

**Socio-Cultural Practices of Ensuring Marriage Security
Through Watta Satta**

(A Case Study of Chak No 454 District Jhang)



By

Robina Nawaz

Department of Anthropology

Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad

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Robina Nawaz

This thesis is submitted to the Department of Anthropology
Quaid-I- Azam University Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the degree of
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(Department of Anthropology)

Final Approval of Thesis

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Ms. Robina Nawaz. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the Degree of "Master of Philosophy in Anthropology".

Committee:

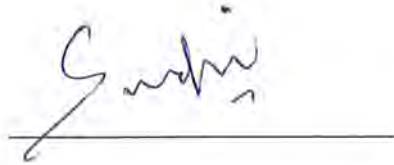
1. Dr. Waheed Chaudhry
Supervisor



2. Dr. Aysha Sheraz
External Examiner



3. Dr. Saadia Abid
In-charge
Department of Anthropology



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Ms. Robina Nawaz

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Dedicate to my father

Behind every great daughter there is a truly amazing DAD

Abstract

The research was conducted in Chak no 454, district Jhang, it examined Socio cultural practices of ensuring marriage security through watta satta. The thesis explored the conceptual understanding of watta satta marriages, highlight the changing determinants of watta satta and explore the merits and demerits of watta satta. Discussion generated across in-depth interviews(N=36) and focus group discussion (N=2).

For the present study purposive sampling strategy was utilized for the selection of respondents. Purposeful sampling takes into consideration "data rich cases". During the enrolment procedure, each member was informed of the idea of the research problem and the time responsibility included. All consented to the terms of the study. The sample comprised of 18 couples. The researcher gathered the information from respondents through interview schedule. Research methodology includes multiple tools like participant observation, in depth interviews, focus group discussion and case studies.

The reason behind this study was to feature this custom of watta satta in a village of locale Jhang. Watta satta is intensely upheld and honed in this town and it has set its underlying foundations top to bottom in this network. This custom in actuality goes back to numerous ages in this network. The people group's survival is currently in view of this custom. They have shaped their qualities and standards such that it has turned into their method of survival. Despite the fact that for an observer looking from outside, this convention may appear to be outdated and even a wrongdoing for a few yet for its residents it is their lifestyle.

The custom is acquainted with the villagers ideal from their youth, they see it being honed in their environment, imbued in them by their predecessors. So they get acquainted with it even before they get into young generation and begin pondering marriage and its prospects. Their contemplations are as of now molded when their senior citizens choose about their destiny and they acknowledge their older folks' decision so as to satisfy them and all the more so their general public.

The custom all in all has its own arrangement of benefits and faults and the system has understanding into it however some way or another they are cheerful in following this tradition. To them the benefits of this custom exceed its inconveniences and the uprightness and survival of this village and community lies in following this tradition.

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1. INTRODUCTION

“Marriages are arranged in heaven and executed on earth. Marriages are bondage between a male and female to live together and raise family”. (Al-Quran)

Marriage is fundamental social institution. It is a period producer, making a person capable individual from the general public. He feels joy in supporting his family. Marriage is a lawful association of man and a woman. It additionally prompts multiplication, which is essential for the progression of humanity.

Marriages are an essential social and comprehensive establishment conceding people to the family. It is just through the medium of relational unions that the sexual relations of a man and woman are sanctioned. Marriage is a standout amongst the most imperative foundation in any general public. It is a period creator after which a man turn into a dependable individual from the general public. It is the lawful association of a man and a lady. It additionally prompts reproduction, which is important for the congruity of any society. Marriage, nonetheless, is certainly not a uniform organization. It rather displays an assortment of structures and examples, each with its own rationale and defense.

The start of an authentic family is set apart by socially and socially adequate lawfully closed association called marriage. The marriage organization is a typical marvel exhibit in each general public; anyway there are challenges characterizing the idea marriage. This trouble to a great extent emerges from the varieties of marriage courses of action that have been seen in various social orders (Okodudu 2010). In perspective of this, Farley (1994) characterized marriage as a socially affirmed game plan, ordinarily between a male and a female that includes a financial and sexual relationship. Beattie (1980), characterized marriage as a joining between a man and a lady with the end goal that the youngsters to the lady are the perceived true blue posterity of the two accomplices. Smith and Preston (1982) on their part conceptualized marriage to be a continuing socially endorsed sexual and monetary connection between no less than two people. A more satisfactory meaning of marriage was by Mike Murdock (1949 cf Ingiabuna et al. 2003) who characterized marriage as the socially endorsed association of a sexual living together match called a couple through which the offspring’s infer their authenticity. (Bohannan, L. (1949). Dahomean)

From the previous, it is deducible that the customary meaning of marriage is that it is a relationship between a man and a woman with the end goal that youngsters destined to the lady are perceived as real posterity of the two guardians. In any case, Okodudu (2010) affirm that the possibility of marriage has changed as of late. In a significant part of the Western

European nations, marriage has been conceptualized as a joining between two consenting grown-ups regardless of their genders with or without endorsement from their folks of family; consequently, same sex relational unions are being contracted today without the likelihood of having youngsters, aside from that it is a connection between two consenting grown-ups that has been perceived by law. Farley, J. (1994)

The most fundamental foundation in any society is the family and it is the social setting into which individuals from a society determine their essential personality. Sociologists have invented diverse meanings of the family and this is attributable to the way that the family has different indications, association and structures in different social orders. One would then be able to discuss different writes or types of family, including essential, secondary, single parent, atomic, and extended (Knuttila 2005).

In this sense hereafter, Mair (1972 cf. Okodudu 2010) characterizes the family as a household gather in which guardians and youngsters live respectively, and in its fundamental frame comprises of a couple and their kids. Duberman and Hartjen (1979 cf. Ingiabuna et al. 2003) characterize a family as a comprehensive foundation whose most critical capacities are to socialize and sustain the more youthful age. To Farly (1994) the family is a gathering of individuals related by heritage, marriage or other conferred sexual relationship, or received and live respectively, shape a financial unit, and back their youngsters (assuming any). Thus, Smith and Preston (1982) characterized the family as a social gathering whose individuals are connected either through normal lineage or marriage and are bound by moral and financial rights and obligations.

From the prior, the different definitions underscored diverse thoughts regarding what the family is, anyway what is striking and cross-cutting in all is that:

i. The family is a gathering of individuals related or associated by bloodline, marriage custom or appropriation ii. They share basic residency. They live respectively. iii. They share conclusions of unity. They see themselves as a unit. iv. They share esteems and obligations. Perform caretaking administrations for others particularly the simple youthful (the institution of family marriage and kinship).

Watta satta marriages are found in relatively every society; the phenomenon of the watta satta marriage is universal in all the marriage composes. In this study researcher centered the watta satta, watta satta have been at the specific essential unit of the organization of marriage in Pakistan and so as to comprehend the conventional societal structure of the nation it is extremely critical to take a look at the wonder of watta satta marriages. The framework does

manage in life partner choice, as well as giving welfare, union arrangement and offer quality to 'Baradari'.

In this thesis, researcher contend that watta satta in provincial Pakistan can assume simply such a part. bride exchange is identified as watta satta (literally, 'give-take'), more often than not includes the synchronous marriage of a sibling sister match from two family units. Remarkably, watta satta now represents about 30% of all marriages in country Pakistan, and is significantly more common in parts of Sindh and southern Punjab province. Watta satta is something other than a trade of girls, be that as it may; it likewise sets up the shadow of shared risk over the relational unions. In this course of action, a spouse who 'abuses' his significant other in certain ways can expect his brother by marriage to counter in-kind against his sister. (Chaudhry, 2006)

The exchange marriage (watta satta), a customary method for marriage especially in provincial zones of Pakistan, is the trading of ladies between two families. In this routine with regards to bartering bride, at the season of marriage, the two families exchange ladies. Bride trade, known as birder in Turkey, badal in Jordon and Palestine and Watta satta or baddo in Pakistan, for the most part includes the simultaneous marriage of a sibling sister match from two family units. (Zhang, 2000)

Watta satta has likewise been archived in southern India, parts of China and, at least in the twentieth century, which appears to have been regular among the Hindus of Punjab too. Early anthropological records wedding trade in some West African social orders additionally bring up the reason "retaliatory" emerges in this archive. Enthusiasm for these cases, is frequently a response to the spouse "wrongdoing" (like letting her better half) that her sibling's marriage suspended.

In watta satta, a sibling and sister are hitched with another couple from another family, regularly close relative. All the more once in a while, uncle-niece match, or two cousins are maybe traded for a home, however this is generally unprecedented, and is just done when kin in fitting age bunches are not accessible.

Specifically, if there is a substantial age distinction between two couples in watta Satta apparently, the second combine may in any case not be hitched and possibly not in some case born. There are additionally cases, however not very many, where the second combine is no more living. Watta satta inbreeding unmistakably encourages producing a twofold bond in a similar two families, yet this is by all accounts the inspiration soul for the arrangement in provincial Pakistan. (Zaman, M. (2008)

Watta satta is more typical among couples who are blood relatives. For instance, first cousin weds a sibling sister watta. The sister in law and their spouses are basically cousins as well. Watta satta gives security to the two families, yet at the opposite end is a twofold edged sword. A spouse who mishandle or abuses his better half in this arrangement can acknowledge his sibling to strike back in kind against his sister. Such proportional terrorizing working crosswise over marriages can be dependable and in this way can defeat useless marital upshots. There is no distinction in the rate of separation or division in watta. In any case, families who include themselves in trades relational unions have a distressing existence as diverge from those of regular single marriages.

In any case, when the relationship in one such couple faces obscurities, the other partner is frequently hurtfully influenced also. As per the perfect example, wedded ladies for exchange are all the more immovably settled to her significant other. Marriage by trade acknowledged to be strong and, however not frequently break, is still viewed as an exemption when the separation.

Watta satta frequently prompt confused circumstances as mishandle, slaps, kicks, punches and blows that are physical manhandle. There is likewise mental manhandle, steady putting down, terrorizing, embarrassment and sex courses. A ladies' response to manhandle is frequently constrained because of lower monetary limit and support, worry for the kids' passionate reliance, pool of training, the help of loved ones. In Pakistan, separate is a social shame of ladies. Manhandled ladies have never educated anybody regarding the mishandle. Zaman, M. (2013).

1.1.Statement of the problem

Watta satta is appealing wherever in Pakistan mainly in Southern Punjab. Its event is because of a few reasons, for example, social, cultural and economic. Family is an exceptionally obvious and fundamental foundation. In rural zones of Pakistan, family is spine of society and marriage is likewise considered as a basic duty of family. In this study, researcher have talked about exchange marriages (locally called as watta satta in Punjab's rustic territory). Watta satta happens in relatively society of the world. In Pakistan the wonder additionally exists, and the proportion of such relational unions in country zones in more than that of urban zones. A chakk in Punjab has been chosen to examine the phenomenon for a superior comprehension of the customary social structure of the nation. Every one of the variables prompting such marriages have been talked about in detail in the up and coming pages.

Choices of relational unions are being finished by the head of family. Conventional social orders generally favored endogamy. This custom of watta satta is a stone-age custom. it isn't loved by a significant number of people yet it is drilled because of different financial and standard reasons. Routine with regards to watta satta is most basic in endogamy as contrast with exogamy. In watta satta Choice of marriage isn't given to the male or female, who will make a family. It comes about separation, partitions and pressures among families. A couple generally neglect to make common comprehension. Most likely watta satta decreases divorce rate however then again it created diverse mental and social issues even socialization of kids additionally influenced. This investigation will assist us with understanding the different variables that are in charge of the act of watta satta.

Development of the disputes is a typical component in such marriages and in this way light has been shed on the ways how the contentions are settled. This investigation centers around compromise in return relational unions. In this study, an effort has been made to discover the reasons for watta satta marriages.

Researcher has likewise attempted to measure how the experiences have influenced the reasoning of the local of the town about the endogamy and watta satta.

1.2. Significance of the study

Now a day's people do have the opinion that the ratio of watta satta marriages has reduced significantly and most of the researches are carried out regarding the reasons for the reduced ratio of watta satta marriages. But belonging to rural area of Sargodha as my hometown and also due to having some friends from the vicinity of Sargodha I was still of the opinion that people haven't still stopped practicing this tradition. As I went to jhang for the initial research I came to know my opinion was true and the ratio of watta satta marriages proved very high over there despite the increased literacy ratio as compared to a decade or two ago. This increased my interest in the topic and I came to know the significance of the topic.

1.3.Hypothesis

Hypothesis are the focal instrument of logical perception. Since the center strategy for logical examination is the correlation of desires against perceptions of the world, researchers need to clarify statements about their desires. A hypothesis is a brief, falsifiable speech that is subjected to observational testing as a major aspect of a logical examination.

Following are the hypothesis considered for the current study.

- Higher the education, lower the watta satta marriages will be.

- Watta satta is a way to ensure security to women.
- Due to watta satta marriages divorce rate is low.
- People do watta satta to strengthen their families.

1.4. Objectives

Objectives are the principle of the research for which a researcher sees to accomplish during his/her hands on work. Objectives are the source and exploration point which are engaged to achieve among the entire investigation. the leading objectives of the research are underneath.

- To explore the conceptual understanding of watta satta marriages.
- To highlight the changing determinants of watta satta.
- To explore the merits and demerits of watta satta.

1.5. Research Methodology

This chapter is basically deals with the in-depth review of the methodology applied for the specific study. Research methodology is basically a systematic plan for conducting research and thereafter theoretical analysis of methods applied by the researcher for explaining and defining a certain theory is called research methodology. Methodology involves selection of methods and techniques used for data collection. Methodology provides a purpose and proper way for selection of observational methods, it assesses data production and relate the data to theoretical framework (Pelto & pelto).

As indicated by Polit and Hungler (2004:233), methodology indicates to methods for acquiring, arranging and breaking down information. researcher choices rely upon the idea of the exploration question. Strategy in research can be thought to be the hypothesis of right logical choices (Karfman as stated in Mouton and Marais 1996:16).

In this methodology technique suggest to how the exploration was done and its coherent grouping. The principle focal point of this examination was the investigation and portrayal of watta satta as a social crime, consequently the exploration approach was subjective. Mouton (1996:35) depicts approach as the methods or techniques for accomplishing something. As per Burns and Grove (2003:488), methodology integrates the outline, setting, test, methodological limitations and the information accumulation and analysis in a study. Henning (2004:36) portrays methodology as sound gathering of techniques that supplement each other and that can fit to convey information and discoveries that will mirror the exploration question and suit the researcher motive. As indicated by Holloway (2005:293),

approach implies a structure of theories and principles on which strategies and methodology are based.

Qualitative approach is logical and interpretive. During the association between the analyst and the research members, the members' reality is found and translated by methods for subjective technique (De Vos 2002:360).

In this examination the researcher utilized phenomenological procedure. Phenomenology is a science whose intention is to depict specific marvels, or the presence of things, as lived encounters (Streubert and Carpenter 2002:56). In any case, phenomenological look into philosophy is hard to clarify in light of the fact that it has no obviously characterized advances. Phenomenologists are of the supposition that the unmistakable meaning of approach tends to restrict researcher innovativeness (Burns and Grove 2003:360).

1.5.1. Qualitative method

Development of concepts which help us to understand social phenomenon in natural (rather than experimental) setting, giving due emphasis to meaning, experience and value of the participants. Pope & Mays (BMJ 1995;311;42-45) This study basically aimed to get an in depth review of Watta Satta marriages being practiced in chakk 454 near Jhang. The basic sampling technique in research methodology required a qualitative rather than quantitative method. Qualitative methods including in-depth interviews and focused group discussions were employed to understand the watta satta.

Qualitative research involves collection of non-numerical data. It involves explanations of concepts, their characteristics and meanings and not to their actual center. It basically focuses on individual experience, belief and production of descriptive data. According to Pope and Mays 1995, "Qualitative research helps to develop concepts in their native and natural settings emphasizing the meaning and experiences of the participant."

There are many advantages of Qualitative data. The subject materials can be assessed in a greater depth. The researcher format adapts to the available data and it is based on individual's own experience.

1.5.2. Selection of research site

The research was carried out in chak # 454 in jhang. I had studied literature about watta satta and heard about this topic from many people in my own village that this is practiced quite extensively in that particular area. One of my close friends in Bachelor's degree married in a watta satta marriage and she subsequently faced many problems in her relationship. I was

heartbroken to see her suffering but she told me that this was a common practice in her village. It was another trigger for me to select this topic on thesis for my MPhil and to understand it in-depth. I thought that I could gather substantial data from this village. I also have the added advantage of my native language Punjabi being spoken in that particular village which was very similar. So it was the most suitable locale for me.

1.5.3. Participant observation

Participant observation is a decent device for subjective information accumulation while going for anthropological field work. It includes living with the locals for long period and attempting to know them by taking part in their regular exercises and occasions (M.K. Dewalt, 2001). I had taken an interest in the villager's day by day routine life in the town. Numerous things were different to me yet as a researcher, understanding the way of life, culture and observations to have a more profound submersion with the villagers was another experience. Furthermore, for that I acutely watched the non-verbal correspondence, their sentiments, the gestures and the non-verbal communication of the villagers while managing the other individuals in various occasions.

1.5.4. Rapport building

The rapport is the relationship between two individuals, the hidden and spoken arguments that say, "we are on the comparative page". It is the best approach to influence someone to feel great, casual and putative. To make a decent rapport individual, it is basic to know how to connect with others by their sex, age, mind-set, ethnic foundation or the circumstance.

Two kinds of rapport are fundamental; the first is with the key informant's or another is with the respondents. Being a researcher, I first form strong bond with the key informant since they resembled a guardian for me. I used to speak with key informant nearly on regular schedule and enlightened them concerning my work. I additionally cleared up their parts in my research and disclosed to them. How they can help me in this investigation. It is on the grounds that rapport is an indivisible factor in fruitful correspondence. The rapport is great when challenges are limited, and likenesses are underlined. While if there should arise an occurrence of no compatibility, great correspondence can't happen.

Another rapport form is compatibility that is worked in the field with the respondents. In any case, we are judge by our looks our outfits, our outward appearances, our stance and method for correspondence among our genuine field work. These decisions ought to for the most part be made inside the causal couple of moments of gatherings. We for the most part judged by how we walk, how we stand, how we shake hands, how we sit, and how we grin.

The researcher took some time to develop a rapport among the villagers. The villagers at first thought that the researcher had come for census. Or she was from Benazir income support programme. People were not very keen to adjust with a new comer in their village. But I tried my best to merge with the local people, I adopted their lifestyle, their food and even dressed up like the local community. I attended their local functions and festivals which led to the community becoming amicable with the researcher. Soon they were comfortable enough to discuss their very important aspect of their life with outsider.

1.5.5.Engaging with the community

Development rapport with a different network is the principal challenge for an anthropologist. It requires determination and being respectful of local traditions and norms. I utilized my local tongue abilities and earlier learning of the local culture of village. Which is being rehearses in chak 454 to familiarize myself with the general population of village. I clarified the reason and focal point of my research to local people, panchayat individuals, my key sources and my underlying contacts in the village.

Figure 1: Interaction with a house wife



Source: field data

1.5.6.Key informants

Key informants are those persons in a research setting who have special knowledge about other people. Surrounding environment and traditions that is in-depth and more detailed than ordinary people and it holds a valuable place in a research work.

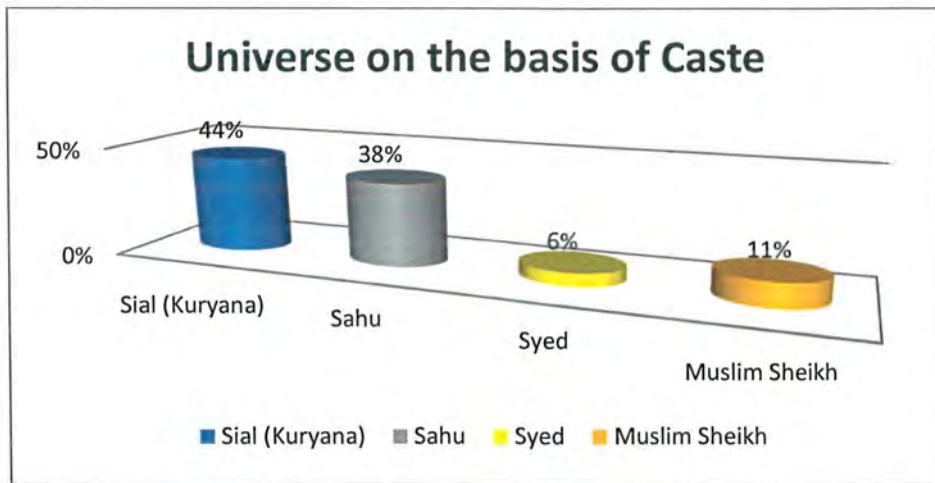
In my research work, I had two key informants. One of them was my close friend and upon her guidance, that I would be able to collect valuable data from her village, I had decided to conduct my research there. She belonged to a resourceful family of that village and also she had grown up there and completed her basic education there so she was well versed with the community. Knew about all the castes and sects prevalent in her village. She gave me an in-depth review about social life and general perception of the people towards watta satta tradition. She was also a victim of this very tradition.

My second key informant, who was a member of Panchaiat. I will tell that in further detail that Panchaiat members hold a special place and dignity in the community. They are regarded due respect. This view enabled me to comprehend the social norms of the villagers and also made it possible for me to understand in detail the demographics and politics involved in their culture. I came to understand the socio-cultural demographics of the villagers and because of their influence the villagers provided me with better and in-depth data about their personal life.

1.6.Data collection procedures

The universe for the present study involved the all wedded individuals who honed watta satta in chak no 454 area jhang. For the present study purposive sampling strategy was utilized for the selection of respondents. Purposeful sampling takes into consideration "data rich cases" (patton,1990). information rich cases consider the researcher to pick up a more profound comprehension about the fundamental issue of the study(Patton.1990). During the enrolment procedure, each member was informed of the idea of the research problem and the time responsibility included. All consented to the terms of the study. The sample comprised of 18 couples. The researcher gathered the information from respondents through interview schedule.

Figure 2: Universe on the basis of caste



Source: Field data

Table 1: Samling technique

Sr. No	Techniques	Respondents	Number
1	Interview	Couples	18
		Panchayat Member	2
		Imam Masjid	1
2	FGDs	Male/Female	2
3	Observation	Family Functions	1

Source: Field data

Table 2: Sampling

Sr. No	Female Interviews	Male Interviews	Panchayat	Imam Masjid	Total
1	18	18	2	1	39

Source: field data

1.6.1. In depth interviews

Interviews are particularly utilized for getting the true and intrigued story behind the encounters of the member. The researcher can follow top to bottom data about the topic. Interviews are helpful as a continuation to numerous respondent's poll, for example, encouraging study on their reactions. (McNamara,1999).

Interviews are normally finished by the researcher in view of what the respondent talks which is much more individual from investigation than studies. In the interview, the researcher works straightforwardly with the questioner. Not at all like overview, the questioner has the opportunity to uncover or request to catch up inquiries. It is normally less demanding for the respondent, especially if what is required is perspectives or impressions. For the most part, interviews are time serious and asset concentrated.

The eye to eye interviews directed in chak 454 have a semi organized nature. Semi-organized interviews enable the researcher to assemble the data of intension with an extra opportunity to gain more from the member. Asking open-ended questionnaire urges the interviewees to talk about viewpoints that are most essential for them. It puts an attention on issue that might be did not at first observed appropriate or vital from the researcher viewpoint, particularly when, as for this situation, the researcher in an outsider with restricted learning. "Qualitative research tends to see social life as far as procedures" (Bryman,2003), consequently the researcher finds subjective, semi-organized interview's to be an ideal instrument to pick up answers for composed inquiries as well as angles, that has not been contemplated before the research.

1.6.2. Focus group discussions

I expected to set up the degree to which the general population could express normal understandings of watta satta and reasons of watta satta in that village and draw put what was striking to various people. Researcher needed to build up the degree to which an open agreement could be come to and having the capacity to highlight the important variables provoking watta satta and how people immediately attracted consideration regarding. Focus groups enabled us to distinguish what is socially satisfactory, which can contrast from what individuals will reveal in one-to-one discussion.

Each group discussion was recorded (with member's consents) and translated in full. The writer read the transcripts, reinforced by listening in to the tapes, and featured themes and perceptions. These were then talked about and checked on in an iterative procedure to improve legitimacy and strength of understandings (JM Morse, 2002).

1.6.3. Case studies

A case study is another critical strategy in the research strategies that is the point by point and complete investigation of a specific person. I utilized this technique for inquire about within the field to investigate the real occasions of the people. I merged the appropriate analyses in my research and discoveries to assemble a relationship to the objectives of my research. It helped me to clarify the main findings. Case studies helped me to discover and gather trustworthy data.

1.6.4. Field notes

I utilized every day dairy strategy amid my field work to express my own emotions in the field and the happenings around. In the wake of finishing my every day hands on work, I used to record my observations and perceptions of the entire day. The day by day journal was so individual to me and I couldn't compose it transparently so I did it in total loneliness. Alongside it I likewise made field notes. Field notes recorded a thick portrayal of what I saw and heard at the time (Geetz C,1973) and possess my considerations, feeling and non-verbal cooperation's. This included exercises and perceptions that would have been missed I simply utilized verbal association



2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature review is a detailed and introduction of the secondary information, identified with the theme of research for explaining the setting of the investigation. It encourages the researcher to have ground data and additionally to continue in look into and investigate changed measurements of the topic under research. Here I have influenced a formerly published work by various researchers and scientists to expand the setting of my study. It is important to create connection between various contentions and to give verifiable point of view of the subject I sorted out optional sources around the thoughts and goals of my examination and have utilized them to support and reinforce my research. It likewise characterizes the ideas, key terms, phrasings and hypothetical structure of the research.

2.1. Concept of marriage

Families are basically mind establishments that differ crosswise over societies and change after some time. Their basic capacity, truly, has been to add to the fundamental monetary survival of relatives; in this manner, the structure of families frequently adjusts to the economy, and social philosophies and laws are made to fortify that adjustment. After some time, social orders develop and turn out to be more mystifying and stratified, and the nature and personal satisfaction among families ends up separated in view of changing economies and the specific position of the family inside the monetary framework. Extensively, social researchers have recognized four noteworthy economies that have existed over the traverse of mankind's history: hunting and gathering, agrarian/rural/modern, and education based economies. Every one of these economies still exist in different parts of the world, and countries frequently have blended economies. Groups or some likeness thereof existed and keep on existing in these economies and, as social establishments, are maybe as old as mankind. Marriage, then again, is a later establishment. Since chasing and assembling social orders existed for centuries, it is very likely that some type of marriage, or if nothing else transitory banding together amongst ladies and men, developed in the early forms of these social orders. In rummaging social orders, be that as it may, marriage as a steady association amongst people likely assumed a lower priority in relation to family ties. In fact, it was participation in the family that best guaranteed physical and monetary survival.

For about two decades, marriage and the family have involved the all-important focal point in a consistently heightening fight over the place of sex in American culture. At the core of this fight are the legitimate meanings of marriage and the family, freedom, and request. The meaning of marriage is less challenged than its history: Marriage has all around been

characterized as a social and legitimate relationship amongst people, Marriage is definitely not an individual issue. It isn't only an organization for the satisfaction of natural needs. It is a social partnership second to none. Whatever possibly the sort of society, it has same inbuilt system for giving authenticity to the sexual needs. In any case, the capacities that marriage establishment performs have diverse needs in various social orders. (Letourneau, , 2016)

2.2.Watta satta marriage

The idea of Watta satta is characterized as exchange marriages. In which marriage of sibling and sister match from two families. These types of marriages for the most part happen in Pakistan. The trade wedding (watta satta), a standard approach of wedding prominently in provincial territories of Pakistan, The trading of ladies between various families. Amid this apply of dealing with exchange of brides, at the season of wedding, every family's exchange brides. Watta satta called beginner in Turkey, badal in Jordon and Palestine and Watta satta or baddo in Islamic Republic of Pakistan, here and there includes the unplanned wedding of a sibling sister attempt from to family units. Watta satta marriage or trade relational unions for the most part unfolded because of social reason and furthermore might be its happen some social and financial reason in light of the fact that in provincial zone generally individuals embrace trade marriage to spare and secure their properties. In Pakistan the southern Punjab we inspect watta satta relational unions for spares and anchors their property resources. Such relational unions are for the most part bargained relational unions and this issue stresses request to see the sights the key purpose of this custom and associated challenges moulded by these kinds of relational unions (Zhang, 2000).

Watta satta are a great deal of normal among couples who are blood relatives. For example, cousin weds a sibling sister watta. The sister in law and their spouses are essentially cousins as well. Trade wedding gives security to every family, anyway at the contrary complete could be an equivocal weapon framework. A spouse WHO mishandle or abuses his accomplice amid this arrangement will agree to his sibling to strike back comparatively against his sister. Such proportional terrorizing agent crosswise over relational unions will be reliable thus will frustrate inefficient wedded upshots. There's no refinement inside the rate of separation or partition in watta satta relational unions and conventional relational unions. Be that as it may, families WHO include themselves in trades relational unions have an attempting existence as refinement with those of normal single-relational unions (Jacoby and Mansuri, 2006).

Watta satta is set of trading ladies between two unique families, wherever the woman and endowment of 1 family is changed for a lady and blessing from another family. This is frequently present in Saudi Arabia and neighbouring nations. This watch is regularly a

strategy to downsize or avoid blessing, and as such is disallowed in Islam. In spite of the fact that it's present in Saudi Arabia. Muhammad is accounted for in Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim to claim previously mentioned "There isn't any Shighar in Islam. (Chaudhry, 2006).

Ahmed delineate that another variation of forced wedding was exchange marriages called "Shighaar" or "watta satta". In such a state of affairs a brother and sister were married off to a different try of siblings. He noted that discord in one family cared-for have an effect on the opposite family (Ahmed, 2003).

Ahmed portray that another variety of constrained wedding was trade marriages called "Shighaar" or "watta satta". In such a situation a sibling and sister were offered to an alternate attempt of kin. He noticed that trouble in one family nurtured affect the contrary family (Ahmed, 2003).

2.3. Watta satta and endogamy

Endogamy is that the apply of wedding at interims a specific gathering, station or gathering, dismissing those from various as prohibited for wedding or other close individual connections. Endogamy is normal in a few societies and ethnic groups. numerous non-common and ethnic non mainstream groups square measure generally a great deal of endogamous, however regularly with the additional measurement of requiring wedding non mainstream change. This permits Associate in Nursing exogamous wedding, in light of the fact that the changeover, by acknowledged the accomplice's confidence, winds up acknowledged at interims the endogamous guidelines (Cheema, 2008).

Zaman, (2011) deal with Exchange relational unions in South Punjab, Pakistan: a sociological investigation of family relationship structure, organization, and representative culture. In look into quickly depict the how watta satta marriage effects on social execution. Analyst conducts study strategy for gathering of information. This examination features every one of these issues that are impact on marriage life. The finding of this examination that watta satta relational unions just impact on work execution and because of overwhelming workload in female it makes psychological instability expanded. The examination closed the outcome that in female house condition assume critical part on their wellbeing. The discoveries demonstrate that much female that submitted watta satta relational unions had emotional wellness issues because of their marital life.

2.4.Social security and Education

Watta satta wedding is a result of numerous reasons as like social, social and monetary. Watta satta relational unions exist in provincial zones of Southern Punjab Asian nation. Such relational unions square measure now and again bargained marriages and this issue requests examination to investigate the most reasons of this convention and associated issues made by it. The specialists perceived the reasons for watta satta and beyond any doubt strategies to manage it. The example of blessing study comprises of every single wedded male and females from Southern Punjab Asian nation. Scientists moreover explored that lack of education and budgetary condition square measure the fundamental driver (Charsley, 2007).

The vast majority of the "WATA SATTA" relational unions are constrained relational unions that the kid and lady uphold while not their need. In advance with "HRCP's report, in Jan 2012, 340 instances of constrained relational unions were recorded inside the nation. For the most part, on account of this training youthful teenaged women wedded to late men that doesn't include her, if a lady, woman or young lady raise her voice against such relational unions she is condemned to death. In future these miss coordinate relational unions fizzle and that they result in the slump conjugal status life. Numerous safe house homes and NGOs are working to take out this ludicrous convention. The Government must assume its part for this reason (Charsley, 2007).

In a setting wherever spouses employ broad great power, styles of wedding should adjust to monitor the interests of young ladies and their families. The creators think about the inescapable wedding custom of watta satta in provincial Pakistan, a lady of the hour trade between families including a common risk of paying back. They demonstrate that watta satta could likewise be a system to arrange the activities of 2 sets of in-laws, everything about Nations office need to control their children in-law anyway who exclusively have the ability to limit their children. The writers' experimental outcomes bolster this read. The likelihood of wedded unskillfulness, as estimated by alienation, residential manhandle, and spouse's psychological state, is impressively lower in watta satta game plans as contrasted and standard relational unions, anyway exclusively once legitimately representing decision (Cheema, 2008).

2.5.Dowry and kinship

The take after of watta satta includes the shared trade of belonging, dispensing with the necessity to supply the blessing as each gathering's square measure in an exceedingly position of fairness and is most likely indented to ensure administration over the treatment of a female

posterity on the grounds that the female posterity of the family might be a very hostage. Anyhow, once the association in one such couple faces obscurities, the contrary accomplice is normally harmfully influenced also. per the best example, wedded women for exchange square measure extra solidly affixed to her better half. Wedding by trade acknowledged to be durable and, although rarely break, stays considered Associate in Nursing special case once the separation (Saeed, 2005).

A mate WHO returns home as an aftereffects of wedded disagreement is viewed as profound disfavour and it's trusted that the watta satta understanding will encourage stop this inside the instance of trade of wedding, the better half will escape inside the compound of his safe house. Be that as it may, if women disclose to her watchman that the sole purpose behind her take-off is that the spouse scrutinizes her, she conceivable has almost no help from him and furthermore the rest of her family (Ahmad, 2003).

Family may raise her to return specifically or endeavour to prevail upon her to return to her better half because of once he includes assert huge amounts of weight will be applied on that in the event that they cannot. No fine will be compulsory to the spouse if the husband is observed to be the culprit. The sole way her watchman will embrace is to allow her separating from that separates combined wedding (Charsley, 2007).

2.6.Watta satta marriages and divorce rate

In Pakistan the way of life of watta satta marriage is extremely regular in connection framework. Individuals receive watta satta relational unions to anchor their properties. In rustic zone of Pakistan watta satta relational unions rate are high examination of urban zone of Pakistan. These kinds of marriage give these clans standardized savings, opposite side of these relational unions are that it makes unsettling influence in two families. Due to watta satta relational unions separated from rate is low. On account of watta satta relational unions on the off chance that one couple have a few issues it impacts on other couple marriage life. In any case, in urban region of Pakistan these kinds of marriage not considered as social wickedness (Saeed, 2005).

2.7.An other perspective of watta satta

Watta satta is also in charge of contentions and stress. Strife between one among the couple keeps the entire family and their partner family underneath intense pressure and has risky effect on logical teach of fogeys and adolescents. Trade relational unions regularly cause complex things as manhandle, slaps, kicks, and punches and blow that square measure physical mishandle. There likewise is mental manhandle, steady deprecating, terrorizing, and

mortification and sex courses. A ladies' response to mishandle is normally confined because of lower financial capacity and support, worry for the kids' enthusiastic reliance, pool of instruction, the help of loved ones. In Islamic Republic of Pakistan, separation might be a social disgrace of young ladies. Manhandled women have not told anybody concerning the mishandle (Chaudhry, 2006).

Mental outcomes of manhandle square measure extra extreme than its physical impacts. The ability of manhandle consumes woman's vanity and puts them at a bigger hazard for assortment of mental issue like dejection, post-awful pressure issue, suicide, whisky, and propensity. Youths witness wedded savagery confront overstated hazard for enthusiastic and conduct issues, together with uneasiness, melancholy, poor school execution, low self-esteem, bad dreams and rebellion. Young men intercommunicate medication and women turn out to be seriously discouraged and by and large totally decline to encourage wedded. Adolescents underneath twelve years have learning enthusiastic and conduct issues practically about six - seven times extra contrasted with youths of no oppressive oldsters. (Niaz, 2004).

Charsley expressed that comparability and similarity between the couple was not just because of sharing substance: the being "of one blood" credited to all individuals from the kinfolk gathering. Ties of family relationship were additionally made, as solid showed for the "procedure of connection" in Malaysia, marriage, feeling and trade made and kept up obligations of relatedness. He brought up that albeit one expectation of a kinfolk marriage may be to reinforce family ties, if strife occurred amongst a couple, and especially in the event that they separated, more extensive connections may end up entangled in the question (Charsley, 2007)

Chaudhry considered the edge of country women towards trade relational unions in locale Jhang. The investigation was directed on a hundred and twenty changed women. The specialists found that over a large portion of the respondents most all around enjoyed trade wedding for antiquated qualities. a gigantic lion's share of the respondents wasn't most all around enjoyed the trade wedding for feeling. The examination extra found that a vast greater part of respondents was agreeable to their girls or children to prompt trade wedding. it had been moreover discovered that dominant part of respondents reputed that their in-laws had unforgiving conduct with them (Chaudhry, 2004).

Jacoby and Mansuri reputed that a favor cluster of social practices around wedding gave the impression to substitute or adjust, at least mostly, for poor social control of marital law. for instance, watta satta was incredibly regular in country Asian country, with more than one of

every 3 women in an exceedingly watta satta wedding. though that watch was wide seen as partialities to women, Associate in Nursing lysis misuse Asian Nation Rural House Hold Survey (PRHS) 2004 incite that a trade of little girls genuinely unnatural mishandle on a piece of either family to a considerable degree. Not exclusively women in watta satta relational unions were less without a doubt to persevere through abusive behaviour at home; they moreover endured significantly less sorrow and marital irritation than women in non watta satta relational unions. it had been so fundamental to separate such without a doubt shielding hones from evident violations like Karo Kari and respect's slaughtering which could be network authorized, normally through appeal to standard lawful foundation. It furthermore explained why standard practices that managed casual insurance, yet flawed, were without a doubt to hold on except if sufficient legitimate discounts were put in situ and were enforceable (Jacob and Mansuri, 2006).

Coomaraswamy found that another standard sees of wedding in south Asia that was brutality towards women was the see of child wedding. In Asian nation four-hundredth of relational unions concerned women beneath the age of fifteen. In Asian country the watta satta wedding was another sort of wedding that befouled the privileges of women. Women turned into a piece of bargain between men. young lady woman young lady was given in wedding to a wedding to a man correspondingly for an extra lady. These antiquated sorts of wedding control along by the prospect of respect's and network profoundly loaded women anyway were in this manner solidly installed in South Asia that except if there was helpful move with the State making the lead, such practices would ne'er change (Coomaraswamy, 2005).

World Bank (2005) reputed that changed wedding may furthermore work an instrument for counteracting blessing resources (from a child) and liabilities (from a girl) inside the parental "asset report". The upside of wedding one's female posterity into one's child "s spouse" s family was that there was no need, generally, to trade blessing resources in any regard. World Bank also reputed that one capability was that some of the "rents" gathering to young ladies whose families were prepared to set up a watta satta wedding may well be seized by their siblings by means of a reallocation of parental moves for children. despite the fact that utilities were dead transferable, notwithstanding, young ladies in watta qualified families would at present offer inside the general riches result.

Sunrise reputed that poor people, country people are constrained their little girls for welfare and protections they require. With respect to young ladies UN organization is additionally constrained into trade relational unions by their people for self-serving motivations to shield arrive property for his or her male. The custom is arranged each to practice some

administration over the money a lady disposes of her family on wedding, and furthermore the amount that comes in together with her sibling's lady of the hour (Bohannon, 1949).

Chaudhry, (2004) directed an examination on Fifteen, female and pushed: changing examples of mental misery after some time. In this exploration investigate all issues that are affected on female family unit work performs on and their wellbeing. This examination centres around female issues that they look in work put female have parcel of work trouble that are profoundly impacted on their wellbeing. The theory of this examination was going to distinguish all causes and factors that are impact on female execution. Specialist chose structure survey and meeting plan for getting data. Review strategy was chosen for check wellbeing execution of females. The finding of this exploration demonstrates that greater part of female had bed execution due to over pressure and work and their conjugal status was bad since they had parcel of family weight and this over work in house and work put exceptionally impact female marriage life. Research likewise offered recommendation to strategies to chip away at female wellbeing and encourages female on and gave them therapeutic permits and free registration.

2.8.Watta satta marriages in Pakistan

What is most exceedingly terrible is that the predominance of watta satta insights at the deficiency of flexibility and regard women hold in Asian country and the way they're viewed as simple wares to be changed for male satisfaction. In our male centric culture, defending one's rights will more often than not be a capital punishment and concern debilitates numerous women to just acknowledge their wrecks while not battling. "It was uncommonly embarrassing for the rights of me to not exclusively haven't any say, in World Health Organization I'm to pay my existence with anyway even be an area of an exchange off with extraordinary care my sibling may understand a superior half,". In Pakistan the way of life of watta satta marriage is extremely normal in family relationship framework. Individuals embrace watta satta relational unions to anchor their properties. In provincial region of Pakistan watta satta relational unions rate are high examination of urban zone of Pakistan. These sorts of marriage give these clans standardized savings, opposite side of these relational unions are that it makes unsettling influence in two families. Due to watta satta relational unions separated from rate is low. On account of watta satta relational unions on the off chance that one couple have a few issues it consequences for other couple marriage life (Cheema, 2008).

As indicated by welfare labourer Mrs Siddiqui, World Health Organization works with distanced and unmarried women in country Asian country as often as possible, the outcome

of 1 undesirable wedding is that the best weakness of watta satta. "Regardless of whether one in every one of the couples is cheerful, the in-laws pressurize the spouse to do by or leave his significant other," she clarifies. "The poor spouse has no option anyway to think to his family and amid this way, not just one anyway 2 relational unions square measure irregular for reasons unknown any. The scientists perceived the reasons for watta satta and certain techniques to control it. (Zaman, 2011).

Hina and Malik, (2015) directed an examination on Pattern of connection and inbreeding coefficient in Sargodha region, Punjab, Pakistan. The exploration cantered that how lady's marriage life determinant her smooth social execution. In watta satta marriage ladies has parcel of weight and weight that ladies who were performing double part were consequently on higher danger of issues like physically unfit, ailing health, and their restorative status. This was a direct result of high employment desire and furthermore the desire from the family which was driving them toward weakness and contrariness over the long haul.

Coomaraswamy, (2005) chip away at The Varied Contours of Violence against Women in South Asia. This examination directed the main vast investigation on the part of ladies on their family and their pregnancy and depended on information from more than 30,000 ladies. The deadly results found were abortion, preterm deliverers, low birth weight causing by extreme physical development and weight lifting, visit bowing and extending and so on. Mainstreaming a sexual orientation point of view into the wellbeing area requires a wide based meaning of wellbeing for ladies and additionally men that address prosperity over the existence cycle and in spaces of both physical and psychological wellness. Mainstreaming a sex point of view should be combined with mainstreaming emotional wellness issues also, on the grounds that ladies lopsidedly experience the ill effects of psychological well-being clutters and are all the more every now and again subject to social makes that lead dysfunctional behaviour and psychosocial trouble.

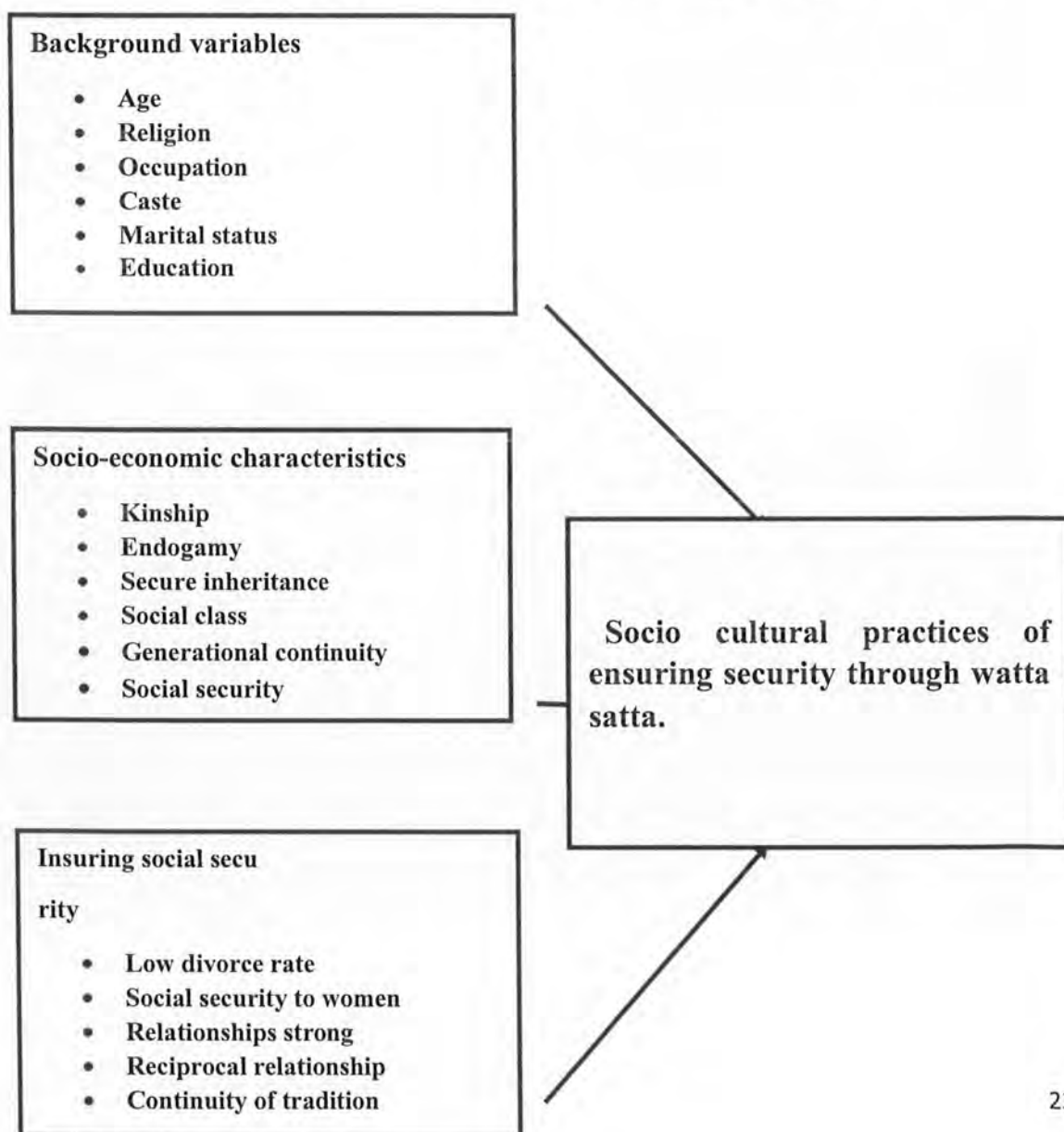
Iqbal, (1990) led an examination on Crimes against ladies in Pakistan. Diary of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies. This exploration directed examined on Female conduct and ripeness in the United States this examination centre around female heath because of unsettling influence of their marriages. In this exploration feature that factors that are impact on female emotional wellness. The exploration centres social and mental issues that are negative impact on female wellbeing and their psychological well-being as well. The examination conducts creating project and workshop on rustic territory and produces regard for deal with female miserable marriage life due to watta satta design and their psychological issues and increase every one of these inquiries that are customary included their emotional

well-being and push. The major centered and question of the exploration consider was that focus on crafted by prosperity and emotional well-being of female. The past research contended, ladies' prosperity is "not exclusively dictated by organic elements and propagation, but rather additionally by the impacts of family workload, sustenance, stress, war, and movements.

2.9. Conceptual framework of the study

The below mentioned model describes the relationship among one dependent variable and of primary interest of this study that is Watta satta. The independent variables are categories into two groups, socio economic characteristics and insuring social security. These two groups of independent variables are expected to have a direct effect in the model of socio cultural practices of ensuring security through watta satta tested in this study.

Figure 3: Causal Model of Watta Satta Marriages



2.10. Theoretical framework

Theoretical framework was used to link the current data with theory and to justify my research.

2.10.1. Functionalist perspective

The functionalist point of view sees society as made out of various parts cooperating. As indicated by the functionalism, society is an arrangement of interconnected parts that cooperate in concordance to keep up a condition of adjust and social harmony for the entirety. For instance, every one of the social organizations contributes vital capacity for society. Family give a setting to recreating, sustaining, and mingling youngsters, instruction, training offers an approach to transmit a general public's aptitudes, learning, and culture to its childhood, governmental issues gives a method for administering individuals from society, economic institution give creation, conveyance, and utilizations of products and ventures, and religion gives moral direction and an outlet for love of a higher power. Functionalist point of view accentuation the interconnectedness of society by concentrating on how each part impacts and is affected by different parts. As indicated by Robert Merton who was a Functionalist, he utilized the terms functional and dysfunctional to depict the impacts of social steadiness and useless if they disturb social strength. A few parts of society can be both functional and dysfunctional. For instance, crime is dysfunctional that it is related with physical viciousness, loss of property and dread. Be that as it may, as indicated by Durkheim and different functionalists, wrong conduct is additionally useful for society since it prompts featured attention to shared moral bonds and expanded social union. As indicated by Robert Merton (1968) there are two sort of functions: manifest and latent. Manifest work are results that are planned and normally perceived. Latent capacities are outcomes that are unintended and regularly covered up. (Ritzer,2010)

Malinowski proposed that people have mental requirements (production, nourishment, protect) and that social foundations exist to address these issues. There are likewise socially determined necessities and essential "institutional needs" (financial, social control, instruction, and political association), that require institutional gadgets. Every establishment has individual, a sanction, an arrangement of standards or principles, exercises, innovation, and a capacity. Malinowski contended that uniform mental reactions are corresponds of mental needs. He contended that fulfilment of these requirements changed the social instrument action into an obtained drive through mental fortification. (Goldschmidt 1996)

Radcliffe – Brown concentrated on social structure as opposed to organic needs. He proposed that a general public is an arrangement of relationship keep up itself through computerized input. While organizations are efficient arrangements of relationship whose capacity is to keep up the general public as a framework. (Goldschmidt 1996)

In Merton's point of view, a society is viewed as an association system of collaborating bunches working in a genuinely systematic way as indicated by an arrangement of standards and qualities shared by generally individuals. Society is viewed as a fixed framework with an inclination to keep up an adjusted, agreeably working system. In a functionalist point of view with Talcott parsons, Kingsley Davis and Robert Merton as the most noticeable representative, each gathering or organization satisfies certain functions and perseveres on the grounds that its functional. In the event that specific social change advances an amicable balance, it is viewed as functional; on the off chance that it upsets the harmony, it is dysfunctional, in the event that it has no impacts, it is non-functional. In a majority rule government political gatherings are functional, while death and political fear based oppression are dysfunctional and changes in political party are non-functional. (Horton and Hunt, 2004)

2.10.2. Exchange theory of social organization

Social exchange theory is a social, psychological and sociological point of view that clarifies social change and reliability as a procedure of arranged trades between parties. Social exchange theory sets that human connections are shaped by the utilization of a subjective money saving analysis and the correlation of choices. Social exchange theory sees trade as a social conduct that may bring about both economic and social results. Social exchange theory has been for the most part broke down by contrasting human relationships and the commercial center. The social exchange theory from the microeconomics viewpoint is ascribed to Blau. Under his point of view each individual is trying to augment his wins. Blau expressed that once this idea is comprehended, it is conceivable to watch social trades all over, in showcase relations, as well as in other social relations like kinship. Social exchange process brings fulfilment when individuals get reasonable returns for their consumptions. The significant contrast amongst social and financial exchange is the idea of the trade between parties. Neoclassic economic theory sees the performing artist as managing not with another performer but rather with a market and natural parameters, for example, market cost. Dissimilar to financial trade, the components of social trade are very changed and can't be lessened to a solitary quantitative conversion scale. Social trades include an association with

someone else; include trust and not reasonable commitments; are more adaptable; and infrequently include express dealing, (Blau, 1964)

2.10.3. Localizing the theory

In the brief theories related to my study watta satta have focused on society, culture, exchange, reciprocal relationship, survival, strong bonding and cohesion. According to my knowledge and research two theories structural functionalism and social exchange theory are more applicable on my study.

Basically functionalism, is "a structure for building theory that considers society to be an unpredictable framework whose parts cooperate to promote solidarity and security". Functionalist contrasted society with a human body. Similarly, each part of the body works in concordance with different parts. On the off chance that we need to comprehend the significance of the heart for helping the body work appropriately, we have to see how it identifies with different parts of the body. So also, on the off chance that we dismember the elements of some part of society, for example, education, we can figure out how it impacts alternate parts of the framework. Functionalists highlight that order and equilibrium are the ordinary condition of society, and a disturbance in one a player in the framework will unquestionably upset other parts. So same like with watta satta in that network watta satta is considered as a coupling power. Furthermore, they considered watta satta purpose behind survival of the family. As indicated by Merton a few parts of society can be both functional and dysfunctional. As like watta satta It is useful for that society since it prompts elevated solid holding and cohesion. But in some cases in may be dysfunctional in light of the fact that it prompts clashes, physical violence and rivalry. Then again Social exchange theory is a social, psychological and sociological viewpoint that clarifies social change and strength as a procedure of arranged exchange between parties. In watta satta individuals exchange relationship and increase social and monetary advantages. Both the parties in fact gain advantages in this exchange of relationships and it also strengthens their society in this way.

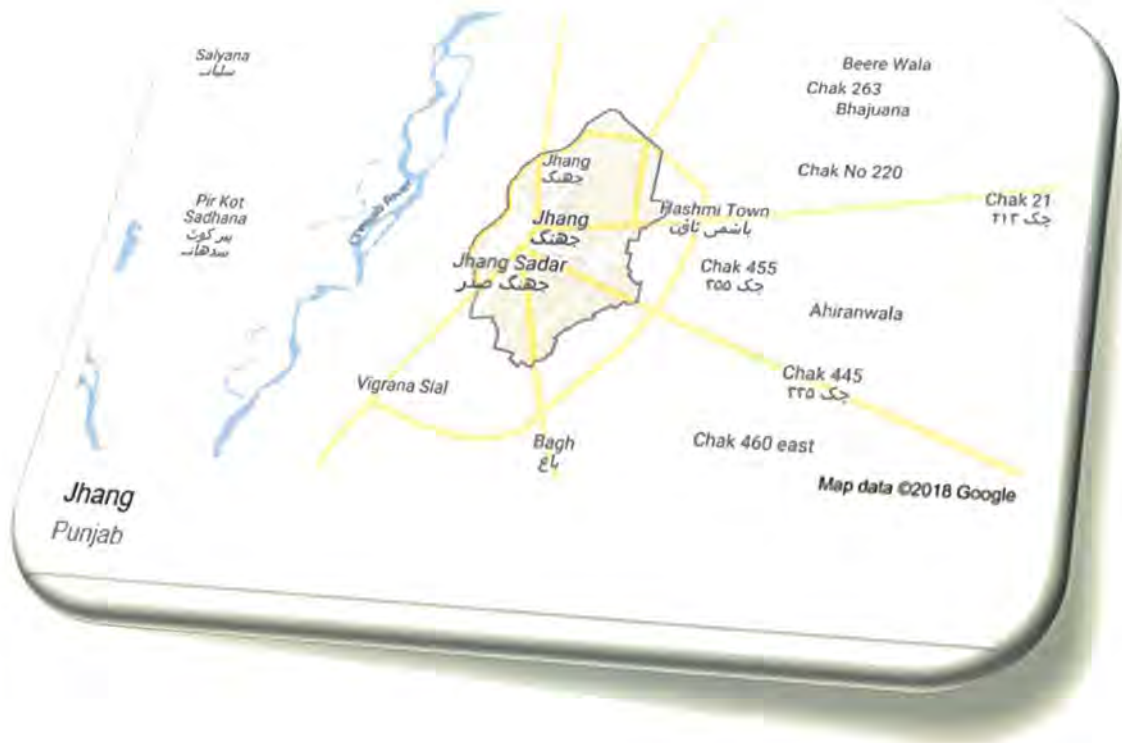
Table 3: Theoretical framework

Key theme	Functionalist Approach	Social exchange theory	Connection with the present study
Watta satta perspective	Structuralism	Form a relationship if it is rewarding	Exchange of relationship
Watta satta outcomes	Equilibrium	Equilibrium between benefits and costs	Watta satta is key to establish equilibrium
Watta satta for solidarity	Collective conscience	Mutual bonding between two parties	In that society every one has shared values and beliefs
Theme of watta equality	Interdependence	Establish trust	Both couples have reciprocal relationship and effect equally

3. VILLAGE PROFILE

This chapter explains the detailed information about the locale. The locale of the study was chak no 454, district jhang.

Figure 4: Jhang district map



Source [www.Google. Com/map](http://www.Google.Com/map)

3.1. History of District Jhang

The zone was possessed at the season of Alexander yet the present city of Jhang is said to have been established in the twelfth century by syed jalal-ud-noise bukhari .Its first residents were sials who were devotees (*mureed*) of syed jalal-ud-racket bukhari.It was then demolished by the river and re-established amid the rule of Aurangzeb by syed Mehboob alam (shah jewna) who asked his (*mureeds*) supporters to settle again around there in year1402 AD .Under Mughal control, the city prospered and was outstanding for business and exchange.

Amid British Rule, the towns of Jhang and Maghiana, lying two miles separated, turned into a joint region, at that point known as Jhang-Maghiana.

Jhang District is arranged in the main Punjab and lies between 30.37 to 31.59-degree North scopes and 71.37 to 73.13-degree East longitudes. The region Jhang is bordered by Toba Tek Singh and Faisalabad toward the East, Hafizabad toward the North-East, Khanewal on the South, Sargodha on the North, Khushab, Bhakkar and Layyah on the West.

Jhang is the funeral place of Heer and Ranjha, of Punjabi old stories. Punjabi folk raks, for example, Jhummar and Sammi are from this territory. Jhummar is raks for men while Sammi is raks by ladies.

Punjabi society dances, for example, Jhummar and Sammi began in Jhang District. The locale likewise started an outstanding type of local music known as "Dhola", or "Jhang da Dhola". Previously, ladies wove fabric with turning wheels – known as Teeyan and Trinjan – yet now that the territory is industrialized the training is not any more typical.

The northwestern Jhang District, especially the zone at the west bank of the Jhelum River, is to some degree distinctive in its way of life since it is more impacted by the Thalochi culture radiating from the neighboring areas of Mianwali and Bhakkar.

Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri is a conspicuous religious researcher and legislator who speaks to this perspective of Islam. Maulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi was another noticeable and dubious pioneer from Jhang who made Anjuman-e-Spahe-e-Sohaba (A.S.S),

3.1.1. District jhang division

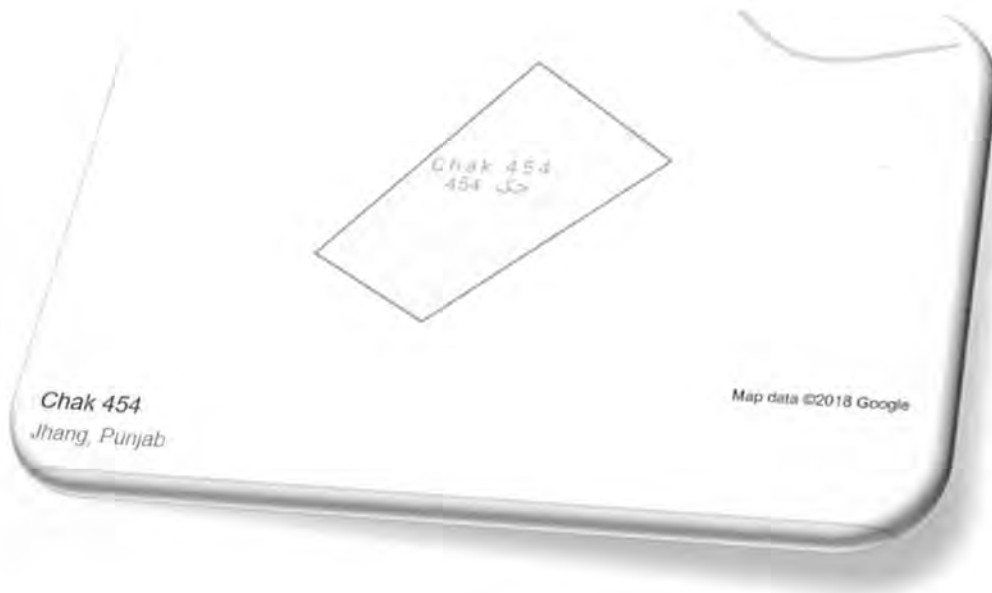
District Jhang spreads over an area of 8809 square kilometers and comprises of following four tehsils:

- Ahmed pur Sial
- Chiniot
- Jhang
- Shorkot

3.1.2. Locale: Chak no 454 Koriana Tehsil jhang

Chak no 454 Koriana is under Union council no 17.

Figure 5: Locale map



Source [www.Google. Com/map](http://www.Google.Com/map)

3.1.3. Population and households

According to the results of union council total population of the chak was 3094 and there were 369 households

3.1.4. Castes

There were essentially three noteworthy castes in the chak Sial, Kuriana, and Muslim sheik. Furthermore, some of different castes are Seyad and Malik.

3.1.5. Food pattern

The most widely recognized sustenance in the town is bread(roti) which they day by day eat twice or thrice daily. Rice, daal, vegetables are additionally an imperative eating routine. In the breakfast villagers use milk, butter, dhai and tea.

3.1.6. Religion and sects

In that village Shia and Sunni groups exist. They were living respectively in peace even through various belief systems.

3.1.7. Language

Punjabi is the most generally talked and understood language in the whole chak.

3.1.8. Dress Patterns

Generally, men wear turbans and dhotis (like a skirt or kilt) however now people have begun wearing the national dress, the *shalwar kameez*. Some more established ladies likewise wear dhotis. At the point when ladies wear dhotis, the style is indicated to be called "*Majhla*" in *Jhangochi*; the male style is called "*Dhudder*". Anyhow, it is more common for ladies to wear *shalwar kameez*.

3.1.9. Games

Street sports are important in village and include tent pegging (*naiza baazi*), kabaddi, cricket, football and snooker

Figure 6: Youth of the village playing games



Source: Field data

3.1.10. Education

There were one primary school for girls and one for boys.

3.1.11. Other facilities

They have the facility of electricity since 1980 but they have no connections for Gas as they use gas cylinders. They have facility of pure water. Slur roads are available as well as bricks material street are there in which people opened small general stores.

Figure 7: Dunk cakes used for fuel



Source: field data

3.2. Profile of the respondents

Profile of the respondents includes on the data of respondents identified with gender, age, income, family structure, family size, social background. The study concentrated fundamentally on the couples and their perception and practice identified with the phenomenon Watta Satta, and for that it was important to have the data of the informants. Just the related data was gathered from the respondents. It is eminent here that the profile of the respondents is imperative as it mirrors the data.

This part deals with the statistic profile of the respondents. It includes age of the respondents, education of the respondents, family size of the respondents, occupation of the respondents, monthly income of the respondents, sect distribution of the respondents.

Table 4: Sect Distribution of Respondents

Category	frequency	Percentage
Shia	20	55%
Sunni	16	45%
Total	36	100%

Source: field data

Table 1 shows that 55% respondents belong to Shia sect and 45% respondents belong to Sunni sect. so it was concluded that majority of the respondents were Shia

Table 5: Age Distribution of Respondents

Age (Years)	frequency	Percentage
20-30	3	8%
31-40	10	28%
41-50	14	39%
51-60	5	14%
61 or Above	4	11%
Total	36	100%

Source: field data

Table 2 presents the age of the respondents according to the data 8% respondents were in age 20-30, 28% respondents were in age 31-40, 39% respondents were 41-50, 14% respondents were 51-60, 11% respondents were 61- above.it was concluded that most of the respondents were age o

Table 6: Education Level of Respondents

Education Level	frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	6	16%
Primary	7	19%
Middle	3	9%
Matric	6	16%
Intermediate	5	14%
Bachelors	3	10%
Masters or Above	6	16%
Total	36	100%

Source: field data

Table 3 shows the level of education of the respondents. According to the data 16% respondents were illiterate, 19% respondents had primary education, 9% respondents were matriculation, 16% respondents were intermediate, 10% were bachelors, and 16% respondents had master or above education. It was concluded that most of the respondents were literate but had low education

Table 7: Family Size (Number of Children) of Respondents

Family Size	frequency	Percentage
Not Any	4	11%
Up to 3	10	28%
4 to 5	10	28%
6 or Above	12	33%
Total	36	100%

Table 4 shows the family size of the respondents. According to the data 11% respondents had no kids, 28% respondents had up to 3 children, 28% respondents had 4-5 children. 33% respondents had 6 or above children. It was concluded that most of the respondents had 6 or above children which indicates that mostly families had large no of children.

Table 8: Occupation of the Respondents

Category	frequency	Percentage
Laborer	4	10%
Agriculture	19	57%
Government Employed	8	22%
Private Sector	5	11%
Total	36	100%

Source: field data

Table 5 presents the occupation of the respondents. According to the findings of the table 57% respondents were agriculturist, 10% respondents were laborer, 22% respondent had government jobs and 115 respondents belong to private sector. So it was concluded that majority of the respondents belong to agriculture.

Table 9: Average Monthly Income of Respondents

Income (Rs.)	frequency	Percentage
5,000-10,000	9	25%
10,001-15,000	4	11%
15,001-20,000	9	25%
20,001-25,000	4	11%
25,001-30,000	2	6%
30,001-40,000	3	8%

40,001& Above	5	14%
Total	36	100%

Source: Field data

Table 6 shows the average monthly income of the respondents. According to the findings of the table 25% respondents has 5,000-10,000, 11% respondents had 10,001-15,000, 25% respondents had 15,001-20,000, 11% respondents had 20,001- 25,000, 6% respondents had 25,001-30,000, 8% respondents had 30,001-40,000, 14% respondents had 40,001 & above.

4. WATTA SATTA IN PRACTICE

4.1. Understanding of watta satta

In face to face interviews the researcher found varied and interesting responses. People were asked about what they know what watta satta is, and its local terminologies. As the researcher collected data from a single village, its inhabitants very well versed with the core meaning behind this tradition. Many of the respondents had known this tradition since their childhood as their fathers and forefathers had been married through this tradition. In fact, this custom is so much followed in this village that it actually runs in their blood. They cannot deviate from this tradition and when its followed it actually dignifies them in their society. Watta satta is defined as such that you give your daughter's match in return for someone else's daughter. It's a matter of give and take in their society.

One of the educated female respondent narrates that:

“Watta satta involves brother and sister from two sides. Besides that, a father can marry by giving his daughter away in watta satta. Marriages and proposals are arranged in childhood as well. In some cases, watta satta is arranged even before child is born. Sometimes a niece is given when her uncle wants someone in watta satta”.

“Watta satta behn bhai ka hota hai is k alawa hmary han baap apni beti k bdaly watta satta karty hain. Is k alawa mamu or chacha k bdaly b rishty tah ho jaty hain. Kai watty satty asy b hain jis main abi bacha peda b nai hwa hota or rishta tah ho jata hai. Chachu k bdly bhateji ka watta satta bhi hota hai”.

Basically in watta satta relations are exchanged in such a way that daughter is given in return for daughter and in this way two marriages are set at the same time. Father can also seek a proposal in return for his daughter and in some cases if someone's paternal uncle wants to get marry he can do so in exchange for his niece in watta satta.

Another male respondent narrates that:

“Watta satta is such that “Give and take”. It is like the barter trade people practiced in the past because currency was not present, like taking vegetables in return to wheat. Similarly, in our village relations are exchanged, daughters are given in exchange for daughter. Importantly you give a match in exchange for a match”.

Basic rule behind this concept is exchange of relations as one cannot seek proposal if he cannot give a relation in return.

“We just know that we exchange our sons with it “puttar ditta ty vatta leya” means that if we give daughter to someone we take his daughter in return. For instance, I have an unmarried daughter and son, so I will give my daughter in exchange for a daughter in law. In this way our realtions are strengthened”.

“San ta aeyo “pata hy k beta dita ty wata leya” yani jis nu beti ditti us tu beti lay v lai. Jivay hun mery hik dhi puttari bathy hain ta main dhi day k nu(bahu) lay aasa, his tarha saday rishty masbot ho wandy hain”.

Another respondent said that:

“Watta satta within our own family. We never do it outside our family. And it so happens like our children and brother’s children are wed through watta satta or its done with brother’s children, sister’s children or with other relatives.

“Asi watta satta apri khandan ich hi karendy haa. Bahru day loga wich kadi nai keta. Hor honda inj hy k bhirha dy bacheya dy naal kar leya watta satta, behn dhi tarfya baqi rishtdara wich”.

Researcher also came to know about the fact that this particular society prefers to do watta satta within their close relations like with their brother’s or sister’s children and then with other relations.

Another respondent narrates that:

“Our elders used to say that do not give your daughter for free or for God sake. When daughter is given in exchange for daughter, people have this fear in mind, not to harm someone’s daughter.”

“Sady waday eya aday haain k beti inhy ni dewari mtlb ay k muft ty khuda wasta rishty ni dewary. Jada beti dy badly beti ditti wandi hy ta apleya nu khof honda hy k duay di dhi nu tkleef ni daywari”.

Marriages which are not settled in this custom of watta satta or single marriages are considered as marrying for free or for God’s sake. Actually marriages set against this tradition or single marriages are considered worthless in this society.

One of my female respondent who was a housewife narrates that;

“Watta satta is such that you give a match from where you take match. If someone gives their daughter to somebody, the other one should also give their daughter in return. The others daughter is not made of gold that we give them our daughter and they don’t give us theirs”.

“Watta satta aeya hy k jithu rishta leya uthy rishta ditta v.hun bunda kisy nu beti denda hy ta unha nu v chaheada hy k apri beti dewain, kiu apleya di dhi soney di hy jay asi dy deveay ty o na dewain”.

It is a defined principle in this custom that you will only give your daughter if the other family is willing to give their daughter in return.

Another female respondent replied:

“Watta satta is such a process that the place where you give your daughter’s hand, you take your daughter in law in return. Relationships are held on equality. If somebody has excess daughters and they do not have sons, they can even give their daughter in paternal uncle or maternal uncle’s witta. But now the traditions have changed. So now once who have excess daughters they can even marry them for free”.

“Watta satta jithy asi beti da rishta karendy ha uthaon nu v landy ha. Barabri di sata ty rishty dariya hondiya hain. agr kisy kol dhiya wafir howin ty putar na howin ta bachi dy waldain chacha ya mamy dy watty ich beya dendy hain. Par hun rawaj bdal gy hian is tar jina kol deyaa wafer howin o muft v beya dendy hain”.

Marriages done besides watta satta for instance in cases who have more daughters than sons can marry their daughters in a single marriage. And marrying their daughter in a single marriage is considered marrying for free or for Allah’s sake.

4.2. Local perceptions about watta satta is the locale

The researcher asked the respondents about the different terminologies used for watta satta in that population, to which came a variety of replies. This tradition is commonly called watta satta in our society but different areas have also evolved their own terminologies for this custom as well. So the researcher’s knowledge about it was widened upon interviewing the masses in this area as it had many other terms besides watta satta in the community under study. These terms basically give the in depth knowledge about this tradition as well and the different norms associated with this tradition can easily be studied by studying these terminologies.

One of the respondents narrates that:

“We also called it “Witta” besides watta satta. It is also called “Amna saamna”. “Doli for Doli” is another name of watta satta. Doli for Doli means that if one of the couple in a watta satta is young and has not reached puberty then both the parties would wait for this couple to mature enough so that both the couples get “Rukhsati” at the same time and on the same day”.

“watta satta day alawa asi is nu “Witta” bolendy ha. Is nu amna samna v akheya wanda hay. Doli naal doli v watty satty da dowu na hay. Doli naal doli da mtlb ay hay k agr hik larka larki balig hawin ty doi jorhi dy bachy choti umer day howin ta log adhy hain ka asaa hik jory di shadi nai karni ty intzar kar landy hain unha day jawan hown da ta k dowu joreiya di rukhsti hik din ty hik waqt ty howy”.

Witta is another term for watta Satta in that community. Aamna Samna as we can gather from this term implies two parties coming face to face against each other and they can actually confront each other in favor of their respective daughters. Both the parties have to be cautious in their dealings with their daughter in laws as if they do any harm to their daughter in law their own daughter will have to bear the brunt of their dealings. So the parties involved in watta satta actually face their entire life standing face to face against each other and also in a competitive sense about every aspect of life of the two parties. Another terminology is Doli Naal Doli as the term shows that one party only agrees to give their daughter in marriage to someone in return of the other party's daughter as it raises their daughter's worth and that too preferably at the same so that the other party may not deviate from their commitment to marry in watta satta afterwards.

The different terminologies used by community in the community were as under,

One of the respondent narrates that:

“Besides watta satta it's called witta and also called “Amna Samna”.

“watta satta k alwa hum isy “witta” ya “Amna Samna” kahty hain”.

One of female respondents expressed her views in these words,

“It is called “Amna Samna” or “we give a match and also take a match” these terms are used”.

“Is nu amna samna boleya wanda hay hor rishta leya v hay ty ditta v hay ay naa boly wandy hain”.

One of male respondents describes the local terminologies:

“Besides witta it is called “Doli for Doli” and “Amna Samna” as well”.

“witta day alawa is nu Doli naal Doli ty amna samna boleya wanda hay”.

Another male respondent answered:

“Besides watta satta it is also called “Witta” in our local language. I don't remember any other terminology.”

“watta satta k alwa isy hmari alaqai zuban m witta hi bola jata hai or is k alawa mjy to yad ni”.

Another narration is:

“You called it watta satta but it's called “Witta” in our area”.

“Tusi is nu watta satta aady ho par sady alaqy ich ta is nu “witta” akheya wanda hay”.

As we can assess from the different terms and names given to this tradition there are many different rules which apply in a watta satta marriage in this particular area and these rules can well be studied by studying these terms in depth so these terms were actually very important in the study of this tradition.

4.3.Reasons Behind indulgenc in watta satta in that community

In this section, respondents were asked why this tradition of watta satta is common and whether this tradition is common in villages only or in cities as well. To this they gave an array of responses based on their personal experiences and on their socio-cultural background as well. Most responses were based on their strong perception of this tradition as a form of heritage transferred to them by their elders. Secondly in response to the query as to why this tradition is more prevalent in cities, they again responded differently but with main focus on their close community system.

One of the female respondents who is MPhil sociology narrates:

“We have a community system in our village. Marriages are arranged in family. Secondly, we have landlords and people want that their land remains within their own family. This greed of their land provoke people to do this practice of watta satta. In my own case the land which was my mother's property was transferred to my husband. This term was put forward my In-laws even before my marriage”.

“Gaon main baradari system aam hai. Khandan main hi shadiya karni hoti hain, aik waja to ye hai watta satta karny ki or dosra gaon main zamindar log hoty hain to zamin ka b lalach hota hai or zamin apny khandan main e rahy is ly b log watta satta kar laty hain. Mary apny watty satty main jaidad meri ami k naam thi or wo mery shohar k naam transfer ho gai thi balky mery susraal walo ny ye shart rakhi thi”.

The above respondent was an educated person so she gave her interview in urdu. Secondly being educated she was bold enough to see all the discrepancies involved in this custom and to accept them openly too. The reason behind this custom being so common in villages is a very strongly knitted community system “Baradri system” in that area. They find pride in

their own families and can hold their heads high in following this custom and to marry within their own family. The second strongest reason in my respondent's view is that there is landlord system there and people want to keep their land to themselves and don't give their daughters their share of land. So watta satta eases this concern of this community in a way that daughters from both the sides don't claim their share of land and in this way property remains within the family on both the sides. In my current respondent's case as her mother had claimed and gained her share of property from her father and brother, so when she decided to marry her children in watta satta with her brother's children they claimed that land back before the marriage so as to regain their lost pride of their lost land back to them. So land is a matter of pride as well as greed in this tradition.

Another explains that:

"I think it is very much less in cities because people in cities are more sensible they don't get crazy after relationships. In villages, people want to keep their relationships so watta satta is more common in villages than cities".

"Mary khyaal ich ta ay shehra ich bahu ghat honda hay. Kiu k shahar day loki smj boj aaly hondy hain oh rishtya day pechy itny pagal nai hain. Dheyata ich log rishtydariya nibhandy hain is kar shahra tu zada dheyata ich aam hay watta satta".

The above respondent was also an educated man, a school teacher and a member of Panchayat as well. According to his belief urban people do not involve in this custom to that extent as villagers because they are mature enough to keep their own interests before these so called relationships. On the contrary in villages people keep their relations before their children's interests or even before their own betterment. They want to strengthen their family relationships and bonds so they prefer to marry in this tradition.

One of the respondents who was retired school teacher expressed his views:

"It is not that much common in cities. As those people are more educated and sensible they don't follow these traditions. As the environment in villages is as such that people are less educated and education is scarce here so they don't go to such depths as how much they are suffering because of watta satta. That is why they are blindly following this custom".

The researcher during her data collection came to know that many people even after suffering in this tradition and after spending a miserable life in following this custom still couldn't blame this system for their sufferings. They regarded their sufferings to their ill fate not to the many fold disadvantages of this tradition. They are brainwashed to such an extent since their childhood that they will never ever complain about this system and even in case of a

failed watta satta they will get married in second marriage in another brother or sister's watta satta.

Other respondent said that:

"It is considered good in our village. We belong to Kuryana caste and besides that we have Syed and Sahu caste in village too. All these castes follow watta satta. It is followed in our village but whether it is followed in cities or not, I have no knowledge about it".

"Sady gaon ich ta is nu chnrh (change) smjrya wanda hay. Asi kuryani zaat day log haw, is day alawa sady gaon ich Syed ty Sahu baradri v pai wandi hay. Sari bradariya day wich honda hay watta satta. Hun sady dahyaat ich ta honda hay, shehro ich hinda hay ya nai is bary ich manu koi nai pata".

The researcher came to know that this custom was followed in all the castes present in that community and in some illiterate persons they had no clue what other world was following outside their own community. Their thoughts are confined within their own villages and then again in their own community and caste so they don't have such a broader vision to see what the world is up to these days.

One of male respondent answered:

"I am not sure about cities, even if it is practiced there, it may be 1% out of 100% marriages. Circumstances wouldn't be like they are here in village".

"Shehran day bary kujh nai akhya ja skda. Agr honda hi hay ta so chu 1% hi honda hosi. Avay are halaat nai hosin jivay deyata wich aam hay".

One of the male respondents in FGD answered this question aggressively while pointing towards the people of cities.

"People in villages like to marry within their relatives. It unites families. That is why they follow this tradition. It is not common in cities. They don't even see caste in cities and marry as such. Whether it be a butcher or a barber they can marry anywhere. They don't even consider this fact that blood relations don't hurt you. Your generations keep within families. Generations which remain within your own blood are important".

"Dhayata ich log apy rishtydara ich shadi krna psand karendy hain. Khandan nu jory rakhdy hain. Is kan watta satta keta wanda hay. Ay shehra ich itna aam nai hay. Uthy ta log goam v nai wakhdy ty rishty kar dendy hain. Chahy qasai hay ya naae hay har ja ty rishta kar dendy hain. Ay v nai wakhdy k apra khoon dukh nai denda ty nasal v chaldi rahndi hay, nasal ta owa wandhi hay jahri aona khoon howy".

The researcher came to interview the above respondent who was an uneducated laborer and also 12 years younger than his wife. One of the reasons behind following this tradition was that it maintains a strong family bond. And they take pride in following this custom because to them their caste and their family blood is a sacred thing. If their generations keep on marrying within their family and caste this purity of blood is maintained and it gets contaminated by marrying out of family and caste.

One of the female respondents in FGD narrates that:

“It is common in villages but I can’t say anything about cities. People are bold in cities. They can marry outside families. But we are afraid whether the people can get along with us or not. So nevertheless watta satta is the best option for us”.

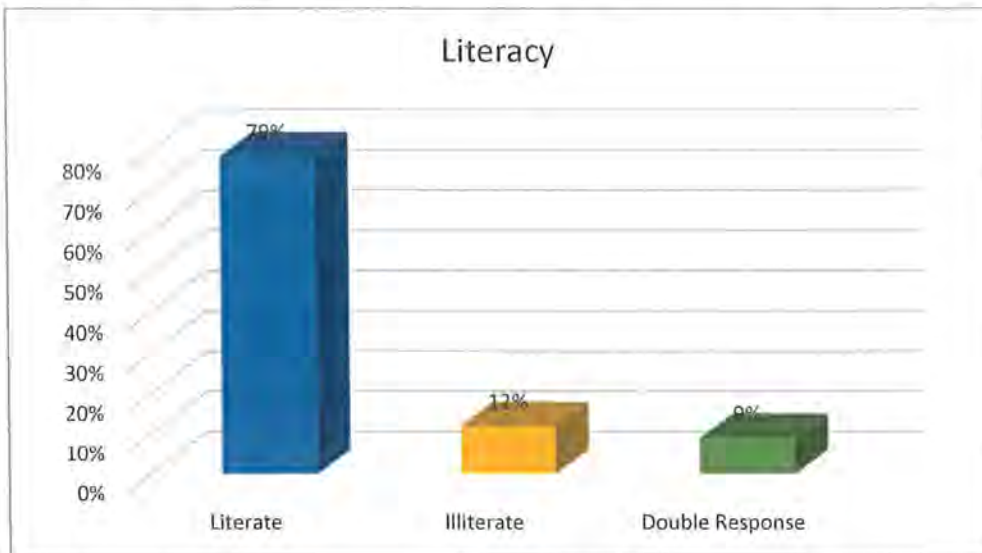
“Sady gaon ich ta ay aam hay. Shehra day bary ich main kujh nai aakh skda. Shehar day loki nadir hondy hain. Oh khandan tu bahir v kar landy hain. Par asa log dardy rahndy haa k pata nai agly log nibah kar v sksin k nai. Is kan rah sah k sady kan watta satta hi behteraan hay”.

People have narrowed their views and perceptions about marriage in following this tradition through their many generations and they are afraid in marrying outside their family. They feel more at ease within their own family.

4.4.Literacy and watta satta

In this section researcher asked the subjects whether only illiterate people followed this practice of watta satta or it was common in literate persons as well to which they expressed their views differently. 79% of the subjects expressed their opinion that literate people were involved in this practice as compared to only 12% of the respondents claiming that illiteracy was the main factor behind following this tradition. Only 9% of the people gave mixed responses when asked about this tradition’s relationship to literacy. As we can see from these statistics that the main body of the community under study favored this custom regardless of their own literacy level. It is a custom handed over to them by their ancestors held very dear to them and they can only see its many fold advantages. They don’t and will never attribute any disadvantages to this very tradition and would link it to someone’s own ill fate or would associate it to any other factor but never ever to this tradition. Its engraved in their minds by their forefathers and they cannot deny their parent’s will.

Figure 8: Link of being Literate with the following of this custom



Source: Field
Data

One of the female respondent replied:

“No there is no link of being literate or illiterate with the following of this custom. If our sons get educated, it doesn't mean that we bring our daughter in laws from outside the family and make them comfortable. Why should we let our daughters suffer? We don't marry outside family. Whether they are educated or not we always do their watta satta”.

“Is rasm da taluq parhy likhy ya un parh howan naal nai hay. Jay ta sady putar parh likh wandy hain ta is da ay mtbl ta nai k asi bahru diya kuriya leya k unha nu sukh wakheay. Apni bachiya di qismat ich kiu dhakhy likheay. Asi khandan tu bahir karendy hi nai han. Un parh howin bhawe parhy liky asan bacheya da karna watta satta hi hay”.

As expressed by the above respondent's views they want to make people of their own family comfortable. They wouldn't leave girls from their own family and bring daughter in laws from outside so that they may enjoy the fruit of their hard work earned by their sons. They also see suffering for their own daughters as well because if they bring daughter in laws from outside their family their own daughter would not get any suitable proposal from within the family and may even not get a match at all. So to avoid it all they would marry their literate ones within the family to get good match for their other/illiterate children as well”.

One of the male respondents narrates:

“Both literate as well as illiterate people follow this custom. It has nothing to do with education. What do you mean? One can’t get away from his tradition after getting education”.

“do kar landy hain. un parh lok v ty parhy lok v kar landy hain watty satty. Taleem naal is da koi taluq nai hay. K mtbl hay k bnnda parh likh jaway ta apriya rasma tu dore ho wanjy”.

It is respect and dignity of this tradition that urges the community to follow it despite their educational background. Nobody would deviate from it and in following this tradition they are dignified and regarded in their family.

One of my well educated female respondent narrates that:

“This custom is imposed on us. We were brainwashed since our childhood and we couldn’t think of it as a wrong practice. This is after my own experience that I have started regarding it a bad practice otherwise even after getting educated it never occurred to me that this is a wrong practice

“Hamary oper is rasm ko thopa hwa hai. Hmary zahno main ye chez dali gai haik watta satta hona hi hai hm isy ghlt nai smjty thy. Ye to aony tajurby k bad mgy ye ghlt lgta hai warna is sy pehly tak parhny likhy hony k bawajod asi soch mery zahno main kbi nai ai thi”.

The above respondent being well educated was one of the subjects who had to bear ill-effects of this tradition despite her parents going through all of the bad effects of this custom by themselves. She says that she was also adamant that this is a very good practice before herself going through all of its bad effects. Now she believes that it was all because of the legacy transferred to her by her parents and grandparents and because she had kept on hearing about the usefulness of this tradition since her childhood that she couldn’t regard any disadvantages of this custom before her own personal experience. She is one of the few respondents who now blames this tradition for her sufferings after a failed watta satta marriage.

Another male respondent reports that:

“I am myself M.A History, how can I say that educated people don’t follow watta satta. It has nothing to do with being literate or illiterate. It is the circumstances and constraints that people follow this tradition.”

“Main khud M.A History hn to main kesy kah du k hmary han parhy likhy og watty satty nai karty. Is ka taluq parhy likhy ya un parh hony sy nai hai, ye to halaat or majburiya hain jo insan ko mjbore kar deti haink wo is rasm ki pervi Karin”.

The above respondent despite being a literate person couldn’t deny the importance of this custom in their community. He was well aware of the fact that in order to survive in that

community they had to keep on following this tradition. People are bound to embrace this custom as the ones who follow it get praised and those who deviate from it are shunned within the community. Especially the ones who give their daughters in a single match or for free are not regarded good in the community. So they are bound to accept it. Secondly sometimes they are helpless as setting their children in watta satta can help them in finding a match for their weaker or uneducated children as well otherwise they may remain bachelors throughout their life or may not get a good match.

Another respondent told that:

“Our children are educated Masha Allah. Parents may be less educated but some parents are educated as well. Like my father is M.A in History. My elder brother has done chemical diploma and he is in Saudi Arabia. I am my self-educated so you can well estimate that educated people also do watta satta”.

“Hamary khandan main Masha Allah bachy parhy likhy hain. Waldain ki tlaem kam hai magar bht sy waldain b khawanda hain. Jesy mery aony walid sahb M.A History hain. Mery bary bhai ny chemical diploma kea hwa hai or Saudia Arabia main hai. Main khud b prha likha hun to aap isi sy andaza kar lyn k prhy likhy log b watta satta krty hain”.

The researcher during her 3 months stay within that community that many literate families were strong supporters of this tradition in their many generations.

One of male respondents in FGD narrates that:

“Most of the respondents used to be illiterate in old times. This is our family practice, the one inherited from our ancestors. Illiterate as well as literate people both follow this custom. My own children are PHD and MPhil and I wed them both through “watta satta” and they didn’t oppose their parent’s decision”.

Among the 12% of the respondents expressing their views that illiterate people are more involved in this tradition the researcher got following responses.

One of the male respondents who was retired school teacher reports that:

“The level of education has improved in our community now. Children are going to good institutions. The problem is that our families are mentally bound by this tradition. This tradition has decreased a bit because of education. In my opinion illiterate people are more involved in this tradition”.

“Saday ithy hun taleem da meyar wadh gay hay. Bahu bachy hun achy aadareya dhi trf riju karendy pay hain. Masla aeya hay k sady khandan aaly zahni tor ty is rasm ich qaid hain.

Hun kuj taleem dhi waja tu kami ai hay watta satta ich. Mara ta aeya khyaal hay k unparh log zda karendy hain watta satta”.

The above respondent being a literate person himself was of the view that getting good and quality education can change the community’s perception towards this centuries old tradition.

Another respondent narrates that:

“I think illiteracy is a big factor. Mostly parents are uneducated in our setting. If one child from a family gets educated what can he do? How can he do against this tradition. He doesn’t have any authority over it.”

“mary khyal ich ta wadi waja aeya hay k log unparh hain. sady trf zada tar waldain prhy likhy nai hain. Family chu hik bacha parh wanjy to oh bechara k kary, oh is rasm day khilaaf kiway wanjay. Us akely dy ikhtayar ich kujh nai hay”.

Even if a member of a family gets educated and can see the many fold disadvantages of this custom he cannot go against this tradition. It takes a strong heart to raise his/her voice against this custom and even if he comes to oppose it his parents will not approve because they themselves are uneducated.

9% respondents had double favor responses. one of the respondent said that:

“Previously, mostly illiterate people would follow this custom but now even literate once would do it. Some differences come with time. Literate children oppose it to some extent but collectively this tradition has continued”.

It’s a legacy and who would like to not carry on their forefather’s legacy in their future generations. They also want to get praise from their society so they would follow it anyways. Even literate ones cannot strongly oppose this tradition.

“Pehly ta unparh log karendy hain. Par hun parhy likhy v kar landy hain. Thori bht ta tbdeli ai hay. Parhy lilky bachy thora ahtraz karendy hain par mjmoi tor ty ay rasm jari hay”.

Respondent reported that:

“Our children are getting educated now Masha Allah. Now let us see they follow it or not. Because our children say that they want educated wives and we elder ones want that they don’t get married outside their families”.

“Bachy Masha Allah hun taleem hasil karendy pay hain wandy ha k oh hun krendy hain watta satta k nai. Kiu k bachy adhy hain k asa oarhi likhi bewiya lariya hain par asi wandky adhy ha k khandan tu bahir na krin”.



Regardless of understanding their children's wishes to follow their own heart and to marry outside their families the parents somehow want them to follow this tradition.

A conversation with a female respondent in FGD is that:

"literate ones don't usually like it but illiterate people are in favor of watta satta.

Me: your children are educated so do they follow this tradition?

She: yes, they will follow this tradition of watta satta because it is considered good in our community".

"parhy likhy log watta nu psnd nai krendy par unparh log psand krendy hain".

Main: twady bachy ta parhy likhy hain ta wat oh watta satta karesin?

Han mary bachey watty satty karesin kiu k sadi muashiry ich watty satty psnd keety wandy hain".

So from the above discussion with a number of respondents the researcher came to know that education has actually a minimal effect on the continuity of this tradition. Getting educated may change and individual's own perception towards this tradition and he may attribute the ill-effects of this tradition to strongly following this custom but it cannot allow him to negate this tradition in his future generations. This norm which is passed on to them by their elders has many advantages which outweigh any disadvantages not seen by this very community. They are bound by this tradition in this community and in order to settle all of their children whether strong or weaker ones they have to obey this law of their fathers. They want to hold their heads high with pride and they can only do so by following this tradition. Education cannot stop them from getting this pride.

4.5. Root causes of watta satta

The researcher during her interaction with the community under study tried to dig into the root causes of this tradition and came to know a number of interesting reasons behind the survival and continuity of this tradition in its many generations. In order for a tradition to survive and thrive in a community it must be beneficial to not only the community but also to the individual who is following it. So there were reasons at individual level as well as at community level for the survival of this custom in many generations of this community.

When asked the core reasons behind following this tradition one of my female respondents expressed her thoughts:

“Parents think that their children will get settled in this way. My mother thought this too that her daughter will get settled too and her son will also get married in this way. Watta satta is also done to strengthen relationships. They have a thinking that their daughter will be at peace and will not be harmed because the other family’s daughter lives in their home”.

“Waldain ta aeya sochndy hain k bachy thikany lag wesin. Mari maa v aeya socheya ha k beti v lag wesi ty bety da v ghr bar wesi. Watty satty rishtydariya mazbot karn kar keety wandy hain. Aeya soch hondi hay k sadi beti sukhi rasi ty agr koi tkleef desin ta unha di beti v sady ghr hay”.

Firstly, two members of a family, a son and a daughter are married simultaneously in a watta satta marriage which eases the burden on parent’s shoulder and if one of the siblings is weaker he/she can also get a suitable match in this way. Secondly, families are knitted together in a strong bond and brothers and sisters who marry their children in watta satta come close to each other. Thirdly, it is a form of security for daughters as the parents think that nobody could harm their daughter because their own daughter is living in their home and they can retaliate by doing the same to their daughter if any harm comes to their daughter.

Another respondent reported that:

“One of the marriage was arranged outside our family and they could not get along well. We have our own separate system from other communities. We are quite well known and better educated so we prefer to make match in our family”.

“Saday khandan tu bahir hik rishta hoye hay, oh v sahi nai chleya. Sada apra hik system hay jera baqi qoma tu alag hay. Asi log achi shuhrat rakhdy haw ty sady bachy v taleem ich kafi behtr hain. Is lai asi khandan tu rishta lara ty dewara psand karendy haw”.

The community under study held a strong sense of pride in their community. It would not be wrong to say that they were involved in superiority complex and held their community very dear to them. They were of the view that theirs was a superior community and their children were better educated than anyone else’s. So their pride in themselves wouldn’t allow them to seek matches outside families.

One of educated female respondents narrates that:

“People can avoid division of land by practicing watta satta. At same instances they can compromise on dowry as well. And there are examples where a brother is well educated but his sister is illiterate or she is not beautiful so she can be settled with his brother’s marriage”.

“aapis main rishty kar k log zameen ki taqseem sy bach jaty hain. Or kahi jaghu p ye too jhehaiz pe b smjhuta ho jata hai. Or asa b hota hai k behn khobsurat nai hai ya parhi likhi nai hai to bhai k badly behn ka b ghr bn jata hai”.

Although, not acknowledged by many subjects a few respondents were brave enough to highlight this important aspect of watta satta marriages. It is not considered good in the community if a female asks for her share of land and it is customary not to give her share during her marriage. In case of watta satta marriage daughters from both the sides give their share of land/property to their brothers in this way both the parties can avoid division of land which is not possible without watta satta marriage.

One of other respondent who was also member of punjait, told that:

“They try to save their families. People are afraid to marry outside family. It is matter of disgrace and humiliation for people to marry outside family. This thing is not at all tolerable. We never give our daughters outside family but we can sometimes take daughter from outside family and that too out of helplessness. My maternal aunt’s son came to like musalli’s daughter and he married her. Musalli’s are considered a hideous caste and are also inferior to us. Our whole family would curse him that he had tied relation with a musalli. Even those musalli didn’t like it and used to say that girl that all musalli’s had died that she married out of caste. You can well consider from this that caste is so important for us. We only consider our family while marrying and then we strengthen our relationships with watta satta”.

“Khandan nu behawan kar krenday haw asi watty satty. Log khandan tu bahir karn tu dardy hain. Loga kar ay bary tany ty beizti di gal hay k unha khandan tu bahir rishta dita hay, ay gal ta bardasht di hay ee nai. Asi rishta bahiar dendy nai haw par lay landy haw oh v bahu majburi ich. Mari phuphi da beta hai us ny mosaliya dhi dhi psand aa gai ty is us naal shadi kar k lai aya. Mosaliya nu asi bahi ghtiya ty neech smjedy haa. us nu pori baradhri taany dity k tain mosaliya naal rishtydari jor lai. Lakin oh mosali v is shy nu psnd nai krendy hain. Oh apri chohir nu adhy hain k sary mosali mar gay hain jay tain baradari tu bahir shadi keeti. Is tu andaza lao tusi k sady kan baradri dhi kitni ahmiyt hay shadiya karendy wely. ty wat asi watty satty kar k rishty mazbot kar landy haa”.

One of the strong reasons for the survival of this tradition is the strong caste system in the community. The like to marry within their caste as well and many castes are still regarded as inferior and not worthy of marrying. The want to strengthen their families and their mutual relationships by arranging marriages within families.

Another respondent answered:

“One of the reason is poverty as people think that if they get married outside their family it would become very difficult to bear the expenses. To avoid all these expenses, they get married inside their family. The reason behind our watta satta was the same as we thought that we will suffer a lot if we marry outside our family. So we maintained the previous custom and followed watta satta”.

“Kujh ta waja ay v hay jehry ghreeb log hondy hain oh ay sochndy hain k ag rasa bahru rishta leya ta karaay, kharchy sn kuj bardasht karna mushkil hosi is tar bajaay itny kharchy karn day loki sochndy hain k apnyha ich hi lay day leya wanjy. Saday watty satty di v aeya waja hai k k “bhair dhaky khandy watsey” is kar sabiga rasm nu jari rakhndeya hoye asa watty satty kety hain”.

Both the parties are equal in financial aspects so they do not have any high demands which the other party cannot fulfill. It creates an amiable environment for them to start their married life.

One of the respondent in FGD who was teacher in his profession narrates that:

“We have a limited family and we have accepted this environment in which we don’t marry outside family. So people are helpless to marry within families. And if they marry their sons outside family their daughters would remain stay unmarried. So in the end this tradition is very important for our survival that we follow watta satta. In this way our children would remain within their own family. The essence of my talk is that we are forced to do watta satta for the survival of our family and for our family’s dignity (“Baradri ki toar”)

People who follow watta satta are given due respect in their family and within community as well. Their daughters and sons both get settled in this way.

Another respondent said that:

“As I told you before that we are traditional people. The traditions which we have acquired from our ancestors, we respect them because it is very important for the survival and strengthen our family. When we take our brother’s daughter we realize that his daughter is also waiting to be married. It is all a matter of regard”.

“Main twanu pehly v daseya hay asi khandani log haa ty asi is rasm da ahtram karendy ha jahri asaa apry abao ijdaad tu lai hay. Kiu k ay sady khandan di mazbuti ty baqqa kar zrori hay. Jada asi apry bhira tu dhi landy haw ta san us di beti da v ahsaas honda hay k us di beti v ta bathi hondi hay is kar asi watta satta kar landy haw. Sari gal ahsaas di hay”.

Last but not the least, one of the etiologies behind this tradition’s continuity is the strong regard for this tradition passed on to them by their predecessors. Out of the respect and regard

for their predecessors they are bound to follow this tradition and see their survival in obeying this tradition of their forefathers.

4.6.Merits of watta satta

The researcher during her study in the community tried to probe the community whether they regarded more advantages or disadvantages in this activity and received some very interesting responses from different groups of people. As the community under study had been engaged in this activity for a considerable amount of time, majority of the community was in favor of this tradition even if they had seen most of its ill-effects in their entire life. They couldn't attribute any of the demerits of very tradition and associated the disadvantages to some other cause not to this very activity. The community like any other community in the society lived in a closely knit circle and had some predefined principles which operated this tradition of watta satta. Due to those predefined rules they saw ease in following this custom rather than taking any risk of marrying their children in a single marriage or marrying for free.

One of the responder explains its advantages by giving his own example,

“It has its advantages that there is equality on both sides. If one side plays foul, it has fear that the other side will take revenge. Like one of my sister married for free and she is angry for last two months and we are waiting that they will contact for reconciliation. If she had been married in a watta satta marriage, we would have sent their daughter to her home. In this way they must have same fear that they shouldn't do any bad to someone's daughter.”

The biggest advantage which the whole community regarded and as explained beautifully by this respondent is that they feel that their daughters get secured in watta satta marriage. There is an element of fear as well as revenge involved in this custom. Women get security in a sense that they have their family's constant support, if their in laws would try to do them any harm their own family would immediately retaliate by doing the same to their daughter in law. It is this fear on both the sides which helps in maintaining long time peace which is absent in a single marriage as in the case of above respondent's sister”.

Other respondent said that:

“Everything has advantages and disadvantages as well. I can give you an example of mobile phone. Mobile phone has its advantages and disadvantages too; it all depends upon the consumer how he uses it. Watta satta is just similar to it. It all depends upon human beings they make its good use or not. It has advantage that your children get settled. Children from the both sides remain within the family”.

"Har shy da faida v honda hay ty nuqsan v. hun mai misaal denda haw mobile phone di. Mobile day faidy v hain ty nuqsan v, ay ta istamal karn aaly uty hay k oh kis trha is nu istemaal karenda hay. Bikul inj ee watta satta v hay. Hun ay bnady day uty hay k o is da musbat istemaal karenda hay ya manfi. Faida aeya hay k apry bachy thikany lag wandy hain. Dowta tarf day bachy hkhandan ich rahndy hain".

Another advantage regarded by the community is that two children, a son and a daughter from both the sides get settled in marriage simultaneously which gives them ease of finding a match for their children. Secondly children remain within their own family and since they regard their own family more prestigious than anybody else's. It is a matter of pride in their community if they settle their children in watta satta and that too within their own family.

One of female respondent reports that:

"It has advantage that girls get protected in their relations. "Apri agr marendy v hain ta chaa ich hi satendy hain".

One of the respondent who was strong supporter of watta satta narrates that:

"It has merits and there are not many demerits of this activity. There is pain when you marry for "Allah sake" (khuda wasta) where they even ask you for inheritance. They ask for money and they even pull you in court. People get humiliated in it. There are no demands in writing in watta satta. If you will do good to our daughter, we will do good to yours. Although we wrote 20,000/- for each party per month but either my wife demands it nor my sister demand it because it is a matter of equality".

"faidy hi hain, nuqsan ta zada nai hain. Tkleef ta khuda wasta di shadi ich disdi hay. Jis ich log jaidad likhwa landy hain, kharcha likhwandy hain ty wat adalata ty chkr v lgdy hain. Bnda zaleel ho wanda hay. Watta satta ich na koi moat hay na koi kilh parh hay. Sadi wasysu ta asi tawadi wasyseay. Inj ta sada v 20,20 hazar mahana kharch likheya hoye hay par na kadi meri zanani mangeya na meri bahn. Kiu k gal babari ty hay".

Another advantage as explained by above narrative and also a predefined rule of watta satta marriage, operates on equality. Both the sides get equal perks especially financially and also in matters of inheritance and land. If one of the parties is getting more money for domestic chores the other party can demand the same from her husband. And also if one side demands her share of inheritance which mostly they don't and is also not considered appropriate in that community, the other party also demands her share of land or inheritance as everything operates on equality basis.

Another respondent explained some different advantages:

“It has advantage that weak children also get married. And other advantage is that decisions(divorces) are not made quickly in watta satta. As compared to watta satta, marring for free is more painful. It is like giving yourself in somebody’s hand and you don’t have anything in your hands”.

“Watta satta da faida aeya hay k gay guzry bacheya dy v ghr vass wandey hain. “Watta satta da faida ay hay k holy bhary rishty v lag vandy hain, torh charh wandy hain.” Hor ik or faida ay hay k watta satta di waja tu faisly jaldi nai hindy hain. Watta satta di nisbat muft di shadi zada tkleef day hay. “Muft di shadi ta inj hi hay k apri zulf agleya dy hath ich day diti ty qabu ich kai shy na hoe”.

As all the children in a family are not equal, some are more educated or beautiful than others and some lack in these qualities, by exchanging two children in a watta satta marriage all the children whether strong or weaker in any sense get settled otherwise they may not get a good proposal or even stay unmarried for their entire life. Secondly, people do not make haste in making harsh decisions like divorce etc as they have a fear that their sister would also get effected by their decisions.

One of respondent said that:

“People can escape from partition of land by practicing watta satta. At some cases they can compromise on dowry as well”.

Although most people said that inheritance doesn’t play any role in watta satta, researcher came to know that it is not regarded good if someone asks for her share of land or inheritance and generally daughters are not given their share. They can easily follow this custom if they marry their daughters in watta satta as both the sides transfer their share of inheritance to their brothers but in a single marriage their daughter’s in laws can force her to ask for her share and they are helpless to give it to her. In some less privileged families they can even not give dowry on both the sides.

Another narration is:

“Advantages are that you remain with your relatives. Fights are not a big issue. In our times when we fought, we didn’t consider it a very big problem. There was usually reconciliation afterwards. This is an advantage that fights occur on equality basis”.

4.6.1.Demerits of watta satta

When asked about the merits and demerits of this activity, a small percentage was able to give an account of its disadvantages and that too based on their personal bad experiences. The

interesting fact which came forward during the interviews was that this small percentage even though regarded all the disadvantages of this activity, it was not reluctant to continue this activity in its future generations.

One of the female respondent who was fed up of watta satta narrates that:

“After my own experience I say that there are no advantages and only disadvantages of watta satta marriage. Human being gets ruined by it. One doesn't even know whether to live with in-laws or at parent's place. There is only pain in this practice”.

“Mary tajarby tu bad ta main aeya aadhi haw k watta satta day faidy koi nai ty nuqsan hi nuqsan hain. Ay insaan di zindgi barbad kar denda hay. Bandy nu smj nai andi k ohh susral rahway k maiky. Aziyt hi aziyt hy is ich”.

The above respondent who was many years younger than her husband and who had spent almost her entire life with her father and brother because her sister in law and brother couldn't get along in watta satta marriage and she had to bear the brunt of their failed relationship, was strongly against this tradition. This is infact the biggest disadvantage which came forward during researcher's stay with that community. If one couple cannot solve their differences, it effects the other couple as well and their family and even community would compel the other couple's male counterpart to do the same to his wife.

One of respondent who was retired school teacher reported that:

“I can't see many advantages of watta satta marriages. If people are educated, sensible and understand life's complications then they can get along but if one family is educated and the other one is uneducated then there is a marked difference in the temperament of families. In these circumstances it becomes very difficult for the families to get along. I think there are more demerits of this practice”.

“Watta satta k faidy to mgy itny nazar nai aaty ya to log parhy likhy or smj dar hn jo mamlaaat e zindgi ko smjny ki salaiyt rakhty hn to bhi guzary ho jaty hain. Par agr aik gharana prha ikha ho or aik un parh ho to donun k mizaaj main zameen asmaan ka farq hta hai, to asy guzary bht mushkil ho jaty hain. Mery kyaal main to is k nuqsanaat hi nuqsanaat hain”.

Another disadvantage highlighted by one of the educated respondent is mismatched marriages. Sometimes both the partners involved in watta satta are not educated, and as education brings understanding and tolerance, if the other party is uneducated it cannot get along with an educated person.

Other respondent who was 62 years old and he was M.A History narrate that:

“If relationships are based on good thoughts and people have good morals, shame and regard they can be successful. Relationships strengthen by it. There are disadvantages that problems in one home creates problem in the other home. If one is suffering the other gets humiliated in return. The other disadvantage is that people get restricted in terms of generations, families and socially. In this way good as well as bad traits are limited to people”.

“Agr achy nazrey sy ye rishty key jain or logo ko ikhlaaq, sharm or lafaz ho to hi ye kamyab ho skta hai. Rishtydariya mazboyt ho jati hain. Nuqsan yae hai k aik ghar ki tkleef dosry ghr ki tkleef ka bais bnti hai. Agar aik ko tkleef ho to dosra b zaleel o ruswa ho jata hai. Or watty satty ka nuqsan ye b hai log nasli ‘khandani’ or moasharti tor p mahdod ho k rah gay hain.is trha khobiya khamiyaa logo main mahdod ho jati hain”.

Other respondent narrates that:

“Before my marriage I only considered many merits and even in early days of my marriage but now I have come to understand that there are no merits and there are only demerits of watta satta. Envy, stubbornness and contest can ruin someone’s life.”

The above respondent was also a victim of failed relationship of the other couple in watta satta marriage whose brother had divorced his wife and now she was living with her parents for the last two years. She was brave enough to highlight all the bad experiences she had to bear in watta satta like envy from her sister in law when she got more money from her husband for domestic purposes and the respondent’s wouldn’t give her any. There is always an element of reciprocity whether in financial matters or in matters of physical beating etc.

Other narration is:

“I don’t see any advantages of watta satta marriage. This tradition doesn’t fulfill the basic thought behind watta satta. It ruins the family instead of keeping it strong”.

Another expressed that:

“I don’t see any advantages and there are so many disadvantages. One of the disadvantage is that if one family gets into fight, it creates problem for the other couple”.

One of the female respondent expressed her views that:

“I don’t think it’s such a good tradition but our community would not step back from it. It has the advantage that whatever happens everybody is united in the end. The disadvantage is that if one couple makes a mistake the other couple has to bear its consequences. The innocent gets punishment for no reason. Somehow the time passes by.”

“Mary khyaal ich ay itna change nai hay par sadi goam is tu pecha nai hatdi hay. Faيدا aeya hay k jy kuj v ho wanjy bad ich sb aps ich mill jhul wandy hain. Nuqsan ay hay k hik di ghlti di saza doay nu mildi hay. Hik nu beqasor saza mildi hay. Par dhakhy naal waqt pass ho hi wenda hay”.

Conversation with one of respondent in FGD is that:

“There is only one bad thing about watta satta that if some problems arises on one side it is bound to occur on the other side. This is a bad thing.

Me: if you people realise the disadvantage that both parties come into a competition due to watta satta. Then why don't you give the proposals for free?

He: in our system watta satta is more appreciated. We are peaceful people and we can live a good life.”

So to summarise all the disadvantages, the biggest one is that conflicts in one couple badly effect the other couple's relationship as well to the extent that if divorce occurs in one couple the other couple's family forces him to divorce his wife too and would keep on pressurizing him and even go to the extent of isolating him socially if he doesn't oblige.

Secondly both the parties are involved in a life long relationship of competition, in financial matters especially.

Nevertheless, the community were unanimous on one point that they wanted to follow this tradition in their future generations because of general liking of this custom in the community. They couldn't deviate from this tradition of their ancestors.

4.6.2. Percentage merits vs demerits

In this section the respondents were asked whether they regarded more merits or demerits of this activity? Majority of the population i.e 55% people reported that merits are more than any demerits, a much smaller percentage i.e 36% people said that demerits are more in watta satta and 9% respondents gave mixed responses. As the researcher had stayed with the community for 3 months and closely studied the community, the tradition had been continued in this community for many generations they held it very sacred and followed it strictly. They had been fed since their childhood all the merits of this activity, so its advantages had been engraved in their minds and the small percentage who regarded the disadvantages did so only base on their own personal experiences

Figure 9: percentage merits vs demerits



Source: Field Data

One of the female respondent reports that:

“There are more advantages in it. It is upto a person himself that he utilizes its advantages or disadvantages”.

Other respondent said:

“No, there are not many negative impacts of this activity. I think watta satta is a better form of marriage. Our families have remain protected by watta satta”.

Another respondents narrates that:

“I am not saying that this activity has more negative impact because of my personal experience, I am also saying it keeping in view the environment of my surrounding”.

One of the female respondent narrates that:

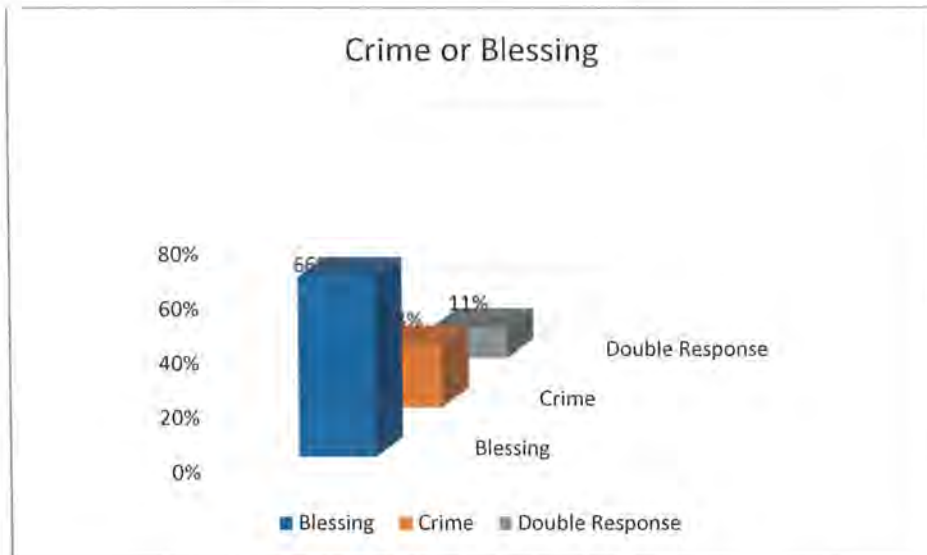
“There are many negative impacts but we are helpless as watta satta is a common practice in our community. We are used to this activity”.

4.6.3.Watta satta as a social crime

In this section researcher asked the respondents whether being aware of all the drawbacks did they consider watta satta as a social crime. Major percentage i.e 66% of the respondents didn't regard watta satta as a social crime while only 23 % of the community considered it as a crime. 11% of the people gave mixed responses. Being a community who is strongly following this custom and whose survival depends upon following this custom it is a way of

survial not a crime. They have moulded their community so as to only look into its many fold advantages and don't regard any disadvantages of this activity.

Figure 10: Watta Satta as a social crime



Source: Field Data

One of the respondent expressed his views that:

“It is indeed a crime and it feels like a crime when an innocent one gets punished for no reason because of watta satta”.

“Jurm ta hoyta ta jurm ta zada lgda hay jada hik beqasor nu saza mildi hay watty satty di waja tu.” nasreen irshaad

Another respondent expressed that:

“Yes, I think it is a crime. One who is unsuccessful considers it as a crime and the one who is successful he doesn't consider it as a crime”.

“Je han, mary khyak ich ta ay hik jurm hay. Jera nakaam hay oh is nu jurm smjda hay ty jera kamyab hay us ny jurm nai lgda”.

One of the female respondent who had faced so much hardships in watta satta expressed her opinion:

“It is a crime in my opinion. You can imagine from the word “watta satta” that it must have been something painful. There is no peace in it”.

"Mary khyaal ich ta ay jurm hay. Tusi watta satta lfz tu hi andaza kar leyo k koi tkleef aali chez hi hosi, skoon ta is ich ratti bhar e nai hay".

One of the female educated respondent expressed her views that:

"This is an offense in our area that a girl is not asked about her own will. She is tied with her brother in this watta satta relationship. This is really an offense. There is no worth of girls. Mother's sister and daughter are such pious relationships but they are sacrificed for brothers. In the process of making of her brother's home she becomes "Qurbani ka bakra".

All of the above respondents expressed their views mostly based on their personal experiences. They were of the view that male is given a superior place in their community as compared to females and she is given away in exchange for setting her brother's marriage. Secondly, she has to bear all the ill consequences of a failed marriage of her brother if he doesn't settle with his wife so she gets punishment without any offence. Keeping in view these bad experiences of my respondents they regarded this custom as a crime.

One of respondent told that:

"I don't consider its demerits so why should I consider it as a crime".

"Jada main is day nuqsanaat hi nai lgdy ta main is nu jurm kiway smja".

Another respondent in FGD narrates that:

"It is not at all a crime. God forbid, nobody gets murdered in it that it is considered as a crime".

"Jurm ta ay kisi surat hi nai hay. Khuda nakhuwasta koi qatal honda hay jay main is nu jurm smja".

Another respondent said that

"No, no not at all. Why should we consider it a crime"?

"Na na asi kiu aakhey is nu jurm".

The majority of the population i.e 56% were those people who didn't regard any of its disadvantages and to them the problems created in this custom were not in fact related to the custom but instead written in their fate or because of their own deeds. They even got offended when asked that whether they considered it as a crime or not.

11% respondents had mixed responses:

"It can or can't be a crime. It all depends on yourself whether you see its advantages or disadvantages".

"Jurm hay v ty nai v. ay ta bndy ty mohnsir hay k oh is day faidy wanda hay ya nuqsanaat".

One of the respondent who is member of punjait said that:

"It all depends on that person how he carries it. If someone becomes imposing with it then it becomes a crime."

"Ay ta bndy ty monahsir hay k oh kis trha chalnda hay is nu. Agr koi is ich apry ruab da beja istemaal karenda hay ta ay jurm hay".

Some people were enlightened enough to see some of its demerits but still they were not courageous enough to call it a crime. To them it depends upon the personal handling of the affairs by individuals which makes this tradition good or bad.

4.7. Problems of watta satta marriage

In this section the reasearcher tried to probe into different problems which the community faced while setting watta satta marriages. They were asked whether they faced any problems like age problems, lack of understanding among couples, mismatched couples etc. The researcher observed during different interviews that all of these problems although widely prevalent in the community were not given significance by major percentage of people and they somehow wanted to continue this tradition in their future generations.

One of the respondent reports that:

"In our setting, children are not at all asked about their will while setting marriages. It is considered very bad if they express their own will or if they say that they don't want to marry there. When children's will be not involved it creates problems. It is very rare in watta satta that couple has similar age or if it is a suitable match. If one couple is matched the other couple is forcefully matched even if they don't match in watta satta".

"sady ithy rishty karendy hoya bacheya tu bilku hi nai pocheya wanda hay. Hor bahu mayub smjheya wanda hay k bacheya tu unha di ray lai wanjy ya oh aap tu aakhin k asa ay rishta nai karna hay. Ta jada bacheya di psand hi na howy ta bahu sary masail aa wandy hain. Watty satty ich kamhi honda hay k umra mildiya howin ya koi bahu hi jorh aala rishta howy. Hik jora agr change howy ta doway nu zabrdasti jorh k watta satta bna choreya wanda hay".

One of the problems seen in watta satta marriages is lack of children's will while setting marriages. As it is considered bad in that community to ask the children about their own will and even highly educated ones bow their heads in front of their elders out of respect for their elders and this tradition, this lack of children's willingness creates many problems later on. Secondly, as watta satta tradition is set in favor of broader interests of the two families, most

significantly to settle two children from both the sides simultaneously they don't consider if there is huge age difference among couples which later on creates compatibility issues. Thirdly, during detailed interviews the researcher came to know that in many cases there was huge age differences among different couples and that even led to some infertility issues in the couples. Sometimes the families are helpless that in order to settle one of their child they have to give their daughter in a mismatched marriage to the other party.

One of other male respondent who was educated and he was married for 3 years answered that:

"If we look into our families we can see different problems at some places or the other. In our marriage we had main issue of understanding. And the biggest issue is that women's competition among themselves never end. If one gets a suit the other in her watta wants suit at any price. She will not see her own circumstances".

"Agar khandan main dekha jay to mukhtlf masail kahin na kahin nazr aty hain. Hmari shadi main jo masla hai wo hm aanghi ka hai. Or sb sy bar ye masla hai khwateen k aaps m muqably hi nai khtm hoty hain. Aik ny agr suit ly leya hai to dosri ko lazmi chaheay hi chaheay. Wo apny ghr k halaat nai dakhy gi bs khurhti rahy gi".

One of the problems which almost every couple faces in a watta satta marriage is a strong sense of competition involved in watta satta marriages in every aspect of life especially in financial terms. If a woman in a family is getting more amoney for running her household the the other woman in her watta satta would get envious of her and would start fights with her husband regardless of their own financial status. This is a never ending competition even in trivial matters.

Other respondent told that:

"Wherever marriages are set, problems are bound to occur there. Problems can be created by lack of understanding as well. But these are only temporary issues and are settled with time. Once couples have children they get sensible".

"jithy shadiyaa hondiya hain uthy masly masail v hondy hain. Inj koi v masla ho skda hay. Umer itna wada masla nai hay. Umero ty ta smjuty ho wandy hain. Aps ich hum aakhngi na howy ta masly masai brday hain. par ay waqti masly masil hondy hain. Aahista aahista sub set ho wanda hay. Bachy hi wandy haun ta waldain smjdari tu kam lra shuru kar dendy hain".

Some of the ardent supporters of watta satta don't consider these problems significant and are of the opinion that the couples somehow get along each other after a while when they have children.

Other respondent expressed that:

“I think in our case there was no problem related to age and that was a fair match as well. All four of us were educated. I am Mphil. My husband and brother both are PhD. In that sense it was a fair match but we could not develop understanding. My husband was helpless and there were some financial problems as well”.

Even in cases of well matched proposals couples can get problems in understanding each other that can lead to failed marriages.

Other respondent said that:

“We husband and wife didn't have any sort of problems among ourselves. At times some problems are created because of misunderstanding and they get settled quickly. There was no scene of getting angry as such. Alhamdulillah we had a good life in watta satta marriage. Yes, when we married our children we faced many problems. Now the children have very less patience. And the biggest problem with watta satta marriage is that one gets punished for other couple's wrong doings. There is a sense of competition from the start and they continue for the entire life”.

“Asa meya bevi ty ksi qism dy masly masail ni hondy hain. waqti masly masail bar wandy hain par oh v forn hal hi wandy hain. Koi rothan ala sceen nai haw. Alhamdulillah bahu achi guzari hay watta satta ich v. han, bacheya day jada watta satty keety ta bahu masly masail wakhy hain. Hur day bacheya ich quwat e bardasht di kami hay. Ty watty satty di shadiya da sareya tu wada masla aeya hay k hik day qasor di saza doway nu lazmi mildi hay. Muqably aa wandy hain aps ich pehly din tu ty oh sari zindgi chldy rahdy hain”.

Other respondent said that:

“In my opinion the biggest problem is financial issue. Both the families are not equal according to financial status. If one women is getting high amount of money, then the other women in her witta would even have issues with it. The biggest problem of watta satta is competition and jealousy”.

“Sareya tu wada masla jera main nazar anda hay oh muashi masla hay. Muashi tor ty do ghr kadi v brabar nai ho skdy hain ta masail ithaon shuru hondy hain. Hik taraf di orat nu agr kharcha zada milda peya hay ta doi taraf di orat nu is ty v ahtrazaat hosin. Watty satty da sb tu wada masla muqabla ty jealousy hay”.

Other respondent expressed his views aggressively that:

“We only had some personal problems, there were no problems related to watta satta. And whatever problems a family faces, they are kept hidden. They are not discussed openly”.

“jo v masail hain oh sady zati noiyt day hain, oh watta satta di waja tu nai hain. Hor ghara day jehry v masail hondy hain oh posheda rakhy wandy hain. In khuly aam dasy nai wandy”.

Some of the people hold this tradition so much dear to them that they don't want to discuss this in public.

Other respondent said that:

“There are no problems right now. Yes, there were problems in the past when my sisiter in law was angry with my brother and came here to her parent's house, she would create problems for me too. There was no other problem as such”.

4.7.1. Medical problems of cousin marriages

As it is well known fact in today's public that repeated marriages within the family leads to many congenital diseases within future generations. The researcher tried to evaluate the population under study whether they were aware of these medical problems of cousin marriages and also if any of them or their children faced any such problems by themselves or not. The community was very well versed with the medical issues created by repeated marriages within family but nevertheless they didn't consider those issues significant enough to stop this practice or in other words these problems were not big enough to persuade them to leave this practice.

One of the female respondents said that:

“There are many medical problems in our family because of cousin marriage. Like my elder son has eye sight issue so the doctor advised us not to marry inside family. Besides people are short heighted. And children also suffer from low white blood cells. One of a child in our family died at 10 years of age because of this problem, still they have followed this tradition of watta satta”.

“Khandan ich shadiya di waja tub ahu sary masly masail hondy hain. Jesy mary bary bety ko nazar da masla hay is kar doctra san khandan ich shadi tu mana keta haw. Is day alawa qadd choty hain. Hor bacheya ich white blood cells di kami hay. Hik bacha saday khandan ich is waja tu foat v ho chukka hay 18 saal da. Par wat v unha watta satta keta hy”.

Other respondent said that:

“Yes medical problems are caused due to cousin marriages. My wife is handicapped. Now I don’t know whether she is handicapped due to failure to receive polio vaccination or it’s a family issue”.

One of respondent said that:

“Yes there are eye-sight problems in our family because of cousin marriages. Allergy problems are also there because of it”.

Conversation with one of my respondent in FGD is that:

“Due to repeated marriages within families children are being born who are dull and handicapped. They are handicapped by hands, feet or tongue.

Me: have you married any of your children outside family to lessen this effect?

He: I have planned it but I haven’t done it yet”.

Some families even got some syndromic babies in the family due to repeated marriages within the family but still they would keep on following this tradition.

Another respondent reports that:

“Yes definitely, genetic diseases are transmitted from one generation to another. Whether it is a watta satta marriage or marriage outside the family. In our family there is no significant problem. Genetic problem like flu, is present in our family”.

“Je han bilkul, jehry marusi imraz hondy hain oh hik nasal tu doi nasal ich azmi munteqil hondy hain. Chahy oh watta satta di shadi howy ya khandan tu bahir howy. Sadi baradri ich asa koi khas masla nai hay. Jehra marusi masla hay oh nazla ty resha hay jehra marusi chleya aa reya hay”.

One of educated respondent expressed his views that:

“Yes there are a few problems. Our children have flu related problem. Otherwise no big issue. And as far as refraining from watta satta marriage due to these medical issues is concerned, this is our personal decision. We will not stop it on the doctor’s advice or somebody else’s advice”.

Other respondent who was retired school teacher narrates that:

“Yes, according to research due to same blood running in family’s children are being born weaker in subsequent generations. And if marry outside our families children are very intelligent and sharp minded. Polio epidemic is spreading in our families because of cousin marriages. We are landlords and most of the families have dairy farms for their business. We

are trying to breed better animals so that we get better quality livestock like cows and buffaloes. You can get this estimate from this example that you can get so many better results with change of blood”.

Some people are of the view that marrying their children out of family and change of blood can produce better offsprings both mentally and physically.

Other respondent said that:

“My son weak eye sight and he also suffer from night blindness. When we got his medical checkup the doctor advised us not to marry him in family but we married him within family”.

Another respondent answer that:

“There are some genetic diseases in children because of close relatives marriages. Doctors also say to stop this practice. Diseases like Asthma, Allergy, High blood pressure and some eye sight related problems”.

Other respondent said that:

“Yes, I am aware of it. I have heared that doctors say if any handicapped children are born, then you should marry outside family. But Alhamdullilah we have 8 children and everyone of them is fine. And not only mine but every child from our family is fine. Health and life lies in Allah’s hand. *“Moat ty hayati tan Rub day hath ich hay”*.

Other respondent who was masjid imam said that:

“in our family we suffer from early grey hair. We don’t have eye sight or any other problem”.

Other respondent narrates that:

“In our maternal side we suffer from joint pains because of endogymy”.

Other respondent who was member of Punjait narrates that:

“Yes there are medical problems within our family due to repeated marriages in families. One problem which I note especially is that our children are mentally and physically weak. They gave less intelligence. They cannot take decisions. Everybody is insane and they totally lose their mind after 40 years of age. And all of us recongnise this fact that we are mentally handicapped because of endogymy”.

“Sady khandan ich tabai masail khandan ich lgatar shadiya di waja tu hain. Hik hor masla jehra main mahsos honda hay oh ay k bachy zahni ty jismani tor ty kamzor ho gay hain. Ina ich zahant di kami hay. Ina ich faisly lan di smj bhuj nai hay. Ty jada 40 saal tu uta wandy hain ta ta damaghi tor ty bilkul hi out ho wandy hain. Hor asi sary ay gal mandy haw k as

khandan ich shadiyaa kar kar k zahni tor ty mafloj ho gay haw. Sadi baradari dy wady aadhy hain k "Asi ta hasy tareo pateo reshama par hun khatam ho gay haw".

Overall, the problems which the researcher found that the community faced were related to eye-sight, allergy and flu related, and some polio related cases were also attributed by the community to repeated marriages in the family. A very small percentage of the population also saw congenital problems in the form of different syndromes in their offsprings. People also had an insight that due to these repeated marriages children were mentally and physically weaker but somehow these were minor issues and they didn't give these issues much weightage and the major percentage of the community still wanted to follow this tradition in their future generations.

4.7.2. Psychological impacts of failure of watta satta marriages

The researcher asked the community about the psychological impacts the watta satta lay on the subject's minds during their whole life. As we know that a watta satta marriage is completely different from a simple marriage and in it four persons and in fact two families are knit together in a complex relationship and behavior of one couple or family strongly affects the other couple and family as well. Failed relationship of one couple can lead to complicated relationship in other couple which can have its consequences and effects on their parents, children and whole family.

One of the respondent said that:

"It has many psychological impacts. In our Sahu caste we had so many watta satta marriages and now we are tired of it but our society doesn't allow us to move forward. It is not that easy for us to leave it".

"Bahu zada zahni ty asar ponda hay. Sadi family ich kafi zada watta satta hoy hain. Ty hun asi is tu thakh gay haw. Par sada muashara san agaa nai wadha denda. Sadi kaan is nu chorna itna asaan nai hay".

Despite having understanding about the ill-effects of complications of watta satta marriage on mental health it somehow feels that the community is still bound by this tradition and cannot leave it.

Another respondent expressed his personal experience:

“It is quite clear whenever problems are created it leads to psychological impacts. But by the grace of God we had no such issues in our watta satta. Everybody has to see some problems in the start but by the grace of Allah everything remained fine”.

In some Ncases, people do live peaceful lives in this tradition or somehow they do not look upon these problems as significant enough to mention.....

another respondent narrates her perspective:

“I experienced a lot of psychological impacts. I love my brother but because of my husband and mine differences, my relationship with my brother got affected. I didn't feel good that my husband was not fulfilling my rights still my brother was keeping his wife comfortable. I have to go through a lot of mental torture in this watta satta marriage”.

The above respondent is an educated member of the community who had to suffer a lot in this watta satta tradition but also had insight into the many drawbacks of of this custom including its psychological impacts. She had a complicated relationship with her husband as he was not supporting her financially but her brother was tending to every need of her sister in law so she stressed about it a lot and had to endure a lot of psychological trauma in this custom. So one of the reasons of bad psychological impacts of this custom is a continuous sense of competition among two couples especially among females where they are always comparing their own financial status with the other couple.

One of female respondent

“Life was full of problems; how could one live in peace. There were so many tensions. These people used to give me threats that they would snatch away my children. So when children used to go to school, my bothers would accompany them to and from school. I always feared that they would take my children from me. My children had awareness and they didn't want to go to their father otherwise my husband played many tricks to snatch away my children. Its psychological impacts, not only affected me but also my father and brother as well”.

“Itny zada zindgi ich masail rahy hain zindgi ich ta bnda skoon naal kiway raway. Bahu tension hondiya hain. Ay log dhamkiya dendy hain k asi bachy kho laysiyay. Wat jada bachy school wandy hain ta mera bhira unha nu school chor v anda haw tu lah k v anda haw. Oh ta bachy mary kujh smjdar hain ta oh baap dir wabdy nai hain. Warna mary shohar ta bahu harby lay hain bachy methu khachin kar. Zahni asraat sirf mary ty hi nai mary baap ty bhaira ty v hondy hain”.

The above respondent was also a victim of failed relationship of her brother and sister in law. There were many complications in her watta satta marriage, huge age difference between

both the couples led to a rocky journey throughout their life and the failed relationship of her brother who was many years younger than her sister in law proved to be the final nail in the coffin. She spent almost whole of her life with her father as her sister in law never stayed with her brother and he had done second marriage. Her in laws took revenge from her by sending her to her father's place most of the times and she would get pregnant in between these times and even gave birth to her children at her father's home. Her in laws always blackmailed her that they would take her children away from her. So she always lived under the fear of losing her children and had to protect them from their father. It was only after the death of her sister in law that she was able to live peacefully with her husband and that too with the assistance of family members. By that time, she had endured so much that she couldn't find any joy in her relationship because all her life was spent in turmoil. So failed marriage had a very bad impact on her psychological health.

Other respondent said that:

“Yes, definitely complications and problems lead to tension. I have run through all of these circumstances. Mental peace is very important for human being but one cannot find any of it in a watta satta marriage”.

Other respondent said:

“My sister in law's marriage was not successful so my in laws would get tense about it. They would use sarcastic language to me. But I didn't get tense on these matter. When I would tell my mother about these issues she used to say that you have children, a home and you are living your life happily. Their sister was sitting in their home and my brother didn't want to marry her. So my mother said to me that they should marry my sister in law somewhere else. My husband was on my side and I didn't have any tension. But I worry a lot for my children that their watta satta was not successful. I cannot die for these tensions. I have left everything to Allah whatever will be done will be done by him. If it would have been successful and if their marriage is not successful it is upto their own fate”.

The above respondent also had to bear the consequences of failed relationship of her brother with her sister in law as her brother refused to marry her sister in law and divorced her many years' after the respondent's marriage because he came to like someone else. This put a huge strain on the respondent because her husband had to bear continuous pressure from his family to divorce her as well. But at that time they had a successful marriage and had children too so he refused to do so. The respondent was also a person with strong nerves so she stood against all odds to save her relationship and to protect her children as well. Later on when she married her own children in watta satta marriage and again met a failed relationship of her

son and daughter in law in the form of divorce and a troubled relationship of her daughter and son in law she again came under tension. So the researcher learnt from examples such as this that the community was used to bear these bad psychological impacts and wouldn't refrain from doing this practice even after many failed relationships in many generations.

4.7.3. Economic worth of watta satta marriages

During her stay with the villagers the researcher asked them whether there was any financial or economic benefit of watta satta or not. The community as a whole had set some principles and rules which governed this tradition of watta satta and generally these rules were followed in every watta satta marriage except for a few cases. According to these set rules by the society the women didn't ask for their share of inheritance in land or property and they have to transfer their share to their brothers. It is a tradition somehow in their community that females get dowry and that is given according to somebody's own financial status. So the community in fact did get this financial benefit in watta satta marriage that it protects their land and inheritance and avoids its division. But the villagers didn't acknowledge this benefit openly and said that land protection was not the reason behind following this tradition. Only a few of the courageous and outspoken women can acknowledge that the community was doing this injustice by not giving them their share of property.

One of female respondents reports that:

"I had my share of inheritance and I still owe it, I was elder sister of my five brothers. I took my share of inheritance and still we are getting benefit because of it. Previously I had more property now I have transferred some of its share to my brother and the rest of the land is being cultivated by us. My family used to say at that time that if she didn't owe her share of inheritance, her husband would have divorced her (because my brother divorced my sister in law). When I married my children in watta satta in my brother's family, I transferred some of my land to my son in law. They had set a condition at the time of children's marriage that they wanted a certain amount of inheritance back so I fulfilled their condition. In our family's daughters have to face this cruelty that they don't get their share of inheritance but I took my share".

The above respondent was bold enough to claim her share of inheritance in her father's property and also a staunch supporter of this women's right that they have to face this injustice of not getting their share in land in their community. Somehow she was forced again to transfer a percentage of her inheritance back to her brother at the time of watta satta of her children with her brother's children. So this tradition gives the males advantage over females

that their inheritance is conserved and the females are deprived of their financial perks by this custom.

Other respondent said that:

“I got dowry as much as my parents could afford. Besides I got cows and goats as well. I only got this benefit. I have land in my name but that I will transfer to my brothers. It is their inheritance and they should get it”.

“Main jahaiz mileya haw jitna mary waldain day skdy hain. Is day alawa main gain ty bkriya miliya hawin. Aeya faida hoya haw. Hor jaidad mary naa ty hay par oh main apny bhirawa day naa kar churesa. Allah una nu naseeb kary. unada tarka hay unha nu hi milna chaheda hay”.

Conventionally females are brainwashed since their childhood that the inheritance belongs to males and that they shouldn't claim their share and females who do ask for their share are abhorred in the community.

One of male respondent answered that:

“My wife has got inheritance but that is still in her father and brother's hands. She has not got it till now. It is not considered good for female to ask for her share of inheritance. Because if my wife asks for her share, my niece would also ask for her share too. So in this way property is transferred to brothers on both the sides and inheritance gets protected”.

Other respondent said that:

“No, in our family's daughters don't take their share of inheritance and neither her in laws demand for it and we understand that if a girl gets some inheritance and is living with her in laws it creates many problems”.

Other respondent said that:

“Neither my sister, nor my wife got any inheritance. My wife's share of inheritance is still with her father because he is alive”.

Other respondent said that:

“No, I didn't get any financial benefit from it, neither my brother in law got any property from watta satta. Because we don't give our daughters their share of property. My wife got dowry from parents but her parents gave it to her on their will there was no greed involved in it”.

Other respondent said that:

“I got dowry. I don’t have land. My father has died and all of the inheritance is still in his name and when the time comes, I will transfer it to my brother. Neither me, nor my sister in law got any inheritance. My sister in law got a buffalo in dowry. My brothers took care of it and when it was able to be sold at 30,000/- my brother gave that amount to my sister in law. That buffalo remained for 3 years with us and gave birth to two bulls. My sister in law took one of the bulls but the other one was kept by my brothers and they didn’t give its amount to my sister in law. My sister in law and my husband made an issue over that single bull whole of their life. My brothers also get stubborn that this was not such a big issue. They said that they will not give its share, they may do whatever they wish to do”.

Other respondent said that:

“My husband got his benefit that my mother transferred her property to him even before my marriage. I couldn’t get any financial benefit. My husband’s only aim was to get that property back”.

“Mery shohar ko faida mila meri ami ny apny naam ki zameen shadi sy pehly hi mery shohar k naam kar di. Mujy to koi mali faida nai hawa. Mery shohar ka maqsad hi yehe tha k zameen wapis lena”.

Other respondent explained his point of view:

“According to shariah daughters should be given their share in heritage. In our setting we do not give share of heritage instead we give dowry and once she dies we do arrangement for her burial. Relatives are given food on her death and it is said that her share is given now. They would never transfer a piece of land to her. I told my wife that I didn’t want share from her parent’s property and my sister happily transferred her share to us brothers. And if a sister happily transfers her share to her brothers there is no harm in it”.

Other respondent said that:

“I Got this benefit that my wife had property in her name and she got it from her brothers so financially we got self sufficient”.

“Main ay faida hoya haw k mari bewi apny bhirwa tu jaidad lai hai ta as mali tor ty khud kafeel ho gay hasay”.

A conversation with one of my respondent in FGD was that:

“Yes, my wife has property in her name but that is cultivated by her brothers and we don’t get any benefit from it but my In-laws are financially strong and they keep on helping us financially. My in-laws are more well off and they have more property”.

Me: if a woman from one side gets her property, the other woman also wants to get it or it doesn't matter?

He: Yes, competition arises in such situations but we don't give our daughters their share of property. They are given dowry according to someone's financial status. They were also given financial help afterwards but property remains with the brothers".

Other respondent who was retired school teacher said that:

"No, my father was still alive and our land was not divided. Neither my wife got any share in inheritance at the time of ur marriage nor my sister got it but both got equal dowry. I am a retired school teacher and I have 22,000/- per month pension. Once my son in law asked me that as I get pension I should give 500/- or 1000/- to my daughter because it is their right. I had no objection to it but my son was listening and asked his wife that when she will bring her share from her brothers, we will also give share to our sister. There is a equal competition in watta satta".

Whether the females in a watta satta marriage get their share in inheritance or not is decided on a matter of equality as every other matter is set on equality basis. Generally, both the females transfer their share to their respective families but if in laws of one of the females would ask her to bring her share of inheritance the other family would immediately come in competition and ask their daughter in law to bring her share too. So this fear of losing their property generally keeps families on both the sides silent and they don't ask their daughter in laws for their share so as to keep their inheritance safe.

4.7.4.Social worth of watta satta

The researcher during her interviews with the community asked them about the impact watta satta marriage lay on their social life. As it was a tradition of their ancestors and widely accepted and applauded in the community, following of this tradition raised their worth many folds in their society. Secondly, their families got strengthened and bonded by following this tradition.

One of respondent said that:

"People get very happy whenever a watta satta marriage is being arranged. Nobody tries to give advice or tell them not to do watta satta. People who do watta satta get regarded in their family. So people do watta satta to keep their regard within family".

"Watta satta jada honda peya hinda hay ta log bahu khush hony hain. Majaal hay k koi bnda aakh deway k watta satta tu baaz aa wanju ty na kro. "Sady ithy jery log watta satta

karendy py hondy hain unha di baeadri ich toar bar wandi hay. Khandaan ich wah wah ho wandi hay. " Ta log is toar nu barqrar rakhr kar v watty satty krendy hain log".

another respondent said that:

"People like it. You get dignified in your family. People get happy that daughter and son are exchanged with each other. *"dhi putar vata leya."* People praise that the following brother and sister are united".

Other respondent reports that:

"Social worth is that families remain united".

Other respondent narrates his point of view:

"I don't see any social worth of watta satta. At first there is a quick engagement and then marriage. And then immediately "blood shed" i-e fights are started".

"Ajj day doar ich ta main koi muashirti khobi nai nazar aandi hay. Pehly ta watta satta ich "chtt mangni ty patt beya" honda hay ty wat tareay din hi khon "kharaba" shuru ho wanda hay".

A few of the interviewees who had experienced ill-effects of this tradition were not happy in this tradition and didn't regard these social benefits of watta satta. To them there were only fights and disputes in this custom and those benefits once regarded have long been left behind.

One of female respondent who was Mphil sociology answered that:

"We could "hold our heads high" after this watta satta. My brother was considered a Role Model in our famiy (He was PhD). He is such an educated person still he didn't oppose this custom so family members used to praise him that he was such an obedient son. I also used to feel myself "so worthy" that I was going in "watta" for my brother. Our social worth increased in following this custom."

"Hmari bari toar ban gait hi. Mery bhai ko khandan main bht laiq or roll model smja jata hai (Wo PHD hain). K itna prha likha hai or prhy likhu ho k b inho ny is rasm p koi ahtraz nai kea, to khand waly bri wah wah karty thy k bary saadat mand bachy hain. Or tb to mgy b bari qadar mahsos hti thi k m aony bhai k watty main ja re hn. Khandani rasm ko jari rakhny pe hmari izat main izafa hwa tha"

When some highly educated member of the community bows his head in front of his elders in favor of this tradition he is regarded even more in the community. And females generally also feel delighted on being set in watta of their brother because they are not being married for free. They pride increases many folds.

4.7.5. Political dimension of watta satta

The interviewer when asked about the political worth of watta satta to the respondents, most of them responded that politics was not involved in watta satta and as such they didn't gain any political benefit from this tradition. Most uneducated ones didn't even know much about the politics as well. A few of the respondents expressed their views that as watta satta marriage strengthens a family's bond, so if a family member of theirs is running for a seat he will get support from his family members. So politically the community didn't get many advantages from this custom.

One of the respondent reports:

"I don't know anything about politics".

Other respondent said that:

"I am a simple uneducated woman; I don't know anything about politics and my brothers and husband also have nothing to do with politics".

"Main hik saadi, kam parhi orat haw. Main ta seyasad da kuj nai pata horn mary bhirawa ty shohar da v koi lara dewra ni hay seyasad naal".

Other respondent said that:

"We are not concerned with politics. I don't think there is any political worth of watta satta marriage".

"Sada seyasad naal koi taluq nai hay. Mara nai khyal k watta satta di shadi di koi seyasi khobi hay".

One of the educated female respondent reports that:

"As such there is no political worth of watta satta. But my father was member of "Punchaiat" and we had many complications after marriage to the extent of divorce. But my father used to say if I couldn't settle my children's issues how could I settle someone else's problem. This would affect his self esteem".

"Watta satta ka hmary han koi seyasi faida nai hota. Han ye tha k mery abu "punchaiat" k rukn hain to hmary bht zada masail thy shadi k bad bhi, baat talaag tk aa phnchi thi par abu kahty thy k agar mary apny bachu k ghar na basy to main logo k masail kesy hal karun ga. Meri izat main kami aa jay gi".

Some members of the community who were members of the Punchaiat too were involved in local politics so they wanted to resolve their issues by themselves so that the Punchaiat may

not point finger on their credibility as a member of punchaiat. So local politics affected them in taking decisions about their own children.

Other respondent said that:

“We are not concerned with politics at all. We cannot find any time from family politics, how can we come to think about country's politics”.

“Seyasat naal sada koi lera dena nai hay. Khandani seyasata tu hi san fursat nai mildi k mulki seyasat day bary ich socheay”.

Other respondent said that:

“Politics is involved to such an extent that if someone from our family runs in a political party, we support him because of relationship. But even in votes we prefer our own likes and dislikes.

“Seyasat da aeya hay k jada apra bnda mtlb apri baradari da koi bnda khara honda hay ta asi us nu rishtdari di waja tu support karendy haw. Par vote ich apri pasand nasand da dakhil zada honda hay”.

Other respondent explained that:

“If our near relatives are running for elections and if our relations are also set there we can get their votes. This is the political advantage of watta satta”.

“Agr sady qareebi rishtydar election kar khary hoy hoy hain, ty sady uthy rishty hoy wy hain ta san uthu votes mill wasin. Seyasi tor ty aeya faida honda hay”.

4.7.6. Religious perspective of watta satta

According to the respondents interviewed in the community by the interviewer the religious worth of watta satta lies in the fact that people of a similar caste belong to same sect as well. So their religious affairs are also similar. In this way when people marry within their family they do not find any difficulty in exercising their religious obligations. Otherwise if partners in a couple belong to different sect and caste they have somewhat different religious affairs which may create complications in their everyday life.

One of the respondent who was diploma holder said that:

“If you have a similar sect then you don't get into problems but in our village half of village is from shia sect and half belongs to Sunnah but we never had any arguments over sect and we are living happily”.

"Firqa aik hn to ikhtelafaat nai hoty. Par hmary gaon main aadha gaon ahal e tashee hai or adha ahal e sunat, par firqo pe khabi masai nai bny. Hm logo k aaps main achy guzary ho rhy hain".

Other respondent said that:

"Religious worth lies in the fact that we belong to smiliar sect so we have many differences but we don't have any religious differences".

"Mazbhi khubi aeya hai k asi hik firqy tu haw. Wesy ta so ikhtelaaf ty tazaad hain par mazhab di waja tu koi ikhtelafaat nai hain".

Other respondent who was imam masjid said that:

"Its is not concerned with religion as such. Yes, its is concerned with caste that people like to wed inside their caste".

Other respondent said that:

"Its religious worth lies in the fact that you get saved from division into small groups because of smiliar caste and sect otherwise if there are many sects involved it can lead to problems".

Other respondent said that:

"There is no religious worth as such. But since there is same "sect" so religious complications don't arise."

Other respondent said that:

"Previously children were uneducated, they didn't know their religion except to offer prayers and to recite Quran but now they have their own perspective. Marriage is an act of Sunnah but as far as the religious worth of watta satta is concerned I have no knowledge about it".

Other female respondent said that:

"Religious worth lies in the fact that marriage is an act of Sunnah and we are fulfilling this act of Sunnah".

4.8.Love marriage vs arrange marriage

In this section the researcher asked the respondents whether they wed in love marriage or arrange marriage? As it is not regarded good in the community that children express their own will or their inclination from someone they tend to accept their parent's orders and obey their parents while setting marriages. So most of the people responded by telling that they wed in arranged marriage. A few of the respondents were of the view that parents should now

consider children's will as well and ask them about their choice before setting marriages but they too were in favor of watta satta and finally wanted to follow this tradition.94% respondents reported that their marriage was arranged marriage.

Figure 11: love marriage vs arrange marriage



Source: Field Data

One of the respondents reported that:

“No, in our times children were not asked about their will. Parents would exercise their own will and still children would listen and obey their parents”.

“Nai, sady waqta ty bacheya tu una di marzi nai pochi wandi hai. waldain apri marzi naal karendy hain. Hun v bachy waldain da hi hukam manedy hain”.

Other respondent said that:

“We married according to our parents will. In these time the girls know where they are getting married and they can even ask about it. In our times, one came to know about it when marriage was all set”.

“Sadi shadi ta waldain di psand naal hoe hai. aj kal ta wat hi larkiya nu pata honda hay k kithy rishty di gal chaldi pai hay hor koi puch v lenda hay. Par sady waqt ty shadi teyar ho wandi hai ta pata lgda haw”.

Other respondent who was government school teacher said that:

“No, we had no perception when our watta satta was set. Our watta satta marriage was planned when we were seven years of age and we got married at 25. We marry according to our parent’s wish. From engagement till marriage there were no problems”.

In some cases, watta satta is set even before the children reach their puberty, and there are cases when one couple gets married and the other couple gets nikahfied at the same time before their puberty and later on when they get mature enough they are properly married like in above respondent’s case.

One of the female respondent’s conversation in FGD was:

“No, I wed according parent’s will and I was not even asked at that time. Parents always think good for their children.

Me: Do you ask your children before their marriage?

She: I married my own daughter according to my own will, I didn’t ask for her consent”.

Most percentage of the community had no regrets over the fact that their own will was not asked at the time of their marriage even if they had a difficult marriage afterwards. According to the widely accepted belief in the community their parents never think bad about them and would always take decisions in their long term benefit.

One of the educated female respondent answered that:

“In our families they don’t ask girls of their own will. Whatever parents decide girls obey them”.

“Hmary han larkiyo sy un ki marzi nai pochi jati hai. Bs jo waldain kah dety hain betiya us p ameen kahti hain”.

Another respondent said that:

“It was my parent’s choice. Infact it was against my mother will. She was against these relations. My father arranged these marriages according to his own will”.

“Waldain di psand naal hai balky mari maa di marzi ta nai, oh inha rishteya day haq ich nai. Mary walid sahb apri psand naal keety hain”.

Other respondent who was educated said that:

“Yes, I wed according to my parent’s will. I got nikahfied at 15 years of age. I was happy for getting married at that time”.

Children are at times get nikahfied at an age at which they don’t even have any perception about marriage itself and they are also brain washed right from their childhood that they

cannot think about their own choice while marrying and their parent's choice is the best for them.

Other respondent said that:

“No, it was completely arranged marriage by my parents and I was satisfied mentally that my parents will do good for me”.

2% respondents reported that their marriage was love marriage. It was rare to find such an example in the community.

One of the male respondent who was government employe said that:

“I was married according to my wish. Our watta satta was arranged due to my will. Nobody gives a single match so we gave our sister for this match. We gave two sisters in watta satta and took two sisters in exchange. My wish was fullfilled in this way that I was asked to marry younger sister but I said that I want to marry elder one and my wish was fullfilled”.

“Mari shadi ich mari psand shamil hai. Mari waja tu hi watta satta hoye haw. Akla saakh koi denda nai haw is kar behr da day k rishta leya haw. Do behra ditiya hain ty do behra laiya hain. Psand mari sirf aeya hai k main akehya main choti behn naal nai wadi behr naal shadi karni hay. Ty mari khaish manni gai hai”.

Other male respondent said that:

“Yes, I was asked about my will. I couldn't get a single match so my niece got married in my witta. In our setting we cannot get a match besides in a watta satta”.

In cases where respondents were able to get married according to their own choice they too had to give a match in exchange in a watta satta marriage, only then they could fulfill their own wishes. So even if one couple in a watta satta is marrying according to their own wish the other one's marriage is set to complete this custom.

So we can see from the above statistics that the community is able to continue this tradition of watta satta in their many generations because the elders have kept the decision power among themselves and mostly the children are not involved in decision making of their lives. And the children too live their lives in the perception that whatever their parents decide for them is in their wider interests and they cannot think any bad for them.

4.8.1.Imposed/ voluntary marriage

In this part of interview, the researcher asked the interviewers who had been married according to their parent's will, that if given a chance whether they would exercise their own

will or still follow their elder's chosen path for them. As this tradition has been incorporated deeply into this community's roots the majority of the cases responded by saying that they were happy in following their elder's orders. Only a small percentage were of the view that children should be given their right to choose when deciding about their most important matter of life and that they too wanted that right if given a choice now.

One of the male respondent said that:

"Now I say that children should be asked about their will because they have to spend their life. And if now given a chance I would have used my right".

Other female respondent said that:

"No, I would have chosen 'watta satta' even if given a chance because it is considered good by our family".

The community generally cares a lot about what other members of the community would think about them so they tend to follow their elders path to get praise by the family members.

Other respondent said that:

"I still would have given this right to my parents because parents always think good for their children".

Parent's obedience is also a major factor behind the reason the community generally follows this tradition. The one who regards his parents and gives importance to his family is regarded in the community and the one who doesn't is not referred to with good remarks.

Other respondent said that:

"It is quite clear that I would prefer my parent's choice. I would only succeed if I give importance to their choice".

Other female respondent said that:

"Yes, if I had the right and I would have understanding at that time I would have denied".

"Han agar mary kol haq honda tyb main ta smj hondi ta inkar kar dandi is tu".

Some members of the community who had suffered in this tradition and who were also too young at the time when their fate was decided by their parent's regret that they were not mature enough to think about themselves at that time and now they wanted to follow their own will if given a chance.

One of the educated female respondent narrates that:

“There was a problem that I had not seen anybody getting married outside family. There was no other suitable match for me in our family. My husband was 9 years older than me and if I couldn’t have married to him even then I had to be married to someone else in family. There is a chance that the other one might not be educated or younger than me. So that was the best suitable option for me”.

Marriages are generally done within the family in that community and they are either afraid to seek match outside the family or afraid that the community might not think good about them so in some cases they are helpless to follow their parent’s will.

Other respondent said that:

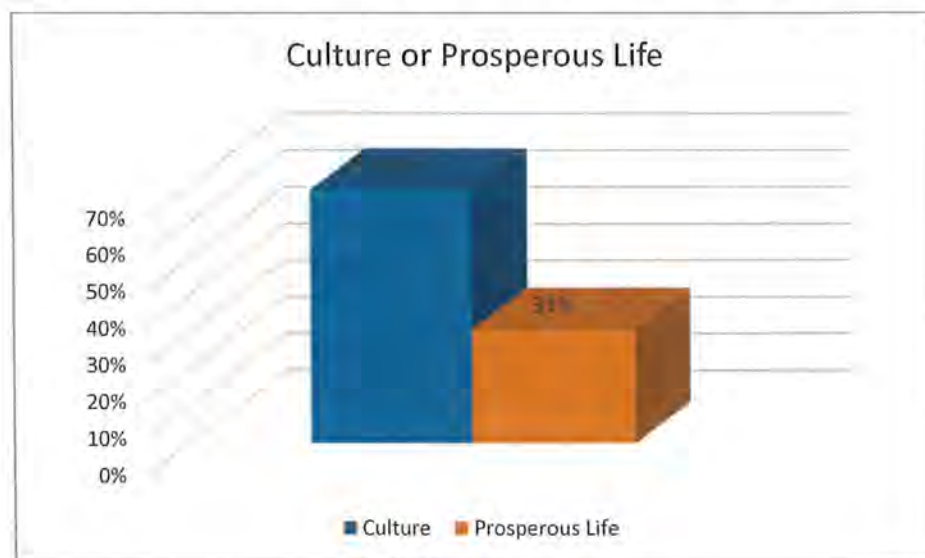
“When we were not given any other choice, even if we were given a choice, we would have followed our parents will”.

People were also naive enough previously to not think about themselves and let their parents decide for them.

4.8.2.Tradition vs prosperity

In this part of survey, the researcher asked the respondents whether their prosperous and contented life held more importance to them or following their ancestral traditions.

Figure 12: culture is more important to you or your prosperous life



Source: Field Data

Majority i.e 65% of respondents reported that culture was more important to them.

One of the respondents answered that:

“No, it is not a tradition among us that children follow their own will. I didn’t even ask my children, they left it to me. Even though my son is PHD and my daughter is Mphil”.

“Nai sady han rawaj nai hay k bachy apri marziya karin. Main aap apny bacheya tu na pocheya haw unha mary uty chor ditta haw hala k mara beta PHD ty mari beti Mphil hay”.

Parents hold pride in the fact if their educated children give them this right and do not speak against their wishes.

One of the female who was strong admirer of watta satta and has been married for the last 32 years expressed her views that:

“we were not asked about our will. Even if we have a right to chose we will prefer our parents will. Even if you ask me now I will choose watta satta marriage after all we have to marry our brother and make his home”.

Living in a male dominant society and further living in a community which strongly emphasizes on male dominance, the females come to think of themselves as a means to facilitate their brother’s marriage.

“Sathu sadi marzi nai pochi vandi. Sady kol ikhteyar howy v ta asi apny waldain di psand naal kreay. Agar tusi methu hury v pochsu ta main aeya aakhsa k asi watta satta karesey aakhir asa apra bhira parnawra hay, us da ghr waswra hay”.

Living in a male dominant society and further living in a community which strongly emphasizes on male dominance, the females come to think of themselves as a means to facilitate their brother’s marriage.

29% repondents expressed their views against this tradition saying that they wanted a happy and contented life and the culture was not important to them anymore.

one of the respondent said that:

“This tradition is not important to me now. Everybody learns from his experience”.

The above female had suffered a lot in this tradition and now was a strong opponent of this tradition and didn’t even want to continue it in her future generations.

Another male respondent said that:

“No, watta satta doesn’t hold any importance to me now. There is no peace in it”.

“Nai watta satta do koi ahmiyat nai hay mary kar. Is ich skoon nai hay”.

6% of respondent had mixed responses. One of my female respondent said that:

“Now I have spent my life, what should I answer you? But everybody should spend their life according to their own right”.

“Hun main ky aakha. Asi ta apri zindgi guzar bathy haw. Lakin har bndy nu aprin marzi da ikhteyar howara chaheda hay, jiway ud dill kary zindgi guzary”.

Although some people didn't find their own experience very good still they were not very strong opponents of this custom.

4.9.Challenges of watta satta

In this part of interview, the researcher asked the respondent about different challenges people had to face while setting watta satta marriages and that caused problems in their married life thereafter. There were many issues related to mismatched marriages, age related problems and some financial issues as well. Although not recognized by all the people these issues played a major role in building their family life.

One of the female respondent who was married for 22 years answered that:

“We always fought on money matters. My brother in-law's wife got more money for her living, so that led to disputes. Even my husband didn't listen to me and he used to take his family side. He would mostly beat me due to these disputes. I used to remain angry for upto 6 months. Once I got angry with my husband and stayed at my mother's place, my sister in law who was married in my “Witta” also stayed at her mother's place. She was due to give birth at that time and she gave birth to her child there due to these fights”.

We can see from the above example that there is a strong sense of competition involved in watta satta especially in financial matters where the female from one side is always comparing herself with the female from other side of her watta satta. These competitions never allow her to spend a contented life with her partner which creates many disputes among the couple.

Another respondent said that:

“Our financial status was equal so there was no competition involved. But later circumstances led to tense situation as my sister had 3 sons and 1 daughter and my brother in law did his second marriage so it led to tense situation.”

Where financial problems are not a source of dispute among the couple they can have other problems like if the second couple in watta satta cannot get along with each other or if they divorce or the man marries in second marriage, the first couple even if living peacefully start

arguments etc. So the mutual peace in a couple does not rest solely on their own relationship but also depends on how the other couple is doing.

Another female respondent expressed her thoughts:

“I was 10 years elder than my husband but age was never a factor in our marriage. There are fights on domestic issues mostly. Domestic problems and domestic chores led to problems”.

So fights are bound to occur and that too mostly because of comparisons. In less privileged part of the community women would compare the domestic work done by females on both the sides and it led to disputes.

Another respondent narrates his side of story:

“We were living our life peacefully but the other couple in our watta satta couldn't get married. At the time of our marriage my sister and brother in law got nikahfied because they were young. But when they get older enough to get married my brother in law refused to get married and divorced my sister. Because of that we had to meet many differences. I myself felt very bad about it. My parents, brothers and my sister used to say that I should divorce my wife but at that time I had 4 children so I thought that my children would suffer and I thought to make my marriage successful. But throughout my life I had to bear this lamentation that you are living with the sister of a man who divorced your own sister. For a considerable period of time my brothers, sister and family members remained cut off from me”.

In case of a failed relationship of one couple if the other couple is courageous enough to try to save their relationship their community comes in their way and would continuously blame the male member of the couple for not doing the same to his wife. Closed family members like brothers and sisters would go so far as to cut off from the couple and try every means to take revenge from the female.

Another female respondent explained:

“I saw every sort of problems. My husband didn't even buy a single dress for me entire life. I had to seek my brother's help to fulfil my needs my whole life. The clothes which I got in my dowry, I was not even allowed to use them, they are still here at my husband's place. What to talk of fights, I have not seen anything except fight in my life”.

“Har qism day masail hain. Mary ghar aaly pori zindgi ich main hik suit tk nai lay k dita. Sari zindgi main apri bhirawa tu lay k apri zrorata poriya ketiya hain. Jehry kapry main bari ich mily hain oh tk is main istemal nai karn dity, ithai pay haun mary shohar dy ghr. Laraiya di ky gal karan, sari heyati lariya dy elawa kujh wakheya hi nai hay”.

In case of broken and failed relationships one cannot find any joy in life and has to spend a meaningless and colourless life.

4.9.1. Family pressure on parents to take decision of watta satta

In this section researcher asked the respondents that the parents are free in taking the decision about their children's life or they do it under pressure of their family and do they also have fear of family's boycott while taking this decision. To this the researcher got a wide variety of responses, with some stating that family does play a strong role in parent's decision while arranging watta satta marriage while others were of the view that although watta satta is regarded very highly in the community it is solely the parent's own wish and will which decides it.

One of the female respondent answered that:

“A big reason of my marriage was that my grandfather's wish and will was that we should get married in family. If my mother couldn't fulfill this wish of my grandfather, then my maternal uncle would get angry with my parents”.

So a strong reason for watta satta is regard for the parents and parents own wish to keep the family united and to strength it. In case of above respondent her parent's watta satta was a complicated one in which her parents led a peaceful and happy life but the other couple in their watta i.e her maternal uncle had divorced his wife even before proper marriage (they had got nikahfied at the time of her parent's marriage). So to compensate for these losses her grandfather had expressed his wishes that his grandchildren should marry among themselves and his children wanted his dream to come true.

Other male respondent who was Panchait member said that:

“Parents are pressurized while arranging watta satta marriages and whole community plays its important role in it. And the child who refuses becomes a cuprit. Nobody has the right for denial”.

“Watta satta krendeya hoye waldain ty dabao honda hay. Ty is nu karwawar ich pori baradari ahm kirdaar ada karendi hay. Hor jehra bacha is tu inkaar kar churay oh ta mujrin bar wanda hay. Kisi dy kol inkaar di gunjaish nai hondi hay”.

As the child who obeys his parents wishes of watta satta is praised and regarded in the family, similarly the one who disobey and goes against his parent's wishes is not liked in the family. So this fear of annoyance of whole family and parents forces the children to bow their head in front of their elders.

One of the female respondent whose husband was 27 years older than her expressed her views that:

“My family members were quiet angry with my father. They tried to make him understand that these are such mismatched watta satta marriage, he should refrain from it but my father so much overpowered by his friend’s friendship. My mother was not willing for these relations till last day. Although my parents too had a watta satta marriage but they lived a good life. My mother had this argument that these were mismatched marriages. She didn’t oppose watta satta as such”.

Sometimes watta satta is arranged by people to please their friends like in above case where the respondent’s father tried to please his friend by giving his children in watta satta marriage to his children although they were so mismatched. The above respondent was 27 years younger than her husband and the other couple in her witta i.e her brother was many many years younger than his wife which led to complicated relationship among the four of them. It also led to fertility issues and her brother divorced her sister in law as a result she also couldn’t live peacefully with her husband and had an on off relationship with him. So one of the reasons behind settling of these marriages is personal friendships.

One of the respondent in FGD narrates that:

“Yes it does exist. This unity of watta satta forces everybody. There is family pressure to follow this tradition. If one family is not willing they are pressurized”.

Other respondent said that:

“No, parent’s follow their own will. When children belong to their parents, their decisions are also taken by their parents. Family members do give their advice but parents have their full authority”.

According to above respondent the authority to decide their children’s future rests solely in parent’s hands.

Another respondent reported that:

“Sometimes it does happen. But still it doesn’t happen a lot. Like there are some instances in which children asked to marry outside their family but their elder ones convinced them that watta satta is better for them. Because two of their children will strat their family in this way”.

Other respondent said that:

“Yes people pressurize the parents to take decisions of their children marriage. People say that you don’t even have the authority to persuade your children”.

Parents sometimes have to force their children into watta satta marriage to avoid people talking behind their back that they do not have any authority over their children.

Other respondent expressed his views that:

“No, no its according to parent’s own choice and desire. But once someone has given his words he cannot step back from his decision and family members pressurise him that he cannot defy it”.

“Nai nai ay waldain di apri psnd ty marzi naal honda hay. Par jada hik war zuban dy diti wanjy ta pechy hatn aaleya ty khandan aaly dabao pandy hain k hun tusi is nu khtm nai kar skdy ho”.

So its family’s pressure which forces somebody to follow this tradition and to persuade their children for watta satta.

4.9.2.Role of family orientation

In this part the researcher tried to evaluate the role of family in watta satta marriage and the part they played in resolving conflicts and differences among the couples. The researcher came to know that the family can play both positive and negative part in couple’s life and it all depends upon the situation.

One of the respondent narrates that:

“Family usually follows the circumstances. If circumstances are fine on both sides everything remains fine. If one sides daughter gets harmed it creates problems on both the sides. Then famiy member get into fights on equality basis”.

“khandan aaly halaat dy naal naal chldy hain. Agr du tarf halaat shai howin ta ta sb thek hay. Par agr hik kisi di beti nu kujh hay ta agg du tarf lagdi hay. Wat family aleya ich brarbi satah ty jhehry ich shamil ho wandy hain”.

Family usually wants their daughters to live happily and in peace bjut vif they see that their daughter is in any sort of discomfort they immediately want to retaliate and take revenge vfrom the other side.

Another female respondent said that:

“Poor family member want their daughter to live happily in her home. If her in-laws don’t show any softness, what can the father and brothers do about it.”

“Ghar aaly bechary ta beti nu wasawna hi chandy hain. Hun agr agly zara v narmi na whekhavin ta bechary baap’ bhira k Karin”.

One of the respondent who was key member of 'Punchait' said that:

"Before watta satta marriages there is strong brotherhood and sisterhood among brothers and sisters. But after watta satta even your blood relation sister doesn't remain sister any more. Maternal aunt gets disputes with her niece. And fights are started on both sides on equality basis. Everybody gets opponents".

Once differences are created even your blood realtions turn against you, brothers start fighting with brothers, sisters get into disputes with sisters and there remains no regard for neice or nephew etc.

Another male respondent narrates that:

"As families settle the marriage according to their own choice they try to run it successfully. But those families who have fights their whole families gets angry. This fight is not only among 4 people; it is among whole family".

Other male respondent in FGD explained his view that:

"Wiser people would always advise that the 'following girl' and 'following boy' would makes a happy couple. For instances there is sharp boy and lazy girl they both should get married and in this wat they both would get a match as well".

Other respondent answered that:

"Family member are always with the cuples. Whether the circumstances are good or bad, when matches are arranged according to their own will, they give their support in every case".

Somehow despite all the disputes and fights some elder and wiser members of the family try to resolve the disputes among the couple for peace of family and for the betterment of community as a whole.

4.9.3.Role of Baradri system in watta satta

The researcher during her stay with the community learnt that the community under study had a strong caste system and major population of the community belonged to Siyal caste.

The researcher asked the respondents whether the caste sytem played any role in setting watta satta marriage or not. The community generally believes in their caste and like to marry within their caste as well. The reasercher further explored the part of caste (baradri) in making the marriages successful and the part it played in different disputes among the couple.

One of the female respondent reports that:

“Baradari plays its part in conflict resolution. They remain by your side at good or bad times.”

“Baradari aaly sulah safai krwavar ich madad karendy hain. Achy ty bury waqta ich naal khaloty hondy hain”.

Since the community supports marriage within the caste they support such marriages and always try to make such marriages successful.

Another respondent told that:

“There are two types of family member, ones who favours the marriage and they stand beside you in difficult time and the ones who don’t favour the marriage, they try to make the matters worse in case of fights”.

The elder members of the family or the ones who had supported the match making always put their positive input into the matters but the ones who are against such matches always try to put the couple into difficulties.

One of the respondent who was retired school teacher narrated:

“Family members try to settle the problems. But we had difficult circumstances. My brother in law did second marriage so family members would provoke me that I should take revenge but my conscience didn’t allow me to do that.”

“Baradari waly masly masail hal karwany ki hi koshish karty hain. Par hamry halaat mukhtlif thy mery behnoi ny dosri shadi kar li to khandan waly mujy bhi uksaty thy k tum badla lo par mera zameer nai manta tha”.

So the role of family or baradri infact depends upon the circumstances of both the couples. Disagreement and problematic relationships in one couple leads to family members inciting the other couple to do the same in order to take revenge from that couple.

Another male respondent who was strong believer of watta satta narrates that:

“In our family we can bring girls from outside family. But we will never give our girls outside family. We don’t like to give our daughters to someone outside family. Why should they wash someone else’s dishes? We don’t like it”.

“Sady khandan ich khandan tu bahru larkiya laiya wandiya hain par ditiya nia wandiya hain. Asi betiya bardari tu bahir dewara ni psnd krendy haw. K oh kisi gher dy bartn kiu dhowin? Asi ay psand nai karendy”.

They hold pride in their caste and families and it is a matter of disgrace and humiliation for them to wed outside of their caste and community. If they are very helpless they can bring

their daughter in law from outside the family but try their best to keep their daughters inside their community and family.

Other respondent narrates that:

“Caste plays its part in a way that whenever there are fights among people the members of Bradari try for reconciliation. They try to resolve conflict among themselves”.

Another the female respondent who was true victim of watta satta expressed her views that:

“My sister in law was 27 years elder than my brother so my brother did second marriage. My brother didn't have any children from the first marriage and it was his shariah right to do second marriage. Family members used to say this to my husband that they will also arrange his second marriage. At the time of marrying me, my husband was 37 years old and he got my proposal, now who would give match to someone 45 years of age? He couldn't do it. Every kind of people are present in family. Afterwards we did have reconciliation. But my life was destined to be ruined, so it got ruined”.

We can estimate from the above example that in order to marry inside the caste many mismatched marriages are set as well.

Another respondent said that:

“Witta is so important in our family so baradari play an important role. And if any problems arise they try to advise them as well”.

One of the educated female respondent narrates that:

“we don't marry outside family. Our caste is 'Sayal' and our subcaste is 'KURYANA' and we don't marry outside Kuryana. We will marry aunt's son, maternal uncle's son or paternal uncle's son. We will never go beyond this line”.

The community generally was very much caste conscious and preferred to marry in caste within near relatives.

4.9.4. Role of inheritance

In this section of her interview the researcher tried to probe the interviewees the role of inheritance behind this tradition of watta satta. The researcher came to know that although not accepted openly by all the community inheritance does play a strong role in arranging watta satta marriages because it is a custom in the community that daughters are deprived of their share of property and they cannot even ask it because they fear that it will cause dislike for them in the community. So families from both the sides get assured by arranging a watta

satta marriage that their property is saved which wouldn't be the case if they marry their children in a single marriage or even outside their family.

One of the educated and sensible female respondent said that:

“In our case inheritance played a major role. We already had disputes related to property. It is against custom to give sister's and daughter's their share in property. My mother took her share in inheritance of land. My maternal uncle didn't regard this well. That is why my mother gave her children in watta satta to her brother in order to end these differences with her brothers. She gave away her property to her son in law”.

“Hmary rishty main to jaidad ny ahm kirdar ada kea hai. Kiu k hmari lariya hi jaidad ki waja sy thin. Hmary han rawaj nai hai k behno' betiyo ko un ki jaidad main hisa deny ka. To meri ami ny aona haq leya tha. Or unho ny apny naam ki zameen li thi is ly mery mamu meri ami ko acha nai smjty thy. Phr meri ami ny apny bachu ka apny bhai sy watta satta kar k narazgiya khtm ki. Or apny naam ki jaidad apny damad k naam kr di”.

So inheritance holds such an importance that in above case swatta satta of second generation was arranged and that too with the purpose of claiming the lost inheritance back by the respondent's maternal uncle.

Another respondent said that:

“This is an advantage of watta satta that both the parties compromise that daughters will not share inheritance on both sides. And if one daughter demands the other one will also demand. In this way inheritance is protected in both the ways”.

As with every other matter, matters of inheritance are also set on equality basis and girls on both the sides transfer their share to their parents or brothers.

Another female respondent said that:

“There were no problems of inheritance in our case. But in our family we usually marry inside our family so in one aspect people tend to protect their inheritance by following this tradition. If one daughter doesn't take her share the other one will also not take her's. So in both aspects it is an advantage”.

Another respondent who was imam masjid said that:

“Yes, people do marry inside family because of inheritance. There is a recent occasion in which one of the brother had a daughter and the other brother had a son. The girl was educated and the boy was illiterate. Both of them married so as to save the inheritance. Inheritance plays an important role”.

They would go as far as to arrange mismatched marriages to protect their land.

Another female respondent reported that:

“In my case inheritance played a vital role. I was imposing because of my inheritance. I often think that if I had not got this inheritance what would become of me. Even at the time of watta satta of my children my brother made a clause that I should return his land so I transferred that land to my son in law. Even then he couldn't make my daughter happy. I made a mistake, I should have transferred it to my daughter probably she would have been imposing too. But my nephew was not willing that I transfer the inheritance to my daughter (his wife)”.

Another respondent who was educated said that:

“Inheritance belongs to father and grandfather's. it is transferred from sons to their sons. Daughters don't have any share in their inheritance. It is not considered good for daughter to give or ask for share in inheritance.”

The above respondent the typical mind of a man in that community who thinks that inheritance belongs only to males and it is against their dignity and pride that it is given to the daughters. It is male's property and it should remain within male's generation after generations.

The other female respondent said that:

“The woman who married in my watta got orphaned in her childhood so her land was transferred to her at that time. But my land was in my brother's name and I didn't ask for my share. But my husband and children ask me that I should ask for my share of land to my brothers. When one woman in 'Watta' takes her share in land, the other is forced to take her share. Even if she doesn't wish her husband forces her”.

As the matters are settled on proportionate basis, if by any chance or luck a female succeeds in getting her share the other woman in her watta satta is pressurized by her family to ask for her share as well. So inheritance is one of the reasons behind the continuity of this tradition.

4.9.5. Watta satta as social security

The researcher while unraveling the motivation of the community behind sticking firmly to this tradition asked the interviewees whether they considered it a form of social security. To this the researcher found different responses with most ardent supporters of this custom saying it did provide social security while a few members who were now against it saying it actually had many drawbacks and instead made the community weaker.

One of the female respondent said that:

“Because of it, families get strengthened and protected. That is why it is considered good at family level”.

“Is di waja tu khandan mazbot ty mahfuz hondy hain. Isi kar is nu khandani satah ty acha smjheya wanda hay”.

The above respondent and many other like her were of the view that families are united and get stronger because its children remain within the family.

Another respondent said that:

“Because we remain united throughout generations, we remain connected with each other. And if children are exchanged in marriage we get connected more strongly.”

“is kar kiu k nasal dar nasal asi jury rahndy haw. Do bachy agr aaps ich lay day wanjin ta asi hor mazbuti naal jur wandy haw”.

Family members i.e brothers and sisters remain linked to each other by marrying their children and that too in a watta satta marriage, by exchanging two of their children in a relation they tend to form even a deeper bond among themselves which is not possible if they marry their children somewhere else i.e outside the family.

Another respondent reported that:

“We think that our family gets protected by ‘watta satta’. Our tradition has particularly kept our family safe. When we give our daughter to someone we also take his daughter in return, in this way people from both the sides get tied in a strong relationship. It becomes a matter of equality”.

Social security is also provided in a way that both the parties involved in watta satta have exchanged two of their children so they share equality in every aspect, and their children especially daughters tend to be treated equally in every good or bad aspect of life.

While another interviewee who had seen more negative impacts of this activity has some negative thoughts about this custom:

“I don’t think it is a social security. When relationships don’t remain strong, how can the family be strengthened. Due to conflicts in watta satta even more distances are created.”

“Main nai lgda k watta satta koi muashirti tahfz hay. Jada rishty hi mazbot na rawin ta khandan kiway mazbot rah skda hay. Watty satty dy larai jgreya di waja tu hor doriyaa aa wandiya hian”.

Seeing the negative impacts of this activity the above respondent became an opponent of this tradition and he was of the view that due to disputes and fights created in watta satta in fact social life gets disturbed and it creates chaos and disparity in the community.

Other respondent said that:

“Parent’s have this thought that when daughters are exchanged between two families there will remain regard between the families. The family will keep their daughter in law comfortable so as to see their own daughter comfortable. But this doesn’t happen at all. A woman suffers ten times as compared to her sister in law’s injury.”

“Waldain ta aeya soch k karendy hain k do ghara ich dhiya da tebadla hosi ta sharm lehaz hosi darmiyan ich. Apni beti nu sukhi wakhn di khatir dowa ghr apni bahu nu sukhi rakhesi. Par honda asa bilkul e nai hay. Hik day bdly das lgdiya hain us day muqably ty jehri bhabhi ny lgi hondi hay”.

The above views were of a female respondent who had suffered deeply in this tradition and explained that the community thinks that their daughters would remain safe with their in laws because they would fear about their own daughter’s safety but they have to in fact suffer more for somebody else’s fault, they get maltreated for somebody else’s doing.

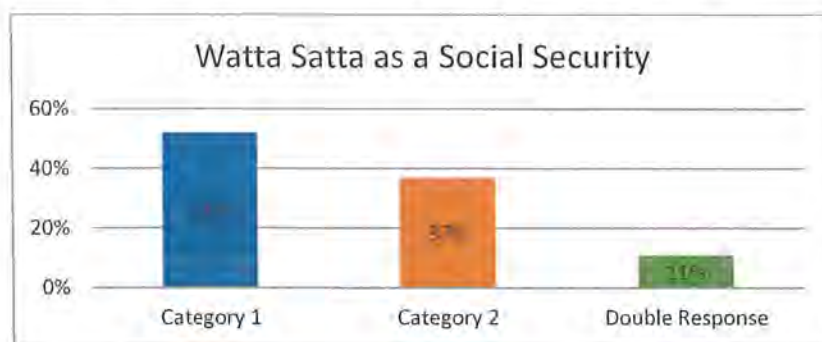
One of the educated female respondent narrates that:

“It is considered in our family that we are bringing someone’s daughter to our home and if they would do any wrong to our daughter, we will do the same to their daughter as well. For instance, in my case my husband was jobless and he was not bearing my expenses. On the other hand, my brother had a good job and he could bear her wife’s expenses. But we used to stop him from doing this. I considered it as social security that I could pressurize my husband for my expenses. My brother’s wife was suffering without any reason”.

The above narrative was given by an educated woman who had insight into the drawbacks of this activity. She herself explained her own example so beautifully that she used the powers bestowed upon her by this tradition to pressurize her brother to maltreat his wife as she was getting maltreated by her husband. So these powers which she got by the grace of this tradition actually were actually disrupting the peace of the community instead of keeping it safe.

The researcher during detailed interviews asked the respondents if they thought that watta satta provided security to women and provided them a safe environment in the community. As the community had been raised in an environment where they were instilled with positive thoughts about this custom.

Figure 13: watta satta as social security for women



Source: Field Data

The majority of the respondents i.e 52% reported that this custom strengthened the females and provided them safety and security in the society. One of respondent narrates that:

“A woman who goes in her brother witta gets respected for it that she is married for her brother “Witta” and her brother is also respected. The one who weds in her brother’s witta is more worthy”.

“jehri orat bhirha day witty ich wendi hay, us naal us di izat bar wendi hay k bhira day witty aali hay ty bhira di v izat bardi hay. Jahri bhira day witty ich behai wendi hay oh zada qadar aali hay”.

One of the aspects of social security is regard and respect which a woman gains by marrying in watta satta. This respect increases her worth in the community.

Another male respondent said that:

“Yes, definitely watta satta provides social security. And it does provide social security to women. Women gets protected by it. There would be only one and two negative instances but collectively speaking, a woman gets protected by it”.

“Bilkul watta satta muashirti tahafuz hay. Ty orat nu v muashirti tuhafz denda hay. Orat mahfuz hondi hay. Koi hik ya do waqeyaata hosin jo manfi howin, magar majmoi tor ty orat da tahuz hi hay ich ich”.

Another male respondent narrates that:

“Yes it is a social security for women. A man also knows that if he does any injustice to his wife, his sister will get injustice too”.

“Bilkul hondi hay orat muashirti tor ty mahfuz. Mard nu pata honda hay k agar main apri zanani ty zulm keta ta mari behr ty v zulm hosi”.

Another aspect of security comes in the form of fear in her husband not to maltreat her in any aspect in financial terms and also in the form of physical abuse because he knows that his sister would get similar treatment as his wife and his in laws would have the authority to take revenge from his sister.

Similarly, one of the respondent narrates that:

“When one remains within a family in a watta satta marriage, the women gets protected. Because she has his brother’s support. Nobody dare to say her anything”.

“jada bnda khandan ich hi rahway ty watta satta di shadi ho wanjy ta orat mahfuz ho wandi hay. Kiu k us dy naal us day bhira da sath honda. Ta kisy di himt hay k us nu kujh aakhy”.

Another female respondent in FGD narrates that:

“Yes it does give security to women. Security in this way that people of your own family regard for their own blood”.

“Han orat nu tahafuz dendi hay. Tahafuz is trha k apry khandaan day log hondy hain ta apra khoon smj k thora ahsaas karendy hain”.

Another respondent says:

“Yes definitely not only a woman but also a man and whole family gets secure with it”.

“Je han bilkul sirf orat hi nai, mard v ty pora khandan hi mahfuz rahnda hay”.

Another respondent narrates that:

“In my opinion women gets security. Women gets regard because she is married in her brother’s witta. She holds this pride that if somebody would harm her, her brother in her witta will not spare her sister in law. So people do regard for each other. So in this way a woman gets security in watta satta”.

“Mary khyaal ich orat nu tahafuz milda hay. Orat thori baruab ho wandi hay kiu k oh bhira day witty aali hondi hay. Us nu ay grore honda hay k agar main koi kujh aakhsi ta mara bhira v mari witty aali bhabi nu tikr nai desi. Ta is waja tu log thora sharm heya kar lendy hain. Is trha orat nu tahafuz mil wanda hay”.

37% respondents didn’t consider watta satta as a form of social security.

One of male respondent reported that:

“No, I think it even makes a women weaker. Poor women get helpless. Even if there is a small misunderstanding, the women gets tortured. And in return the innocent women in her witta also get battered for no reason. There is a shortage of patience among us. Many a times a

woman is in the middle of her meal when she is ordered to get out of the house and she doesn't even understand the way to go out of her home. This is called watta satta".

"Nai mara khyaal ich ta watta satta orat nu hor kamzor kar denda hay. Orat bechari bebus ho wandi hay. Zara jai koi ghalt fahmi ho wanjy ta beghar sochy smjy orat ty tashadud honda hay. Ty wat beghr qasor day us day watty aali orat nu v lazman maar pondi hay. Bs bardasht di kami hay. Kai war ta bechari orat da nawala munh ich honda hay ty us nu hukm sura dita wanda hay k nikl wanj ghru ty us nu smj hi nai aandi k kis rasty sy jay. "Rah hi nai sujai denda" ay hay watta satta".

The above respondent being opposed to this custom sees the same effect of watta satta from a different angle. One couple or woman has to bear bad effects of the doing of the other couple and an innocent had to suffer.

Another respondent narrated that:

"No, in my opinion there is no security for women. It makes a women even weaker. A woman has to bear everything whether it be her brother's mistake or her husband's. she is the one who gets injustice".

"Nai mary khyal ich ta orat kar is ich koi tahafuz nai hay. Ay orat nu hor kamzor kar denda hay. Har' chez orat nu hi bardasht karni pondi hay. Bhira di ghalti howay ya shoahar di zulm orat ty hi honda hay".

Another respondent said that:

"I think it weakens a woman. She gets pressurized from her family as well as in laws".

"Mary khyal ich ta orat kamzore ho wandi hay. Shodi maiky ty susral dowar tarfu pressur ich rahndi hay".

In many instances the researcher found that the woman had actually become a rolling stone between her parent's home nad her in laws she doesn't know what to do and where to go so these aspects in fact weaken the community in some of the respondent's views.

11% respondents have mixed responses and are the ones who see both the aspects of watta satta marriage:

one of them responds that:

"Women get secured but it is also harmful the other way".

"Orat mahfuz hondi hay. Lakin agar ulat leya wanjy ta nuqsaan day v honda hay".

Another female respondent reported that:

“Ay ta moqadar ty qismat di gal hay, agar ghar bar gaya ta mahfuz hondi hay nai ta kamzor hondi hay”.

“It all depends upon fate if she succeeds in making a home she gets secured otherwise she gets even weaker.”

Some people do not believe that they suffer because of this tradition but instead blame fate for their bad circumstances.

4.9.6. Reciprocity of conflicts

As two families exchange their children and relations in a watta satta marriage, the researcher came to know during detailed interviews with the respondents that in case of disputes, disagreements and fights in one family, the other couple also gets disturbed and gets into fights as well. While some respondents viewed this fact as a disadvantage and bad effect of watta satta the others regarded this as beauty of watta satta that this custom in fact gave protection to their daughters, that their in laws are constantly living under the fear that if they would do any harm to their daughter in laws then their daughters would suffer as well. So the researcher faced contradictory views on this point during her interviews.

One of the respondent narrates that:

“It is an essential fact. If there is problem in one family, it affects the other family as well and if the other husband doesn't get into fight he is labelled as “uxorious””.

“lazmi bardin hay. Agar ik ghar ich masla howy ta us di zad ich dowla ghar v aa wanda hay. Ty agr dowla ghar aala masla na banaway ta log aadhy hain “Zan mureed” ho gaya hay”.

So from above example we can fairly estimate that retaliation and revenge are an essential fact and a set principle in watta satta marriage and one cannot deviate from it. If somebody wants to act wisely and don't punish their wives for their sister's suffering they are called by bad names.

Another respondent reports that:

“If one family is ruined they must have a reason but the other one gets ruined for no reason automatically even if they are living happily. This is the biggest painful act in watta satta”.

“Agar hik ghar ujar wanda hay ta us di lazmi koi waja hosi. Par dowla jora automatically ujar wesi. Chahy oh hasda wasda peya howy. Aeya ta sareya tu wada tkleef day amal hay”.

One of the respondent narrated these problems by giving her own example:

“If there are complications in one family, it ultimately creates problem in the other family. Like my husband used to beat me, I got angry and went to my parent’s place. My family would then ask my sister in law to leave her home as well. So problems on one side creates problems on the other side as well”.

“Hik khandan ich masail barin ta doway ghar ich lazmi bardy hain. Jiway mara shohar main marenda ha ta main roth k maiky lagy wandi hamu. Ta mari bhabi nu v mary ghar aly khad chrendy hain. Is trha hik taraf day masail di waja tu doi taraf lazmi masail bandy hain”.

These problems have been faced by almost every single person involved in this tradition who has been married in watta satta.

Another educated female respondent narrates that:

“This is understood that these sort of problems arise. A girl is going in “Witta” for her brother so nobody can even touch her. That’s why whenever there are some conflicts girls at once tell their parents and same was the case with us”.

“Lazmi si baat hai k jab masail banty hain to aik larki k zahn main ye bat bitha di jati hai k “tu bhira day witty aali hain ten koi hath hi nai la skda.” Phr jesy hi kuch bura ho to larkiya forn waldain ko btati hain. hmary case main b yehe hwa ta”.

By following this tradition girl are taught to be intolerant and impatient as they are previliged in this tradition of watta satta and nobody can dare harm them. They follow this principle in their lives and involve their parents and elders in every single problem of their life which creates problems in their personal life and in their sister in law’s life as well.

One of the respondent who was 65 years old and a retired school teacher. He was married in watta satta of his paternal aunt’s daughter. She was sick and died after three years, so to continue with that watta satta he was married again to her wife’s(late) younger sister. He expressed his views that:

“There is no doubt about it. It is a fact. I give you an example from my own home. My daughter in law is my sister’s daughter. I did watta satta of my children with my sister’s children because previously me and my sister had watta satta before. Once my daughter got angry with her in laws on a trivial matter and came to my house. My daughter in law then said that she too wanted to go to her mother’s home although they had no fights. I tried to make her understand that but when she didn’t agree I said that if they want to fulfill this tradition she should also take her mother in law with her. So problems of watta satta are always two sided. I give you an even better example. My mother also wed in watta satta. Her sister in law in her witta remained angry for some years and then died, so we buried in her

parent's village according to her own will. She was married in another village. My mother is still alive and she is adamant that whenever she dies, she should be buried in her parent's village because her sister in law in her watta died at her parent's house. There are so many competition and problems are created equally on both these sides".

Another female respondent who face very tough time in watta satta said that:

"This is what is called watta satta that if there is problem with one couple, the other couple gets affected by it. There was a huge difference in my brother and sister in law's ages. My brother was still a child and he was in 8th class at the time of marriage. How can he live happily with so much age difference? They couldn't get along and my life was also affected badly because of it. I had to live in my father's house whole of my life. In these circumstances family members even provoke the man that his sister's life is ruined and he didn't respect his sister and obeyed his wife. By such talks they play a negative role".

There is a strong role of community and family in provoking a couple to take revenge for other couple's suffering from their spouse.

"Another male respondent in FGD reported that:

"This is an essential fact, if there are problems in one family it leads to problem in the other family. And this is a quality of watta satta that if you punish someone's daughter your own daughter will be punished as well. So people became compassionate that if they make someone's daughter comfortable, their own daughter will remain comfortable as well".

The above respondent is an example of one of the many people in the village who saw this fact of revenge as an advantage of this tradition that this was actually protecting their daughters.

4.9.7. Impacts on the grooming of children

The disputes, conflicts and fights which the people get in a watta satta marriage lay a negative impact on mental health of every person involved in watta satta marriage but specifically children get affected the most in it because they are immature and their innocent minds cannot take up all these negative thoughts and emotions. In this part of her interview the researcher tried to evaluate the psychological impacts of fights in watta satta on mental health of children. When asked the respondents gave their reviews in following words

One of the female respondent narrated that:

“Poor children do get psychological impacts because of conflicts. When my children got mature enough all of our conflicts had been resolved that’s why it didn’t affect them psychologically. We didn’t fight in front of them”.

“bachy bechreya day zehn ty bury asar pony hay. Mary bacheya day smjdar howr tk masly hal ho gay hain. Is kar unha da zehn itna khrab nai hoye. Asi unha day samry itna jhgra nai karendy hasy”.

If the parents are wise enough they try to keep their children away from these issues so that they may remain mentally healthy.

Another male respondent said that:

“Children minds get affected due to these conflicts. In a fight some children side with their mother, the other one sides with his father”.

Children are torn in this emotional battle between their mother and father and they tend to develop negative emotions for their father or mother or in some instances to both of them.

Another female respondent told:

“It affects them alot. My children used to have this fear that their father would take them away from their mother. I have 2 sons and 2 daughters. My elder son is doing Bs honors, he is closer to his father, the other children don’t like their father alot. It lays a very bad impact on children’s mind. You can as well understand that nobody replaces a father. Uncles cannot replace father no matter howmuch they love the children such children suffer from lack of confidence”.

The above views were of a respondent who although not very educated was a sensible lady and had to suffer a lot in this tradition. She spent most of the the time of her life with her father away from her husband and ultimately her children developed hatred for their father as well. As children need both father and mother for a healthy upbringing, lack of support and presence of father can put the children into a state of loss of self confidence.

Another female respondent expressed that:

“I don’t have any children but my mother used to say that whenever there were fights in their watta satta my paternal uncles would snatch her children from her and my mother would lay unrest whole night for her children. My elder brother and sister once asked their paternal aunt in their childhood where to put clothes and she told them to put them in clay oven. My mother was not at home and my elder sister and brother were so young they couldn’t understand and put the clothes in the clay oven and they burnt. My aunt hates us because my maternal uncle

had divorced her. In this way my elder brother and sister grew up in violent atmosphere. In spite of all this way mothers looked after us and educated us and brought up her children so well. Children are the affected most by the conflicts”.

“mery ta bachy nai hain par mari par main apri ami tu sunreya hayk jada unhadi watty satty di shadi ich Irai jghry hony hain ta chahechu unha tub achy ly landy hain. Ami sari raat apri bacheya kar tarpdi rahdi hain. Phpho log ami di waja tu sathu v nafrat karendy hain. Mary wady behn bhira jada choty hain ta hik war ami ghr nai hain ta unha phophi tu pocheya k kpry kithy rakhry hain, ta phophi akheya tandore ich rakh churo. Oh bachy hain smjy nai ty tandore ich rakh dity kpry ty oh sar gay. Phophi sathu nafrat karendi hain kiu k mary mamu phophi nu talaq dy churi hai. Ta is trha mary wady behr bhira hik tashaud zada mahol ich wady hoy hain. Is sb dy bawajod mari ami sadi bht achi parwarsh keti hay, san parhaya likhya hay. Sareya tu zada bura asar bacheya ty hi ponda hay”.

In cases as seen above where the family members have hatred and disrespect for each other children also bear the brunt of their bad relationship and have to grow up in a non healthy and aggressive atmosphere.

4.10. Elements of punishment and violence involved in watta satta

The researcher observed during her 3 months stay in the community that there was a strong element of punishment and violence involved in watta satta marriages. When she asked the respondents about their views about this issue she came with some very interesting replies.

One of the female respondent said:

“I never received any punishment or violence from my husband. But I must tell you that my brother in laws, both also wed through watta satta. So if a one girl from one side got beaten the other girl was forced to get same treatment. When my younger brother in law would not beat his wife, my elder brother in law would beat his ‘bhabi’ then. This is the advantage of watta satta that if they would beat our daughter we will beat their daughter more than that.”

“Main ta kadi nai pai hay. Han baqi main dasan ta mary dewar ty jheath da v watta satta hoyo hoyo haw. Ta jada hik chohair nu maar pondi hai ta dowi nu v lazmi pondi hai. Jada mara dewar na marenda apri bewi nu ta mara jeath marenda haw apri bharjai nu. Aeya ta watta satta da faida hay k sadi nu maresu ta asi tawadi nu us tu wadh k maresey”.

Although openly accepted by the community that punishment and revenge factors are involved in watta satta, they do not consider it a bad practice rather view it as an advantage given to their daughters by this tradition which gives them protection.

One of the female respondent reported that:

“Our famiy has no such issues. Our men don’t beat women. I also took care on this respect that when I saw that my man was angry I would keep quiet, so the matter didn’t get worse”.

“Sady khandan ich aesa bilkul v nai honda hay. Sady mard hath nai chndy hain. Main aap hi is mamly ich bahu khyaal rakheya hay. Jada wakheya k mard gusy ich hay ta main agu chup kar wandi hamu. Ta gal agga nai wadhdi”.

One of the female respondent who was married for the last 32 years, expressed her views in FGD is that:

“Yes I did get beaten. My husband used to beat me. Then consequently, my sister in law would get beaten in return even if she was innocent. We don’t consider it a bad thing. At one instance my Lord “Saen” beat me to such an extent that my ears got a cut from his blows in my ears”.

Researcher: didn’t you dislike element of punishment and violence?

She: No, I didn’t dislike it my Lord “Saen” used to beat me, he was no stranger to me and when I would tell my family members they would beat my sister in law as well. Even if I didn’t tell them they would come to know from other people”.

“Je han maar pondi hai Shohar tu maar pondi hai. Ghar aala hi hath channda haw. Wat lazmi gal hai k mari bharjai nu v maar pondi hai. Chahy us da qasor na v howy haw. San ay gal buri nai lagdi hai. Hik war mary sain main itna marey haw mara kan chir gay ty us ichu khon awar lag peya.

Main: twan ay maar ty saza aali gal buri nai lgdi?

She: nai san buran a lgda. Apra saeen mareda haw koi bahir da bnda thori marena haw. Wat main apry ghar aleya nu dasendi hamu. Ta mari bharjai nu v maar pondi hai. Main na v dasan haw ta hor logo tu pata lag wanda haw”.

So even if a female has been brutally treated by her husband because of this tradition it is engraved in her mind since her childhood that she is her husband’s property and he is her lord so there is no harm even if he beats or maltreats her.

Another male respondent narrated that:

“Whenever some issue arises, people tend to aggravate it and when issues are aggravated it leads to violence. But I am against it, it is a man’s weakness if he beats a woman”.

Some broad minded and enlightened members of the community now disregard this factor of violence in marriage and strongly oppose it.

Another female respondent said that:

“No, he never beat me. He didn’t have such courage so as to beat me”.

Some strong women can stand up to their rights and doesn’t allow men to do them any harm.

One of the male respondent who was a member of Panchait expressed his views that:

“When there are fights, there is violence because it is an important part. And if she doesn’t get punished she is pushed out of house. Even if the other couple is happy, they also get punished. Lack of tolerance is a cause of violence. Some women get beaten because of their foul language. (*kujh o zananiya apri zaban tu kutidiya hain.*)”.

The one fact worst about violence in watta satta is that one female suffers because of the fault of other couple.

One of the educated female respondent said that:

“I didn’t face any physical violence in my relationship but I do have some examples in front of me as my aunt would get physical violence from her husband and my paternal uncle was Masters Degree holder but whenever he saw that his sister was getting physical violence, he would do the same to his wife as well. The reason being that if there was violence on one side it become a matter of ego for the other party as well”.

The community generally holds pride that this tradition gives them so much authority and power over women that they can beat them whenever they want to satisfy their ego.

One of the female respondent who was married for 22 years and was educated till class 5. She told that:

“There were fights in our home due to domestic issues. The fights were always initiated on my side like the wives of these three brothers used to fight or if somebody abused someone and fights increased to such level that men also got involved in fights. My elder brother in law was very clever he used to beat his wife and in those fights he would beat me as well. He used to say this to my husband that he should keep me under control. Once my brother in law beat me to such extent that I broke my arm and then he shut me in a room so that he could first bring his sister back home, so that if I tell my family they shouldn’t beat her as well. When she got home, they sent me out of home. And I remained angry for 6 months. My

brother's child was due at that time; he was born at his wife's parents place. I was tortured many times and everytime I would get angry and go to my mother's place and after reconciliation I would come back home. Later on circumstances got better when our children were born”.

Unfortunately, this punishment and violence factor has been incorporated deeply into their lives and they have got used to it and this factor cannot let them abhor this tradition.

One of the male respondent who was 30 years old and he was DAE (Diploma in Associate Electronics). He told that:

“if one gets hurt, the other one will hurt too. I had beaten my wife only once because my brother in law didn't treat my sister well. And my wife still used to take his side. Then I told them that I also have hands to beat her”.

“Ab aik mary ga to dosra b mary ga. Main ny aik bar apni bewi p hath uthya tha Kiu k mera behnoi meri behn k sath acha salook nai karta ta. Or meri bewi phr b apny bhai ki tarfdari karti thi. Phr main ny usy btya k mery b hath salamat hain”.

4.10.1. Effects of divorce on other couple

In this section the researcher asked the respondents that if divorce occurs in one couple does it effect the other couple in any way or not. 91% of the respondent were of the opinion that the divorce in one couple leads to divorce on other couple.

Figure 14: Effect of divorce on other couple



Source: field data

One of the male respondent replied:

“Yes it affects the other couple. If somebody would hurt my sister, definitely I wouldn’t stay silent. And if someone lets her wife stay with him, if his sister is angry with in laws the family member doesn’t spare him”.

“Bilkul is da asar dowya joray ty ponda hay. Agar koi mari behn day naal bhera karesi ta zahir jai gal hay main v araam naal na baasa. Ty jehra bnda bahr nu ghr baha k bewi nu wasanda hay us nu khandaan di galan nai jewar dendiya hain.”

Because of the cultural tradition being followed by the people in the community, a man is forced to divorce his wife if his sister is divorced by his brother in law. He is forced to treat his wife in the same manner as his sister is being treated. If he doesn’t do it he will be regarded as coward by his family members and will be called by bad names in the community.

One of the male respondent who was teacher said that:

“This is an essential fact. That if divorce occurs in one couple the other innocent couple gets punishment for no reason. And we have seen such cases in which the whole family pressurises the male that if his sister is divorced he should show his pudicity and divorce his wife too. And if that couple doesn’t get divorced they are socially cut off “Deas Nikala” and they are called immodest.”

“Lazmi jai gal hai k agar hik joray di talaaq ho wanjy ta dowy nu begre qasor dy saza mildi hay. Ty asa inj day case v wakhy hain k sara khandan majbore karenda hay doway mard nu k teri behn nu talaaq hoe hay ta tu ghairat da sabot day ty foran apni bewi nu talaq day. Ty agar koi na deway talaaq ta asy joray da hal deas nikala hay. Log unhan gustaakh aaday hain”.

Another female respondent expressed her thoughts in following words:

“Watta satta is such that whatever happens to one couple the other couple gets its reward. Whether it be good or bad similar things happens to both. But divorce is considered very bad in our family. And in couples in which one gets divorced it becomes very difficult for the other couple to live happily. It takes a lot of courage and strength for a man to remain living with his wife after his sister’s divorce”.

If a couple is divorced and even if the other couple in its watta satta is spending their lives peacefully, it becomes very difficult for the man in other couple to save his marriage as he is forced to divorce his wife and if he decides not to they have to bear social isolation.

Another educated female respondent narrates that:

“If one couple get divorced it becomes very hard for the other couple to live happily. Like my brother has divorced his wife. Their marriage last for 2 years. Now my husband is acting so stubborn and he is not giving me divorce. I am with my patents for last 2 yeasrs. Its been 4 yeasrs since my marriage. I am aware of this fact that my husband will neither live with me nor he will divorce me the easier way. That is why we are considering taking assistance from law. People from my family say that my husband is so shameless (beghyrat) that even after his sister’s divorce he is not giving divorce to his wife. I also hold the same opinion for him”.

One of the male respondent said that:

“It is a fact that of one couple gets divorced, the other couple is bound to get divorced as well. Otherwise society wouldn’t allow them to live. There is an example, one couple had some problems and they got divorced. That girl’s brother was in market at that time, he came to know about it on the way home that his sister had got divorced and as they were married in watta satta, he didn’t even think once, got home and divorced his wife”.

Divorce for divorce is an impulsive act in most of the cases of divorce seen so far in the community and narrated b y the community members.

A very small percentage i.e 9% of the respondents were of the view that other couple faced difficulties but still their relationship survived when one of the couple in their watta satta was divorced.

One of the male respondents told that:

“If one couple gets divorced the other couple gets pressurized. They get so many difficulties even if they want to live their lives happily. There was once a case in our village in which one couple got divorced, the other didn’t divorce and the whole family cut off its ties with them and didn’t maintain their relationship with them”.

Another male respondent expressed his views that:

“There are cases in our village in which disputes in one family ruined other family as well. But it all depends on your thoughts that one should not ruin his life based on temporary anger. Now as you can see my brother in law did his second marriage without any reason, if I would have taken revenge from him out of my anger it would have affected my children so I didn’t do it”.

The above respondent was a sensible and educated person so he acted wisely even when his sister was suffering in this tradition and didn’t do the same to his wife for the sake of his children and a happy married life but again such cases are very rare.

One of my female respondent who was married for 34 years she told her experience:

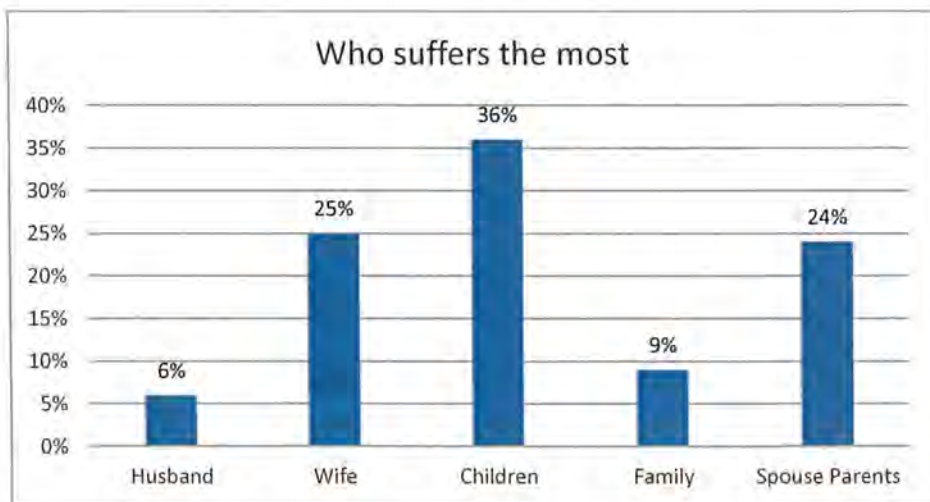
“I myself married in a watta satta marriage but feel that my brothers didn’t protect me in a way they should have. I was married in ‘witta’ of my younger brother. My brother was immature and younger at that time. So I got married and my brother and sister in law got nikkahfied at that time. After 10 years of my marriage my brother and sister in law remained nikahfied but my brother refused to marry my sister in law because he liked someone else, my aunt’s daughter and didn’t think at once about his sister’s witta and divorced my sister in law. Their marriage was broken but all of this affected my marriage and family very badly. I had to struggle a lot to save my marriage. My husband was pressurised by whole of his family that he shouldn’t be shameless and he should divorce me in return of his sister’s divorce. But we had 5 children and my husband was a good person, he didn’t divorce me but we had to face many difficulties”.

So we can see from the above example that it takes a strong heart and will to save a marriage if one of the couple gets divorced in watta satta.

4.10.2. Sufferings due to conflicts

As it is a well known fact that in every marriage conflicts and disputes are bound to occur but in case of watta satta marriage these conflicts are many folds because they arise not only because of the couple itself but also in response to clashes in the other couple. These fights have a strong psychological impact on the whole family, including husband, wife their children and their parents as well. In this section the researcher tried to evaluate who was the sufferer in conflicts among the couple.

Figure 15: Sufferings due to conflicts



Source: Field Data

36% of the respondents reported that due to their conflict their children suffered the most.

One of the male respondent said that:

“Children are affected. And till you don’t have children the fights don’t matter but once you have children you get stable in life”.

Another female respondent told that:

“Children are mostly affected badly by conflicts. Children get neglected even in small fights. It also affects the home. A woman who leaves her house it has bad impacts on her house from economic point of view. You’re in laws also hurt you intentionally like they would waste their wheat so that she would think before getting angry in future”.

Another male respondent expressed that:

“Children are affected. Like my own children were so young at that time, they got terrified. And its for their betterment that I continued my relationship”.

“Bacheya ty asar ponda haw. Bachy bahu dar ty sahm wandy hain. Unha di behtri kar hi main is rishty nu jari rakhi rakheya”.

One of the respondent narrated that:

“First of all, children get affected the most. Children are not raised well and they got loss of self confidence. But thank God we didn’t have any such fights. We had a happy life. But now we are facing pain of watta satta marriage of our children”.

“Pehlly number ty ta olaad sareya tu zada asarandaz hondi hay. Olad di tarbiyt sahi nai ho skdi, bacheya ich ahtemad di kami aa wandi hay. Par Allah da shukra hay sady asy koi jhagry nai hain. Asa bht changi zindgi guzari hay. Par bus hun apri olaad day witty day jaghry wakh rhy haw”.

Children are emotionally and mentally weaker than adults so they are badly affected by disputes of their elder ones and it lays a negative impact on their upbringing as well.

25% of the respondents narrated that women are affected the most. One of my educated female respondent told that:

“Woman suffers the most. She has to bear a lot of stress and mental torture”.

“Orat pe sb sy zada asar parta hai. Bht stress or zahni tashadud bardasht karna parta hay”.

Another female respondent expressed her views:

“It affected me most of all as I had children. If both the couples have children both get affected. But my sister in law didn't have children, I had children and I got disturbed mostly. Poor mother cannot leave her children. Because I was always threatened that they would snatch away my children. So I was always tense that they would snatch away my children”.

“Sareya tu zada asar mary ty ponda haw, kiu k bachy ja mary hain. Agar dowah ghara ich bachy howin ta brabr asar ponda hay. Par mari bhabhi di koi olaad nai hai. Mari olaad hai tai mary kar preshani bardi hai. Maa bechari bachy kiway chor skdi hay. Kiu k ayy main dhamkiya dandy rahndy hain ka asi bachy kho lesiay. Aeya tension bari rahndi hai k bachy n adore ho wanjin”.

Women is physically and mentally effected by disputes, physically in the form of physical abuse and mentally because she is forced to leave her home and go to her parent's place, she also has to bear separation from her children and continuously lives under the fear that her children would be taken away from her.

24% respondents reported that parents suffer the most. One of the respondent told that:

“Parents are affected the most. Whenever problems arise, parents get tense. Because two of their children are being affected”.

One of the female respondent expressed her views that:

“Conflicts and fights affected my parents mostly. My mother remained concerned that she had wished to strengthen the relationship and now they tortured her daughter. But circumstances got better once we had children”.

“Tazad ty jhery da sareya tu zada asar mary waldain ty ponda haw. Mari maa bahu preshan hondi hai k asa rishtydariya mazbot kitiya hain ty ay mari bachi ty zulm karendy hain. Par jada olaad ho gai hai ta sarey halaat behtar ho gay hain”.

Another male respondent said that:

“People who get into fights, their parents are affected the most. Parents think a lot in setting their children's marriage but if problems and fights arise, then it creates problems for parents mostly”.

This is also a fact that parents always want to see their children happy and contented but once disputes arise it effect two of their children daughter and son simultaneously which concerns them a lot.

9% respondents reported that family is affected the most. One of the respondent narrated that:

“Whole family is connected in watta satta. If one couple gets into fight it affects all of the family members”.

“Pora khandan watta satta ich juriya honda hay. Agar hik jory ich larai howay ta is ta asar family day har bandy ty ponda hay”.

4.11. Role of family regarding conflicts

In this section researcher evaluated the role of family towards conflicts by asking two types of questions. The first one is, what is the response of both families towards conflicts? And the second one is that what is the role of family in arising and providing solution to conflicts? People responded to these questions based on their own understanding and their own experiences with some saying that family plays a positive role while others explained negative impact of family on conflicts.

One of the male respondent responded in following words:

“Both families support their own children. Nobody wants to accept his own fault. That is why problems are not resolved”.

In some instances, people get stubborn and do not want to resolve the issues, they never accept the shortcomings of their children and in this way issues are prolonged.

Another respondent told that:

“Family members try every possible means for reconciliation”.

Others like in above example said that family members play a strong positive role in conflict resolution.

One of female respondent expressed that:

“My in laws and my parent’s family don’t get along with each other very well. Even if they came together on any happy or sad occasion it doesn’t give any pleasure. My mother in law and my brother in law didn’t play any part in conflict resolution but other members of the family played their part in conflict resolution”.

“Mary susral aaly ty maiky aaleya di aaps ich nai bardy. Khushi ghami ich mil lyn ta v sawad na honda. Mari sass ty jheith ta koi nai manaendy hain han baqi khandan dy log smja k sulah karwandy hain”.

Another male respondent said that:

“My wife’s family didn’t say anything they used to remain silent but my family had a bit bad attitude because my wife’s family had maltreated my sister”.

The above two respondents were husband and wife and the wife's brother had divorced her sister in law so the two families always remained strong rivals of each other and always played a bad role in case of conflicts among the couple. So the role of the family in fact depends upon every family's individual circumstances.

Another respondent said that:

"Family used to provide solutions to the problems. They played a positive role in it".

Another my respondent expressed that:

"When two persons such as a husband and wife get into a fight that dispute doesn't remain between themselves, both of the families get involved. Situation gets tense between both the families".

"Jda do afrac masln meya bewi day darmiyan jhagra honda hay ta oh sirf una day darmiyan nai rahnda sirf. Blky us ich do famliya shamil ho wandiya hain. Do khandana da aaps ich mahol kasheda ho wanda hay".

One of the educated respondent, who was 26 years old told that:

"Truly speaking, it is the families who play a bad role in conflict rather than couples. Unconcerned people spoil the situation. Brothers make it a matter of "Ghairat." Some problems can be solved by mutual understanding but ego, stubbornness and ghairat make the matters worse. In 'watta satta' marriage two families cannot settle their conflicts by themselves. It is the third party who solves the conflicts like some elder member of family."

"Agar main sach baton to watta satta main kharab raweya couples sy zada khandan k baqi logoka hota hai. Oper k log zada barbad karty hain isy. Bhai zada gharit main aa jaty hain. Kuch batin aaps main mil bathe k suljhai ja skti hain. Par anna, zid or gharit main aa k laraiya bharti hi jati hain. Watta satta ki shadi main do families khbi bhi khud apny masail hal nai kar skti hain. Tesra bnada hi sulah karwata hai. Jesy koi khandan k bary ho gaey".

So to summarise all the above cases we can see that families which are directly involved in fights seldom play any positive role in conflict resolution. It is the elder members and other members of the community who intervene and play their part in reconciliation.

4.11.1. Conflict creators

As a couple gets into fight different factors and different persons may be involved in creation of conflict between the couple. In this section researcher asked the respondents that who plays the important role in conflict arising? To this the researcher received variable responses with some citing that it's the couple's own differences while others saying that other couple's

fights, can put them into fights. Some people believed that in laws were responsible for creating differences.

One of the male respondent reported that:

“Woman plays most important role. Woman has no control over her tongue. And it leads to fights. Man is a man after all, he has no tolerance and fights are aggravated in this way”.

“Orat da kirdar sareya tu zada aham honda hay. Orat nu apni zuban ty control nai hay, isi waja tu jhagry bardy hain. Wat mard ta mard hoye. Us ich v bardasht di kami hondi hay tai jaghry wadhdy hi wandy hain”.

One of the educated male respondent narrated his point of view:

“As far as my observation, every problem is created by a woman. Woman doesn’t like peace. The natural envy which resides inside her leads to fights. Woman who compares and competes with other families, get into fight.”

“Jaha tk mara mushaida hay sary masail hoty hi oratoo k hain. Orat ko skoon psand hi nai hota hay. Jo is k ander fitri hasad paya jata hay wohi jhagru ka bais banta hay.jab orat apny ghar ka muqabla dosry gharon sy karti hai tbi jhagry bnty hain”.

According to above two respondent’s women’s nature of constant competition and comparison with her sister in laws leads to disputes. A woman is never contented with what she has got and always stays in a competitive relationship with the woman in her witta which leads to fights.

One of the female respondent reported:

“My brother in law was very short tempered. He lost his tempers on pity matters. Because of him there were many fights. He tortured his wife as well as me”.

Another my female respondent said tha:

“My sister in law who wed in my ‘Witta’ played vital role in conflict arising. When she died I was permitted to live in this house. Before her death whenever I would come here, she couldn’t even tolerate me for a month and would force me out of my house”.

According to some people as in above respondent’s case the other woman in watta satta plays vital role in creating differences among the couple as if she is not living happily herself she cannot tolerate that the other woman can live peacefully.

Anothe respondent responded:



“Conflict can be started by anybody. Every family has its own conflicts. At some place there are fights between mother in law and sister in law and other places husband and wife have disputes. Women plays more role in conflict arising”.

Another male respondent expressed his views that:

“My brother used to play an important part. he was short-tempered. He used to pressurize me a lot that I should beat my wife and also divorce her. And when I wouldn’t listen to him he would beat me as well”.

“Mary bhira da aham kirdar honda haw. Kiu k oh gusy da taiz haw ty oh mary ty dabao v kafi panda haw k apni bewi nu maar ty us nu talaq day. Ty jada main us di gal namu manda ta oh man v marena haw”.

Where husband and wife are living peacefully other members of the family either mother in law or brother in law would come into action and create differences among the couple.

Another male respondent told that:

“Conflicts arise because of anything. In our case my brother in law was the culprit, he did second marriage”.

If the other couple gets divorced or the man does second marriage, then it affects the second couple in watta satta and they get into fights.

4.11.2. Mechanism for conflict resolution

The researcher during her 3 months stay with the community came to understand that this tradition was successfully running in the community though the families did involve in different fights and disputes which were resolved by many different people. In this section researcher asked multiple questions to get the required data from respondents. The main question was that which people involve in resolving conflicts among the couple? and in what way did they try to help these families? Was it effective or not?

Conversation with the respondent who was respectful member of panchait:

“First of all, the one who is elder member of the house tries to resolve conflicts. And if that is not possible than elder member of the family tries to intervene like paternal uncle and maternal uncle. I am myself member of Panchaiat. Although mostly fights are resolved among people themselves. But people who have complicated problems, they are solved in Panchaiat. We have resolved many conflicts. Whenever Panchaiat hears a case it guarantees the affected person that it will not happen again. And people regard Panchaiat and listen to them.

Researcher: what factors involve for the conflict arising person to intervene in conflicts?

He: It is quite clear that both the families which fights don't come clear by themselves, some third person has to come forward to resolve conflicts. Because it is very important for family.

Researcher: After resolution do they live peaceful life?

He: For once they start living peacefully but fights never end in watta satta marriage”.

So multiple people can involve in resolving problems among the couple, if the family is not stubborn it tries to resolve the conflict by themselves, if not other elder members of the family intervene and even if they cannot come forward with any solution ultimately Panchaiat decides the matters of the family. But conflicts and fights are a regular occurrence in watta satta and they are bound to happen time and again.

Another respondent expressed that:

“Elder members of the family help in conflicts resolution, whose verdict is considered as an order. And families who get into fights their close relatives also help in conflict resolution. Mostly on every happy or sad occasion, close relatives try to resolve conflicts. Because on happy occasions people want to celebrate those occasions with their full energy. They want everybody to accompany them on such occasion, nobody should be sad or unhappy.”

“Jhagra hal karwan ich khandan day wady buzurg shamil hony hain. Jina di gal nu log hukam da darja dandy hain. Ty jinha khandana dy darmiyan jhagra honda hay unha day qareebi dost ahabab v jagra hal krwawar di koshish karendy hain. Zada tar khushi ty ghami day moqeya ty jehry log ruthy hoy hony hain unha nu dost ya khandan dy wady sulah karwandy hain. Kiu k jina loga di khushi da moqa honda hay oh apri khushi bharpur treeqy naal manwara chandy hain. Oh chandy hain k is moqy ty sary unha day naal howin, koi dhuki ya naraaz na howy”.

One of the female respondent narrated that:

“Now if somebody comes and sits on your doorstep, you are bound to listen to them. Respectable members of the family come to your house and talk about the conflict. They try to resolve conflict after giving guarantee”.

“Jada koi banda ghar day darwazy ty aa k bah wanjay ta unha di gal surni pondi hay. Jehry khandan day moaziz log smjy wandy hain oh ghar aa k masly ty gal karendy hain. Ty apri zamanat day k sulah safai karwa dandy hai watty satty day dowa ghara dy darmiyan”.

Another female respondent who was also daughter of Panchaiat member told that:

“Any relatives, elder members of family who are regarded in family. Families regard their age’ position and listen to them and give worth to their opinion. Besides people from Panchaiat can also play their role. In my case it was my mother’s uncle who used to settle the issues. They try to solve the differences both peacefully and by pressurizing both the parties.

Researcher: Do they live happily after resolution?

She: My father was a member of ‘Panchaiat.’ Once ‘Panchaiat Head’ settles the fight, they would even give threats that if we don’t listen to them they would make ur lives hell. (Asi twada hukka pani band kar chresiy). That’s how they make us listen to them. Matters are settled, some days, weeks, or months are peaceful and thereafter same fights are started again”.

Elders memebers of the family like maternal or paternal uncle are regarded and given respect in the family and they are listened to out of respect. Panchaiat also holds a very important place in the community and its also respected and sometimes it can even threaten the families to resolve their issues.

Another member of Panchaiat reported that:

“Parents, maternal uncle, elder ones and people of Panchaiat help in resolving conflicts. I am a member of Panchaiat myself. I have helped in reconciliation of many couples. We write a letter and give guarantee that everthing will remain fine from now onwards otherwise the other party will pay fine”.

“Maa baap, mamu, buzrg log or Panchaiat k log bhi masail hal karwandy hain. Main aap Panchaiat da rukn haw. Main v kafi joreya di sulah karwai hay. Asi chithi likh denty haw ty zamanat denty haw k agaa sb kujh thk rasi. Nai ta doway freeq nu harjana bharna ponda hay”.

Another female respondent expressed her views:

“We had a paternal uncle and whenever we would fight he came forward for confict resolution. Once when I got angry with my in laws and went to my mother’s place, my in laws snatched away my children from me. Then my paternal uncle brought back my children to me and even separated away my cow so that I could give its milk to my children. Everybody used to listen to him but I didn’t get angry many times”.

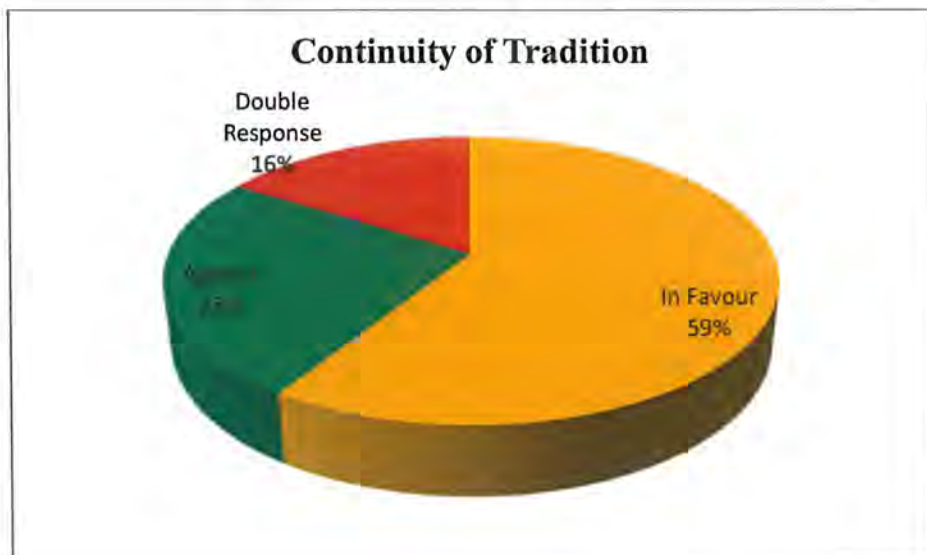
“Saday hik chacha hain, jada v sada jhera honda haw oh sulah karwandy hain. Hik war jada main ruth k maiky ai ta mary susral aleya maethu bachy v khas lay. Ta mary chacha main bachy v wapis lay k dity ty hik gaa v banh k ditti k bacheya nu is da dudh pewa. Unhadi sary gal mandy hain. Par main bahu zada vari ruth k maiky namu gai”.

4.12. Favouring the continuity of tradition

During her three months stay in the village the researcher found out that there were very different responses of group of people regarding whether this tradition of watta satta should be carried on in future generations or not. These views were based on individual's personal experiences but most of all they were influenced by the environment in which they grew up and it signifies how great impact the surrounding environment lays on one's views towards a certain issue.

Besides environment a person's socio cultural determinants also determines his views towards embracing or denying this tradition for their future generations. As this custom has been followed in their community for many generations, it was a common norm for them and most of them viewed it as a part and parcel of their lives, deviation from which led to their downfall. The researcher carried out interviews on 18 couples and out of all the respondents 59% were of the view that this tradition should be carried on regardless of their own or their children's experience. Basic reason being that this tradition is being passed on to them from their forefathers and it is something very sacred to them. Another reason which researcher evaluated during her stay with that community for strongly following this tradition was that they have a superiority complex and think that theirs have a pure blood and they do not want to get it become dirty by marrying their offspring's outside their family.

Figure 16: continuity of tradition



Source: field data

“This tradition should be carried on and it should not be finished. If one out of hundred relationships gets destroyed, it does not mean that watta satta is a bad practice. The other people are still living happily with this tradition”.

One of the respondent reported that:

“Ay rawaiyt ta jari rawani chahedi hay. So ichu agr hik ghr ujar gya hay is da ay mtlb ta nai k watta satta bhera hay. Baqi ghr ta wasdy pay hain na”.

Even in cases of bad personal experiences or in worst case scenarios with their children they cannot condemn this tradition because it is a deep rooted custom in their community and even in cases of broken marriages they cannot blame this tradition for their misery.

Another respondent narrated that:

“I think that this tradition should continue. This is not a bad tradition. God should favor good people. We were two sisters and three brothers. We sisters got married in watta of two brothers. The third brother had also to be married, so he got married in “watta” of elder brother’s daughter. We are this much tied in tradition of watta satta so it’s not that simple to get rid of this tradition”.

“Mery khyal ich ta ay rasm jari rawani chaheadi hy. Ay rasm buri ni hay bs Allah pak changy loga da sath devy. Asi do behra ty 3 birha hasy. Asi do behra ta do birhawa dy watta ich beyaeya gaiya, par tereay birha di shadi v ta karni huae. Ta asa us nu waddy bhai di beti dy witty ich parnaya. Asi is trha watty satty ich phnsy hoy haw. Is lai sady kar is ichu niklna itna asaan ni”.

They prefer this tradition come what may. In some cases, if there is only one match available from one side they will set watta satta of an unborn child from the other side so as to let this tradition continue. Sometimes niece is given in watta satta of maternal or paternal uncle so as to save this tradition.

One of the female respondent explained her views that:

“Definitely, it should continue. It is our elder’s tradition and we have followed it. It will be continued in future. We don’t consider anyone better than our own family’s person”.

“bilkul jari rasi, ay sady wadeya di rawaiyt hy ty asa is nu jari rakheya hoy hay tay aga v ay jari rasi. San apy khandan tu wadh k koi bhair ka bnda lgda hi nai hay”.

They hold so much pride in their family as we can see in the above case that after a bad personal experience of a difficult marriage in watta satta where the above respondent had to suffer all of her life because of this tradition and where her children also couldn’t get along

with each other and ultimately got divorced in following this custom, still she couldn't abhor this tradition. After so much suffering still they hold their heads high with pride in their families and would follow this tradition even if they have to remarry their children in second marriage. They will still try to find match for their children within their family in another watta satta.

Another respondent said that:

"I have three childr, two sons and one daughter, I will also put my children in watta satta marriage. Witta us considered good in our family. People will say that she has given her daughter for free. I don't want to hear other people talk. That's why I will do watta satta of my two children and I will bring one daughter in law for free".

"Mary 3 bachy haen, do putar ty aik dhi. Main apry bacheya ta watta satta karna hay. Sady khandan ich witta hi psand keta wanda hay. Log akhsyinn k is mufi dhi dy diti hy, main loga tu gala nai kavawreya is kar main do bacheya da watta satta karesa ty hik nu(bahu) muft ly k asa".

In following this tradition, they feel dignified within their family and deviation from this custom creates a void between them and their community. They try their utmost to let this tradition continue in their family and in cases of extreme helplessness would marry their daughters for free or for God's sake.

4.12.1. Favouring the discontinuity

In face to face interviews with the community the researcher found out that only 25% of the respondents were against this tradition. One of my respondent answered that:

"It's negative impacts are not only more they are many folds. It is quite clear that an activity which is not beneficial rather it is harmful, it should be avoided and who wants to attract harm".

"Is day manfi asrat sirf zada nai balky bahu zada haen. Saaf zahir hay k jehri shy nafah bakhsh na hovy, nuqsan dy hay us tu bachra chaheada hay. Janrdy bhujdy kon nuqsan di taraf wanda hay".

Out of the respondents the researcher evaluated that the negative impacts were highlighted by literate persons mostly. The illiterate regardless of their suffering in following this custom failed to blame this tradition for their suffering and blamed ill fate for their broken or difficult marriages.

Another respondent said that:

"I am not saying that this activity has more impacts because of my personal experience, I am also saying it keeping in view the environment of my surrounding. I don't think it should be carried on and I have not carried it in my next generation. You could see that its forbidden in Islam too. Our prophet (P.B.U.H) married a widow and he guided us in many ways but we cannot find any example of watta satta in Islam".

"Main sirf apny zindgi k tajarby sy e nai balky irdgird k mahol ko dakhty hoy kah raha hun k k is k manfi asraat bhyt zada hain. mery khayal main to jari nai rahna chaheay or na main ny apni nasal main isy jari rakha hai. Aap dakhon k Islam main b is ki mumaneyat hai Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) ny bewa sy shadi ki or unho ny mukhtlif tareeqo sy hmari rahnumai ki magar Islam m watty satty ki kahin misaal ni milti".

Some cases of well-educated people in the same community learnt from their bad experiences and didn't let this tradition continue in their future generations. They can well observe its bad impacts not only on their own lives but on people surrounding them as well.

"Na main ta aeya akhsa k is rasm nu bilkul b jari nai jari rawana chaheada. Mari ta zindgi barbad hoi hay watty satty day pechy. Main ta kadi v na karesa watta satta. Mera ghr aala hunjy v watty satty day haq ich hay. Par main apry bacheya di shadi ich us nu koi haq na desa".

Another respondent reported that:

"No I would say that this tradition should not be continue at all. I have ruined my life in watta satta. I will never do it. My husband still favors watta satta but I would not give him any right in my children marriage. I have raised and taken care of my children, now I cannot put them in difficulties by putting them in watta satta marriages. I would never do that".

Ay baal m aap paly ty sambhaly hain, unha di tarbeyat keti hay. Hun main unha day watty satty kar k unha nu azaba ich paa chura, main inj kadi v na karesa".

Even some cases of illiterate people suffered so badly in this custom as in above case of where the respondent had spent almost all of her youth in her father's house and raised her children by herself that she is a strong opponent of watta satta now.

In around 16% of the cases the respondents gave mixed responses regarding whether this tradition should be continued in their next generations or not. Actually this tradition is deeply imprinted on this community's mind and they still want to follow it regardless of their personal likes or dislikes.

"I think that it should stop now because one party affects the other party. People don't follow this tradition to the same extent as in the past but personally I like this tradition".

“Ajj day dor ich ta watty satty khatm ho wainy chaheady hain kiu k ikh di waja nal doay di zindgi ujardi hay. Log hun itna zada watta satta nai karendy pay hain par zati tor ty main watta satta pasand hay”.

One of my respondent said that:

“When a custom has been continued for a considerable amount of time, it takes time to discontinue it. And religiously it’s not right. As you can see that PML-N got selected thrice but they didn’t do anything for the people, still they came into power. Similarly, watta satta has been continuing in our generation because we are used to it neither we like it nor dislike it.”

“Jab aik system kafi arsy sy chla aa raha hai to usy khtm karny k ly kafi time chaheay. Or mahabi tor par koi jaiz ni hai ye. Aap yehe dakhe lyn k muslim league non ki hakumat teen bar chli hai par unho ny aawam k ly kueg nai kea, phr b wo hakumat main hain. To yehe haal hmarywatty satty ka hai. Asy hi watta satta naslo sy hm main chala aa rha hai kiu k hm is k aadi ho chuky hain chahy hm isy psand Karin ya napsnd”.

Some of the literate respondents gave interview in Urdu. It is a form of heritage transferred to them from their fathers and grandfathers held sacred to them despite its many flaws. They cannot blame it in anyway.

Conversation with some respondents showed their double standards.

“I think this activity shouldn’t be carried on. I have four daughters and one son. I have given a daughter in my nephew’s ‘Witta’”.

Me: when you don’t like this tradition, why have you continued it?

He: I have daughters and I am helpless, I have to marry my daughters somewhere so witta is the only option.”

“mary khyal ich ta is chez nu jari nai rawra chaheada. Mari char betiya ty ikh beta hay. Main apri ikh beti bhatejy dy witty ich ditti hay”.

Main: jada tawan watta satta pasand ni hay ta tusa is nu jari kiu rakheya?

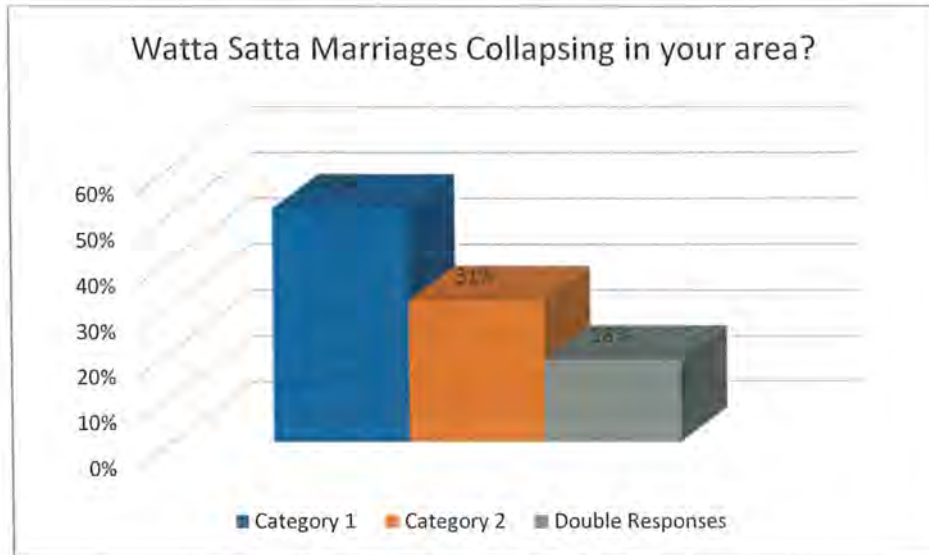
“Majbori hay main betiya da baap haw main apri betiya day ghr barawar hain is kar watty karna sadi mjbori hay”.

4.12.2. Disintegration of watta satta marriages

Watta satta being a tradition of their elders was strongly prevalent in the community under study because it was regarded as a sacred heritage by the community. In this section

researcher asked the respondents whether watta satta marriages are collapsing in rural areas or not? and the different factors involved in it? Watta Satta Marriages collapsing in your area

Figure 17: Disintigration of watta satta marriages



Source: Field Data

54% respondents said that watta satta marriages are not collapsing in their area. One of the female respondent said that:

“There is no decrease as such till now. Just a week back there was a marriage in our family in which a daughter was given in witta of her father”.

“hur tak ta koi khas kami nai ai hay. hury hik hafta pehly sady khandan ich hik shadi hoe hay jis ich beti apry baap dy witty ich gai hay”.

Another respondent told that:

“No, its being continued at the same rate because people fear that other people would talk that they gave their daughter for free”.

“Pehly jitni hi hondi pai hain. Waja aeya hay k log gala na Karin k falah dhi injy day diti, muft dy churi.”

Another male respondent said that:

“No, I don’t think so that it has decreased. People are bound by watta satta. May be it lessens in future generations”.

Another respondent narrated that:

“No, it is continued at the same pace”.

One of my educated female respondent expressed her views that:

“There is no lessening of watta satta. I think people take pride in it and they can hold their heads high that they have obedient children. People don't marry outside families and people feel that their daughters feel safer in watta satta.”

“Koi khas kami to nai ai hay. Or mji to lgta hay k log is bat main fakhar mahsos karty hian or baradari main toar ban jati hain k un ki kitni sadat mand olaad hai. Khandan sy bahir log shadiyaa nai karty hain k unhe lgta watta satta main beti mahfuz rahy gi”.

So according to above respondent's people are following this tradition at the same rate because they take pride in following their ancestral tradition, and also get praised by the community if they marry their children in watta satta. The girls also generally feel safer and privileged if they marry in watta of their brothers or in any other relation. They do not want to hear people talking behind their back that they have given their daughters for free, its regarded bad by the community.

A smaller percentage i.e 31% of the respondents reported that watta satta marriages are collapsing in their area. One of them told that:

“Yes, there is some decline because more daughters are being born so people are helpless to do simple marriages. Otherwise we are not happy for marriages for free”.

“Je han kujh kami ai hay. Kiu k dhiya di pedaiish zada hay ta kar loga nu majborn charhy rishty dewary pondy hain. Warna asi khushi naam ta nai karendy muft dea shadiya”.

Another respondent who was imam masjid, told that:

“Yes, its percentage is decreasing now. We migrants who came from India are not very fond of this tradition whether we live in village or cities when people have seen its disadvantages they are avoiding it”.

Another respondent told that:

“Previously, people used to do watta satta but it has decreased now. People are learning from their experiences.” Shazia

Another respondent expressed his view that:

“Yes there is some decline. Previously people blindly followed it but now think about it”.

“Han pehly tu ta kami ai hay. Pehly ta andha dhund watty satty hondy hain, par hun wat hi log soch smj k karendy hain”.

One of the male respondent who was school teacher told that:

“Watta satta marriages have declined than past. As I told you before, there are more daughters than son’s in our family. So people are forced to give their daughter for God sake. These people get distracted from this tradition of ‘witta’ and those people have equal number of daughters and sons they still practice watta satta”.

“Watta satta di shadiya ich pehly tu kami ai hay. Jiway main pehly v daseya hay k sady khandan ich betiya wafer hain. Ta log majbore hain bachiya Allah wasta dewar ty. Oh log ta witty tu hat gy. Ty jinwa kol dhiya ty putar brabr hain oh ta karendy pay hain watty satty”.

So the baove respondent’s views that watta satta is decreasing in rural areas were based on the fact that in cases where people have more daughters than sons they are bound to marry them for free though they don’t like marrying for free or for God’s sake. Secondly, a small fraction of people who had their own person al bad experiences or of their children now are set against this tradition, but again they are a very small percentage of the population under study.

18% repondents mixed resopnses. One of them told that:

“In my opinion people are getting awareness about this matter. People have now undersatood that this is an omnious thing. It shouldn’t be practiced. Yes, if somebody is bound that his daughter is not getting any match, he will give his daughter and take his daughter in law in return. Watta satta is being practiced out of heplessness. In my opinion watta satta shouldn’t be practiced and if it is being practiced, its because our community is helpless, if their daughter or son is not getting any proposal they are doing watta satta.

“jina day bacha bachi kithai nai lgdy oh watta satta kar lendy hain”.

Another female respondent said that:

“There is to some extent decline than past but not too much extent. People don’t learn from their experiences”.

“Pehly di nisnat kujh kami ai hay, par itni v koi khas kami nai ai hay. Log apry nai sikhdy apry tajarbya tu.”

Another male respondent reported that:

“There are some lessening than past but many people are still doing it.”

“Pehly tu ta kami ai hay. Par wat hi bahi log hain jey karendy pay hain”.

Another male respondent told that:

“It has decreased to some extent but still its being continued. Exen if they dislike it by heart, they are not willing mentally to discard this tradition”.

“pehly tu kami ai hay par hun v hondiya paiya hain. Log dili tor ty is nu bura smjn v ta v damaghi tor ty amada nai hondy is nu chorn kar”.

People are in fact bound by this tradition of elders, even if they don't like it personally or if they have suffered in this custom still they cannot completely deviate from it because they fear that their society would dislike them for not following their elders path. In this fear they keep on continuing this tradition in their community.

4.13. Case studies of life experiences

Case study:1

I am married for 34 years. I married through watta satta. I am educated till class five and my husband is also educated till class five.

Watta satta is a common practice in our family. I had heard about it in my childhood. We knew that it is a tradition being followed by our elders and watta satta is liked in our community. Marring for free is not considered good in our community. Simple marriages are considered marring for free in our community. We consider watta satta marriages better than simple marriages. It is a tradition of our elders, why shouldn't we like it?

I myself married in a watta satta marriage but I feel that brothers didn't protect me in a way that they should have. I was married in “Witta” of my younger brother. My brother was immature and younger at that time. So I got married and my brother and sister in-law got nikahfied at that time. After 10 years of my marriage my brother and sister in-law remained nikahfied but my brother refused to marry my sister in-law because he liked someone else, my aunt's daughter and didn't think at once about his sister's witta and divorced my sister in-law.

Their marriage was broken but all of this affected my marriage and family very badly. I had to struggle a lot to save my marriage. My husband was pressurized by whole family that he shouldn't be shameless and he should divorce me in return of his sister's divorce. But we had 5 children and my husband was a good person, he didn't divorce me but we had to face many

difficulties. Our children were so young at that time so my husband couldn't divorce me. We had to face a lot of indifferences and pressure from our family.

In spite of all of this I would say that "Watta Satta" is a very good practice and it is much better. We cannot refuse watta satta. In spite of bad instances in our family we don't hold watta satta responsible for it. This was our fate. In our village there are so many homes and in almost every home there is a watta satta marriage. There would be 10 only got failed, the rest of them are continuing their marriage. So how can we blame watta satta. This is being inherited from our forefathers.

Case Study:2

I am 26 years old and we are 3 sisters and 2 brothers. My brother and mine marriage was arranged via watta satta. I am married for four years now. I am MPhil Sociology and my husband is doing his PHD. My brother is doing post Doc in Japan. His wife is B.A. My parents wed through watta satta. Both of my uncles and my aunt also wed through watta satta. My grandmother also got married through watta satta.

At first I used to like it as it gave us a sense of security. If someone's in-laws would do her wrong, then his brother would be there to protect her. In our childhood we used to observe that when my aunt got hurt from her spouse and came to my uncle's home then my uncle would beat his spouse in return. We used to like this practice and got a sense of relief. Problems used to be solved mutually.

There is a concept in our area that if our one of sister gets married through watta satta his worth is raised. The one who does not marry through watta satta are considered weak and worthless. She is considered to be given in 'charity'. People say that she is given /married for free i.e. without any cost. People who wed through watta think that if they get hurt in a relationship they can pressurize the second party and second party thinks the same. In our area watta satta is considered superior to the simple marriage.

My father and mother got married first and in return my aunt and maternal uncle got nikahfied. My aunt and maternal uncle were young at that time so it was decided to delay their marriage. Previously there was a concept that "*Doli naal Doli leri hay*". Which meant that both the couples will wed at the same time regardless of the couple's age but my grandfather was a literate person, he was B.A at that time so he followed this custom of watta satta for his children but he said that his son was young at that time he should get educated and should get mature before getting married. My mother was 16-17 years at that time and

girls got married at this age at that time so she got married and my maternal uncle got Nikahfied only. My maternal uncle went to Punjab University for studding there he got interested in his class fellow. He didn't listen to anybody and divorced my aunt and thereafter married his class fellow. He was well educated so he said that he doesn't accept this custom of watta satta and that he was not asked about his own will at that time of his nikkah. Then our "panchayat" divorced my uncle and aunt.

At that time many years passed since my parents' marriage, they had two children as well. My paternal uncle start pressurizing my father that he should divorce my mother. My parents were living happily. My paternal uncle used to pressurize my father to divorce my mother. But my father took his stand and he said that he cannot be this cruel to his children. My paternal uncle and his relatives used to call my father shameless(*Baegyrat*). They would say that people who have made his sister's live miserable, he has kept those people in his home. My paternal uncle and my relatives did boycott from my father. They used to call my father shameless because he didn't divorce his wife. Then my parents made their own setup. They had to face many hardships. My mother used to help my father in farms. Some years thing remained like this but when we became sensible things had changed. Our relative's cold attitude had changed to much extend. My paternal uncles resumed their relationship with my own parents but my mother was not allowed to talk to maternal uncles. Then, when we got educated me and me and my brother married through watta satta to resume this relationship. There were some problems related to property as well. My mother had her share in the property of her family. In our area sisters are not given share in property but my mother took her share of her father's property saying that it's her religious right. Then my maternal uncles and my mother settled agreement that she should her share of property to her brothers and in return their children will get wed through watta satta. In this way their relationship will get strong again. My mother's property was transferred to my husband before marriage. My father then set his condition "Doli k sath Doli leni hai" because he forced that these people had done wrong to sister now they will do the same to his daughter. That's why I was married one day before my brother's marriage.

Case study:3

I am 38 years old and I am married for 22 years. We married in a Watta Satta marriage. My husband is 27 years older than me and he is B.SC and working in a bank at that time. Now he is retired. We have 4 children, 2 daughters and 2 sons. I am educated till grade 5. We are not their close relatives. We had watta satta marriages before our own marriage. My uncle is his

aunt's husband. My paternal aunt and paternal uncle were married in watta satta to my husband's paternal aunt and paternal uncle. then we had a watta satta marriage.

I had an elder brother, then I was second in order in siblings, then I had two sisters and I brother in that order. Among our siblings, myself and my younger brother wed in watta satta marriage and the rest of my siblings married in my mother's family. I don't know much about watta satta in my childhood. We lived in another village and watta satta was not that common as it is in this village. We had just heard about watta satta, these are practiced. In reality, I came to know about it when our marriages were set in watta satta. We not only came to know about it, I was "Bewildered" "*Din ich tary nzar a gay*".

"Taa smajh v ai hae ty din ichh tary v nzar aa gaey hain".

My sister in law in my witta was 40 years old and still unmarried at that time. She wanted to marry her aunt's son in her mother's family. But my husband didn't want to marry in his mother's family. So he asked for match in his father's family from us. My sister in law was not listened to and watta satta was set. All that time my father in law was alive and my mother in law had passed away many years ago. But these were very impropriating matches. My sister in law was 40 years and old who married to my brother who was 13 years old at that time. And he was studding in class 8 at that time. My husband was 37 years old and I was 16 years old at that time. But girls can compromise even at a younger age. But my sister in law was not willing for this marriage so she couldn't live with my brother and came to live here with her parents. We had disputes right from the start. I was young and I started to have children. But my sister in law couldn't have children because of her age factor. But she blamed my brother that he was important. I, poor soul would remain with my husband for 1-2 months and then they would send me away to my husband house and humiliate me. Our life was spending as such. I had four children and all of them were born at my parent's home. And all of them were born at my parent's home. My brothers have raised my children.

Recently, just 1 year back when my sister in law died, then elder members of the family came for reconciliation and advised me to live at my husband's home with my children. Besides problem with "Witta" marriage, my husband has ruined me, my youth was spent in this humiliation. He valued his sister, didn't he value his children too. My sister in-law couldn't have children so my bother married again and now he has 5 children. Men can marry up to four times. Now who could stop him from doing that. But my husband got so much against by this that he made me sit at my parent's house for so many years. Now that my sister in-law has died he came for reconciliation. He bought me out of his own haplessness that he had nobody to look after him.

I took care of my children and raised them at my parent's place. It's mine and my father's patience. I have also led a modest life. I went to Iran and Iraq for pilgrimage (*Zawari*). My father took me there for Hazrat Mulana Hussain (R.A) pilgrimage. The hatred, I have developed for my husband will never end. He hates me and I hate him till this moment. My children also hate him. This hatred will never end. My conscience didn't allow me that I came back to this house. I have spent my life. But I wanted a peaceful old age for my parents so I came here. These are all disadvantages of watta satta marriage. Daughter's life is completely ruined in it. children are also left in a bad situation. In witta, those mothers who cannot any regard from their in-laws their children also cannot get any regard.

Case study:4

I am 65 years old. I am educated till B.A. I am a retired school teacher. I was married in watta satta of my paternal aunt's daughter. She was sick and died after 3 years of our marriage, so to continue with that witta I was married again to her younger sister.

I had seen watta satta since my childhood because my parents and even my paternal uncles were married in watta satta. Our society doesn't allow us to go beyond watta satta. This is an actual fact. Our society and our community doesn't like it that we marry outside our relatives. Previously "*Tarwad*" was considered better. It is even more complicated thing than watta satta. In it, relations are tied like a chain and one couple's problem creates equal problems for all the other couples. "*Tawwad*" is such that if my sister gives me a match and in return I give a match from my children to my brother and then my brother gives a match to my sister. In this way the three of us are tied together in this way the children of three brother and sisters are settled as well. And we are united as well. And this thinking runs in our whole family.

My own experience was just fine. My witta was set in my paternal aunt's home. Me and my sister married in watta satta with my aunt's children. My wife died after three years of marriage. She had some gynecological problem. And then my aunt married her second daughter with me so as to continue this witta. In this way our watta satta continued, I don't have many children from my first marriage and I have 4 children from my second marriage, 2 sons and 2 daughters. I have arranged watta satta of all of my children. But after doing so many watta satta I consider it a more tension. You have to struggle a lot to keep it safe and to let it continue. I think marring for free is better than this.

Case study:5

I am 62 years old. I have been a government employ but now I am retired. I wed through witta. I have 3 sons and 1 daughter.

I had heard word watta satta since my childhood. Our parents also had watta satta marriage. It is quite common practice in our chak. It is not difficult for us to understand this term. And we knew it at that time that we seek brother's match in return for sister's. people were simple and people were modest and had regarded at that time so watta satta didn't have these problems, neither they were seen at that time. Now the people have changed they don't know how to keep relations.

My own experience of watta satta was pretty good and before my own experience I had seen my parent's watta satta that was too good. But my 2 sons and 2 daughters who wed in watta satta was a failure collectively. We had so many bitter experiences and now we have decided to abandon this tradition. I wed my elder son and daughter in their maternal aunt's family. They have been married for 3 years now. My son lives in Saudi Arabia and his wife lives with us. My son was 25 years old at the time of marriage and his wife was 37 years i.e. 12 years older than my son. 3 years passed since their marriage but they didn't have any children, we thought it was a God's will.

My daughter and my son in law were age fellows. My son in law is in Army he came up to like some other girl and married her. It has been 6 months now. My son in law did a very disgraceful act and he ruined my daughter's life as well as his sister's. when he married some other girl then my daughter and daughter in law both got angry and both went to their parent's home respectively. We called our sons and within 2 months we married him with great display and bought our daughter in law. We did to take revenge from our son in law and set him straight. And this thing happens in watta satta. "Tit for tat". "*Eint da jawab pathar naal dita wanda hay,*".

Now my son and my son in law have wed second times and are living their lives but my daughter is staying with us. My daughter's life is ruined. She is 22 years now. We will divorce their daughter once they will give divorce to our daughter.

5. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

The current research basically revolves around an old tradition of watta satta still being practiced in a village of district Jhang. Contrary to my preformed belief that the people of this area would have insight into its many fold disadvantages and would be tired of following this tradition, they were in fact sticking happily to this tradition of their forefathers. The village basically had two main castes i.e. Kuryana Sial and Sahu and they very much liked it to marry within their own castes while trying their best to adhere to this tradition. They have acquired this tradition like inheritance from their elders and hold it dear to themselves.

Introduced to this custom in their very early childhood by seeing their elder generations being tied in relationships through this tradition, they conceive it as a form of legacy and brace themselves mentally to fulfill this tradition by bowing before their elders while they tie their knots in similar watta satta marriages as they themselves have experienced.

The community in fact didn't think so deeply about this custom and its various implications because they had acquired it as a way of life, a part and parcel of their living just like earth, fire, air and water are considered basic amenities of living, watta satta is a similar essential part of their living. When talked and asked about their opinion about this particular custom, many of the interviewees actually expressed their preformed views but a few educated ones who also had their share of views acquired from their ancestors, started brainstorming and somehow gave a molded account about this tradition based on their personal share of experience as well.

The tradition is strongly practiced in this particular village and to some extent in neighboring villages as well. The community has no idea on the whole what people are practicing in the cities and to them villagers are more indulged in this custom than people of cities because they value relations and also care for their relatives and out of fear of annoying their relatives if they ever think of marrying outside their family. I also had a belief that people must be segregated into two parties educated and illiterate and the ones who are illiterate would be more involved in this tradition but surprisingly this hypothesis also proved to be null and void as people want to be glorified within their own families by setting their literate children into watta satta marriages. And it was subsequently proved in many examples where people had increased their pride many folds by following the footsteps of their forefathers.

I found during my research that the community enjoyed many benefits in following the footsteps of their ancestors. Inheritance is one of the strong reasons which has kept this tradition alive in many generations. The community generally doesn't give women their share of inheritance and it is considered very bad on a woman's part if she asks for her share in property, so to combat this issue of saving inheritance they follow watta satta because both the sides keep their inheritance to themselves and don't give it to their daughters. Secondly, I also found during my stay with the community that the villagers find ease in this custom because in this way they can settle two of their children i.e. a daughter and a son subsequently and also it allows them to marry their less privileged or weaker children as well. Thirdly, the major population of the village was in a sort of 'superiority complex' and didn't want any impurities mixed up in their blood by marrying outside the family.

The community in its own ways enjoys many perks of watta satta marriages, it thinks that its women get more worthy and are protected by this custom. Although there is an element of punishment and women are often battered badly in many cases observed during my study but the community is not bothered by this element of violence in this tradition. They think that the other party gets cautious in its treatment with their daughter in laws because they fear that their daughters would also get maltreated in this way. They even consider it as a form of security for their daughters. Only a small percentage of people quoted this disadvantage that one couple has to bear the brunt of fights of the other couple and they too said it based on their own personal experiences.

Surprisingly and contrary to my expectations, divorce rate is also very low among the villagers, and although people engage in fights and controversies, and women get angry with their husbands and in laws and often have to stay for years in some examples with their parents and give child birth at their parent's place, people are in fact very cautious in giving divorce because they have to care for their sister who is married in watta satta with the other party. So this element in fact gives a protection in a sort to women that despite fights and disagreements among the couple's divorces are a rare occurrence in that community.

The community faces many medical issues due to repeated cousin marriages in the form of watta satta i.e. eye- sight problems, some forms of leukemia's and other syndromes and although being very well aware of the medical issues and many genetic diseases observed in the community because of repeated cousin marriages, this aspect couldn't hold back this community from getting barred from this tradition. They still follow it with the same zeal and zest. According to one of the respondents, doctors are not the one to dictate them where to marry their children....

Children are the ones who suffer the most because of bad psychological impacts of watta satta marriages and I observed during my research that many of the respondents in their youth could still reproduce their bitter childhood memories of watta satta marriages of their elders. It could have lifelong consequences on the mental health of children and even they recognize that the bad impacts and failure of watta satta marriages lays a bad effect on the psychological health of not only the children but also the couples and their parents as well but still this fact is not strong enough to let the community stop practicing this ritual of their elders.

I had a strong notion that the elders in the community forced their younger ones to follow this tradition but that also proved to be false during in depth research. The younger ones are brought up in an environment in which they are praised if they follow their parent's wishes.

They think that its written in their fate and nothing is better option than marrying in a watta satta marriage. How can they dare enough to challenge their elders?

The community has set up a system and an environment in which people think it as a crime or in other words its forbidden to tell your own will for marriage. Marriages are set up by the parents and children willfully obey them. Even in cases where the respondents led difficult and complicated lives due to watta satta marriages they still wanted to follow the same path even if given a chance again.

I observed during my study that the community did recognize many problems in watta satta marriages like mismatched marriages, lack of understanding among couples and so on but still they considered these problems very meagre as compared to the advantages seen in following this tradition. In fact, they have adjusted themselves and their lives to face these issues and their elders play their part for reconciliation among couples and families in case of conflicts.

While I was starting to prepare myself to start research on this topic I had its many disadvantages in mind and I had a strong gut feeling that the community must have been tired of practicing it in its many generations. But most of my concerns proved to be wrong during research.

This tradition is impregnated in their minds, flows in their blood and lets them breath. In spite of many bad examples set in front of them of failed marriages, and many conflicts and controversies seen in this custom they consider it the best possible option while marrying. The same is the reason that this tradition continues to rise and even after getting their children higher and better education they like to return to their roots and follow their ancestors, get praised in the community.

5.1.Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to highlight this tradition of watta satta in a village of district Jhang. As already discussed before watta satta is vehemently supported and practiced in this village and it has set its roots in depth in this community. This tradition in fact dates back to many generations in this community. The community's survival is now based on this custom. The have molded their values and norms in such a way that it has become their mode of survival. Although for an observer looking from outside, this tradition may seem outdated and even a crime for some but for its inhabitants it is their way of life.

The custom is introduced to the villagers right from their childhood, they see it being practiced in their surroundings, infused in them by their ancestors. So they get accustomed to

it even before they get into puberty and start thinking about marriage and its prospects. Their thoughts are already shaped by the time their elders decide about their fate and they accept their elders' verdict in order to please them and more so their society.

The tradition on the whole has its own set of merits and demerits and the community has insight into it but somehow they are happy in following this tradition. To them the advantages of this custom outweigh its disadvantages and the integrity and survival of this village and community lies in following this tradition.

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22. Why the elements of punishment and violence involved in watta satta? Reasons?
23. Are there any legal remedies regarding watta satta?
24. If divorce occurs in first couple what are its negative effects on the other couple?
25. Due to conflict who suffer the most?

Probing:

- Who plays the important role in conflict arising?
- What is response of both families towards conflicts?
- What is the role of family in arising and providing solution to the conflicts?
- Who identify the conflict and provide solution to the family?

26. After resolution do they live peaceful life?
27. Families have been indulged in the hierarchy of following this custom even in the case of failure of parent's marriages this tradition has been continued,

Probing:

- What was the reason behind?
- Are the people being simple enough to not to foresee the consequence?
- Are they bound enough to let the tradition continue?

28. Which people involve in resolving conflict among the couple?

Probing:

- Have they ever tried to help these types of families?
- If yes in what way?
- Was it successful?
- Which factors involves for conflict resolving person to intervene in conflicts?

29. What impact it lay on the grooming of the children?

Probing:

- Do they develop any kind of violence in case of disputes between families and parents specifically?
- What are the psychological impacts on children due to disputes of watta satta marriage?

29. Why watta satta marriage is collapsing in rural areas? Factors?

30. Give your advice or suggestion?