supplication) and *ftiha* (condolence). Time between death and burial consists of many more traditional ceremonies:

The village's women gather around the deathbed to give religious guidance and pray for the forgiveness to the dead person. At first stage the face of the dead is turned towards the Makkah. The dead person's relative(s) in foreign countries is immediately communicated regarding the incident. The visit of condolence starts soon after the death and continue for forty days. *Khatam-e-Quran* ceremony is held in the household of the dead. The goal of this ceremony is to recite the Quran for the *sawab* (reward) to the dead. When this is done a platter full of fruits is placed over a sheet on the ground. The chapter *al-fatihah* is read and afterward everyone prays *dua* (supplication) to bring peace over the dead. The most important *Khatam-e-Quran* ceremony is held on the third days after the burial and is compared with a meal distributed to the poor.

An important point here is that meal is not simply a gift to the poor, but a gift which entails a return favour in the form of prayer for the departed soul. Hence the recipient of food must of necessity be poor. A characteristic of a sacrifice is that its effect for the giver dependent on who the recipient is. The meal for poor is therefore a gift with distinct characteristic of a sacrifice.

If some die in the foreign countries, the family in the village is informed of the incident through phone calls. The news is kept secret from the very close (mother) relatives of the deceased person. The dead body is brought up to the village in accompany with one or two relatives. Some of the villagers will be present at Airport to receive the dead body and move to the village. The household in the village will be full of friends, neighbors and relatives in mourning. The dead person's face will be looked at here. The coffin is then carried to the cemetery where an imam will lead a *janaza* prayer. The ceremony is accompanied with commemorative speech praising man's active life. Such speeches are preferably expressed on the funeral of influential migrant of the village, which focuses on the virtues of the deceased.

There are few ways of acquiring *sawab* (reward) for the deceased members of the family. One of the most important preferences observed among the migrant's families is the plantation and fencing the tree(s) alongside the road with the name of deceased one and few *Quranic* verses over a plate for the reward to the deceased member. Similarly a few water coolers were installed in various corners for the *sawab* to the deceased one. Annual and occasional feast are arranged for poor and *qurbani* (sacrifice) is arranged in poor (refugees) neighborhood for the reward to the dead one.

5.1.10.2 The death ceremonies

The extensive migration has affected the cultural norms and traditions, likewise the death rituals that were performed in a traditional way have almost changed such as *chaliswan*, *salana* etc. On such occasions, the migrants come to participate in *janaza* (prayer) of the deceased, while *chaliswan* ceremony was no more celebrated because of shortage of time and *Phori ki rasam* has become the history that was observed for eight days. Another important aspect was the *salana* is held whenever the migrant family members return late or within time, but the observance of ritual has also lost its grip due to the consequences of migration, while the *Qul* was experimental on the third day after the death, almost all family members, friends and village people participate, after the *dua*, the food was served to the participants according to the traditions and fruit bags were distributed among all of them.

The serving people who were always *musalis* (drum beaters) on the occasion of '*foutgi di roti and tosha*', and *moulvi sahib* (clergy man) were given cash and food as labor and mosque's fund respectively. The researcher during research work attended four funerals and was surprised with the lavish food distributed on death. As told by the females of the families they spent more than 90,000.00 rupees on the first day of death.

Among the non-immigrant families, events of funeral were held at large scale incurring huge amount of money, while in other necessary steps from washing the dead body to its burial, the poor were helped by their rich migrant relatives and friends.

5.1.10.3 Participation

Since the most of the families were settled abroad so the deceased's family inform the migrants and ensure their availability, which usually does not happen as people in England don't have enough time to manage a sudden return trip.

The table below shows the food trends on deaths before and after the migration

Table #28

Before Migration	After Migration
Roti	Rice
Desi Ghee	Chicken, Mutton
No Sweet Dish	Zarda/Halva

Table 5.5: Changes in Food on the Occasion of Death

5.1.11 Impacts on Pahaji (Reciprocity)

The literal meanings of vertan bhaji are 'dealing in sweets' and it has the extended meaning of dealing in relationship.

(Eglar 1960-64; 105)

Pahaji is a mechanism of gift exchange widely practiced in Jammu and Kashmir.

The 'term' means an exchange of gifts and also refers to gifts so exchanged; likewise it denotes the relationship between people established through the exchange. In short it denotes the relation of material and immaterial reciprocity. The exchange takes place between the individuals as well as between families, *baladri* and groups.

The sanctions for reciprocity lie primarily in the fields of economic, social and moral attitudes. The obligation of giving and receiving gifts keeps the concerned parties in contact with each other.

According to Evans-Pitchard,

"Material objects are the chains along with social relationships run"

The custom of *pahaji* is necessary for the soldiery of the society; both the men and women of the village play active roles in their spheres.

Pahaji was observed not only by the residents of the village but people of other villages who maintain the *pahaji* relations which creates love, affection and a sense of belonging among the people.

The quality and quantity of *pahaji* differs among the villagers, the people having strong *pahaji* relations with an individual or family, they take more interest in dealing with the individual or the family than others.

5.1.11.1 Types of Pahaji

According to the key resources of the village there were two types of *pahaji* relations.

(i) *pakki pahanji* (ii) *kachi pahanji*

In *pakki pahaji* the full cooperation and mechanisms of ritualized and complimentary responses are necessary between the *biradaris*, while in *katchi pahaji*, there are courtesy relationships rather than obligatory and permanent bonds; usually with friends and neighbors. It may break up with a change in residence and any rift that arises between them. The *pahaji* relations also include the degree of kinship, as close kinsmen have more interaction and more expectations towards each other.

The expectations and relations of *pahaji* depends upon the events on which *pahaji* relationship can be seen in its full action are; birth, marriage and death.

5.1.11.2 Pahaji on marriage

The importance and value of *pahaji* is evident in the marriage ceremonies of the village. The *pahaji* on the marriage was not given one time, but it continues different forms and kinds at several occasions during the marriage and afterwards. When a marriage takes place the concerned family informs all the members of *baladari*. The close relatives come to help in making different arrangements of marriage. The *pahaji* was given on occasion of marriage was noted down in a formal inventory maintained for the purpose as the courtesy has to be returned with at least two fold increases.

Prior to out-migration as people have limited resources they used to celebrate according to their status and financial conditions but do not indulge in showing off activities. Functions were very simple but well organized and everyone was invited, while dowry was comprised of clothes, utensils and some household items whereas in few cases some well off families gave land of piece. The scenario has changed as far as rituals are concerned because of out-migration. The gift exchanges are more in form of money then other items as in past. People try their level best to let other relatives down by giving more.

5.1.11.3 Invitation for marriage

The invitation on marriage was given by the barber to all the villagers. He was given cash for this by the families receiving invitation. The amount used to range from Rs. one to three. But as a result of out-migration the barber used to get huge amounts, sweets, blanket, imported gifts and clothes.

In the earlier days, the barber used to visit every household with in reciprocal relations and invite them in the whole ceremony or in respective ceremonial occasions. The invitees were expected to come with gifts depending on their reciprocal relations. If someone failed to meet the expectations or could not join the occasion, the reciprocal relations lost their importance and strength and might extinct with the passage of time.

5.1.11.4 *Sehra bandi or salami*

Before the departure of marriage procession, the groom and his friends were supposed to sit in the courtyard and money was given to the groom before the departure of *baraat* by his relatives and friends was called *salami*. The villagers used to come to congratulate the groom and put a necklace and give cash to them. It was noted down in a register by the host family because they have to return the amount on the same occasion. Before migration from the village the amount of *pahaji* ranged from 5-10 rupees but presently that ranges from Rs. 500-1000.

To have an influential participation, the migrants also bring imported watches, Mobiles phones, gold rings and chains for the groom as a gift to be given to him at the time of *sehra bandi*.

People's fortification was observed in marriages when they give *vail* to the drumbeater on the name of groom and shower few currency notes over the head of groom to mark their pleasure.

5.1.11.5 Gifts for the bride

The household, which have *pakki pahaji* with the bride's natal family, give gifts to the bride. Usually the gifts consist of sets of clothes for the bride, cash (Rs. 100-1000) and a set of crockery, while the clothes were also given to bride's mother, father and to the groom along with cash (500-2000). In the past the gifts were displayed in the *daj dakhai* (show of dowry) but now they were just shown to the relatives in order to make them aware about the gifts and the giver.

A key informant told that after migration people preferred to give *pahaji* of cash instead of gifts. It has been observed that the bride gets imported gifts like cardigans, make-up cosmetics, shoes and pure wool suits from his migrant relatives; this imported stuff is considered more worthy than that of local gifts.

5.1.11.6 *pahaji* on child birth

The child birth was announced by the barber's wife. Relatives and friends come to see the new born child and congratulate the parents. Before the massive migration only close relative come to see the newborn and gave money ranged from rupees one to ten. The *pahaji* was also returnable in case of subsequent child birth in the counterpart household.

But in the post migration era people becoming more financially sound, natal family of the newborn's mother gives 4-5 baby dresses, blanket, sweet, clothes and some cash which was called *nanka*. The collections of gifts are usually given on the first birth. However, on second and onward just cash from 1000 to 2000 rupees and sweet are given. The friends, villagers and relatives come to see the child and present cash ranges from 100-500 rupees which depends upon the *pahaji* relationship. Again the gift's worth and cash varies as some people consider it lavishness whereas the well off give exclusively not to newborn family but by keeping in view the sex of the child but after the massive migration the gender disparities have disappeared.

5.1.11.7 Reception of the migrants

When a person comes back from abroad he is treated by his friends and relatives whole-heartedly. Usually all close family members go to airport to receive the returnee and invite him on lunch or dinner. Guests were entertained with the sweets and refreshment. In the evening returnee use to shares his experience and tell interesting stories about his stay in foreign countries.

However, the returnees bring presents like chocolates, tin food, dry fruits, perfumes, cardigans and outfits for their close relatives and friends.

5.1.11.8 Visits on Sickness

The relatives and friends visit the sick person of the village and pray for him to get well soon. They also present fruits and juices to the patient. Prior to the migration people usually applied their *toona tacha* (remedies). If the conditions of the patient did not get stabilize they used to call *hakim* (quack) to treat the patient herbal medicine.

After the emigration a person could not visit the sickness, they make frequent phone calls to the family of the sick person and sometimes talk to the patient themselves. Sometimes the migrants transfer an amount of cash to be utilized to cure the patient; occasionally, the migrants visit personally to console the ill person.

Visit on sickness also depends upon the reciprocal relations of the villagers, if someone visits on the sickness, the others will visit them preferably; if someone fails to visit the sickness in ones household, the sick's family could not be expected to visit on similar occasion.

5.1.11.9 Pahaji on death

In case of death in ones household, the neighboring families were supposed to offer food to the deceased's family, but on second day the deceased's family prepares foods and offer *dua* for the forgiveness of the deceased.

The *pahaji* on the occasion of death had also based on reciprocal basis and all the relatives give some money according to their economic conditions to the family members of the deceased ranged from rupees 500-1500 rupees, while before the migration the money paid was 5-15 rupees. The amount was also written in the register for keeping its record by any member of the deceased's family.

Death *pahaji* was so important that one has to be equal to the degree of those who are close relatives of the deceased. In the past, on the day of death, on *jumerat* and *chelum* (40th day) one dish was served. After the out-migration two or more dishes were prepared for the participants and distribution of food was continued for two to three days. Thus the traditional structure of *pahaji* was badly affected through the migration. New types of *pahaji* are developing among the people of the village who are related to the migrants, the cash giving is considered more valuable in *pahaji* on death.

5.1.12 Impacts on Medical Care/Health Treatment

The migration and the frequent flow of remittances has created awareness about the medical care, about 68% of the respondents reported that following migration of their family member to the foreign country, relatively more money is being spent on the health and the medical care of the family members. What appears more interesting, however, is the fact that most of the migrant household (83.5%) indicated that they consult doctors practicing in the big cities in case of illness among family members. Approximately (87%) of the respondent from the migrants households informed that their dependency on quacks and non- licensed practitioners has been substantially reduced. Thus the experience in genuine medical care has improved the perception of respondents and they feel more educated in handling the problems of their ill health and sickness. In old days there was no hospital in the area and there was no transport service to reach to the Mirpur, if a person is carried out on the shoulders he/she may die on the way to hospital. With the passage of time infrastructure was improved and mass migration raised the level of the awareness of the villagers that has changed the health practices.

One of the elder women of the village explored her role as a health practitioner when she was young.

She acted as a *siyani* (well informed) and *dai* (traditional Birth Attendant). She used to act as a guide to the pregnant women of the village and attend the child birth in the village. She explored that she could treat a number of diseases and accidents. She used to perform *chanba* (blow over the affected person after the recitation of few verses) for snake and scorpion bites, jaundice, *ad`sarata* (headache), toothache,

kali khang (whooping cough) and various other ailments. She had learned all these tricks by his father. She had to collect maize cob during the reaping season and save the *toora* (black ash) from the rare cobs to treat the whooping cough. She had to collect *mak gha baal* (maize's hairs) in order to prepare *qahwa* (black tea) to be used to treat kidney ache. She had to collect *jari boti* (herbs) *banaksha* (violet) in the spring season which were used to treat various ailments; especially jaundice and tonsils.

She had saved a piece of lion's flesh, which was used worn by the persons suffering from *kakra* and *suba* (measles) in order to alleviate the bitter affects of *peshavan* (seen by women) during the ailment. She used to suggest having a lick of the back side of the cradle and inhaling the *kalakh* (soot) to get rid of bad throat. She had saved the pieces of the dry cover of the *dabri* (pumpkin) that were used to hang like a necklace by the person suffering from *kan tarida* (earworm). The paste of *khabal* (small green grass) was mixed with salt which was used to treat the small fracture and cure the *mos* (twist) in the feet. The soap was mixed with gur (black sugar) to be pasted over the swelling caused by the acnes. The *thoom* (garlic) nectar was dropped over *phoora* (boil). *Bana marchi's* (weed) nectar was used as purgative to get rid of chronic constipation. The stomach problem was cured by consuming *oghra* (mixture of half crushed wheat and sugar boiled in milk). Common fracture of arm and legs were handled by the husband of the *siyani*; so that her house was like a small hospital. She used to offer *taweez* (amulet) for psychological problems and blow over the affected person after the recitation of the few verses of Holy Quran. She explored that she had successfully treated many people as she was the only console of all the villagers in case of the ailments and poisonous biting.

She articulated that there was a strong belief in the *jin* (jenny) and *pari* (fairy), ghost, sprits, evil spirits, exorcise and spirit possession. Many people were suffering from such kind of ailments and fears so that many people used to consult her and some other used to consult with *pirs* (spiritual healers).

After the massive migration from the village to a number of foreign countries, the health seeking behavior of the villagers has changed drastically.

There are various hospitals in the nearby cities of the village that are dealing with medical, surgical, psychological and maternity affairs. Reaching these hospitals is not difficult; vehicles and ambulance are managed on phone calls and patient is transported to the hospital in few minutes. Doctors are urgently called upon while the patient is on his way to hospital. The aged parents of the migrants are routinely checked and treated by the doctors at home. Pregnant women of the village are served by the LHW of the village, the regularly get their pre and post natal checkups by the LHV or Lady Doctor, the child birth is attended by CMW (community midwife) and the complicated cases are referred to the gynecologist either at the DHQ (District Head Quarter Hospital) or to a number of private maternity homes. Women are especially cared upon regarding their diets and nutrition during the pre and post natal period. The treatment of common fractures and circumcision of the male child is performed by the surgeon and the common psychological disorders are treated by the professional psychologists. The role of *pirs* and spiritual healers is at the edge of extinction because belief in them is decreasing day by day with the advent of education and villager's exposure to the outer world.

5.1.13 Impacts on ethnic composition

Migration has affected the status of various ethnic groups of the village. A number villager, belonging to low professional castes have change their castes to mark the upward social mobility as a result of their emigration

The biggest ethnic group in the village was Gujjar, who were horticulturists and pastoralists; they constitute 45% of population in the village. The second big ethnic group was jatt representing 30% population. There were various low castes out of which *mochi* (Cobbler), *nai* (Barber), *marasi* (Jesters), were still practicing their occupational services, however they have achieved the same financial status as that of upper castes. About 15 families of the low castes have migrated; they were able change their occupation and adopted other respectable

means of earnings like business. The children of the earlier low castes are studying in the reputable schools of Kotli city and some in the village.

From the above description it has become clear that migration has not only brought changes in occupation but also gave way to upward social mobility.

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A key informant told the researcher that last year a son of mochi (called them as Sayed) proposed a daughter of sayed family in the village; as he has achieved the same economic status after migration to Great Britain. At the initial stage the sayed family resisted the proposal but latter on they have adopted it, because the mochi son has starting taking part in the flagellation and other religious affairs of shia sect. After all the marriage ceremony was successfully taken place and the life is running effectively.

5.1.14 Impact on the Village's Politics

Emigration and resulting remittances flows also have profound impact on the power structure within the family along gender line. More specifically, remittances contribute in restructuring of the political structure of the migrants' and their families in the village.

Migration has also accelerated the breakdown of ancient socio-ethnic hierarchies in the village and lead towards the new form of social stratification. Consequently, traditional village councils (*baladri*), the most important local political institutions, have lost their effectiveness and power to settle intra-community conflicts.

The village leader (*Chaudhary*) used to maintain his influence through, resolving community conflicts along with the collective efforts of other *bara badera* (community influential) of the village. He had more than one wife and a number of children. The village leader's wife(s) act as the leader of the village women. The agent of the village leader worked to promote his significance in the village and count his achievements in public gatherings. The village leader also practiced polygamy so that all his In-laws acted as his allies. No one adhered to raise a vice against village leader because offender were expelled out of the *baladri* and barred from community gatherings. The village leader used to resolved conflicts like; land disputes, common disputes of the people, disputes over water and meadow, disputes over the walkway for new houses and fields as

well as the intra households conflicts. The village leader had to attend the public gatherings and lead the community participation in heavy tasks and ensure the participation of all the villagers. The village leader used to present the marriage proposal in order to maintain the balance and harmony in the village. The village leader was compensated by the villagers in terms of crops, clothes, cash, cattle and labor. The village leader's land was ploughed by the villagers, hoeing; weeding, reaping and separating tasks were performed by the village women. At any ceremonial occasion in the house of village leader the fuel wood, water and other necessities were collected by the villagers; and all other tasks were performed collectively and voluntarily. The heads of all the households of the village used to ensures the fulfillment of all the proposals and suggestions presented by the village leader. In the state elections the villagers had no choice to cast their vote beyond the choice of village head rather all the villagers were supposed to cast their vote in favor of the candidate nominated by the village leader.

For many subaltern groups, migration literally constituted liberation and has been their main avenue of upward socio-economic mobility. Remittances have enabled the emancipation of individuals belonging to socially and ethnically subaltern groups. The villagers have explored new opportunities to earn an external income independent of the constraints set by traditional peasant society. Formerly landless, and hence powerless, men now earn wages that allow them to increase influence in village's affairs. These migration-induced shifting patterns or sometimes even reversal of social stratification explain why even individuals belonging to traditional high-status groups, who previously did not see the need to migrate, now aspire to emigrate abroad.

Massive migration from the village had lead towards the breakdown of old political system. Till the death of the old village leader, the migrant valued him for being old age influential of the village. After the death of old leader his authority was transferred to his elder son in early 1990s who failed to maintain influence like his father. He was challenged by rich migrant for being ignorant

about the outer world and resistant to the development and education in the village. New political alliances developed in the village and the villagers directly accessed the candidates contesting in state elections. The villagers informed them about their problems and ensured the development in the village infrastructure. With the development of education and mass migration the villagers improved their political awareness. The foreign migrants of the village started taking keen interest in the state elections. During the election migrants ensure their presence in the village and effectively run the election campaign of their candidate. In the election period; remittances is blatantly utilized on advertisement banners, flags, political procession, election office, welcome parties, corner meetings, political gathering and rallies. The modern vehicles and motor bikes are accompanied along with the election campaign of their candidate. The vehicles, election office and the corner of the constituency are filled with the banners and posters comprising the photographs of migrants and their sons along with the photographs of the candidate and other party leaders. The destination of the migrants is specially mentioned over the posters and banners and their contribution is particularly counted in the various gathering. Migrants contribution in the village's affairs is given due importance and they are particularly consulted on phone at any imperative decision in the village.

5.1.15 Impacts on patterns of travelling and transportation

The increasing trends of emigration have left significant impacts on the patterns of travelling and transportation in the village.

Prior to the emigration trends, the villagers used to travel on foot or on *kothi* (donkey) and *oonth* (camel). The long distances (Kotli and Mirpur) were travelled on animals' transportation because the mechanical vehicles were rarely available. The villagers preferred to walk on foot to save fare. The condition of road was not good so that there was no time difference in travelling through bus or on foot. Latter on an electric lift was installed over the stream to link the village with the main road.

The everyday's stuff was transported on donkeys from the Khuiratta to the village. Every household had at least one donkey; on the ceremonial occasions the donkeys of all the houses were employed to fetch water from the central well and the woods from the forest. Those donkeys were driven by the women or children. The *gayl* (pathways) were communally made for the donkeys. The

small bits and pieces were fetched in hand from the bazaar. If some one got late in the city and the dusk turned into darkness; he/she was facilitated with light by the people on the way. The villagers were not supposed to travel alone at night; the *deeni* (pine wood) were ignited to get the light for night journey. The grain was shifted on to the *gharat* (watermill) on the shoulders or on donkeys to get it crushed and the patients were brought to the hospitals on cot which was carried by the males over their shoulders.

After the emigration trends has sprawled, the old pathways are initially turned into unpaved roads and latter on paved with asphalt and concrete. The every day stuff is transferred to the village on the vehicles. The villagers do not even dare to fetch small bits and pieces in their hands. The cooking stuffs, fuel woods and cylinders are purchased once in a month and shifted on special vehicles. The small distances are even travelled on vehicles and motorcycle; every household have at least one motorcycle. The luxurious cars and motorcycles keep running between the village and the city. Anything needed urgently could be managed by the young boys on their motorcycles. Travelling at night is not a problem for the villagers. The paved roads and bridge over the stream has resolved all the problems of the villagers in terms of transportation. If any one get ill, a phone call is made to the ambulance service or to the special booking vehicles and the patient is shifted to the hospital in few minutes.

5.1.16 Impacts on women

People migrate with the hope of improvement of living conditions but receive the adverse effect on the whole family left-behind particularly education of the children. Apart from socio-economic impact on the area of origin, migration also has a profound influence on the status of left behind wives in the family. Nevertheless, absence of husband makes the life of a wife difficult. Her workload increases as she has to take care of several other things, which culturally are done by men. The sense of Social insecurity, loneliness, burden of more responsibilities are common problems that have been found among the migrant's wife in the village. Migration can also be a way of fulfilling women's interests. For women who stay behind, the migration of their husbands may mean escaping a conflictual relationship for a period of time and gain control over resources and decisions.

The village's migrants had left over their families in the village and migrated to a number of foreign countries. These migrants visit their families only once in a while for short spell. Alternatively the male population is comprised of older age groups and children whose authority in the household is nominal or simply symbolic. In anthropological terms; male out migration has lead towards the absentee fathership and mother-centered families in the village. In such types of families female enjoy certain special and authoritative roles as mother and as the head of household.

Traditionally, the household's females of the village had two roles to play in the past. As a wife, she was under the dominance and authority of her husband and together with her husband she has authority over children. Thus, the husband, wife and children constitute a unit organized to provide the material and cultural resources needed to maintain and bring up its members. However, in this unit the major parts are played by husbands. The women have very little power in the decision making with in the home or outside it, or she has any voice in the monetary affairs of the husband. In the families where males have emigrated; it has been noted that the absence of the husband does allow the woman chance to think and make her decisions in various spheres of domestic activity. Although, the important matters are, left pending till the visit of her husband, she settle routine matters of the household such as purchase of goods for the house, education and training of the children, social interaction with the relatives, gift giving on ceremonial occasions etc. The performance of these functions is likely to make them more mobile than their sisters in the first category of the households.

The absence of a sizeable number of working males had become a regular feature of the village demography. The statistical variation in the demographic ratio of the male and females of the community pose serious questions when they are examined in the context of sociological implications. The physical presence of the working males was thus reduced in the village by about 77 per cent. This figure moved up and down during the year depending upon changes in employment cycle and the annual season.

Traditionally, the women of the village had to perform various tasks from dawn to dusk and in turn receive very little recompense. The women had to wake up at early in the morning and shift the animals from *bandi* (animal barn) to *baira* (courtyard). They had to milk the buffalo and cows and clean the animal's abode. They had to put the *pa* (animal's excreta) into *tokra* (wicker basket) with their hands due to their ignorance regarding its consequence for their health. The women had to shift the manure in the *tandi* (fields) over their heads. They had to prepare the *nahari* (breakfast) for all the members of the household. They had to serve the elders on the *khat* (on the spot) and the children around the *chullah* (fire place). They had to enclose the beds of all the members of the household. They had to clean the utensils and send the children with the animals towards the village-side. After they had finished with early day tasks, they had to prepare for the noon and afternoon tasks. They had to left the small children in the supervision of aged woman of the household and fetch the water over their heads from the central well of the village and then collect the animal's fodder from the fields. On their return they had to prepare for the blow the yogurt with *madhani* (churn) and extract the *makhan* (butter) and prepare the lunch. After cleaning the utensils, they had to go for fetching fuel woods from the nearby forest and feed the animals. At the evening they had to milk the buffaloes and shift the animals in the barn. They had to prepare the dinner and serve all the members of the household and have their dinner in the last. They had to spread the beds for all the members of their household. After an exhausted day, they could hardly spare a small amount of time for their small children before going into bed. In addition, if they could spare some times, they used to perform embroidery and bead work on the clothes, weaving baskets with the colored stalks and searching lice in each other's head, preparing oven and stove with clay, drive spinning wheel to get filament from the wool, weaving cots with the strings prepared from goat's hairs, kitchen gardening, having a puff of *hukkah* (pipe; tobacco imported from India was especially used by elderly and well to do people), renovating and

decorating the walls of house; were all the major sources of their amusement.

The life of the village's women was very rough and tough before the emergence of the trends of migration. They could hardly spare some time for their recreation, only they could have a chit-chat with their village fellows at the well. Their mothers-in-law had very close eyes over them to monitor their everyday activities. The character of a woman was usually inquired through the other women of the village. The gender discrimination and violence against women was very common and usual feature of the village's life. The intra household conflicts were very frequent even for trivial issues. The women had no control over the monetary resources, the animals and agricultural products were supposed to be under the control of the elder man and woman of the household. All the laborious tasks were performed by the women whereas all the outcomes were possessed by the head of the household. The women were compensated with every day food and a piece of cloth after a year. They were not involved in family planning issues; they had no choice to speak before their husbands and in-laws. The villagers used to refer the bridal procession as the funeral of the living. The physical differences of men and women had metaphorically symbolized in agricultural terms. Thus, among the people of the village Dhana man was described as the *bij* (masculine seed) and female were assumed as *jamin* (earth, feminine). It was considered that it is the conjunction of man (seed) and female (land) that sustain the life. It was the man who used to plant his seed in the womb and the woman who rear the children.

Making family (*khandan*) was like planting a seed (*bij*) in the land (*jewein*). Ultimately the father's contribution was given greater social and conceptual significance. The male's role was considered as contributing more than the female's.

It was the unarguable action of man on passive woman which made it productive. The females were not allowed to go to hospitals during pre and post natal period due to fear of being possessed by harmful forces;

rather traditional methods were applied to cure them inside the household.

The villagers used to perceive that the ancestral or family seed as being transmitted only from father to son, the continued existence of the family name was thus dependent upon the birth of a boy and the birth of long lines of daughters could result in a family demise. The different value put on son and daughter is starkly exposed in the villager's responses to the birth of a child. The birth of son was considered as special one and endorsed with congratulations whereas the daughter's birth was endorsed with sympathy and sorrowful responses. During the pregnancy, women were supposed to visit *pirs* and *fakirs* who used to write *taweez* (amulet) and offered the prayer that the child might be a son. The demands of son were so vociferous that until a woman produce such an heir, she may even run the risk of her husband taking a second wife. The couple had no child or the couple had no male child was considered as equivalent status and they were termed as *auter masafer* (childless, sonless).

The females of the village had no choice to attend any formal school rather Quranic education given by the mothers was considered enough for them. Mastering the traditional tasks was considered obligatory before getting married. They had no choice to speak before the elders at the time of their spouse selection rather they had to bow before the will of their parents.

A young girl had to assist the mother in the household chores; preparing meal, sewing clothes, minding her younger siblings, fetching water from the well, washing clothes, collecting fodder for the animals' and working on the fields for weeding and hoeing. She was not left alone rather continually surrounded by the other household members in order to protect her virginity. Newly married couple had to live in the household of groom's father. Once they establish their new household, there is a visible change in the status of couple, they began to participate as a full, adult member of the community, with this change woman's status gradually began to change with the motherhood, though she still did not leave the house unaccompanied. These changes culminate

menopause; it marked the end of the restrictions imposed on her since the puberty. It was the stage when the women of the village could go to the hillside alone for the collection of woods and graze the animals, but it did not mean that the women should become suddenly brash and forgets her sense of modesty. Meanwhile the boys used to play around the village and help the father. There were no restrictions upon them regarding their movement even to the jungle side. After the age of twelve years, the behavior of the son was characterized by freedom, lack of restraints, indulgence and relative sexual license whereas the behavior of the daughter was regularized by responsibilities, restraints, denial and chastity. At the age of adulthood, the young boys were supposed to work outside the household and contribute in the household economy, whereas the girls were restricted to the household to help out her mother in everyday household's chores by protecting her virginity. A daughter's domain of work was therefore restricted to the domestic sphere. In these circumstances a woman's role as housekeeper complements the male role as wage earner. Under those circumstances she could not contribute cash towards the household income so that she had to live on the receiving end; that had made her economic burden, vulnerable and marginalized.

The marriage of the female was considered as problems rather the marriage of son was considered as pleasure. In arranging the marriage of a son every effort was made to establish the truth, while the marriage of the daughter involved every effort to conceal it.

The role and status of the women of the village has risen significantly as a result of massive emigration. Particularly, the wives of the migrants have gained significant authority in the family. The women, who receive remittances directly from their husbands, enjoy higher position in the hierarchy of the family through their unrestricted power over the allocation of money. The migrant's wives seem to regulate the distribution of the resources among the family members and relatives. They supervise the economy, cultivation and other household activities and demonstrate the use of remittances sent by the husband. The women's position in decision-making and daily activities of the family elevates them to higher position within the household. This contributes in changing people's

attitude and perception towards the wives and women too. Their role has changed in making decision concerning various issues; their role has increased in almost every household's matter. In a way, the wives of the migrants proceed as nepotist for the rest of the family by acting as the head of the household.

The migrant's household especially those headed by the migrant's wife become vulnerable in the absence of their male members. The wives of the migrants are exasperated by their in-laws and neighbors in order to extract certain amount of remittances. The wives of the migrants are infuriated in the name of honor and a game of blackmailing continues in the absence of emigrant. The migrant's brother misinformed the migrants regarding the character of their wives in their absence and lead towards the conflicting situation. They some times force the migrants to review their policy towards their house and sometimes the migrants are forced to shift the remittances flow towards his father or brother instead of his wife and children.

All the wives do not receive equal amount of remittances from their husbands. Educational status of the wives plays an important role in drawing remittances from their migrant husbands. Educated wives are better able to operate the bank accounts and handle remittances, for example, to draw cash from the banks and to deposit money in bank accounts. This helps explain the observation that educated wives attain higher propensity to receive remittances from husband through their efficient handling of bank accounts.

There is a positive correlation between the money received by the wives from their husbands and the capacity of the wives to make decision in the family.

Table #29

Account Holder	Migrant's wife	Migrant's father	Migrant's brother	Other relatives	Total
Frequency	31	10	16	3	60
Percentage	51.66	16.66	26.66	5	100

Table 5.6: Gender dimension of bank accounts' holding in dealing with the migrants remittances

The above statistic discloses that in a great majority (51.6 %) of the migrants' household the bank account to deal with the remittance is operated by the migrant s' wife, in the 26.66% households' bank account is hold by migrant's brother, in

16.66% households the bank account to deal with the remittances is operate by the migrant's father and only 5% account are dealt by the other relatives.

Table #30

Type of decision	Before migration				After migration			
	Family	Men	Women	Total	Family	Men	Women	Total
Family's daily needs, including food	15.01	71.00	13.99	100	11.07	43.12	45.81	100
Education of children	40.68	54.77	4.55	100	11.40	38.91	49.69	100
Marriage of children	57.31	38.08	4.62	100	18.98	36.30	44.72	100
Buying and selling jewelry	53.58	30.30	16.12	100	14.85	37.50	47.65	100
Buying and selling property/assets	32.83	66.04	1.13	100	22.69	64.62	12.69	100
Use of remittances	-	-	-	-	30.05	19.95	50	100
Participation in labour	5.57	49.57	44.86	100	31.54	48.08	20.38	100
Head of H.H	-	99	01	100	-	67	33	100
Other matters	37.96	61.63	0.41	100	18.17	50.17	31.66	100

Table 5.7: Gender dimension of bank account holding in dealing with the migrants remittances and its correlations with the women participation in decision making

The overseas work experience has probably played the key role in giving women the authority to hold the bank account. This authority can be effective in increasing the status of women in two ways: first, the women are likely to visit banks to operate their account, showing independent movement and authority; second, they are likely to be influential in determining the use of the remittances and influence the other household decision of the household.

It has been observed that 86 percent of the wives who receive remittances from husbands abroad contribute in family's decision making. But 64 percent of the wives, who do not receive remittances from abroad; do not contribute in decision making of the family. Receiving remittances by the wives has many repercussions for the emergent empowered identity of the wives. This enables the women to have a fully active role in both the family and the communities. The crucial factor here is whether the wife receives the money directly from her migrant husband. The remittances money helps the woman get empowered only

if she receives it directly from her migrant husband without any middleman. This is easily established through a comparative observation of the role of the wives in family for those who receive remittances directly from their husbands and those who do not.

The wives of the migrants, who receive remittances, send by their husband from foreign countries are seems to have; full autonomy in the family, play managerial roles in financial and other household activities, have an opportunity for dealing outside of the house and be fully aware of children's health education food and social security. They are found to be more confident and courageous than those who don't have this opportunity. The wives of the migrants, who do not directly receive remittances, send by their husbands were found to be the passive member of the family, under the surveillance of family and community members, having no role in decision making and remain confined within the family. The daily interactions with the family members, relatives and neighbors performing duties and responsibilities in families by the wives who receive remittances result in some changes in their personal attributions. They, in most cases, handle financial, social and familial issues. All these experiences help them have personal property, develop their managerial aptitude to handle remittances management, children care, performing other household chores and the ability to make decision in the family. They become more aware of taking care of their children's health, sanitation, education, food consumption and social security. At the same time, they also take care of health, food and clothing of aged members of the family. Education and direct access to remittances of the wives contribute in a fully empowered and functioning identity of the wives. The educated wives who receive remittances directly have the high propensity to perform all the tasks personally without taking help from others, especially male relatives. But the illiterate wives generally perform these tasks with the help of their family members and relatives that limits their independent role. The receipt of remittances in their own name and entrusting them with responsibility for managing finances are the major factors, which raise the status of, wives and improved their autonomy, independence and expertise in managing their affairs. The husbands' absence also increases economic resources at her disposal. The wife's ability to communicate with her husband on phone whenever needed becomes instrumental in transforming the

dependent women into self-confident autonomous managers with status equal to men in the family, neighborhood and society. In fact the gender based power structure of the village has changed from patriarchal to egalitarian community due to the improving status of women; as the women have gained access to social and economic resources that was beyond their reach prior to the emigration of their husbands.

Nowadays, the women of the village are liberated from their traditional responsibilities. The socio-cultural restriction upon them had been relaxed or even abandoned. They are no more vulnerable and economic burden rather some of them are effectively contributing in the household income and others are successfully running their households in the absence of their husbands. Remittance flows towards them has broken the barricade around them and slacken the control of extended relatives and in-laws upon them. They are no more accountable to perform everyday household errands rather the migrants has employed servants common chores. In turn, the women of the village are obliged to ensure the successfulness of children in their educational and health performance. They are bounded by the migrants to care the children earnestly in their absence. The women from migrant's families can go to the local bazaar to purchase common goods and occasional visit the kotli city to purchase clothes and jewelry. They are not bounded by the traditions to be accompanied by the male members rather it depends upon their choice. The health and education of girl's is given equal importance as the boy's, they are also given proper nutrition without any discrimination. The female has voice to speak regarding the spouse selection and their choice is given preference. They are no more the vulnerable followers rather the decision makers.

There is, however, the other side of the wives of the migrants, which involves anxieties, miseries and various socio-economic problems due to the absence of their husbands. In many cases, the wives of the migrants, especially those who do not receive remittances directly, lead very isolated, dependent, powerless and destitute lives in the society. They have no voice in the decision-making of the family. They have to be content with what the family members offer to them. They cannot go out of the family without permission. They are kept under the

surveillance of their husbands' family members.

Most of the wives spend time by performing religious activities, taking care of their children, visiting the relatives' house, sewing tapestry and clothes, watching T.V, and in some cases, staying in fathers' house. They are the 'passive members' of the family. They have no voice in the families. Even in some cases, they are oppressed and treated as maidservants of the family. The worst problem of the wives is that both family members and community members, especially the males, are very suspicious of their moral character. Thus, these wives are usually not allowed to talk to males other than very close relatives within the family. In many cases, the wives of the migrants, especially those who do not receive remittances directly, have to face social insecurity, loneliness and face burden of more responsibilities.

5.1.17 Impacts on personality

Migration has shown its effects on the personality in terms of the physical and cognitive attributes of the villagers. The migrant's families have become quite broadminded, descent, educated and adopted newest lifestyle. The families of the non-migrants are still reluctant upon the old-patterns in terms of their complexion and cognition.

In the old days, the villagers were living hand to mouth life. Their nutritional status, dress patterns and living standard was very poor. They had very low vision of outer world. They used to perceive their world in between the limited boundaries around the village. Many of them had not visited even the nearby city at a distance of one hour walk. Under those circumstance; the villager's self-concept, self-image and self-esteem was very poor. The negative personality traits were extremely widespread in the village. The villagers were rigid, aggressive, jealous, illiterate, narrow minded, conservative, pessimistic and possessed very lower level of intentionality.

Prior to the migration, the boys used to cut their hairs at home. They were worried about their bread and butter. The ornamentation was considered as useless rather everyone was appreciated to participate in the task related to subsistence. There clothes and shoes were patched again and again; it was perceived as the fate of the villagers. If some one did not participate in the subsistence patterns, he/she was motivated with taunt...

toon hathan par mendi lai ni have you pasted henna over your hands. The brides were motivated to participate in everyday household chores by saying; hoon mendhi uli gai, utho te kam kaj karo (your henna has gone you should start taking part in the everyday chores. Personality grooming and body ornamentation had no weight for village instead the work with cattle and land was their prime consideration to eke out their livelihood.

The improvement in their financial status has lead them to inculcate constructive thinking and positive personality traits. Due to the advancement in their financial status, their nutritional status, dress patterns and living standard has raised significantly. The vision of the villagers has broadened because they have travelled over a number of continents. Under these circumstances; the villagers self-concept, self-image and self-esteem has elevated significantly. The villagers are very flexible, generous, appreciative, literate, open-minded, liberal, optimistic and possess very high level of intentionality.

In old days the villagers were deprived of variety of foods, colorful dresses and used to live in cottage like huts. Their thinking was limited to basic needs of life so that they could hardly perceive their self-actualization.

A significant proportion of remittance is utilized over dress patterns, variety of foods, and they are living in sophisticated and stylish houses. They have come out of their limitedness to the basic needs of life and a number of them have self-actualized.

A large amount of remittance is utilized on personality grooming. A number of girls have established modish beauty parlor and the barber shops have become very fashionable; in the close vicinity of the village which are serving in terms of make-up, dress designing, jewelry combination, hairs-style and ornamentation. These beauty parlor and barber's shops are very popular among the young boys and girls from the migrant's families. There are various hairs' styles that have been introduced by the young people who came to spend their holidays in the village from various European countries. The village's boys prefer to make their hair style like British boys for being called as British.

It has been commonly observed that a boy wearing a shirt, baggy trousers, cheetah shoes, a locket, a colored bracelet on the wrist hairs rose from the front, clean shave with a bear chin and fragrance of imported perfumes around him are enough characteristics to assume him as the brother or son of a migrant.

These boys are free from the worries of bread and butter so that they always express themselves confidently.

5.1.18 Impacts on Norms, values and Ideas

Migrants from the village, living out of the country, obtain up-to-date thoughts, awareness, customs, norms and values. Thus, the migrants experience changes in their savor, enthusiasm, habits and lifestyle. When these migrants come back home in the village, they disseminate these thoughts among the family and community members. Even, they change the patterns of consumption, interaction, and behavior after their migration. Available money and new affiliation with local elite, educate persons and politician enhance these changes. Along with money, the migrants also bring many different goods to their home from abroad. With regard to these goods that the migrants bring or send back home by others, there is an interesting difference: those who migrate to a gulf country, which is predominantly Muslim, bring mostly goods with religious use and significance. And those who migrate to a non-Muslim country usually in Europe bring mostly mundane goods with practical use.

Migrants from the Muslim countries especially from Saudi Arabia prefer to bring back the stuff having somewhat religious significance. The people coming back from Makkah must have at least one water canister in their luggage.

Mostly the migrants from the Muslim countries bring, Muslim country's ornaments, cosmetics, blanket, electronics goods, *purka* (veil), *Tasvi* (rosary), *janavaj* (prayer mat), *Surma* (collyrium, antimony), *Atr* (aromatics), *Toopi* (cap), and *Zamzam* (holy water) pictures of the holy sites, *khajoor* (dates), *parna* (turban), clothes, watches & many other artifacts of religious significance. On their return to the village; for the first few days every person is gifted with rosary, prayer mat and served with holy water and dates.

European countries migrants prefer to bring; ornaments, VCD, TV, Mobile, pant, shirts, trousers, cosmetics, perfumes, toy, cuddly toy Handy-cam, digital camera, lap-top, Computer, pictures and videos of many tourist spots, rare medicines, infrequent spare parts, electric shaving machine and many other electrical and electronic appliances. On their return to the village every visitor is served with sweets and cold drinks and the children are gifted with toys.

Although these goods which user value have no religious uses also have social value. These imported goods and the household amenities possess higher value (than the expansive indigenous equivalent) for the villagers and confer higher status to the migrants' families. Villagers keep an eye over the person arriving to the village and make their on assessments about the value of the bits and pieces brought by him/her. If his/her arrival in the village is prolonged after landing at the airport; the villagers assumes that he/she is busy in purchasing indigenous stuff which would be presented to them as an exported stuff. Similarly, if the gift giving is delayed, the villagers assume that he/she has finished the foreign stuff and now he/she will purchase something for them from the local city, which would be given to them on their next visit. In order to cope with theses varying perceptions; the migrants give some money to the people deserving a gift and ask them to purchase anything of their choice. The justifications are made by making blame excuse for not bringing anything from their country of destination like; I was not feeling well before the departure, my economic position was not good in this turn, my leave was confirmed just a day before my departure so that I could not purchase anything etc.

Most of the gulf migrants have observed that they find significant change in their religious activities. They have developed the habit of saying prayer five times a day, keeping fast, paying *Zakat* while they were in the gulf countries. Those who migrate to Saudi Arabia find opportunity to complete Hajj and Umra (pilgrimage). This is one of the reason, the villagers prefer to go to Saudi Arabia for their employment. A young villager narrated his aspiration for seeking an employment visa for Jeddah;

“kamana te khana qismat ne gal he, jithay na rozi pani hoye uthay he jasan, par mari koshash se k Jeddah ya Makkay jann ta ke kamaine naal naal hajj te umra ve kari achaan, kiyan kay asal kamai ve te uway hi hai na ”

One can earn and eat anywhere what had written (destination) in his fate from the day first. In fact I was trying to seek an employment visa for Jeddah or Makah in order to perform Hajj and Umra along with the earning; in fact the actual earning is that... Pilgrimage.

Table #31

Religious status of the host country	Change of religious activities in migrants		Total
	Positive changes (respondents frequency)	Negative changes (respondents frequency)	
Muslim country (gulf and Saudi Arabia)	80	20	100
Non-Muslim country (Europe and America)	25	75	100

Table5.8: Change of religious practices in migrants by Religious status of the host country

The table above shows that 80 percent of the gulf migrants think that they are more involved in religious activities than the time before their migration, whereas 75 percent of the migrants to non-Muslim countries are relatively apathetic in religious activities. They have lost their habit of saying prayers and fasting when they were in overseas countries. On the other hand, 20 percent of the migrants to Muslim countries are less involved in the religious practices whereas the 25 percent of the migrants to Europe and America are inclined towards religion.

There are few examples of the affects of emigration on norm and ideas of the villagers.

Sitting besides or up to the elders was considered as dishonorable but after the emergence of emigration it is much cared about. Smoking in front of parents was considered as ignoble but this tradition does not possess any value nowadays. Visiting each others on the eve of sorrows (loss of a buffalo or goat) and joys (*Eid* or grand production of crop) and saying little words with regard to the occasion was part and parcel of the everyday life of the village but the custom has lost its significance and the villagers and not much careful about it. Inquiring everyday's well-being of each other was a common practice in the village but it has disappeared, no one care about others and every one is just limited to his/her close group. People (usually elders) used to offer *salaam* (best wishes) for each other through other people, it was considered as a great responsibility but nowadays people don't convey the best wishes rather make excuse to the well wishers to make a phone call to their beloved ones. The old

age people of the village refers to this situation; *paisa te aaya par hubb gai* (money make the love go) *na oh gal rehein te na oh jamanay reha* (the period has gone the things has gone).

5.1.19 Impacts on child rearing practices

The child rearing was the responsibility of the women in addition to the performance of various other tasks in the close premise of house for shorter intervals. Men were less attached to their children because they had to perform variety of tasks at a distance from the household for the extended period of time. The women had to apply various strategies to cope with their vital responsibilities. Women had to prepare three times meal, fetch the water from the well, clean the house and animal barn, put the manure in the fields, weed the crops, prepare the animal's fodder and collect the firewood from the nearby forest. During the ordinary household's chores children were left in the house under the supervision of the old age people, with younger children or fasten with cot and toys were put in front of him; whenever the child used to weep, the mother return to feed him and then go to perform the rest of the tasks. The moveable children were supposed to accompany and help with their mothers, sometimes the small children were carried out by their mothers while they were going to fetch water and woods. In many cases very small children were left alone in *pangoora* (a large piece of cloth was hanged from the cot to put the child in it), that kept jolting while the mother is outside.

Mothers were not allowed to abandon the everyday household's chores prior to the peri-natal period. After three days of child birth the mothers were again supposed to involve them in every day household's chores.

During the pregnancy, the mothers were not cared in terms of their nutritional need, they were not supposed to get their pre and post natal check up. The deliveries were attended by traditional birth attendants of the village, because it was assumed that the child's fate would depend upon the fate of the women who would first touch him and her. The newborn were showered immediately after the birth and tasted with and sweet liquid. After the mother had involved in their chores, and the child was left alone; a knife or sickle was put under the head of child to escape the harmful attachment of unseen forces.

With the growing age, children were inclined to learn cultural practices and subsistence patterns. In that regard, children were involved in everyday household chore with reference to their gender, so that they could learn male's and female's sphere of the village's life. The elders were supposed to tell the earlier success stories of braveness, achievement and courage. The mother was supposed to give the love and affection and the father was supposed to extend control and discipline upon their children. Child beating was very common to keep the children on the track in terms of cultural and economic practices.

Mass migration from the village has resulted into change in the child rearing practices. As the men have fully taken over the economic responsibilities; the women stayed conscientious to children's care. Due to the change in subsistence patterns, the women have abandoned to play many traditional roles. The women of the village are no more supposed to fetch the water, firewood after the invasion of gas cylinder and pipe water. Milk is purchased from the poor neighborhood; in turn fodder is given to them. The migrant's households have abandoned to keep goats and buffalo, so that the women have not to put the manure in the field. Change in all the allied patterns has changed the women role and activities in the village. The women's activities are confined to the household so that they could pay due attention to their children. A number of migrant's household has employed servant for household's chores so that the migrant's women have nothing to do besides the care of their children.

Women can have their frequent check ups during the pre and post natal periods. Deliveries are attended by the SBA (Skilled Birth Attendants) either in hospitals or at home. Child's ailments are not considered ordinary rather the child specialists are immediately consulted. The everyday's demands of children are met as much as possible. The migrant's earning status is measured in terms of the health and physical conditions of their children so that the migrants make their efforts to maintain the excellent physical standard of their children. There is no discrimination in child rearing practices on the basis of gender. The mothers tried to expand a considerable amount of remittances on children caring in terms of their medicines, dress, food and education. The diet recommended by the doctors is preferably purchased. Education of the children has become a high priority among the migrants so that their wives make efforts to educate their children. Migrants appreciate their women for excellent child care in terms

of the health, education, diet and dressing. They do not hesitate to send the remittance demanded for their children, so that they demands occasional photographs of their children to assess the improving states.

5.1.20 Impacts on intra-generational relations

Differences emerge between elders and youth concerning the significance of cultural and every day households' matters. Migration has intensified inter-generational conflicts. The children brought up in new socio-cultural setup often feel constraints by the old practices and values, conflicts arises over a variety of issues; over discipline, over freedom to date, hang out with friends, on blasting loud music, on getting ornamentation and over the parent's pressure to marry a particular person within *baladri* and/or family.

The absence of second generation (young) the first (old) and third (children) generations are in direct contact with a vast difference of thoughts and behavior of the two generation. The oral traditions, customs and religious practices are, at best, only partially transmitted, producing differences between generations in the village. The rational world view is cultivated by education in schools instead of folkways.

Older villagers are more inclined to insist on due consideration being given to both religious and old cultural pattern and traditions rather the younger are inclined toward the modern trends.

Arranged marriages with in the *biradri* and lineage, particularly trans-continental marriages; are seen by the elder generation as a strategy to culturally rejuvenate children brought up in the United Kingdom and other foreign countries. The grand-parents desired to arrange the marriages of their grandchildren by matching them cross-continently and connecting all of them with the village. The elders are of the view that bringing over a spouse from united kingdom or any other European country would compensates for the loss of culture they believe is taking place there. If a girl from the village marries a boy from the Europe, then that girl will keep the next generation within the culture.

The elder's would find it unacceptable if someone married out of their *biradri* (ethnic group), they are more inclined to insist on due consideration being given to both religious and cultural factors.

The flow of the big amount of remittances towards the wives has loosened the control of migrant's parents over the migrant's children. The grand children don't consider the authority of grand parents and any influence from them is directly communicated with migrant who control the situation by making a phone call to the either side. Adolescents left behind are also commonly overrepresented in adapting risky behavior, and absence of fathers has been found to be associated with the involvement of children with violent behavior at home, the abuse of cigarettes as well as reduced school attendance has been commonly observed among the migrant's children in the village. Whenever the old people makes efforts to control the situation by saying the younger that they are child and they should act like children in turn the younger respond that they are the old and they should act like old.

The children are less inclined towards the traditional patterns in terms of, religion, food patterns, dress patterns, marriage patterns and other elements of social behavior; on the other hand elders are insistent upon traditions, which shaped a colossal generation gap among the two generation. The oldest person in the household may lie in the corner of the house are occasionally looked upon by the younger. The migrants have to insist their children to look after their aged parents but it is often replied that they are yours parents not ours.

The elders insistently ask the younger's' to wake up early in the morning, offer the prayer, recite the Holy Quran and pay little attention towards the land and collect the fodder for animals, by referring these tasks to the younger, the elders narrate their early day's stories; instead the younger respond to the situation by saying, whatever you have done, it was all right for you in that scenario, now its our turn and we now better what we have to do. The younger hire the motor bikes or switch on their cars and moved to roam around with their friends. The dichotomy of thoughts sometimes leads towards the conflicting situation but ultimately the elders seemed to have gone for compromise.

The younger are highly criticized by the elders for their dress patterns, food patterns and everyday's routines. The elders usually says; its better to be naked instead of the dress you are wearing, the younger respond to the situation by saying; it's ours matter and we know better. The younger seems laughing over the traditional dress patterns of the elders. The

elders says, we had nothing to wear but a collection of the torn pieces of the clothes, but we still preferred to cover ourselves, you have everything but you still prefer to be nude.

A conflicting situation can best elaborate the inter-generational relations in the village:

Hameed (ego) migrated to the Saudi Arabia a few years ago by letting his old parents and children together in the village. They were residing in their old house which was probably considered to be the parent's house. On his first return, he constructed a new house and demolished the old. All the stuff was shifted to the new house. The new house was probably considered to be the ego's house, so that his children assumed a very strong right over the new house as compared to the old one.

The ego's mother possessed a *charkha* (spinning wheel), which was given to her as souvenir by her mother. One day the ego's children pulled the spinning wheel out of the room and started rolling it. It was near that the spinning wheel would torn onto pieces, the ego's mother involved to escape the only memorandum of her mother but she was failed to escape it because for the ego's children, it was not only useless for them rather a dump of garbage in the new house. Ultimately, ego's children seemed jeering upon their successful in abandoning their new house from a useless stuff. At the same time, the ego's mother seemed weeping in the corner of the house over the vanishing memories of her mother's era and end of her long association with the spinning wheel.

Case study-37

Azra has three sons and two daughters; the daughters were married and the sons have emigrated along with their wives and children. Nowadays, she is living with her husband as all of her sons have migrated to England. She remained depressed due to the absence of her sons and always waiting for their return. She is occasionally visited by her daughters. She explored that, she don't need single penny from her sons but their love and care. She also expressed that;

ik maan hi bachan no smabal sakay per sarra bachey mil ghay vi aik maam no nhi smabal sakta"

One mother can take care of many children but even many children cannot take care of the mother.

5.1.21 Impacts on house patterns

The emigrant has built deluxe houses in the villages but in some cases there are usually no residents in these palatial houses. Though settled in Britain the expatriates have built these huge houses as a mark of social status and prestige. Most emigrants visit their native areas during holidays or on occasions such as, anniversary of late parent's weddings, funerals, festival and *Eid*.

In the earlier days, the majority of houses (99%) were *katcha*, some even present cottage like outlook, there was not a single house that could be considered as completely *pakka*. Only the village's head's house was semi *pakka*. The houses were constructed with frequently available stones and wood and the walls were pasted with clay. There was no concept of separate room rather all the member of the household, their occasional guests was supposed to stay in a single room. Some of the house hold had separate animal's barn, but in many of the household's, animals were supposed to reside with human's residence. With the passage of time, animal barn was separated by constructing a separate human's residence in parallel or upward direction of the animal's barn.

The houses were constructed in terraced shape; the animal's barn was used as *baira* (courtyard). Land is planned before the construction of house which took long time and the extensive support of other villagers. The woods were cut from the forest and saw into pieces; these pieces were brought to the house on shoulders or pulled by the young boys of the village in the supervision of the village's elders. The stones were collected before starting construction work. The houses were constructed by unskilled person; the balance of stones and woods would not much cared, it was assumed that everything would be covered with clay. The *dawari* and *darvaja* (windows and doors) were prepared by semi-skilled person; small holes were deliberately left in the walls for putting bits and pieces, *thums* (wooden pillars) were installed under the *kari* (rafter) to support the roof, the wooden pillars, rafter and *balla* (small rafter) were not smoothed rather put over in the bumpy conditions. Usually a room and a *pasar* (veranda) in front of the room was a complete

composition of the house, room was enclosed by a door in the middle and two windows on each direction, and the veranda was left open for everyday activities. The household's utensils, water utensils, firewood, cots were stored in the veranda, beds, box, grain, clothes and other household's appliances were stored in the *kothi* (room). Small holes called *khaira* were consciously left in the walls where the hens used to lay eggs, the *chaki* (quern) and *chattto* (mortar) were installed in the corner of the verandah and the *chach* (sift) was hanged with a *killa* (peg) in a *chook* (corner). The household's members' preferred to sleep in the open-air in the hot summers and in room during the coldest winter. There was no trend of latrine rather open-air defecation was widely practiced over there. There was no concept of separate kitchen rather stove is fired up in the *pasar* or *baira* (veranda and courtyard) which had turned the roofs blackish. The *tarnburi* (wasp) and *chiri* (sparrow) used to establish their *kupa* (hive) and *alna* (nest) in the roof which cause the arrival of venomous snakes in the summer so that the household members had to jump outside on the cries of sparrow. The people used to feel suffocation in those congested house but they had no alternate options to get reside.

After the emergence of emigration trends the housing construction is the migrants' first investment priority, not only to relieve off the suffocation that they had ever felt in their old houses, but to accommodate the expanding families. Moreover the big houses have become a status symbol because the migrants who had not constructed a house after a long stay abroad, is considered as *nalaiq* (unsuccessful) so it has become a trend among the migrants to construct a house at first priority and the perform the other tasks at latter stage. The most visible spatial effect of international migration is the construction of new, often concrete, big and sophisticated houses. It has resulted into the decline of the traditional adobe or stone dwellings.

Nowadays, there are 97 percent of the houses in the village are *pakka* and only three percent of the village's houses are *semi pakka*, no *kacha*

house have been found in the village. Houses are constructed on maps designed by modern architects, famous skilled labour is employed and durable quality material is utilized. The skilled contractor are given *theka* (contract), any close relative is requested to monitor the quality of material and construction. These contractors are paid during the process of construction and at final stage they are compensated with large sum of their balance.

At the initial stage mechanical excavator is employed to balance the land and dig out the foundations, the foundations are filled with cement and iron bars to make it durable, long lasting and free from cracks. The cement blocks or the bricks are used to raise the walls; cement pillars are stiffed in the corner of rooms to keep it strong, door and windows designed by the welders are installed in the walls, cemented beams are put over the doors and windows and at the final stage of walls, and roof is linter with concreted cement. All these tasks need a time of one month and a large amount of money. Migrants have adopted the strategy to complete the house in two stages, during the one session of their holidays, they complete the house from foundation to roof and in the next phase plaster and decoration tasks are completed.

Every house consists of 10-20 rooms and it is raised in double and triple story buildings. Almost, every household's member is given allotted one room and few common rooms are reserved for guests and collective purposes. Houses are colored with variety of colors and paints, outer sides are tiled, floor is plastered with tile and cement, edges are grilled with iron, terraces are pulled outside, curtains are hanged along doors and windows, glittering lights are installed in rooms and over the roof, pans are installed in outside of the windows, porch is made over the central entrance, eaves and edges are raised above the roof, a drive path is lead to the garage, a water tank is constructed over the roof which is connected with electric motor for frequent supply of water, stairs are made to allow the movement between the floors. The house is covered with a boundary wall and a gate is installed along the main street, lawn is filled with plants, flowers, grass, rockery, trellis, hose, sprinklers, drain

pipes and parasol. A name plate of the owner of the house is installed at the main gate and *biradri* name (gujjar's house, raja's house etc.) is mentioned at the front side of the top floor of the *kothi* (bungalow). When all above is completed, the dreams of the migrant come true and the purpose of his emigration is almost completed.

A number of latrines are attached with all rooms, the latrine are filled with English stuff, colored tiles and shower. The kitchen is constructed apart from the main house; it is decorated with wooden cabinets, shades ventilation and steel oven connector with gas cylinder. Frequent water supply to all the sections of the house is ensured through a pipe connection from the stream or water-bore. In the final stage a cemented airplane, car, dome or the Jammu & Kashmir's flag is installed at the top of the house to mark the distinction of migrant's house.

All these outcomes are the blessings of emigration from the village and frequent remittances flow to the village. The emerging trends of modern and sophisticated houses gave rise to the competition among the villagers so that every one tries his level best to endure in this struggle.

5.1.22 Impacts on food patterns

In the earlier days, almost all the food stuff was derived from horticultural and dairy products. The majority of the people used to have a cup of *dud* (milk) or *lassi* (whey), the first meal is taken between 10-12 A.M. and the other at sunset. Every member of the household was given a measured amount of the food. In the bitter days, every one even receives a *taki* (half-bread) for one meal. Wheat was the staple food grain and is made into both leavened and *rurya wa* (unleavened) backed on griddle and stones. Children, along with the cattle in the hillside were given baked dough which was used with goat's milk at the time of lunch.

Maize's bread at the time of *nahari* and wheat's bread along with milk, whey, *chatni* (sauce), *makhan* (butter), *curri* (boiled whey with addition of spices) was common composition of food of the villagers. Seasonal vegetables were occasionally used whereas meat and chicken was rarely used. Wild plants called *booti* (herbs) have long been employed as vegetables.

There were various indigenous fruits which were consumed as well as shared and gifted to the other people, in their respective seasons. *Shatoot* (mulberry), *bair* (plum), *danoli* (pear) *hari* (apricot) *rawara* (peach) *daroon*(pomegranate), *amb* (mangoes) and *tilfoon* (pine-nuts) was the staple fruit for the villagers round the year. Some villagers had domesticated various plants to extract the food in their respective season. A number of villagers were expert in *qalm-qari* (pruning) whose services were employed to produce better quality of fruits.

Various seasonal vegetables were planted in the seasons near the household as a kitchen garden. *Palak* (spinach), *payaj* (onion), *thoom* (garlic), *saryoon* (mustard), *karam* and *moli* (radish) were grown in the winter season whereas, *al* and *dabri* (pumpkin), *tori*, *karela* (bitter gourd) and *marchi* (peeper) were planted in the summer season. A number of these vegetables were grown as allied crops along with the maize and wheat, which were used as food. After satisfying the household's needs, a part of those vegetables was sold in the bazaar to earn livelihood.

Whenever, an elder male used to go to the city, he was expected to bring fruits, biscuits and meat, so the day was much pleasurable for all the member of the household. The villagers had an opportunity to consume meat on the eve of sacrificial *eid* or they had to slaughter a hen on the arrival of guest or a dying animal was slaughtered, which was a great opportunity for them to consume meat, otherwise the animal and hen were sold in the market to get the cash and meet the ordinary household's expenditures.

Nowadays, the food is frequently available, as it is the outcome of the emigration and frequent flow of remittances.

Almost everything is purchased from the bazaar. The villagers are no more dependent upon the horticultural farming and cattle herding. Refrigerator remain filled with vegetables, fruits, juice, beverages, sweets, yogurt, meat, chicken and milk; all the times. These edible substances are heavily consumed in the migrant's households and guests are served as well. The absence of any things is not a trouble for them; rather a bike is run to the market by the young boys to fetch any thing needed urgently. Varieties of cooked foods are accumulated in refrigerator and get warmed at the time of meal.

The bakers, morning bread and biscuit are heavily consumed at morning. The women have to heat the bread on the toaster, which is served with jam and butter along with beverages and milk. Meal times are not observed regularly, rather any member of the household can eat the food any times he/she feel hunger. Knead flour is saved in the refrigerator so that bread can be prepared, urgently. The varieties of foods are reserved cooked to meet the diverse demands of all the children. The trend of fast foods is emerging among the school going children as they have inspired by the cousins in the foreign courtiers. A number of bakers in the city have started preparing fast food which has become a favorite diet of the migrant's children so that they school going children, usually don't have their lunch at home rather purchase fast foods from the bazaar and consume it on their way back home.

The elder people of the village explored that, in their earlier days, they were wishful to eat edible foods but they were lacking all those; nowadays everything is available but they could not eat as much. Refrigerators are filled with edible food and drinks but no one in the household cared about it. One of the old man expressed that, if his late parents can come in the village, surely, they will not believe to be present in their own village.

5.1.23 Impacts on dress patterns

In the earlier days, irrespective of the social position or gender; there were two indispensable garments, *kurti* (shirt) and *tanmbi* (trouser), the shirt is worn outside the trouser. The trousers were fastened with a *nara* (cord) ornamented, even bejeweled with many colors,

The dress of female used to consist of a long shirt and a pair of trousers, both of cotton clothes; at the age of puberty the females used to wear over a long piece of unstitched piece of cloth decorated with ridiculous devices of birds or animals work in colored worsted. The elder women used to cover their heads with chintz cap, stuffed with cotton and ornamented with string and bead work. The *kurti* and *tanmbi* of the better classes were sometimes made of silk; they are ordinarily of red cotton. The shirts were richly ornamented and embroidered in front. On their feet, women used to wear a pair of shoes called as *jora* (shoes) that were prepared with hide of goat by the local *mochi* (cobbler). The *jora* was decorated with shining strings and beads. Every married woman used to possess

a pair of shoes, an embroidered shirt made of silk or some good material and a wrapper which were presented to her on the day of her wedding and are kept for use on special occasions, but for common use a less embroidered garments of ordinary quality usually suffice. The married women used to wear a red shirt and were further distinguished by wearing *kanta* (ear-rings).

The villager's women used to have a due proportion of trinkets, as armband, earrings, nose rings etc. which were usually made with beads and gold. The bead's jewels were ordinarily worn rather the golden ornaments were reserved for ceremonial wearing.

The men used to wear a long shirt over a pair of trousers or *tehmat* (long piece of cloth fastened instead of trousers), mostly of white colour. Head was covered with *pug* (turban) or a *kulla* (peaked-cap). A pair of shoes made by the local cobbler was used as footwear but it was not decorated like the women's shoes. The *pool* (sandal) made of paddy's stalks were used as casual footwear rather the *jora* was reserved for ceremonial wearing.

The men used to wear good turban, embroidered coats on the ceremonial occasion.

Every person in the household was supposed to get a suit of new clothes after a year or on the marriage ceremony of any household member. The new clothes were reserved for ceremonies and the old clothes were used ordinarily.

The clothes were washed occasionally, and an old suit or plastic shoes might consist of a number of patches over that. The washing soap was not available so that the clothes were daubed into ash to rinse and squeeze into clean water. There was no concept of *istri* (iron) in the village so that un-pressed clothes were worn by the villagers. The women of the village had no choice to go on cloth shop to express their like and dislike in cloth selection rather an elder man could purchase clothes for all, everyone had to capitulate before his choice.

The villagers were not careful about their body ornamentation; only the girls were supposed to have their make upon their wedding day. The villagers had no concept of perfumes and cosmetics; only the walnut's cover was used to cleanse the teeth. The well to do women had an opportunity to wear glass bangles and paste henna over the hands. The women had to apply *makhan* (butter) over the head to get the hairs soft. The men used to comb the hairs rarely and the women

used to have a *choti* (hair's braid) which was prolonged by a *pranda* (false plaits).

In earlier days, the pant-shirt was highly criticized in the village. A number of early migrants who came to the village in pant-shirt were highly criticized and they had to face many taunts, like; *ohay pentry!* (Oh man what you have worn!), *pyo mari ghaya phuka te putar pant lai te phirna* (father has passed hungry and the son is wandering in pant), *ae lanay koloon tu nanga ei changa aein* (it is better to be nude than wearing a pant), *mohun teko te lai ni pant* (you have not yet attained the status of wearing pant).

The villagers had no capacity to purchase the clothes; an old woman revealed that:

She was found of colorful clothes, but she had no capacity to get those. She could have only a look over those clothes and buried her desire in the depth of heart. Now she can purchase as much as clothes but she is not found of it.

A large amount of remittances is spending over the clothes and cosmetics, especially the ceremonial occasions are accompanied with new clothes and a pair of shoes, which was impossible for the villagers in their earlier days.

Nowadays, a person irrespective of gender has diverse varieties of suits in various colors and designs. The men and women of the village wear *shalwar, qameez*; women in addition put a *chipra* (a piece of cloth) over their head, sometimes it is hanged in the neck. The women can go in the bazaar, move freely and select the clothes of their choice. Every one in the household can purchase a number of clothes, that would be dressed upon on the specific upcoming social events.

The old clothes are discarded early and new cloths are indulged in everyday's suiting. New clothes are stitched by the highly skilled tailors who are highly paid for introducing new styles. The shirts of the girls are getting shorter and trousers are getting tightened with the passage of time; in the old days the dressing like this was highly punished. The boys wearing pant-shirt are highly appreciated rather honored because it has become a status symbol. The cotton clothes are worn in the summer and warm stuff in the winter, the clothes used in one season are discarded and new one are purchased with seasonal variations. In case a segment of clothes is damaged, it is not patched rather discarded at all. The women may change a number of suits in a day. The clothes are washed in

washing machine; a suit once washed may not be dressed upon beyond two days. Similarly, a large number of the pairs of shoes are reserved for various occasions; sandals and cheetah are very famous among the young people of the village. The roles of traditional shoe makers have abandoned. The pair of shoes used in the domestically is not used while moving towards city.

The patterns of body ornamentation have change along with the change in dress patterns; the girls prefer to match the colors of sandals, clothes and various other bits and pieces, the make-up's stuff is also matched with the clothes. A variety of face creams, cosmetics and perfumes are used by the boys and girls with reference to their gender dimensions. The girls can have their make-up many times a day. A number shampoo and soaps are applied to remove drought and get the hairs shining, soft and prolonged. The boy preferred to apply gel to raise the hairs from the front. The girls either spread the hairs over the shoulders of apply short locks on each temple to fasten the hairs and apply variety of imported perfumes to produce fragrance.

5.1.24 Impacts on patterns of amusement/recreation

In the earlier days, the amusement and recreation patterns were quite simple but more attractive and extroverted in terms of its social value. These patterns were angrily affected by the presence of Cease Fire Line on the land of Jammu and Kashmir, because prior to 1971 people used to move frequently so that they could have large gatherings, frequent competitions and customary alliances with the people of other villages, so that the social gatherings possess higher significance for them. After the bloody line had drawn, it had barred the people's movement, the traditional gatherings had vanished, many of the old age people of the village still remind their earlier days and many others have passed away with the dream of meeting their chums and acquaintances once in their life.⁵⁵ The Hindu (native of the research area who latter took refuge across the bloody Line of Control) used to held separate as well as joint festive occasions, on those, the amusement sessions were practiced in colorful way. Even after the first forced migration and latter labor migration; the villagers had hardly maintained the amusement traditions but with the mass migration from the village, some of the traditions has abandoned rather many others have been

55 Culture of the area is adversaly affected by the line of control

altered. The famous games in the earlier days were, *bazoo giri* (it is a kind of wrestling in which the wrist of one's is captured by other person and the he was asked to release by showing his strength and following the rules of the game. Pairs were made by keeping in view the identical features of both the players), *boodroon chana* (weight lifting), bull race, *handoo kalna* (it was lamb's fighting, in which two lambs were left in open space and motivated to fight by saying; *tur kis kis*), race, *itti-talla* (tip cat) *kabadi* and swimming in the natural cascade's fallings in the nearby stream. All of these games were male oriented in which the various people of different categories of age used to take part actively. On the other hand women used to have folk singing competitions which usually expressed taunts, appreciations and aspirations towards each other. The songs were sung in native (Pahri, Gojari and Kashmiri) languages. The small girls used to built and decorate small houses with mud and stone while they were grazing their cattle in the forest. The frequent singing competitions used to hold among the elder male of the number of villages. The famous incidents of prophets were sung in lyric forms, these competition usually held on the fourteenth day the month of lunar calendar because the full bloomed moon facilitates them with light so that they could sung by reading from the books. Special light's arrangements were made to organize these gathering on the eve of marriage and death occasion. The gathering used to starts at dusk and last at dawn. The elder women of the household used to dive the *charkha* (spinning wheel) at night to prepare the wool's strings; along with that, they used to narrate various moral stories to the younger children, those stories were great source of amusement for children as well as for elders. The common gathering of men at *chontra* (common sitting place in the grazing pastures und the shadowed trees) and the frequent gatherings of women at village's *khu* (well) were great sources of entertainment for both the genders. Traditional cultural *ludi* (Kashmiri dance) on the beat of *tohol* (drum) and the tune of *totri* (flute) at marriage ceremonies was a great source of recreation for the villagers; the folk performer were asked to produce various lyrics which were accompanied with loud excitement and whistle of the crowd. In this cultural dance, the dancing boys moved in a circle, clapping their hands, a group of *talari* (drum-beaters) stands in the center and beat the drum to accelerate the rhythm of the dancers.

Most of these sources of amusement were held on the marriage ceremonies and festive occasions at the shrine and temples of the area.

Nowadays, the occasions of amusement and recreation are arranged by spending huge amount of money. The singing gathering is organized in addition to the marriage ceremony or on the arrival of a migrant of the village. On this occasion folk singers are hired, advertisement of the ceremony is made through banners to gather a large number of audiences. The migrants name and their destination are specially mentioned over the banners. Special seating arrangements are made in the open-air and the stage is decorated with glittering lights. All the participants are served with food and afterward the ceremony is initiated, the arrival of the folk singers is warmly welcomed. Special sound system is installed on the stage. During the processing of program various demands are made on behalf of the migrants. The names and destinations of migrants are specially counted at various stages and lyrics are being sung for them. The processing of the program is recorded with digital cameras. Various taunts, desires (for emigration to England) and aspiration of the participants are expressed in lyrics on the tune of musical instruments. At emotional stages of the program, currency notes are blatantly showered over the singers. The program lasts till the late night. The recorded programs are launched in the bazaar and the original copies are taken by the migrant to their country of destination. The excellent performers are popularized through various channels so that they are invited on the upcoming events of similar nature.

Besides these singing gatherings, various tournaments of volleyball and cricket are organized in the reputation of a migrant. The tournament continues for several days, in the final ceremony migrant(s) are invited to give the price to the excellent performers. Moreover, the dog fighting is occasionally organized so that the migrants' along with their dog can take part in the contest in order to invigorate their early memories.

The young boys of the village organize occasional trips on the motor bikes to the neighboring areas. Besides this; the cricket, bikes-race, art competitions, watching television and playing computer games are popular sources of amusement among the younger generation of the village whereas the old generation preferred to have a chit-chat with their age mates.

5.1.25 Adjustment problems of return migrants

The emigrants have to live in foreign countries for an extended period of time to earn the livelihood for their families. At the time of their departure they had an adjusted reputation and social status among the parents, siblings, friends and villagers but, on their return they may not be able to find any one of them; someone might have died and others have migrated to foreign countries so that a person coming from abroad to the village have to face a lot of adjustment problems, on their return, migrants do not find things to their taste.

The migrants returning with the hopes to live well and enjoy some status; but they have to face socio-psychological problems to adjust him in his family and found his wife and children estranged and his friend and elders unsympathetic towards him.

On minor pretext, he finds them opposing him in political, social, cultural and economic situations, neither had he had confidence before migration nor do his efforts to adjust on return succeed. He is better in money, possesses wider knowledge of national and international changes, is keen to see his children educated and his village transformed into a modern community but appears to be impatient during adjustment stages.

On their return, migrants come without any planning. They invest most of their money in construction of houses, purchase of plots and thus found themselves once again in desperate financial conditions. Some sought jobs, yet some other settled small business while a few started working for a second trip.

Although, migration for a certain period of time provided them opportunity for higher earnings but once this source dried up, the returnee migrant once again suffers somewhat the same economic constraints because they are not properly guided in the investment of their savings. His own contributions are significant in the society because he manages a better house and above all substantial contribution in foreign exchange earnings. Despite all this, his economic problems did not get resolved; in fact tend to increase, though in different form and shapes.

5.2 Impacts on Economic and subsistence patterns

Human beings arrange their lives in a geographical space. They exist and perform activities at specific location and they move to distribute things in certain directions. Thus they give character to place or area, differentiating and connecting them with respect to various aspects of human conditions. Geographical expression of man's existence can be brought of very simple as geometry of point's line and area. If a geographical area is unable to meet the basic necessities and desire of its residents; the people will make their way to other areas to explore their livelihood. They have to extinguish their formal habitual residence and move outside the country. They have to adopt new skills and techniques to earn livelihood for their families.

Economy can be defined as the part of society's institutions, which is devoted to the production, exchange and distribution of commodities.

“Economic activities in the traditional sense refer to productive activities engaged in for payment of wages or remuneration”.

(Jahan Ara, 1979:47)

When a geographical area is unable to meet the needs, demands and expectations; its resident makes their way across the national boundaries to eke out their livelihood. Afterward, when an individual or a group of individuals intended to seek emigration, they have to explore the cheaper and successful ways. Most of them learn technical skills and others get married with European nationals. These strategies not only ensure their successful emigration but also guarantee the handsome earning in their destination. Their gorgeous earnings enable them to sustain, fulfill the expectation of family towards them, helps other people to seek emigration and continue to send occasional and regular remittance' in terms of cash kind and ideas.

Transfer of cash or other resources from the out-country by the migrant to their family members in the village have brought significant changes in the local economy. This section deals with the traditional economic and subsistence pattern of the villagers in the past but it also discusses the various dimensions of modern economic structure.

5.2.1 Traditional economic patterns

The basic information was obtained through the formal and informal discussions especially with old people of the village, as no written record was available which could help in finding the economy and the villager's way of life in the past; mostly the old age respondents explored the patterns of life in earlier days. Originally the individual land holdings were very big, the people were involved in horticulture, wood selling and cattle rearing before their emigration. The artisan and professional castes were engaged in their occupational services; they were compensated by other villagers in terms of crops and animals.

The main crops were wheat, maize, mustard, white bean, oats, barley and a small amount of paddy. If the season gave them plenty of wheat they sold that off in local bazaar to get the cash.

In the old days the horticulture was very simple. The traditional implements of horticulture consisted of wooden *hal* (plough) pulled by a couple of *dand* (oxen) which were twined in a *jandra* (yoke). This technology was prepared by the skilled *lawar* (blacksmith), indigenously.

That simple technology produced low average productivity and it was simply unable to compensate for or control plant diseases, insects, soil deficiencies or adverse weather conditions.

5.2.2 Poverty Alleviation

One of the major impact the emigration and remittances has ever exerted over the in the village is that it has decreased the depth and severity of the poverty. The villagers have been suffering from poverty for the last many years, but they can afford to have things, which they had never before. The villagers still recall the days of poverty and feel relieved that the inflow of remittance by their migrants' members has brought peace of mind. The flow of remittances has left enormous impacts on both at household and community level.

Table #32

Recipient	Poverty-reducing impacts	Other impacts
Household	<p>Income and consumption smoothing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased savings and asset accumulation; collateral for loans; liquidity in times of crisis • Improved access to health services and better nutrition • Access to better education for longer, reducing child labor • Increased social capital and ability to participate in social groups and activities, and social activities • Improved access to information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependence on remittances leaves households vulnerable to changes in migration cycles • High share of remittances spent on nonproductive investment and short term consumption gains • Differential access to the additional resources according to sex or age • Adoption of innovations which was not suitable for the local environment
Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved local physical infrastructure • Growth of local commodity markets • Development of local capital markets, availability of new services: banking, retail and trade, travel, construction • Development of new development institutions • Changes to cultural practices, especially attitudes toward girl children • Generation of local employment opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initially can increase inequality between households (those with access to remittances and those without) • Distortions in local factor markets (especially land and labor) • Transmission of negative cultural practices that reduce local and indigenous quality of life

Table 5.9: Key Impacts of Remittances on Poverty at Different Levels

The villager’s consumption patterns have improved and the quality and quantity of dress has gained superior touch after the frequent receiving of money from the foreign countries. About 56 percent of the respondents articulated that the quality of food intake has increased substantially.

Many respondents explored that in old days their usual diet was limited to suki roti along with Lassi and chatni. The meal is cooked three times a day but every one in the household was given a fixed quantity (mostly one roti per person) to eat at a time. The head of household and the male members were given somewhat additionally. The children moving along with the cattle are given only morning and evening meal; usually they milk the goat and drink the milk at the time of their lunch in order to quench their hunger. Everyone in the household was given one suit of cloth for one year and even beyond; gets torn, it was repetitively patched up. The elders, especially males were supposed to have one suit for their public participation. Lacking capacity to purchase washing soap; the clothes were washed with ash and put on without pressing. There was no concept of pressing the clothes with iron. All the consumptions and expenses were drawn out of the dairy products and subsistence farming. Only a small amount of the milk, yogurt, butter, ghee, eggs and vegetables were consumed at home and the larger quantity of these eatables were sold in Kotli bazaar, in order to eke out the livelihoods. The fruits were exceptional for them that were consumed once in a blue moon. They used to live along with animals in cottage like houses. Their purchasing power could not allow them to have more than one suit for a year; so that their clothes were patched again and again. The handsome number of people used to walk without foot wear so that their feet remained filled with barbs and thorns; a number of old people had passed due to the infection caused by the thorn in their feet.

Ever since the male of the house has migrated, the food patterns and the quality of foods in their households has changed and they have started eating meat, eggs, poultry and dairy products quite frequently even they used to purchase these eatables from the poor neighborhood. The increase in the income has therefore, made it possible for them to have wheat instead of corn flour, pure ghee and butter instead of vegetable oil. They are now also eating fruits quite normally. The dress pattern and foot-wear has got stylish and matching touch. A number of suits are purchased during a years because wearing a patched suit is considered embarrassing.

Nowadays, the living conditions and purchasing power of the villagers has improved. About 78 percent of the respondent said that the quality of food intake has increased substantially; they have started eating meat, poultry and eggs frequently. Their refrigerators remained filled with fruits, vegetables, chicken, mutton and chicken which are highly consumed. The eatables, which were sold for cash; are now purchased for consumption, the exceptional diets have become frequent one. The traditional and indigenous foods have been replaced with modern and fast foods. Wearing patched clothes are considered embarrassing, so that a person can have a number of suits at a time; a few suits are discarded even after one use. A number of foot-wear is purchased at once; many people of the village are unable to count the number of the pairs of their foot-wears. The big houses are constructed in stylish and

sophisticated manners. Infact; the migration and frequent flow of remittances has paved the way for them from producer and seller to the purchaser and consumer.

5.2.3 Transition from exchange of goods and services towards cash economy

The traditional economic exchange of kind and service has been replaced by the heavy flow of cash to the village. In the earlier day none of the household was self-sufficient in terms of it needs, every individual and household was dependent upon others for the fulfillment of it needs. The villagers, who were involved in services, were unable to perform on the land to extract their livelihoods so that they were compensated by all other villagers with grains in return to their services. Things were frequently borrowed and exchanged between the household. The reciprocal relations do exist among the villagers for the effective running of everyday life. After the ma migration from the village, the villagers are not dependent upon each other, every thing is purchased from the bazaar and every laborious task completed with cash payments. Infact the remittance flow has not only enabled the villager to release them out the bond of interdependence rather all the reciprocal system based on the exchange of goods and services have been replaced with cash. The situation has loosened the bonds of interdependence and replaced the collectivism with the individualism in the village.

5.2.4 Impacts on the patterns of livelihood

In the earlier days, the villager's patterns of subsistence were totally dependent upon the farming on the arid lands, cattle rearing and wood selling. About 99 percent of the households of the villagers were directly associated with land and cattle to meet their everyday and occasional needs, only one percent of the villagers were involved in services and technical professions. The villagers had large landholdings, the married sons were not supposed to inherent the land separately rather lands remains under the collective control of the head of household till his death. Agricultural products were stored in central *koli* (mud bin) or *kathar* (wooden bin) and redistributed to all the members as needed. Mostly the old storage was hauling out from the bin to put the new one. Children were employed with cattle to graze them in the hillside forests and all other members of the household were supposed to work on the fields. The

males were responsible for preparing the lands, constructing the side walls, tilling the land, preparing the allied instruments, getting the instruments sharp by the *lawar* (blacksmith), purchasing and caring the oxen, spreading the fertilizers, monitoring the crop, securing the crops from the animals, diverting the *coul* (water channels) in the (*chaiter*) paddy fields⁵⁶ near the stream, collecting the crops, separating the grains, storing the *poa* (husk), *dindra* (cobs) and *nari tanda* (stalks), getting the grain crushed at *krat* (watermills) and fetch the flour to the home.

The women were responsible for putting the manure in the fields, *godhi* (hoeing), *neela bana* (weeding), reaping, separation, preparing mud-bins and storing the grains. The women were also responsible for preparing the fodder for the animals. They had to cut the wool from the sheep and goats and drive the spinning wheel to get the wool prepare for weaving blankets and other stuff. The food items, dairy products and many other bits and pieces were extracted from land and cattle. The cattle were occasionally sold to meet the cost of the certain essential commodities which could not be produced at home. The younger boys of the village used to cut woods from the forests and sold in the city to receive a small amount of cash.

With the emerging emigration, the migrant's households have withdrawn partially or entirely from horticulture. Many households are now acutely short of labour; but as most also receive a supplementary remittances income, they need to depend wholly on the land for their subsistence. As a result the land in village is becoming increasingly ill farmed, and large number of fields are being withdrawn from cultivation altogether. Almost all the stonier and terraced fields on the hillside have long since been abandoned, and now a growing amount of the most *tandi* (fields) never sees the plough.

Return migrants who do invest in horticulture often do so, not out of rational economic motives, but because of their strong emotional attachment towards

56 Paddy was cultivated only on those fields which are situated near stream

agriculture, in a way they are not practicing the horticulture for their subsistence but only practicing hobby farming.

This process of migration from the village to the city and livelihood diversification is an outcome of shifting investment priorities among migrants. In addition to the regular and occasional remittances; investment in all kinds of service enterprises, ranging from grocery stores, construction of houses and plaza for rental purposes, hotels, travel agencies, restaurants, money changers, transportation (cars, vans, buses, and trucks) have become major source of livelihood for the migrant's families.

The investment in children's education seems that migrant's families would be able to achieve great proportion of employment in service sector. Emigrants, therefore plays an accelerating role in closing the gender gap in education. Remittance-enabled investments in the human capital of children may thus be another motive to relocate migrant households to towns with better educational facilities.

In the presence of remittances from the foreign countries, livelihood patterns of the villagers have changed; they are no more dependent upon horticulture and cattle farming for their livelihood. Instead of sending the children with the cattle to the hillsides, the schooling of the children has become a priority for them. The women of the village are not obliged to perform farming and cattle caring tasks, rather they are appreciated for excellent caring and education of children. Many of the migrant's families' members have successfully achieved reputed jobs and easy emigration; which inclined the other to follow the beaten path, so that; employment in government sector, business and emigration have become a major source of the livelihood in the village.

5.2.5 Impacts on traditional occupations

Migration, internal or international, can also promote occupational mobility. The human capital model of socioeconomic attainment views migration as a form of investment whereby the individual initiates a geographical move with the expectation of drawing net cumulative gains over his working life

The strong preference of return migrants for establishing independent work does not, however, necessarily mean that they were running large-scale businesses or farms. Rather, in view of the limited resources created by foreign remittances, it is not difficult to imagine that most of them are able to set up businesses on a very small scale.

5.2.6 Sepi System

The *sepi* system made service inter-relationships compulsory between different castes in the village. The solidarity of the *sepi*⁵⁷ system was based upon mutual aid and cooperation. The interpersonal relationship consists of services provided by the professional castes to the well to do people and the village's leader; in turn these professional castes were compensated with grain at the end of each harvest.

In the village; sepi relationship existed between the landowners, carpenters, iron smiths, weavers, barbers and cobblers. The contract was called "sep" and the contracting parties were called "sepi".

Usually, the following tasks were performed by various categories of professional castes for which payment was made in the form of farm produce. In actuality, it was the inter-relatedness of these professional castes which made the everyday life of the village. Each caste associated with specific professions and arts; in turn those professional castes were compensated by others in terms of cash, kind and grains.

After the acceleration of emigration trends; the traditional role of these professional castes has extinguished or have lost its significance. Many of the young people of these professional castes have also emigrated to a number of foreign countries. Only the *musalli* (drum beater) is sustaining in the village with continuation of the professional skills. They are compensated with cash and

57 In old days each caste was supposed to perform certain professional jobs, this interdependence of castes lead the village life.

kind by the migrants and other villagers for their services. The caste based village's system and socio-political hierarchies are extinguishing and egalitarian patterns are emerging. The role and contribution of all the professional castes in the village during the past days and their present status is elaborated below:

5.2.6.1 Kumhar (potter)

The job of *kumhar* was to prepare of earthen pots; *rakvi* (plates), *kahra* (pitcher), *galeein* (pitcher for blowing yogurt) and vessels. All these pots were manufactured by potter at his home; all the members of potter's family were involved in collecting clay and passing that from various stages, the final touch to the utensils were given by the skilful potter. The potter was responsible for meeting the utensil's requirements of all the households of the village. Depending upon his skills and approach; he had to make some decoration pieces which people used to kept in their drawing room and often gift to their guests. Some of the utensils were colored with variety of figures and shapes. He was providing the clay in his household and gets the utensils after few days. He used to get 40 kg of wheat for a year per house in return to his services.

But the change in socio-economic scenario of the village forced the *kumhar* to alter his situation and made him to think for his better future. Eventually, the sons of the *kumhar* went abroad; leaving the village without any alternative person to continue providing the typical services of the *kumhar*. The elder potter continued his skill, but after his death, the skill has vanished from the village.

With the emergence of modern trends in the village, the earthen pots had lost their significance. The villagers started using steel, marble and petrochemical utensils but to show affection and express their bond with their past; some of the mud's utensils are kept as a show piece in their drawing rooms. The show pieces prepared with mud are not manufactured in the village, rather purchased from the Punjab.

The *kumhar* (potter) was regarded as low ethnic group in the village in the past. Nowadays, they have become equivalent part of the village; besides achieving respectful status they are also enjoying the same amenities of life and contribute in the village's life equally and effectively.

5.2.6.2 Nai (Barber)

The barber was part and parcel of the everyday's village's life. He was responsible visit the other households to shave and cut the hairs of the male

members of the village. He was also responsible to carry out circumcision of the boys after a few days of their birth. On such occasions he used to get gifts in addition to grains. He used to cook food on all occasions of marriage or death; act as a communicator on ceremonies of happiness, conveying the messages of death or sickness, invite the people on marriage and *nayaz* (death ritual) and act as a messenger in between the families who were going to establish a marriage contract. He was supposed to serve the guests on all the ceremonial occasion. His wife used to perform the similar activities in female's sphere and helped the mistress of the house on such occasions. For all his services; *nai* (barber) and *nayani* (barber's wife) used to get 80 Kg of wheat per household for a year. In addition, he earned considerable money by serving in different occasions like, marriages and child birth.

With the emerging trends of migration, the nai have inspired by the earlier migrants and decided to seek emigration for the socio-economic uplift of his family. At first, he achieved emigration to UK, and at second stage he managed the emigration of his family, latter on, he married his son and daughter with the offspring of his brother and provided them a chance to reach UK. The barber has worked as a nai in England and earned a large sum of money. He asked his brother to purchase a plaza in Khuiratta and establish a barber shop in it. His brother has established a stylish shop in the city and hires few boys to work on daily wages. His brother acts as a manager of the shop and supervises the work of his labor. His brother's shop is famous among the return migrants for style and quality of services which enable him to earn more money.

The barber has constructed a big sophisticated house in the village. They are no more discriminated on the basis of their castes; they can take part in the communal decisions. Nevertheless, their family's members who have no migrated are also supported by their migrants' members through regular and occasional remittances.

5.2.6.3 *Marasi* (Drum Beaters)

The *marasi* was considered as the entertainer, they were specially called by the villagers to beat the drum on the occasion of marriage and happiness. Besides cutting the hairs and performing circumcision; his services were almost the same as that of a *nai*. However, he used to perform jester and drum beater on ceremonial occasions. He used to get 40-80 kg of wheat per household for a year. His job was to entertain with *tohal* (drums), *tootri* (flute) and other musical instruments as well as with dances and jokes on the occasions. The *marasan* (drum beater's wife) used to go with bride in her in-laws house and perform important duties on behalf of bride's parents for the bride. For her services, she used to get a piece of silk cloth and a small amount of money. Sometimes; she used to arrange the marriage-matches for boys and girls. She had to play an important role on such occasions.

Out of three families of the drum beater's, one has migrated to England, their financial stability could be assessed from the fact that they come every year to the village with their children and marry one of their elder daughters or sons with the upper caste of neighboring village. They prefer to give huge and expensive dowry given which was not possible for them prior to migration. The *mirasis*, in spite of receiving remittances from abroad and by joining the migrant families are still providing typical services like singing song and entertaining people on various events but they have adopted new technologies in performing their skills like guitar and other musical instrument. Despite having no access to the basic necessities of life as enjoyed by other migrant families but they were enjoying luxurious life, sophisticated houses, latest electronic appliances and having magnificent car. In this regard, the effects of migration are not confined to upper caste but lower castes are also get pleasure from it. The drumbeaters who have not achieved emigration, have also constructed semi-*pakka* houses and abolished their *katcha* houses to raise their social status.

5.2.6.4 Lawar (Blacksmith)

Basically the blacksmith's job was to mould the iron and prepare different tools like; *drati*, (sickle) *kwara* (axe) *ganti*, (pickaxe) *belcha*, (spade) *chabal* (crowbar) *dandwai* (sickle sharpner) *rambi* (hoe) and many other tools for household and horticultural use. He was also skilful in sharpening those iron tools and installing handles in the tools. He had installed *pathi* (furnace) at his house; which was the chit-chat point for all the formers of the village. He used to collect *koila* (coals) from the cooking section at the marriage ceremony to ignite his furnace. He used to get 30kg of grain from each household for each season.

As there were twelve families of *lohars* resided in Dhana but as the plough techniques were replaced by tractor less working opportunities were available for them, they were forced to migrate to metropolitan cities; where steel and iron enterprises were running.

There were only two *lohar* families in the village dhana and were doing petty jobs and some one of them daily goes to Khuiratta for daily wage work. During the researcher's stay in the village one of the *lohar's* families was waiting for their interview called by the British Embassy and was optimistic of getting visa.

5.2.6.5 Tarkhan (carpenter)

The duties of *trkhan* were to make wooden articles of domestic use and repair broken articles such as *khat* (cot) *pehrri* (knitted stool) and chairs etc. He used to get 20 kg of food grains annually for rendering his services to the landowner.

After migration of the people from the village *dhana*; 23 households were left in the village, their male members were working in other cities and some of them have received huge remittance have established state of art furniture's show rooms on the main road.

From the four families of *tarkhan* no one is able to embark on foreign journey still providing occupational services like making and mending wood furniture etc., and was paid well as every migrant family wants to have elegant woodwork in their native house and for that they pay them more than market based wages.

5.2.7 Changing financial status and occupations

Because of migration, the traditional economic barter system was replaced by cash. Mass migration from the village and awareness promoted by the modern modes of communication like; television, cable wire, satellite antenna, computers, tape recorder, mobile phone and certain types of electrical machinery; draw the people's attention to the modern way of life which was made possible by cash economy and not by the traditional one. Today almost every house of the village has television, fridge and other electronic devices like washing machine, microwave and irons etc.

In the earlier days, we had no source of fire; the fire was either covered under the ash and got it ignites at the time of need or it was exchanged with each other. Similarly, the sources of food were also exchanged with each other. The food items were measured in sair (kilogram). The measuring stones were prepared by measuring with already existing stones. Every household was cared by all others in term of its food needs. The food items, taken as loan were returned on due time to sustain the trust among the villagers. At time of unusual circumstances and ceremonial occasions, every household was expected to compensate the household in crises. The villagers had a homogeneous life and there was great trust, honesty and fear of God that helped to keep the village life on the track, but every thing has disappeared.

(Muhammad Hussain; an old villager)

Remittances coming from foreign countries have resulted in remarkable growth of schools, mosques and construction of streets and roads in the village dhana. The horticultural income has been transformed from household production into small scale commercial business. The investment in the real estate by migrant's families in the village from non-migrants has also had a significant impact on latter income, since a family of the migrants often pays what the former demands. Many migrants have set up shops there and rented out to others.

5.2.8 Modern economic patterns

Most of the educated and skilled workers are employed in a variety of non-agricultural jobs outside the village in nearby cities. The subsistence pattern was dependent on two types of economic activity, one type was based on agriculture and other was the remittances from abroad, owing to migration, changes in agricultural techniques were visible. The traditional implements and tools like

wooden plough, harrow, sickle, spade and axe were used by a small percentage of farmers, while tractors, threshers, fodder cutter, insecticides and chemical fertilizer are in extensive use. The mechanization has replaced the old ways of horticulture to a great extent which was a clear proof of out-migration on the economy of village.

The direct effect of migration on the horticulture of village can be seen in the shape of diminishing traditional horticultural production due to change in agricultural sector, there was 59% cultivable land which was used as horticultural cum agriculture production before migration that has been reduced to 45% because of the construction of a number of houses. Many other villagers have abandoned the horticulture and left their lands barren.

Second major problem that has affected the agricultural sector was the migration of laborers and tenants; as a result there was acute shortage of labor force and higher wages that lead the decrees in production. A significant change in the village system was in transition due to less utilization of land and lack of manpower.

Lastly, the horticulture is not the priority area of subsistence for the villagers, so many of them have abandoned to practice horticulture and involved in other occupations. There is no one to look after the lands and cultivate the crops.

It was very interesting the despite of shortage of land and manpower the agriculture produce was higher than the previous 20 years. According to the local landowners; the increase of produce was due to utilization of better quality seed and fertilizer.

5.2.9 Trade and Commerce

In the past, most of the people of the village were earning their livelihood from agriculture, whereas 30-35 persons were in Armed Forces, some of them were serving Police while 5% of the population was depending on the domestication of animals such as Bulls, Camels and Donkey. Tractor was used for the first time in 1975 that replaced the conventional tools. No traces of industry or small and medium enterprise were found in the village.

There were more than 22% of migrant families who were engaged in investing a great amount of the remittances in the business like purchasing of residential plots in Mirpur, Islamabad and Kotli and renting out big commercial plazas, 5%

were have share in Real Estate as they don't have official responsibilities but were acting as a financial partner of some trustful persons of the city. It was observed that nearly 30% persons spend their money in non-development programs such as marriages ceremonies, decoration of houses, clothes, diet, furniture, golden jewelry and on other luxuries, 63% persons utilized their incomes on construction of new and latest houses usually designed by the well know Architects, 2% have bought new agricultural machines and instruments and taking benefit from the latest technology which resulted in better output of their harvest, 7% invested their money in banks, 1% on buying livestock, 10% on buying latest automobiles for their personal use. Beside those 80% vehicles, plying between Mirpur, Khuiratta, Kotli and Rawalpindi; own by the people of Dhana.

5.2.10 Self reliance

Prior to the emigration, the villagers were dependent on each other for their daily livings and petty needs. None of them was completely self-reliant rather one's survival was dependent on the support of others. After the mass migration, the villagers are self-sufficient to support their families, the interdependence has lost its grip and the villagers have played very positive role in the development of their village through their collective efforts.

The well developed infrastructure of the village reflects the self-reliance of the villagers. The detail of these self reliance development projects are as follows:

- No fund was provided by the government for the construction of Boys School instead all expense in this regard was made by the villagers.
- More than 50% of the streets and road are constructed by the villagers through their own efforts.
- The construction of Government Girls High School was completed with the fifty percent share of the villagers.
- The bridge which connects Gujjar Mohallah with Hill Mohallah was built at the cost of Rs.1.3 million solely bear by the villagers.
- Seven Mosques are built by the villagers.
- More than 70% fund was provided by the people of Dhana for the construction of the road which links the village with the main road.

- Funeral court was built by the villagers.
- Boundary wall of the graveyard is constructed by the villages.
- Central water supply scheme and a number of wells are established by the villagers.

5.3 Adverse Impacts of Emigration

While the migration has brought several advantages to the life of the villagers; it has brought some adverse effect on the village and villagers. This has been made possible by the increase in the mobility of the migrant's families. The family members now feel that the basic necessities cannot be fulfilled within the limited environment of the village and thus they started moving from village to the town, leaving their relatives in the village; that has weakened the bonds of brotherhood and integration.

Due to long absence of out-migrants the family has to face many socio-psychological problems which cannot be quantified. As emigration of an adult male entails family separation, it may call for a variety of adjustments and assumption of additional responsibility by those who are left behind (especially the wives and children). In other words the spouses of the majority of the villagers have migrated to Middle East, are living a separate life. In addition, psychological, emotional, and sexual problems associated with prolonged absence of the husband, his out-migration also imposes upon the wife, the role of decision-maker in household's matters. In the absence of elder males; the behavior of the male children is also reflective of some regressive tendencies, like becoming spendthrift, indulgent and disobedient. Amongst female children, keenness for education has declined with the father's lengthened stay abroad.

The negative behavioral changes in wife and children are reflective of various types of psychological strains that each individual undergoes. At times the psychological pressure can contribute to the problems of physical and mental health.

5.4 Unplanned investment of Remittances

An interesting feature of related to the migration behavior is that while the desire to earn more money is the prime reason behind the emigration from the village, there is very little evidences that the earnings received through remittances are used for generating more income. Normally, the money earned is not invested in a manner to produce more money. The money received is spend on the construction of new house, extension and renovation of old houses, payment of debts, purchase of property and consumer goods, pilgrimage to Mekka, marriages, ritual performance and festivities. In most cases the earnings are spent for non-productive purposes.

Contrary to all expectations one of the adverse effects of the additional income is that the excessive amount received by the family members of the migrants tends to decrease their interests in land cultivation and horticulture. Thus the horticulture suffers from neglect, not only due to the removal of active workers from the village, but also because of the decreasing importance of the horticulture as a major source of subsistence.

Chapter No. 6

Conclusion

Migration is a phenomenon as old as human beings. The human beings have tendency of moving from one place to another for various socio-Political and economic reasons. The migration as an important and prime institution of human holds important considerations of Anthropology.

Migration is a form of social change and can also be examined as a process of social transformations. In general it can be said that every transition from one social situation to another requires a degree of adjustment on the part of individuals, groups, communities and even nations. Overall, migration entails fundamental socio-cultural, economic and psychological changes.

This study is an attempt to explain the process of emigration from a rural area of district Kotli azad JammuKashmir to England and Arabian countries. The study attempted to explore the emerging trends of emigration and its allied factors with reference to the causes of emigration strategies applied to seek emigration, the mechanism of remittances transfer and its utilization and lastly the socio-economic and cultural impacts of emigration and remittances utilization on the village.

The study is supported by a number of earlier theoretical paradigms like; “Push and Pull” theory defined by Harberle (1983) and the Theory of Remittances Behavior.

Historically, the two exporting areas of Kashmiri migration had a tradition of sending at least one member of each family into other parts of the sub-continent for work to supplement the income of the extended family. From the district of Mirpur (of which Kotli was a sub district until the early 1970s) men joined the British merchant fleet operating from Mumbai (Bombay) as stokers and other arduous roles. Particularly during both the World Wars Kashmiris from Mirpur (at that time Kotli was a tehsil of Mirpur) became an important source of recruitment for the British.

the The period of migration was initiated when upper class village started to immigrate to England. This phase was primarily accompanied by the upper class, well-off Gujjar and Jatt families of the village due to their firm economic

position, in contrast to the other lower classes who were not in position to afford the expenses of migration.

Meanwhile, as the consequences of Shimla treaty, the Cease fire Line of Jammu and Kashmir was converted in to Line of Control (LOC) in order to get the Pakistani prisoners release from the Bangladesh. The movement of Kashmiri people across the border was blocked, which adversely affected the daily life of people.

In the 1970s the trends of migration to Arabian countries emerged at huge scale because of the friendly relations of the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr.Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto with the political elite of Gulf and Arabian countries, the migration was facilitated for Pakistanis to Saudi Arabia, Libya and other rich countries. A large number of people from Azad Jammu & Kashmir and particularly from district Kotli migrated to earn their livelihood.

Migration among the people of Dhana sought its roots in the push and pull factors compelling the people to detach from their own community which lacked in the opportunities required for one's progressive growth. There are various attracting and forcing determinants that had contributed in making mass migration from the village. The lack and decline in natural resources around the village (land, forest, water, and environment) and the demographic growth in the village and small land holdings increased dependency on the capital which could only be generated from foreign countries. The decline in subsistence economy due to less average rain fall in the area has lead the villagers to move to the foreign countries. The villagers used to have low living standard and lack of economic opportunities, these conditions had forced them to feel suffocation and obsession. The loss of employment and having no opportunity for employment has lead the villagers to make their way towards foreign countries. They prefer to hire a more luxurious life and are contained by the living condition abroad. As a result of emigration, dependency, such as migration of a bride to join her husband and vice versa. The villagers making their efforts to seek emigration, inherent intentions of the Socio Economic uplift of family. The massive and widespread conflicts with neighbors and/or relatives forced a number of villagers to go to foreign countries. The Political repercussions and the restrictions on the movement across eastern border the villagers are attracted by the opportunities to earn a large portion of income and expected to have

better economic opportunities in the area of destination. The earlier migrant from the villagers have superior opportunities for employment in the area of destination. The Provision of financial aid in the form of security given by government of Britain for the emigrants, the villagers have assumed that they would have more opportunities to get more and more money; the villagers are well aware that the price and value of foreign currency in comparison to Pakistani currency is much higher. The villagers are expecting to have good educational and employment opportunities for their children and an environment with more political freedom. The villagers are intended to improve Socio-economic status of their families and they perceive that emigration is the best way to meet their intentions. Being inspired by the earlier emigrants, the villagers try their level best to follow the beaten path. In short the intentions for the socio-economic uplift of family, better earning opportunities in the area of destination, inspiration by the earlier migrants, low living standard, suffocation and obsession in the village, decline in traditional subsistence patterns, intentions for luxurious life/ improvement in living standard, conflicts and political repercussions, marriage with a foreign national/family reunion, freedom, better opportunities and value of foreign countries, fast mode of communication and travelling and the financial aid by the government of developed countries are found to be the prime motives of emigration in the village.

It is quite evident that the reasons for migrating were merely for improving one's economic condition and achieving better living standards. It can also be said that prior to emigration. The earlier emigrants acted as great source of inspiration, information and a source of emigration and it became ultimate hope of earning for the villagers which ultimately lead to chain migration.

The very earlier phase was labor migration which was accompanied with family reunion and marriage migration which ultimately lead towards chain migration.

A number of countries like United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia and Dubai are the preferred and ultimate destination of the villagers, however, a number of villagers have emigrated to Germany, Spain, Greece, Kuwait, Bahrain and Musket. The primary migrants do not have to face problems because some of their Kashmiri friends are already settled in their countries of destination. Financial resources for emigration are managed with the help of relatives and

friends, community, government, taking loan from the bank and money lenders, remittances send by migrants and by selling precious possessions.

There are various strategies applied by the villagers to seek emigration like, employment visa, student visa, marriage, medical visa, tourist visa, illegal means, family reunion, pilgrimage and sponsorship by friends and relatives.

In the earlier decades the numbers of migrants was few but with the passage of time it accelerated with the emerging trends of emigration. In terms of the age of emigrants, a large number belongs to young age groups and a large number have attained matriculate level of education. The most preferred occupations practiced by migrants were wage labor and taxi driving. The migrants keep on visiting their left-over with the interval of time but a large number of that visit after two years.

The trends of emigration in the village is accelerating day by day and the young villagers are ready to sell their costly belongings (Jewelry, land, Livestock, land, Shop, vehicle) to meet the cost of emigration. The exposure to migrants' wealth and status is frequently said to have given rise to the emergence of a culture of migration, in which international migration is perceived as the main avenue of upwards socio-economic mobility.

Emigrants have become role models for the rest of the villagers. Their occasional return during the holidays and exposure to the relative wealth of migrants and their direct relatives has increased the sense of relative deprivation of stay-behinds. Migration has had an important influence on life rhythm and seasonality. Instead of the sowing and harvest seasons in autumn and spring, working all the daylong in the fields and grazing cattle in the forest side, one may perceive a charm in moving towards Europe or to the oil rich states of the Arab to earn and come back with a prestigious position.

The villagers perceive international migration as the main avenue of upwards socio-economic mobility and get the fulfillment of inherent dreams. For many youngsters, the question is not so much whether to migrate, as when and how to migrate, the hopes of many young non-migrants are focused on marriage with an international migrant as the most secure way of migrating abroad.

It has been observed that young boys of the village Dhana are found of seeking emigration; while sitting on hotels, travelling in public transport, walking in the

bazaar and sitting in the ground to entertain a cricket match; frequently discuss the issue of emigration. The earlier success stories are recounted, Future prospects, possibilities and latest emigration policies (especially UK's) are heavily discussed in everyday's chit-chat and social commentary of the villagers. The everyday taunts and appreciation are also expressed in with reference to emigration and aspiration to go to England.

During an informal discussion with a group of young boys; some of them articulated that UK is there preferred destination because;

“It were the British who had played a significant role in drawing a bloody line over the sacred land of Jammu & Kashmir so that they should adhere us at least few economic reimbursement because our economy is severely damaged due to the restricted movement across the border”

The young boys of the village possess information regarding all the dimensions of emigration, even the information concerning illegal migration. The young boys intended to apply for student visa make efforts to speak English well before the commencement of their emigration process. Every young boy is intended to have at least one trip to any foreign country at any costs even taking the risk of their lives. One boy of the village articulated that,

“I want to go to England either I want to be dead”

Much money is handed over personally and migrants take many goods to the village as gifts or as merchandise. Remittances; in terms of cash and kind are also transferred through; other migrants, *hundi*, banks, Money Transfer Companies (MTCs). However, the most preferred mechanism for remittances transfer is *hundi* system due to the easiness of both sender and receiver. The earlier migrants from the village have become a great source of information and inspiration, which has accelerated the emigration trends and resulting remittances in the village.

The migrants on their return to the village fetch the bags full of clothes, electronic appliances, Mobiles, Rechargeable lights, Tape recorder, CD player, Computer, Lap-top, watches, Digital camera, toys, Television, medicines, books, spare parts, letter written by the other migrants to their families, cash remittances and various other appliances.

With the emergence of emigration, the perceptions of the villagers regarding the poverty and richness have changed. Any household lacking the economic resources and possess low level of living standard is not considered as poor rather “a poor family is considered to be the one that does not have a family member who can emigrate abroad”. While a person has left for foreign lands for better economic prospects, emigrants leave behind their siblings and parents whose welfare over the time remained tied to the remittance and while the emigrants accomplish success and wealth abroad they remained increasingly concerned about the welfare of the aging parents left behind in the village.

The rising aspirations among the youngsters of the village and the outward-looking mentality are mainly the consequence of the exposure to the perceived success of migrants and it is a major factor in perpetuating and probably intensifying, magnifying and accelerating these processes at the local level. Other processes, such as improvement in education, increasing exposure to electronic media, fast mode of communication, improved infrastructure and frequent visits of migrants to the village also played a key role in opening villager’s eyes to the wider world and helping to raise their aspirations.

Migration has caused the young people of the village to disdain local wages and manual. As a consequence of the migration culture, youngsters cannot imagine any local improvements through their own initiative and do not believe that they can build their future in Khuiratta.

The earlier emigrants have created an unrealistic perception of Europe, especially of UK because they are a major source of information, aspiration and inspiration for the rest of the villagers. Non-migrants are said to have exaggerated images of living in Europe through the media and the tendency among migrants to show off during holidays. The villagers perceive that the salaries in Europe easily exceed many times than the earnings in Khuiratta or Kotli, as well as the prospect of increased personal freedom and the access to public health care, schooling and social security do, however, seem to justify the strong desire to migrate.

Besides all these aspiration and intentions among the young people of the village; migration demands considerable and increasing costs and risks and is therefore generally a well-considered and well-prepared decision, in

which family and community members are often heavily involved and make all the allied arrangement for the person, intended to emigrate.

Such rising aspirations push people to exploit their talents, capability and aspirations to become more productive and to increase their wellbeing, in which people's horizons widen and their capabilities, aspirations and fulfill the family's expectations through sending regular and occasional (on marriage, death, child birth, accident, big loss and ailment) remittances.

Remittances are used primarily for consumption and investment in human capital and conspicuous consumption (education, health, better nutrition, luxury houses, videos, television, satellite dishes and cars), Investment in land, livestock, and housing is also relatively common but secondary to satisfying daily needs or to repay debt, such as a loan for the expenses of going abroad, daily living needs, occasional and ceremonial needs, marriage of children and siblings, medical treatment, education of children, purchasing property, charity and savings or investments. Remittances are also a powerful spur to further emigration and the resulting processes of chain migration is self-fueling.

Remittances by the migrant to his family in the village fulfill the prime obligation to the household, one based on affection and responsibility toward the family. The migrant is simply part of a spatially extended household that is reducing the risk of impoverishment by diversifying across several activities viewed this way, migration is a family decision. The migrant uses established networks, *biradri* and territorial affiliations for seeking emigration, potential employment opportunities in foreign country and the transfer of funds and other resources back to the village. Emigrants are expected to fulfill their kinship obligation by extending material support to their families especially to the very old, very young, wives, parents and the destitute.

The migrants have appointed their recipient to deal with the remittance send by them. These appointees are usually the brother, son, father or wife of the migrants. The migrants are informed on phone or through other migrants for the occasional, accidental and regular household's needs. The migrants are also requested for the nominal amount of the money within a due duration. The migrants send the money through various channels and inform the recipient on phone. The arrival of remittances provides a chance to the recipient to have a

sigh of relief and decides the preference of expenses. If someone in the village is in dire needs, he or she makes the phone call to their honorable migrants. In turn, the migrant will inform his heir to grant a sum of money to the person in crises. The migrants on holidays are specially visited by the poor villagers in expectation to receive a gift or an amount of cash. The migrants are repeatedly inquired about their amount of earnings in foreign countries so that the villagers could set their expectations towards them; failing to meet these expenses, the migrants and their families would lose their repute. In order to counter these conflicting situations, the migrants used to make blame excuse or justifiable arguments.

The migrant's income is also inquired through other migrants by their competitors. The villager's expectations towards migrants and the migrant's acceptance to their liabilities have raised a competition among the migrants to sustain their reputation among the villagers. The migrants contributing tin the village's affairs are honored among the villagers and they are specially counted on ceremonial occasions, their arrival in the village is marked with invitations and memorable events rather the less contributing migrants are considered misers and they are not given any importance in the village which sometimes leads them towards isolation.

The arrival of remittances on a large scale soon begins to upset the local social structure and status of the household members in the village. The vast majority of those who made up the early waves of village's emigrants were young males from households of middle socioeconomic rank within the villages.

The majority of migrants are younger than age late 20s and early 30s, and likely to be the oldest son of the household, and receiving households are therefore more likely to be led by older relatives, usually parents or grandparents. Funds remitted are often used on education of siblings and children who may also migrate eventually, or on the health needs of elderly relatives, ceremonial and accidental events, political and welfare services business, purchasing saving certificate, purchasing insurance policy, keeping foreign currency, purchasing jewelry, serving occasional feasts, reciprocity on life cycle ceremonies, repayment of loan, body ornamentation and personality grooming, dress, food and construction of palatial houses. Indeed, the provision of health, education

and construction of a house is frequently a large factor in the motivation to migrate.

Families with access to such transnational links soon become massively advantaged; disrupting established socioeconomic hierarchies in their village, while the poorest families drew on their links with more affluent patrons, who were often willing to facilitate their clients' sons' passage overseas. Thus the reconfigured patterns of wealth and status in the village caused by the arrival of remittances were themselves a powerful spur to further emigration and the resulting processes of chain migration.

As the village is heavily dependent on remittances, a culture of dependency often sets in. In a variety of contexts it has been observed that household members simply stop working and wait from month to month for the overseas remittance. Young men of the village prefer to remain unemployed and wait for the possibility that they themselves will migrate. Remittance is one of the most visible and beneficial aspect of the way in which international migration has reshaped the village's socio economic structure.

The flow of remittance itself is dependent on the type of migrant whether a person is a permanent settler, (removals) or comprises of a single individual gone abroad. Therefore, among the permanent settlers including the one's in which the whole family or most of the family members have migrated have a much lower rate of utilization of remittance as compared to those who have only member migrated to England. This is due to the fact that permanent removals in the form of whole family settled in England are comparatively less in number than the singly migrated one's. Similarly, the flow of remittance back home is also higher among those families which have one person gone abroad.

Remittance is one of the most visible and beneficial aspect of the way in which the mass migration has reshaped the village's socio economic structure. The community life has lost its significance due to the emigration of young people of the community. The collective communal tasks are now performed on labor; the heavy tasks are either mechanized or abandoned at all. Migrants tend to send their children in English medium quality educational institutions. Genderdiscrimination in terms of education attainment has abolished and female formal education is given due importance in the present scenario. The absence of father has affected the education of migrant's children both positively and

negatively, the children of migrants with educated mothers are more confident and successful in educational attainment whereas the children with uneducated mothers have spoiled. The previously poor, marginalized, backward and isolated village has turned into modern, well established village after the emerging trends of emigration and relative flow of remittances.

As a result of mass migration the family structure is adversely affected, aged parents and children are left behind who remained under frustration and depression in the absence of young people of the household. A number of migrants have established their new household due to the frequent conflicts over the remittances and many others have settled their families in the city. In this way the family have bifurcated into three parts; the migrant(s) in foreign countries, migrant's wife, small children and old parents in the village; migrant's school going children along with his brother, brother's wife and children in the city. The basic underlying theme behind such family separation is the migrant's desire for the education of his children.

In the old days, the village used to have frequent conflicts over the land, water resources and community grazing pastures, because the land and cattle were a major source of subsistence. The other main reason of community conflicts was the marriage alliances, because endogamy was strictly practiced and the villagers had limited choices.

As a result of the emigration of the young people of the village and the change in the patterns of subsistence significant decline in the intra-village conflicts have been observed for the last few years. Mass migration from the village has opened up the eyes of the villagers to perceive the outer world and capture global experiences who were otherwise no aware of the outer world beyond village boundaries.

The inclinations of the villagers towards religion has changed, the villagers have become more liberal and less inclined towards religious practices. Although a lot of remittance is utilized on the construction of mosques but the number of the people offering prayer has decreased. The magic and sorcery was a major source of curing socio-economic and psychological problems in the past but the dependency over the magic and sorcery have decreased after the mass migration from the village.

The emerging trends of the emigration has introduced significant changes in the language, many English words are frequently used and understood as substitute to the local words.

The mass emigration and remittances flow has lead towards significant changes in the celebration of life cycle ceremonies in the village. Mostly the leader of the village used to decide the marriage proposal with the assistance of the head of the household, mostly the grandfather; and the families and the couples had to obey the decision. There was no opportunity for refusal and the offenders had to face consequences. The elders were of the view that females should not be given a chance to select a spouse for them because it would spread vulgarity in the society and disturb the equilibrium in the community. Most often the spouses were decided at their earlier childhood when they did not even know about themselves.

As an affect of mass migration lot of changes has been taken place in the pattern of spouse selection. The role of village leader and grandparents has decreased in making marriage proposal.

The refusal on the part of young one's is not considered bad rather other suitable matches are explored soon after. Females are given equal chance to speak about their choice and refusal. Once matched couples can be rematches as there are no restrictions in this regard and the emigration of a number of young people is ensured in this way. The dowry and jewelry composition has changed from simple to modern, stylish and expansive stuff. A lot of remittances are utilized on purchasing such a modern stuff and meat the cost of variety of dishes in feast. The health care patterns have also changed, in earlier practices either the traditional healers were consulted or the remedies were applied to cure the diseases but nowadays the specialist doctors and modern hospitals are consulted. Many of the migrants of the area have established private clinics and equipped hospitals that provide welfare along with business activity. Migration has affected the status of various ethnic groups of the village. A number villager, belonging to low professional castes has changed their castes to mark the upward social mobility as a result of their emigration. The traditional socio-political and ethnic hierarchy of the village has altered with modern practices. The village head and the influential figures are not respected for their political background because the remittances have enabled the emancipation of

individuals belonging to socially and ethnically subaltern groups. In old days the villagers used to pick up heavy stuff either on donkeys or over their heads but nowadays even the small stuff are no carried out. Almost every household have at least one vehicle so that the bits and pieces are carried out in the vehicles. Women of the migrant's households have become more prosperous, more authoritative and involve in the household's decisions. The remittance flow and decreasing dependency over the traditional subsistence patterns have liberated the women from the heavy tasks, now they are only supposed to rear the children and care the aged in the household. Irrespective of all the facilities the women have to face loneliness, insecure and overburdened of children's care and managing everydayhousehold's chores. The cultural construction of feminity and masculinity has also vanished. The migrant's wives have opened bank accounts and deal with the remittances and purchase the stuff from the market.

The wives of the migrants, who receive remittances, send by their husband from foreign countries are seems to have; full autonomy in the family, play managerial roles in financial and other household activities, have an opportunity for dealing outside of the house and be fully aware of children's health education food and social security. They are found to be more confident and courageous than those who don't have this opportunity.

The improvement in their financial status has lead them to inculcate constructive thinking and positive personality traits. Due to the advancement in their financial status, their nutritional status, dress patterns and living standard has raised significantly. The vision of the villagers has been broadened because they have travelled over a number of countries. Under these circumstances; the villagers self-concept, self-image and self-esteem has been elevated significantly. The traditional, pessimistic and narrow minded villagers have turned very optimistic, generous, literate, open-minded and liberal.

Migrants from the village, living out of the country, obtain up-to-date thoughts, awareness, customs, norms and values. Thus, the migrants experience changes in their savor, enthusiasm, habits and lifestyle. When these migrants returned to the village, they disseminate these thoughts among the family and community members which has resulted a significant changes in the norms, values and ideas of the villagers. Mass migration from the village has resulted into change in the

child rearing practices. As the men have fully taken over the economic responsibilities; the women stayed conscientious to children's care. Due to the change in subsistence patterns, the women have abandoned to play many traditional roles so that they could rear the children with more care and affection.

Differences emerge between elders and youth concerning the significance of cultural and every day households' matters. Migration has intensified inter-generational conflicts. The children brought up in new socio-cultural setup often feel constraints by the old practices and values, conflicts arises over a variety of issues; over discipline, over freedom to date, hang out with friends, on blasting loud music, on getting ornamentation, dress patterns and over the parent's pressure to marry a particular person within baladri and/or family all these issues lead towards generation gap.

The flow of the big amount of remittances towards the wives has loosened the control of migrant's parents over the migrant's children. The grand children don't consider the authority of grandparents and any influence from them is directly communicated with migrant who control the situation by making a phone call to the either side.

The emigrant has built deluxe houses in the villages but in some cases there are usually no residents in these palatial houses. Though settled in Britain the expatriates have built these huge houses as a mark of social status and prestige. Most emigrants visit their native areas during holidays or on occasions such as, anniversary of late parent's weddings, funerals, festival and Eid.

In the earlier days, the majority of houses (99%) were katcha, some even present cottage like outlook, there was not a single house that could be considered as completely pakka. Only the village's head's house was semi pakka. The houses were constructed with frequently available stones and wood and the walls were pasted with clay.

After the emergence of emigration trends the housing construction is the migrants' first investment priority, not only to relieve off the suffocation that they had ever felt in their old houses, but to accommodate the expanding families. Moreover the big houses have become a status symbol because the

migrants who had not constructed a house after a long stay abroad, is considered as *nalaiq* (unsuccessful) so it has become a trend among the migrants to construct a house at first priority and then perform the other tasks at a later stage.

In the bitter days, every one even receives a *taki* (half-bread) for one meal. In the earlier days, almost all the food stuff was derived from horticultural and dairy products. Nowadays, the food is frequently available, as it is the outcome of the emigration and frequent flow of remittances. Almost everything is purchased from the bazaar. The villagers are no more dependent upon the horticultural farming and cattle herding. Refrigerators remain filled with vegetables, fruits, juice, beverages, sweets, yogurt, meat, chicken and milk; all the times. These edible substances are heavily consumed in the migrant's households and guests are served as well.

In earlier days every member of the household used to have only one suit that was worn round the year. Nowadays a large amount of remittances is spent over the clothes and cosmetics, especially the ceremonial occasions are accompanied with new clothes and a pair of shoes, which was impossible for the villagers in their earlier days. Many people don't even know the exact number of the suits under their usage at present.

In the earlier days, the amusement and recreation patterns were quite simple but more attractive and extroverted in terms of its social value. These patterns were angrily affected by the presence of the Cease Fire Line on the land of Jammu and Kashmir

Nowadays, the occasions of amusement and recreation are arranged by spending huge amounts of money. The singing gathering is organized in addition to the marriage ceremony or on the arrival of a migrant of the village. On this occasion folk singers are hired, advertisement of the ceremony is made through banners to gather a large number of audiences. The migrants' names and their destinations are specially mentioned over the banners. Special seating arrangements are made in the open-air and the stage is decorated with glittering lights. All the participants are served with food and afterward the ceremony is initiated, the arrival of the folk singers is warmly welcomed. A special sound system is installed on the stage. During the processing of the program various demands are made on behalf of the migrants. The names and destinations of migrants are specially counted at various stages and lyrics are being sung for them. The

processing of the program is recorded with digital cameras. Various taunts, desires (for emigration to England) and aspiration of the participants are expressed in lyrics on the tune of musical instruments. At emotional stages of the program, currency notes are blatantly showered over the singers. The program lasts till the late night. The recorded programs are launched in the bazaar and the original copies are taken by the migrant to their country of destination. The excellent performers are popularized through various channels so that they are invited on the upcoming events of similar nature.

Besides these singing gatherings, various tournaments of volleyball and cricket are organized in the reputation of a migrant. The tournament continues for several days, in the final ceremony migrant(s) are invited to give the price to the excellent performers. Moreover, the dog fighting is occasionally organized so that the migrants' along with their dog can take part in the contest in order to invigorate their early memories.

The flow of remittances has left enormous impacts on both at household and community level. The villager's consumption patterns have improved and the quality and quantity of dress has gained superior touch after the frequent receiving of money from the foreign countries. Ever since the male of the house has migrated, the food patterns and the quality of foods in their households has changed and they have started eating meat, eggs, poultry and dairy products quite frequently even they used to purchase these eatables from the poor neighborhood.

The traditional economic exchange i.e. kind for kind and service for service has been replaced by the heavy flow of cash to the village. In the earlier day none of the household was self-sufficient in terms of its needs, every individual and household was dependent upon others for the fulfillment of its needs.

The remittance flow has not only enabled the villager to release them out the bond of interdependence rather all the reciprocal system based on the exchange of goods and services have been replaced with cash.

While the migration has brought several advantages to the life of the villagers; it has brought some adverse effect on the village and villagers. This has been made possible by the increase in the mobility of the migrant's families. The family members now feel that the basic necessities cannot be fulfilled within the limited environment of the village and thus they started moving from village to

the town, leaving their relatives in the village; that has weakened the bonds of brotherhood and integration.

The migration from Dhana indicates the process of social change altering the structural as well as the functional parts of its organizational set-up. Push and pull factors combining their essence for the local people to be forced to adopt new economic opportunities in foreign countries and send remittances for altruistic motives, self interest motives, family contracts for loan repayment and risks and income diversification. Ultimately the emerging trends of emigration and frequent flow of remittances have absolutely altered the entire traditional picture of the village into the modern one.

Recommendations

This research is individually conducted in a specific area with academic purpose under the Department of Anthropology Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. This research has explored the following recommendations. However, other research institutes may conduct separate and specified types of research in the same area with diverse purpose and necessitate for their actions.

- The findings of this study will be particularly useful to increase the understanding of emigration and remittance patterns of Kashmiri migrants sending community. It will clarify the controversies in the literature regarding determinants of emigration and remittance behavior; and provide valuable insight into the individual, social and economic context in which emigration is taken out and remittances are sent in. The results of this study may also be useful for current and future policy makers. By developing policies that take into account the villager's emigration and remitting behavior. In this way the governments can increase the multiplier effects of remittances and therefore, narrow the gap between remittances and development. Moreover, by understanding the social consequences of migration—such as isolation and discrimination—policy makers, government and civil society can develop support programs for migrants and their families left behind.
- The government's labour friendly policies can facilitate the emigration. The migrated worker will send remittances to their left behind families and it will encourage remittances for longer-term growth and income security.
- The saving can be mobilized through the foreign remittances in the country. Therefore, Government must streamline the saving schemes in the area of origin to attract the foreign remittances.
- The authorities concerning with Overseas Kashmiris should provide investment guidance to migrants for release of information on the available credit facilities, savings schemes and business advisory

services. Business counseling should also be provided to the migrant workers for establishing domestic business in productive sectors.

- The migrants have to come into contact with culturally distinct and diverse groups, so that the people intended to seek emigration should be trained enough to maintain and promote their language and culture. These people should also be trained in the language and laws and regulations of the destination. They should always be well aware of the cultural differences and be able to assimilate some degree of long term cultural differences. Similarly he/she would be able to maintain his/her cultural roots in the subsequent generations too, so that the subsequent generation will maintain their connection with the native land and the remittances flow will not be stopped or diverted. In this regard the services of Anthropologists should be hired to sensitize the people regarding the value of the maintenance of their cultural roots and adopt certain degree of differences. This strategy would be helpful to tackle with extremism and abolish the cultural riots.
- Individual decision to emigrate based on rational comparison of the cost and benefits of the migration. The government agencies should explore the cheaper and beneficial opportunities and rapidly channelize the information about the available opportunities to the people intended to seek emigration. The chances of deceives should be minimized to save the lifelong collection of poor villagers.
- All the people seeking emigration should be registered with the central authority of the overseas Kashmiris and every person should be equipped with renewable cards and insurance policy. The card issued by the central authority of overseas Kashmiris will ensure the provision of all the available services for emigrants and the insurance policy will act as a golden handshake at the time of permanent return.
- The lands and possession of the emigrants are frequently occupied by the non-migrants so that the central authority of the overseas Kashmiris should establish its legal branch that would deal with the emigrants' and their families' legal problem without troubling the schedules of the

emigrants. Instead this authority should charge minimal amount for their services from the migrants.

- The migrant's household especially those headed by the migrant's wife become vulnerable in the absence of their male members. The wives of the migrants are exasperated by their in-laws and neighbors in order to extract certain amount of remittances. The wives of the migrants are infuriated in the name of honor and a game of blackmailing continues in the absence of emigrant. The migrant's brother misinformed the migrants regarding the character of their wives in their absence and lead towards the conflicting situation. They some times force the migrants to review their policy towards their house and sometimes the migrants are forced to shift the remittances flow towards his father or brother instead of his wife and children. Under these circumstances the migrant's wives should have an advantage to report their case to the legal affairs of the central authority of overseas Kashmiris. The legal department should not ask for the evidences rather the case should be dealt on sympathetic grounds with the migrants wife. The legal action of the central authority of the overseas Kashmiris in favour of the migrant's wife would uplift the vulnerable segment of the society and provide an opportunity to the migrants to have a sigh of relief from the dual nature of tensions. It would also encourage the migrant's brothers and other dependents to find opportunities for themselves instead of just waiting for the remittances.
- The central authority of the overseas Kashmiris should have its sub-offices in the high emigration areas with trust worthy staff, that would explore the problems of migrant's families through its secret services and provide durable solution to them.
- The central authority of the overseas Kashmiris should have its sub-offices in the foreign countries to offer their service to the migrants in terms of their paper work and dealing in emergency situations. This authority should open small institutions in the major schools in foreign countries and provide a chance to the migrant's children to develop their talent and quality of life by remaining in contact with their cultural roots.

These institutions should impart the knowledge of native culture, folklore and native language in order to facilitate latter return. The similar institutions could be established in the area of origin so that the children of migrants on their occasional return to the village would be able to learn basics about their native land and people. In this regard the services of Anthropologists may be hired by the concerned Authorities for the preparation and implementation of their plan of action

- It is always difficult for migrants with little education, skills and experience to adjust readily to a strange environment. There would be little incentives to change conventional ways of life, the goal to save and send home as much as money would only be possible by retaining low living standard. In this regard the young people should be taught emerging skills and multiple languages instead of traditional subjects so that the young people would meet the present and future demands of emerging skills and be able to easily find opportunities for themselves. These people would not only be a skilful young force but also the civilized and polite ambassadors of our country.
- The central authority of overseas Kashmiris should establish schools for the children of overseas Kashmiris. Theses schools should offer scholarship and awards to the talented children and encourage them to progress for higher studies. These schools should offer free of cost education to the children of late overseas Kashmiris. The emigrants should be mobilized to equip these schools with latest technical instruments and allied need in order to ensure quality education. This strategy will not only adjoined the culture of emigration and the culture of education but also discourage the troublesome opponents of education.
- The central authority of overseas kashmiris should be helpful in shifting the dead bodies of late emigrants, provide legal assistance, offer cheap and quality residential schemes in the close premise of the area of origin, offer pension scheme and provide insurance to the heir of late and disabled emigrants. This authority should establish an active network of emigrant volunteer which would be helpful in emergencies and crises.

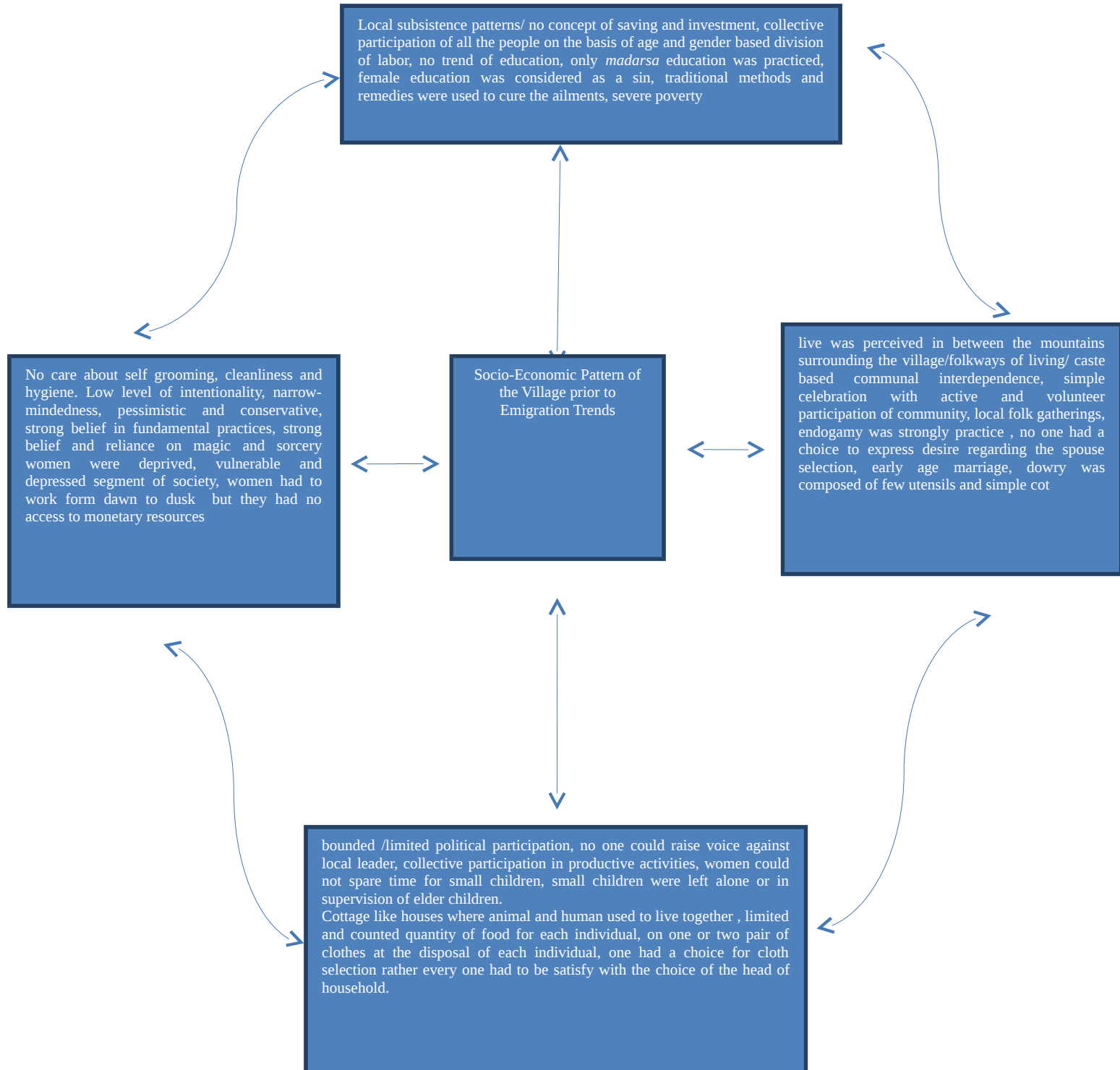
- The government and civil society organization should organize training workshop for local govt. officials, legislators, police/law enforcement agencies emigration officials, bankers, custom officials, etcetera to encourage them to behave politely with all the people especially with the emigrants. In this way the emigrant would fetch a positive image of the society and they will be anxious to return and effectively contribute in the local and national development.
- The government and NGOs should support for rural development in the area to daunt rural to urban migration, enhance the skilled manpower export to reduce the unemployment and increase the inflow of remittances, it would not only be helpful in controlling illegal migration but also motivate the emigrants to contribute in community development, tourism promotion, hotelling and hospitality, improvements in public health, promotion of quality education, sponsorship to the welfare trust and ambulance service and support the social forestry and environmental conservation to retain the natural and social beauty of the area. The emigrants are warmhearted of investing in tourism but the presence of the line of control is a dreadful stain and a great hurdle in the promotion of tourism; the early the bloody line be removed the early it will bring cheerfulness in the area.
- It needs to create a forum of discussion between emigrants on their leaves, return migrants, families of the emigrants, Anthropologist, students of multi-cultural studies, govt. representatives, civil society, social workers and academic community organizations in order to share the perspectives, explore the problems, debate the issues and find innovative, constructive and durable solutions.
- The social commentary and the dramas of this high emigration area revolves around the issues of emigration and remittances, in this regard the Ministry of culture should work for the promotion of cultural exchange program, exhibition, street theater, folk art, innovative cultural activities, socio-cultural activities for the celebration of diversity and dramas to lead the issues in positive ways and minimize the problems

and issues involved in emigration, duration of stay abroad, life after emigration, remittances transfer and the life after permanent return.

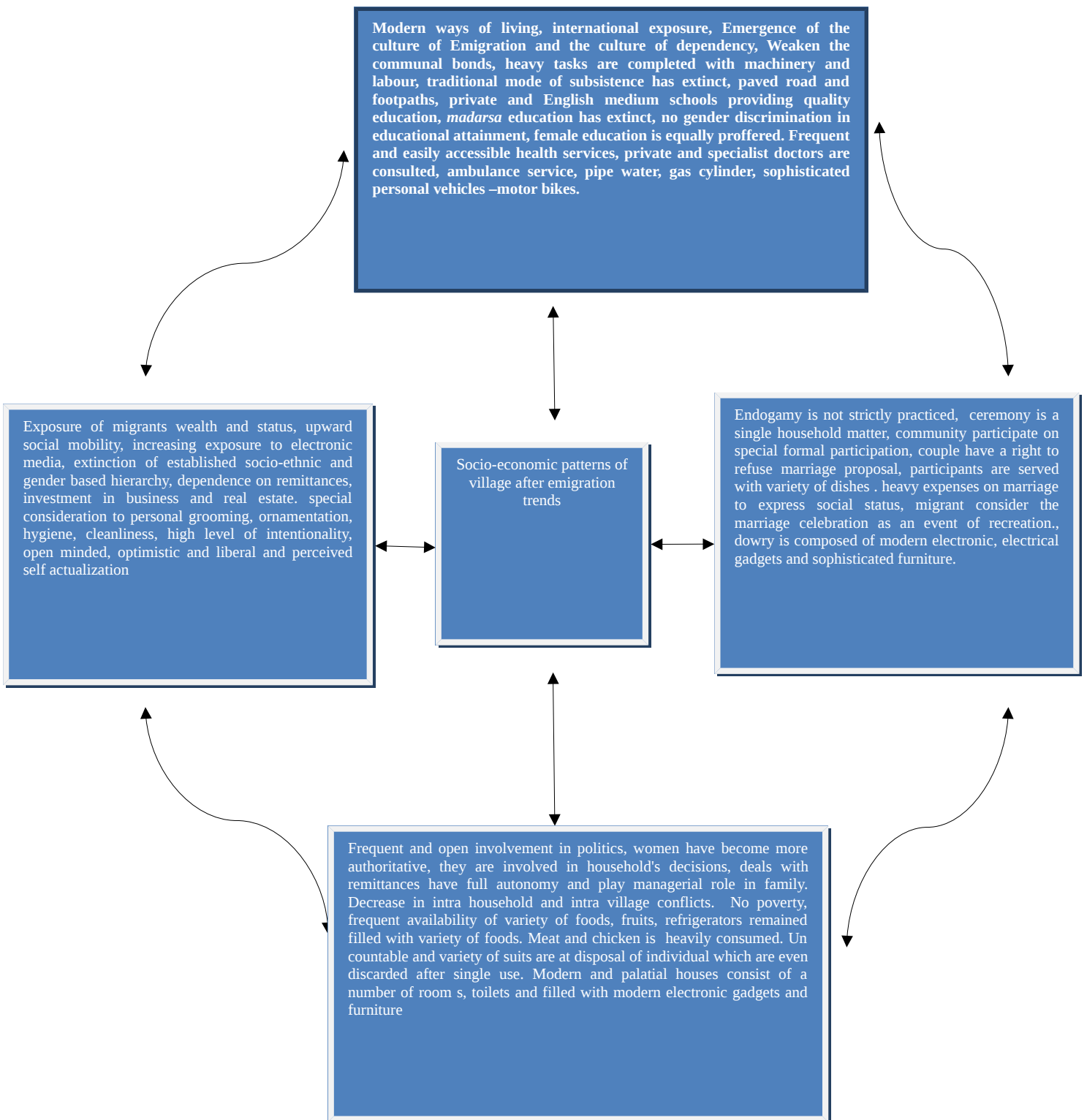
- Civil society organizations, social worker, volunteers, banks, currency exchange and in-line government department should jointly work for the promotion of legal transfer of remittances. The banks and government should launch rewards and benefits for remittances transfer through legal channels, emigrants and the families in the village should be mobilized about the cost and benefits of remittances transfer through legal channels. The banks and other legal agencies should draw the trust of the emigrants and their families through the provision of fast and door-step delivery services than the *hundi* system. The banks should develop fast and easy links with foreign banks to ensure the doorstep collection and immediate transfer. The banks should minimize the cost of transfer and transactions. The banks should also reduce the paper work and complication as much as possible. Favorable and lucrative investment schemes should be introduced by the post office and banks for the emigrants and these schemes should be efficiently publicized.
- All these efforts will be helpful in facilitating and promoting legal emigration, ensure the remittances transfer through legal channel and mobilize the emigrants and their families to effectively and efficiently contribute in the community development. These efforts will also minimize the problems of migrants and their families left behind. These efforts will also be helpful to ensure the contribution of Anthropologist in understanding the multiculturalism and the issues involved in the multi-nature of society so as to encourage harmony, sustainability, tolerance and promote the culture of peace.
- Anthropologists can play a significant role to develop appropriate teaching and learning material on migration and multiculturalism for inclusion in the curricula. This will help promote a positive understanding of cultural diversity and lead to positive attitudes and behavior in the people intended to seek emigration. Thus, the learning and teaching of multiculturalism could be a highly productive experience. The Anthropologists could develop relevant material on

several themes, such as; the appreciation of multicultural identities, especially race and culture, the increased impacts of diverse culture on mainstream society, the need for tolerance of alternative and emerging lifestyle and the teaching of values, all these programs would help the emigrants to quickly assimilate in the new environment and promote harmony and peace around the globe.

Model



Socio-Economic Patterns of the Village Prior To Emigration Trends



Socio-Economic Patterns of the Village after the Emigration Trends

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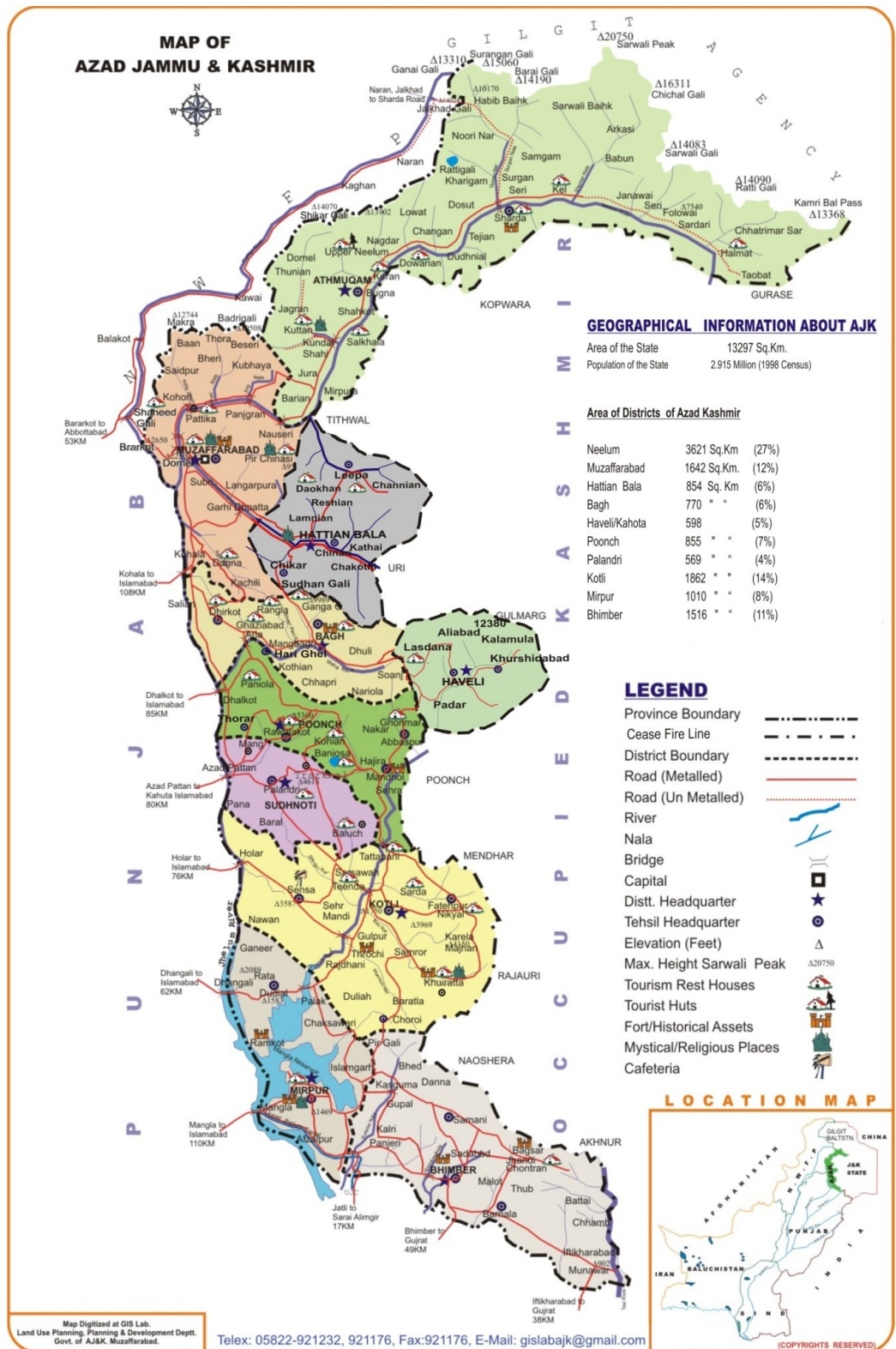
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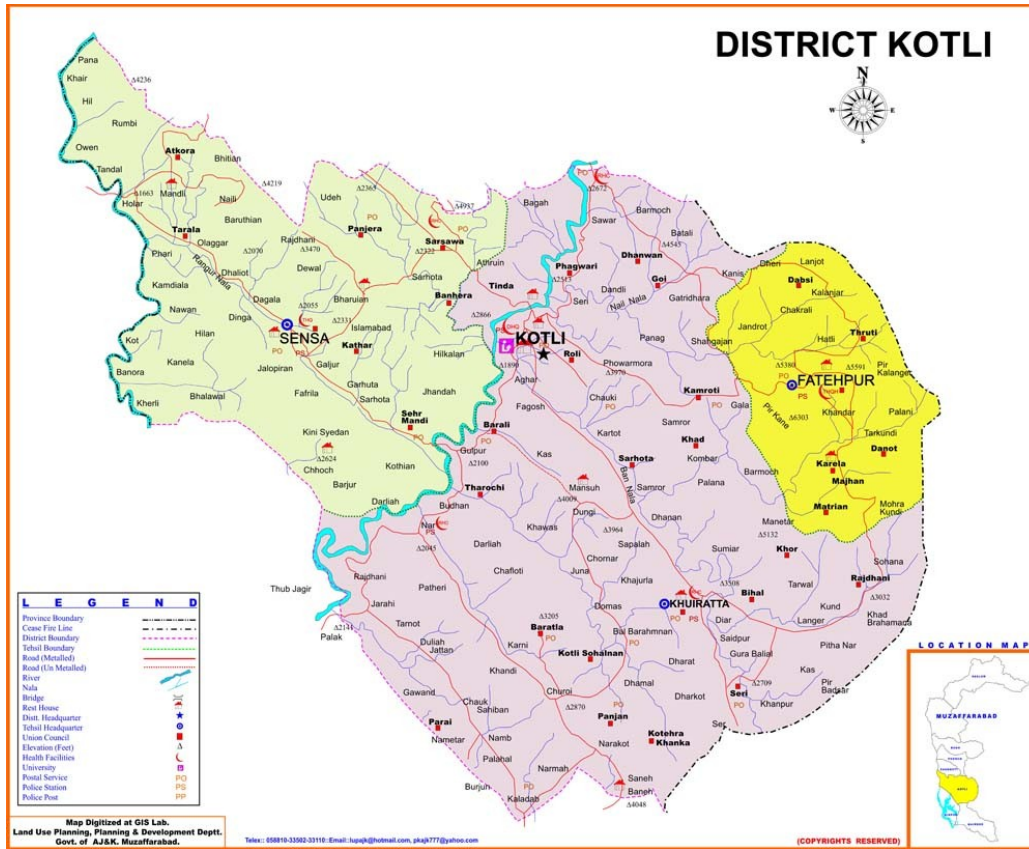
Maps



Map of the state of Jammu & Kashmir



Map of Azad Jammu & Kashmir



Map of District Kotli

Photographs

A few glimpses of modern palatial houses















Depiction of pre and post migration housing conditions



Old patterns of housing (a picture form neighborhood)



A few pictures of local mosques



Emerging dress patterns in the village



Researcher and supervisor during a field visit



Researcher in a local festival



A group of school children



Emerging trend of beauty parlor



Cattle show at Basakhi Mela



Beeni pakarna (wrestling) in a local festival



A view of vadi-e-bannah (Khuiratta) from top of the hill



A view of Qila (fort) Karajai from down



The shrine of Mai Toti Sahiba



A view of the corner of the village



A glance at the different corner of the village



Old patterns of life



Welcome after winning assembly elections 2011



Marriage procession



Advertising for singing competition



A view of a petrol pump



Interview Guide

Emerging trends of Emigration and the Impacts of Remittances utilization

All responses will be treated as strictly confidential. Only the aggregated information will be reported.

Principal Investigator: Muhammad Siddique Chaudhary

Co-Investigator: Not applicable

Department: Anthropology

University: Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad

The main goal of this study is to explore the emerging trends of emigration and the impacts of Remittances utilization. I am interested in four important questions: Why and how the emigration trends have emerged in the village? What are the characteristics of migrants and what are the strategies applied to seek emigration? What are the main purposes or motivations for sending this money? and, What are the significant socio-economic impacts exerted by the emigration and remittances utilization in the village? In this regard I will contact with those household that have at least on migrant member. The head of the migrant' household could be preferably interviewed however under few circumstances other member of household could also respond the interview. The migrants on leaves and the returnees will also be interviewed on priority basis as they are a rich source of information. The diversity of informants has lead me to deign a semi-structured interview guide by concentrating on the central theme of the research.

In order for me examine this issue; I would like to collect some data from you in the form of an interview. This interview will only take about an hour to complete. Then, if you qualify and if you have time, I will ask you if you would like to participate in an interview.

If you feel uncomfortable or are unsure at any time of the process you can refuse to answer a certain questions. Even though there are no immediate benefits for you, your participation is very important. You can help researcher to better understand emigration and remittance behavior among the villagers.

It is very important for you to know that all the information that you give me will be confidential and any reports of the data will be done without identifiers. I will not ask your name. Instead, I will identify you using a fake name in data presentation. While I will not release this information to anybody else, it is important for you to know that my supervisor will also have access to this data. This is important because this person, who knows more than me, needs to make sure that I will do a good job in my research. More specifically, all the information will be helpful in finishing my research and to prepare for potential scholarly publications. Unfortunately, I cannot give you money or anything else in exchange for your participation. This is a way of ensuring that I am not pressuring you to participate in this study.

In order to make sure that you understand the purpose of your participation in this study,

I will ask you if you have any questions or concerns and I will gladly answer those.

Is there any household's member who has ever migrated to any foreign country?

◇-Yes»

◇-No«

If yes then follow the next.

Name of the Respondent (optional)

Age:

Nationality:

Profession/destination:

Marital Status:

Ever migrated? /Destination:

Whether return/reason:

Relation with emigrant (s):

1. How many members of the household have migrated?
2. What is country of destination?
3. In which decade/years the members of your household have migrated.
4. What is the type of the institute/organization in which the migrant is/are working?

◇-Private ◇-Public ◇-Industry◇-Factory ◇-Hotel ◇-Company
◇-Shop ◇-personal business ◇-other (-----)

What was the reason he/she has decided to emigrate?

Who made the decision regarding his/her emigration?

Why this specific destination was preferred for migration?

Who sponsor his/her emigration?

What was the strategy applied to seek emigration and what was the nature of visa?

What was emigrant's relation with the person sponsored him/her?

How many villagers he/she has sponsored so far?

What is the total period of emigrant's stay in foreign country since his first departure?

What is the emigrants' aggregate income (Annual)?

Whether he is intended to come back in future or not? Reason?

What major circumstances have led the process of emigration from the village?

When the process of emigration started in the village?

What are the factors that accelerated the trends of emigration?

What/who initiated/started emigration at first stage?

What are the factors and causes associated with the practice of chain emigration?

What type of migration has been practiced in your family?

What are the major reasons of the emigration of your family members?

Do you think that either the factors associated with the area of origin pushed the emigrant(s) or the factors associated with the destination pulled the emigrant(s)?

Elaborate few factors associated with either location.

What inspired the emigrants to seek emigration?

Who provided the information regarding the emigration?

Do you think that the earlier emigrants are a major source of inspiration and information regarding the emigration process? If yes how?

Who initiated and finally decided the emigration of your's family member(s)? (Specify the category of relatives or friends)

Do you think that the head of the household possess ultimate authority to decide whom to emigrate, where to migrate and when to emigrate? Elaborate.

Who welcomed and supported the emigrant(s) initial stage in the area of destination?

In your opinion whether the *biradri* and territorial affiliation play significant role in seeking emigration and employment in foreign countries? If yes how?

What are the intentions and aspiration of emigrant(s) at the time of emigration?

Whether the intentions and plans of the emigrant(s) have been fulfilled so far? If yes how and if not why?

What are the future prospects of the emigrant(s)?

What indicators ensure the successfulness or failure of the emigration?

What were the level and the area of the skillfulness of the emigrant(s)?

Whether the skill was learned in preparation of emigration or it became as a way of emigration?

Who guided the emigrant(s) to learn this specific skill in preparation of emigration?

Are you in favor of family bifurcation as a consequence of emigration?

Whether all people should migrate?

Whether some people should migrate and some should stay behind?

Whether some people should emigrate, other should migrate to the nearby city and a few should emigrate to foreign countries?

What are the causes and intentions behind such family bifurcation?

What are the phases of emigration in the village/in your family?

Whether the phases of emigration run in the following way or with alternative combinations?

- o Labor Migration
- o Family Reunion
- o Marriage Migration
- o Chain Migration

What are the major sources of visa/emigration the villagers ever applied/applying to seek emigration?

What is the most preferred source the villagers apply to seek emigration? Why?

Do you think that the emigration promoted cousin marriage and vice versa?

Elaborate.

Whether the cousin marriage is the best strategy to seek emigration or not?

Who possess the right to decide/match cousins as spouse?

Who/how makes the financial resources to meet the cost of emigration?

Do you think that the community and earlier emigrants are helpful in managing the cost of the emigration? How?

What is/was the ideal age of the emigration in the village/in your family?

Whether the married or unmarried members are preferred to go for emigration? Why?

Whether the educated or uneducated members are preferred to go for emigration? Why?

What are the occupations of emigrants in the foreign countries?

Whether the emigrant(s) are satisfied with their job and status in foreign country? If not, why?

What is/are the sources/level of earnings in the foreign countries?

Whether the family of emigrant(s) is satisfied with the earnings of their emigrants?

Do you feel any difference in pre and post emigration economic conditions of the family?

Do you think that the emigrant(s) have made any contribution in changing the financial status of the family? Elaborate

Whether the emigrant(s) send remittances to the family in the village?

Why does the emigrant(s) transfer money to the village?

Do you think that the emigrants in the Middle East send more remittances than the European emigrants? If yes, what is the reason?

What mostly composes of remittances? Elaborate

What 'in kind remittances' you have received since the emigration of your family member?

What are the favorite 'in kind remittances' for both the family and the emigrant?

What are the reasons for such favour?

How much remittances are monthly/occasionally has been send to the family?

Who receive remittances in the family?

How do you think remittances send by the migrant(s) have helped household?

What do you think would happen if the migrant (s) member of your household stopped transferring money home?

What is the reason for any specific person appointed to receive remittances?

What the major channels/methods are used to send/receive remittances?

What are the major reasons for the preferences of any specific channel/method?

What are your opinions about/experiences with this specific method?

Who decide the utilization of remittances in the family?

Whether the emigrant(s) directs the remittances utilization/distribution/saving and investment?

Do you think that the remittances flow have created harmony/rift in the household? How?

How the remittances demands are communicated with the emigrants?

Do the migrant(s) know how all the remittances money is spent or used?

Does the migrant(s) agree with the way the money is spent or used?

Does the amount of money that the migrant(s) transfer home vary?

- a. Why does it vary?
- b. Why does it not vary?

Whatever the migrant(s) earn, do you feel that he is sending enough money?

- a. Would you expect more?
- b. Do you think that they already send enough?

What are allied source of income in addition to the remittances?

Do you think that the emigration of your family members has diversified family's income sources?

What are the major sources of earning of the returnees of your family?

What are migrant's/your's preferences in terms of remittances utilization? Why?

What are the factors that influence that composition of remittances and direct the remittances utilization?

Do you think that the household's expenditures could be managed without the remittances? If yes-how and if not-why?

Whether the remittances flow has increased/accelerated the household expenditures? Elaborate.

Do you think that the household is totally dependent upon the remittances?

Do you think that the remittances utilization in this way is useful/ useless? How?

What alternative utilizations can ensure the successfulness of the remittance?

What everyday's household's expenditures are made out of remittances?

What occasional/accidental/ceremonial expenditures are made out of remittances?

Do you think that remittances are helpful in rough and tough situation of life?

Do you think that the rough and tough situations could be harsher in the absence of remittances flow?

What luxuries are purchased with remittances?

What types of agricultural expenses are extracted out of remittances?

What types of educational expenses are fulfilled with remittances?

Elaborate the full description of remittances utilization after the emigration of your family member(s)? (Check all that apply)

- Food, clothing, etc.
- Education
- Health
- Pay debt
- Accumulate savings
- Parties, vacations
- Ceremonial occasions (child birth, marriage, death)
- Improve family home
- Build or buy a home
- Buy land or plot
- Establish or expand a business
- Buy a vehicle
- Buy appliances (like TV, stoves, etc.)
- Accidental occasions
- Other-----

In your opinion what household's expenditures and tasks could remain unfulfilled without the flow of remittances?

Do you think that remittances flow has raised the living standard of your family? How?

What are the factors that direct the investment behaviour of emigrant/family?

What are the major priority areas of investment?

What are reasons for such priority areas of investment?

Who/what guide/directs the investment patterns?

How do the earnings of emigration and remittances flow affected the household and village.

What economic, social, demographic environmental and political factors have been changed as a result of emigration?

Do you think that the village represents a culture of emigration? If yes how?

Have you ever observed the villagers selling their precious assets to seek emigration?

- o Land
- o Cattle/livestock
- o Jewelry
- o Property

- o Shop/business
- o Any other-----

What factors gave rise to the culture of emigration?

Do you think that non-migrants feel deprivation of staying behind? If yes how and why?

How do the villagers perceive emigration?

What is the common stuff the migrants prefer to fetch back?

Do you think that the foreign stuff possess any value for the villagers? If yes, what are the reasons?

Do you think that migration have changed the cognition and perception of the villagers? Elaborate.

What are the difficulties, the migrant's families have to face in the absence of their young members?

How the household chores are managed in the absence of migrants?

What is the most preferred destination for emigration?

What are the reasons for such preferences?

What are the major difficulties the emigrants have to face in seeking emigration?

What are the risks involved in the emigration process?

How does the caring of elderly people is managed in he absences of emigrant(s)?

Do you think that the welfare of aging is tied to the flow of remittances? How?

Do you think that the remittances utilization has disdain the wages and labor practices in the village? If yes how?

What expectations are fulfilled by remittances on either side?

What is the major age group of the emigrants?

What are the reasons for such age preference for emigration?

How does the community life is effected with the mass migration and frequent flow of remittances?

Have you observed any positive or negative influence on the community life as a result of emigration?

Do you feel that communal bonds and interdependence have loosened due to the mass emigration? How?

Does emigration and remittances exerted any positive and negative influence on the education of the children?

Do you think that the migrants prefer modern and English medium schools for their children? If yes why?

Do you think that the trends and patterns of education have improved as a result of mass emigration? How?

Do you think that the gender based discrimination in terms of education provision have abolished after emigration? How?

Do you think that the trends of female formal education have improved after emigration?

Do you think that the children of migrants are taking interests in their education? If yes, how? If not, why?

Do you think that the children of migrants have been spoiled because of father's absenteeism?

In your opinion what are the major impacts of father absenteeism on education and behaviour of children?

Do you feel any difference in the past and present situation of the village's infrastructure?

In your opinion what changes have been brought in village's infrastructure?

In your opinion what are the major causes of such changes?

Did you spend/witness any utilization of remittances on social welfare/community development program?

◆-Foot path/Road construction ◆-Improvement in health facility

◆-Improvement in education facility ◆-Water supply and sanitation

◆-Any other-----

Have you ever seen any social and communal project completed by emigrants?

Detail

What are the reason behind the migrant's preferences for utilization on social welfare and community development?

Who receive remittances in nuclear and extended families?

Who decide/administer the utilization of remittances in nuclear and extended households?

In your opinion what positive and negative impacts were exerted by the remittances on family system?

Do you think that remittances flow has lead toward family disintegration/bifurcation?

Have you ever felt/observed any positive or negative influence on inter familial and village's conflicts? Elaborate

What were the issues of conflicts in the past and what are the issues of conflicts at present?

In your opinion, whether the ratio of conflicts has increased/decreased after the mass emigration?

In your opinion, what are the causes of such changes in the patterns of conflicts?

Have you ever felt any change in the religious association of the villagers after the mass migration? Brief

Have you ever felt any change in the people's belief about the magic and sorcery? Brief.

Have you ever felt any change in the linguistic patterns of the villagers after the mass emigration? Brief

Have you ever felt any change in marriage pattern of the villagers for the last few years? Brief

Have you ever felt any change in the marriage patterns in terms of the following?

- o Procedures and patterns of spouse selection
- o Rules of the selection of spouse
- o Expression of consent
- o Rights to the expression of acceptance and rejection
- o Preferences of either side
- o Ideal age of either spouse at the time of wedlock
- o Celebration of marriage/marital arrangements
- o Consideration to the socio-economic and physical attributes of either spouse
- o Relation of both families before and after marriage
- o Patterns of invitation on marriage
- o Residence after marriage
- o Expenditures on marriage
- o Dowry composition/practices

o Feast/ patterns of serving feast

Have you ever felt any change in the practices on the occasion of death?

Elaborate

Have you ever felt any change in the patterns of funeral/burial/ condolence practices for the last few years? Brief

Have you ever felt any change in the child birth celebration for the last few years? Elaborate

Have you ever felt any change in the patterns of *pahaji* system?

On birth

On marriage

On death

Have you ever felt any change in the health care/medical treatment for the last few years? Elaborate few patterns of treatments in the past and their alternatives at present.

Do you think that migrant's families utilize more on seeking health treatments?

Have you ever observed any changes in the inter-ethnic relations of the villagers? Elaborate

What are the impacts of mass migration on women? Brief

Do you think that migrant's women are?

- More prosperous
- Authoritative
- Involved in decision making
- Independent
- Ignored
- Vulnerable
- Deprived
- Dependent
- Alone/insecure

Do you think that the cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity have changed?

Do you think that the mobility and responsibility of the women of the migrant's families have increased/decreased? How?

What do you think, whether the women of the migrant's families are more authoritative in terms of handling

- o Bank account
- o Shopping
- o Children's health and education
- o Nutrition
- o Personality development and body ornamentation
- o Pre and post natal check ups
- o Household's chores

Do you think that the women of the migrant's families are more insecure in the absence of males?

In your opinion, what are the advantages of the emigration for the women?

In your opinion, what are the disadvantages of the emigration for the women?

Do you think that emigration has promoted generation gap?

In your opinion, what negative and positive influences are exerted by emigration and remittances on the inter-generational relations?

In your opinion, what changes have appeared in housing patterns after emigration?

Do you think that migrants prefer to spend more on house construction?

Do you think that the aesthetic and significance attached to housing have changed after emigration?

What are the major reasons of spending more on housing?

Is there any significance attached with palatial houses?

How the modern/primitive houses are perceived in the village?

Do you think that the food patterns of the villagers have changed?

What positive and negative changes you have observed in food patterns of the villagers?

Do you think that the taste and composition of food have changed after mass emigration?

What changes you have ever observed in patterns of serving food?

Have you ever observed any difference in the food patterns of old and young generation of the village?

In your opinion which generation is more careful regarding their diets and food patterns?

Do you feel any difference in the past/present and old/young people's dress patterns after the mass emigration?

In your opinion, what positive/negative changes have been occurred in the dress patterns of the villagers after emigration?

In your opinion which dress patterns were more comfortable, old or modern?

Is there any significance and value attached to the new dress patterns?

What were the general preferences of the villagers in terms of dress patterns in the past?

Have you observed any positive/negative changes in the political system of the village?

What are the general preferences of the villagers in terms of dress patterns at present?

Is there any honor/shame attached with wearing modern/old dresses in the village?

Have the socio-economic and political status of the migrants being raised in the community? Elaborate

Did the community accept the raised political status of the migrants? If yes, how? If not, why?

In your opinion what challenges have been brought by the mass emigration for the traditional socio-political and ethnic hierarchies in the village?

Do you think that new patterns of politics are emerging in the village as a result of mass emigration? How?

Do you think that the villagers are more involved in politics after emigration? How?

Do you think that all the villagers have gained access to cast their vote without any influence? If yes, how? If not, why?

In your opinion what/how new basis of power and politics have emerged in the village?

What were the major recreational activities/opportunities available before the emigration trends?

What are the major recreational activities/opportunities available after the emigration trends?

What are extra-curricular activities of the migrant's children/families?

What are the major causes of such changes in the recreational facilities for the villagers?

What were the personality patterns before the trends of emigration?

What are the personality patterns after the trends of emigration?

What are the major changes you have ever observed in the patterns of personality grooming/development?

Do you think that the migrant's families spend more on personality grooming?

What are the major reasons of spending more on the personality development/grooming?

What were the major patterns of subsistence in the village in old days?

Have you observed any change in the patterns of subsistence for the last few years?

What are the underlying causes of the major changes in the patterns of subsistence?

Do you think that young generation is not inclined towards the old subsistence patterns?

What are the major reasons of the young's distance from their old patterns of subsistence?

Do you think that the old patterns of the subsistence would be abolished with the passage of time?

What are the emerging patterns of subsistence in the village?

What are the causes of the emerging patterns of the subsistence in the village?

In your opinion what positive/negative influences the new patterns of subsistence/earnings exerted over the poverty?

In your opinion, what positive and negative influences the new patterns of subsistence/earnings exerted over caste inter-relationship?

Have the migrants made any progress in their business or in their socio-economic conditions because of emigration and remittances? If yes, how, if not, why?

What are the major problems of the return migrants in the village?

What are the causes of such problems of return migrants?

Did you ever hear about any major fraud occurred for migration in the village?

Brief any incident.

What are the major problems the migrants have ever faced in foreign countries?
 Could you precisely express the impacts of emigration and remittances on the socio-economic patterns of the family/village?

Thanks

I would welcome any comments on the Interview/question in general.

Good bye

Socio-Economic Census Survey Form

Emerging trends of Emigration and the Impacts of Remittances Utilization

(To be administered with Head of Household)

Whether any member of the household has ever migrated to any foreign country?

◇-Yes

◇-No

If yes »

If No«

Socio-Economic and Demographic information of respondent

1	Name of Respondent (optional)					
2	Age					
3	Education					
4	Marital Status	1. Single	2. Married	3. Divorced	4. Widowed	5. Separated
5	Ever migrated	Destination				

	Yes»	No					
6	Present living status in the village	Returned	On regular visit	On Holidays	Non-migrant	Visiting g any ceremony/ Accident/ sickness	other
7	Relations with Emigrant(s)						

Socio-Economic Census Survey Form

Information about Household and income

Information about household's members	Male					Female					Total			
	Below 10 years	11-20	21-40	40-50	50-above	Below 10 years	11-20	21-40	40-50	50-above	M	F		
Total member of household														
Number of the household's members presently migrated														
Number of the household's members permanently returned														
Total														
Household's Monthly Income (all sources)	Agriculture/ Horticulture		Business		Job		Wage labour		Livestock		Remittances		other	Total
Monthly Remittance Consumption	HH Utilities	Education (fee, clothing and pocket money)		Health related consumptions		clothing	Food	Recreation		Social Gatherings		other	Total Monthly Remittances Consumed	
Housing Structure	1. Cemented (RCC, RBC, Brick cemented)						2. Brick/Mud		3. Mix					
Composition of house	Rooms	Latrine	Kitchen	Corridor/ Verandah/ terrace		Boundary wall		No. of floor	lawn	Any other				
How old this house is?	Years													

7-illegal migration 8-other

Socio-Economic Census Survey Form

Household's Accessories

S.No	Household accessories	Availability		Quantity
		1. Yes	2. No	
1	Water supply			
2	Gas Cylinder(s)			
3	Air Condition(s)			
4	Telephone Connection(s)			
5	Computer/Laptop(s)			
6	Television(s)			
7	Radio(s)			
8	DVD/CD player			
9	Internet connection(s)			
10	Dish Antenna(s)			
11	Mobile Phone(s)			
12	Car(s)/ Jeep(s)			
13	Motorcycle(s)			
14	Refrigerator(s)			
15	Washing Machine(s)			

Socio-Economic Census Survey Form

Major utilization/investment of Remittances

S.No	Investments			Monthly Expenditure	
	Utilization & Investment Patterns	Cost	Years	Particulars	A M E
1	Purchase of house			Food Items	
2	Construction of house			Dressing and footwear	
3	Expansion/renovation of house			Cosmetics/Perfumes/Jewelry	
4	Purchase of land			Utility Bills (Electricity, Phone, water, Mobile Phone, Internet)	
5	Purchase of Plot for construction			Transportation and Traveling	
6	Business			Committee/Loan	
7	Bank Deposit/Saving certificate			Social and Ceremonial occasion	
8	Insurance policy			House rent	
9	Jewelry			Health expenses	
10	Prize Bond			School and academy tuition fee	
11	Foreign Currency			Income tax	
12	Life cycle Ritual (marriage)			Community funds	
13	Loan/help to friends/relatives			Recreational Activities	
14	Purchase of Automobile(s)			Repayment of Loans	
15	Expenditures on social and Political activities			Domestic servant	
16	Charity/ Welfare services			Any other	
17	Purchase furniture				
18	Every day needs				
19	Education/health				
20	Any other				

Socio-Economic Census Survey Form

Information about Household's members

S. No	Name	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Ever migrated	Destination	Year (first departure)	Period of emigration	Reason of emigration

Socio-Economic Census Survey Form

Future intentions of emigrants and remittances

S.No	Future intentions				Mode of remittances transfer						Monthly Remittances (In kind)									Who receive remittances/handle bank account						
	Migrated permanently	Come back after completing targets	Come back after visa expiry	Come back after being captured	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		1	2				

Mode of remittances transfer

- 1-Bank
- 2-money transfer company
- 3-By self
- 4-Through other visitors
- 5-Hundi
- 6-Any other-----

Monthly Remittances contribution (in kind)

- 1-Electronics
- 2-Mobile
- 3-jewelary
- 4-Colothes
- 5-Cosmetics
- 6-Luxury items
- 7-computer/ laptop
- 8-gifts
- 9- any other-----

Who receive remittances/ handle bank account

- 1-wife of emigrant
- 2-father of emigrant
- 3-brother of emigrant
- 4-son of emigrant
- 5-any other---