

**Impact of Migration on Education and Health
(A Case Study of Karrianwala Village, District Gujrat, Pakistan)**



**By
Mr. Sarfraz Khan**

**Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad, Pakistan
2017**

**Impact of Migration on Education and Health
(A Case Study of Karrianwala Village, District Gujrat, Pakistan)**



Submitted By: **Mr. Sarfraz Khan**
Ph.D Scholar,
Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

Supervisor: **Prof. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman**
Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
Pakistan

**Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University,
Islamabad, Pakistan
2017**

Author's Declaration

I Sarfraz Khan hereby state that my Ph.D thesis titled "Impact of Migration on Education and Health (A Case Study of Karrianwala Village, District Gujrat, Pakistan)" is my own and has not been submitted previously by me for taking any degree from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad or anywhere else in Pakistan/world.

At any time if my statement is found to be incorrect even after my Graduation the university has the right to withdraw my Ph.D degree.



Name of Student: Sarfraz Khan

Dated: July 17, 2017

Plagiarism Undertaking

I solemnly declare that research work presented in the thesis titled “**Impact of Migration on Education and Health (A Case Study of Karrianwala Village, District Gujrat, Pakistan)**” is solely my research work with no significant contribution from any other person. Small contribution/help wherever taken has been duly acknowledged and that complete thesis has been written by me.

I understand the zero tolerance policy of the HEC and **Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad** towards plagiarism. Therefore, I as an Author of the above titled thesis declare that no portion of my thesis has been plagiarised and any material used as reference is properly referred/cited.

I undertake that if I am found guilty of any formal plagiarism in the above titled thesis even after award of Ph.D degree, the University reserves the rights to withdraw/revoke my Ph.D degree and that HEC and the University has the right to publish my name on the HEC/University Website on which names of students are placed who submitted plagiarised thesis.

Student/Author Signature:



Name: Sarfraz Khan

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD
(Department of Anthropology)

No.

Dated: July 17, 2017

Certificate of Approval

This is to certify that the research work presented in this thesis, entitled "**Impact of Migration on Education and Health (A Case Study of Karriawala Village, District Gujrat, Pakistan)**" was conducted by **Mr. Sarfraz Khan**, under the supervision of Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman, Professor, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

No part of this thesis has been submitted anywhere else for any other degree. This thesis is submitted to the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, in the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Field of **Anthropology**, Department of Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Student Name: **Sarfraz Khan**

Signature: 

Examination Committee

a) **External Examiner 1: Prof. Dr. Rashid Khan**
Professor,
Institute of Social Development Studies,
University of Peshawar

Signature: 

b) **External Examiner 2: Dr. Farooq Tanwir**
Chairman, Department of International Relations,
University of Peshawar

Signature: 

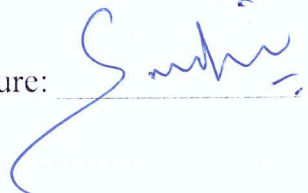
c) **Internal Examiner: Prof. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman**
Professor,
Department of Anthropology,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

Signature: 

Supervisor Name: **Prof. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman**

Signature: 

Name of In-Charge: **Dr. Saadia Abid**
In-Charge/Assistant Professor,
Department of Anthropology,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Signature: 

Final Approval Letter

This is to certify that we have read dissertation submitted by Mr. Sarfraz Khan entitled "Impact of Migration on Education and Health (A Case Study of Karrianwala Village, District Gujrat, Pakistan)" as partial fulfilment for the award of Doctorate of Philosophy in Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. We have evaluated the dissertation and found it up to the requirement in its scope and quality for the award of Ph.D degree.


1. **Supervisor**
Prof. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman
Professor,
Department of Anthropology,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

Signature: 

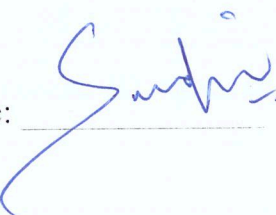
2. **External Examiner**
Prof. Dr. Rashid Khan
Professor,
Institute of Social Development Studies,
University of Peshawar

Signature: 

3. **External Examiner**
Dr. Farooq Tanwir
Chairman, Department of International
Relations,
University of Peshawar

Signature: 

4. **In-Charge**
Dr. Saadia Abid
In-Charge/Assistant Professor,
Department of Anthropology,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Signature: 

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must start by thanking Almighty Allah who gave me courage and strength and enabled me to overcome various hurdles that came in my way during the process of research and thesis writing.

This work could not have been accomplished without the continuous encouragement, support and guidance of my worthy supervisor Prof. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman. His personality inspired me to pursue this degree. Without his kind supervision it would not have been possible for me to complete this research. He all the time remained a mentor for me throughout the process of fieldwork and thesis writing. I extend my gratitude to Higher Education Commission of Pakistan for providing financial support during the study period.

I would like to thank Dr. Saadia Abid (In-Charge, Department of Anthropology) for her kind cooperation and inspiration throughout the process of research and thesis writing. I also owe my gratitude to other faculty members at Department of Anthropology especially Dr. Waheed Iqbal Chaudhry, Dr. Muhammad Ilyas Bhatti, Dr. Rao Nadeem Alam, Dr. Inam Ullah Leghari, Dr. Anwaar Mohyuddin, Ms. Aneela Sultana, Mr. Muhammad Waqas Saleem for their guidance and encouragement. I am also thankful to Mr. Sajjad Haider (Fieldwork Supervisor) for his continuous encouragement.

I am thankful to my friends especially; Mr. Ikram Badshah, Mr. Rahim Bakhsh Khetrana, and Mr. Farhan Ahmed Faiz for continuous support. I also thank my colleague and head of the Department of Sociology Dr. Saadia Saeed for her continued encouragement.

I am highly thankful to office staff especially Mr. Muhammad Rafique (Assistant In-Charge), Mr. Khalid Tanveer (Assistant Private Secretary), Mr. Sajjad Ahmed (Library Attendant) Muhammad Bashir (Peon), Aftab Ahmed (Peon) and Shahzada Aftab Khan (Peon) at Department of Anthropology for their cooperation throughout the degree.

I also feel indebted to my family for their unabated support to me with all their affection and prayers especially my father, mother, and brothers. They had always been my saviors in the days of destitution and lonely nights in the field.

My special thanks go to Mrs. Sundas Sarfraz, for encouraging me to complete this work. Without her cooperation and support it would not have been possible for me to complete it.

Sarfraz Khan

Abstract

The present research was focused primarily to understand the impact of migration on the education and health of families of migrant workers left behind in the village Karrianwala in District Gujrat, Pakistan. A survey from the 400 left behind families was conducted to study the impact of migration on the education and health of families. Qualitative methods like (a) participant observation, (b) key informants, (c) FGDs and (d) in-depth interviews were also used for the understanding of the issue.

More than 2000 migrant workers from the current village were working in various countries particularly in Europe, Middle-East and the United States of America (USA). The sample of 400 families was selected out of 1200 left behind families through purposive sampling and they were asked about the migration process, remittances, consumption patterns, education and health related spending issues. The migrant were regularly sending remittances to their families to meet the needs of their household, i.e. basic needs like household utilities, accessories, food, clothing, health and educational expenses. In addition to these expenses the migrant families were also spending part of the remittances on other activities such as purchase of residential plots, construction of large houses, agricultural land, business and arranging social gatherings, development activities, and in alms and charities. The data depicted a positive impact of remittances on the livelihoods of migrant families in the village.

The findings of the research supported NELM (New Economics of Labour Migration) model about the involvement of families in the decisions related to migration. These decisions were taken rationally while assessing the pros and cons of migration in advance. The role of social and kinship networks was very influential for the aspirants to go abroad. These networks not only provided the aspirants with suitable information but also accommodated them at destinations in the foreign countries. The culture of migration through emulation changed the trends of migration in the village. This created a widespread interest among the youth to travel abroad and majority of them were aspired to do it.

The impact of migration was instrumental in influencing the education among the children in the village. The increase in the families' income could possibly be associated to better educational activities of their children. Majority of the families started sending their children to schools but the enrollment to the English-medium

private school was the major choice for migrant families. The school attendance and performance in the classes was not equal among the female and male children. Majority of the male children enrolled in the elementary schools were truant and did not achieve good grades. The girls of the elementary schools on the other hand performed outstandingly as majority of them attended the schools regularly and achieved good grades. The male children of this age group were more focused towards the substitute migration rather than paying attention toward their studies and making determined effort in the education. These trends remained same for the male children even beyond the elementary schooling.

The impact of the migration on health of the families was very significant. In most of the cases the remittances made it possible for the families not only to access the nutritious food but also assured its quality. The process of migration not only provided the economic benefits to the dependents but it also oriented them towards the worldview regarding the consumption of quality and hygienic foods. The role of migration was also positive in the case of the selection of the healthcare services in the village. The majority of families switched from the traditional treatment to more modern and specialized form of medical treatment available in the tertiary hospitals.

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Anno Domini
AJ&K	Azad and Jammu Kashmir
B.A/B.Sc	Bachelor of Arts/ Bachelor of Science
BC	Before Christ
BE&OE	Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment
BHUs	Basic Health Units
BP	British Petroleum
BS	Bachelor of Science
DVD	Digital Video Disc
EBDM	Enterprise for Business & Development Management
ECE	Early Children Education
EDO	Executive District Office
EU	European Union
F.A/F.Sc	Faculty of Arts/Faculty of Science
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Products
GOP	Government of Pakistan
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LHW	Lady Health Worker
M.A/M.Sc	Master of Arts/Mater of Science
M.Phil	Master of Philosophy
Matric.	Matriculation
MBBS	Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery
MS	Master of Subject
NCCAM	National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
NEP	National Educational Policy
NER	Net Enrolment Rates
NICs	Newly Industrializing Countries
OPF	Overseas Pakistani Foundation
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
PILDAT	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
PRI	Pakistan Remittances Initiative
TB	Tuberculosis
U5MR	Under-Five Mortality Rate
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training

	Institute for the Advancement of Women
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
UPS	Uninterruptible Power Supply/Source
USA	United States of America
VCD	Video Compact Disc
WBM	Western Biomedicine
WHO	World Health Organization

TABLE OF CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
Abstract	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
Chapter No. 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The Background	1
1.2 International Migration: A Historical Development.....	3
1.3 International Migration from Pakistan	5
1.4. Education System in Pakistan	7
1.4.1. <i>The Impact of Migration on Education</i>	9
1.5. Healthcare System in Pakistan	11
1.5.1. <i>Anthropological Approaches Related to Health</i>	12
1.5.2. <i>The Impact of Migration on Health</i>	14
1.6. Statement of the Problem	16
1.7. The Study Objectives	17
1.7.1. <i>Hypotheses</i>	18
1.7.2. <i>Operationalization of the Hypothesis: Variables and Indicators</i>	18
1.8. Locale of the Study.....	19
1.9. Methodology.....	19
1.9.1. <i>Rapport Building</i>	19
1.9.2. <i>Participant Observation</i>	20
1.9.3. <i>Meeting with Key Informants</i>	21
1.9.4. <i>Census Survey</i>	21
1.9.5. <i>Village Profile Survey</i>	21
1.9.6. <i>Semi-structured In-depth Interviews</i>	22
1.9.7. <i>Group Discussion</i>	22
1.9.8. <i>Data Analysis</i>	22
1.10. Justification for Study.....	23
1.11. Expected Contribution of the Study	23
1.12. Theoretical Framework for the Study.....	24
1.12.1. <i>Migration and Modernization</i>	24
1.12.2. <i>Migration as Dependency</i>	26
1.12.3. <i>Migration as Articulation, Networks and Transnationalism</i>	27
Chapter No. 2	30
REVIEW OF LITERATURE	30
2.1. The Growth of International Migration.....	30
2.1.1. <i>International Migration: A Global Perspective</i>	30
2.1.2. <i>International Migration from South Asia</i>	32
2.1.3. <i>International Migration from Pakistan</i>	34

2.2.	The Impact of Remittances on Communities	40
2.3.	The Impact of International Migration on Education and Health.....	46
2.3.1.	<i>The Impact on Education</i>	46
2.3.2.	<i>The Impact on Health</i>	48
2.4.	Theoretical Models	50
2.4.1.	<i>The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) Model</i>	50
2.4.2.	<i>Social Network and Kinship Model</i>	51
2.4.3.	<i>Dual Labor Market Theory</i>	52
2.4.4.	<i>Migration and Education Model</i>	53
2.4.5.	<i>Migration-Health Model</i>	53
3.1.	Profile of Pakistan: Geography, Environment, and Population.....	55
3.2.	Profile of the District Gujrat.....	56
3.2.1.	<i>Population and Economy</i>	57
3.3.	Profile of Karrianwala Village (Research Site).....	58
3.3.1.	<i>Population, Ethnic Groups and Living Patterns</i>	60
3.3.2.	<i>The Village's Economy</i>	60
3.3.3.	<i>Education and Health Facilities</i>	62
3.3.4.	<i>Migration Trends</i>	62
4.1	International Migration from Karrianwala	64
4.1.1.	<i>Where Do People of Karrianwala Migrate?</i>	67
4.1.2.	<i>Migration Decisions</i>	69
4.1.3.	<i>Push-Pull Factors</i>	70
4.1.4.	<i>Culture of Migration</i>	71
4.1.5.	<i>Irregular Migration</i>	73
4.1.6.	<i>Educational Migrants</i>	74
4.1.7.	<i>Social and Kinship Networks</i>	75
4.1.8.	<i>Migration and Women</i>	77
4.1.9.	<i>Migrants-Dependents Connections</i>	79
4.1.10.	<i>Migrants' Visits Back Home</i>	81
4.1.11.	<i>Return Migration and Deportation</i>	83
4.2.	Remittances	84
4.2.1.	<i>The Inflow of Remittances</i>	85
4.2.2.	<i>Channels of Remittance Transfer</i>	86
4.2.3.	<i>Occasions and Need Based Remittances</i>	87
4.2.4.	<i>Remittances and Charity</i>	88
4.2.5.	<i>Remittances and Developmental Activities</i>	90
	Chapter No. 5	92
	MIGRATION, EDUCATION AND HEALTH:	92
	QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS	92
5.1.	Respondents' Profiles and Data Analysis.....	92
	Chapter No. 6	106
	THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON EDUCATION	106
6.1.	Educational Opportunities and Major Trends	106

6.1.1.	<i>Patterns of Educational Attainment</i>	106
6.1.2.	<i>Educational Opportunities: The Private Schools Network</i>	108
6.1.3.	<i>Educational Opportunities: Government Schooling Options</i>	111
6.2.	Remittances and Education of the Children	115
6.2.1.	<i>The Impact of Remittances on School Enrollment and Attendance</i>	117
6.2.2.	<i>The Impact of Remittances on Educational Outcomes</i>	121
6.2.3.	<i>The Impact of Fathers' Education</i>	124
6.2.4.	<i>The Impact of Migrant Father's Profession</i>	126
6.2.5.	<i>The Impact of Mothers' Education and Profession</i>	128
6.3.	The Allocation of Remittances to Educational Expenses	129
6.3.1.	<i>Remittances and Educational Expenses: Scanning under Gender Lens</i>	130
6.3.2.	<i>Remittances and Educational Expenses: Regular and Occasional Expenses</i>	131
6.4.	The Impact of Remittances on Religious Education	135
Chapter No. 7		137
THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON HEALTH		137
7.1.	Concepts of Health and Illness	137
7.1.1.	<i>The Sick Role</i>	137
7.2.	Healthcare Facilities and the Most Common Trends	139
7.2.1.	<i>Government Healthcare Institutions</i>	139
A.	<i>The Basic Health Unit</i>	140
B.	<i>The Civil Dispensary</i>	142
7.2.2.	<i>Private Health Care Institutions</i>	144
7.2.3.	<i>Traditional Healthcare Practices (Ethnomedicine)</i>	146
A.	<i>Greek Medicine</i>	146
B.	<i>Spiritual Healing Mechanisms</i>	148
7.2.4.	<i>Homeopathy</i>	150
7.3.	Migration, Food Security, and Dietary Patterns	152
7.3.1.	<i>The Impact on Food Security</i>	152
7.3.2.	<i>The Impact on Dietary Patterns</i>	155
7.4.	Migration and Social Wellbeing	158
7.4.1.	<i>The impact on Nutritional Levels</i>	160
7.4.2.	<i>The Impact on Physical Health</i>	164
7.4.3.	<i>The Impact on Mental Health</i>	167
7.5.	The Impact on Maternal Healthcare Utilizations	169
Chapter No. 8		173
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION		173
8.1.	Migration Trends from the Village	173
8.1.1.	<i>Migration Decisions</i>	173
8.1.2.	<i>The Role of Social and Kinship Networks</i>	174
8.1.3.	<i>The Culture of Migration</i>	176
8.1.4.	<i>The Push-Pull Factors</i>	176
8.1.5.	<i>The Impact on Women</i>	178
8.1.6.	<i>Migrants-Left Behind Families' Connections</i>	179
8.2.	The Impact of Migration on Education	180

8.2.1. <i>The Impact on the School Enrollment, Attendance and Academic Outcomes</i>	180
8.2.2. <i>Migration-Education Model</i>	182
8.2.3. <i>The impact of Parents' Education and Profession on Educational Achievements</i> ...	183
8.3. <i>The Impact of Migration on Health</i>	185
8.3.1. <i>Traditional Medicine and the Sick Role Behavior</i>	187
8.3.2. <i>The Selection of the Healthcare</i>	188
8.3.3. <i>The Impact on Food Security and Dietary Patterns</i>	189
8.3.4. <i>The Impact on Social Wellbeing</i>	189
8.3.5. <i>The Impact on Maternal Healthcare Utilizations</i>	191
8.3.6. <i>Migration-Health Model</i>	191
8.4. <i>Conclusion</i>	192
GLOSSARY	194
REFERENCES	198
Annexure-I	214
Table No. 7.3. Names and prices of seasonal fruits	214
Annexure-II	215
Table No. 7.4. Names and prices of seasonal vegetables	215
Annexure-III	216
Table No. 7.5. The list of pulses with price	216
Annexure-IV	217
Village Profile Survey	217
Annexure-V	225
Socio-Economic and Census Survey	225
Annexure-VI	234
In-depth Interview Schedule	234
Annexure-VII	237
SELECTED PICTURES	237

LIST OF TABLES

Table No. 1.1. International Migration by World Regions, 1970-2010 (millions)	4
Table No. 1.2. Literacy rates (10 years and above) percent	8
Table No. 1.3. Net enrolment rates (NER) at primary levels (percent)	9
Table No. 2.1 World Top 10 Remittances Recipient Countries (2015)	45
Table No. 3.1. Total Population of the District Gujrat	57
Table No. 3.2. Major crops in the village	61
Table No. 5.1. Age of respondents	92
Table No. 5.2. Education of respondents	92
Table No. 5.3. Family structure	93
Table No. 5.4. Family income	93
Table No. 5.5. Remittances	94
Table No. 5.6. Channels of remittances transfer	95
Table No. 5.7. Food expenses	95
Table No. 5.8. Educational expenses	96
Table No. 5.9. Health expenses	97
Table No. 5.10. Household accessories	98
Table No. 5.11. The impact of remittances on of school enrollment of children	99
Table No. 5.12. The impact of remittances on of school attendance of children	100
Table No. 5.13. The impact of remittances on educational performance of children	101
Table No. 5.14. The impact of remittances on health	102
Table No. 5.15. The impact of remittances on education and health: Multivariate	103
Table No. 6.1. Enrollment and educational facilities in the private schools	111
Table No. 6.2. Enrollment and educational facilities in government schools and college	114
Table No. 6.3. Monthly educational expenses (government vs. private schools)	133
Table No. 6.4. Occasional educational expenses (public vs. private schools) per annum	134
Table No. 7.1. Facilities at basic health unit	140
Table No. 7.2. Facilities in the civil dispensary	143

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1. Map of Pakistan	55
Figure 3.2. Map of District Gujrat	58
Figure 3.3. Village Map-I (Google Earth Map)	60
Figure 4.1. Migration Choices	68
Figure 4.2. Major push factors	70
Figure 4.3. Role of social and kinship networks	76
Figure 4.4. Occasion and need based inflow of remittances	88
Figure 6.1. Qualifications of the migrant fathers	124
Figure 6.2. Qualifications of the mothers from the left behind families	128
Figure 7.1. The impact of remittances on food security	154
Figure 8.1. Contact-Advice Mechanism: The Role of Elder	180

Chapter No. 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Background

The magnitude and pace of international migration has increased tremendously over the last few decades. Many scholars focused on recent trends of international migration. Koser (2007:1) mentioned about the size of international migrants in his famous book. He said that an increase in the size of migrants has been observed throughout the world. Migration as a crosscutting issues that effects not only the receiving regions but also the sending ones. Major reasons behind international migration are multilayered and variant among both sending and receiving regions. Migration has increased throughout the world in the recent past. There are many theoretical frameworks which directly or indirectly explain the reasons behind the increase in migration.

For instance, Piore (1979: 86-114) was one of the major exponents who proposed the theoretical framework of 'dual labour market.' This framework explains the dichotomy of labour demand in the advanced world which ultimately creates opportunities for labourers from the developing world. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor (1993:444) further explained this model while mentioning that international migration is mainly based on the demand for the labour in the developed world. Transnational organization, governments and institutions in the developed world recruit migrant labourer for some specific jobs.

The main reasons are associated with the opportunities for labor under 'dual labour market' theory in the migrant receiving/developed countries. The developed countries bifurcate jobs into two main categories; a) the primary sector, which employs well-educated people, pays them well, and offers them security and benefits, b) secondary labor market, characterized by low wages, unstable working conditions, and lack of reasonable prospects for advancement (Massey *et al.* 1993:442). It seems that finding suitable persons for the first category jobs is very easy in the developed world while for the second category jobs they lack the necessary human resource. This human resource vacuum in most of the cases is filled with the migrant labourers, especially those from the developing countries.

The second reason which intensifies the process of international migration comes under the framework of "world system theory." This theory was originally

presented by Wallerstein (1974) in which he explained the post-industrial revolution in the Europe and other parts of the world. It actually offers a different opportunity structure for migration in the contemporary world. While explaining this theoretical framework, Weeks (2008:293) mentioned that the core countries largely depend on the periphery countries for land, raw materials, labour, and new consumer markets. As part of the core-periphery linkages, migrants too get opportunities to work in the core countries. The people belonging to the peripheral countries searched for the suitable pursuits for labor in the core countries. This mechanism not only creates jobs for migrants from the peripheral countries but also intensified the processes of international migration worldwide.

The third major reason is based on process of recent globalization, which again increased the interdependencies and inter-linkages between continents. Globalization with the advancements in the transportation through road, sea, and air made the movements of people very swift and consequently facilitated them to access such territories which previously were inaccessible. The opportunities created through the categorization of dual labor market and the world system theory made it possible for the migrants from the developing world to find suitable jobs in the developed world. But on the other hand it has also created an imbalance of economic opportunities among the developed and developing countries.

There are many forms of globalization which increase the migration processes from developing to the developed world. Čiarnienė & Kumpikaitė (2008:42) mentioned the role of economic globalization while stating that it has modified the migration and human displacement to an optimal level. Economic globalization aggravates economic inequalities among nations and as a result migration becomes a necessity not the choice for them. The number of migrants increased during the second decade of the 21st century. Adams & Page (2005:1645) mentioned that the recent trends of migration are increasing to the maximum levels. At the advent of 21st century there were about 175 million people (3 percent of the world's population) with status of immigrants across globe. Messina & Lahav (2006:1) sensed that this increase will continue in the first part of the 21st century. According to the World Bank's (2016) estimation, the total number of migrants by the end of year 2015 was 251 million.

1.2 International Migration: A Historical Development

Early humankind has witnessed a small scale territorial migration mainly for livelihoods and survival purposes. Massey (2003:1-4) and Koser (2007:1-2) have presented a detailed discussion on ancient as well as modern phases of the migration. Koser (2007:1-2) pointed out that the process of migration started with the origins of humankind but the excavations of remains of ancient civilizations have identified the migratory process of the ancient inhabitants across globe especially from the “Rift Valley” in Africa which dated between 1.5 million years to 5000 B.C. Other civilizations like, Greek, Roman, Mesopotamian, Inca, Indus, Zhou Empires were also involved in migration for number of reasons such as livelihoods, trade, and colonization. During 18th and 19th centuries, forced migration superseded the voluntary migration. During this time, more than 12 million slaves were transported from different parts of the world (especially Africa and Asia) to Europe for labor in agricultural fields (Cohen, 1995).

Massey (2003:1-4) divided the modern history of migration into four major periods. The first is “Mercantile Period,” which started from 16th century and ended during 18th century. During this period the European people marched almost all parts of the world through the process of colonization (Tinker 1995:14; Lucassen, 1995:21; Altman, 1995:28; Hefferman, 1995:33). The European people explored United States of America (USA), Africa, Asia, and Oceania during these 300 years and as a result of this they stabilized their economic growth under mercantile capitalism. The second major phase of migration is the “Industrial Period” and it started in earlier 19th century (Hatton & Williamson, 1998:12). During this period the capitalism spread to the former colonies. The third phase of the international migration is considered as “Period of Limited Migration” and during this period the process of European international migration was halted by World War-I (Massey, 1995:633).

The last period is named as “Post-Industrial Migration Period” which emerged during 1960s. It changed the previously penetrated flows of immigrants (Castle, 2000:274; Castles & Miller, 2009:70). The phenomenon of migration truly became global in its scope from 1960’s onward. The number of immigrants increased as global supply of immigrants shifted to Europe from developing countries. Later on, the process of migration matured in Europe and USA with a major proportion of the labourers coming from Asia. In addition to the labour migrants a significant number of Asylum seekers, refugees, and irregular migrants entered the industrialized world.

These processes of immigration intensified even more during the first decade of the 21st Century with an increase in number of migrants entering the developed world and in the process transferred remittances to their origin countries.

Recent migration trends highlight the flow of migrants from developing world to developed countries in pursuits of the labour work, seek jobs and in also gain citizenship etc. The number of migrants rose to the highest level in the early part of the 21st century. This was coupled with the drastic situation of the poverty among the developing countries. In this connection, Deutsche Bank’s (2003:4) study mentioned that, the world has witnessed the migration burst during the last few decades. The trends and size of global migration is changing with the passage of time. Massy (2003:5) further discussed the recent trends in international migration in the following way: “the current period of extensive international trade constitutes a second era of globalization characterized by the return of extensive cross-national flows of capital, goods, raw materials, and information.”

The following table presents a snapshot of the increase in the stock of the international migration from 1970 to 2016.

Table No. 1.1. International Migration by World Regions, 1970-2016 (millions)

Regions	Years					
	1970	1980	1990	2000*	2010**	2016***
World	81.5	99.8	154.0	174.9	215.8	251
Developed Countries	38.3	47.7	89.7	110.3	38.3	70.9
Developing Countries	43.2	52.1	64.3	64.6	177.5	180.1

(Sources: UNDESA, 2004*; Koser, 2007*; World Bank, 2011**, World Bank, 2016***)

By the end of 2010, the size of top ten migrant sending countries was about 72 million. The top of the list was Mexico followed by India as the second major migrant sending country. Russian Federation and China were at third and fourth positions respectively in this list with 11.4 and 11.1 million migrants. Pakistan was at seventh position with 4.7 million migrants. According to the World Bank’s (2015:1) statistics, an increase in the stock of migration with 247 million during 2013 was observed. This size was predicted to reach 251 million by the end of 2015.” According to the World Bank (2016:1) during 2016, “more than 250 million people or 3.4 percent of the world population lives outside their countries of birth.”

Remittances also increased with the rise in the stock of migrants. By the end of 2015 the flow of remittances was expected to increase to \$601 billion. The developing countries were receiving more than 73 percent (\$441 billion) of the total remittances (World Bank, 2016:38).

1.3 International Migration from Pakistan

International migration from Pakistan is not new. Many people started emigration for labour even before the creation of Pakistan as a separate country. On the genesis of migration routes from Pakistan to Middle-East, Ballard (1987:31) identified that the migratory links between Indus delta and Mesopotamia were at least 4000 years old. The people from the Makran coast of Balochistan were closely linked with Oman Empire. These people were serving in the troops of Sultan of Oman. These links are still operational as majority of the manual labour from the same region are employed in number of jobs in Oman and other parts of Middle-East.

The second major migration sending region in Pakistan is Mirpur (district in Azad & Jammu Kashmir). On migration links between Mirpur region and the England, Salter (1873), Dhya (1974:84), and Ballard (1987:24) mentioned that the Mirpuri people started working as itinerant peddlars in England during 1930s. Their number grew rapidly during the Second World War. Later on they switched to the industrial labour as the British heavy industries required additional labour for ammunition production for the war. There are different reasons for international migration throughout the Subcontinent. But lack of economic opportunities in the subcontinent majorly pushes people towards developed regions. In an attempt to achieve the economic goals through augmenting remittances the governments of developing countries during the preparation of annual development plans made agreements with the some developed countries for the consumption of unskilled, semi-skilled and later on skilled labor. At the time of commencement of international migration from Pakistan, Jan (2010:2) stated that during the mid and latter part of 20th century the outflow of workers from Pakistan started mounting. The major concentration of these workers as labourers was in the Middle-Eastern countries, where more than 50 percent overseas Pakistanis are settled as labour force.

The above mentioned phases were very productive for the inflow of money to Pakistan and helped in strengthening Pakistani economy. Further, regarding this migration process, Jan (2010:2-3) further discussed that the interdependencies of the

developing and developed countries pushed people out of their regions in search of jobs because this vacuum needed to be filled by the workers especially from the developing world. Both the sending and receiving region benefit from the migration process. The latter benefits from the services of migrants while on the other hand these very people economically support their dependents in their home regions.

The process of migration started at large scale from 1960s onward when Pakistani government took the initiative to send the human resource to the Middle-East. It became financially beneficial not only for families left behind but also impacted the national economy through significant increase in the foreign remittances. Various studies conducted during 1980s and 1990s eminently focused on the migration links between Pakistan and the Middle-East. They found that the positive impact of the labour migration not only for the sending regions within Pakistan but also for the receiving regions in the Middle-East. Gazdar (2003:1) mentioned that during 1980s more than 2 million Pakistanis were working in the Middle-East in various fields. Majority of them were working as manual labourer (including construction workers) while some also worked as drivers and transporters. Majority of these workers was uneducated, unskilled, and belonged to rural areas. The migration of these people to the Middle-East helped them and their families in alleviating poverty burden through regular transfer of remittances.

Middle-East was not the single destination of the Pakistani workers; they further explored the new destinations like Europe, Australia, Canada, and USA. In this reference, Gazdar (2003:9) notably mentioned that during 1980s to 1990s the shift in migratory routes of Pakistani workers was observed, as a major proportion started exploring European Union (EU) countries and the USA. During 1980s the political instability in Pakistan pushed a huge number of people in addition to the workers already working abroad to join them and consequently settle in the above-mentioned parts of the world. During this period a sizeable youth also enrolled themselves in foreign universities in these advanced countries for educational purposes. Soon after, a large contingent of Pakistanis moved to the different parts of the world through emigration process to permanently settle there. Thereafter the workers who settled abroad helped their families through immigration in overcoming their financial hardships.

Pakistan was among the world's top ten emigrant countries with 6.2 million people working abroad during 2013 (World Bank, 2016:19). This size of overseas

Pakistanis is very challenging to exactly enumerate. According to Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment (BE&OE) (2016) the total number of registered overseas Pakistanis reached 9.4 million during 2016. Building on the recent trends it can be predicted that the size of registered overseas Pakistanis will surpass the 10 million mark by the end of 2016.

1.4. Education System in Pakistan

Education is very essential factor for people not only to get orientation about the knowledge but it also helps them enhance their mental faculties and in the process take part in various activities including economic. Education plays an important role in the development of personality, attaining reasonably good quality of life, and helps in improving the human development (Government of Pakistan (GOP), 2008a:31). Akram and Khan (2007:6) discussed the importance of education in achieving perfection in human life; enable human capacities and help in achieving specific objective related to socio-economic development. On one side education can be used to prepare human resource in line with economic productivity while on the other side it could enhance economic activities through participation in various productive sectors as skilled labour force.

The education system in Pakistan comprises of three-tiers: a) elementary (grade 1-8), b) secondary (grade 9-12), and c) tertiary or higher education, after 12 years' schooling. Elementary education is further divided into primary (grade 1-5) and elementary/middle (grade 6-8) and is being catered in primary and elementary schools. Over 5.5 million children (age group 5-9) are out of school (Christie & Afzaal, 2005:2; Shah, 2009:3). According to GOP's (2013:137) report, the recent amendments (like 18th amendment/decentralization of the ministry of education) in the law made certain changes in the education sector as well. The decentralization of education ministry under 18th amendment was passed by the National Assembly on 8th April, 2010. Through this change in law, the education like other key facilities was assigned to the provincial units. Afterwards, these units were made responsible in fulfilling the key requirements for the enrollment, teaching facilities, and general services for the schooling.

The National Educational Policy (NEP) was implemented in 2009 and it was a major milestone that aimed at addressing a number of issues including:

1. Quality and quantity in schools and college education,

2. Universal primary education,
3. Improved Early Children Education (ECE),
4. Improved facilities in primary schools,
5. Converting primary schools to elementary schools,
6. Detaching classes XI-XII from college education,
7. Adopting a comprehensive definition of ‘free’ education,
8. Achieving regional and gender parity especially at elementary level, and
9. Provide demand based skills and increase in the share of resources for education in both public and private sectors.

This education policy also defines the role of government at the federal and provincial levels. According to the statistics presented in the below given table the literacy levels of the both genders (male and female) are improving with the passage of time but when we compare these to our neighbouring developing nations like, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and India the figures are neither significant nor enviable. The major reason behind this abysmally low in literacy rate is the government’s inconsistent education policy during last two-to-three decades.

Table No. 1.2. Literacy Rates (10 years and above) percent

Province/ Areas	2012-13			2014-15		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Pakistan	71	48	60	70	49	60
Punjab	71	54	62	71	55	63
Sindh	72	47	60	70	49	60
KP	70	35	52	71	35	53
Balochistan	62	23	44	61	25	44

(Source: GOP, 2016:xx)

Table No. 1.2 presents a two years comparison of the four provinces literacy levels i.e. Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and KP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). The highest literacy of female can be observed in Punjab where it was 54 percent in 2012-13 which increased by 1 percent in 2014-15. The literacy levels of female during 2012-13 in Sindh, KP, and Balochistan were 47, 35, and 23 percent respectively. The literacy levels in Sindh and Balochistan were increased by 2 percent while it increased by only 1 percent in Punjab during 2014-15.

The need of the time is to invest on the education sector as it is a compulsory segment for development of the country. Education is one of the major social forces that influence a person’s behavior and attitude. In general, the higher level of education of females sensitizes them about the human anatomy, healthcare and its

awareness, benefits of health facilities as treatment providers, taking care of the child's health and the use of family planning methods.

Table No. 1.3. Net Enrolment Rates (NER) at Primary Levels (percent)

Province/Areas	2012-13		
	Male	Female	Total
<i>Pakistan</i>	72	64	68
Punjab	74	70	72
Sindh	67	56	62
KP	76	60	68
Balochistan	65	42	55
Province/Areas	2014-15		
	Male	Female	Total
<i>Pakistan</i>	72	62	67
Punjab	73	67	70
Sindh	67	54	61
KP	78	62	71
Balochistan	67	42	56

(Source: GOP, 2016:xix)

According to GOP (2016:xix) the overall enrollment of students at primary levels in Pakistan during 2014-15 was 67 percent. A further breakdown shows that in Punjab it was on the slightly higher side (70 percent) but 1 percent lower than in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). In Sindh it was 61 percent and the Balochistan province's net enrollment turned out to be the lowest at 56 percent.

1.4.1. The Impact of Migration on Education

The impact of migration is multilayered in the case of education. Various studies found both the negative and positive effects of migration and remittances on the educational careers of the left behind children (Antman, 2012:7). On one side the processes of migration with the inflow of remittances decrease the poverty burden and on the other hand improve the capacity of the families to spend more on education (Kuhn, 2006: 69; Acosta, 2006:1). Vogel & Korinek (2012:61) stated that, remittances are considered as a major tool to reduce the poverty burden among left behind families. This effect of migration has been validated by different studies (Kandel & Kao, 2001:1204; Cortés, 2007:16; Rossi, 2008:17; Dustmann & Glitz, 2011:1).

Mansour, Chaaban & Litchfield (2011:812) identified that the positive effect of remittances on educational attendance of the left behind children in Jordan. Rossi (2008:18) endorsed the Cox-Edwards & Ureta's (2003:229) findings about the impact of remittances on school attendance. Hanson & Woodruff (2003:1) explicitly

recognize “the complex interaction between migration and remittances and find that in the case of Mexico, children in migrant households complete significantly more grades of school at a given age than do other children.”

Arguillas & Williams (2010:300) conducted a research in Philippines and concluded that “separations caused by overseas migration often are either neutral or can have positive effects on schooling outcomes, at least among older children. Girls fare better in terms of educational attainment than do boys overall. Boys are often more affected by background variables, including parents’ international migration.” Cox-Edwards & Ureta (2003:229) and Acosta (2006:1) provide evidence that “remittances increase educational attainment of children in El Salvador,” and López-Córdoba (2005:217) shows that “municipalities in Mexico that receive more remittances have higher literacy and school attendance rates among their 6 to 14 year-old children.”

While on the other side migration and transfers of remittances have some negative effects on education as well, McKenzie & Rapoport, (2006:19) found that there is “a significant, but small, negative impact of being in a migrant household on school attendance of boys, and an insignificant effect on school attendance for girls.” Khan (2016:226-229), Khan *et al.* (2009:209), and Mansuri (2006:1) studied the impact of migration on education in Pakistan and found a positive effect of migration on the educational enrollment, attendance, and their performance in the various levels of education. Khan *et al.* (2009:209) conducted a study in rural areas of Gujrat and found that in majority of families the spending on education was improved in after-migration situation.

Khan (2016:228) found that, “students from the migrant families were definitely being enrolled to the private schools and their attendance was impressive at the primary school levels (class one to five) in both genders. But the enrollment and attendance of boys was not persistent as compared to the girls from the same migrant families beyond primary school level. The interest of boys diverted when they reach the middle schools. Most of them were spending their time and money on nonacademic activities.” Mansuri (2006:1) stated that “we find that the potential positive effects of temporary economic migration on human capital accumulation are large. Moreover, the gains are much greater for girls, yielding a very substantial reduction in gender inequalities in access to education. Significantly, though, the

gains appear to arise almost entirely from the greater resource flows to migrant households.”

The impact of migration varies across regions and gender. The major contribution of the migration process is to reduce poverty burden of families, bring prosperity in their ranks and to enhance the window of opportunity to spend on education. But it does not mean that the increase in spending on education could upsurge the educational performance of children. In the case of boys, the aspiration to go abroad became a major barrier in pursuing higher education while the educational pursuits of girls could be positively associated to the migration and effect of remittances.

1.5. Healthcare System in Pakistan

Healthcare in Pakistan is bifurcated mainly in two sets, a) private healthcare (which covers the majority) b) public sector healthcare (which runs under the Federal Ministry of Health-that was devolved to the provinces in 2010). Now, it is the responsibility of provincial health departments in Pakistan to take care of the public sector healthcare delivery system. A number of researchers have criticized healthcare system as ineffective and being unable to provide quality services to the citizens. Shaikh, Rabbani, Safi, & Dawar (2010:387) identified number of problems faced by the healthcare system in Pakistan. Among others, following are the key issues faced by the healthcare system; a) structural fragmentation, b) resource scarcity, c) inefficiency and lack of functional specificity, d) gender insensitivity and e) inaccessibility. Similarly, the World Bank’s (2002:64) study mentioned that the 66 percent of the country population was living in the rural areas and healthcare system in these areas was not up to the requirements. GOP’s (2013:163) report stated that, “the health care system in Pakistan comprises of public as well as private health facilities. In the public sector, districts have been given power for developing their own health strategies, programmes and interventions based on their local needs. In the private sector, the range of healthcare facilities includes accredited hospitals and clinics, medical practitioners, homeopaths and *hakeems*.”

According to GOP’s (2013:161) report, the government considers it as its prime responsibility to continue to invest more on the health sector in Pakistan. The government is very keen to improve the healthcare system in Pakistan in collaboration with national and international stakeholders. Same report indicated that, “life

expectancy in Pakistan remains lower than many in its peer group, while infant as well as maternal mortality rates are amongst the highest (GOP, 2013:161).”

Nishtar (2010:36) as critic of the healthcare in Pakistan mentioned that, “in relation to the healthcare system, with a country or territorial context, it is conventional to refer to a-or one-health system. However, if the function of a health system is brought to bear-stewardship, financing, services, delivery, human resources, medicines and related technologies, and information system- it becomes evident that lumping together all the institutions that deliver health into one system may be misleading in Pakistan’s context because many agencies delivering health in the country were vertically oriented.” The claims of GOP’s (2013:163) report are contrary to the Nishtar’s (2010:36). This report claims that healthcare system in Pakistan is on right track. The country is striving to overcome main hurdles to give quality services for the citizens.

The human resource available for health care registered till December 2009 in the country included 139,555 doctors, 9,822 dentists and 69,313 nurses. The current population doctor ratio is 1,183 persons per doctor and 16,914 persons per dentist. Health care is also provided to the public through vast health infrastructure facilities now consisting of 968 hospitals, 4,813 dispensaries, 5,345 Basic Health Units, 572 Rural Health Centres and 293 TB Centres etc. However, the health care system as a whole needs to be strengthened further at all levels (GOP, 2013:163).

1.5.1. Anthropological Approaches Related to Health

Nkosi (2012:84) identified that “anthropology as a social science field views or provides a profound understanding of humanity, human existence, viewing human kind holistically and human health. The basic proposition of holism in anthropology is that human behavior and human health arises out of complex interactions taking place within the cultural systems.” Different anthropological approaches have been introduced/ applied by the researchers to understand the healthcare practices in communities across globe. One of the major focuses of the subject medical anthropology is on understanding the Ethnomedicine. The field of Ethnomedicine clearly focuses on the practice of healthcare within the cultural context. Miller (2009: 164) asserted that since the advent of anthropology, various issues related to the healing mechanisms like, ethnomedicine (a comprehensive understanding about the use of cultural items for the cure of diseases) were at core of the explanations and

understandings. Anthropologists tried to understand the basic perceptions, classifications, preventions, diagnosis, healing mechanisms and healers' role in curing diseases.

During 1960s, when the term ethnomedicine first came into use, it referred only to “non-Western health systems and was synonymous with the now abandoned term, primitive medicine. The early use of the term was ethnocentric. Contemporary Western Biomedicine (WBM), a healing approach based on modern Western science that emphasizes technology in diagnosing and treating health problems related to the human body, is an ethnomedical system, too. Medical anthropologists now study WBM as a cultural system intimately bound to Western values. Thus, the current meaning of the term ethnomedicine encompasses health systems everywhere (Miller, 2009: 164).”

Miller (2009:175) further mentioned about the three prominent approaches within medical anthropology; a) ecological/epidemiological approach- which emphasis on the environmental and social aspects of sources of disease, b) interpretivist approach- focuses on the cultural difference in describing illness and sort out the mechanism such as ritual trance to cure diseases, c) critical medical anthropology- which emphasis on the political economy of health and healthcare. These three approaches are keys to the anthropological explanations to the healthcare mechanisms. The first approach the research should focus on is “gathering information about the environmental context and social patterns that effect health, such as food distribution within the family, sexual practices, hygiene, and population contact. Research methods and data tend to be quantitative and etic, although a growing tendency is to include qualitative and emic data in order to provide context for understanding the quantitative data (Miller, 2009:175).” The second approach discusses that “how people in different cultures label, describe and experience illness and how healing systems offer meaningful responses to individual and communal distress. Interpretivist anthropologists have examined aspects of healing, such as ritual trance, as symbolic performances (Miller, 2009:177).”

The last approach focuses on the analysis of “how structural factors such as the global political economy, global media, and social inequality affect the prevailing health system, including types of afflictions, people's health status, and their access to healthcare. Critical medical anthropologists show how Western biomedicine itself often serves to bolster the institution of medicine to the detriment of helping the poor

and powerless. They point to the process of medicalization, or labeling a particular issue or problem as medical and requiring medical treatment when, in fact, its cause is structural (Miller, 2009:178).”

According to Singer (1995:81) “critical medical anthropology is a theoretical approach within medical anthropology that uses a critical theoretical framework and focuses on the political economy of health and health care. Political economy, from an anthropological perspective, includes the study of producing and exchanging goods, and the influence of government policy and capitalism on all aspects of life. When applied to studying health and healthcare, the political economy of health may include ways in which health services are differentially allocated based on wealth, and ways in which policy impacts health and delivery of health services. Political economy of health is a central component of critical medical anthropology, and a critical approach to medical anthropology seeks to uncover hidden causes of poor health as they relate to capitalism and neoliberal economics while examining health structures on a macro and micro level.”

All three major perspectives are equally important in the context of anthropological study while the last approach has been applied to understand the impact of international migration and the inflow of remittances in the context of the left behind families in Karrianwala village. It was the most suitable approach to investigate the healthcare practices of the left behind households because in post-migration scenarios. The access to money not only conveniently distinguished them from the others but also empowered them to consult the qualified medical practitioners at the time of illness.

1.5.2. The Impact of Migration on Health

There is close relation between migration and health as the latter mainly depends on the former through the regular inflow of finances thus improving the overall economic situation and allowing left behind families to spend more and at will. Yang (2006:1) conducted a research in Philippines and found that there is positive role of remittances in helping families to improve their access to health at country of origin. The role of migrants in health was also observed by UNICEF/UNDP’s (2008:13) study and found that “parents who work abroad are very concerned about their children’s health, and this is the most frequently discussed subject when parents call home.”

Different researchers (like, Kanaiaupuni & Donato, 1999:339; López-Córdova, 2006:1) studied the overall impact of migration and remittances on various but subsidiary aspects of health. Kanaiaupuni & Donato (1999:339) and López-Córdova (2006:1) examined the role of remittances in infant's mortality in Mexico and found that there was a positive impact of remittances on the health of children especially in the case of longevity. The infants' survival rate was much higher among the left behind families as compared to the non-migrant families. Frank & Hummer (2002:746) explored the low birth weights in the infants and found a positive impact of migration on the weight of children in the left behind families. They said that "migration beneficially impacts child health outcomes, and demonstrates that children in households with migrant members are less likely to be underweight." Ponce, Olivie, & Onofa (2011:727) found that, "significant and positive effect of remittances on health knowledge." They further added that "remittances do have an impact on health expenditures, and on some preventive issues such as de-worming and vaccination...significant effects of remittances on medicine expenditures when illness occurs. In this regard, remittances are used for both preventive and emergency situations (Ponce, Olivie, & Onofa, 2011:727)."

Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:257) conducted a study in Mexico and found out that "migrant households have lower rates of infant mortality and higher birth weights compared to non-migrants." World Bank's (2006:109) study and Acosta *et al.* (2007:59) found significant improvements in healthcare practices and access in Latin America. Frank & Hummer (2002: 755) identified that "although women in migrant households are characterized by a riskier socio-demographic profile, their infants have favourable birth outcomes as compared to infants born into non-migrant household."

Few researchers have also identified some negative impacts of remittances on the health. Gao *et al.* (2010:1) stated that "unhealthy behaviours such as smoking tobacco and poor diet during adolescence perpetuate into adulthood and have lasting health impacts." UNICEF/UNDP's (2008:14) study also found that "the majority of participants believe that the absence of parents affects children's physical and psychological health." McKenzie (2006:124) found that "children in migrant households are less likely to receive preventive healthcare."

Khan *et al.* (2009:209) conducted a study in rural Gujrat, Pakistan and found "a significant increase in the spending on health in after-migration scenario." Mansuri

(2007:102) asserted that migration has a positive impact on the weight and height of girls. Thanks to remittances, Pakistani girls benefit from better access to health care. Mansuri (2007:127) examined the “impact of migration on two measures of children’s health in Pakistan, namely, weight-for-age and height-for-age. The author finds a positive effect on both measures of child growth. Young girls in migrant households are taller than girls of the same age in non-migrant households. Boys were taller than girls in non-migrant households, but given that girls benefit more than boys from migration, girls in migrant households actually do better than boys in absolute terms.”

The studies mentioned above show an escalating effect on the health of left behind families through increase in spending on health, access to the food, and sensitization about the vaccination. The access to quality life improved the life patterns of the children in left behind families and this positive effect of migration could be observed through weight-for-age and height-for-age. In most of the studies the effects of migration through remittance were very persuasive for the dependents’ access to healthcare and food.

1.6. Statement of the Problem

International migration from Pakistan is not a new phenomenon. People started moving abroad to seek job opportunities even before the inception of Pakistan as a separate state. This process had various implications on the native communities, as it directly and indirectly affected the lives of the dependents. Migration of a family member was found to be beneficial to the households in providing them access to resources previously unattainable, access to food, health and education. The major reason behind the international migration from Gujrat was to overcome the economic deprivation of families as there were fewer opportunities to find work locally and meet ends for majority of the population in the district. Among the other reasons for migration from the region where barren nature of land that was not ideal for the agricultural practices to sustain leading to uncertain financial returns and rain-fed or “*Barani*” harvesting where the farmers had to depend on intermittent and unpredictable rains. Another compelling reason for migration from this region was the prevalent cultural norms that induced the workers to emulate their predecessors and was observed as a major force especially in rural settings of the district.

Remittances had the profound effects on the life patterns of the migrant families in the district. The most notable impact of remittances was on the ability of the parents to judge the educational needs for the children and this helped the families to apportion and spend sizeable amount on the education of their children. In most of the cases spending on education does not necessarily guarantee positive outcomes for left behind families. But at certain levels families were in a better position to access private schools and afford dues for educational quests which was inaccessible to them in a pre-migration scenario. The migration, somehow created opportunities for female education too as the secluded situation in most of rural settings in Pakistan did not allow them to enroll in schools. The situation in migrant families became very different as females access to schools did not remain a big issue in migrant families. The impact of remittances on educational outcomes was moderate as majority of the children in left behind families were in a better position to attend schools and perform optimally but they could not maintain their performance in secondary school and beyond. Most of the boys were truant and their focus shifted from education to aspirations of migration at school going age. The girls meanwhile remained steadfast in their performance and demonstrated greater obduracy when compared to the boys.

The second indicator of the family's welfare was improved health. Previous studies mentioned positive effects due to constant flow of remittances not only on access to food, but also the nutritional levels among children and provision of healthcare services. The families with migration status were in a better position to access public or private healthcare service in Gujrat as a result of owning of personal transport. The members of such families were spending more money on available healthcare.

1.7. The Study Objectives

The main objectives of the research were to:

1. Understand the processes of the international migration from the village.
2. Document the socio-economic situation of the left behind families from the locale.
3. Explore the inflows, channels, and allocations of remittances in left behind families.
4. Determine the role of social networks, if any, in the process of international migration from the sampled households.

5. Study the consumption and spending patterns in left behind families.
6. Investigate the impact of migration on the education, especially the enrollment, attendance and educational performance.
7. Examine the impact of migration on the health, especially the food security, dietary patterns, and social wellbeing of the left behind families.

1.7.1. Hypotheses

- H1: The international migration through the use of remittances is positively associated with the school enrollment, attendance and educational performance of the children of emigrants.
- H1 atl: The international migration through the use of remittances is negatively associated with the school enrollment, attendance and educational performance of the children of emigrants.
- Null Hyp: The international migration through the use of remittances has no impact on school enrollment, attendance and educational performance of the children of emigrants.
- H2: The international migration through the use of remittances has positive impact on the health of left behind families.
- H2 atl: The international migration through the use of remittances has negative impact on the health of left behind families.
- Null Hyp: The international migration through the use of remittances has no impact on the health of left behind families.

1.7.2. Operationalization of the Hypothesis: Variables and Indicators

In the first hypothesis, “international migration and remittances” were the independent variables. The international migration is indicated by the presence of a family member as migrant worker presently living abroad while the second part of the independent variable is based on the transfers of remittances by migrant worker to the left behind families to accommodate their needs including education and health. “School enrollment, attendance, and academic outcomes” were the dependent variables of the first hypothesis.

In the second hypothesis the independent variables remained the same as were in the first while the dependent variable of the second hypothesis was “health” of families back home. The health variable is indicated by access and spending by the families on healthcare while living back home. The healthcare also represents that

which type of healthcare these left behind families were accessing, i.e. a) Allopathic medicine, b) *Hikmat*, c) Spiritual healing, and d) Homeopathy. In addition to the healthcare practices, the food security, dietary patterns, and social wellbeing of the family members were also incorporated in the term ‘health’.

1.8. Locale of the Study

Present study was conducted in ‘Karrianwala Village’ in District Gujrat, Pakistan. The village was established by a royal worker named “Sirsatwan” in 1207 (Saleem & Bhatti 2012:135). This village is well-known in the district because of a sizeable number of migrants working abroad and the record high remittance transfers through both, formal (documented) and informal (undocumented) transfers. The effects of migration were tangibly evident in this village as majority of left behind families were having an elevated social position with large houses to live in.

1.9. Methodology

The fieldwork of the present study was initiated in July 2011 and completed in December 2012. To ensure the accuracy of the collection and presentation of the data, triangular method with anthropological techniques were used. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected, compiled and analyzed. Details on the research methods used for the current research have been presented in the succeeding section.

1.9.1. Rapport Building

Research commenced in the village with the help of two key informants, Mr. Azhar (Key Informant-I) and Mr. Shoaib (Key Informant-II). Initially, with the help of these two key informants rapport building was established with village elders and left behind families concerned. Key informants helped in arranging formal meetings with the village elders, the college principal, doctors (both public and private), political and religious leaders (from various socio-economic, religious and ethnic backgrounds) and village revenue collector (*numberdar* or *lumberdar*). It took almost one month to get familiarize with the community members. Majority of the village’s elders and heads of left behind families ensured their participation in research and sharing suitable information.

A list of migrant households of the village was prepared through census survey. On the very first day, in the evening, Mr. Shoaib (second key informant)

arranged a meeting with his uncle-whose three sons were living in Europe. When we discussed the purpose of the visit he arrogantly remarked in Punjabi language:

“Sada gaon hi kyun pasand kita iss kam laye, baki ve tay gaon hay sann jithon logg bahir gaye hain”

[Why have you selected our village as a research site while there are other villages too in the district from where a majority of population has migrated abroad?]

The major reason for the selection of the research site was explained to him but he was not convinced even after detailed explanations. Then, the key informant told his uncle that:

“aeh banda saday gaon te kam kar rahay nay tay aik kitab vi likhsan”

[He (the researcher) is conducting a study in our village and he will write a book on it.]

After being convinced he assured every possible help in this regard and pointed out the many of the left behind families in his town-quarter (*mohalla*). The same strategy was repeated while interacting with other village elders/leaders. After few weeks all the persons concerned were aware of the purpose of the visit and ensured their cooperation.

1.9.2. Participant Observation

Participant observation is one of the key methods for the socio-cultural anthropologists to use for research. For the current research too, it was also employed to get detailed information from the migrant families of the village. With the help of this method the researcher took the liberty to observe the attitudes and behavior of the family members from the left behind families. This observation made it easy to understand the patterns of the allocation of remittances to different household needs. In addition to the consumption patterns, participation in ceremonies like, marriage, deaths, engagements, hospitality (*mehman nawazi*), dressing and food habits were also watched. The primary objective behind the use of the participant observation was to understand how the left behind families were consuming remittances on the essential needs like health and education.

Furthermore, it also facilitated the process of data collection, reduced the risk of reactivity and helped in thoroughly understanding the meaning of the observations.

During observations, information was recorded which helped in understanding the nature of behavior of the people.

1.9.3. Meeting with Key Informants

The key informants being educated and representatives of migrant families were the most reliable persons for the in-depth understanding about migration. They were asked about migration decisions, channels and transfers of remittances and allocation of remittances for various activities. It was very difficult to get detailed information in single sitting with the respondents. Detailed discussions were made with key informants in multiple sittings and notes and voice recording was completed. Some of the topics were discussed umpteenth times to get comprehensive knowledge. The information was also cross-checked from other villagers before reaching the conclusion.

1.9.4. Census Survey

A sample of 400 left behind families was included out of a total of 1200 families with migration status for census survey. The inclusion of the households was done through the use of purposive sampling technique. In this comprehensive household survey information regarding the socio-economic profile (like total number of male and female family members, their ages, education, incomes, marital statuses, health status, etc.) of the migrant families was asked. Further, information regarding migrants, remittances, family assets, family investment patterns, and consumption/utilization patterns etc. were also enumerated. For the current study the household unit was defined as “members living in the same dwelling, eating from the same kitchen and sharing the same income.”

1.9.5. Village Profile Survey

In order to get detailed information about the various aspects of the village a survey was conducted. The information about the village was collected in the following domains: i) topography; ii) geographic location and neighbouring villages; iii) history of the village settlement; iv) total number of households with ethnic affiliations; v) dominant families; vi) institutions like education and health; vii) village infrastructure like roads and transportation, electricity, sanitation, gas, telephone lines, water supply, shopping centers, internet cafe, playgrounds, and creative industry etc.; viii) major crops; ix) history and trends of migration; x) cultural

festivities; xi) remittances inflow and utilization patterns; xii) emulation trends in youth to move abroad; and xiii) role of social and kinship networks at various destinations in promoting migration.

1.9.6. Semi-structured In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews with 50 household heads from the sampled 400 left behind families were conducted. In-depth interviews were conducted from the *de facto* heads of the left behind families to get detailed understanding about migration trends, remittances, consumption patterns, educational activities and healthcare practices and services. These 50 families were sampled on the basis of three major conditions: a) at least one family member works abroad, b) at least one member enrolled as student in the school and c) health expenses of the left behind families.

1.9.6.1. Sampling Procedure for Semi-structured In-depth Interviews

Purposive sampling was used to conduct in-depth interviews from the 50 households' heads on the basis of the migration, school enrollments and consumptions on health. As per the selection criterion the migrant families who were receiving remittances and consuming on the education and health of family members were included as sample.

1.9.7. Group Discussion

Group discussion method was also used for data collection in the current research. The main reason behind the use of this method was to get in-depth knowledge on migration and the expenditures from of remittances at various levels. Keeping in view the qualitative essence of the study, group discussion method was done with heads of the left behind families, young male dependents, and health and education professionals from the village.

1.9.8. Data Analysis

For the quantitative data analysis, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 18.0 was used and frequency distribution tables were generated to get a clear understanding on various indicators of the research. Further, cross-tabulations were drawn of dependent and independent variable and correlation analysis was performed to see the cause and effect relationship between selective variables. The observations made during fieldwork were cross-checked with key informants. During

the fieldwork, systematic protocols of the in-depth interviews were written immediately and re-checked to identify and complete the missing information.

1.10. Justification for Study

Most of the previous studies in Pakistan have explored general patterns of migration, macroeconomic aspects of the remittances, relationship of remittances to the poverty and development. Not even a single researcher has tried to see the impact of migration and remittances on education and health of the left behind families. This attempt has been made to explore the details of the process of migration and its relation to the education and health. It is pertinent to mention that migration and its impact on education and health had not been studied or clearly understood earlier in the rural settings in Pakistan in general, and Gujrat in particular. The present study was thus focused to investigate underlying mechanisms related to the process of migration, the role of family and social network, remittances, allocation of these remittances to the different family needs and particularly the consumption of these remittances on the education and health.

1.11. Expected Contribution of the Study

This study has contributed in understanding the processes of migration, transfers and allocation of remittances with special emphasis on the education and health of the inhabitants. This research also focused on comprehending the role of “culture of migration” in pushing the people to move abroad, find jobs, earn and save from their incomes and send money to their families to overcome the poverty burden. The other main contribution of the research was to understand the possible impact of the migration and remittances on the education and health. The role of education of migrants and their remittances was observed closely. Different consumption patterns were also seen to understand the possible impact of migration on education. Further, the impact of remittances was investigated into the three common tiers of educational activities, i.e. a) school enrollment, b) school attendance, and c) educational performance.

Besides, impact of international migration and remittances on the health of the left behind families was studied and different subsequent consumption patterns of the remittances were studied like visiting doctor in case of any illness, expenses like consultation fee, cost of medicine, transportation, laboratory tests, and other related expenses. The major effects of remittances on food security, dietary patterns, and

social well-being of migrants' families was also observed. Present study was an addition to the existing body of knowledge related to the impact of migration and remittances on education and health.

1.12. Theoretical Framework for the Study

1.12.1. Migration and Modernization

Before 1950s international migration had never been directly investigated by the anthropologists. Kearney (1986:332) mentioned that, the two consecutive eras (1950s-1960s) were very crucial in widening the scope of anthropology discipline. During this time some previously unaddressed issues within the domains of anthropology were considered to be incorporated for research and the growth of urban anthropology and some other issues like anthropology of work were also taken into consideration for anthropological explanation. That was the same time when migration related issues also caught attention of the anthropologists. There are three major theoretical frameworks which address the issue of international migration within the context of migrants sending countries. One of the fundamental frameworks is "migration as modernization." Kearney (1986:333) asserted that:

"Most of the anthropological research on migration and development up to about the mid-1970s was conceptualized within the general model known as modernization theory which had emerged in the 1950s and 60s as the dominant paradigm of economic and cultural change. Modernization theory grew out of a synthesis of anthropological and sociological models of social change and neoclassical economics, all of which have exercised strong influences on migration theory (Wood, 1982)."

Lerner (1958:9) argued that modernization is an attempt to explain the diffusion of Western style of living, technological innovation and individualist types of communication (highly selective, addressing only particular persons) as the superiority of secular, materialist, Western individualist culture and of individual motivation and achievements. To him, it's the kind of exploitation. Another of the leading figure in modernization theorists was Walter Rostow (1960:4) for whom modernization and development is natural linear process, which moves away from traditional practice both in structure of society and in the field of economy. For him, it is the development of Western-style economy. In this regard, he argues about the various stages of economic growth and modernization as "it is possible to identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of the five categories: the

traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, take-off, the drives to maturity and the age of high mass consumption (Rostow, 1960:4).”

Kearney (1986:333) asserted that during 1970s anthropology focused on migration research within the framework of modernization theory. This theory focuses on the “Western model of linear development toward civilization, a process that dichotomizes nations and social groups between civilized and barbarian, developed and underdeveloped, and modern and traditional.” Duque-Páramo (2004:9) mentioned that “through the diffusion of progress from the city or the developed nation to the countryside or the underdeveloped country, migration was thought of as a path to civilization for traditional and backward societies. The individual who decided to migrate was the unit of analysis for anthropological research. Consistent with modernization theory, a linear and progressive process of acculturation was the desired outcome.” Throughout the migrant exporting world “migrants were seen as progressive types who would have a positive impact on development by bringing back to their home communities innovations and knowledge that would break down traditionalism (Kearney, 1986: 333).”

Within modernization theory, migration was analyzed within a bipolar framework that “separated and opposed sending and receiving areas and the push factors of out-migration from the pull factors of in-migration (Brettell, 2000:102).” Related to modernization theory, neoclassic economics sees individuals and families as rational decision makers who decide to migrate because of their perception of these opportunities (Kearney, 1986:335). Some anthropologists from a neoclassic perspective and “within a modernization theory framework have emphasized the rational and progressive economic decisions made in response to differentials in land, labor, and capital between where a migrant lives and the locale to where he or she has chosen to migrate (Brettell, 2000:102).”

During the era of 1970s, many of the anthropologists were concerned with migrant populations in cities and in developed countries as well as return workers around the world. These studies documented inconsistencies and failures of the model which included: the persistence of the traditional instead civilization among migrants and home populations; urbanization without development; the creation of migration-dependent communities; little learning of new skills that were useful in their home communities; and generation of further migration through the diffusion of consumerism (Brettell, 2000:103; Kearney, 1986:334, 346; Duque-Páramo, 2004:10).

Later on, during late 1970s, few anthropologists rejected the bipolar model while conducting studies in Mexico (Kearney, 1986:337).” These researchers, while focusing on the communities within the Mexico borderland, proposed the current models of international migration like, networks, articulation, and transnationalism.

1.12.2. Migration as Dependency

Soon after the emergence of the modernization theory it was sensed by the Latin American political economists and later on anthropologists from the North America “that development had not proceeded as predicted by modernization theory, or for that matter, the Communist Manifesto.” According to Kearney (1986:338) the dependency theory in the context of Latin America has challenged modernization theory especially the Chicago model.

“...indeed, its main avatar in North America, Andre Gunde Frank (1967), was also a product of Chicago. What Frank in effect did was to find modernization theory standing on its head and to turn it onto its feet. Whereas modernization theory was a view of history from the perspective of developed urban life, dependency theory came, as it were, from the other end of the folk-urban continuum and called attention not to development but to the “development of underdevelopment” which, according to Frank, was the result of the colonial encounter (Kearney, 1986:338).”

Ferraro (2008:58) mentioned that the dependency theory came into the being in the latter part of the 1950s. This theory mainly developed under the prime guidance of Raul Prebisch. He alongside his colleagues focused on the steam of the development from industrially advanced to the poorer countries. “The economic activities in the advanced nations often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries (Ferraro, 2008:58).”

The unit of analysis in dependency theory and world system theory is the global market. These theories focus on the way that capitalist development, through national and international economic and political policies (Duque-Páramo, 2004:11), “have disrupted, displaced, or even attracted local populations, thereby generating particular migration streams (Brettell, 2000:104).” Duque-Páramo (2004:11) asserted that “while anthropologists within the modernization theory framework placed emphasis on individuals (the hallmark of the culture and personality tradition), dependency and world system theorists retreated from culture and focused on macroeconomic factors to study the global system, regions or nations.” Kearney

(1988:341) and later Brettell (2000:104) believed that such shifting was of little benefit for conceptualizing specific anthropological fieldwork projects (Duque-Páramo, 2004:11). “The dependency model generated dissatisfaction because it does not depict active agents, but instead believes that migrants are passive reactors manipulated by the capitalist system (Brettell, 2000:104).” In Kearney’s (1986:341) words, dependency theory in anthropology has allowed the development of a “good political economy, but [is] insufficient [for] migration theory.”

1.12.3. Migration as Articulation, Networks and Transnationalism

Portes (1978) noted that, “recent research in economic anthropology and economic history revealed just how flexible the process of capitalistic penetration, domination, and transformation of peripheral societies could be. Instead of Frank’s single chain of exploitation that extends from advanced centers of capital to the most remote rural regions, this new research, conceptualized more from the periphery than from the metropolitan bias of dependency theory, suggests that capitalism, rather than replacing non-capitalist modes of production, may coexist with them and even strengthen them. The dependency scenario was perhaps only appropriate for settler colonization which was indeed responsible for the rapid destruction of preexisting traditional economies.”

Articulation theory, which is based on the coexistence of capitalist and non-capitalist economies, states that capitalism is not replacing non-capitalist peripheral economies but may be coexisting with them (Duque-Páramo, 2004:11-12). “Thus, migration is understood as a process that articulates the domestic community with colonial capitalism (Kearney, 1986:343).” Earlier manifestations of articulation theory were criticized because they “posited a primeval state of autonomy (usually labeled pre-capitalist), which is then violated by global capitalism” (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997, cited in Brettell, 2000:106).

Alternatively, it has been proposed that transnationalism is “a social process whereby migrants operate in social fields that transgress geographical, political and cultural borders (Brettell, 2000:104).” Transnationalism theory captures the central issues of current anthropological research on migrants: critiques of bipolar models; articulation of home and host societies; and emerging representations of time, space and place. Beyond timeless and localized communities, migrants (Duque-Páramo, 2004:12) “are no longer ‘uprooted’, but rather move freely back and forth across

international borders and between different cultures and social systems (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000:104).”

In a world where modern telecommunications and improved modes of transportation have shortened the social distances between societies, immigrants maintain their bonds to their countries of origin making “home and host society a single arena of social action” (Margolis, 1995:29-41 cited in Brettell, 2000:104). “Anthropologists tend to locate transnational processes within the personal, economic and social networks that articulate home and host societies of individuals and families (Brettell, 2000:106-107).”

In this context, anthropologists mainly have studied the role of kinship and friendship networks in the process of facilitating, expanding, and self-perpetuating network-mediated migration, “each act of migration itself creates the social structure needed to sustain it. Every new migrant reduces the costs of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives, and some of these people are thereby induced to migrate, which further expands the set of people with ties abroad (Brettell, 2000:107).” “Anthropologists working within social networks and transnationalism theories have put culture, agency and practice in the scenario. Instead of individual decision makers and macro-level processes, the household migrant and social networks are the unit of analysis (Duque-Páramo, 2004:12).”

In concluding the article Kearney (1986:355) asserted that:

“My own opinion is that progress can best be made in this work when an overarching theory such as the articulation perspective is operationalized in a research strategy that combines qualitative ethnographic fieldwork with quantitative methods of censusing and surveying that are able to capture the complex processes of micro differentiation that occur in “traditional” communities such as San Jeronimo as they become increasingly articulated with the developed world.”

Each one of the above-mentioned models were of great importance at the time when these emerged and mainly applied by the scholars from the different subject domains like, political studies, sociology, economics and anthropology. But later on when these models were applied to different localities with diverse objectives to understand the causes and consequences of internal and international migration, some of these models remained applicable in the process to understand the processes of migration while others became redundant. The recently emerged models, like, articulation, social and kinship network, and transnationalism are of great importance

in the context of present study. So, these models were applied to investigate the migration effects in Karrianwala village in district Gujrat, Pakistan. Further, few other models were also utilized to understand the effects of international migration and remittances on the education and health of these dependents back home. These models have been discussed in the review of the literature chapter.

Chapter No. 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section deals with the development of international migration while its three sub-sections address international migration at i.e. a) Global level, b) South Asian level, and c) Pakistan level. The debate is presented on the process, challenges and magnitude in a chronological order. The second major part of the chapter focuses on the inflow and allocation of remittances to different needs at community as well as households' levels. The third section deals with the role of both international migration and remittances in the education and health of migrant families. An attempt has been made in the third section to understand the impact of international migration and remittances on the education in general and students' enrollment, attendance, and academic achievements in particular.

On the other side an effort has been made through review of literature to understand the role of international migration and remittances on the healthcare practices. The changes in adaptation of the modern medicines, food security, dietary patterns, and impacts on social well-being of the left behind families have been emphasized in particular.

In last section specific theoretical models, keeping in view the hypothesis mentioned in the chapter 1, have been discussed in detail. These theoretical models are applied to the data and relationship has been presented in succeeding data related chapters.

2.1. The Growth of International Migration

This section (with three subsections) deals with the early developments of human migration. The first sub-section focuses on the inception and growth of international migration on global levels while the second deals with the South Asian migration patterns. The third sub-section addresses the history of migration from Pakistan.

2.1.1. International Migration: A Global Perspective

Rystad (1992:1169) asserted about the processes of international migration in the following way:

“Today’s migration is by no means a new phenomenon. In order to understand the issue and to form a basis for judging future

developments, the question must be placed within an historical context. One could reasonably claim that mankind's entire history has been a history of migration. The earliest man was a hunter and gatherer who wandered from place to place in search of nourishment, and the process continued even after establishing residence. Although migration has been a common phenomenon in human behavior, a sociobiological explanation would hardly be fruitful (Rystad, 1992:1169)."

People started moving in and out of their origins since the beginning of world civilizations. The early period migration was slow and lower in numbers (Massey, 2003:1). The trends of international migration varied from very slow and few in earliest centuries to very large number and fast movement in the present century. In first chapter an attention was made to understand the processes of migration in earliest human civilizations. With the inception of the industrial revolution in Europe number of rural masses moved to the cities in search of jobs. Ravenstein (1885:167) identified population movements from the rural settings towards the urban centers during the last second last decade of 19th century in case of England.

Massey (2003:1-4) sorted out four phases of international migration. He named the first phase "Mercantile Period" which continued from 1500 to 1800. The second phase occurred at the start of the 19th century and he termed it "Industrial Period." He associated the third period to the "World Wars." During this time the process of international migration was halted by the wars and people from Europe and other parts faced severe food scarcity and showed signs of suffering from poverty. He termed it as "Period of Limited Migration." The last phase of international migration started soon after the World War II and changed the previous structures of people's movement. It was supported by the 'agenda of development' and later on 'the dependency.' This era was termed as "Post-Industrial Migration Period."

Rystad (1992:1170) discussed the findings of the Swedish migration researcher, Tomas Hammar (1990:42-45), who also presented four phases of international migration which were spread over the last two centuries. In Hammar's (1990:42-45) perspective, "The first phase of international migration started in the mid of 1800 and continued till the outbreak of World War-I. He characterized it by free migration with its scope within Europe and to transoceanic countries such as North America and Australia. The second period, which ushered at the outbreak of World War I and continued to the close of World War II, witnessed the introduction of a control system regarding international migration. During World War I,

systematic immigration control was introduced. The third phase began following World War II and closed in 1973-74, when measures prohibiting immigration were taken throughout Western Europe. This is once again a period marked by relatively liberal immigration control, partially resulting from a high demand for labor force in the industrialized Western European states, which often resulted in the direct recruitment of foreign workers. The fourth and final phase stretches from 1973-74 to the present [means 1990s] and is characterized by rigorous immigration control. Labor force immigration has virtually ceased in all of Western Europe, with the exception of the increasing number of illegal [irregular] aliens and a certain amount of seasonal workers in, for instance, Switzerland.”

During 20th century mass movements had been observed across the globe under labour demand and supply framework. The main flow of this movement was from developing or peripheral countries to the core or industrially advanced countries. Deutsche Bank Research (2003:4) mentioned about current trends of international migration that substantially increased during last decade of 20th century. However, by the end of 2010, the number of international migrants reached its highest levels of migration history. According to World Bank (2011) statistics the total number of immigrants reached 215.8 million which was 3.2 percent of the world population. The number of international migrants reached to 232 million during September 2013 (UNO, 2013a:1). According to World Bank (2015:1) “the stock of international migrants is estimated at 247 million in 2013, significantly larger than the previous estimate of 232 million, and is expected to surpass 250 million in 2015.”

2.1.2. International Migration from South Asia

Most of the migration studies identified that majority of the migrants come from the world’s developing regions. South Asia is one of those regions from where a huge number of people move abroad to the developed world. On the issue of international migration from Asia, Castles & Millers (2009:126) stated that:

“Asian migration is not new: westward movements from Central Asia helped shape European history in the Middle Ages, while Chinese migration to South-East Asia goes back centuries. In the colonial period, millions of indentured workers were recruited, often by force. Chinese settlers in South-East Asian countries and South Asians in Africa became trading minorities with an important intermediary role for colonialism. This often led to hostility - and even mass expulsions—after independence. However, it also helped create the ethnic networks that encouraged more recent migrations.”

There are different phases of international migration from South Asia; the first is associated with professionally qualified persons' migration to the more developed countries during 1950s and 1960s. A huge bulk of professional workers migrated to England and Germany during this time period. In the early 1970s, the spurt in oil prices led to the oil producing countries of the Middle East investing in infrastructure development in a major way, which created a huge demand for different categories of labour mostly from the South Asian countries including Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Migrant workers from South Asia joined the labour market predominantly in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Iraq and Libya.

Castles & Millers (2009:132) stated about this migration that:

“In the 1970s and 1980s international migration from Asia grew dramatically. The main destinations were North America, Australia and the oil economies of the Middle East. Since the 1990s, the major growth has been in migration within Asia, particularly from less developed countries with massive labour surpluses to fast-growing newly industrializing countries (NICs). The international movements are often linked to internal migration.”

Castles & Millers (2009:132) further asserted that “Since the mid-1980s, rapid economic growth and declining fertility have led to strong demand for labour in the new industrial economies of East and South-East Asia. Labour migration within Asia grew exponentially in the first half of the 1990s. There was some return migration during the Asian financial crisis of 1997-1999, but labour migration resumed quickly. While, existing flows from countries like Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Philippines continued, new source countries like Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Burma became more significant. In all the tiger economies migrant workers are doing the ‘3D jobs’ (dirty, dangerous and difficult – or just low-skilled and poorly paid) that nationals can increasingly afford to reject. It is impossible to deal in detail here with the complex experience of each Asian country.”

Skeldon (1992:18) stated that, “Asian migration to the Middle East has become more differentiated over time. While many migrants remain low-skilled labourers, others have semi-skilled or skilled jobs as drivers, mechanics or building tradesmen. Others came with professional or para-professional qualifications (engineers, nurses and medical practitioners). Many managerial and technical posts are filled by Asians, although sometimes they come second in job hierarchies to

senior personnel recruited in Europe or North America. In many cases, Asian labour migrants were not part of the unemployed rural and urban poor at home, but people with above-average education, whose departure could have a negative effect on the economy.”

The migration has a close association to the development of the origin countries. The migrants remit money to their families for basic needs and investment purposes. Remittances have substantially increased during the last decade. According to World Bank (2011:32) statistics the total number of emigrants from the South Asian states was about 26.7 million. The top five remittances recipient states from the South Asia were; 1) India with \$55 billion, 2) Bangladesh with \$11.1 billion, 3) Pakistan with \$9.4 billion, 4) Sri Lanka with \$3.6 billion, 5) Nepal \$3.5 billion. These numbers have changed within the span of four years. These five countries, by the end of 2013 were receiving more remittances than ever. The India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were in top ten countries of the world in the category of remittances recipients and they were receiving 71, 15, and 15 \$billion respectively (World Bank, 2013:5). UNO (2013b:2) study revealed that “in 2013, South Asians were the largest group of international migrants living outside of their home region. Of the 36 million international migrants from South Asia, 13.5 million resided in the oil-producing countries in Western Asia.”

2.1.3. International Migration from Pakistan

This section addresses migration from Pakistan with four subsections, i.e., a) the post-partition era, b) during partition, c) the Gulf and beyond, and d) recent era. In order to discuss the initial period of international migration from Pakistan researchers like, Ballard (1987:27) and Hasan & Raza (2011:27-28) have presented some important details. Ballard (2003a:34) discussed the inception of international migration from the regions like Jhelum, Poonch, and Mangla even before creation of Pakistan as a separate country. These Kashmiri and Punjabi people moved to England during 1930s and established their future businesses at the seashores and later on in industries.

Ballard (1987:24) stated that, “when the earliest Mirpuri settlers came ashore during the 1930s, industrial jobs were virtually impossible to obtain, so most followed the longstanding tradition of making a living as itinerant pedlars.” This new land

suiting the Kashmiri peasants and their numbers grew rapidly during the Second World War. After the World War II they switched from pedlars to the industrial jobs.

Dahya (1974:84) pointed out the process in following words, “During the Second World War the number of settlers grew rapidly. Britain’s heavy industries were acutely short of labour, so that not only did many former pedlars switch to industrial jobs, but Mirpuri seamen who had their ships torpedoed beneath them soon found themselves drafted off to work in factories in Yorkshire and the West Midlands.”

Ballard (1987:24) asserted about the role of kinship networks in this labourers movement: “In the late 1940s and early 1950s an increasing number of seamen left their ships to take industrial jobs on shore, and soon afterwards began actively to call kinsmen and fellow villagers over to join them; thus a process of chain migration began.” Hasan & Raza (2011:27) mentioned the push factors for Mirpuri people’s movement to England in following way:

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

The second phase of the international migration came soon after the creation of Pakistan as a separate state. This process has been addressed by number of researchers like, Addleton (1992:38), Gazdar (2003:1-2), Khadria (2008:84), and Hasan & Raza (2011:27-28). They have identified that a huge population of Muslims migration from India to Pakistan. Firstly, it was Addleton (1992:33) who mentioned that, “the history of emigration from Pakistan is as old as the 1940s when it emerged as an independent state. Partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 led to massive movement of six million people from Pakistan to India permanently based on their religious and political affiliations.”

Number of researchers authenticated what Addleton (1992:33) said about the inception of emigration at the time of partition. Khadria (2008:84) mentioned that “in the often violent mass population transfers following Indian Independence in 1947,

about 5 million Hindus and Sikhs left Pakistan for India and about 6 million Muslims moved into Pakistan from India.” While, Gazdar (2003:3) identified that “post immigration effects on the mohajirs- who came to Pakistan from India. Muslim migrants from India to Pakistan were officially recognised as *Mohajirs* –literally a ‘person who has left home’– but also has connotations in Islamic history of migration induced by persecution. This term was used by various government agencies, including the 1951 population census, which identified Indian Muslim migrants into Pakistan as *Mohajir*.” Hasan & Raza (2011:12) also discussed about the genesis of international migration and related it with the post-partition in and out migration from Pakistan. The volume of the migrants in the second phase was much higher as compared to the first phase of sea workers to the England.

The third phase is mainly constituted by the short term labour export to the Gulf region which started during the 1960s. Number of researchers has discussed this process of labour migration from Pakistan to the Gulf States. Among others Addleton (1984), Ballard (1987), and Shah (1995; 2001) were important who presented their perspectives on the concentration of the labour migration to the Gulf States. Ballard (1987:31) discussed the migration linkages between Oman and Makran coast in Pakistan. He said that many centuries back, most of the troops of Sultan of Oman were Baloch, and they made a strong link to recruit the Baloch worker in the Oman.

“These ties, supplemented by others established by ex-soldiers from the British Indian Army who stayed on in the Middle East after various campaigns, formed the basis of a flow by chain migration into the jobs made available by the gradual expansion of the oil industry in the immediate post-war years. But when the boom took off in the early 1970s, these channels were unable to supply a sufficiently large volume of labour, so recruitment on a more formal basis began (Ballard, 1987:31).”

Ballard (2003a:27) further asserted that, “this has certainly been so in Pakistani emigrants’ favorite destination, the oil-rich states of the Middle East. When both the price and the volume of production shot upwards in the late 1960s, bringing unprecedented wealth to the sparsely populated desert sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf, there was huge increase in construction activity as each sought to provide them with a more modern infrastructure. Jobs were available aplenty, wages were comparatively high, and hundreds of thousands of migrant workers from Pakistan began to take the short hop across the Indian Ocean to take advantage of the new opportunities.”

While, Hasan & Raza (2011:27) asserts that, “large scale emigration, however only began in 1970s as a result of the building boom in the Middle East, first in the Gulf, and then in Saudi Arabia and Libya.” Addleton (1984:574) stated about labour migration from Pakistan to Middle East. He said that “large-scale migration to the oil-exporting countries of the Middle East constitutes one of the most significant events in the recent economic history of Pakistan. Approximately one million Pakistanis now work in the region.” In the same study he further stated that “With respect to geographical origin, workers come from three main areas: (1) the poorer Arab states such as Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, and North and South Yemen; (2) South Asian countries such as India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh; and (3) East Asian countries such as Korea, the Philippines and Thailand (Addleton, 1984:576).”

Addleton (1984:577) further opined that:

“One of the most outstanding features of the migration from Pakistan to the Middle East is the diversity among the migrant population. Workers come from all regions of the country and represent a variety of class and ethnic groups. Pakistani medical and managerial personnel, for example, occupy a number of relatively high positions in Middle East. On the other hand, even sanitation workers-an occupation traditionally filled by Christians and Hindu minorities in Pakistan-have been imported to keep the cities of Gulf region clean. Manual workers from Pakistan have migrated in especially high numbers, both as unskilled labourers and as skilled craftsmen.”

A trade bloc Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) comprising 6 countries, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates was created in 1981. They hold approximately 40% of the world’s proven oil and 23.6% of the world’s proven gas reserves (BP, 2008:213). This bloc became a major recruiting center for Pakistani labourers during 1960s and 1970s. Shah (1995:559-560) mentioned that during early 1990s a handful majority of Pakistani male labourers was consumed in GCC countries. Since the early 1970s, the annual flow of emigrant workers to the GCC countries has remained persistently high, resulting in a large concentration of non-nationals in the population and labour force of these countries. In 1998, about 28% of the population in Saudi Arabia was non-national while in the UAE the proportion of non-nationals was as high as 75%. The concentration of the non-nationals in the labour force is even higher; 64% of the workers in Saudi Arabia (Shah, 2001:5).

Some researcher like, Laenen (2005:1), Brunborg, Østby, & Henriksen (2006:2), Hetland (2010:13), Khan *et al.* (2012:18) discussed the migration links between Gujrat District in Pakistan and Norway. Laenen (2005:1) stated that “lion’s share of the Norwegian immigrant population is of Pakistani origin. Most of the Norwegian Pakistanis hail from the region of Kharian (Tehsil/Sub-District of Gujrat), a Punjabi town that is sometimes referred to locally as *Kharway*- “Little Norway” because all and sundry have their relatives in Norway.” According to Brunborg, Østby, & Henriksen (2006:2) soon after the convergence of Norway as migrant to immigrant country during 1960s some unexpected Pakistani origin migrants entered the territory. They further said that:

“The first Pakistanis took the Norwegian society by some surprise we were not used to group of people who were that different from the average Norwegians. Most Norwegians assumed that they would go back home after working for some years, but they have stayed on and established families, most of them acquiring Norwegian citizenship (Brunborg, Østby, & Henriksen, 2006:2).”

Hetland (2010:13) mentioned about Pakistani immigrant in Norway: “the first wave of Pakistani labour migrants came to Norway in the late 1960s to the mid-1970s.” The number of registered Pakistanis during this time reached to 30,000. This number was increased in the later years. According to Statistics Norway (2014), Pakistani diaspora stands at 5th position in Norway with 34,447 immigrants. Majority of the Norwegian-Pakistani was settled in the suburbs of Oslo as the rates of rental property were increasing and their accommodation was quite challenging for them. These Pakistanis were deeply linked with their kinship back home in Pakistan. Majority of them were marrying back home as it was a common practice for other Pakistanis too who were living abroad. These affine links allowed their spouses to join them in Norway. This channel of family reunification was one of the major reasons behind the increase in the size of Norwegian-Pakistanis.

Hasan & Raza (2011:27) mentioned about the number of Pakistan migrants to Norway in the following way. “A few enterprising young men from Gujrat district of Punjab also went and settled in Norway. This was actually the beginning of Pakistanis’ emigration to Europe. Today, there are over 30,000 Pakistanis, most of them from Kharian, Lalamusa, and Lahore, residing currently, in Norway.” Khan *et al.* (2012:18) asserted that, “over 30,000 Pakistani immigrants were living in Norway and most of them are settled in suburbs of Oslo.” During same era few of the migrants

from Gujrat district also went to other European countries but their number was comparatively lower.

The fourth of phase of migration from Pakistan is associated to 1990s when a large number of skilled migrants started their journeys to different countries like, England, United States of America, Canada, Germany, and Australia. Gazdar (2003:9), Oda (2009:3), and Hasan & Raza (2011:27-28) pointed out that professionals like doctors and engineers emigrated to UK and the USA during that time period. Oda (2009:2) discussed the history of Pakistan-US migration links:

“Emigration to the United States constitutes a major episode of population movement from Pakistan. Compared to Pakistani migration to Britain, the migratory flow to the United States is a relatively recent development. Before the mid-1960s, the number of number of Pakistani migrants to United States was limited due to the national origin quota system, which was first introduced under the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. The Luca-Celler Act of 1946 removed the ban on South Asians but allowed only 100 immigrants per year. Most Pakistani immigrants during the period from 1947 to 1965 were students and dependents of those already settled (Oda (2009:2).”

Somehow, the process of international migration to the USA was halted at the time of 9/11 terrorist attacks. But in the context of Canada, Germany, Australia, and many of the European States remained popular destinations for the Pakistani migrants. Majority of these new migrants were heading there in pursuits of their labour, education, and family reunification. But at the same time the number of such labourers who entered the European states without proper documentation raised tremendously over time. About the current trends of international migration, Arif (2009: 17) said that, “during 2004 there are currently approximately four million Pakistani migrants overseas.” While, Hunzai (2010:3) mentioned about the population trends while depending Ministry on Labour’s Year Book for 2004/05. She said that over seven million, including illegal immigrants and over-stayers are presently living outside Pakistan.

“Almost half reside in the Gulf States, of whom 1.1 million live and work in Saudi Arabia and 500,000 in the United Arab Emirates. Other major host countries include the United Kingdom (800,000), United States (600,000), and Canada (250,000). Pakistani residents in these five countries represent more than 80% of the total overseas Pakistani population (Hunzai, 2010:3).”

Abbasi (2010:5) mentioned that “according to the estimates of the Pakistani Government, more than 7 million Pakistanis live outside Pakistan. Most of these

people live and work in the Gulf region, United States and Europe. There are approximately 2.2 million Pakistanis in Europe. Around half of these individuals live in the United Kingdom. Italy, Greece, France, Spain, Germany and Denmark also have sizeable Pakistani communities. In addition to the official estimates, a number of illegal immigrants of Pakistani origin also live in Europe.” According to World Bank (2011:31) total number of migrant from Pakistan reached 4.7 million. Overseas Pakistani Foundation (2013) mentioned in a press release that, “the recent statics shows that during the last five years almost 2.7 million workers have left the country for different destinations with year wise breakup; 431,764 workers moved abroad in 2008, 404,988 in 2009, 364,822 in 2010, 457,608 in 2011, 639,895 in 2012, 420,788 workers have travelled abroad during current year (until, August, 2013).” As mentioned above the total number of registered overseas Pakistanis reached 9.4 million during 2016 (BEOE, 2016).

2.2. The Impact of Remittances on Communities

Remittances are the major outcomes of migration process. It is believed that major objective behind the migration is to alleviate poverty in their countries of origin. People migrate to other countries to find jobs and overcome poverty. Mansuri (2006:5) mentioned that about 80% migrants from sample households in Pakistan said that they initiated migration to find some job. According to Singh (2007:93) “remittances, that is, money migrants send home, are more than double the official aid received by developing countries. International financial institutions and national governments have focused on the growth of remittances, their impact on poverty alleviation and development.” “Remittances from emigrants abroad are key resources in enabling their families to avoid poverty, while simultaneously enriching the household’s financial resource and establishing the premise for upward mobility with regard to their socioeconomic status in their local community (Liang, 2001:670).”

Formal and informal channels are used by migrants to send money back home. Pieke, Van Hear & Lindley (2005:18) and Blackwell & Sedden (2004:5) defined informal transfers as “*initiated outside the formal banking systems and outside the mainline money transfer businesses*” while the formal way of remittance includes transfers through legal ways like Public and Private Banks, Post Offices, and other money transfer agencies. The major informal way adopted by the Pakistani migrants was *hundi or hawala* - through which migrants transferred money with reference

person who follows the informal channel which has no official record of transfer. These people have informal networks and pass on some codes and contact details when someone deposits money with them. Later on, the family members receive money at origin through that coded messages and contacts.

The stock of remittances is increasing day-by-day. According to World Bank (2011:32) total \$ 440.1 billion were transferred by the migrants to their origin countries. It is plausible to assume that the extent of informal flows of remittances varies directly with the proximity of the host country to the home country and/or with the frequency of return home visits by either the remitting migrants. According to Ghosh (2006:7);

“Migrant remittances are an old issue in the migration debate. And yet, it has become a focus of heightened attention in recent years. One obvious reason for this is the sharply rising flows of remittances into developing countries. In 2003, gross flows to developing countries amounted to US\$ 142 billion, compared to US\$ 18.4 billion in 1980. The annual average figure jumped 12 times from US\$ 7.8 billion in 1975-79 to a recorded total of US\$ 98 billion in 1998-2003.”

According to Institute of Development (2006:1) “At least US\$232 billion will be sent back home globally by around 200 million migrants to their families in 2005, three times official development aid (US\$78.6 billion dollars). Moreover, migration and remittance experts argue that the unofficial transfers could be as large as formal flows.” The World Bank and more recently the Asian Development Bank have been the primary sources for charting the extent of remittances and remittance behavior (Asian Development Bank, 2006:18). There has been a continual focus on remittance behavior, detailing the way remittances change with length of stay in the host country, income, age, gender and the kind of family left behind (Ballard, 2003b:213-214). The official data on remittances do not include informal transfers of money, jewelry, clothes or other consumer goods carried by hand for friends and family. In Asia, informal remittances could be anywhere between 15% and 80% of the true value of remittances (Buencamino & Gorbunov, 2002:1-2). Informal remittance channels such as *hawala* continue to be important, particularly for small sums of money, because these channels are cheaper, faster and trusted (Maimbo, Richard, Adams, Aggarwal, & Passes, 2005:43).

The remittances have played a pivotal role in overcoming crisis whenever it occurred. Pakistani workers settled abroad had emotional ties with their country. They

always came forward to support Pakistan at the time of crisis. In 2005, Pakistan was hit by a devastating earthquake mostly in two regions i.e. Azad Kashmir and KP resulting in huge human and material losses. Majority of the Pakistanis living abroad supported Pakistan wholeheartedly when the country was in a great need to rehabilitate the infrastructure. Suleri & Savage (2006:7) stated about the history of migration and remittances:

“...millions of people have emigrated from Pakistan, resulting in a vast network of migrant connections around the world. The Pakistan government puts the current expatriate population at around seven million, many of them residing in much richer countries in the West and the Persian Gulf. As a result, Pakistan is one of the largest recipients of remittances in the developing world. For many years, official remittances have exceeded either foreign direct investment or official development assistance. In the 1980s, remittances were linked to a rapid decline in poverty levels and in recent decades the level of official remittances has continually increased. In 2005-2006 (the year of the earthquake), official remittances reached some \$430 million, an increase of over 10% over the previous year.”

In addition to the remittances users of in crisis management, there are several other uses too. Remittances from workers are an important source of income and poverty alleviation for migrants, their households and their communities at origin in many parts of the developing world (Siddiqui, 2005:72; Piotrowski, 2009:163). The “new economics of labour migration”, a theoretical perspective, views remittance transfers as part of a household decision-making strategy to reduce risk and increase investment opportunities in areas where credit, insurance and capital markets are absent or imperfect (Taylor, 1999:74). More recent research into the subject has also examined the phenomenon of migration as a means of mitigating risk after the occurrence of a shock, or as an ex-post risk management strategy (Halliday, 2006:894).

Remittances are seen as a way of alleviating poverty and increasing development. At the micro-level, community studies trace the impact of remittances on the receiving families and regional economy (Helweg, 1983:436). The multiplier effect of remittance spending is felt in the local region. Kuptsch & Martin (2004:4) observe that “Each \$1 in remittance spending can generate \$2 to \$3 in local economic activity... especially if remittances are spent on locally produced goods.” In addition to community level impact of remittances some researchers also mentioned about the

role of remittances in improving economic conditions at macro level (in present case Pakistan level). Siddiqui & Kemal (2006: 389) stated that:

“Remittances have played a key role in the growth process of Pakistan. A comparison of remittance inflow with key economic indicators provides an assessment of the importance of remittances at the macro and micro level. During the Seventies and early Eighties, the inflow of remittances was very large, about \$37 billion. In 1983 when remittances were at their peak, at 10.06 percent of GDP, they financed 96.6 percent of the trade deficit and 84.8 percent of the current account balance.”

In this reference, Skeldon (2005:16) stated that, “Of total remittances, the share from the Middle East was never less than 60 per cent until the late 1990s. This was because of the concentration of overseas Pakistanis in the region and the temporary nature of their stay. These overseas workers transfer their savings home regularly. However, the last few years have witnessed a sharp decline in the share of remittances coming from the Middle East.

After the incident of 11 September 2001, remittances from the United States increased remarkably, from USD 779 million in 2001-02 to USD 1.762 billion in 2007-08. The latter figure is 27 per cent of the total remittances in 2007-08. It may well be that, after September 11, 2001 many Pakistanis with savings in the United States transferred these to Pakistan through official channels rather than by way of informal channels. The treatment or perception of Pakistani migrants in the United States after the events of 11 September 2001 may have influenced remittance behaviour, although there are no data available either to confirm or to refute this hypothesis. The growing settlement of Pakistanis in the United States is also one of the reasons for the recent high inflows of remittances.”

In the context of Gujrat, Khan *et al.* (2009:209) stated that the remittances sent by the international migrants are used to alleviate the poverty of dependent households by allocation of remittances in household large purchases like purchase of agriculture land, plot etc. In addition to this the dependent households also consume money on household accessories and luxuries. While Shah, Malik, & Perveen (2012:50) asserted that the remittances are majorly consumed on the non-productive uses likewise construction of big houses to show it off to the relatives that they have alleviated poverty and due to these remittances they have achieved the height of the vertical mobility.

Osili (2004:821) conducted a study on migrants and housing investments in Nigeria. The researcher discussed that remittances were used to acquire assets; especially to have assets of houses and land. Kofman (2008:151-152) asserted that international migration has profound impacts on family members left behind. In the majority of the observed cases, women, along with their children, experienced up gradation in their living standard as a result of the remittances sent by their emigrant husbands. However, this increase varied significantly from one household to another. Van Dalen, Groenewold, & Fokkema (2005:375) analyzed on the basis of the data of World Bank (2004:14) pointed out that remittances received by less developed countries totaled US\$93 billion in 2002. In a comparative study of 74 less developed countries, remittances have a strong impact on reducing poverty.

A common explanation was that migrants cared for the spouses, children, parents, and other members of the extended family left behind. Sending another household member abroad involved a certain risk, since the ones who stayed behind become more dependent on the ones who had emigrated. Emigrants from the household may also fail to generate adequate remittances, perhaps because they were unable to earn enough.

Katseli, Lucas, & Xenogiani (2006:25) asserted that a further major impact of migration on development comes through remittances which are sent by migrants to families and relatives who have remained in their country of origin. Both the labor supply eventually and the transfer shock affect poverty and growth directly through substitution and income effects and indirectly through productivity changes. “During the last three decades, Pakistan received a significant amount of workers’ remittances, which are sent by millions of Pakistanis working abroad. For capital deficient countries, like Pakistan, workers’ remittances are considered to be an important source of foreign exchange. These remittances have a positive impact on Pakistan’s economy through improved balance of payments position and reduced dependence on external borrowing. Significant flows of remittances also help Pakistan recover from the adverse effects of oil price shocks, reduced the unemployment problem, and improved standard of living of recipient households (Iqbal & Sattar, 2005:1).”

Further, Khan *et al.* (2009:212) asserts that: “Emigration has positive impact on the household economy because the number of the emigrants has been rising since the last few years. The families of emigrants increased their livelihood and assets with the help of remittances. It raises the purchasing power of households in following

domains like: a) household utilities; b) household accessories; c) purchasing new property; and d) contributing to the wealth deposits. Emigrants’ families regularly get remittances through money transfer agencies increase in circulation of the money improves business. The urban centers are becoming more business centered and the people are building new plazas and establishing new horizons and achieving new peaks in businesses.”

Jan (2008) analyzed that from 1970s to 2007, migrant workers from the world over remitted \$69284.83 million constitute the single largest source of foreign exchange earnings for the country. Almost half of the migrant workers from Pakistan have low levels of education and skills. Khan *et al.* (2009:214) states that:

“It is concluded in this study that international remittances have positive impact on the living standards of emigrant families. A significant change has been observed in all the household accessories and facilities. Patterns of remittances investment show that most of the emigrant families want to improve their social status as well as the living standards. It creates a sense of satisfaction in the emigrant’s families about their living standards and emigrant.”

Parents who work abroad are very concerned about their children’s health, and this is the most frequently discussed subject when parents call home in situations when only one parent has left the country (UNICEF/UNDP, 2008:13-14). According to UNICEF (2007:6) report, “A recent study by UNICEF shows that Mexican households receiving remittances have cost patterns similar to those that do not receive them, using them for basic needs (62%), health care (15%), to pay off debts (10%), housing improvements (4%), savings (4%) and others costs (5%).

Table No. 2.1 World Top 10 Remittances Recipient Countries (2015)

S. No	Name of State	Remittances (US\$ Billions)
1	India	72.2
2	China	63.9
3	Philippines	29.7
4	Mexico	25.7
5	France	24.6
6	Nigeria	20.8
7	Egypt	20.4
8	Pakistan	20.1
9	Germany	17.5
10	Bangladesh	15.8

(Source: World Bank (2016) Migration and Remittance Factbook, Third Edition)

However, this does not mean that absolute amounts are not higher, hence increasing the likelihood of the family to meet its basic needs. This is reflected in the

fact that households receiving remittances show better nutrition, clothing, education, health care and housing than non-receiving households.”

The above given table is depicted from the World Bank’s (2016:29) statistics about the world’s top ten remittance recipient countries. These top countries were collectively receiving \$310.7 billion by the end of 2015.

2.3. The Impact of International Migration on Education and Health

This section focuses on the impact of international migration on education and health. This section is further subdivided into two sub-sections. First of these two deals with the impact of international migration on education while second discusses the effects on health.

2.3.1. The Impact on Education

Migration researchers have addressed the issue of education of the left behind children in migrant sending countries, like Latin American and Caribbean countries, and developing countries, like, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and others. The impact of the migration on educational attainment is multilayered. Some researchers pointed out a positive impact of migration on remittances while others have found a negative impact. The available literature on this topic is quite recent.

Cox-Edwards and Ureta (2003:443) published a paper on the risk of school dropout. The authors estimated that how remittances influence Salvadorian households’ educational choices through an income effect, finding that because remittances relieve some of the pressure on household budgets, families can afford—and often choose for reasons of optimization—to have their children spend more time in schools. They find that remittances significantly reduce the dropout rate of individuals aged 6 to 24. These findings appear to be coherent with the expectations that remittances contribute positively to school attendance.

Looking at the same hypothesis, Hanson & Woodruff (2003:1,7) explicitly recognize the complex interaction between migration and remittances and found out that in the case of Mexico, children in migrant households complete significantly more grades of school at a given age than the other children. Kandel & Kao (2000:22-23) asserted that “the remittances from emigrants enhance positive educational outcomes, particularly for younger children.” Morooka & Liang (2009:21) conducted a study in Fujian province in China and found that “...91 percent of the 270 children

from households with emigrants were reportedly enrolled in school when compared to an 85 percent enrollment rate for children of non-emigrant households. As evidenced in this data set, children of emigrants appear to have higher overall percentage of school enrollment rates.”

Kandel & Massey (2002:981) conducted study in Mexico to understand the impact of the international migration on the educational outcomes from households with a significant cultural influence pushing towards migration to the United States. They found that these children had a “higher likelihood of abandoning their plans of pursuing an education in their native country. As such, children tend to drop out of school because their motivation is diluted, with the greatest concentration of effort directed towards moving abroad.”

Some studies were conducted in migrant sending countries to explicitly examine the role of remittances in reducing child labour and increasing school attendance. There are evidences from Pakistan, El Salvador, and other Latin American economies that suggest that migration tends to reduce the incidence of child labor and to promote school retention (e.g. Acosta, 2006; Mansuri, 2006; Acosta, Fajnzylber & López, 2007).

Hanson & Woodruff (2003:4-5) show that, “after controlling for observable characteristics and instrumenting for migration, the effect of migration on child schooling in rural communities is positive only for girls in households with relatively uneducated mothers. For boys, as well as for girls in households with more educated mothers, belonging to a migrant household does not seem to have an effect on schooling.” Borraz (2005:2) stated that “the effects found for girls in households with relatively uneducated mothers in the previously cited paper are only present in very small communities (population below 2,500).”

Education remained a major concern of those who migrate. They push their dependents to provide better education to their children. In this regard, few studies have focused on the impact of migration on the educational attainments and allocation of remittances on the educational purposes. Cox-Edwards & Ureta (2001:429) identified that remittances have a positive impact on the educational attainments of the migrants’ children left behind in El Salvador.

In Pakistan and more specifically in the context of Gujrat, Khan *et al.* (2009:209) asserts that there is escalating impact of the migration on the education expenses of the children left behind. The results show that “the consumption on the

education of the children before emigration averaged Rs. 796 and standard deviation 1250.044, and after the emigration consumption this average shot to Rs. 4105.00 with standard deviation 3313.041.”

It shows that the migration creates an opportunity for the educational attainment by providing more monetary options to the family members left behind. Generally one can relate the inflow of remittance and its utilization patterns on the education at household level. By looking at the impact of remittances on educational attainment, the underlying hypothesis is that remittances increase educational opportunities. The logic is that the remittances relax the household’s budget constraint, which previously limited educational investments, thereby enabling households in developing countries to spend in the human capital of children. Such an outcome is a key in terms of country growth and development (Acosta, Calderon, Fajnzylde, & Lopez, 2006:957).

2.3.2. The Impact on Health

Various studies explored this link. Nguyen & Winters (2009:1) conducted research in Vietnam to see the possible impact of migration on the food security and nutrition with the help of panel data from the 2004 and 2006 Vietnam Household Living Standards Surveys. researchers concluded that “employing an instrumental variable approach to control for the endogeneity of migration, our results indicate that short-term migration has a positive effect on overall per capita food expenditures, per capita calorie consumption and food diversity. Long-term migration also appears to be positively related to nutrition, but impacts are often insignificant and of a lesser magnitude than short-term migration (Nguyen & Winters 2009:1).”

Babatunde & Martinetti (2010) conducted a study in rural Nigeria to understand the possible impact of migration and remittances on food security and nutrition. The researchers mentioned that:

“Econometric and descriptive approaches were used to analyze the mechanisms through which remittances affect household calorie and micronutrient supply, dietary quality and child nutritional status. Instrumental variable approach, which controls for the endogeneity of income variables, was employed for model estimations. Descriptive results indicate that total income, household assets, as well as food consumption are higher in remittance-receiving households than in non-receiving households (Babatunde & Martinetti, 2010: 18-19).”

UN-INSTRAW's (2008:6) study on gender, remittances and development in the Philippines found out that there is a positive impact of remittances on food security in the left behind families. A change in the food consumption patterns have been observed in such families in Philippines. They were more concerned about the quality of food and dining out of house. These trends of food consumption show a positive effect of remittances on food intake. Another study was conducted by Jimenez (2009:331) in rural settings in Mexico by using the "household economy approach to carry out a comparative analysis between remittances-receiving households and non-receiving households. The author found that the consumption patterns do not differ significantly, but food consumption expenditures were higher in remittance-receiving households."

McKenzie (2006:124) analyzed the National Survey of Demographic Dynamics data from Mexico and identified that, "migration is shown to improve child health outcomes, lowering infant mortality and increasing birth weights. While some of the improvement in health outcomes is likely to arise from the increase in household income after remittances, it is shown that migration has at least two additional impacts on child health. Higher opportunity costs of time and the absence of parents may make children of migrants less likely to receive some forms of health inputs. Evidence for this effect is seen in children in migrant households having a lower probability of being breastfed and of receiving their full dose of vaccines. A more positive impact is seen in terms of maternal health knowledge. Mothers in left behind families are found to have higher levels of health knowledge, and there is also evidence of knowledge spillovers to mothers in non-migrant households."

In the context of Pakistan, Khan *et al.* (2009:209) identified that there is a positive relation between migration and health of the family members left behind. On other hand in the case of Latin America, different studies have linked the migration with the health of the family members, more specifically children. The researchers analyzed the impact of remittances on children's health using multiple indicators, and not just infant mortality.

Rossi (2008:16) and Acosta, Fajnzylber, & Lopez (2007:92-93) in their "broader analysis of the development contribution of remittances to Latin America, include anthropometric measures, specifically weight-for-age and height-for-age z-scores, for children aged 1 to 5, the probability that the delivery of the children born in the 12 months prior to the survey had been assisted by a doctor, and the probability

that children aged 2 to 5 had completed a set of vaccinations. Controlling for household characteristics and for an estimate of pre-migration income, their multivariate analysis suggests that children in recipient households fare better than children in non-recipient households with respect to all four health indicators.”

While, Khan *et al.* (2009:206) have found that, “the emigrants are intending to improve their social status like food security of their dependents, construction of big houses, setting up factories, establishing other businesses. The people who are less educated, unskilled, having fewer resources are more eager to migrate toward Gulf States. Majority of these emigrants work there as unskilled laborers and support their families with monthly remittances by reducing their own expenditures there.”

2.4. Theoretical Models

2.4.1. The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) Model

The fundamental view of the ‘New Economics of Labour Migration’ (NELM) was presented by Stark & Bloom (1985:174) and later on used by Stark (1991:23) for household analysis. It assumed that migration decisions are not taken by individuals but they are collectively taken within a group of related people such as a family and a household (Oda, 2007:170). The NELM contends that people act collectively to maximize income, minimize risks and loosen constraints created by market failures: missing or incomplete capital, insurance and labour markets. Through the remittances from migrants, migration is seen as an intermediate investment that facilitates the transition from familial to commercial production by providing the rural households with capital and a means to reduce their risks (Mensah-Bonsu & Burger, 2008:187).

Portes (2006:21) stated that, “the most optimistic prognosis about the developmental effects of labour flows comes from the new economics of migration pioneered by Stark (1991) and endorsed by, among others, Douglas Massey and J. Edwards Taylor. This theory places emphasis on the concept of relative deprivation said to affect non-migrant families when they compare their situations with those who have migrants abroad. It also singles out the non-existence of imperfection of credit, insurance, and future markets in rural areas of sending countries. Migration is said to represent a form of self-insurance by rural families who use it as one of the several strategies for economic survival.”

Until the emergence of the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) in the 1980s, migration scholars were largely divided into two main theoretical camps,

viz. the neoclassical and historical-structural approaches to migration. Against this background, the NELM presented itself as a theoretical ‘third way’ between the two latter approaches, and purported to reconcile agency and structure in a way previously unachieved by either of them (Abreu, 2010:1).

2.4.2. Social Network and Kinship Model

Anjos & Campos (2010:1) stated that “social network analysis has had a great development in recent times, although the main concepts were proposed between 1960 and 1970.” According to Mitchell (1969:1-2), “a social network is a specific set of links among a set of persons”, with the additional property that the characteristics of these links as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved. Likewise the network structure reflects the pattern of relationships between individuals (Newman & Girvan, 2004:1; Wasserman & Faust, 1994:4-5).

Migration is often modeled within the perspective of social networks (McKenzie & Rapoport 2007:2, Woodruff & Zenteno, 2007:509, Hussey, 2007:301). In general it appears that migration flows towards a specific country B with origin in country A, induce further migration of other individuals from A to B (Helmenstein & Yegorov, 2000:309-310).” According to Lucas (1997:743):

“A substantial amount of evidence indicates an empirical regularity: persons having access to kinship and other networks at a place of destination are more likely to choose that place.”

Yap (1977:248-249) asserted that, “destination contacts have a positive effect on migration to a specific area, when contacts are measured by the presence of parents in the city, by potential ethnic contacts, by language similarity between areas or by the stock of persons in the destination who had migrated earlier from the home area.”

Massey *et al.* (1993:448) stated that, “migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. Network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment. Once the number of migrants reaches a critical threshold the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risks of movement, which

causes the probability of migration to rise, which causes additional movement, which further expands the networks, and so on.”

2.4.3. Dual Labor Market Theory

This is the third major theory which actually increases the opportunities of migration for the low income countries. According to this theory there are two types of jobs in the advanced countries, the first type of jobs are for the well-educated and technically profound nationals while the second kind of jobs are the manual ones which are tougher in nature and termed as immigrants’ jobs.

Week (2005:292-293) mentioned that, “this theory offers a reason for the creation of opportunities for migration. It suggests that in developed regions of the world there are essentially two kinds of job markets-the primary sector, which employs well educated people, pays them well, and offers them security and benefits; and the secondary labor market, characterized by low wages, unstable working conditions, and lack of reasonable prospects for advancement. It is easy enough to recruit people into the primary sector, but the secondary sector is not so attractive for the local people. Historically, women, teenagers, and racial and ethnic minorities were recruited into these jobs, but in the past few decades women and racial and ethnic minority groups have succeeded in moving increasingly into the primary sector, at the same time that the low birth rate has diminished the supply of teenagers available to work. Yet the lower echelon of jobs still needed to be filled, and so immigration from developing countries are recruited- either actively (as in the case of agriculture workers) or passively (the diffusion of information that such jobs are available).”

Piore (1979:86-114) has been the most forceful and elegant proponent of this theoretical viewpoint, arguing that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor that is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations. According to Piore (1979: 86-114) immigration is not caused by push factors in sending countries (low wages or high unemployment), but by pull factors in receiving countries (a chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers). This built-in demand for immigrant labor stems from four fundamental characteristics of advanced industrial societies and their economies.

2.4.4. Migration and Education Model

Kusumawardhani (2012:11) mentioned of Bredl (2011:163-164) and McKenzie & Rapoport (2006:16) about their contribution to a model which look into the effects of remittances on education of children. This model identifies several channels through which migration and remittance may affect household's investment in human capital: 1) *remittance effect*, 2) *disruptive family effect*, and 3) *immediate substitution effect*. First of all, remittances and potentially higher earnings after migration (such as from entrepreneurship) increase the resources of household which lead to higher maximum years of schooling affordable by households.

Remittance will relax credit constraint of households and allow them to move towards their unconstrained optimal level of education, resulting in more years of education for their children. For households where credit constraint is not binding, remittances will have no direct impact on schooling. Secondly, there is an adverse effect of migration on children's education called the disruptive family effect. We may think that absence of a parent in migrant's households causes children to have no role model in their critical growing period, or requires children to perform additional household responsibilities. Lastly, we may also consider current migration to induce future migration by household member. Due to information and network effects, having a migrant parent increases the likelihood that children themselves will become migrants. This immediate substitution effect will increase the opportunity cost of schooling. Consequently, children will prefer to migrate rather than staying at school (Kusumawardhani, 2012:11).

2.4.5. Migration-Health Model

According to Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:257) the most obvious channel through which migration could positively affect child nutritional status is increasing household income and wealth. The increased income allows them to purchase nutritional and medical inputs through relaxed family budget constraint and thus allowing a higher investment in children. In addition, if remittances relax liquidity constraints, it may allow parents to make additional spending they could not have made otherwise.

McKenzie & Sasin (2007:6-10) pointed out two reasons why remittance income may be spent in differently than "normal" income. First, if health is seen as an investment by parents and remittance income is considered temporary, according

to permanent income hypothesis, remittances will be mainly invested, for example, in child health, instead of being spent on normal consumption. Second, it is possible that money is remitted with a specific purpose, favouring investment over consumption.

Following Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:257), the Grossman (1972:1-10) model of health production function is a good point of departure for establishing the theoretical framework for analyzing the effects of migration on child's health and, in this particular case, on nutritional status. According to Grossman (1972:1-10) individual utility can be characterized as a function of health in all periods that individuals maximize subject to a budget constraint. Inspired by this theoretical construction, Behrman & Skoufias (2004:339-340) suggest a simplified model for examining infant nutrition, which is slightly adapted here. Within such model, households choose child health (H), leisure (L), and consumption of goods and services (C) and they are assumed to maximize a unitary household utility function subject to a budget and a production function constraint.

Chapter No. 3

AREA PROFILE

3.1. Profile of Pakistan: Geography, Environment, and Population

Pakistan got independence on 14th August 1947. Majority of the population in Pakistan is Muslims. It is known as the “Land of the Indus River,” which flows through the entire length of the country for 2,500 kilometers from Himalaya and Karakoram mountain ranges to the Arabian Sea. Pakistan comprises a total land mass of 796,096 square kilometers. It is the land of snow covered peaks, hot deserts and barren land, as well as a vast area of irrigated plains. It is located between 24 and 34 N latitude and between 61 and 75 E longitudes. It occupies strategically an important position. On its east and southeast lies India, to the north and northwest is Afghanistan, to the west is Iran, and in the south is Arabian Sea (Government of Pakistan, 2008a:1).

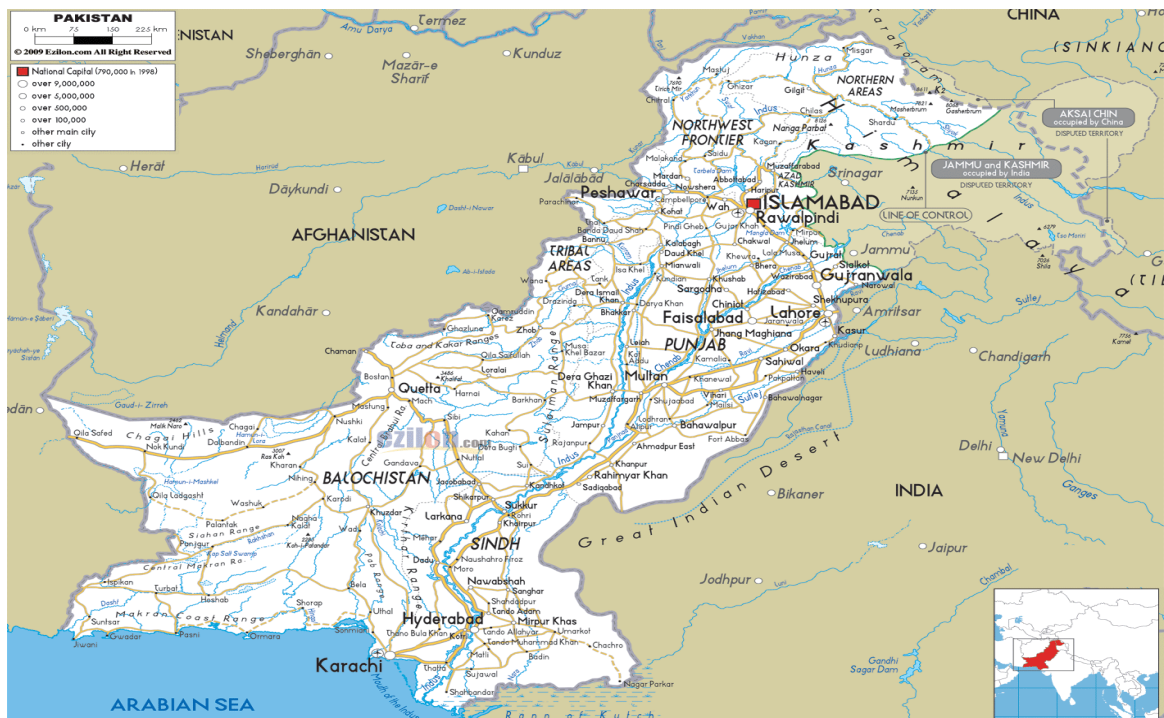


Figure No. 3.1 Map of Pakistan

The country enjoys a considerable variety of weather. The north and northwestern high mountain ranges and adjacent regions are extremely cold in winter, while the summer months from April to September are not only hot but extremely hot and humid. The vast plains of the Indus Valley are sultry in summer and experience short winters. The coastal strip in the south has moderate climate. The monsoon

period, falls late in the summer and the average rainfall varies between 76 and 127 cm. There are occasional rains in the winters too. The province of Balochistan is the driest; where on average which receives only 21 cm of rain, mostly in winter. “The population of Pakistan was estimated around 160 million as of mid-2007 and is growing at 1.9 percent per annum (Government of Pakistan, 2008a:2).” The population growth rate has been declined from a record high of 3.7 percent per year in the 1960s to less than 2%. About two-thirds of the country’s population is rural. Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world (Population Reference Bureau, 2007:2) and around three million new persons add every year. The present day population of Pakistan reached to more than 200 million (CIA, the World Factbook, 2016).

“National language of the country is Urdu, which is widely understood in most parts of the country. However, in the provinces, local languages are also spoken. In northern and southern Punjab, the local languages are Punjabi and *Saraiki* respectively. Sindhi is widely spoken in Sindh, except in Karachi, where Urdu is the main language. *Pushto* is the local language in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), although Hindko is also spoken in certain parts of Hazara division, KP. Balochi, Pushto, and Brahvi are widely spoken in certain parts of Balochistan. The official language of the federal and provincial governments is English (Government of Pakistan, 2008a:3).” On September 8, 2015, Supreme Court of Pakistan ordered the national and provincial governments to use the Urdu as the official language.

3.2. Profile of the District Gujrat

As per the Gazetteer records, “the district takes its name from the town at its headquarters. This town grew up around a fort established by the emperor Akbar in 1580 A.D. with the help of the Gujjar inhabitants of the neighboring areas. Its shape is roughly that of a parallelogram (Government of Pakistan, 2000:1; Government of Punjab, 1921:1).” It forms the northern most portion of the Chaj Doaba lying between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers. When one looks at the geographical map of the district Gujrat, is found to be bounded on the north-east by the river Jhelum, which separates it from the districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot, on the east by the river *Tawi*, which separates it from the Sialkot district and on the south-west by Mandi Bahauddin district. The district lies between north latitudes 32-19 to 33-03 and east longitudes

73-31 to 74-28. Gujrat is spread over an area of 3,192 square kilometers and comprises of the three Tehsils of: i) Gujrat; ii) Kharian; and iii) Sarai Alamgir.

3.2.1. Population and Economy

According to Government of Pakistan (2000:25) “the total population of Gujrat district was 2,048,008 as recorded in 1998 Population Census with an intercensal percentage increase of 54.5 since March, 1981 when it stood at 1,408,585.” But the recent statistics have shown an increase in district population. According to Punjab Development Statistics (2011:5), the total population of the district is 2,542 thousands persons out of which 1,271 thousands are male and interestingly same numbers of females inhabit there. Density of population in the district is 764 persons per square kilometers. The following table shows town-wise distribution of rural urban population in the district.

Table No. 3.1. Total Population of the District Gujrat

Town	Population (Thousand Nos.)		
	Urban	Rural	Total
Gujrat	451	911	1362
Kharian	208	754	962
Sarai Alamgir	46	172	218
Total	705	1837	2542

Source: Punjab Development Statistics, 2011

The economy of the district depends on the multiple sectors; one of these sectors is agriculture and livestock; the second major sector is large and small scale industries; and the third is remittances. According the Survey of Pakistan, Gujrat’s total area is 3,192 square kilometers, and majority of this land is cultivable, but dependent on the rain.

The Rabbi crops mainly depend on the summer rains which mostly start in July and last till August and September. Sowing of Kharif crops is generally done after the first monsoon. Besides the monsoon fed there are three other sources of irrigation; i) Canal irrigation; ii) Tube wells; and iii) Well. The wells were the main source of irrigation at the start of the twentieth century as it has been mentioned in Gujrat District Gazetteer (Government of Punjab, 1921:88-89).

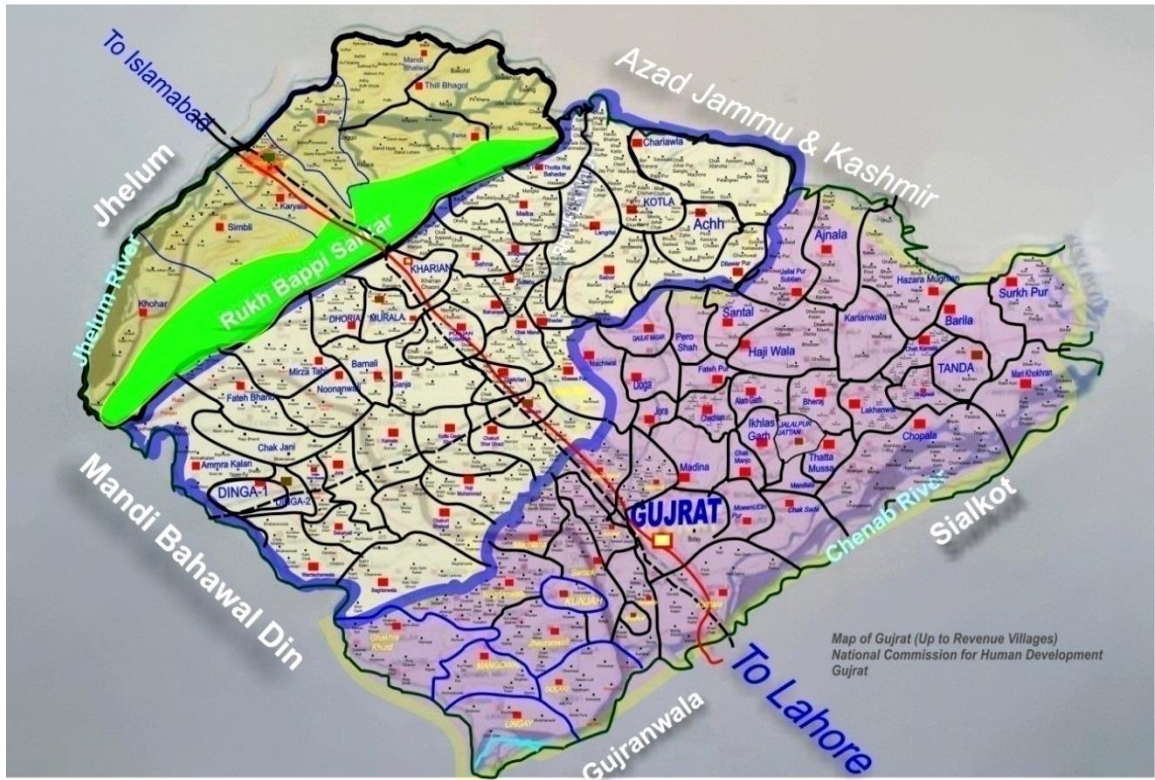


Figure No. 3.2. Map of District Gujrat

On the other hand, Government of Pakistan (2000:19) reported that “about 2,000 hectares are irrigated through wells in the district. The canal irrigation is limited one which irrigated the western half of the district through the Upper Jhelum canal while there were 12,785 tube wells including canal tube wells in the district for the irrigation of the land.” The major cash crops of the district are Wheat, Rice and Sugarcane.

3.3. Profile of Karrianwala Village (Research Site)

The village Karrianwala was established in 1207 by a royal worker “*Sirsatwan*” with the permission of his ruler. It was a jungle before the establishment of this village. After some time the inhabitants vacated this village with the order of the ruler and migrated to the “*Sirsa*”. There is no such evidence about the current name (Karrianwala) of the village at that time. A royal worker of King Akbar “*Hubo*” who belonged to the descendants of the first founder of the village “*Sirsatwan*” was requested to re-build this village in 1593 by asserting that this land belonged to his ancestors. He was permitted by the King and the village was named after the king as “*Akberabad*.” According to Settlement Report of 1867 this village was again vacated due to unknown reasons and this time it was tribe “*Sarman Kari*” that set the

foundation of the village and the present day name “Karrianwala” was coined because of that tribe (Saleem and Bhatti, 2012:135). The oral history about the inception of the village and its name is contrary to the written accounts.

A number of villages lie on the borders of the Karrianwala. Dumthal is on its east while Hajiwala is on the western side. The distance between Karrianwala and Hajiwala is not more than a kilometer. *ChalleySharif* is on the north of the village while Malowal is on the southern side. The main bus stand of the village is near the *chowk* (center/junction) on Hajiwala road. A number of vans, coasters, and buses ply on two to three different routes from this stand. The busiest route from the village leads to the Gujrat city. The second busiest route is between Karrianwala and Jalalpur Jattan. The village is divided into various *mohallas* (town quarters/communes). The name of each *mohalla* was adopted after the inhabitants’ ethnic affiliation such as their castes. Some of the common names of the *mohallas* of the village were as following (the list is in ascending order):

1. Awanpura
2. Butt Bahadar Colony
3. Model Town
4. Mohalla Arian
5. Mohalla Bhatian
6. Mohalla Kashmirian (Qadeemi Karrianwala/old village)
7. Mohalla Mistrian
8. Mohalla Mohajran

The names of the common bazars/streets/roads were as following (the list is in ascending order):

1. Ajnala road
2. Challey wala road
3. College road
4. Hajiwala road
5. Jalalpur Jattan road
6. Qadeemi main bazar
7. Tanda road

3.3.1. Population, Ethnic Groups and Living Patterns

The total population of Karrianwala village was 7,074 persons with 3,491 males and 3,583 females during 1998 population census. But the population of the village increased during last two decades. Following were the major castes inhabiting in the village; i) Kashmiri (Butt), ii) Bhatti, iii) Arain, iv) Gujjar, v) Sheikh, vi) Rajput, vii) Malik, viii) Jatt, and ix) Syed. In addition to these castes there were also some working classes like, i) Nai, ii) Mochi, iii) Machi, iv) Musali, v) Kumhar, vi) Tarkhan, and vii) Mirasi.

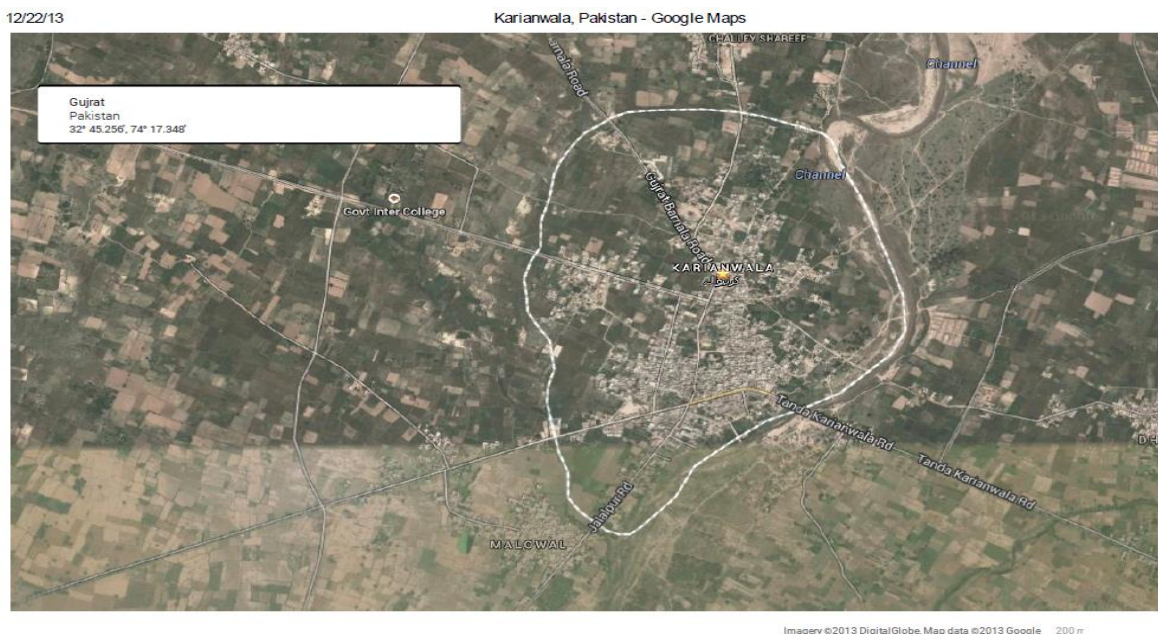


Figure No. 3.3. Village Map-I (Google Earth Map)

A reasonable number of migrants were from the village and represented almost all the major castes. According to official records of Government of Pakistan (2000:252-253) during 1998 census “there were a total of 1,046 houses in Karrianwala village out of which 1,018 were *pacca* (cemented) while only 28 are semi *pacca* or *kacha*.” But the number of households was more than 1500 at the time of fieldwork (2011-12). In the recent times the construction patterns in the village have undergone a change. People were building spacious and modern styled houses. The majority of the population was concentrated in the village and only few families were still living on agriculture fields to care of their lands and crops.

3.3.2. The Village's Economy

The villagers started moving abroad in large numbers during 1970s. Since then the villagers depended mainly on the inflow of remittances. More than 2000

migrants were working abroad and sending money to the left behind families in the village.

The approximate number of the left behind families in the village was about 1200. During the fieldwork (2011-12) it was found that there were nine branches of the leading banks in the village and majority of these were receiving lucrative business for last five years. The NIB Bank and Habib Bank Limited topped the whole country's rural areas branches in the size of deposits during 2011.

The main reason behind such a huge business was the transfers of foreign remittances. There were more than 1500 accounts in both branches and majority of them were meant to receive the remittances from abroad. Atif, the manager of NIB bank confided that, “*we received about Rupees 35 million during the month of May, 2011 from only two countries (USA and UK).*” In addition to the transfer of remittances to bank accounts there were some walk-in-customers as well who received money through bank's affiliated money transfer agencies.

Agriculture was the second major source of income for the villagers. The total land of the village was about 1600 acres and 90% land was cultivable. The farmers were growing two seasons' crops (*Rabi and Kharif*) but the productivity of these crops was mainly based on the frequency of the rains in each season. The most common crops are given in the table no. 3.2.

Table No. 3.2. Major Crops in the Village

S. No.	Rabi Crops/Winter Crops	Kharif Crops/Summer Crops
	Wheat	Rice
	Maize	Sugarcane
	Barley	Cotton

Source: Field data, 2011-12

The third major economic source of the villagers was based on the small businesses and jobs. But the number of job holders and small businessmen was much lower. The main category of business was small grocery stores commonly known as *karyana* stores or *dokan*. But the trends were on the rise to setup new outlets of currency exchange and travel agencies. Some of villagers were also actively involved in the mobile phones sale and purchase business and setup new shops in the central bazar. In addition to this a reasonable number of meat, vegetable and fruits shops were also operational in the village.

There were three shops of agriculture related products selling seeds, herbicides and pesticides. In the central bazar of the village there were some beauty

salons. The business of these salons was on the rise as more people visited these salons for haircut, massage, facial and shave.

3.3.3. Education and Health Facilities

The educational facilities in the village showed an upward trend as some businessman had setup new schools in the village keeping in view the rising demand. The migration process made the lives of left behind families much comfortable due to access to remittances. These remittances enabled them to overcome prevalent poverty and allowed them to spend more on the education and health of families. This increased income facilitated the people to enroll their children in the newly established private schools in the village. Previously the villagers had no choice but to send their children to the government schools and the sole college in the village. Given that migration created an environment of spending for gainful means like imparting education to the children in English medium schools, the private schools too rose in number as majority of the left behind families started sending their children to these schools.

Migration also made a meaningful shift in the healthcare practices in the village. The constant inflow of money from migrants alleviated social and economic status of the left behind families and allowed them to spend more on their healthcare. Sensing the better financial standing of the villagers, the private doctors took advantage of the opportunity to establish new hospitals and clinics in the village. The villagers in the before migration time were only consulting the government health facilities (such as a. Basic Health Unit (BHU), and b. civil dispensary). Both health facilities were not in good shape as only few doctors and paramedic staff was available. The left behind families, in particular, were now consulting the private doctors in the village or in Gujrat city, where they could now travel on their own vehicles or by public transport.

3.3.4. Migration Trends

Since 1970s, migration heralded a rare opportunity to make a shift in the family's social and economic position. The villagers were very eager to move abroad for work. They were eying at the various favourable openings to move abroad but the options through legal modes were limited. They were ready to take risks even through the irregular channels; such was the persistent desire to seek jobs in foreign lands.

Social and kinship networks were very active in accommodating the aspirant migrants from the village financially and morally. The substitute migration was also on the rise as the existing migrants were opening the doors of migration for their next generation. The role of emulation (*rees/ dekhadikhi*) was a very dominating factor in the migration process. The social mobility of the left behind families was taken as a precedent for others to emulate them.

A number of recruiting agents (both registered and unregistered) had set up their profitable business in the village and were accommodating the desires of the aspired migrants yearning to go abroad. The most common destinations for the irregular migrants from the village were Greece, Italy and Spain. Majority of the irregular migrants travelled with the other aspirants through the Iran-Turkey-Greece route. They paid the agents partial sum money at time of embarking upon their journeys and the remaining amount had to be paid after reaching safely at their destination.

Chapter No. 4

MIGRATION AND REMITTANCES

Migration is an important social practice and economic factor in Pakistan (Siegmann, 2010: 345). The migration has transformed the life style in the rural settings in Gujrat from where a reasonable number of people were working abroad. The migration process has made the lives of dependents affluent. The major outcome of the migration in the village was inflow of remittances. The people were content and in a better position to accommodate their basic needs due to the remittances. Once adequate amount of money started rolling in the people thought it fit to spend it on buying food and this helped in reducing their poverty burden. The process of migration and allocation of remittances has been discussed in detail in the succeeding sections of this chapter. This chapter is primarily based on the results of 50 in-depth interviews held with the left behind families, FGDs and key informants.

4.1 International Migration from Karrianwala

There are different perspectives about the initiation of international migration from the village Kurrianwala. Majority of evidences suggest that during 1960s and 1970s people started migrating from the village. Travelling long distances within the country is not a new phenomenon as it was a kind of circular migration that started as early as 1960s when agricultural labour seasonally moved to rural Sindh and Southern Punjab to find work. But this practice lasted for only few years. Later on these people were able to access the international migratory routes in search of work and were successful in finding jobs with proper settlement. During 1960s and 1970s the main concentration of labour migration was in Gulf States for some distinctive reasons.

The data of Government of Pakistan (2004) shows that during 2004 “about four million labour migrants lived outside Pakistan, half of these had migrated to the six countries of Gulf Cooperation Council.” Siegmann (2010:345) stated that “1973 oil crisis and subsequent boom in Gulf region opened new opportunities for large number of Pakistanis to work in the Middle East on short-term contracts (Addleton, 1994:574; Arif and Irfan, 1997:997; and Gazdar, 2003:6).” According to Gallup Pakistan (2008:3) during 2008 the total number workers in Gulf region was about 2 million. The size of the Pakistani labourers to Gulf region more than 4 million in 2016 (BE&OE, 2016).

Migration was not the major choice for the inhabitants before 1960s. The socio-economic circumstances, when it was difficult to meet the ends, pushed the people to opt for migration. Evidences indicated that during 1960s villagers were seasonally migrating to southern parts of Punjab and central Sindh to take part in agricultural labour. But the number of such migrants was scarce the reason being that it was physically quite tiring to move to and forth while leaving behind their families unprotected. The jobs availability in the Middle-East turned out to be a blessing for the local skilled and non-skilled workers and during 1960s period a number of workers started migrating to the Gulf States. But the scope of both national circular migration and international labour migration to Middle-East was not that high. During 1960s, the adjacent areas of the district like Mirpur and Jhelum were reasonably more active in international migration. Ballard (2003a:58) opined about the process of migration from the above cited regions in following way:

“...when I first began researching Pakistani migration to Britain, I was extremely puzzled as to why so many of the earliest settlers were drawn either from Mirpur District, or from the equally remote Attock District a 100 miles further to the north-west. Part of the puzzle was solved when I discovered that virtually all of these pioneers were ex-seamen, and that the vast majority of the stokers who were recruited to work on British steamships sailing out of Bombay and Karachi from the 1880s right through until the late 1940s (when oil replaced coal) were drawn from these two Districts.”

This process of chain migration expanded to the neighbouring regions like Karriawala village and opened new opportunities of international migration. The people belonging to the region of ‘*barani area*’ (rain-fed area) including Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Gujrat searched for the international destinations when the Government of Pakistan started sending labour to Gulf States in 1960s. Gilani, Khan, and Iqbal (1981) mentioned “that majority of the origin of Pakistani migrants’ to Middle-East was from the villages lying in unirrigated, wheat growing *barani* areas in the north of the country.” One of the respondents (54 years old) explained that they were aware of the process of international migration even before that time period. He mentioned that

“His relatives lived in Mirpur and some of their family members migrated to England for labour work even before the inception of Pakistan as a separate country. The other reason to search for the international destinations for labor was due to rain based irrigation and cultivation. There is lower yield because of rain-fed irrigation in the region that’s why people try out the alternate income and most of them opt for the international migration.”

Another respondent (36 years old) said that his uncle moved to England in 1960s where he spent about five years and then he called upon his three brothers including my father. After spending six years in the England they also helped some close-kin (*rishtadar*) to move to England. Due to immigration related problems some of the migrated members moved from England to Germany and settled there for the rest of their lives. During their stay in Germany, they helped their offsprings and close relatives in the process of migration and were instrumental in getting them to Germany. In the early phase of the international migration a respondent (45 years old) stated that:

“Presently, majority of villagers are living aboard. During the first phase of migration (especially 1960s-1970s) it was very hard to migrate and settle abroad but our elders faced these hardships and paved the way for others.”

Another respondent (32 years old) narrated the story of his father about the process involved in the international migration to Saudi Arabia. He said that his father moved to Saudi Arabia in 1966 with the support of a close relative. The relative not only guided his father but also facilitated him in search of a job in a factory in Saudi Arabia. The role of kinship and friends’ networks has always been very vital in the migrant sending regions. Nair (1998:272) and Shah (1998:21) identified the positive role of social kinship networks in expediting migration process and facilitating jobs at destinations.

During 1970s the trends of migration were mainly towards the oil boom in the Middle-Eastern countries created huge opportunities in 1970s for manual labour in the oil and construction related activities and consequently a heavy influx of migrants took place. But few migrants also moved to Europe also. Few villagers from Kharian (tehsil of Gujrat, also known as *Kharway*- the little Norway) moved to Norway during 1960s. Doving (2009:214) discussed the process of Pakistani immigrants to Norway. Majority of the Norwegian-Pakistani came to Norway during 1970s. About 80-90 percent Pakistani immigrants came from the villages of Gujrat (especially from Kharian and Lalamusa) and Jhelum. Brunborg *et al.* (2006:2) mentioned the process of international migration to Norway with reference to Pakistan and especially of Kharian in following words:

“The first major group of immigrants from the developing world came from Pakistan, as well as from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Morocco. The

first Pakistanis took the Norwegian society by some surprise we were not used to group of people who were that different from the average Norwegians. Most Norwegians assumed that they would go back home after working for some years, but they have stayed on and established families, most of them acquiring Norwegian citizenship.”

Khan *et al.* (2012:21) conducted a research in Kharian to understand the migratory links with Norway. They explained that first group of Pakistani migrants reached Norway during 1960s and native people thought that Pakistani immigrants might return to their home country after working for some time but they not only stayed there but also invited their relatives and the flow of migration matured within a few years.

This Kharian-Norway migratory link had profound effects in adjacent parts of the district as well. Few families from the village had close relatives in Kharian. They found it an opportunity to move abroad with the help of these relatives from Kharian. A college Professor (42 years old) from the village narrated the story of his relatives living in Kharian about their journeys to the Norway:

“My Uncle with the help of his friend from Kharian applied for the Norwegian visa and luckily he got it. Later on he helped some close relatives to settle in Norway. Henceforth, some of their relatives who lived in Karrianwala village also moved to Norway.”

This was not the only story which can easily lead us to understand the initiation and expansion of international migration from the village but also of the other parts of the district as well. Hetland (2010:13) had validated the migratory links between Kharian and Norway. Opportunities to go abroad were availed by the aspiring migrants with different pretexts like attaining help from a friend or from a relative. These villagers during 1970s and 1980s spread to various parts of the world on the basis of the labour visas, using irregular channels and family reunification in close coordination with the relatives and friends.

4.1.1. Where Do People of Karrianwala Migrate?

Generally, the migration trends from Pakistan were intensified during the last two decades (during 1990-2010). Gadzar (2003:8-11) and ICMPD’s (2013:15) report identified two major streams of international migration from Pakistan, a) from Pakistan to developed countries in the EU, North America and East Asia, and b) from Pakistan to the Gulf region (mainly to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and United Arab Emirates but also to Iran, Iraq, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman). Migration to the

international destinations has never been an easy task for the rural people like the villagers from the current setting. They have faced many obstacles even before they take-off for international migration. The illiteracy and lower level of education were the major hurdles for rural masses but even then they never gave up for migration. One of the participants (37 years old) in group discussion mentioned about the migration from the village in following word:

“Although the educational level of villagers was not good at the time when they initiated migration (during 1960s) but they tried hard and made it easy for the next generation.”

The people of the village Karrianwala migrated to the different parts of the world. As stated, initially they moved to two major destinations; i.e. England and Middle-East. But later on they started exploring other destinations like, USA, Australia, Canada, and Europe. They have adopted different channels to move abroad. One of the respondents (46 years old) asserted about the role of travel agents involved in irregular migration:

“The travel agents have made the process of migration much easier and cheaper. Previously, it was very difficult to migrate from this village. Now-a-days people pay half of the money at the time of the contract with travel agents and the rest of money they pay in easy installments after successfully reaching at destination.”

The selection of destination to migrate mainly depended on social networks and the affordability of the travel expenses. Although, the migration process was a thrust to improve economic instability of the family the aspirants required money to initiate the immigration process. The choice was never easy for the irregular migrants but they had to take such hard decisions to accommodate family needs.

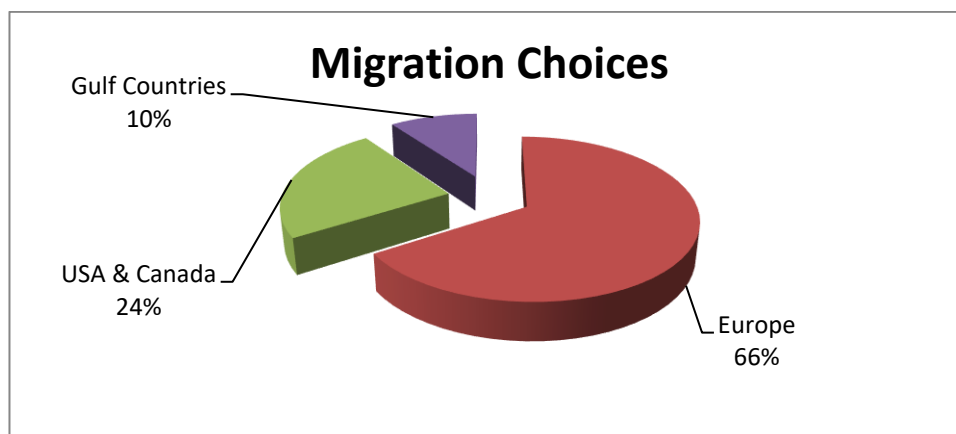


Figure 4.1 Migration Choices

In case of legal migration, people required huge sums of money and meet certain conditions in order to reach the selective destinations. In some cases, people

were selecting specific destinations keeping in view the close contacts with the *Gujrati* diaspora. Those people living abroad not only channelized the migration process but also facilitated the people in finding jobs and residences. A question was asked from the respondents about the choices of migration for the new migrants from the family. Most of them said that “if we are provided with a chance to send our children abroad then we would love to send them to the Europe.” The second major choice for them was to send their offsprings to USA or Canada. The third major choice for them was to send their children to Gulf countries. The country’s migration statistics are totally contradictory to the choices made by the families in the village as majority of the emigrants from Pakistan concentrated in the Gulf region.

4.1.2. Migration Decisions

In some cases, the decisions to migrate depended on individual’s own choice but in maximum number of cases the decision to migrate was subject to as family’s verdict. The role of social and kinship network was pivotal for migration while the decisions regarding migration were taken also in consultation with family members living abroad. It was considered a wise step since those living abroad were in an advantageous position to guide new entrants about the possibilities and suitability of the country of migration and the working conditions.

During FGD when asked, majority of the respondents responded that the role of family was very important and agreed that decisions should be made in consultation with family rather than individually as the family mostly weighs economic spending and outcome. This consultative process regarding migration decisions is closely associated to the “New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)”, which was initially presented by Stark and Bloom (1985:174) and later on used by Stark (1991:23-31). Mensah-Bonsu and Burger (2008:187) while explaining the model mentioned that in most of the cases people think in collectivity about the process of migration to minimize risks and maximize income.

The NELM model is applicable in the present research as most of the decisions regarding migration were made by family rather than by the individuals. Majority of the families, before sending their members abroad, assessed the cost and benefits so that this process might not turn into the loss of resources.

4.1.3. Push-Pull Factors

The major aim which led the people of the village to migrate was to overcome family's lower economic condition. The other common pushing factors were unavailability of jobs in the area and the family feuds that prolonged for years. Most of people identify poverty as the main cause of migration because due to the declining crops output from the barren land and unavailability of jobs people were unable to accommodate the livelihoods of their families.

One of the respondents (46 years old) stated the reason behind migration in following way:

“In the present day situation the villagers do not have many options left behind as they do not have large landholdings or any industries. Those who own lands have to wait for rain for irrigation so that they could cultivate any crop.”

Family feuds were very common in the area. In some cases, the land was considered as a source of conflict but in other cases the women were reason behind such discordance. It was quite common to assume in the region that someone who had applied for a travel document like Passport is actually preparing for a dispute.

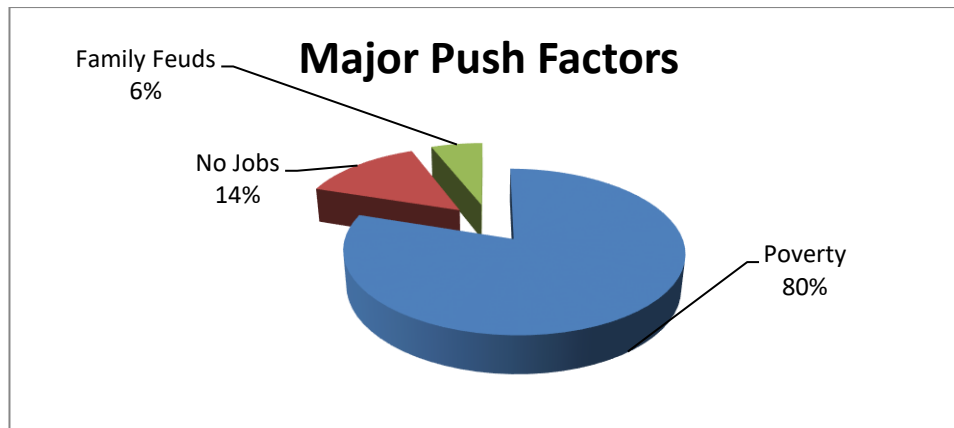


Figure 4.2 Major push factors

A question was asked from the respondents about the major pushing factors behind migration from the village and their responses are presented in the figure 4.2. The responses are categorized in three key forms i.e., a) poverty, b) unavailability of jobs, and c) family feuds. An overwhelming majority (80 percent) of the respondents stated that poverty remained the prime cause of migration from village. 14 percent remarked that the unavailability of jobs in the region caused migration which again was associated to the poor living conditions of the people. Six percent identified family feud as a third major reason behind migration.

Besides these push factors responsible for migration from the village there were at the same time common narratives about the charming pay packages, access to facilities and luxuries of life at different destinations which served as pulling factors. Young and aspiring people were always dreaming about their journeys that would carry them to Europe. They were commonly impelled by the success stories of their elders, close relatives and friends who had achieved social status through money earned due to migration. So, both push and pull factors equally contributed to the process of migration from the village.

4.1.4. Culture of Migration

It was so common for the rural masses in Gujrat to travel abroad for work. Though the purpose to migrate was always backed by the worst economic circumstances, in addition, however, emulation was a common factor. People were following the others to attain a higher standard of life through migration. The left behind families were considered socially and economically stable and their living standards improved gradually. It was the ameliorated life style of the left behind families that actually inspired others to migrate. The most tangible and discernible effect was the construction of commodious houses which was seen as a common and foremost task for most of the left behind families in village to accomplish. It was considered as the most desired act among all the migrant sending regions like, Kerala in India and Gujrat, Mirpur, Attock in Pakistan.

This construction of spacious houses left a visible impression on the others in community and they could easily judge that it was a result of accumulation of wealth that led to achieving a better social position in society through migration. The other tangible differences which people felt among the left behind families were associated with the access to relatively comfortable life, optimal utilization hard earned resources and consumption patterns. In most of the cases, the left behind families were in an enviable position to access the desired items of livelihoods. They had most of the luxuries in the house which were inaccessible to them in the pre-migration scenario. Their access to the food items and other utilities also improved substantially. The access to the desired items and changes in utility and consumption patterns created a kind of competing force within the left behind families and also for non-migrant families showing them the way to adapt the path of migration to uplift their socio-economic standards.

Kandel & Massey (2002:982) asserted that it was, “Wiest (1973) who talked about migration as creating a “culture of dependency” and Reichert (1981) describes the emergence of a “migrant syndrome.” Mines (1981) mentioned that the development of a “community tradition of migration” and Massey *et al.* (1987) speak of the “social process of international migration.” Rouse (1992) and others describe the “transnationalization of social space” in migrant communities, and Alarcon (1992) refers to the “northernization” of sending towns. According to Smith (1998, 1999), migrant-sending communities are “transnational localities” where absent migrants are “always present” in local social life, politics, and culture.

Drawing on these and other case studies, Massey *et al.* (1998) identify the culture of migration as a key link in the broader social process known as the “cumulative causation” of migration.” Kandel & Massey (2002:981) further stated about the culture of migration in following words, “international migration is cultural in the sense that the aspiration to migrate is transmitted across generations and between people through social networks.” Ballard (2003a:53) opined that migration fever accelerate the process of migration even in rural and remote setting in Pakistan.

This process of emulation to go abroad is called as a ‘rees’ or ‘dekhadikhi’ in Gujrat. Leghari (2009:5) also mentioned about the emulation in the case of Gujrati people’s immigration to Greece. He said that *rees* was one of the major reasons behind Gujrati rural masses’ immigration to Greece. Migration as a process has multilayered effects not only on the dependent’s lives but on the community members. One of the respondents (32 years old) discussed about the culture of migration in the following manner:

“When our neighbored migrated abroad their economic situation uplifted rapidly. By closely observing him we also planned to send a male member to achieve the same standards of life. And consequently we were also in a position to alleviate household poverty through migration.”

One can easily differentiate between the left behind families and families with no migrant by observing their life styles in the village. The construction patterns of the houses, eating habits, consumptions on food, health and education, ceremonies and clothing, small and large purchase and investments of the left behind families were more perceptible transformations which compelled others to migrate from the village.

4.1.5. Irregular Migration

Irregular migration can be defined in multiple ways. In the current research scenario it was functional as “the movement of people that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the origin, transit or destination countries.” According to Enterprise for Business & Development Management (EBDM) (2009:15) “Illegal [irregular] migration can occur through both legal and illegal channels of the origin country and, therefore, includes trans-national human trafficking, human smuggling, travelling on false or forged documentation, illegal border crossing, visa over-staying and illegal employment.” The IOM have identified the different reasons for the irregular migration, among others, wars, famine and other natural disasters, and poverty were more common. In Gujrat, the irregular migration was not related to the first two reasons mentioned by IOM but purely associated with the latter because this channel of irregular migration was one of the cheapest options for the aspiring migrants to overcome their family’s poverty burden. In addition to family’s economic deprivation, emulation was also main force which pushes people to move abroad through irregular channels.

ICMPD’s (2013:38) report identified that “it is estimated that 300,000 people have been migrating from Pakistan each year by using one of the irregular channels including the existing wide network of migrant smuggling and human trafficking in the country.” UNODC’s (2012:13) study found that “the irregular migration of Pakistani migrants is mostly facilitated by migrant smugglers.” In the same report, it is also claimed that the Pakistani irregular migrants, mostly single men with an average age of 30, are mainly coming from Punjab (North Punjab but also from few districts in South Punjab), KP and Karachi in Pakistan (ICMPD, 2013:38).

Irregular migration was very common practice in rural Gujrat. In most of the cases, irregular migration was often adopted because people wanted to achieve vertical mobility through migration. In addition to this the “culture of migration” was also a motivational force to achieve the economic goals. To achieve their goals people used to go abroad through irregular channels, like ‘donkey flights’. People show their intentions and thrust by saying that “*I am going to opt for the irregular migration (through donkey) to reach Greece*”- as this destination was full of charms for irregular migrants. People were very much aware of the difficulties they could face through this channel but they were risking their lives.

Tahir, Kauser, Yousaf, Tahir, & Nazeer (2012:78) explored the irregular migration links between Gujrat and Greece. They stated that:

“Illegal [irregular] migration towards Greece is rife among inhabitants of Gujrat, Pakistan. Uplifting of social status and financial stability are the core motivational factors pulling illegal migrants from this region. Greece is considered a gateway to Europe thus majority of illegal migrants select Greece as initial destination. Due to many successful cases, Greece is facing numerous socio-economic difficulties associated with illegal migration from developing countries like Pakistan.”

One of the key informants explained the most common route of irregular migration:

“People from our village usually choose irregular migration routes. Travel agents are consulted for irregular migration based on their reputation of success rates of ‘donkey flights’. They charge thirty to fifty percent of the total amount of money in advance and send people in the form of a group. The most common destination for villagers is Greece. They usually send people through famous ‘donkey route’- starting from Pakistan to Iran, then Iraq to Turkey, and from Turkey to Greece but it is not fixed as some time they switch in between or use shortcuts to reach the destination. Travel agents depend on their networks en route to major countries to succeed.”

It is not certainly an easy process. There were some unsuccessful stories of those who chose this channel. People still remember the mishaps like killing and kidnapping of their relatives during their irregular migration. Five years back an irregular migrant was died while pursuing his journey to Greece. Another person was kidnapped by Kurds in Iraq and they demanded half a million rupees ransom from his family.

4.1.6. Educational Migrants

In the recent years the number of student migrants increased from Pakistan. According to UNESCO’s (2012) report “the number of Pakistani students studying abroad has been gradually increasing in the recent years, from 26,820 in 2007 to 29,459 in 2008, 33,443 in 2009 and further to 36,386 in 2010.” ICMPD’s (2013:36) report identified that, “...35.66% increase in the number of Pakistani students studying abroad between 2007 and 2010. The latest available figures point to a slight decrease in 2011, with an estimated 32,254 students.”

Only few students have migrated abroad for study purpose from the village. The study aspect of students was considered only as a channel which could help them to reach at the desired destination. This process was very selective in nature because

young males from the village were not good in their educational attainments. Only few had completed their undergraduate studies and were eligible for higher studies abroad. This channel was considered as one of the safest in comparison to the irregular migration. But prerequisites like language proficiency test and managing fee for getting admission in foreign universities and colleges were very challenging tasks.

Gujrati people were always well prepared to face such challenges which come their way for studies abroad. There were some registered recruiting agencies in Gujrat city that handle educational visa for the students. They not only guide young people but also helped them in getting admissions in the foreign universities of comparatively lower ranks. In addition to admissions they also provided services like enhancing language skills through proper classes. One of the respondents stated that, “*our children are lucky enough that they have multiple options now to move abroad. If we have money then we can easily send them abroad.*”

Migration processes were also transformed by access to the information technology. Young people were exploring possibilities of getting admissions abroad, finding suitable jobs and the basic requirements for visa by using the internet. In the past decades it was very difficult for the people living in the rural areas to find such options. Social and kinship networks were also very influential in helping young people to go abroad. One of the key informants explained this process for the students. *My brother lives in Barcelona, Spain. He advised me to get admission in a graduation programmes in one of the universities in Spain. After few month of trying I was able to get student visa for Spain.* There were only few success stories of such nature because of three main reasons; a) boys from Karrianwala were least concerned about the higher education, b) expenses to get admission to international universities were much higher, and c) the prerequisites were very competitive to get admission abroad.

4.1.7. Social and Kinship Networks

The role of social and kinship networks occupied very important place in whole migration process. These models stress on the role of family members, friends and the people of the same origin in the process of migration. Social network analysis has had a great development in recent times, although the main concepts were proposed between 1960s and 1970s. Social and kinship networks significantly

improved the migration processes to the European region during last few years. In this reference, one of the respondents (32 years old) opined:

“Most of the villagers settled abroad help out their close relatives to migrate. The process of migration accelerated due to the continuous support and guidance of those who migrated earlier. They not only arranged their relatives’ migration process but also adjusted them in the job market.”

Many researchers have identified the role of social and kinship networks from migrant sending regions. Nair (1998:272) conducted a research in Kerala and stated that, “kinship ties and network among the close-knit communities served as additional facilitating factors in the process of migration.” Social network also accelerated the process of migration in the context of Kuwait as Shah (1998:20) referring to her survey conducted in 1996 stated that “among 800 skilled and unskilled male migrant workers from the four counties found that work visas had been arranged by friends and relatives in 34 percent of cases. Fifty-six percent of Pakistanis arranged a visa through friends compared with 13 percent of Sri Lankans.” The role of social and kinship networks was very vital as these housed potential migrants to the same destination. A question was asked from the respondents during the semi-structured in-depth interviews about the role of social and kinship networks in the process of migration from the village. In response to the question majority (70 percent) of the family members said that migration process has been facilitated by the immediate family members who were already living abroad.

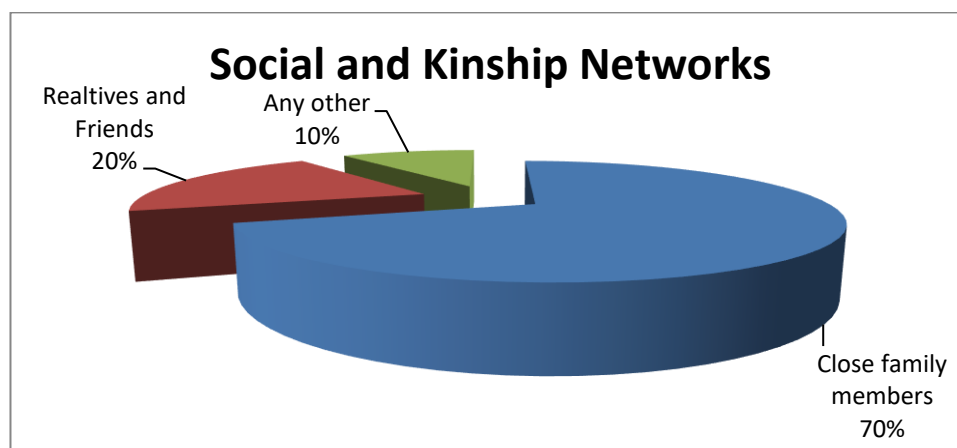


Figure 4.3 Role of social and kinship networks

The main reason behind this support in migration process was to facilitate the close relatives (*rishtadar*) and to maximize the family’s income. The role of friends and kin was also pivotal in the village as 20 percent respondents stated that the

migration process has been supported by either kin or friends. Only 10 percent of the left behind families identified that their family member migrated on his own or with the help of travel agents.

4.1.8. Migration and Women

Migration can be seen in both positive and negative ways for women. As for the negative side the women in left behind families are psychologically deprived of their intimate life partner, sons, and/or a father because this process. In addition to this they have to perform multiple extra duties of household which were not in their domain before migration. The positive aspect of the absence of husband is that she could exercise her powers in the household consumptions, family related decisions, and in keeping relations with relatives.

In some cases, even husbands usually give directions to the wives regarding family affairs but it was not significant in all cases. In the initial phase, in case of nuclear family, women had to suffer considerably when her husband went abroad. But in case of joint family, which was most prevalent in rural areas in Pakistan, she always had some caretakers even in the absence of her husband. In such cases husband's father or brother-in-law took care of the women and they managed most of the household affairs. The women were considerably more protected in the case of the joint family system but one cannot set aside the role of larger families in restricting the liberties of woman in the absence, or even in the presence, of her husband.

So, the agency of woman due to her husband's migration was more restricted in the joint family system and comparatively she got more freedom in nuclear family. This freedom of being independent in household related decision-making was not appealing to women. In rural settings, woman had to look after all kinds of family affairs where she had to take care of the household agricultural and other economic activities. She had to visit her husband's relatives in case of marriages, engagements, and other festivities. Most of the time women, whose husbands were working abroad, depend on their natal families. In such cases remittances were consumed in consultation with the help of the natal family members.

The world's migration trends show that the proportion of women was equal to men's but in case of Pakistan women could not go abroad independently. They could go abroad if the entire family was moving. In some cases, women from most of the urban setting were able to go abroad for education purposes. One of the respondents

(36 years old) remarked about women's migration from the village in following way. *"It is quite uncommon for us to send our women abroad. Only few women went abroad with their family's movement."* Khan *et al.* (2012:26) conducted a research in Kharian and identified the causes behind lower migration ratio of women in the following way:

“...emigration ratio of the female is low as compared to male. There are some reasons that hinder women emigration like people do not allow them for international migration alone. They have to migrate either on the spouse visa or as a group visa which includes other family members too. So, a woman is purely dependent on the man in the case of international migration.”

Shaw (2000) discussed the issue of marriage related migration in the context of Britain by stating that, “Since 1970s, the bulk of new immigration from Pakistan has been related to young second- or third-generation British Pakistanis who marry ‘back home’ and bring, on their return to Britain, brides, or bridegrooms, particularly cousins, with them.” This bride or bridegroom importing serves two major objectives for the Pakistani immigrants; i) they allow them to call upon their blood relatives and help their families improve economically, and ii) these new members are also the carriers of the same cultural patterns and make it easy for the immigrants to keep their culture intact, as it could be very difficult for them, in case of marrying outside their caste (*biradari/zat*).

Charsley (2008:262) asserted that, “rates of transnational marriages have increased and the majority of British Pakistanis now probably marry transnationally, with over 10,000 Pakistani nationals granted entry clearance to join their spouses in the UK in the year 2000.” Marriage plays a pivotal role in female migration because woman migration is restricted in Pakistan. The social and cultural norms in the villages do not allow women to go abroad as worker or as a student. Keeping in view the prospect of migration of females, in case when she was already engaged to her close relatives; parents try to provide her with education because she needs it in case of migration at the time of marriage.

One of the respondents (49 years old) narrated the story of his daughter's transnational marriage to a Norwegian Pakistani. He mentioned that:

"We engaged our daughter to my nephew at early age (when she was around 10 years of old). We enrolled her to English medium school on the advice of her fiancé. She married after completion of intermediate. But when she reached Oslo, she suffered a lot as she was unable to

work without learning the native language. After three months of stay, she got admission in the community school in the suburb of Oslo where she got familiarity with the native language and afterwards she was in a better position to visit the markets at her own and she even started thinking about a job.”

Most of the Pakistani women with rural background cannot adjust abroad as they feel themselves alien to the native culture with less familiarity about language and culture. Although, women are considered as economic contributors for the family and they have to work equally with their husbands to survive in the developed countries but those who came as brides with some rural background and mid-level education cannot easily cope up in new environment. Same was the case for the women who went abroad from the village, although that number was much less. Their families did not allow their women to work in the country of settlement.

4.1.9. Migrants-Dependents Connections

Migrants were considered as the important member for families not only for the economic support but also for their knowledge and worldview they possessed and passed it on to their left behind. One primary contribution of the migrant members was that they improved the economic conditions of families through the transfers of remittances. The migrants were always considered as supporting hands for families as they were consulted on each and every matter. One of the respondents (46 years old) explained the role of migrants in family's economic and social life in following way:

“It could be very difficult for us to achieve this social position without the financial contributions made by the migrant members of the family. My son moved to Italy about 10 years back and after settling there he started sending remittances. After his migration our economic situation improved and now we are considered as economically and socially well-off family in the village.”

In most of the cases the migrants' household members were consulted by the relatives for social and economic support. Another respondent (37 years old) explained the role of the left behind families in relatives' affairs in the pre and post migration situations in the following way:

“Since migration of my son people started consulting me in their affairs. These relatives were not giving me such importance previously but now they consult me in every matter of their lives.”

The above mentioned case shows the worth of the left behind families among relatives only because of the migration. The main reason behind such consultative

mechanism is the higher status after migration of male member from the family, his contribution and the material gains like possession of a better house or owning a vehicle. This communal consultative process takes place because of the social positions people achieved with the process of migration. There were so many cases of such nature in which the migration of the family members resulted in the enhanced social position of the left behind families.

The contact-advice mechanism between migrant members and the left behind families was also very active in the village. The left behind families were normally sharing each and every issue with their migrant members. The main objective of sharing the family updates was to keep them informed on all matters related to the family affairs and as well as to get their advice on it. It was considered obligatory for the left behind families to consult the migrant members in familial affairs.

In some cases, the close relatives (*rishtadar*) were also contacting the migrants to take their advice on matters concerning their family and how to deal with certain problems. Some of the major issues that come under discussion between the left behind families and the migration members were:

1. The small and large purchases of the house
2. Family expenses and allocation of the remittances to other activities
3. Marriage related issues
4. Construction of the house/ or expansion in the existing house
5. Substitute migration
6. Starting up a new business/ investment related issues
7. Agriculture land, cultivation, harvest and selling of produce related issues
8. Purchase of the land (agriculture and/or residential)
9. Family conflict, kinship conflict, and strategies for resolution

The contact-advice mechanisms have been facilitated by the extensive use of mobile phones and social media. The left behind families normally contact their members working abroad on daily basis. Due to the prevalence of widespread telecommunications, they share and discuss all type of issues and take guidance from the migrant members. A respondent (34 years old) who was running a grocery store in the village narrated the role of his migrant brother's advice in establishing his business.

“My elder brother migrated to Belgium about five years back. Due to his migration my life has changed tremendously. He helped me in

starting a grocery store in the village. I took his advice in the early days of the business and established it to the perfection. Now my business is thriving day-by-day.”

Besides the business and *biradari* (kinship) related issues, the migrants were also consulted in the intra-familial affairs like social gatherings, festivities, marriage and engagements etc. The migrants actually financed all such affairs and their advices were considered equally important. Transnationalism theory within the domains of anthropology captures the central issues such as critique on bipolar models; a) articulation of home and host societies, and b) emerging representations of time and space. Alternatively, it has been proposed that transnationalism is “a social process whereby migrants operate in social fields that transgress geographical, political and cultural borders (Brettell, 2000:104).”

In the world where modern telecommunications and improved modes of transportation have shortened the social distance between societies, immigrants maintain their bonds to their countries of origin making “home and host society a single arena of social action” (Margolis, 1995:29-41 mentioned in Brettell, 2000:104).

There was a major difference of contact-advice among the families with the availability and non-availability of the elderly. The families in which elderly members (especially men) were alive were not lonely depending on their migrant members while the second category of people normally depended on the migrant members.

4.1.10. Migrants’ Visits Back Home

Migrants’ home visit on annual leave was a continuous process in the village. Most of the migrants visited their families on regular basis but in some cases they were requested by their families keeping in view the dates of special events. If a migrant was a married and his wife did not stay with him then each year he had to spend some time with his family. Secondly, some migrants had to return on special or incidental occasions like marriage and deaths of close relatives. Thirdly, some of the migrants who were engaged in hard labour had to come back to take rest. Fourthly, the migrants were asked by their families to return and spend some time with the family members because they miss them. One of the respondents (51 years old) mentioned about his children’s visit back home in flowing way:

“It is really difficult for me, and all others whose close kin are working abroad, to spend years of our lives without seeing them. Although, they are working in tough conditions to make our lives prosperous but as a matter of fact we also miss them a lot in each and every aspect of our

life. We ask them to return home to spend some time with us after one or two years. Sometime they come back and stay with us but some time they are unable to do so.”

Migrants also return for their own marriages also. In most of the cases it was the responsibility of the family to find a suitable match for their migrant sons. After finding a suitable girl they invited their son to see her. After his arrival he was asked about the consent for the identified match and upon his confirmation the engagement or marriage was planned. But in the case of marriage of close-relative (*rishtadar*) the migrants too were invited and sometime even forced to participate because their participation made the marriages more memorable for family and the relatives.

Visiting families back home on vacation was most desired activity of migrants but at the same time it was very costly for them to plan such trips annually. Returning to their home country meant that they had to bear the airfare and additionally bring gifts for their relatives which could not be avoided. It was a financial burden for them to bring so many gift items for many relatives. Although, they were regularly sending money to their families' to cater for the basic needs, these gifts put extra burden on their pockets. The relatives normally asked for expensive items like smart phones, laptops, electronic gadgets, clothes, perfumes, and watches. If the migrants were settled in Arab regions they were asked to bring some jewelry items for family probably because the ornaments were cheap and their purity was guaranteed. They had to bring these gifts as family considered it obligatory to accommodate the needs of the relatives. A migrant (33 years old) who returned from Germany described about the demand for gifts in following way:

“Family and friends’ expectations are always important for the migrant members but at the same time we cannot bring all wishful items. In case if we do not bring the desired items for our relatives they become angry on us. They think that we live abroad and it is compulsory for us to accommodate their needs. We had to bring some items which are uncommon in Pakistan. I normally ask my family about their demands when I plan to return home. Nowadays, most desired gifts are smart phones which we normally take with us on our return.”

Some of the migrants on their return not only bring gifts for family but also for friends. When it was asked from a respondent as to why some migrants bring gifts for the cousins and other friends, he replied that “*Migrants think that these gifts serve their purpose of show-off and being prominent in the community. When they give gift*

to someone, he praises them in public and this also leaves a good impression on others.”

4.1.11. Return Migration and Deportation

In addition to the regular willful visits of migrants back home, there were two more categories of the returnees i.e., a) permanent returnees, and b) deportees. United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) defined return migrants as: “persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year (UNSD, 1998:95).” The permanent returnees were those who returned due to unfavorable circumstances. A majority of the returnees were coming from Middle Eastern countries. A sizeable number of Pakistani labourers were working in these countries but with the passage of time the working conditions were changing for them. One of the respondents (42 years old) explained that “*the main reason behind the return of migrants from the Middle Eastern countries was the saturation of manual labourers and decrease in the salaries.*” Due to unfavourable circumstance few labourers opted to return to Pakistan and tried to establish their own business back home.

Iqbal & Khan (1981:4-5) in their first ever study on the issue of return migration to Pakistan mentioned about the “three kinds of return flows: return migration due to change in labour demand in the Middle East, repatriation of illegal workers, and complete exodus of Pakistanis from one or more countries because of political instability in the Middle Eastern countries.” Later on, Arif (1998:99) analysed the reintegration of Pakistani workers into the job market in Pakistan and identified that unemployment rates of returned migrants were higher as compare to non-migrants. The return migrants were facing many problems in Pakistan.

Return migration was considerably less evident as compared to the deportation in the village. Most of the deportees were those who went abroad through irregular migration to the southern Europe especially Greece and Italy. They prolonged their stays; spend years in those countries in wait for the immigration opening but at last they gave up hope against tough circumstances. The journey they had embarked upon to accommodate their socio-economic needs ended in a crisis. This failed migration cost them heavily as most of them had sold their land, house and gold ornaments to pay for the visa. During the field work, the researcher found two deportees from

Greece. One of them was requested to narrate his return story, to which he agreed. He sadly recounted his unsuccessful journey in following way:

“It was the poverty which motivated me to take chances to migrate to Greece through irregular channel. I contacted a renowned travel agent from the city. As per the contract I paid about thirty-five percent (Pakistani Rupees 2,10,000) in advance and the remaining amount (Pakistani Rupees 3,90,000) had to be paid in three easy installments after successfully reaching Greece. I started this journey alongside seven others self-motivated irregular migrants (the group of irregular migrants who go in a group form were known as lelay- literal translation in English as sheep herd); only three of us reached Greece while all others were held by the security agencies at different locations. On reaching Greece I stayed in a farmhouse in Drama city in Greece where I worked in field of plantation of Tobacco. The working conditions were pathetic for all the workers. One day the security agencies raided the farm house and captured 15 workers including me, the rest managed to escape. They took us to the city, where they put us behind the bars and after completion of the formalities we were deported to Pakistan.”

There were so many stories about the attempts made by the individuals of rural Gujrat to enter the foreign lands irregularly. Majority of these irregular workers succeeded in settling abroad. According to ICMPD’s (2013:43) report:

“The number of Pakistani migrants returning from Europe with an order to leave (voluntarily or forced) has increased almost 200% between 2008 and 2012. Major returnee flow can be noticed from the United Kingdom, from where 3,025 Pakistanis in 2008 and steadily rising to 5,625 in 2012. Another sharp increase was noticed in Hungary from where 30 return orders in 2008 to 690 in 2012 forced the Pakistanis to head home. Yet the largest increase in the return rate was registered in Greece, from where 80 return orders in 2008 to 5,135 in 2012 were handed to Pakistanis. Cyprus, Germany, France and Spain have registered return orders of about 130 -300 people per year.”

4.2. Remittances

Remittances have always been a major driving force for migration and have served as an effective poverty coping mechanism in Pakistan (Ahmed *et al.* 2008:85). The term remittance has widely been used by migrant researchers. Faist (2008:21) defined remittances as, “the flow of money, knowledge and universal ideas- called remittances- can have a positive effect on what is called development in countries of origin.” This definition includes subsidiary forms of remittances and its possible impact on community development. Remittance is an old issue in the migration debate but it becomes a focus of heightened attention in the recent years. One major

reason for this is the sharp increase in the flows of remittances into developing countries (Ghosh, 2006:7). From the last two decades, remittance has emerged as one of the major contributors to Pakistani economy.

Remittances transferred by overseas Pakistanis crossed 19 billion US dollars by the end of 2015. The volume of such transfers to Pakistan increased in the recent years. It could be termed as a major contribution to the country's economy in the years to come. This contribution has been addressed by many researchers at both macro and micro economic levels. In addition to the economic impacts some of the researchers have also explored the social impacts of remittances. The politicians often praised the inflow of remittances and took credit for increase in money transfers and how these stabilized the country's economy.

4.2.1. The Inflow of Remittances

The main objective behind migration from the village was to economically support the dependent families back home. The migrants from the village always aimed at alleviating household poverty burden. Although they faced numerous difficulties during their stay abroad but their determination to accommodate the families' needs remained the highest priority. Almost all the migrant workers from the village were sending remittances both in cash and in kind to their families but the volume of these remittances varied from migrant to migrant. Majority of the workers were working in Europe, USA and the Middle East. Those who worked in European countries and the USA were sending remittances comparatively more than others. When respondents were asked to share the actual amount remitted every month during in-depth interviews, majority of them showed reluctance. But after providing them with surety that this inquiry has nothing to do with the tax imposition they agreed. One of the respondents (25 years old) mentioned the process of remittance transfer in following way:

“My brother regularly sends money through the bank on first of each month. He has made our lives much comfortable by sending money on regular basis. We use money to accommodate our needs.”

There were nine public and private bank branches in the village. Business in majority of branches was solely dependent on the remittances. The banks and other money transfer agencies differentiate between the national or local and foreign remittances because they use the same term 'remittance' for both the transactions.

Managers of three banks were interviewed to understand remittance transaction mechanism. One of the managers of a private bank explained that:

“Foreign remittances are vital for banks in Karrianwala village. He further added that foreign remittances are the major contribution to the banks' business in this village. He said that we are at top in business since 2007 because of a huge amount of foreign remittance transfer. There are more than seven hundred account holders in our branch and majority of these accounts are only to receive remittances. He further mentioned that during the last month we received more than 25 million Pakistani Rupees from the USA and more than 15 million from the UK.”

4.2.2. Channels of Remittance Transfer

There were three major modes through which migrants were sending remittances: i) legal modes, including the banks and money transfer agencies; ii) *Hundi/hawala*- sending the money through the illegal/irregular modes of transfer; and iii) Through relatives, friends visiting home by themselves. In *hundi* transfer of money was mainly sent through undocumented/illegal channel. The government had no record of such transfers. They could only assume the amount of money transferred. The transfers made through *hundi* were very simple as migrants consulted with operators in the destination who passed on the information to their persons/ networks at to confirm the place where migrant's money was supposed to be delivered. Sometimes the convertible rate seemed very cheap but at the same time was subject to increased risk. Most of the migrants working in Middle-East region transferred money through *hundi* because rates were attractive, cheaper and easier for them. But the trend of remittances was changing in the village as banks and other money transfer agencies were handing such transfers in a much safer manner. The migrants working in the Europe, Canada, and America, most often used formal channels like banks and registered money transfer agencies. One of the respondents (33 years old) mentioned about the process of remittance:

“The banks made it much easier for us to receive foreign remittance. Now, majority of the left behind families have opened their accounts in the banks and migrants usually send money directly in these accounts. Previously, when hundi system was operational, it was really difficult for the left behind families to visit the city to collect the money from the agents. These agents were involved in fraud as some of the migrant households lost their remittances.”

In some cases migrants on their visits back home brought liquid cash with them and sometimes they send money through friends and relatives if they were

coming back to Pakistan. In the recent past a shift from informal to formal transfers had been observed in the village. The main reason behind this shift was the access to the formal transfer agencies such as banks and other registered agencies.

4.2.3. Occasions and Need Based Remittances

In addition to the regular monthly transfers of remittances, there were some specific occasions based transfers. Most important occasions were marriages in the family for which the migrants had to remit money back home. It was customary for the villagers to spend lavishly on marriages. The second major occasion was a death in the family. On such occasions people usually spend on five major family gatherings i.e. a) first day of death (*pehlay din*) b) third day (*soyem*), c) seventh day (*satwan*), d) tenth day (*daswan*), and e) fortieth day (*chaleswan*). Close relatives and friends were called upon on these occasions to participate in the rituals for the deceased. Participants were served with food and drinks if possible twice.

Illness was third major occasion on which migrants were sending extra remittances. In case of severe illness the left behind families tried to access and avail modern treatment. They normally consulted private health professionals because they assumed that only private hospitals were equipped to provide best health services. This process also required extra money to cater the health related expenses and migrants were asked for it.

At the time of commencing any new business family member generally asked the migrants for extra money. Some of the left behind families were running grocery stores. But few of them were also engaged in business like poultry farms, fertilizer stores, and clothing store. Some of the families had also invested in residential plots in newly established colony adjacent to the village known as the 'Model Town'.

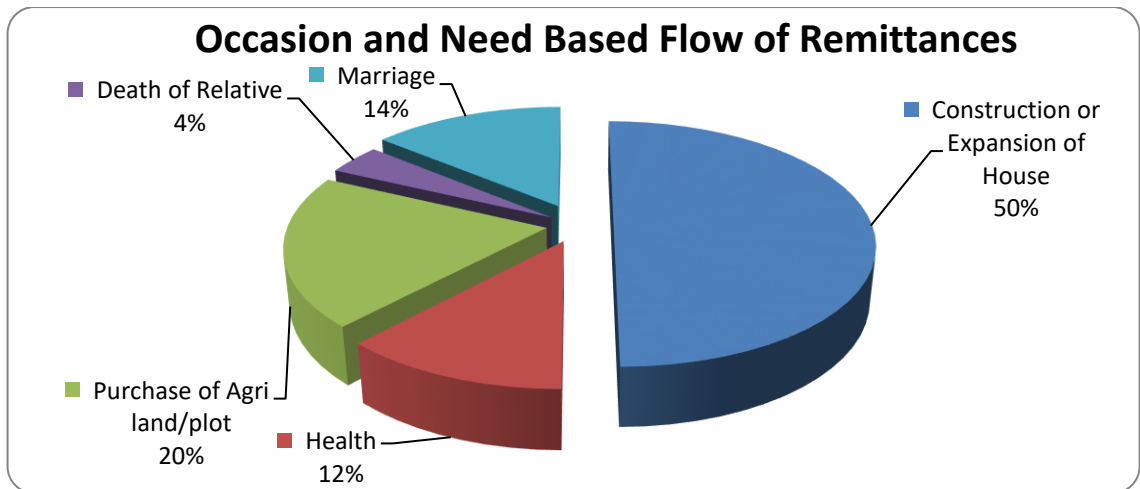


Figure 4.4 Occasion and need based inflow of remittances

The left behind families were very passionate about the construction of new house in the village. It was a common norm amongst the left behind families to construct large houses after migration. This construction of house required substantial amount and only migrants were in a position to make such arrangements. Purchase of car was another need-cum-fashion for which families ask their migrant members to send additional money. It was a fashion in the village to purchase black color 'Toyota Corolla' car which costed approximately Pakistani rupees 1.5 million during 2011-12.

During the in-depth interviews a question was asked from the respondents about the transfers of remittances to understand the nature of the remittance requirement. Majority of the respondents (50 percent) demanded the additional remittances either to build new houses or for the expansion of the existing ones while 20 percent asked for remittances to purchase agricultural land or residential plot. 14 percent respondents asked for extra money for marriages and 12 percent for death related expenses. Remaining 12 percent asked money to accommodate health expenses.

4.2.4 Remittances and Charity

Most of the respondents said they helped people in need. For them, if they helped people it might have a positive effect on their lives. They felt content and satisfied when they gave away money, food or clothes to the needy people. Beggary was very common in the village and one could find beggars in the streets during visit to the village. The respondents not only gave away money and other items to the beggars but also helped the poor of the village. Charity is a common practice among

the Muslims all over the world as per the divine instructions. The following verse from the holy Quran is associated to the charity related activities.

Allah says: *“O you who believe! Spend out of what We have given you”* (Qur’an 2:254).

Keeping this tradition alive, the migrants were also following the two ways of:

1. Giving openly
2. Giving secretly

The people in the village prefer option two for charity. They think that this could sustain the worth of their charity giving. But people were also giving away charity openly to become exemplary for others.

Allah says, *“If you give charity openly then what a good thing it is; and if you give to beggars hidingly it is better for you than everything, and He will remove some of your sins. And Allah is Aware of what you do.”* (Qur’an 2:271)

One of the respondents (43 years old) explained the practice of charity among left behind families in the village in the following words:

“The charity giving is very common in the village and especially among the left behind families. They donate money, food, and wearable items on regular basis to beggars and needy people. They consider that helping others could help in easing their miseries. The most common charity practice among the villagers is to give away food items to those who come to their houses. In addition to this they also dispense food on Fridays at two shrines i.e. Challey Sharif and Barrilla Sharif-the latter one is at a distance while the former is adjacent to the village. The shrine of Challey Sharif is situated in the north of the village-where majority of the migrants donate money, clothes and food items to the caretakers for the madrasa students. Each year left behind families distribute food items and juices during Ramadan.”

One of the left behind families was running ‘Ayesha Hospital’ in which they were providing the patients with free checkups and medicine. The administrator of the hospital said that children of migrants were working abroad and they regularly contributed money for free health services. He further added that on an average thirty to forty people visited hospital for checkups and medicine. Majority of the visitors belonged to the poor families of the village who could not afford to pay doctors consultation fee in the private hospital. They take it as a blessing because it was very difficult for them to spend money on health. One of the poor patients shared his views about the free services of hospital in the following words:

“My younger daughter was ill. We took her to a private doctor. He asked for five-hundred rupees as a consultancy fee which was very difficult for me to pay. Then we bring her to this hospital. The doctor checked her and provided us some medicine without any charges. Allah may give rewards to the initiators of this hospital for public services to the needy people.”

There were some other cases of such nature who also availed this opportunity of free health services provided by Ayesha hospital. The process of migration and the inflow of remittances made it possible to sustain free health services project for the poor.

4.2.5. Remittances and Developmental Activities

Remittances are closely related to the development activities in the migrant sending regions. The inflow of remittances makes it possible for the individuals to organize themselves for the development of community. Some of the developmental activities like, pavement of streets, development of sanitation and community water supply were carried out in the village. During 1990s community members constituted a committee to implement plans about the pavement of streets by collecting money from the residents of the village including migrants. It was observed that not only the left behind families but also their migrant members contributed handsomely for the project.

One of the respondents (35 years) explained the process of developmental activity and its connection to the foreign remittances in following way:

“The situation of the village started improving due to migration. With the passage of time people started thinking to channelize remittances on the development activities like, pavement of streets, sanitation, and water supply. Before this, there was no proper sanitation system in the village but through the efforts of the committee streets were paved and drains were covered.”

Water supply was another project which community organization started soon after the successful completion of pavement of streets and sanitation project. This activity was again planned and implemented by the committee. The ground water of the village was saline. A water supply project was initiated to provide quality water not only for drinking purposes but also for other household needs like washing of clothes etc. For this purpose a new committee with six members was formed. It collected money from each house but again the major contribution came from the left

behind families. One of the committee members (42 years old) told the success story of water supply in the following words:

“During 2001 village elders initiated community water supply project. To implement this project we set a committee of six persons including me. We took it as a challenge and started thinking to accomplish this project at the earliest. The major hurdle we faced was collection of money. We decided to collect a certain amount of money from each household. In addition to this we also approached migrants and asked left behind families for contribution. Auspiciously, they agreed to give money for the project. We were in a better position to finish this project within five months. Now, we feel proud for being part and executor of this developmental activity.”

The impact of remittances on the communities in the migrant sending regions as widely been addressed by migration researchers. They found a positive impact of remittances transfers on the community development. Faist (2008:28) discussed the role of village and hometown associations of migrants in the community development activities. He found that these associations make certain arrangements for the development at the origin.

“such associations provide significant resources for community development at the local level by, for example, involving themselves in providing construction materials for their home-town church, raising money to improve water and sewage systems or health and education services, helping to organise relief efforts following natural disasters, or channeling remittances, especially in the Americas (Faist, 2008:28).”

The above mentioned cases of community development organised by migrant households in the rural settings of Gujrat are in line with the Faist’s (2008:28) findings. In case of Karrianwala village, the participation of migrants and their families in developmental activities was appreciable which shows a positive impact of migration in the community development.

Chapter No. 5

MIGRATION, EDUCATION AND HEALTH: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

5.1. Respondents' Profiles and Data Analysis

A survey was conducted to measure the impact of migration on education and health on left behind families. For this purpose, out of about 1200 left behind families from the village 33 percent (400) were taken as the sample through purposive sampling. For the purpose of survey, male heads of the families left behind were taken as respondents and they were questioned about the migration, education and health related issues. For sample selection, a criterion with three conditions was devised; a) at least one migrant member should be living abroad and sending remittances to the dependents left behind, b) there should be at least one student currently enrolled to any level of schooling from the family, and c) the family should be spending a part of remittances on health related issues during last one month at time of the research.

Table No. 5.1. Age of Respondents

<i>Age of respondents</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
20-25	20	5.0
26-30	36	9.0
31-35	104	26.0
36-40	180	45.0
41 and above	60	15.0
Total	400	100.0

The above given table presents the age of the respondents. The data shows that 45% respondents were aged between 36 to 40 years, 26% were aged between 31 to 35 years, and 15% were above 41 years. 9% respondents' age was 26 to 30 and remaining 5% were aged between 20 to 25 years.

Table No. 5.2. Education of Respondents

<i>Education of the respondents</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Primary	108	27.0
Middle	72	18.0
Matriculation	80	20.0
Intermediate	80	20.0
Graduation	28	7.0
Illiterate	32	8.0
Total	400	100.0

Education of the respondents is presented in above mentioned table. 27% respondents had completed primary education. 18, 20, and 20% respondents had cleared middle, matriculation, and intermediate levels of education respectively. 7% respondents had done graduation and 8% were illiterate.

Table No. 5.3. Family Structure

<i>Family structure of the respondents</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Nuclear	157	39.25
Joint	203	50.75
Extended	40	10.0
Total	400	100.0

Family structure has an important effect on the process of migration and allocation of remittances. In majority of the cases families with joint system were positively associated to the process of migration and the allocation of remittances. In such cases the migrants' knew that their family member could easily take care of left behind wife and the children. In joint family system someone had to take care of the financial needs of family and keeping in view the said objective migration was initiated. According to the data, 50.75% respondents were living in the joint family system while 39.25 had a nuclear family structure. Only 10% respondents were still practicing the extended family system.

Table No. 5.4. Family Income

<i>Monthly income of family (Rs.)</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Less than 25000	12	3.0
25001-50000	28	7.0
50001-75000	80	20.0
75001-100000	152	38.0
100001 and above	128	32.0
Total	400	100.0

Income was an important aspect for the left behind families in the village. The above given table gives an overview of the families' income from all sources e.g. a) remittances, b) agriculture, c) jobs, and d) livestock etc. Remittances played a major role in families' income in the village. As per the respondents self-acclaimed incomes, 32% families' monthly income was more than 1,00,001 rupees and 38% families' income was between 75,001 to 1,00,000 rupees. This income was a dividing line between migrant and non-migrant families. The living styles are mainly based on the regular transfers of remittances. Majority of the left behind families were spending this money on non-productive activities such as construction of big houses.

Only 3% of the left behind families' income was below 25,000 rupees. When asked about the reason behind low income they responded that migrant members were on very low paid temporary/contractual jobs in the Middle East. Some of their members initiated migration through irregular channels and they were still hiding in the safe houses in Greece- waiting for the documents and did odd jobs whenever circumstances allowed. They further said that it takes time for the fresh entrant to adjust in a new environment. Various studies have found that if some acquaintance is present at the destination, it becomes convenient for the new comer to search and find a suitable job and accommodation. Shah (1998:21) stated that, "networks serve a variety of very useful purposes and help humanize the migration process."

Table No. 5.5. Remittances

<i>Remittances per month (Rs.)</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Less than 25000	12	3.0
25001-50000	28	7.0
50001-750000	80	20.0
75001 and above	280	70.0
Total	400	100.0

Remittances were a major source of income for the left behind families' in the village. Due to remittances the household people were in a better position to spend more on the family. Migrants send remittances usually on monthly basis but in addition to this sometimes extra-remittances were also asked by the families. The data depicts that only 3% families were receiving less than 25,000 rupees per month. The main reason behind this low amount of remittances is related to their status abroad as few migrants went abroad through irregular channels and in most of the cases it took time for them to settle down and after which they pursued proper work.

A majority (70%) of the families was receiving more than 75,001 rupees that is itself a major contribution to the families' income. De & Ratha (2012:163) asserted that, "a large proportion of remittance transfers occur at the household level when migrant workers send money to their families and friends living in their home countries. Anecdotal evidence on migrant workers supporting families and themselves and eventually climbing up the social ladder abound."

The data shows that 40% of the families were receiving remittances through banks while 30% were receiving through *hundi*. The major reason behind the use of formal channels was the banks that were functional in the village and it was easy to transfer money through them. At the time of conducting of research seven banks were

operational in the village and each one of these banks was maintaining hundreds of accounts only for remittances. As mentioned in the previous chapter the business of these banks was mammoth as some of them led the whole county's branches. 17% families received money through the visits of relatives and friends while in 13% cases migrants brought money when they returned home.

Table No. 5.6. Channels of Remittances Transfer

<i>Channels of remittances transfer</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Bank	160	40.0
<i>Hundi</i>	120	30.0
Friends/Relatives	68	17.0
By Migrant	52	13.0
Total	400	100.0

Amjad, Arif, & Irfan (2012:2) identified the common ground for which Pakistani government and banks were trying hard to encourage people to switch to formal channels of transfer. "An important objective of the banking system is to encourage transfers through formal channels, even though commercial banks do this for enhancing earnings of charges on such transfer than motivated by the larger national interest. The latter clearly is the objective of the State Bank and Ministry of Finance."

Table No. 5.7. Food Expenses

<i>Food expenses per month (including meat, vegetables, grocery items)</i>				
Expense Categories (Rs.)	Before Migration		After Migration	
	<i>F</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Less than 5000	240	60.0	8	2.0
5001-10000	84	21.0	108	27.0
10001-15000	40	10.0	124	31.0
15001-20000	36	9.0	160	40.0
Total	400	100.0	400	100.0

Further, Amjad, Irfan, & Arif (2013:8) identify that, "The Pakistan Remittances Initiative (PRI) launched jointly by the Ministry of Finance, the State Bank of Pakistan, and the Ministry of Overseas Pakistanis in 2009 to encourage remittances through formal channels, including incentives for Pakistani banks to increase such flows," is considerably the major reason behind recent shift from informal to formal channel of remittances transfer.

Household expenses were mainly dependent on the household's income through remittances. It has been observed that in the pre-migration situation families

were unable to spend desirable amount of money on food while in after migration these families spend reasonably bigger amounts on food. Data showed that a majority (60%) of the families spend less than 5,000 rupees per month on food while after the migration of a family member their expenses on food items increased manifold. Similarly in the- pre-migration scenario only 9% families were spend between 15,001 to 20,000 rupees and it increased to 40% in post-migration. The data depicts that there is a positive impact of remittances on household food spending.

Khan *et al.* (2009:213) conducted research in Gujrat to understand the possible impact of remittances on family living standards and identified that in after-migration “people were consuming more money on food as compared to earlier situation when they had limited resources.”

Education is one of the fundamental right of the children and responsibility of the family to provide it to their children at any cost. But educational expenses depend mainly on family’s economic position. To understand the impact of remittances on education related expenses a question was asked from respondents and the responses are presented in below given table.

Table No. 5.8. Educational Expenses

<i>Educational expenses per month(including tuition and academy fee)</i>				
Expense Categories (Rs.)	Before Migration		After Migration	
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%
Less than 5000	240	40.0	16	4.0
5001-10000	80	20.0	104	26.0
10001-15000	40	10.0	120	30.0
15001-20000	40	10.0	160	40.0
Total	400	100.0	400	100.0

The results show a positive link between remittances and educational spending. According to data of before migration scenario, 40% families spend less than 5,000 rupees on the education related expenses while this number reduced to 4% in the after migration situation. On the other side only 10% families could afford between Rupees 15,001 to 20,000 in the before migration situation while this number increased to 40% in the after migration scenario. The data trends show a positive connection between remittances and educational expenses.

Researcher like, Acosta (2006:7) and Esquivel & Huerta-Pineda (2007:48) find “positive effects of remittances on reducing poverty among Mexican households and on education in El Salvador, respectively, using propensity score matching among other methods.” In the case of Gujrat, Khan *et al.* (2009:214) observed an

increased spending on education related expenses in after migration situation in Gujrat. Khan (2014:227) conducted a qualitative study in rural Gujrat and found that “As a consequence of migration people became much wealthier than ever and this increase in resources allowed them to spend wisely on the household needs including the educational needs.”

Table No. 5.9. Health Expenses

<i>Health expenses per month</i>				
Expense Categories (Rs.)	Before Migration		After Migration	
	<i>F</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%
Less than 5000	240	60.0	16	4.0
5001-10000	80	20.0	104	26.0
10001-15000	40	10.0	120	39.0
15001-20000	40	10.0	160	40.0
Total	400	100.0	400	100.0

One of the major objectives of the current research was to observe the “impact of migration on the health of the families.” The access to health and healthcare facility was mainly influenced by the economic position of the families in the village. Table no. 5.9 presents the results about the families’ expenses related to healthcare which includes; a) treatment expenses such as the consultation fee of the doctor, medical tests, b) medicine related expenses, and c) transportation charges. The information about health related expenses was asked on before and after migration situations from the left behind families to see the changes that occurred because of migration.

In before migration situation a majority (60%) of families spend less than 5,000 rupees on health while this reduced to 4% in post-migration scenario. Only 10% families were spending between 15,001 to 20,000 rupees on health related expenses while this trend substantially improved to 40% in the after migration scenario. The results showed a positive impact of the migration on health spending in after migration. Majority of the migrants’ families visited private hospitals for treatment which resulted in increased spending.

Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:257) found “a positive effect of migration on child health (reducing infant mortality and increasing birth weight) in Mexico.” McKenzie & Sasin (2007:5) also identified a positive impact of remittances on health. Khan *et al.* (2009:213) observed an increase in health related spending in after migration scenario in rural Gujrat, Pakistan.

Table No. 5.10. Household Accessories

<i>Prevalence of household accessories</i>								
Categories	Before Migration				After Migration			
	Yes (f)	%	No (f)	%	Yes (f)	%	No (f)	%
Water supply	135	34.0	264	66.0	135	34.0	264	66.0
Gas Connection	168	42.0	232	58.0	400	100.0	0	0.0
Heating unit	168	42.0	232	58.0	204	51.0	196	49.0
Air conditioner	36	9.0	364	91.0	236	59.0	164	41.0
Telephone landline	260	65.0	140	35.0	368	92.0	32	8.0
Computer	160	40.0	260	60.0	352	88.0	48	12.0
Television	352	88.0	48	12.0	384	96.0	16	4.0
Tape Recorder	20	5.0	380	95.0	20	5.0	380	95.0
DVD/VCD Player	32	8.0	368	92.0	84	21.0	316	79.0
Internet	120	30	280	70.0	168	42.0	232	58.0
Dish	0	0.0	400	100.0	32	8.0	368	92.0
Mobile Phone	120	30.0	280	70.0	400	100.0	0	0.0
Car	26	6.5	374	93.5	277	69.25	123	30.75
Tractor/Trolley	0	0.0	400	100.0	68	17.0	332	83.0
Combine harvester	0	0.0	400	100.0	0	0.0	400	100.0
Agricultural technology	32	8.0	368	92.0	370	92.5	30	7.5
Motorcycle	64	16.0	336	84.0	240	60.0	160	40.0
UPS	32	8.0	368	92.0	370	92.5	30	7.5
Generator	32	8.9	368	92.0	135	33.75	265	66.25

Household accessories are the important items for the livelihood. The information was asked about number of household accessories in before migration and after migration scenario to determine the impact of migration on the affordability of some essential accessories. In before migration situation 42% families had gas connection (government supplied) but in after migration time 100% families had access to the government supplied gas connections (government supply) while heating systems was also increased to 51%. Only 9% families had air conditioners fitted in houses in before migration time while this number increased to 59% in after migration situation. It clearly meant that these families were in a position to pay the utility bills.

Telephone (landline connections) and mobile phone were important items for the families in the rural settings. The data shows a positive impact of migration on both landline telephone connections and mobile phones. 65% families possessed landline telephone connections in the before migration situation which increased to

92% in after migration. On the other hand the access to mobile phone was less in the pre-migration situation that increased to almost 100% in after migration.

Majority of the respondents said that these mobile phones were sent by migrants from abroad to remain in touch with the families. The data shows that there was a positive impact of the migration on almost all of accessories including, internet, computer, television, motorcycle, generator, and agricultural tools etc. Migration was a decisive force behind the prevalence of these household accessories. Had the people not migrated from the village it would not have been possible for the families to get access to such items of necessity. Arif (2009:4) concluded that “the impact of remittances on both the economic status and the social status of the sampled households is remarkable. The level of poverty among these households is considerably lower, and there is a marked difference between before and after migration perceived economic status. The perceived status of the household in the after migration period is much better than that in the before migration period. Migration process also improved household facilities.” Khan *et al.* (2009:211-212) found a positive impact of remittances on selective household accessories and luxuries in after migration situation.”

Table No. 5.11. The Impact of Remittances on of School Enrollment of Children

		<i>Remittances improved enrollment of male children</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	19	33	52
	25001-50000	25	19	44
	50001-75000	47	55	102
	75001 and above	89	113	202
Total		180	220	400
		<i>Remittances improved enrollment of female children</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	26	26	52
	25001-50000	24	20	44
	50001-75000	38	64	102
	75001 and above	100	102+	202
Total		188	212	400

The analysis shows no impact of the transfers of remittances on the school enrollment of male and female children. The main reason behind this negative relationship is that the school enrollment is considered as a compulsory aspect and generally all children were enrolled to schools even if they have no migrant family

member. The data further depicts that there was a decrease in school enrollment of male child within those families who were receiving more remittances while the increase in remittances has no such impact of the enrollment of female students.

Dorantes, Georges & Pozo (2008:17) conducted a study in Haiti and identified that there is a positive impact of remittances on students' enrollment. Molina Flores (2006:1) identified that "the results show that remittances positively affect primary school enrollment as well as secondary school enrollment."

Table No. 5.12. The Impact of Remittances on of School Attendance of Children

		<i>Remittances improved attendance of male children</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	18	34	52
	25001-50000	14	30	44
	50001-75000	32	70	102
	75001 and above	56	146	202
Total		120	280	400
		<i>Remittances improved attendance of female children</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	39	13	52
	25001-50000	37	7	44
	50001-75000	70	32	102
	75001 and above	150	52	202
Total		296	104	400

The result on correlation shows that there was a positive impact of remittance on the female students' attendance while it had a negative connection to male school attendance. Further data depicts that children in families with increase in remittances had been experiencing lower school attendance among male children while the increase in remittances had a positive impact on female school attendance.

These inferences are correlated with the previous studies notably by Amuedo-Dorantes, Georges, & Pozo (2008:21) who conducted a research to investigate the impacts of remittances on the educational attainments in Haiti, the inferences of this work depicts that remittances used to lift the budget constraints of the household and increased the children's attendance and enrollment.

Furthermore, Cox-Edwards & Ureta (2003:429) also advocated the impact of remittances in decreasing the school drop-out rates. López-Córdova (2005:1) conducted a study in the Mexican region and concluded that remittances uplifts children's school attendance.

Acosta (2009:913) conducted a quantitative research about the enrollment patterns of children due to the remittances inflow, the study results infer that “girls seem to indeed increase school attendance upon remittance receipts by reducing labor activities; boys do not benefit on average from higher schooling”.

Table No. 5.13. The Impact of Remittances on Educational Performance of Children

		<i>Remittances helped in improving educational performance of male children</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	6	31	37
	25001-50000	4	40	44
	50001-75000	27	69	96
	75001 and above	35	159	194
Total		72	299	371
		<i>Remittances helped in improving educational performance of female children</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	39	13	52
	25001-50000	31	13	44
	50001-75000	49	53	102
	75001 and above	122	80	102
Total		241	159	400

The data presented in the above table discusses the correlation results about the impact of remittances on the education of the children left behind. The data depicts negative correlation between the transfer of remittances and males educational performance. On the other side, the data shows positive correlation between remittance and education performance of female children. Funkhouser (1992:137) validated this inference through advocating that the remittances have an economic impact over the male children in the form of trending them towards self-employment rather than the improvement in their educational performance. In the case of west China, Hu (2013:33) identified that boys’ educational performance does not seem to be greatly affected by the migration of adult household members while there is an entrenched positive effect of remittances on girls educational performance. Acosta (2006:413) performed an exploratory research in the region of El Salvador. The researcher found positive impact of remittances on girl’s education resulting in the elevation in their proficiency.

Girls’ education in the left behind families was on the rise. The transfer of remittances made it possible for the families to spend more on the girls schooling.

The education of boys in the left behind families remained a challenging issue. Most of the boys were not inclined towards education rather this focus remained in substitute migration. This notion is testified by Funkhouser's (1992:1209) research that the male members adhere to the self-employment rather than progress in education in broader sense. This entire trend affected male children within the society through halting them for the attainment of education. In the village majority of the youth is aspired to go abroad. This stimulus led them to become truant and ultimately they drop out of school. Another reason which was highly significant in rural Gujrat with increases in remittances the truancy and dropout of boys also increases precipitously. The main reason was that the boys with more pocket money used to spend more time with their friends out of school and they give up to the education.

Table No. 5.14. The Impact of Remittances on Health

		<i>Remittances improved health spending</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	50	2	52
	25001-50000	43	1	44
	50001-75000	93	9	102
	75001 and above	164	38	202
Total		350	50	400
		<i>Remittances improved dietary patterns</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	49	3	52
	25001-50000	42	2	44
	50001-75000	93	9	102
	75001 and above	165	37	202
Total		349	51	400
		<i>Remittances improved nutritional levels</i>		Total
		Yes	No	
Remittances per Month	less than 25000	50	2	52
	25001-50000	43	1	44
	50001-75000	94	8	102
	75001 and above	169	33	202
Total		356	44	400

The data presented in table no. 5.14 shows a positive relationship between remittances and health. The remittances actually lifted poverty burden from families and allowed them to spend more on their health. Remittances had a positive association with all three indicators of health including a) spending on health, b) dietary patterns, and c) nutritional levels. The data depicts that left behind families

with higher remittances were spending more on health which ultimately improved their dietary patterns and nutritional levels.

Table No. 5.15. The Impact of Remittances on Education and Health: Multivariate

Statistical analysis for independent variable			Statistical analysis for independent variable			
Independent Variable	Tests of Normality Shapiro-Wilk Sig, value	Chi Square Asymp. Sig For Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Coefficient value	Tests of Normality Shapiro-Wilk Sig. value	Chi Square Asymp.Sig for Dependent Variable
Remittances (per month)	.000	.000	Improved enrollment of male children	-0.008	.000	.046
			Improved enrollment of female children	.007		.230
			Improved attendance of female children	.027		.000
			Improved attendance of male children	.053		.000
			Improved male children educational performance	-.029		.000
			Improved female children educational performance	.094*		.000
			Helped to invest more on health	.188**		.000
			Improved the dietary patterns	.157**		.000
			Improved the nutritional levels	.167**		.000

In the village, spending on health was very limited among non-migrant families but spending of the left behind families on health was significantly large. These families due to the paucity of finances were unable to maintain such dietary

patterns and nutritional levels in the before migration scenario but it was migration which improved their spending as well as health conditions.

Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:257) identified that migration has a positive impact on the health among the left behind families. Duryea, López-Córdova, & Olmedo (2005:2) also found the same effect of migration while saying it in following way “remittances improved the health conditions of the recipient families.”

In the Table No. 5.15 an intrigued series of statistical figures extend all-inclusive inferences of the chronological data analysis which include the Normality Analysis, Non-Parametric Hypothesis testing analysis and Correlation analysis. Initially the probability of correlation between the variables was tested i.e. whether any relation exists between the independent and the dependent variable. Pearson’s correlation (2-tailed) was used due to the non-normal nature of data, which ultimately validated the relationship assessed at the level of bivariate analysis among the variables.

The impact of remittances was observed on the basis of three sub-indicators of indicators education, i.e., a) school enrollment, b) school attendance, and c) academic performance. The data shows an insignificant relationship between *remittances* and *school enrollment* of both male and female students in the left behind families. The main reason behind this insignificant association was that the enrollment to school was a normal practice in the rural setting of Gujrat for both male and female children.

Further, association between *remittances* and *school attendance* of both male and female students was also checked. The data trend shows significantly positive association between these two variables. The result of third associational test between *remittances* and *educational performance* shows significantly positive relationship among these two variables for female children while performance of male children was not good as compared to the female. In the case of West China Hu (2013:38) identified that boys’ educational performance does not seem to be greatly affected by the migration of adult household members while there is an entrenched positive effect of remittances on girls educational performance.

Further, association between *remittances* and three sub-indicators of health was tested. The data trends showed a positive correlation between *remittances* and all three indicators, i.e. a) *investments on health*, b) *improvement in dietary patterns*, and c) *improvement in nutritional levels*. Such positive effects of migration have also been identified by many migrant researchers.

Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:258) stated that “most obvious channel through which migration may positively affect child’s nutritional status is increasing household income and wealth and then allowing households to purchase nutritional and medical inputs that are relaxing family budget constraint and thus allowing a higher investment in children. In addition, if remittances relax liquidity constraints, it may allow parents to make additional investments they could not have made otherwise.”

Duryea, López-Córdova, & Olmedo (2005:2) also found that “remittances improved the health conditions of the recipient families.” Khan *et al.* (2009) identified that the migrants’ families were in a better position to spend more on their health in after migration situation while in before migration scenario it was very difficult for them to accommodate their expenses. Mansuri (2007:127) examined the “impact of migration on two measures of children’s health in Pakistan, namely, weight for age and height for age. The author finds a positive effect on both measures of child growth. Young girls in migrant households are taller than girls of the same age in non-migrant households. Boys are taller than girls in non-migrant households, but given that girls benefit more than boys from migration, girls in migrant households actually do better than boys in absolute terms.”

Chapter No. 6

THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON EDUCATION

This chapter focuses on the impact of migration on the education of children from the left behind families. This chapter is further divided into four major sections, i.e. a) educational opportunities and trends in the village, b) the impact of migration on the education of the children, c) allocation of remittances to educational expenses, and d) migration and religious education.

6.1. Educational Opportunities and Major Trends

This section addresses an overall situation of educational opportunities for the children in the village and adjoining areas. Since the inception of migration a shift in the process of educational attainments has been observed in the village as majority of families were more inclined towards education of their children. The process of migration lessened the poverty burden of the left behind families and consequently made it possible for them to save and spend more on the education of children. In addition to the economic activism there was also a pivotal role of migrant members in sharing the worldview (also known as *social remittances*) and sensitizing their families about children's education.

Southiseng & Walsh (2011:2) mentioned *social remittances* as a process of knowledge sharing by migrant members working abroad. It was the stream of knowledge and exposure that migrants gained at the time when they live abroad and they motivated their families at origin to do the same. This knowledge sharing mechanism was also related to the education attainment as migrants were not only sending money back home but also motivating their families about the importance of education. The migrants influenced their families about the school enrollment, to ensure regular attendance, and be informed about their academic performance. The migrants were also concerned about children's education and they regularly inquired the left behind families about the progress of their school going children.

6.1.1. Patterns of Educational Attainment

Change in the educational acquiring patterns was evident in the village. Since migration and as a result of inflow of foreign remittances families' orientation toward education raised significantly. In the before migration scenario people of the village were least concerned about female education and allowed their males to attend

government schools. This was because they could not afford to pay exorbitant fee of private schools whereas girls were allowed to attend government schools only but not beyond matriculation. However, in after migration a visible change was observed among the left behind families.

They were more concerned about the education of both gender and realizing its importance they switched from government to private schools. One of the respondents (54 years old) discussed the change in the patterns of education in village in following way:

“Since the migration of my elder son, we started spending more on education of children. In the before migration situation we were unable to send our children to private schools. We were reluctant about the education of female children beyond matriculation at that time. But now, we are sending our children to private schools and there is no such restriction to their educational levels. Because of regular remittances we do not feel any burden of their educational expenses. Now we allocate a part of remittances to education related expenses.”

In before migration situation families were more concerned about stabilizing their livelihoods rather than spending on education of their children. They were always searching for the economic activities to accommodate families’ basic needs and make ends meet. In most of the cases the economy of the families was based on the agricultural output at that time. The barren nature of land and rain-fed (*barani*) farming made regular cultivation more difficult and the yield diminished every passing year and so did the income from low output.

In such unfavourable conditions they mostly searched for alternative source of regular income to meet the daily expenses. Few families tried to set small business such as grocery stores, mobile shops and some other shops, some searched for labour work while others tried to find some private jobs. These somewhat abject conditions forced a large number of the residents to initiate the process of migration to accommodate their economic needs. One of the respondents (44 years old) lamented the situation and shared the major reason to go abroad in the following way:

“We have lesser economic opportunities in the locality. We cannot regularly yield crops as we have rain-fed (barani) farming system and there is enough water from canals. There is no small industry in the areas, some are in the city but they pay less salary to the workers. There are no such opportunities to establish a business because require ample resources. Consequently, we are left with no other option but try to go abroad as there are more opportunities to earn money. Those who have settled abroad can easily afford livelihoods but those who are working here cannot meet their needs.”

Migration process has generally increased the educational trends among left behind children. Some of them consider education as a route to become the substitute migrants. A respondent (25 years old) takes education as a channel to go abroad. He added that:

“Some of the migrants’ children living in the village are inclined towards the education as they had identified it as one of the options to go abroad. Last year my friend went to Germany through study visa and later on he was able to get documents to settle permanently. Such cases make education a more valuable channel to move abroad.”

Female’s education in the rural settings of Pakistan is always very challenging issue. In the rural setting of Gujrat, people were hesitant to send their daughters to schools due to cultural hindrances. They thought that if their girls stepped out of the house after a certain age, their honor would be at risk. In the left behind families the restriction on female education was somehow relaxed. It was the process of migration and the inflow of remittances that brought a positive change in their attitude which in turn made it possible for girls to attend schools from primary to higher education. But at the same time one could not set aside the role of migrants in adopting a fresh and forward looking perspective on the educational requirement for girls as majority of families confessed that their migrant members regularly guided them about the importance of need for education of their children.

6.1.2. Educational Opportunities: The Private Schools Network

There were a reasonable number of public and private schools in the village at the time of fieldwork (2011-12). The network of private schools was on the rise as some franchises of were operated by businessmen from Gujrat city and Mirpur District (an adjacent district of Azad and Jammu & Kashmir). These businessmen had taken education as an economic opportunity and started opening branches in the villages like Karrianwala.

The main reason behind this investment in private schools was the prevalent perception that the migrants could afford to spend more money on the education of their children. The investors therefore reckoned this to be a bright chance for their business to flourish. During last decade (2000-2010) some of the renowned private schools networks had opened up their branches in the village and started providing quality education. Some of the popular private schools were:

A. Allied School

One of the best and oldest private schools in the village it was opened in 2008 on the *Hajiwala* road by a person from Mirpur. Allied school was well-known for the quality of teaching and provision of better facilities in the region. The school had well qualified teachers, neat and clean environment, new building and competitive syllabus. These characteristics attracted majority of the families, including the left behind families to enroll their children.

B. Jinnah School

The second best private school in the village was Jinnah School, which again had a reasonable enrollment. This school network was owned by a businessman from Jalalpur Jattan. This school also provided quality education and was equipped with all required modern facilities for the students. The overall enrollment of the school was bit lower compared to Allied School. This school also had competent teachers and other staff with good study environment. The Principal of Jinnah School mentioned the qualities of his school during his interview in following words:

“We are one of the pioneers in this field and have set the trends of providing quality education to the village children. While we have hired highly qualified teachers our competitors spend their resources only on publicity of the schools. The annual results of last five years have proved our academic excellence as most of the top positions have been secured by our students. Enrollment in our school has increased due to better results. We can proudly say that most of the left behind families prefer to send their children to our school.”

C. The Educators

The Educators is project of “Beaconhouse School Network” which is one of the best private school networks in the country. This school branch was very famous for the quality education as compared to other private schools in the village. Keeping in view the same narrative the left behind families happily send their children to private-English medium schools including the Educators.

The private schools were considered as status symbol who had recently acquired wealth. People were extremely excited about the private schooling and wanted to get their children in one of these famous schools. The process of enrolling children to private schools was even talk of the social gatherings in the village. One of the respondents (51 years age) whose three kids studied in the private school narrated that:

“We live in a joint family system. My brother is working abroad since last eight years and he has always been instructing me about providing quality education to the children. Children of our family are studying in one of the private schools in the village. People have good perceptions about the quality of education of this school. Most of our relatives, whose family members are working abroad, also send their children to the private schools because the government schools fail to provide quality education. It has become a norm to ask others about the schooling of their children in the family gatherings. In my perception remittances play an important role in selecting a school for children. The left behind families are more inclined toward the private schooling as compared to non-migrant families because they can now easily bear the schooling expenses.”

In addition to the formal private schools there were also some home based coaching academies in the village. Most of these academies were run by female instructors. These academies were not only facilitating the students in coaching them for their future educational careers but also orienting them about the possibilities of higher education such as graduation and post-graduation.

In addition to the private academies there were also some private colleges (for both genders) which were affiliated to different universities across province. The private colleges were equally facilitating the local students in pursuit of their educational careers. One of the female students described the role of the private colleges in following way:

“It was very really difficult for me to get enrolled beyond the Intermediate because my family was not in favour of higher education. When my fiancé-who was working abroad, came to know about my parents’ decision towards my future educational prospects he insisted my family to let me go for higher education. They conditionally allowed me to enroll in the college until our marriage was not planned. When I started exploring some options to get enrolled they again refused to send me to a college, rather they asked me to take admission in a private academy. I inquired about the private academies from my friends. They suggested me one which I visited with my mother and got admission for the preparation of bachelor examination. The academy was coaching the students for graduation

classes later and it helped me to appear in the University of Gujrat (ex-campus) annually examination. After six months of preparation I was able to pass the first part of graduation. Now, I am preparing for the second part of the graduation.”

There were many female students who had gone through the same process of private examination (ex-campus students) because their families too disapproved sending them to colleges. For these female students the network of private academies was considered as more appropriate and beneficial.

Table No. 6.1 Enrollment and Educational Facilities in the Private Schools

School Name	Students (Both Genders)	Teachers (Both Genders)	Class Rooms	Chairs	Toilet	Drinking Water	Play Ground	Boundary Wall	Computer Lab	Library
Allied School	525	15	13	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jinnah School	510	13	11	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
The Educator	470	14	12	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Gujrat Public School	320	12	10	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Intesab School & College	206	10	8	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Jawad Model School	110	7	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Total	2141	71	59							

(Source: Filed Data, 2011-12)

Table no. 6.1 presents data about private schools’ enrollment of students (both gender) during 2011-12. In addition to the enrollment, the table also compares the available infrastructure in different private schools. The table depicts that there were overall 2141 students enrolled in the top six private schools. Allied School, Jinnah School, and the Educator shared the major proportion (70%) of total enrollment.

The notable reason behind this large enrollment was due to two main qualities of these schools, i.e. a) school infrastructure, and b) qualified teaching staff. The fourth school where enrollment was reasonably good was Gujrat Public School in which 320 students (of both gender) had enrolled while Intesab School and College, and Jawad Model School had lower enrollment and lacked the standard infrastructure.

6.1.3. Educational Opportunities: Government Schooling Options

In addition to the private schools’ network there were some government schools and a college in the locale. These government schools were providing

education at various levels (starting from the primary to the higher secondary). Although, the enrollment trends of the left behind families' children to the government schools was quite less compared to the private schools, majority of village students had enrolled to these government schools. Education in government primary schools was free of cost. Students were also provided with free text books under 'Chief Minister's Education for All' project. The project was initiated by the Chief Minister Punjab Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi during his tenure (from 2002-07) which was continued by his successors until now (year 2016). Majority of students from the surrounding areas were enrolled to middle (6 to 8 years schooling) and secondary levels (9 to 10 years schooling) in Karrianwala village.

Since there were of no educational facilities beyond primary school levels the students from villages in the vicinity came to study here in the Karrianwala village, the infrastructure of government schools was extremely pathetic. They lacked basic facilities such as class rooms, chairs, boundary walls, playing ground, clean drinking water, and washrooms. Due to the pitiable situation of primary schools' people with better economic stature including the left behind families preferred to send their children to private schools. One of the respondents (43 year age) during interview stated the main reasons behind emerging trends of private schooling in following way:

“There are two major reasons behind high enrollment in the private schools in the village. First, people make a comparison of the basic existing educational facilities and then select the one with better facilities. Secondly, it has become a norm in the village to enroll children to private schools because people take it as a status symbol.”

There were some other reasons as well which considerably reduced the chances of enrollment to the government schools. These were like; a) unsatisfactory results produced by government schools, b) the non-availability of trained teachers coupled with high degree of absenteeism, c) impractical teaching approaches used by teachers, d) less innovative content and methods, and e) no proper linkage between teaching technique with the content, pedagogical methods, and defined societal norms. Majority of these determinants of quality schooling were missing in the government schools.

Most of the left behind families wanted their children to acquire education that could distinguish them from others so that they could feel proud of their achievement. As such they did not hesitate to spend lavishly on the education of their children. The

parents were clear in their minds that their offsprings could get attractive jobs once they had graduated with distinction and in the process contribute handsomely to the family's economy. The left behind families were also expending precious time and resources for education of their children because they want them to complete their basic education to become the substitute migrants. So, it was considerably wise of them to spend on the next generation's educational career to make them the future economic contributors for family.

There was also a Government College in the village which was in a disastrous condition as well. The college was established about a decade back but the enrollment of the students remained very low even lower than the academic staff. The college was offering the intermediate level education (11 to 12 years) as well as the graduation (13 to 14 years) level classes but this situation never convinced the parents to enroll their children. There were two main reasons which apparently reduced the chances of enrollment to the college. First, the presence of private colleges and academies in the proximity and second, establishment of University of Gujrat (Hafiz Hayat Campus)- which was situated about ten kilometers from the village towards the Gujrat city.

The university offered F.A/F.Sc (only in city campuses), Graduation (four years B.S program) Master, M. Phil/MS, and even PhD programs in almost all disciplines including Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, Engineering, Arts and Humanities, Computer Sciences, and Law. Medical science was the only faculty in which university offered graduation program. So, keeping in view of the available opportunities people preferred to send their children to this university rather than the government college of the village. The university had designated a shuttle service for students of Karrianwala village and surrounding areas that also helped in improving the enrollment.

The table no. 6.2 shows the list of facilities and enrollment statistics in government educational institutions in the village. The data depicts that the student-teacher ratio in primary schools for girls (1 teacher per 25 students) was better as compare to boys (1 teacher per 50). There were about 300 male students enrolled in Primary School and in contrast to that almost 50 % less female were studying in the Primary School. The enrollment of the boys in the Middle and High School (Elementary Schools) were about 900 while there were 850 girls studying at the same level.

Table No. 6.2. Enrollment and Educational Facilities in Government Institutions

School Name	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Student Teacher Ratio	Class Rooms	Sitting Facilities	Toilet	Drinking Water	Play Ground	Bound-ary Wall	Comput-er Lab	Library
Primary School (Boys)	300	6	50	6	Partial/ no chairs available	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Primary School (Girls)	150	6	25	5	Only ground sittings	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Middle & High School (Boys)	990	16	62	10	Benches and ground sittings	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Middle & High School (Girls)	850	20	43	10	Benches and ground sittings	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
College (Boys)	14	11	1.5	6	Chairs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Total	2204	59		37							

(Source: Filed Data, 2011-12)

The student-teacher ratio again was better in the female schools as compared to the males. There was no government college for the girls in the locale while only 14 boys were enrolled in the Government College (during year 2011-12). The infrastructure at the government educational institutions was not up to the standards. In both (boys and girls) primary schools there were no proper sitting arrangements for the students. Most of the students squatted on the ground.

In boys' primary school there were six teachers and six classrooms for 300 students while the situation was better in the context of teachers and classroom for female school but lacked the facility of playing ground. In the boys Elementary School there were 16 teachers and 10 classrooms for almost 990 students whereas in female's school there were 20 teachers and 10 classrooms for the 850 students. It appeared that schools offered equal opportunities to both gender.

The student-teacher ratio was much lower as per the defined standards while there were no proper sitting arrangements in both boys' and girls' elementary schools. The infrastructure and the number of teachers in the college were sufficient. However, the enrollment was not appreciable. Hafiz Abdul Razzaq, the Principal of Government College, mentioned about this situation of enrollment is following way:

“Most of the students prefer to go for the private colleges as compared to the government in village. Since the establishment of University of Gujrat, students preferred co-education and wanted to go to that University. The University had a good infrastructure and pick and drop service for the students living in villages.”

6.2. Remittances and Education of the Children

There were multi-dimensional effects of the migration on the education of children left behind. One major effect was the migration of male family member as this process helped in improving the economic situation of the families. The regular inflow of remittances relaxed the poverty burden of families. This very inflow of remittances not only helped in improving the enrollment chances for children but it also decreased the children's participation in the labour related activities. One of the respondents (39 years old) mentioned about the role of remittances in decreasing children chances to work as labourers.

“Before migration it was very difficult time for us. We were facing economic burden. During that time we were unable to send our children to school as they were supposed to work with us in the agricultural fields. But in after migration scenario our financial situation improved and we started sending our children to the schools.”

There were some examples of the role of remittances in enhancing the opportunities for children in the left behind families to enroll in the private schools. One of the respondents (47 years old) stated the impact of remittances in improving chances for children to study in following way:

“Children's education is not an easy task for the parents. But since the process of migration and inflow of remittances, chances for education have been substantially improved. We used to send our children to the government schools, as majority of the families do. But later on when our family member migrated abroad and afterwards we started sending our children to the private school.”

The process of migration not only provided economic support to the families but it also oriented them to the different aspects of life of the outer world. Migrant member kept in touch with their families and time to time to advise them about the education and other aspects of life. Most of them were also sending some extra money for the private schooling of their children. One of the respondents (29 years old) mentioned about the concerns showed by his brother about the education of his children studying in the village:

“My brother is presently living in the USA and his two daughters and a son are studying in the village schools. In his absence we are taking care of his family. He is always concerned about the education of his children and advises us to enroll them to the private schools in the village. He regularly calls and stresses on the importance of education of the future generation as it is necessary for them to gain a good position in the society. He remains concerned about the educational performance of his children also and brings some gifts for them in case they performed better in the exams.”

The process of sharing knowledge and worldview has been explored and termed as *social remittances* by Southiseng & Walsh (2011:2) in their study in Laos. In their view, the role of knowledge and worldview sharing is equally important for the communities at origin. They termed process of sharing knowledge and worldview as ‘*social remittances*’ because through this the information is shared to alter the life processes at origin. The social remittances had also some positive effects on the educational orientation and attainment in the locale. Most of the migrants were in favour of children’s education and they regularly inquire about the progress of children.

Both the economic and social remittances help in improving families’ incomes and enlighten their exposures about various aspects of life while living back home. In the village the economic situation of left behind families changed with the passage of time. Migrants send regular remittances to make lives of their dependents much easier. One of the return migrants (34 years old) during an in-depth interview narrated the role of remittances in following words:

“We face many hardships to make lives of our dependents socially and economically more stable and prosperous. Before I migrated to England we (3 brothers and a sister alongside parents) were living in the small inherited house of just two rooms. We were facing economic problems and took loan from our relative for the marriage of our beloved sister. Later on, with the help of my relative I moved to England where I started working on a pizza shop. I started earning a reasonable amount of money. I kept sending money to my family back home to accommodate their basic needs. After few years we kicked off the hardships through migration. In the meantime my two brothers shifted to Germany. We built our own house in the village. Now our family is considered as one of the ideals and wealthiest in the village. We are sending our children to English-medium private schools- which was impossible to imagine in the before migration.”

There were so many cases of such nature in the community where people were getting benefit out of remittances and spending additional money on education children of children. This process of spending more money became influential tool in almost every left behind family and helped in uplifting their social and financial status. This also led to a competition among the left behind families to prepare the substitute migrants. In their view basic education was one of the most crucial options which could prepare the substitute migrants. One of the respondents (53 years old) mentioned about the role of education in determining future migration of children.

“Education can do good things. If children get quality education they could easily get good jobs and even they could migrate internationally on the basis of education. In our time people were less educated and they went abroad to get petty jobs but our future generation could do better.”

Majority of migrants maintained regular contact with their relatives and expressed their concerns on the education of their children. They always pressurized the family to spend more on the education through maintaining a constant vigil on the children for getting good grades. This channel of contact-advice helped not only in increasing the school enrollment but to some extent attendance too. One of the respondents (41 years old) mentioned about the role of migrants in the household decisions including education in following way:

“Although, I am the elder one in the house but when we have to take some decisions on family matters we consult younger-migrant brother. Last year when we were planning to enroll my son to primary school we asked the younger brother about it. He insisted on private schooling. We followed his instructions and did the same.”

Most of migrants were concerned about the education of children because they want them to acquire quality education which was unavailable to them when they were in the school going age. They were also aware of the importance of education. Education could actually help their children to adjust abroad as majority of them were aspired to pursue for migration.

6.2.1. The Impact of Remittances on School Enrollment and Attendance

Before debating the possible impact of remittances on school enrollment at primary levels one needs to understand the patterns of enrollment in rural the settings of the Punjab, Pakistan. The Government of Punjab adopted “United Nations Millennium Development Goals” to ensure “Universal Primary Education” which aimed to “ensure that by 2015 all children irrespective of gender would be able to

complete a full course of primary schooling.” Under this program the enrollment in all government primary schools was declared free of cost. This program was launched to increase the enrollment rates in rural settings. Pakistan is ranked among the world’s leading countries where ratio of out-of-school children between ages 6 to 16 is very high. According to Ministry of Education’s (2013:35) NEMIS report the total number of out of school children during 2011-12 was 8.3 million.

During 2012, the Government of Pakistan added “Article 25-A” into the Constitution under the 18th Amendment which was called as “The Right to Free and Compulsory Education Bill 2012.” The Bill states that “the state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law (PILDAT, 2011:8).”

The impact of migration on children’s education remained very concerning issue among migrant researchers across the world. These researchers found that remittances could directly influence the education in many ways. The inflow of remittances can help to reduce family economic burden and allow them to spend more on education.

In the village, the left behind families were very concerned about the education of children and they ensured that part of their hard earned money was spent on the proper education of children. Enrollment to English-medium private schools significantly increased during last five years in the village. Before the establishment of these private schools in the village it was very difficult for the left behind families to send their children to city based private school that were far from the village. But with the expansion of private school network in the village, majority of the left behind families started sending their children to these schools. One of the respondents (39 years old) mentioned about the possible impact of remittances in increasing school enrollment in following way:

“It has been observed that the transfer of remittances to the left behind families increased the enrollment rates to the private schools. In before migration scenario we wished to send our children to private schools but it was simply impossible for us to do so because of family’s economic hardships. When my younger brother migrated to Italy the economic situation of our family changed significantly. He started sending money back home to accommodate the basic needs of the family including education. Now we feel very privileged that our children are studying in one of the best private schools in the village. This might not be possible for us if there was no migration from the home.”

Although the enrollment to the government primary schools is almost free under *Universal Education Program* of the Punjab government, the general perception among the majority of villagers is that it is devoid of quality and therefore the left behind families normally do not avail this facility. The private schools were the only choice for the left behind families to get their children admitted. The spending on education never meant that it would invariably be the reason for good results. The remittances were subject to adverse effects on the school attendance of male children beyond primary school levels from the left behind families. One of the respondents (53 years old) described the situation in the following way:

“We always appreciate the inflow of foreign remittances because it helped us in reducing economic problems. But when there is a reasonable inflow of money it could affect our lives negatively as well. I wished for higher education of my lonely son but it never happened. When he passed exam of Matriculation I sent him to one of the best and most expensive private colleges in the city. I used to give him pocket money to meet his expense and fix his interest on education. He became truant and spend most of time with his friends He also wasted money with his friends in out-of-school activities. He failed to pass part-I exam of intermediate. Henceforth, he insisted to go abroad and regularly calls his uncle to get help for this purpose.”

There were many instances where young aspiring men who always ready to go abroad instead of showing interest in completing the basic education. For them migration meant a change in their lives even without first getting proper education. These boys wished to complete Matriculation (10 years of education) and started to explore the suitable ways to move abroad. Boys from the left behind families could achieve their objectives of migration by virtue of their ascribed status of being members of the left behind families while it remained a difficult task for the boys from the non-migrant families as they had to take risks to accommodate their wishes.

Migration and remittances also provided equal chances to female children in the village. Most of them were only going to government schools but in after migration situation their chances to attend private schools increased substantially. A reduction in the poverty burden and the financial contributions of migrant members were the major reasons behind the increased enrollment of the girls to the private schools.

In before migration situation families were providing equal chances of education to both genders. In the rural setting of Pakistan female access to education was of restrictive nature. Most of the females were only allowed to attend primary schools even.

After primary schooling most of girls' drop-out-of-school because their parents do not want them to attend school. But in case of the left behind families the situation was totally different for female as they were allowed to attend schools beyond primary levels. The role of social remittances or knowledge and exposure shared by their migrant members made female education possible in the village. Most of migrants were in favour of female education and they advised their families to send them to schools.

One of the respondents (40 years old) mentioned about the role of migrants in providing education to the female children in following way:

“Traditionally, we used to send our female children only to the primary schools. But when my elder brother went abroad he stressed on the importance of female’s education. Now we send our female children also to private schools even beyond primary levels.”

There was a major influence of social remittances on the lives of the left behind in addition to the economic uplift. One of the respondents (44 years old) narrated the role of remittances on school attendance in following way:

“We have three children (1 male and 2 female) in the family. About 10 years back my elder brother migrated to Germany. After his migration, it was my responsibility to take care of the family children. In the pursuit of education, girls were regular in visiting the schools while boy showed reluctance.”

In most of the left behind families, the adverse effects of the remittances were seen mainly among boys instead of girls. The boys were always asking for extra money, for bike or other vehicles to ride on rather than performing well in school. But their interests in schools never increased even after receiving handsome pocket money and the most desired motorcycles.

This phenomenon of migration and school enrollment and attendance has been explored by many migrant researchers across globe. These scholars are divided into two major groups on basis of their findings. One stream suggests that migration of father and regular inflow of remittances have a positive impact on the educational enrollment, attendance, and educational outcomes of the children in left behind

families. The second group rejects the impact of father's migration and flow of remittances on the school enrollment, attendance, and educational outcomes.

Among others, Funkhouser (1992:1212), Cox-Edwards & Ureta (2003:456), Hanson and Woodruff (2003:24), Yang (2004:29), López-Cordóva (2005:217), Acosta (2006:16), Yang (2008:593), Acosta (2011:920), and Alcaraz *et al.* (2012:156) drawn conclusion that migration and remittances have a positive impact on the education of the children left behind.

While, Jampaklay (2006:93,107), Giannelli & Mangiavacchi (2010:80), McKenzie & Rapoport (2011:1331), Cortes (2015:64), Gibson & McKenzie (2011:107), and Antman (2011:200) are among the others who reject the notion that there might be any positive impact of the migration of the parents on the schooling of the children left behind. McKenzie & Rapoport (2006:19) found that there is “A significant, but small, negative impact of being in a migrant household on school attendance of boys, and an insignificant effect on school attendance for girls.”

6.2.2. The Impact of Remittances on Educational Outcomes

Majority of the children in the village were enrolled in the government schools while the children from the left behind families studied in the private schools. Majority of the rural families were not in favour of sending their children to the city based schools because of two common reasons; a) school fee was much higher, and b) no control over children's activities. In the left behind families where fathers were absent it was primarily the responsibility of father's brother or grandfather to keep a close eye on the educational activities of the children.

In both the cases care providers were not as efficient as fathers could be. Migrant fathers always wished that their children could attend good schools and excel in the educational careers, but in their absence the responsibility rested with the care providers to look after children's education and they could not be the perfect replacement of the fathers. In most of the cases care providers were unable to take on the supervision of children's educational activities due to their own important works. One of the respondents (40 years old) discussed about the children's supervision mechanisms in following way:

“Although, we are trying very hard in the absence of my brother to supervise his children but our supervision method is not as effective as his. His elder son is now out-of-school and I consider myself responsible for this negligence. I never took him seriously nor kept a watch on his activities. I was performing my duty by just giving him money whenever he required but in the end he showed poor result. I never sat with him to advise him on the educational matters nor did I visit his school to inquire about his performance. Consequently, he was unable to complete the matriculation. Now he regularly inquiries from his father about the opportunities to go abroad.”

In some cases, where the performance of the children was unsatisfactory, parents sent them to the boarding schools hoping that hostel life could discipline their boys and strict routine would force them to study hard but even then they were unable to improve upon their results and continued to fare poorly. Majority of the boarding schools were not up to the standards in the nearby region. One of the respondents (47 years old) explained the situation in which he sent his son to the boarding school but at the end all this turned out a futile exercise.

“When our son passed Matriculation exam, we decided to send him to one of the well-known boarding schools in the Jhelum- the adjacent district. But few months later, we came to know that it was very difficult for him to study in such a drastic condition. On his returns he usually complained about the ordinary academic environment and pathetic living conditions in the hostels. He normally sleeps a lot on his returns. He was unable to clear the annual examination of part one of intermediate.”

As mentioned earlier migration had both positive and adverse effects on the school attendance of migrant children. The inflow of remittances was also pretentious for academic performances of children (especially male children) from the left behind families. There were so many cases of such nature in which respondents explained the adverse effects of the remittances on the academic performance of school going children. For instance, these children indulged in notorious activities due to access to money beyond their needs. In the absence of fathers the children totally lost their interests in education and became truant. One of the respondents (50 years old) mentioned about the negative correlation between remittances and the academic performances of the male children in following way:

“Since, migration of my elder brother we are receiving a reasonable amount of remittance per month. But in my view the remittances have a negative effect on the education performance of my lonely child. I tried my level best to keep his interests in the study but he is always crazy about the keeping fat sum of money and tries to impress his friends. After years of trying he did not give up his bad habits and is

now unable to clear the matriculation examination. Now, he is crazy to go abroad and regularly requests his uncle for making suitable arrangements for his migration.”

The above-mentioned story of a student represented the entire picture of how inflow of remittances made it difficult for students of the left behind families to focus on their studies. The parents were depressed at this pitiable situation of the educational performances of their children. These negative effects were observed in male children who were enrolled beyond primary level. In sharp contrast to the males the academic performances of the females from the same families and from the same education levels were certainly far better when compared to the boys.

One of the respondents (48 years old) narrated the comparisons of educational performances of their children in the following way:

“We have a joint family that shares the same dwelling. Seven children (three boys and four girls) from the family are studying in the private schools in the village. Two male and two female children are studying in the middle and matriculation levels. The performance of the male children is not up to our expectation while the female children are performing better. Remaining children (one girl and two boys) are studying at the primary levels and their performance is equally good. At the primary levels, boys and girls normally take interests in their studies but when they reach to the middle and especially matriculation levels the performance of boys start declining.”

The above-given case study showed how remittances made it possible for the families to spend on education but at the same time the spending pattern were not fully productive for educational performance of the children who had enrolled in the middle and matriculation levels. However, the performance of girls from the same households was equally good at all levels including primary, middle, and matriculation. The data revealed that when boys reach the middle and matriculation levels they started wasting remittances on non-academic activities and started dreaming about the migration.

As per the perception of the respondents, both girls and boys kept performing well at the primary level. At that time all their interest was confined to education only. But as they grew up the girls kept their interest intact and continued to concentrate on education while the boys’ started interest in their studies kept declining and they consequently lost interest and become aspirants to visit abroad. The major factors which pushed them out-of-school were easy the access to money and aspiration to go abroad. For them the charm of life was not in education rather it

was somewhere else like being employed abroad to earn money and spend on the luxuries of life.

6.2.3 The Impact of Fathers' Education

There are already set proposition on the basis of the studies conducted in the migrant exporting countries that “education of fathers could have positive impact on the academic performance of their offsprings.” Keeping in view the same proposition a systematic probe was conducted in the present locale to find out whether the education of the migrant fathers in the village is linked or not with the educational achievements of their children.

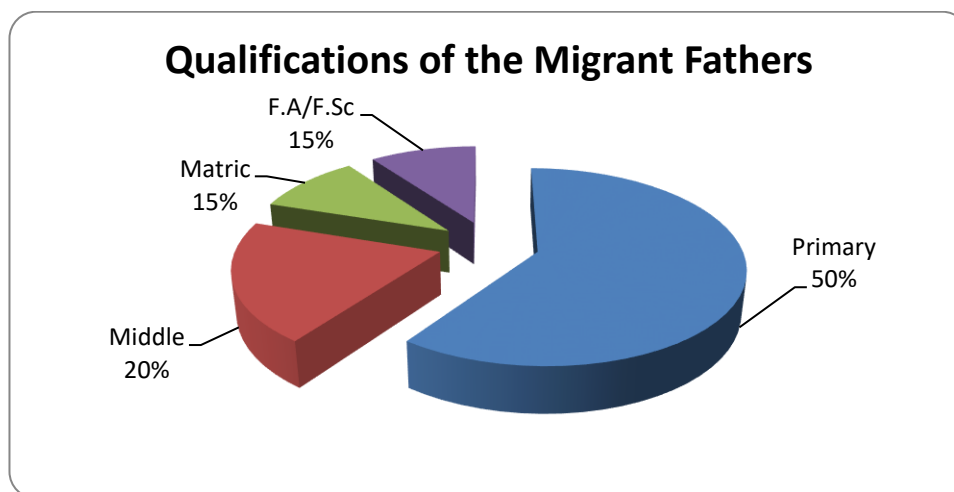


Figure 6.1 Qualifications of the migrant fathers

To address this issue, levels of education of the fathers living abroad were asked from the respondents during in-depth interviews. Majority of the migrants' education (almost 70 percent) was below matriculation and 30 percent migrants had done their matriculation or studied beyond matriculation. The above given figures explain the real situation of the education of the migrants from the village.

The respondents were also asked about the role of migrant fathers in the educational performances of their children. Majority of the respondents stated that the migrant fathers were more concerned about educational achievements of their children. The education of father was very dominantly influencing to the education of children as fathers with better qualifications showed more concern about the education of their children.

Another indicator of the father's education and its impact on the educational career of children was explored which directly linked to the investment and readiness for the future spending patterns of fathers. Fathers with higher education were ready

to spend more on the educational careers of their children and they were regularly advising the care providers (brother and fathers) and children themselves about educational activities. One of the respondents (36 years old) told about the association between father's education and its impact on the educational acquisitions of the children back home in the following way:

“My elder brother completed his Intermediate level education during 1992 and soon after that he moved to Germany. Now he is working as a supervisor in a factory and each month he sends remittances separately for the education of his children. We have installed internet at home and my brother calls us at least twice a week through Skype and other social networking applications. During his interaction he regularly stresses on the educational needs for the next generation. He is very concerned about the educational performance of his three children and he motivates them to carry forward the educational performance because one day it will help them to achieve a good position in the society.”

The migrant fathers with low educational levels were also concerned about their children's education but they were not concerned as much as the educated were. In such cases it was mainly the responsibility of the immediate care providers to look after the education careers of the migrants' children. All they could do was to send regular money to make the livings of their dependents much comfortable. There were three possible outcomes for the children whose migrant fathers were least concerned about their education. First, they had indulged in non-academic activities. They were spending most of their time out of school in company of truant friends. Second, they performed below average in schools. Third, most of them dropped out of school because they already given up on the education careers.

One of the respondents (50 years old) explained the situation of such children whose fathers were least concerned about the educational attainments or they were not maintaining proper checks. .

“My younger brother was not good at education and he was only able to complete primary school. He moved to Belgium about fifteen years back. He has two school going sons. My brother has never asked about the educational performances of his sons. We found him often talking about the elder son that when he will reach to the eighteen years of age I will call him to Belgium to pursue work.”

So, keeping in view the above-mentioned cases of the two different parents about the educational concerns of their offspring it can be concluded that educational levels do matter for the academic performances of their children. Majority of the

educated fathers were always ready to spend extra money and time on the educational careers of their children because they believed in the role of the quality education played in determining the future social mobility of these children. Parents with lower levels of education were also concerned about the educational careers of the children but of course less than the father with reasonable higher levels of education. Father with lower levels of education wanted their children to move abroad and start working with them to strengthen the support to the family.

There was a majority of such offspring's who fell in the second category and they did not perform well in their classes and rather wasted money of their parents and the time and energies of the care providers. Their interests were focused on migration and they preferred replicating category of manual laborer as it was also the category of their fathers at the time of latter's migration. One of the respondents (23 years old) explained the educational interests of boys in village in the following:

“The boys in the village have no special interest in education. Their interests are more inclined towards the social gatherings, spending money on bikes and cars, they are fond of fancy clothing, they want expensive smart phones, and obviously to go abroad (especially to Europe) as it is their dream since they grew up.”

These very dreams were the main hurdles in the educational attainments for boys in village even if their migrant fathers were concerned about their education. One of the boys (20 years old) mentioned *“it is dream of my life to go abroad, especially the Europe. One day I will accomplish my dream.”* There were so many aspiring young men whose mission of life was to go abroad and enjoy the life to the fullest.

6.2.4. The Impact of Migrant Father's Profession

In addition to the education, the profession of migrant fathers was very relevant and influential for good education attainments of their children in the village. The professions of the migrant fathers could be positively associated with the educational careers of their children. The country of migration and the professions of migrant fathers either could motivate or inspire their children to study and perform well. The respondents mentioned about the role of migrant fathers' profession in the education process of their children. In the case of manual workers (either working in Middle East and Europe) who migrated about two-to-three decades ago were neither concerned about the educational careers and performances of their children nor about

the levels of education they might achieve. But what matters most for them was a certain age limit (for instance, 18 to 20 years) of male children because once their children reached that age they called them abroad and adjusted with themselves.

They considered it their prime responsibility to adjust their children in a suitable job because that helps their children to settle down and start their own practical life in an effective manner. Majority of the fathers helped their sons to replicate their aspirations to go abroad because in their opinion they had reservations that their children could ever get reasonable jobs or setup new businesses in their native country, even if they performed outstandingly in their educational careers. One of the respondents (43 years old) opined on this issue in following words:

“My elder brother moved to Dubai about ten years back and he now runs his own business of meat. When he moved there his elder son was studying in Matriculation. After the migration of father the son left the school. Later, his father managed migration of his son to Dubai and then they started working together in their meat shop. For my brother it was good to have his son working with him in Dubai.”

Some of the migrant parents not only spend money for the educational careers of their children but they also wanted their children to perform well and achieve the higher education, because in their perception the higher levels of education helped them to excel in their professional careers. There were only few migrant parents who accessed comparatively good education before they migrated. One of respondents (32 years) narrated the story of his brother about the concerns he showed for his son’s educational career.

My younger brother has been working in Italy since last nine years and he is getting a good salary. He was enrolled in intermediate part-one when he migrated to Italy. He always advised me about the quality education for his children back home. He wants them to get quality education that is why he advised to enroll them to a private school in village. These private schools are providing comparatively better education.”

So, keeping in view the above-mentioned two cases of the migrant fathers it can be stated that the fathers doing manual jobs were least concerned about the classroom performance of their children and were more inclined toward getting their children travel and work abroad. The other group of parents who worked in relatively good positions, like factory supervisors were most concerned about the quality of the education for their children at various levels.

6.2.5. The Impact of Mothers' Education and Profession

In addition to the impact of fathers' education and profession on the educational attainment of their children, there was also an impact of mothers' education and profession on children's educational careers and achievements. Most of the mothers had not studied beyond primary level. The figures given below present a real situation of mothers' education from the left behind families.

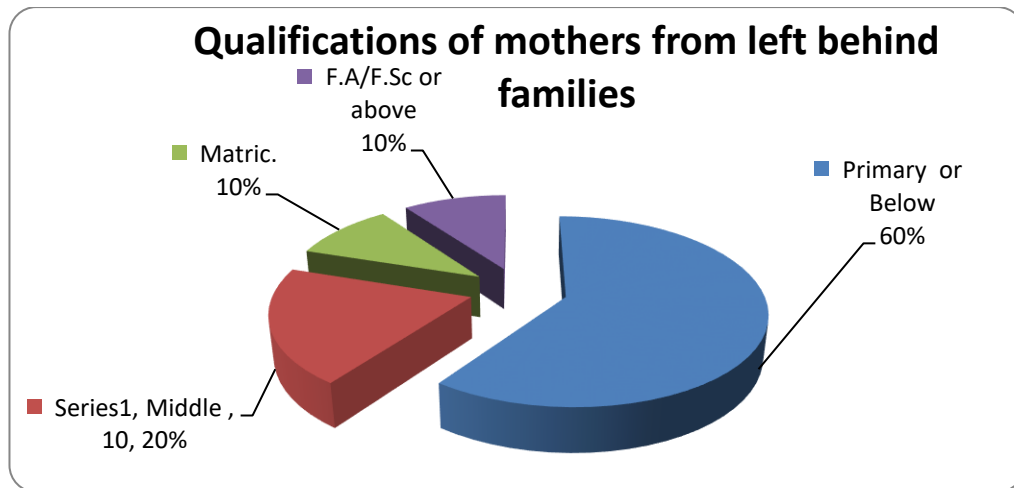


Figure 6.2 Qualifications of the mothers from the left behind families

A majority (60 percent) of mothers was illiterate or had achieved primary level of education only. 20 percent mothers had middle level of education while there were 10 percent mothers had cleared Matriculation and 10 percent were had Intermediate or above levels of education. Major reasons behind lower levels of the education of the mothers were the least opportunities the women of the village had at the school going ages. Most of them did aspire higher education but due to the cultural and structural hurdles were unable to achieve their goals. The second major reason for mothers' lower levels of education was the restrictions imposed by their parents at that time in the village. Neither was women's education considered compulsory.

The second variable was the profession of the mothers 'whether that had positive impact on the educational results of their children in the left behind families or not'. A larger majority of mothers did not participate in any economic activity at all. They were simple housewives. But only five mothers were engaged in economic activities. Apparently, both categories of women, whether engaged in some work or not, were involved in the household affairs.

Some mothers were preoccupied in the agriculture related caretaking in addition to their household activities. These women, most of the time, were looking after their children's educational affairs independently because in the absence of their husbands they had no choice. One of the respondents (42 years old) explained the shift in women's role in following way:

“After migration of my brother to England in 2000, I had to look after the household's affairs in his absence. But sometimes when I was managing my family affairs her wife took care of children. She was also looking after agricultural matters. My brother has four acres of land and he has handed it over to one of our relatives on annual sharecropping contract because it was very difficult for me and her wife to look after the land in addition to household affairs. In addition to routine matters at home we had to look after the educational activities of the children. All of his children are studying in English-medium private schools in the village. We try our levels best to look after educational needs in the absence of their father but children could be better managed by their fathers.”

The process of male migration from the village diversified the roles and responsibilities for women. In most of the nuclear families the left behind wives were taking care of household affairs. They had to look after family business and children's education in addition to the household issues.

6.3. The Allocation of Remittances to Educational Expenses

The inflow of remittances helped the families to spend more money on the educational careers of their children. The spending on education was a common phenomenon in the village as most of the left behind families had increased their spending since the migration. In addition to the general spending patterns of the remittances there was a disparity in the allocation of the remittances for educational careers of both the genders. The migrant households normally spend more on the male and less on their female children. This disparity in the consumption patterns led to opposite in academic performance of both the genders.

Male students were higher consumers of remittances in the form of the school fee, transportation, academy fee, and refreshment while females consumed less on extracurricular activities and performed far better at all educational levels when compared to the males.

6.3.1. Remittances and Educational Expenses: Scanning under Gender Lens

In majority of the patriarchal societies males enjoyed most of the rights including education. Women in the village not only faced hurdles at larger social rung but the allocation of the remittances to their educational careers was also abysmally low. To understand the nature of this disparity, a question was asked from the respondents about the equality in the allocation of the remittances to the educational careers of both the genders. In response to the question, most of the respondents stated that *“we don't spend equally on the academic needs because the girls have to go to their own houses (apnay ghar) after getting married and these are the boys who will be the real contributors to the family's income in the future.”* One of the male respondents (47 years old) explained this disparity in the following way:

“In our family we do not spend heavily on the education of the girls because we consider the boys' education as more important. There is no productivity involved in the education of the girls because they are not considered as economically productive as boys are. We arrange their marriages when they reach a certain age. Boys' education is considerably more productive in a sense that they could earn some money and contribute to the family. They could help in reducing the economic burden of the family. In our perspective, girls should get education to a certain level beyond which they could become problematic for the family.”

The education of girls in the rural settings like in the current village was always challenging. On one side Pakistan is progressively following the path of “Education for All” but at the same time country is facing problems to increase the school enrollments and reduce the number of ‘out-of-school’ children. Hence, there are some obstacles, especially, for female enrollments. Khan & Ali (2005:2) highlighted that, “sons are preferred over daughters for attaining education in poverty stricken rural communities of Pakistan. The country's literacy rate is increasing at very slow rate as compared with other countries of the region. The authors concluded that gender disparity is the major hurdle to our literacy rate. Movement of girls is restricted and after reaching puberty, they are even more restricted and they are not allowed to move freely.”

The perceptions of the left behind families were also in the line with Khan & Ali's (2005:2) argument. Educational process was one of the main sources for the females to interact with outer world which could be one main reason for not sending females to the school. Once the females reached the puberty their access to the

education was halted in the villages. Families thought that further education of females could create problems for them as there was risk that girls could befriend the opposite sex and even have illicit relationship. The other major reason which head of the families mentioned during the in-depth interviews was that, “*the education of the girls is necessary but only to a certain limit.*”

They referred to the ‘certain education level’ after which a girl could become a good mother but the notion that “after getting education women could be the economic contributors to the family” was totally unthinkable in the village. In majority of the cases the education of the women was limited to the matriculation level because the government schools which were providing the education opportunities to the girls were only up to this level. There were limited number of the private schools and even fewer coaching academies which provided the educational facilities beyond matriculation to the females. There were few students who got benefit out of such facilities in the village.

Educational expenses on the boys in the village were much higher as they were always supported by their families to study to the maximum level. Majority of the families enrolled their boys into the private schools where fee structures were comparatively much higher than the public schools. In addition to the schooling expenses of the boys, families also had tendency to spend lucratively on their pick and drop services, academy fee, clothing, refreshments and other education related expenditures.

6.3.2. Remittances and Educational Expenses: Regular and Occasional Expenses

There were multiple expenditure heads under education on which the left behind families normally spend remittances. These educational expenses were the major differences between the migrant and non-migrant families. In majority of the cases, non-migrant families were reluctant in spending higher amounts on the education of their children which was contrary to the left behind families’ expenditure spree. In case of the joint family system most of the time one migrant (the real bread winner) worked abroad and send money back home for the livelihoods. This money was further allocated by the head of the households’ who divided the remittance to the different educational needs like; a) regular monthly expenses i.e. monthly tuition fee, academy fee, transportation charges, pocket money, etc. b) the occasional

expenses, i.e. uniform and clothing expenses, books and note books, function charges, and examination fee, etc.

There was a big difference in the educational expenses of the students studying at the government and private schools. The students studying in the latter schools stated that educational expenses in these institutions were higher while the students in the government institutions tend to spend less. Keeping in view the exorbitant expenses in the private institutions, majority of the non-migrant families preferred government schools for their children.

The left behind families send their children to the private schools as they could easily afford the expenses and besides the private schools created a social wedge so much so that studying in private schools was considered a hallmark of higher status in the society. According to the information provided by respondents during the in-depth interviews a household on an average invested about Rs. 10,000 to 12,000 only on education of per month in the English-medium private school but these charges varied from male child to the female.

The major reason behind this variation was that the families were paying equal fees to the school but they were not spending equally on their academy fee, clothing, and pocket money. Majority of the female students were only provided with the chance to attend the schools but not the academy education which was restricted to the village boys only. Students studying in the public/government schools consumed less as compared to those who were studying in the private schools.

Table 6.3 presents information related to monthly schooling expenditures of both genders from the left behind families. The data shows a major difference in allocation of the remittances for both the genders studying in government and private schools. Male students studying in the private schools were consuming more money as compared to the female children studying in the same schools. The boys were spending about Rs.13,000 per month while girls expended Rs.10,000. Total expenses of the male students studying in the government schools were about Rs.1,800 while the girls' spending was Rs.1,500.

The expenses of the female students studying in the private schools, in which their male siblings were also studying, were comparatively less because these female students were not given equal chances to study in the academy after the school education while male students attended classes in the academy after the regular

school. Another difference was also found in the provision of the pocket money where boys were given more than the girls.

Table No. 6.3 Monthly Educational Expenses (Government vs. Private Schools)

Expenses Heads	Private Schools	Government Schools
<i>Male Students</i>		
School Fee	5000	0000
Academy Fee	3500	1000
Transportation Charges	2000	0000
Pocket Money	2500	800
Total	13000	1800
<i>Female Students</i>		
School Fee	5000	0000
Academy Fee	1500	1000
Transportation Charges	2000	0000
Pocket Money	1500	500
Total	10000	1500

(Source: Field Data, 2011-12)

There was again an anomaly between the female students studying in private and government schools. The expenses of private schools' female students were in the range of ten thousands while females studying in the public schools were paying only fifteen hundred per month. This table presents a contrast of the expenses of the female students by the parents during one month. Majority of the migrant parents spend much higher on the education of their children. But those migrated recently or going through the struggling period could not afford to spend more on the education. They were normally sending their children to the government school where fee structures were comparatively much less.

In addition to the regular monthly expenses, there were also some occasional expenses on uniform and clothing expenses, books and note books functions charges, and examination fee. Parents had to pay occasionally for such needs. Most of the private schools were providing uniforms to the students from school based shops as they did not want the hues of colors in the uniform. The second sub-head of the occasional expenses were books, note books, and practical books which again were provided by the private schools at their own.

These private schools were also getting annual stock from the book sellers of the city and they normally provided to the students at the campus. The students paid for such facilities either from the monthly fee or when they required such materials. Function charges came under the third category of the occasional charges and the students were asked by the school administration to pay a few days before the

function. Most of the private schools not only celebrated the ‘national days’ but also organized functions every two to three months because they provided students with co-curricular activities on regular basis.

Table No. 6.4 Occasional Educational Expenses (Public vs. Private Schools) Per Annum

Expenses Heads	Private Schools	Government Schools
<i>Male Students</i>		
Uniform and Clothing Expenses	6000	2000
Books and Note Books	7000	1500
Function Charges	3000	1500
Examination Fee	2000	1500
Total	18000	6500
<i>Female Students</i>		
Uniform and Clothing Expenses	6000	2000
Books and Note Books	7000	1500
Function Charges	3000	1500
Examination Fee	2000	1500
Total	18000	6500

(Source: Field Data, 2011-12)

In addition to the on campus functions these private schools also arranged recreational trips for the students. The last occasional expense related to the examination fee which was normally collected on quarterly basis. There was a big difference in the allocation of the remittances not only for both genders to the occasional expenses but it was variant among the students studying in the government and private schools as well.

The students studying in the private schools were spending about Rs.18,000 on the occasional expenses heads per annum. One of the main heads on which they spend a large sum of money (about Rs. 6,000) was that of uniforms and clothing. The students studying in the government schools consumed three times less (about Rs. 2,000) when compared to the private schools.

The other main head was of related to books, note books or the practical books. There was a big difference in this head amongst the private school students and the government school students as the student studying in the latter institutions were spending about Rs.1,500 Pakistani rupees while the former consumed much higher (about Rs. 7000) under this head.

The major reason behind this swelling difference was that the public school students were got books through the ‘Chief Minister’ free education program’ at primary level. The books and uniform were the responsibility of the ‘Punjab

Government' and that is why the expenses of the students were much less in government schools. The third sub-head of the occasional expenses were regarding function charges. There was again a visible difference in the expenses of the students studying in the private school and government schools because the former always arranged functions for the students either at campus or arranged recreational trips to the other cities. Meanwhile, there was no such trend in the government schools due to the paucity of funds. But even if they arranged similar recreational trips and held regular functions, the students and their parents would be reluctant to contribute to such events. A big difference could be observed in the statistics presented in the expenses of the public schools (Rs.1,500) against the function heads as compared to the private schools (Rs. 3,000) because of the above-given reasons.

The last sub-head of the occasional expenses of the private and government school students were those of examination fee. Again a significant difference could be witnessed as the private school students consumed almost Rs. 2,000 and students studying in the government schools consumed almost fifty percent less. There was no such difference in the expenses of the female students in comparison to the male students.

6.4. The Impact of Remittances on Religious Education

There was negative correlation between the migration, inflow of remittances, and the attainment of the religious education of the children in the left behind families. Few decades ago, majority of the children from these families were sent to the religious schools (*madradas*) and mosques for the *Tilawat-e-Quran* (recitation of the Holy Quran) and *Hifz-e-Quran* (memorization of the Holy Quran).

Majority of the village population was Muslim and there were two major sects in the village. Each sect had their own Mosque and *madrasa* which was mostly funded by the migrants. Migrants were religiously active in not only donating money to these religious institutions but also supported the religious education for the children. But about one decade before, this trend underwent a total change. Migrants keep donating money to the religious institutions but the enrollment of children to these religious institutions reduced dramatically. The major reasons behind this shift were identified by one of the teachers at *madrasa* in the village. He said that:

“Few years back, the left behind families were not only the regular donors for religious institutions in the village but they were also fond of sending their children to the religious education. The enrollment of

children from the left behind families to the religious institutions was much higher. In addition to this they were also getting the formal education from other institutions. But now these migrants occasionally send us money and their children show reluctance to study at the religious institutions. In my perspective, the major reason behind this shift is due to the emerging trends of private schooling in the village. These private schools also teach students religious subjects in the classrooms. Nowadays, migrants families are least interested in the religious education in the madrasa and the mosque.”

Although, it had been a part of their educational plans for their children few years back the religious education was no more the major priority of the left behind families in the village. The migrants had built a strong financial base and were eager to switch over immediately to the private education systems as this was in keeping the present day requirements and maintaining status quo.

Chapter No. 7

THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON HEALTH

This chapter is divided into five major sections. The first section discusses the conceptualization of health, illness and the sickness role while the second section deals with healthcare facilities and major trends in the village. The third section focuses on the impact of migration on food security and dietary patterns while the fourth section presents details of migration and social well-being. The last section of the chapter focuses on the impact of migration on maternal healthcare.

“Health” is one of the mostly commonly used terms in academic discourses as well as everyday conversations. The term health could be defined in multiple ways. For the current research purpose it refers to the “*optimum attainable level of physical, mental and emotional well-being.*” The issue of the health is of subjective nature and it could be explored at both the individual as well as the societal levels.

7.1. Concepts of Health and Illness

People used multiple terms for both the “healthy” and for the “sick” in the village. They normally used Urdu terms ‘*bimar*’ for illness and ‘*mareez*’ for the patient. For healthy person they called it ‘*Thek thak*’ or ‘*vall*’ (in Punjabi) or ‘*sehatmand*’ (in Urdu). The term ‘*sehatmand*’ is derived from an Arabic term ‘*sehat*’ means the possession of health. There were different but multiple parameters for ‘*sehat*’ in the village. A male respondent defined the health (*sehat*) in following way:

“Those who have a glowing face, have blood [in body], never had a complaint of any pain, can move when required, do not feel lethargic, have the capacity to do work, does not feel weakness and feels an appetite are considered as healthy.”

While the sick (*bimar*) were those who did not possess what is stated in the above mentioned phrase.

7.1.1. The Sick Role

Sick role has a long standing in academic discourse. It has been derived from the writings of Talcott Parsons. Parsons (1951:23). He mentioned that, “...sickness typically involves withdrawal from work and passivity. Sickness involving a temporary, passive withdrawal from work is potentially a threat to the values of the whole system.” Parsons (1951:296) further elaborated that the individual, who suffers

actually in functionalist perspective, becomes an unproductive member of the society and it is the responsibility of medical professional to overcome this state through curing mechanisms. While in the present research scenario, the sick role was not considered as a 'deviant' rather special attention was given to the sufferers through the rigorous process of care in addition to the services of the medical professionals.

The sick normally lay down on a cot (*charpai*) during that illness period. It was customary for the villagers to visit the patient during his illness. This custom was based on reciprocal basis as care and affection was considered part of social interaction. People from the *biradari* (kinship) and known circles visited the *bimar* and inquired his health (this was known as *teemardari* or *bimarpursi* among the inhabitants of the village) not only from the individual him/herself but also from the family members to their and affection and concern towards the family of the sick.

The visitors exchanged views on possible source of the illness and the cure. It was customary for the visitors to give some money (ranging between Rs. 100 to 500 or more) to the patients. It was the responsibility of the family members to consult a suitable healer for cure of the disease depending on their financial capacity, while the relatives and visitors could only advise them on whom to consult with. One of the respondents (40 years old) discussed the institution of *bimarpursi* in the following way:

“At the time when one suffers from a disease, it is an esteemed responsibility of the close relatives and neighbored to visit and inquire about his/her health. On their visit it is obligatory for the visitors to bring either fruits and give money to the sick person to show warmth towards the family.”

The visitors to the patients either at home or in the hospital, were served with tea (*chai*), cold drinks or juices, and sometime yogurt drink (*lassi*). In addition to this, sometimes the visitors were also served with meal in case they stayed longer. The number of the visitors for the *teemardari* was closely associated with the level of popularity of that person among the close relatives and village-folk. On their visits, people shared their personal experiences about the disease(s) and suggested possible options of treatment.

In case the close relatives of the patients were abroad, it was also customary for them to ask about the health either directly from the patients or the family members. The migrant members also send additional money for the treatment and they also advised their families on the best possible treatment. In case of remote

relative again the migrant members made calls to the patients directly or to their families and asked about the health of the patient. In some cases the migrants influenced the treatment process by dictating their families about the method of treatment. The migrants were normally advising their families to visit the medical professionals in case of illness. They also ensured economic support for the patient's treatment. In such cases the worldview of the migrants was closely associated to the spending on health and the treatment process.

One of the respondents discussed the economic assistance provided by the migrant members at time of illness:

“When someone suffers from illness, the migrant members normally call that individual or the family on phone and ask about the condition of illness. If the illness does not overcome after the initial treatment then he sends some additional money and advises the family to consult a specialist doctor in the city.”

The contact-advice mechanism between the sick and the migrants is beneficial in many ways for the left behind families. It normally provides guidelines for the sick and relatives in the process of treatment as the migrant(s) influence them to opt for the best possible treatment. Second, through this link the migrant(s) also ensure the additional money for the family in need which actually hastens the process of treatment. Third, this link also helps the families left behind to consult the private health practitioner based in the village or the Gujrat city.

7.2. Healthcare Facilities and the Most Common Trends

The villagers used a number of treatment methods at time of illness. The first major choice among the majority of the left behind families was to consult a medical professional (either from public or private sector). The rest of the choices were based on the nature of the illness. Following is the list of other treatment approaches available and practiced by the left behind families of the village; a) Ethnomedicine, b) Greek c) Medicine/allopathic, d) Spiritual Healing, and e) Homeopathy. The details of the healthcare facilities are presented in the subsequent section based on the choices of the left behind families.

7.2.1. Government Healthcare Institutions

The government health facility (Basic Health Unit/BHU) of the village was one of the oldest health institutions in the region. It provided health facilities to the inhabitants of the village and nearby communities. Before the establishment of the

private clinics in the village the Basic Health Unit (BHU) was the only option for the treatment. Although, this facility was not equipped with all kind of facilities but it was one of the suitable options for at least those who could not afford the expenses of treatment from the private hospitals. There were two major healthcare institutions in the village; a) Basic Health Unit and b) Civil dispensary.

A. The Basic Health Unit

The BHU was established about 20 years before in the village. It comes under the supervision of district health department and the Executive District Office (Health) was responsible its operation and progress in providing the health delivery services. In the beginning it was well-equipped but later on the administration was unable to maintain it well. During the study (2011-12) following staff and facilities were available in the BHU.

Table No. 7.1. Facilities at Basic Health Unit

S. No.	Facilities	Response
1.	Medical Professionals (General Physicians)	02
2.	Paramedic Staff	05
3.	No. of Rooms in the BHU	10
4.	Beds for Patients	14
5.	Free Medicine	Yes but only at initial level of treatment
6.	Average Number of Patients per Day (Outdoor Patients)	40-50
7.	Average Number of Patients per Day (In-door Treatment)	5-7

(Source: Office Records, and Interview of the officer In-charge of BHU, 2011-12)

The table no. 7.1 shows that there were only two medical professionals (General Physicians) available for more than 2000 households of the village. In addition to the health professionals there were only 5 paramedical staff members in the BHU. There were about 14 beds in the hospitals for the indoor patients but only few were functional and others were in very bad shape.

Although, in documents, the BHU was providing free medicine to patients most of the patients were directed by staff to purchase medicine from the medical outlets because of the scarcity of medicine in the health facility. The number of visitors per day to the BHU was reducing day-by-day. One of the staff members of the hospital stated the situation in the following words:

“Nowadays there are about 40-50 patients who visit us for treatment. This number was much higher few years back.”

Shaikh, Rabbani, Safi, & Dawar (2010:388) mentioned about the situation of BHUs in Pakistan and identified that an average number of patients ranging between 20-25 daily visit for the treatment purposes. They further added that utilization and satisfaction of the patients had remained unchanged during last three decades.

In the recent past the number of emigrants increased and subsequently made it possible for their left behind families to spend more on the illnesses which indirectly gave rise to the establishment of the private hospitals in the village. The allocation of the remittances and the exposure gained by the left behind families cascaded the private treatment in the village.

Substantial decrease in both indoor and outdoor patients was observed in the BHU and the inflow of remittances was one major factor behind this decrease. In most of the cases the left behind families consulted the medical professional of private hospitals in the village and nearby city too remittance made it possible for them to do so. In the before migration scenario the same families were unable to afford the private treatment because of limited incomes. The migration with the regular inflow of remittances increased their capacity to spend on the quality treatment.

One of the respondents (42 years old) narrated the major causes behind the shift in treatment among the left behind families in the village:

“The left behind families preferably consult a private doctor based in Gujrat city or the other cities like Islamabad or Lahore at the time of illness. The process of treatment from the private doctors was associated to the social status in the village as the left behind families could only afford to consult the private doctors at time of illness. They mostly say that we have money so why should not we consult the best doctors for the sake of our health.”

Another respondent (38 years old) mentioned about this shift in the treatment in the following way:

“In case of illness, most of the people prefer to visit the private clinics or hospitals instead of the public hospital because in public hospitals doctors remain absent and only dispensers take care of the patients.”

This respondent was rightly referring to the shift in the process of treatment from public to the private and even private to the more specialized and expensive treatments. This process of treatment was positively influenced by migration with the

regular inflows of the remittances. So, in case when one of these left behind families suffered from illness they normally consulted the best doctor available in the village or the city for his/her treatment.

The major reason behind this shift in the process of treatment was based on number of points like, a) the worldview of people who came across through the migration process and the way migrants influenced their left behind families to spend more on the treatment, b) the regular inflow of remittances relaxed the economic burden of families and allowed them to spend more on the treatment, c) the emulation (*rees/dekha dikhi*) was also very influential in the treatment of illnesses. In most of the cases the left behind families were solely following their relative families to consult the private doctors.

The left behind families were able to spend more on the treatment in light of the three determinants mentioned above. But at the same time the process was out of reach for those who lacked the resources like non-migrant families in the village.

Most of the people with lower incomes usually visited the government hospital because the treatment was almost free but what hinders them to visit the hospital was lack of facilities. About the process of the treatment, one of the respondents mentioned in following way:

“At the time when my mother suffered from heart disease, my brother (who was working in Spain) transferred additional money and advised us to consult the best doctor. We did the same and took her to Shifa International Hospital in Islamabad and started her treatment. We consumed almost three hundred thousand rupees on her treatment. It could not have been possible for us if our brother did not send the money.”

It would have been impossible for the same family to get treatment from the expensive hospital Shifa International had their family member not working abroad. The major reason to access such expensive treatments was based on the families' pre-eminent economic position through the inflow of remittances. It had become very common among the left behind families to spend heavily on the treatment.

B. The Civil Dispensary

Civil Dispensary was the second major facility provided by the government in the village. It was established few years back to cater for the provision of health services to the villagers. It was situated in the west of the main *chowk* (center) of the village near Jinnah School. The condition of this dispensary was even more pitiable

than the BHU. The control of dispensary was again in the hands of EDO (Health) including both the staff and medicine.

Table No. 7.2. Facilities in the Civil Dispensary

S. No.	Facilities	Response
1.	Medical Professionals [General Physician]	Nil
2.	Paramedic Staff	02
3.	No. of Rooms in the dispensary	02
4.	Beds for Patients	06
5.	Free Medicine	Yes but only for initial level of treatment
6.	Average Number of Patients per Day (Outdoor Patients)	10-15
7.	Average Number of Patients per Day (In-door Treatment)	02-03

(Source: Office Record of the Dispensary, and Interview of the Paramedic Staff)

Table no. 7.2 presents the details of facilities available in the dispensary during 2011-12. The dispensary did not have a medical officer and only one paramedical staff was available to attend the patients. The number of patients in the dispensary was much lower as compared to the BHU. Only 10 to 15 patients were visiting the dispensary per day for treatment. The staff member explained the situation of the dispensary in following way:

“The number of the patients who visit Dispensary is very low because of two main reasons, the un-availability of doctor and free medicine. The majority of the visitors come from the very poor class with some minor diseases.”

Only few patients were visiting the dispensary for indoor treatment. The main reason behind such low number of the indoor patients was the unavailability of the both medical professional and medicine. Although, there were few beds available for the indoor patients the condition of those beds was far from suitable. The majority of the visitors to the dispensary belonged to the poor strata. One of the regular visitors who resided near the dispensary mentioned that:

“Most of the visitors to this dispensary come from poor class. They visited the dispensary because they did not have sufficient money to spend on the treatment in the private hospitals. The left behind families hardly visited this dispensary because they were not interested in the free medicine and they can easily afford the treatment from private hospitals.”

When respondent was asked about the treatment from Civil Dispensary, he replied that;

“Before the migration of my elder brother to England we used to visit the public sector health institutions, i.e. BHU and Civil Dispensary but now we only consult the best doctors available in the village and city depending on the nature of the illness.”

7.2.2. Private Health Care Institutions

In addition to the public health institutions in the village there were number of private health institutions as well. The private healthcare institutions were further divided into two major categories, the first category was of the private hospitals with all the required facilities to treat the patients with at least four to five medical professional, paramedic staff, laboratory with necessary testing facilities, Operation Theaters, and well-equipped rooms for indoor treatment. The second category was of one room and one medical professional based private clinics. Few such clinics were also run by the quacks.

The first category of private hospitals not only catered to the health related problems of the outdoor patients but also admitted the patients if required. The private hospitals provided a platform for the qualified medical professionals who visited the village at least twice a week at specific time to check patients. The availability of such doctors was announced in advance through wall chalking and banners displayed in the central bazaar and at the entry points. These private hospitals had a good network with the other private hospital in the city to which they referred their critical. They also took the advice on medicine and treatment from the specialists in the private hospitals located in the city. This was one way how they handled the complicated emergency cases and provided necessary treatment.

The access to these private hospitals was again based on the economic and mental satisfaction of the people. The majority of the patients to the first category of private hospitals were the villagers who had enough money to spend on the treatment process and most of them were from the left behind families. One of the respondents discussed the treatment process in following way:

“Last week when my son suffered from high fever I took him to village’s best private hospital for treatment. In this hospital a specialist doctor comes from the city for twice a week. I consulted the same doctor for the illness of my son.”

The network of the private hospitals was expanding day-by-day as doctors from the different parts of district started establishing private clinics in the village. One of the key informant stated that about five years back there were only two private clinics in the village and those belonged to a retired medical professional but recently there is a trend among the medical community to open new clinics and as such their number is increasing. At time of fieldwork (2011-12) there were about six private clinics in the village.

In addition to the private hospitals there were some clinics as well. These clinics were only one room based with a single medical professional. The network of private clinics was not the first choice for consultation by the left behind families as they were in favor of more specialized medical treatment either in the village, Gujrat city or even other large cities. The main reason for not selecting the private clinic for the treatment was the lack of trust in the doctors to diagnose or to treat illnesses. On the issue of the selection of medical clinic, one of the respondents from left behind family opined that:

“We try to avoid consulting the private clinics because neither they have good medical professionals nor the condition of clinics is conducive for providing necessary treatment. With access money in our pockets why should we not consult good medical specialists beyond existing limited options?”

Money definitely mattered for the treatment of illness in the village as the left behind families with capacity to spend did not hesitate to go for expensive treatment. Undoubtedly, the non-migrant families thought multiple times before spending on their patients.

So, the above-mentioned section coupled with the respondents’ narrative clearly demonstrated that the left behind families with inflated incomes through remittances altered their plans for treatment from the public sector health facilities to the private and more specialized modes of treatment in the private sector. The main reason behind this shift in the treatment was due to two migration dependent reasons; a) the inflow of remittances which reduced their poverty burden and necessitated them to set aside finances for treatment, and b) the worldview, migrants came across and shared their perspectives about the health with their families left behind that led them to make a shift in the treatment process.

7.2.3. Traditional Healthcare Practices (Ethnomedicine)

The third major sector of the healthcare in the village was based on traditional healthcare system. In the traditional healthcare people mainly depended on the home based remedies, cultural/ traditional sources of treatment, and spiritual healing related treatments. Krippner (2003:215) has explained ethnomedicine as “a study which mainly based on the traditional medicine practice.” While, Lowe *et al.* (2000:170) stated that ethnomedicine is a complex and multidisciplinary treatment mechanism which actually uses plant, spirituality and the natural environment as a source of healing. The preceding sections present information on the alternative medicines which were used in the village. Most of the left behind families in addition to the modern medicine were using the traditional or the alternative medicine like, *Hikmet* or *Tibb-e-Unani*, and Spiritual Healing.

A. Greek Medicine

Greek Medicine or *Tibb-e-Unani* is widely applicable in most of the rural settings in Pakistan. This practice of healthcare system was initially started by Greeks and later on it was adopted by the Muslim healthcare practitioners. According to Cartwright (2013) the practice of Greek way of treatment initially took illness as a divine punishment and healing it was considered a gift from gods. But later on a shift from the spiritually to rationality was observed in the Greek medicine as it identified some material which could cause illnesses. The healer of this method tried to explore the relationship between cause and effect, symptom and illness relation, and the success and failure of treatments. However, few of the aspects of this healthcare system remained same as at the time of the Greek era but later on few of its aspects were modified and prevail until now.

This healthcare system was mainly based on the principle that ‘diseases is a natural process and that symptoms are the reaction of the body to disease.’ Further this healthcare system is based on the ‘humoral theory’ that believes about the presence of four major ‘*akhlaat*’ (humours) in the body, i.e. *dam* (blood), *balgham* (phlegm), *saфра* (yellow bile), and *sauda* (black bile). In addition to these four categories of the ‘*akhlaat*’ these do have their own temperaments like, blood is hot and moist; phlegm is cold and moist; yellow bile is hot and dry; and black bile is cold and dry. What *Tibb-e-Unani* believed in was that if all four components and its four

primary temperaments (hot, cold, dry, and moist) were all in a state of mutual equilibrium, the person was considered as healthy.

Further, this health system believed that the human body was made of four basic elements;

1. Blood - air
2. Phlegm - water
3. Yellow bile - fire
4. Black bile - earth

Keeping in view the essence and efficacy of *Tibb-e-Unani*, people of the village were also inclined towards this practice of medicine to cure the ailments. Majority of the people still believed in the efficacy of medicinal plants, herbs, minerals, as organs of the treatment of the disease. These practices were most of the time used with the assistance of the elders-who have been into this practice for many years and secondly the *hakeems*- the experts on this healthcare system and most of them were practicing throughout the generations.

There were two experts of the *Tibb-e-Unani* locally known as *Hakeem* who were mostly consulted by the villagers in case of illnesses like *bukhar* (fever), *nazla-zukam* (flu), *sar-dard* (headache), *pait ka dard* (stomach pain), *banjhpan* (infertility), and *namardi* (impotency) etc. In addition to these two *Hakeems* the villagers also visited few *Hakeems* in the city as well, in the case of the health serious complications.

Hakeems prescribed their patients '*sharbat*' (syrup) and *safoof* (mixture of the herbs and plants) for drinking purpose. In addition to these remedies they also advised the patients to intake nutritious food and liquids like milk, tea and water regularly. One of the respondents (45 years old) informed about the *hakeem*'s treatment process and remedies that he recommended for his illness.

“When I visited the Hakeem at the time of fever, he started the checkup by examining my pulse. Then he asked me about the time and state of fever and diet I took during the last two days. He handed over me self-made syrup, and a mixture of herbs and plants to make qehwa (green tea). He suggested that I shall boil that mixture in a liter of water for almost fifteen minutes and then take a cup of it. He also recommended taking a cup or two of chicken broth. The fever was cured by using these items suggested by the Hakeem.”

Another respondent stated the use of herbs in daily life to cure diseases in following context:

“In the case of flu we make qehwa (green tea) from different leafs and stems of the selective herbs (e.g. mint leaves) and it helps to cure the flu.”

This practice of *Tibb-e-Unani* provided remedies to cure most of the diseases prevalent in the community. Most of the youth and middle aged men consulted the *hakeem* for the treatment of impotency (*namardangi*). It was the only trusted method for the treatment of impotency and sterility in the absence of modern medicine and homeopathy.

Most of the people with such problems felt shy to share it with family and friends' networks. One of the key informants shared a common joke which friends make about would be married persons.

“Ilaj karw ley pehlay, yeh na ho phr sharmindgi ho tumhin”
[Before [marrying] you should visit the *Hakeem* for treatment of impotency lest you feel ashamed]

The key informant stated that people normally advised the person getting married in comparatively older age to take some medicine from *Hakeem* to enhance his sexual potency. In addition to the use of *Tibb-e-Unani* for healing of different diseases few plants were also commonly used by the villagers by housewives to cure simple illnesses and pains.

B. Spiritual Healing Mechanisms

Spirituality is closely associated with the process of healthcare in the locale through some common practices like, prayer and meditation. People tried to overcome their miseries through the practice of spirituality. According to Koenig, McCullough & Larson (2001) spirituality is about searching of the purpose and meaning in the life. It is the practice at time of stress, miseries, and other related issues.

Further, Murray and Zentner (1989) stated that “Spirituality has been called ‘a quality that strives for inspiration, reverence, awe, meaning and purpose, even in those who do not believe in God’.” The spirituality has been considered as a missing element in the process of healing throughout the world. WHO (1998) has divided the four categories of spirituality into multifold subcategories. According to this bifurcation module the a) transcendence might include; affiliation to spiritual entity, meaning of live, inner peace, and belief in death or dying, while, b) personal relations has; selflessness, space for others, and forgiveness, c) codes to live by contains;

freedom to practice beliefs and norms, and faith, and last category was d) specific beliefs.

This practice of healing has been accepted and performed by many of the world religions including Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, and Judaism. It has been part of the healthcare practices throughout the ages in Pakistan while implementing many of its methodologies like, a) meditation, counseling, prayers, *manat mangna*- making a woe before God and other religious authorities, and desire and will to heal. By doing different kinds of practices people try to get rid of illnesses and other miseries of life.

The left behind families were inclined towards the spiritual healing in addition to the modern methods of treatment. *Dam* (breath) or *taweez* (amulet) were most common methods for treatment. The practice of *dam* remained evident in the village at the time of suffering either in the form of a health problems or any other misery. In most of the cases the process of treatment starts with the visit to a religious leader in the village like, *moulvi*- Imam Masjid (who leads the prayers in a Masjid (Mosque) or a *pir* (a spiritual leader) to take breath. The process of breath is very simple. That leader recites overtly or covertly few of the verses from the Holy Quran and then spouts air at the face of the sufferer. This practice is repeated thrice and then the healer prays for the well-being of the sufferer.

The second practice of the spiritual healing was related to the *taweez* (amulets). The amulets were made by inscriptions of the verses from the Holy Quran to ward off the ailment and other problems of an individual or family. These Quranic verses were considered as efficacious for the process of healing as mentioned in two verses from the Holy Quran identified the same.

And We sent down in the Quran such things that have healing and mercy for the believers. (Al Quran, 17:82)

And declare (O Muhammad) that [the Quran] is a guidance and healing for the believers. (Al Quran, 41:44)

Keeping in view the efficacy of the verses of Holy Quran spiritual healers write down some verses and keep with them to get rid of the evils and miseries.

Visiting the shrines was the most common practice in the locale. Shrines are considered as holy places that are frequented by the devotees to accommodate their psychological and social problems. Most of the shrines located in the rural settings of Gujrat are considered as safe house for the persons to visit and make vows about the

problems they face. Majority of the visitors not only visit those shrines on regular basis but they also contributed with money and in-kind items.

A study was conducted by Khan & Sajid (2011:72) to explore the essence of the shrines in rural Gujrat and identified that villager of nearby settings and far away areas love to visit shrines at *Barrilla Sharif* in a bid to satisfy their spiritual needs. In addition to this they also mentioned the number of rituals people tend to perform to overcome their ailments. Few of those rituals were as followed; a) *bayat*- taking oath on the hands of *pir*, b) *mannat*- make a vow, c) knotting a thread, d) torching the oil lamp, e) *chadar charhana*-(spreading floral/cloth sheet at shrine), f) offering prayers, and g) bowing and taking rounds.

The shrines of *Barrilla Sharif* were not far away from the Karrianwala. The villagers regularly visited these shrines and made vows to cure the ailments. When their patients recovered from the ailments they returned to the shrines and completed their vows. Most of the people make vows to distribute *langar* (food) at shrines while others offer prayers and torch the oil lamps. Most of the young people visit these shrines each Friday to get free food- as *langar* is regularly distributed to the visitors by the caretakers of shrines at *Barrilla Sharif*. In addition to the *Barrilla Sharif* shrines, people also used to visit the shrine of *Challey Sharif* which was nearer to the village.

One of the respondents (4) mentioned the role of shrines in their lives in following way;

“These shrines have become part and parcel in our lives. We make vows to ward off miseries and health related problems. We make vow while facing such miseries and then we distribute some food at the shrines and some other rituals. This process of spiritual healing is always effective for us.”

The above mentioned quote portrays that the emotional linkage of the villagers to the shrine is very productive in the healing process. Majority of the left behind families were regularly visiting these shrines for healing and warding off their miseries.

7.2.4. Homeopathy

The homeopathic treatment is considered as one of the oldest methods of treatment of ailments. The term “Homeopathy” was originally coined by Hahnemann in 1796 and probably it appeared in print after eleven years of time in 1807. Although another theory on the origin of this medicinal treatment states that this was originally

started in 400 BC. While, National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine (NCCAM) (2009) described that Homeopathy in its present form was originally developed in Germany during 18th century. In the current era this medicine has set strong footings parallel to the modern medicine. In the countries like Pakistan, homeopathic medicine has been adopted by a large population while in the current village only few of the left behind families were inclined towards homeopathy.

There was only one homeopathic practitioner in village at the time of fieldwork (2011-12). This professional had graduated from Lahore and set-up his clinic in the village about three years back. He actually belonged to a nearby village and intentionally established his clinic in Karrianwala because he thought that there would be a reasonable number of visitors in this village-as the population of village were much higher in comparison to his own village. During in-depth interview, the homeopathic practitioner explained the attitude of left behind families towards homeopathy in the village and beyond in the following words.

“When I opened the clinic, residents were unaware of the homeopathic mode of treatment and only few patients from the left behind families visited me. But later on when I tried to talk to the known circle of the relatives and friends about the efficacy of the homeopathic medicine then the number of the patients increased but not as I anticipated. The majority visitors to my clinic are from the non-migrant lower middle and middle class families. The homeopathy is considered as lengthiest way of treatment and people were always in search for the prompt curing methods. That’s why they opt for other available treatment methods i.e. the Allopathic medicine etc.”

When it was asked from a respondent about the Homeopathic treatment, he promptly said:

“In my perception the Homeopathy is mainly based on the liquid diluted remedy which seems very time taking. Majority of the prescribed medicines are white colored tablets and small liquids for almost all types of diseases.”

There were only few regular patients of the homeopathic clinic and those were taking this treatment as an effective remedy with least side effects on their bodies. In their perceptions the scientific or Allopathic medicine may damage the human body rather than curing it effectively and efficiently. Left behind families were least interested in this treatment method as they were mostly consulting the allopathic medicine.

7.3. Migration, Food Security, and Dietary Patterns

The impact of migration on food security and dietary patterns has been seen by many migration researchers throughout the sending regions. The main logic behind this section is to highlight the major effects of migration and the inflow of remittances on the families left behind in context of food security. The major impact of the remittance was firstly on the accessibility of food and maintenance of the dietary patterns up to a certain standards. In the village, the majority of the left behind families was in a better position to access food of choice and maintained their dietary patterns. In the after migration scenarios the left behind families were in a better financial position to purchase the desired food items which consequently maintained their dietary patterns. This access to the food was mainly based on the transfers of remittances which consequently reduced the chances of starvation poverty burden on the families and made it possible for them to purchase necessary food.

7.3.1. The Impact on Food Security

The term ‘food security’ has been contextualized within the domains identified by Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations in 1974 during World Food Summit (UNO, 1975) and later on this definition was revisited by the FAO in 2002. This definition of FAO (2002) is operationalized for current research in the following way:

“Food security refers to situation in which a family has physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.”

Migration researchers like Lucas (2005:158), Lucas (2007:114) and Khan *et al.* (2009:206) have found a positive impact of the remittances on the food security of the left behind families in the country of origin. These studies have demonstrated that migration and remittances act as insurance in the risk situations for destitute and vulnerable households. The inflows of remittances helped in reducing the poverty burden from the left behind families and allowed them to spend more on food.

During the fieldwork people were asked about their purchasing capacity related to food and their willingness to buy in a before and after migration situations. In addition to purchasing power of required food items, quality and quantity of the food items was also very important aspects to be explored. Greater part of the left behind families perceived that remittances indemnified food security but only part of

remittances was used for the purchase of food items. Remittances helped families in allocating a part of their budget for the food. After achieving the first goal to get access to the food later people also became conscious of the quality of the very food they wanted to buy. One of the respondents (40 years old) stressed on the role of remittances in food security in the following way:

“Remittances have made our lives much easier. We feel very happy to get required food items in time. In before migration scenario it was not easy for us to do so.”

The left behind families were clearly influenced by the transfers of remittances which consequently helped them to access healthy food items without any difficulty. Another respondent (36 years old) mentioned about the food security in the following way:

“After the migration of my brother we have never faced any issue related to the scarcity of food. Now we can cook three times a day of our own choice. Before the migration of my brother the availability of food items was not up to the family’s requirements. But the situation changed after migration scenario for the family. We are thankful to Allah Almighty for making it easy for us through the process of migration.”

Cooking with choice had never been an easy option in most of the rural settings in Pakistan where economic conditions of the villagers always remained uncertain and their purchasing power did not allow them to spend heavily on the food of choice. They normally cooked food keeping in view their resources. They normally stuck to the phrase “*guzarakarna*”-which meant showing contentment. The scarcity of the resources actually led the people to think about moving abroad in order to afford a reasonably better living. One of respondents (39 years old) mentioned that:

“Family’s economic uncertainty and lower living standards pushed my elder brother to move abroad. His journey not only helped us in relieving household’s poverty but at the same time the family’s living standards substantially improved. The transfer of remittances made it possible for us, like other families in the village, to access quality food.”

In the village, families’ access to food, cooking of food with choice, and the quality of food was totally dependent on the economic situation of the households and it varied between migrant to non-migrant families. The left behind families were in an enviable position to access the food items, cook with choice, and maintained the quality of the food intake only because of regular stream of remittances. This regular

influx not only liberated them from position of lower possession of food to a stature where they could exercise their choice in buying food. They could now spend more on the food and in the process maintain the quality of food intake.

Majority of the respondents mentioned that they were paying extra money for the purchase of quality food like, milk, rice, meat, vegetables, and fruits and attributed this change to money received from migrants. But all this could happen in the after migration situation which might be impossible for them in the before migration scenario. One of the respondents (43 years old) mentioned about the purchase of quality food items in the following way:

“We always try to purchase quality food items for the family. We have asked the dodhi (milkman) to provide quality milk for the family and we actually pay some extra money for it. We purchase majority of food items like meat, vegetables and fruits from Jalalpur Jattan- a nearby town and sometimes from Gujrat city by using our personal car. We always try to purchase the quality food items.”

It was so evident that the process of migration not only increased the purchasing power of food but it also provided liberty to the left behind families to access quality food. The respondents were questioned during about their satisfactions regarding the quality and quantity of food in both before and after migration situations. The responses of the respondents are presented in the below give pi-chart.

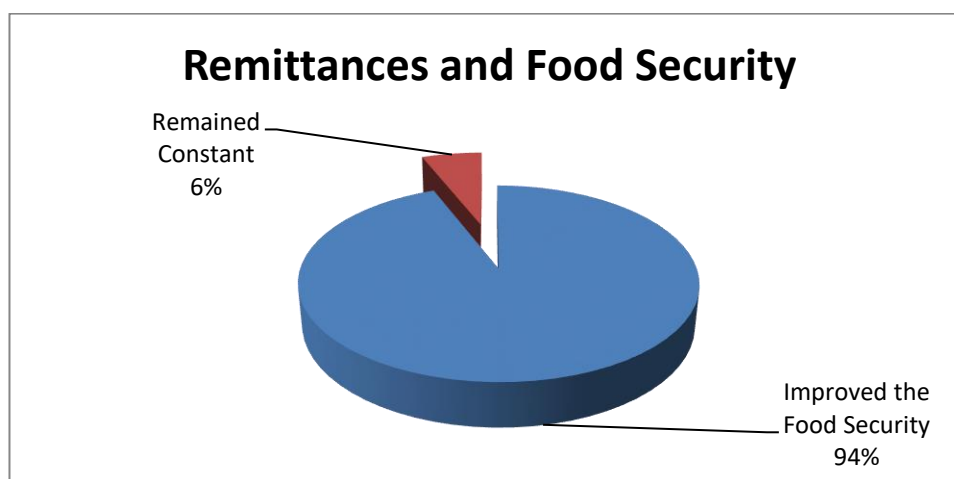


Figure 7.1 The impact of remittances on food security

The figure 7.1 shows that a majority (94 percent) of the respondents were satisfied about the food security while only 6 percent said that there was no role of remittances in the food security. The data portrays that there was a reasonable impact of the remittances on the purchase of the food in the left behind families. The majority of the households were spending a reasonable part of their remittances on the

purchase of food and they were very satisfied about current food consumption patterns.

7.3.2. The Impact on Dietary Patterns

It was very important to understand the type of food items available in the locale and the favourite choices of the left behind families from the available ones. The list of food items was quite large but it was categorized under four heads namely a) fruits (*phal*), b) vegetables (*sabzian*), c) meat (*gosht*), and d) pulses (*daalain*). These items were of daily consumption and the left behind families did not maintain any record of the quantities consumed during each month. The recall method was used to get approximate information on the four food categories consumed by the families in the previous month. Details about the fruits, vegetables and pulses have been attached in annexures I, II, and III (see Table No. 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5 at page Nos. 214, 215, and 216).

The respondents were asked about the four categories of food consumption patterns. In most of the cases respondents purchased variety of these items and provided details on each one of them. One of the respondents (28 years old) mentioned about the process of food purchase;

“My father sends us money during the first week of each month. After the transfer of money we start purchasing the required food items. We do grocery from a merchant’s shop in village’s main bazaar. My youngest sister helps me in preparing a list of required grocery. Besides the grocery we also purchase meat (including, Beef, Mutton, and Chicken) from a meat shop near main Mosque in center (chowk) of village. We purchase fruits and vegetables for at least one week from the same bazaar. We feel very privileged when we get desired food stuff for use at home.”

The above-mentioned case showed that had made the lives of left behind families much easier. The migrants worked thousands of miles away scarifying the comfort of home, all but to see that their families back home did not complain of any discomfort. Their main concern was that the hard earned money was used judiciously by the family members. Their remittances helped in saving the families from starvation especially through purchase of healthy food. The challenge of accessing food for the families in pre migration period had now been successfully overcome through the courtesy of regular inflow of remittance.

Nevertheless, it was evident that remittances not only relaxed the household economic burden but also provided them with the opportunities to enjoy to the fullest

by spending in the leisure activities as well. Majority of the households could now go out for recreation purpose on their own or rented vehicles and motorcycles. This was one of the indicators how additional remittance had brought leisure and flavor in their lives.

One of the respondents mentioned the role of remittances in family excursion tours in the following way:

“It is always good to have family tour on weekends. We normally visit Islamabad with children and some time we also visit Murree hill station just to spend a quality time with family.”

In the subsequent section details about the consumption of daily food items (i.e. fruits, vegetables, and pulses) by migrant households across different seasons have been presented. These were main part of the dietary plans in the village and most of the left behind families now regularly consumed them. But the quantity of food consumption varied among such families. Most of the fruits were seasonal in nature and their availability was purely for a short period. Lists of fruits and vegetables to be purchased were prepared with the help of the respondents and key informants.

There were apparently two main seasons (summer and winter) during which different fruits and vegetables were available in the village. In addition to these a list of the pulses was also prepared to understand the dietary patterns. One close look into the long list of the fruits and vegetables showed the seasonal bifurcation but few of the fruits, like, apple (*seb*) and banana (*kela*) were available throughout the year. Majority of fruits were sold in kilograms and the rest like banana (*Kela*), Lime (*Mitha*), Citrus (*Kinnow*), Lime (*Froter*), Sweet-lime (*Mosami*), and Orange (*Santra*), were sold as perdozens.

The amount and type of food intake is very important aspect of the number of calories a human body consumes. Keeping in view the calories requirements there are different dietary patterns of the people across globe. People of Karrianwala village had a number of options available to buy fruit throughout the year especially after the improved financial status of the left behind families. The non-migrant households could also afford few fruits that were easily available in summer season like Mango (*Aam*), Banana (*Kela*), Apple (*Seb*), Grapes (*Angoor*), Cantaloupe (*Kharboza*), Watermelon (*Tarboz*), and Black Berry (*Jamun*).

The winter season offered fewer fruits and these were costly too. Similarly Guava(*Amrood*), Citrus (*Kinnow*), Sweet-lime(*Musami*), Apple (*Seb*), and Banana

(Kela) were available in summers but at times due to the short supply remained out of reach of most of the villagers.

Citrus were the most common fruits available during winter season in the village. The small vendors normally sold Citrus in a basket (*tokri*) tied to the back seat of bicycle and some even used donkey cart to exhibit baskets of fruits for sale. Fruits were available in large quantities in the markets but these were expensive as the wholesalers included the transportation and carriage charges too. In some cases the freshness was also doubtful as some of the fruits from other provinces had to travel a long distance before reaching the fruit markets.

In addition to the fruits the villagers also consumed a lot of vegetables in both summer and winter seasons. A list of vegetables of both the seasons was almost same in number but the price varied at the start, mid, and at the end season due to lower yield, scarcity, and hazardous nature of environment.

One of the respondents (46 years old) mentioned about the issues of price hike at the start of the cropping season of few vegetable in the following words:

“The prices of both Bitter Gourd (Kareela) and Okra (Bhindi) are normally much higher at the start of the season in village because of the shortage and we normally avoided purchasing these vegetables. But after some time prices come down to the normal and it becomes accessible for everyone.”

The other major reason behind the price hike as explained by one of the shopkeepers was that normally these vegetable are stored in the cold stores and brought to the market even before the start of the proper season, and the hoarders (*zakhira-andoz*) tried to get maximum profit out of it. The left behind families normally cooked vegetables with mutton, beef or chicken for culinary delights and most common dishes of this mix were Chicken-Spinach (*Palak*), Beef-Spinach (*Palak*), and Mutton-Spinach (*Palak*) etc. In addition to the use of fruits and vegetables, meat was one major item which they loved to consume in their everyday dietary plan.

There were three major forms of meats available throughout the year in village, i.e. mutton (*Chota gosht*), beef (*Bara gosht*), and, chicken (*Murgi ka gosht*). The price of mutton was about Rs. 550 per kilogram, beef sold for Rs. 300 per kilogram and chicken price was available at about Rs. 200 per kilogram. The first two meat items were only available on five days a week excluding Tuesdays (*Mangal*) and Wednesdays (*Budh*) while chicken could be purchased throughout the week. The

major reason behind the two off days (*nagha*) for mutton and beef was to maintain a balance of meat consumption and production.

The consumption of the pulses was also part of dietary patterns of the left behind families but it varied from one family to another. The majority of Kashmiri (Butt) families had delicacy of *Rajma* with boiled rice on every alternate day as this dish was widely known and associated to them. On the other side the Malik usually didn't hesitate to cook any of the pulses but they normally avoid cooking White Lentils (*Dal Mash*) and White Beans (*Sufaid Lobiya*).

The Arian families were fond of Red Lentils (*Dal Masoor*) and Brown Chickpeas (*Kala Chana*) and they loved to have these two dishes on their dining tables on regular basis. The trends of pulses intake was reducing amongst the left behind families as they were adding-up more meat dishes to their dietary plans. The main reason behind the shift was affordability of the meat which increased in after migration scenario.

One of the respondents (44 years old) mentioned about the shift from vegetables and pulses to the meat dishes in the left behind families:

“When we were facing economic hardships, we were normally cooking vegetables and pulses but after the migration of my brother our economic situation improved and allowed us to consume more meat.”

The consumption of meat was also linked to the status of the left behind families. The guests were normally served with the meat (chicken, beef, or mutton) dishes but the Kashmiri people usually present *Rajma* as a special dish to their guests. On marriage ceremonies and other festivities the left behind families served special dishes to the guests like, the Chicken *Baryani* (rice cooked with chicken and spices), Mutton Korma, Fried Fish, and *Halwa Puri* and *Gajar ka Halwa* (carrot pudding) as a desserts.

They also served the fizzy drinks (like Coca Cola, Pepsi, Mountain Dew, and Gourmet cola etc.) to their guests during the summer seasons while in winter they normally present guests with black tea (*chai*), or Pink tea (*Kashmiri tea*).

7.4. Migration and Social Wellbeing

The families in the rural settings of Gujrat assessed the cost and benefit of potential migration well before the initiation of migration. This process had been explored by the various thinkers, like Stark and Bloom (1985:174) under the theoretical framework of “The New Economic of Labour Migration (NELM)” which

clearly narrated the involvement of the family members in the decisions regarding potential migration of a member. Most of the times, families wanted to initiate migration as a process to overcome the household's poverty stricken condition.

This process is mostly taken as a solution to the family's welfare with inflow of remittances to overcome family's economic crisis. The inflow of remittances makes the lives of dependents more prosperous while taking all measures for the well-being of the families. The second major domain through which the social well-being of the families was affected by the migration had been identified by scholars like, Massey *et al.* (1993:436) by stating that migration ultimately "diversify the allocation of household resources, such as a family labour".

Taylor (1999:74) has also mentioned that "...migration can be a valuable strategy to generate additional income, insure against production risk, and help households to overcome market failures, such as missing or imperfect credit and insurance markets." On the process of migration Gassmann, Siegel, Michaela, & Waidler (2013:3) identified that "it would be expected that children would benefit from the migration of a household member in domains directly linked to household-level resources and labour such as education, nutrition, health, housing, and material living standards."

The effects of the process of migration are not only on the children of migrants rather these are on the families left behind and the communities at country of origin. The process of migration actually created enormous opportunities for the close-relatives (*rishtadar*), friends, and the community members to follow the footprints of their relatives who initiated migration- which irrefutably helped in enhancing social well-being of the community in general.

Before discussing the issue of social well-being in detail it is necessary to contextualize it. Although, there are so many definitions of social well-being but one of the comprehensive definitions has been presented by Gassmann *et al.* (2013:7):

"Well-being is a multi-dimensional state of personal being comprised of both self-assessed (subjective) and externally-assessed (objective) positive outcomes across eight realms of opportunity: education, physical health, nutrition, emotional health, material living standards, housing, protection, and information and communication."

Few of the aspects from this definition have already been discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis while a detailed discussion on the issue of health as a subsequent category of the umbrella term social well-being is presented. Many of the

researchers have identified a positive impact of the migration on the health of the families through remittances. Before discussion on the role of migration in the health we need to conceptualize health.

According to the definition of WHO (1946:100) the “Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.” Keeping in view the three elements of ‘health’ as mentioned in the WHO’s (1946:100) definition all of the three aspects are discussed in the following sections. It had been observed that the impact of migration and remittances on the ‘nutritional levels’, ‘physical health’, and ‘mental health’ of the left behind families in the village was very pivotal.

The issue of social well-being comes at second number in WHO’s (1946) definition. It is one of the major indicators for health and can be affected by the process of migration and transfers of remittances. To understand the impact of the remittances on the social well-being of the families left behind different aspects of the migrant dependent families were closely observed. For the relationship between the migration, remittances and social well-being of dependent families, Gassmann *et al.* (2013:7) definition has been used. Few of the aspects of that definition have already been examined in the previous sections which show positive impact of migration and transfers of remittances on the education, material living standards, housing, and information and communication.

7.4.1. The impact on Nutritional Levels

Before going into the details of the association between migration, remittances, and nutrient levels of the families left behind conceptualization of nutrition is very necessary. According to Zimmerman and Snow (2012:13):

“The word nutrition first appeared in 1551 and comes from the Latin word *nutrire*, meaning “to nourish.” Today, we define nutrition as the sum of all processes involved in how organisms obtain nutrients, metabolize them, and use them to support all of life’s processes.”

Different researchers and health practitioners have addressed this phenomenon more scientifically and identified different compounds involving in it. Gratzner (2005) mentioned about the discoveries made by Antoine Lavoisier during 1770 about the metabolism. The elements like carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, and oxygen were recognized as the primary components of food, and methods to measure their proportions were developed during the 19th century. In today’s world the issue of

malnutrition (the deficiency or increase of nutrient) has become a leading issue. World Health Organization (WHO) has rightly taken malnutrition on board not only to investigate it but also to devise mechanisms to overcome it especially in the underdeveloped and developing countries.

The issue of nutrition has been associated to migration and the inflow of remittances throughout the migrant sending regions. Zezza, Calogero, Davis, & Winters (2011:1) mentioned that:

“Migration has become a key component in the livelihood strategies of an increasing number of households across the developing world and remittances have expanded dramatically in the last decade. ...while this is the case, there has been little attention on the interface between migration and nutrition even though migration can influence nutrition through a number of channels.”

The migration in general and remittances in particular have secured the regular intake of the common food items for the left behind families in the village. The process of remittances has made it possible for the families to spend heavily on the food items and other activities like leisure and recreation which collectively make the lives of left behind more pleasurable.

Keeping in view perspectives of the respondents regarding consumption on the food items and variety of the food intake they normally consume, illustrated that they had not faced any food deficiency in the after migration scenario. This regular intake actually exceeded the average calories intake (which was roughly between 2000 and 2500 per day). In some of the cases, the ‘*motapa*’ or obesity was observed amongst the members of the left behind families and one of the male respondents signaled it in the following words:

“It is a common trend among the adults in village that they are fond of eating (regular intake of three times food and drinks like milk and fizzy drink) and taking a good rest. Due to such habits they start putting on weight. It is almost common phenomena amongst left behind families as compared to non-migrants.”

The information about daily food intake was asked from the respondents including the consumptions on the diet. They mentioned that they felt proud and lucky enough that the process of migration made it easy for them to consume more on the food intake. As a result, they were in a better position to fulfill nutritional needs of family across genders and ages. The major impact was observed on the food intake of the school going children. One of the respondents (46 years old) mentioned about food intake of a school going child in the following way:

“I have two school going children, the elder one is of age 12 and younger one is of age 8 years. We try to provide them with fruits and milk in addition to the regular (three times) food per day because it is very necessary for them in the growing age. We are thankful to Allah Almighty for making it possible for us to meet the food related needs of our children through remittances.”

Fruits and milk are considered as key components of children’s diet in growing age but in the village majority of families sans left behind families were not in a position to accommodate such needs. The latter were in a much better position to easily provide their children with the afore-mentioned necessary items. This regular food intake helped in improving their health and mental ability to take effective decisions on their future goals. A respondent (49 years old) mentioned that:

“When I added milk and fruits to the diet of my son he started performing well in the academic and co-curricular activities at school. The food items like milk and fruits are the core for the children because they exert their mind and body for studies. This availability of the food items was only made possible by the inflow of remittances otherwise it would have been impossible for me to accommodate even the regular food intake needs of the family.”

Many of the families showed a sense of elation because migration process had made it possible for them to achieve an optimal level of satisfaction life’s needs came within their reach. These findings are quite in line with Hildebrandt & McKenzie’s (2005:257) theoretical model of migration-health model. Hildebrandt & McKenzie’s (2005:271) identified that:

“Most obvious channel through which migration may positively affect child nutritional status is increasing household income and wealth and then allowing households to purchase nutritional and medical inputs that is relaxing family budget constraint and thus allowing a higher investment in children. In addition, if remittances relax liquidity constraints, it may allow parents to make additional investments they could not have made otherwise.”

In addition to the direct impact of the inflow of remittances on the nutritional intake of the children in the left behind families there were also some indirect effects because of contact-advice mechanisms between the migrants and the left behind families. In most of the cases, as mentioned by the left behind families, the contact-advice mechanisms actually led the families to spend luxuriously on the food items and to add-up some additional food items to the prevailing dietary patterns. In the case of the introduction of the milk and fruits to the diet of the school going children

were also advised by migrant member. One of the respondents (41 years old) mentioned that:

“It was my elder brother (currently living in Norway) who actually advised us to take good care of school going children’s diet. He said that children in growing ages required nutritious diet which directly affected their thinking capacity.”

In addition to the impact of migration and remittances on nutritional levels of children, the elder members were also getting benefit out of remittances in the form of the availability of nutritious diet. The elders belonging in the left behind families were comparatively healthier and much active. They took regular nutritious diet thrice a day and in addition to the regular diet patterns they also consumed fruits, milk and other food items which directly affected their health. One of the respondents (54 years old) said that:

“The inflow of remittance made it possible for us to spend more on the food. My son went to Europe and started sending remittances. Since then our diet patterns have improved significantly. We started to take more nutritious diet with the introduction of meat, vegetables, fruits, and milk. I feel proud to have full access to the desired food items.”

Women from the left behind families also equally benefitted out of the process of migration. They also took the nutritious diet as were taken by the children and the elders. One of the respondents (47 years) mentioned that:

“In the before migration situation we were spending less on the food items. We were cooking meat occasionally but now we are regularly cooking meat. In addition to meat we also cook the food of our choice and spend wisely on the purchase of the fruits, vegetables, pulses, dry fruits, milk, and other edible products.”

This section presents a true picture of how migration through inflow of remittances revolutionized dietary patterns of the families left behind. Migration and remittances have oriented the left behind families to upgrade their dietary patterns through increase in spending on food. The outcome of migration improved health of the left behind families by facilitating them to take nutritious diet on regular basis. The above mentioned case studies have shown a good impact of the migration and remittances on the health and nutritious food intakes of the families. They prepared meals of their own choice regularly that were rich in proteins that included meat, fruits and milk.

7.4.2. The Impact on Physical Health

Significant attention has been paid by the different researchers to the issue related to the impact of remittances on the physical health. Antman (2012:10-19) has identified a positive impact of the migration on the health outcomes of the children, spouses, and parents. Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:264) stated that in the context of Mexico there was at least a positive impact of migration on the health of children which was measured through examining two indicators, i.e. weights-for-birth and infant-mortality-rates.

Macours & Vakis (2010:859) conducted research in Nicaragua and concluded that there was a positive impact of the migration on the early cognition development of children. In the context of Ecuador, Anton (2010:273) has shown a positive impact of the migration on the health of children which the researcher measured through weight-for-height and weight-for-age. Kanaiaupuni & Donato (1999:343) also detected a positive impact of migration on health of the children which they measured while looking at the chances of survival of the children during first year of their birth.

The situation in the village was also showing some positive effects of the migration on the physical health of the families left behind especially the lives of children. A question was asked from the respondents about the weight-for-birth and height-for-birth. Later on the records of the health care institutions, where these children were born, were also examined. A number of parents stated that at the time of the birth height and weight-for-birth of the new born were comparatively nearer to the ideal ones. One of the Lady Health Workers (33 years old) mentioned that:

“I have observed majority of the children on the day of their births or a week old. I noticed that the weight-for-birth and height-for-birth of the children born in the left behind families were above average. The main reason behind such positive outcomes was because these families were spending a reasonable amount of money on the maternal health in the pre and post natal period.”

She further stated that;

“The average weight-for-birth of children was more than 8 pounds for male and for female it was near to 7.5 pounds. The height of male children at the time of birth was above 20.0 inches while the height of female children it was above 19.0 inches.”

The major reasons behind the ideal heights weights of the children born to the left behind families were linked to family's improved economic situations and their access to healthy food. The inflow of remittances reduced their poverty burdens and

allowed them to spend more on family's food intake. This relieve situation of the families made it easier for the women to take care of their health through the regular intake of food items besides iron and vitamins supplements during pregnancy period. So, women were consuming a nutritious food which helped the fetuses to grow normally.

The third major indicator for the physical health of the children was regarding the chances of survival of infants in the first year of their lives. According to World Bank (2015) statistics the infant mortality rate of Pakistan in 2015 was 66/1000 live births. According to UNICEF (2015:24) under-5 mortality rate (U5MR) in Pakistan was 81 per 1000 live birth.

Pakistan is one of the top ranking countries in the region which has the highest infant mortality rates. Some of the common reasons behind the higher number of infant mortality are unsafe delivery practices in rural and far flung areas, prematurity, Pneumonia, birth asphyxia, diarrhea and congenital abnormalities to name a few. Keeping in view the infant death rates the situation among the left behind families in the village was more than satisfactory. The major reason behind the reduced infant mortality ratio was based on their spending on the food security and healthcare services.

A question was asked to the Lady Health Worker (LHV) about the survival of the infants born in the left behind families and in response she said that:

“The majority of the children born in the left behind families survived during first year of their lives.”

The major reasons behind the longevity of the infants were based on the affordability of nutritious intake of food by the new mother that helped in breast feeding her child. Coupled with this were healthcare services and regular checkups by a qualified doctor. A Gynecologist in Gujrat city explained about the expenditure of the left behind families on antenatal in following words.

“It is quite common for left behind families to visit the hospitals for the antenatal checkups, prenatal checkups, formal delivery assistance, and postnatal checkup.”

One of the LHVs (36 years old) from the village health facility mentioned about the issue of the physical health and mortality rate of the children of the left behind families:

“I have observed that left behind families of village take good care of the health of not only mothers but also of the infants. I have visited five left behind families in which births occurred and found health of both the mothers and new born was exceptionally good. Their height-for-age (at the time of birth) and weight-for-birth was almost ideal. In my opinion the major reason behind this was the income from remittances which allowed them to spend on the maternal health care.”

In addition to the health of the infants, the health of elders was also influenced by the remittances in the village. These elders remained engaged in physical work either at home or outside the home to make their ends meet. The fortunes of the family underwent a healthy change in the after migration scenario and started depending on the remittances to feed the family and meet their own expenses too. A 43 years old respondent stated about the role of migration in their lives:

“Due to the inflow of remittances we didn't feel the need to do labor work anymore. In the before migration scenario we had to work to earn money and life was full of difficulties. But after the migration of my son I never felt the need to work and now living a prosperous life.”

The impact of the remittances was quite evident in the promotion of the good health of the elderly population. One of the elders (over 50) opined about the role of remittances in following words:

“Our life is more relaxed in the after migration situation. Now, we can take meal three times a day. I have no worries now. If I suffer from an illness I can easily take medicine from a specialized doctor. In before migrant situation we were not enjoying such liberties in our lives as we are enjoying now.”

The above-mentioned cases demonstrate that the process of migration had positively influenced the health of the left behind families. The inflow of remittances have greatly impacted the health of children especially infants, women especially mother, and elders especially the fathers. Ironically these very families were unable to acquire the basic health services in the before migration situation but after the migration of a family member they were in a position to enjoy the luxuries of life. They were taking good care of health, consulted expensive medical professional in case of illnesses, spent ample amounts on food items and took out time for leisure activities to relax.

The impact of remittances on the youth was quite unsteady. Some of the young people were enjoying this vertical mobility through migration while spending

on unhealthy activities such as smoking and addiction to drugs. A young person (24 years old) said that:

“I have seen some of my fellows whose fathers are working abroad do unhealthy activities. They smoke... they drink alcohol. They are no longer in control of their families.”

According to UNICEF (2011:57-58) in some cases the children in the absence of their fathers get involved in unhealthy activities like smoking and drinking. The study was conducted in a Tajikistan where majority of the families was Muslims but even then the children were involved in such unhealthy activities.

7.4.3. The Impact on Mental Health

Mental health is one of the components of the social well-being as per the definition of Gassmann *et al.* (2013:7). It has been widely discussed by the migration researchers. This main emphasis remained about the role of migration process on mental health, psychological and emotional conditions of both the parties i.e. a) migrants and b) the left behind families. Hettige (2012:3) conducted a research in Sri Lanka to see the impact of migration on the psychological state of the migrants and dependents. He concluded that the migration has a very negative impact not only on the migrants but also on the dependents (especially a) elderly members, b) wives and c) children) in the country of origin.

UNICEF’s (2007:10) report also indicated that “the effect of migration on children and women remaining in the originating countries revolves around the issues of attachment, separation and loss. Majority of the dependents suffered periods of depression and considered some of their health problems as related to the stress of having absent partners or family members.”

For families remittances were very important and they hardly noticed the absence of the individuals who were responsible for their economic opulence. They wanted their migrant members to work abroad and become uninterruptedly sources of regular incomes. This issue was raised by a return migrant (45 years old) in the following words:

“We work abroad to fulfill the basic needs of our families. They show sympathies just for economic reasons. If we stop sending money they will be no more sympathetic to us.”

On the other side some of the families, where parents of migrant(s) were alive, felt the absence of their children and remembered them at every stage of their lives.

This issue comes under the domain of psychological well-being and mental health. Different organizations and researchers have defined the concept of 'mental health'. According to WHO (2013) the 'mental health' refers to a broad array of activities directly or indirectly related to the mental well-being component included in the WHO's (2013) definition of health: "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease". To examine the mental health condition of a family member left behind an indicator was used in which specific member was going through a stage like feeling lonely, sad, and depressed at the time of the fieldwork. Migration not only made the families back home prosperous and wealthy but it also affected them psychologically and emotionally through migrants' parting from them.

The migration process placed the family in a situation in which they had to isolate their member for certain time period. In his absence they, felt lonely, sad, and depressed most of the time. A father (57 years old) of two migrant sons narrated his mental situation in the following words:

"One had to pay the price of the luxuries of life which he avails through the process of migration. Two of my sons have been working abroad from five years. I feel their absence at every stage of my life. I remain worried about them. This vacuum could not be filled with the access towards the recourses and improvement in the status."

The gains of migration have somehow reduced the pains but not for all the parents because their children were incomparable assets to them. They could not overcome their absence. Most of the parents felt privileged that their children led the family to get out of the economic upheaval. But that did not mean they could compromise on their absence. Another respondent (49 years old) mentioned his situation after the migration of his lonely son in following the manner:

"It is not easy, at all, for me to bear the absence of my son, I always remember him. Although, he has brought us the luxuries of life through the transfers of remittances but his absence makes me sad."

The migration diversified the roles and responsibility of the family members in the absence of the male migrant. Most of the wives had to take over the responsibilities of household's affairs in the absence of their husbands and without exaggeration the new tasks put them under enormous pressures. Majority of the migrants maintained a regular contact-advice mechanism with their families through telephone and internet but that did not satisfy the dependents to stop worrying about

them. Mother of a key informant mentioned the absence of her husband in following way:

“My husband has been working abroad for the last three years and has not returned yet. Each year he promised to return but it never happened. My responsibilities have been increased after his migration. I have to look after all of the household affairs. Most of women in left behind families were apprehensive about economic situation of families in the before migration scenario but they cannot compromise on the absence of their husbands for such a long absence period in the current situation.”

Most of the children from left behind families on one side were enjoying the access to money and resources but at the same time they were saddened by the absence of their fathers. A twenty-two years old son told about the mental and psychological situation that he faced in following way:

“Although, we are enjoying the luxuries of life since the migration of my father and nothing is out of our reach but the only thing we feel badly is the absence of our father. I and my siblings regularly feel his absence at every step of life.”

So, the process of migration has negatively affected the dependents in all three domains, i.e., a) mental, b) emotional and c) psychological. Its effect can be seen across gender and ages. It has affected the parents, wives, and children who badly feel their absence.

7.5. The Impact on Maternal Healthcare Utilizations

The impact of migration on the healthcare utilizations among the families at origin has been witnessed by many of the migrant researchers across world and concluded that both variables are significantly linked. The process of migration and inflow of remittances have somehow changed the traditional healthcare practice into more formal, modern and specialized medicine based care among the left behind families. The existing literature predicts that there is a positive association between the inflow of remittances and use of healthcare services (Kanaiaupuni & Donato, 1999:339; Zachariah et al., 2001:43; Hildebrandt & McKenzie, 2005:257; Lucas, 2005:11; Fajnzylber & Lopez, 2007:29; Jorge, 2008:3; Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo, 2009:5; Khan 2013:18).

Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo (2011:582) presented a basic analysis which defines the nature of linkage between the remittances and the healthcare utilizations. The researchers testify that the remittances have a constructive impact on healthcare

utilizations and expenditures, while with an increase in remittances reception the healthcare utilization becomes more efficient because of sufficient money available to appropriate healthcare facilities at origin. Jorge (2008:3) also mentioned about the significant positive relationship between remittances and the household's expenditure on health for households.

The issue of maternal healthcare utilization is a critical issue in rural settings of Pakistan. In normal circumstances women's access to the medical professionals is monitored by family's male members and they are not allowed to visit independently. The decisions regarding healthcare are taken by the males. The situation of women amongst migrant dependent families was, somehow, different from others. During the antenatal care most of the women from the left behind families had a reasonable access to the healthcare services.

There was a close relationship between the inflow of the remittances and the access to the healthcare practices. It has been also been concluded by different researchers remittances could possibly improve the healthcare services for the women. Khan (2013:18) conducted a research in the rural settings of the Gujrat and identified that there was a positive association between inflow of remittances and maternal healthcare utilizations.

The main reason behind this positive effect was not only the dependence on remittances but the involvement of the migrants in the family's health related crucial decisions. Most of the migrants had their say in the family's decisions and from time to time they guided the close-relatives (*rishtadar*) about the healthcare services. In some cases the wives of the migrants had to seek permission for healthcare from close-relatives of her husband like, father in law (*susar*), mother in law (*sas*), and husband's elder or younger brother (*jaith or dewar*). They planned in the absence of the migrant(s), but they made such decisions after consulting the migrant(s). Most of the left behind families during antenatal care visited the formal healthcare services either available in village or city. One of the Gynecologists mentioned about the antenatal care of migrant dependent families in following way;

“I have seen many rural women belonging to the left behind families. They regularly visit and take good care during pregnancy. They feel no reluctance in taking expensive medicines and laboratory tests. Most of them do so under the desires of their migrant husbands.”

As mentioned above in this chapter the process of migration has positively influenced not only the longevity of infants but had improved the practice of healthcare utilizations for mothers as well. The trends improved day-by-day not only in the nuclear but also in the joint and extended migrant households in the village. On the issue of healthcare utilization, mother of key informant stated that:

“At the time of the birth of first child we consulted the Dai (Traditional Birth Attendant, TBA). But at the time of the birth of second child we consulted the best gynaecologist from the city. That was the time when my husband shifted abroad and we were in a better position to afford health expenses of medical professionals.”

There were three major reasons behind this change from traditional to modern healthcare practices. First factor was mainly influenced by regular inflow of remittances which improved the family’s spending capacity and allowed them to utilize income on the healthcare. Second, was related to the exposure the migrant(s) gained while living abroad about the importance of modern healthcare practices which indirectly influenced the mindset of family healthcare at origin. Third factor was linked with acceptability of the migrants’ say in the decisions making related to maternal healthcare. In most of the cases the migrant(s)’s advices were considered equally important and formal healthcare services were availed.

In rural settings of Gujrat, the involvement of natal-kin (*mekay/pekay*) of women was exponentially evident. In most of the cases, at time of antenatal care natal-families (*mekay/pekay*) were involved in the process of healthcare services utilization. It was the moral obligation for the natal-kin to take care of their daughters during pregnancy period. In absence of husband it was their prime responsibility to accompany their daughter(s) to the maternal health specialist. One of the females from the migrant households mentioned about the process of health care utilization at the time of her last child. She mentioned that:

“At the time of the birth of the last child my husband was working abroad and it was difficult for me to get help from the family of my husband (susral). I asked my mother for the assistance to visit the Gynaecologist. My mother and brother supported me throughout the antenatal care.”

She also mentioned about the advice and financial assistance made by the husband-who was working abroad through this process in the following words.

“After few days when my husband left for abroad I went for the pregnancy test and it was positive. I shared this news with my husband

and on listening that he got excited. After that he regularly called me (3 to 4 times per week) and inquired about my health condition. He said to me that you must go to the best doctor and he will manage money for the antenatal care.”

There were many cases of such nature in which married women from left behind families were in a better position to access the formal healthcare services during the pregnancy. This all happened because of a) the access to additional resources and b) the exposure of husbands in understanding the importance of regular consultation with the gynecologist and his motivational messages to their wives to avail these formal services. The access to these services for utilizing maternal healthcare services was also related to the support from the natal-families (*mekay*) of the wives living in the village. It was very easy for those women whose *mekay* resided in the same village while difficult for those women whose *mekay* were living outside the village.

Chapter No. 8

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The impact of migration in the current village is evident not only in the improved the living standards and life styles of the left behind families but also access towards adoption of more liberal stance on education and health. Realizing the importance of the role of basic education the spending on this discipline had increased substantially with the result that families allowed both the girls and boys to get benefit of schooling. With regular intake of healthy diet and positive trend on availing the healthcare services the entire outlook of the families had changed.

This chapter presents a snapshot of the key finding and discussions made in line with the theoretical frameworks mentioned in the first two chapters of the thesis (introduction and review of literature).

8.1. Migration Trends from the Village

8.1.1. Migration Decisions

Most of the decisions on migration were based on rational choice mechanisms and normally taken in consultation with the family and close-relatives (*rishtadar*). This practice is widely known as the “New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)” model, which was initially presented by Stark & Bloom (1985:174) and later on used by Stark (1991:23). According to this model the decisions regarding migration of a family member is taken by not the individual himself but rather in consultation with all family members concerned. Mensah-Bonsu & Burger (2008:187) explained that the NELM model supports the argument that people make decisions in collectivity to reduce the risk and maximize the income. Migration is one of the major sources which could relieve the poverty burden from the families but what matters more for them is to take decisions rationally and collectively.

The findings of the current study are in line with the NELM model as significant majority (90 percent) of the decisions about the migration were taken in consultation with families which validate the finding of Stark & Bloom (1985:174), Stark (1991:23), Mensah-Bonsu & Burger (2008:187), Abreu (2010:1), and Portes (2006:21).

8.1.2. The Role of Social and Kinship Networks

Migration researchers have identified a positive impact of the social and kinship networks in the process of migration. Kearney (1986:335) found migration as “modernization process” through which selective people initiate migration because of their perceptions about the opportunities at the destination. Brettell (2000:102) also stated that, “within a modernization theory frameworks have emphasized the rational and progressive economic decisions made in response to differentials in land, labor, and capital between where a migrant lives and the locale to where he or she has chosen to migrate.”

Mitchell (1969:2) explained the social network as a specific set of link that connects people with each other. These links could be used to interpret and understand social behavior. Newman & Girvan (2004:1) and Wasserman & Faust (1994:4-5) suggested that the network structure reflects the pattern of relationship between individuals. The network elucidations given by Mitchell (1969:2), Newman & Girvan (2004:1) and Wasserman & Faust (1994:4-5) could easily be related to the process of migration in which the role of diaspora is always very pivotal in not only directing migration and but also in accommodating the new comers for residence and in in the process of job hunt.

McKenzie & Rapoport (2007:2), Woodruff & Zenteno (2007:509), Hussey (2007:301) opined that migration is often modeled within the perspective of social networks. In general it appears that migration flows towards a specific country B with origin in country A induce further migration of other individuals from A to B (Helmenstein & Yegorov, 2000:309-310).

Lucas (1997:743) mentioned about Yap (1977:248) in his research that, the possibility of migration to the same international destination increases when some persons from the same origin and kinship are present.

The data from the current research also identified a positive association between the migration processes to the same destination by the new migrants. This known circle had an exponential effect on the aspirant migrants by providing the right information and the support network at destination. These networks were mainly on three main grounds, a) kinship, b) friendship, and c) community.

Massey *et al.* (1993:448) found that migration networks are kinship, friendship, and origin based on ties which connect people not only in origin but also at destination. They further asserted that network connections also intensified the

migration of known person at the destinations. These networks helped people from the circle with lower expenses and higher success. This route of sending people abroad widened with the passage of time and allowed more people to be consumed international status with higher success rate.

In the context of Kerala State in India, the role of networks have been identified by Nair (1998:272) as he mentioned that, “kinship ties and network among the close-knit communities served as additional facilitating factors in the process of migration.” Social network also expedite the process of migration in the context of Kuwait as Shah (1998:20) referring to her survey conducted in 1996 stated that “among 800 skilled and unskilled male migrant workers from the four counties found that work visas had been arranged by friends and relatives in 34 percent of cases. Fifty-six percent of Pakistanis arranged a visa through friends compared with 13 percent of Sri Lankans.”

The role of social networks in the migration processes from the village was very active and majority (90 percent) of the families said that the process of migration had been facilitated by the immediate family members who were living abroad. These findings clearly indicated the authenticity of the arguments presented by McKenzie & Rapoport (2007:2), Woodruff & Zenteno (2007:509), Helmenstein & Yegorov, (2000:309-310), Nair (1998:272), Shah (1998:20), Lucas (1997:743), Massey *et al.* (1993:448), and Yap (1977:248) about the supporting role of social and kinship networks. Almost all of the above mentioned researchers have mentioned about the positive role of social and kinship networks in facilitation of the new migrants.

Number of anthropologists (like, Brettell, 2000:106-107; Duque-Páramo, 2004:12) have also focused on the role of social and kinship networks in migration. These anthropologists have addressed the macro social aspects of the networks in promoting migration. For them, anthropology focused on the household migration and social and kinship networks to understand the processes of migration and social structures at origin and destination. Migration is used as process to produce change in the social and economic aspects of group lives at the origin. Social networks reduce the cost for every new migrant and the thread of relations expands with the migration of people from the origin (Brettell, 2000:106-107).

8.1.3. The Culture of Migration

It has become customary for the young people in the developing world to move abroad. Migration has become a culture in few migrant sending regions from where the aspirations to migrate are transmitted across generations and between people through social networks (Kandel & Massey, 2002:981).

Kandel & Massey (2002: 891) also discussed that majority of the young aspired to immigrate to USA not only to become economically active but to emulate others who adopted the same process to enter USA. In this process these, “males, especially, come to see migration as a normal part of the life course, representing a marker of the transition to manhood, in addition to being a widely accepted vehicle for economic mobility. International migration is cultural in the sense that the aspiration to migrate is transmitted across generations and between people through social networks (Kandel & Massey, 2002: 891).”

Children from families were also active in the migration process. They were more likely to get inspiration to live and work in migrants receiving states and in turn, they were altered their behavior, lowering the odds that they will continue in school and raising the odds of their eventual out-migration.

In the village ‘culture of migration’ was very influential as majority of the youth was in search of the passage to move abroad. Emulation (*rees/dekhadikhi*) was considered as one of the main reasons behind migration from the villages of Gujrat to Greece (Leghari, 2009:5). Migration is a process which has had some deep effects not only on the dependent’s lives but on the community as well. Number of respondents identified the positive effects of the migration on the community. Most of young aspirants were ready to face the challenges to go abroad to change the fate of their dependents. Consequently, the process of migration from the village intensified over the passage of time due to the culture of migration. The findings are in line with Kandel & Massey’s (2002: 891) study.

8.1.4. The Push-Pull Factors

Lee (1966:55) is considerably the first migrant researcher who presented a well-formed push-pull theory. But it was the Ravenstein (1885:198, 1889:244) who published well-known article on the “law of migration” and proposed a new analytical framework for rural-urban migration. He identified number of key factors which induces migration from the origin to the specific destination. Lee (1966:55) argued

that “migration tends to take place within well-defined “streams”, from specific places at the origin to specific places at the destination, not only because opportunities tend to be highly localized but also because the flow of knowledge back from destination facilitates the passage for later migrants.”

De Hass (2008:17-18) asserted that push-pull model seems very attractive to understand the nature of labour migration in both migrant sending and receiving regions’ perspectives. Bauer & Zimmermann (1998:95) and Schoorl (1998:1) also found the same results about the role of push-pull model in understanding the movements of labour migration.

King (2012:16) mentioned that international labour migration is mainly driven by pull factors. The structural powers, such as the capitalist mentality, always demanding for the cheap labour which directed increase the possibilities of international migration. The dual labour markets theory (Reich, Gordon & Edwards, 1973:359-365) has also become a force by bifurcating jobs into two main categories in the industrially advanced nations. Majority of well-paid and secured jobs are given to native people while the low paid, manual, and tough nature of jobs are given to the migrants (Piore, 1979:86-114; Reich, Gordon & Edwards, 1973:359-365).

In the present village, the migrants were helping their close-kin (*rishtadar*) and other community members to move abroad. They actually identified the opportunity abroad and then let their relatives know about these opportunities. The role of kinship and friends’ networks in accommodating their community members abroad was also very pivotal in the village. Though, the dual labour markets could not have been identified by the villagers at their own unless and until their close relatives and community members shared this information and accommodated them abroad.

On the other side there were some pushing forces in the village as well. Migration was mainly influenced by the three major pushing factors, i.e. a) poverty, b) search for economic activism, and c) wider prevalence of inter and intra-familial conflicts. The first two were more prevalent and important for the migration processes while the third one was of less importance. A question was asked from the respondents about the major pushing factors for migration and in response to that majority (70 percent) of the respondents said that people tend to migrate because of poor economic situation of the family while 24 percent respondents said that the process of migration had been adopted by the villagers because of unavailability of

jobs in the region. Only 6 percent of the respondents said that migration is the process which people initiate only when they face conflicts in the village.

8.1.5. The Impact on Women

The impact of migration on rural women of the village is multilayered. The more obvious and direct impact of the migration on the women was of the shift in the roles and responsibilities in the absence of husbands. These women had faced new dynamics in the after migration scenario where their responsibilities expanded from the intra-household affairs to the community level. In the village, a woman from the nuclear family had to suffer a lot when her husband (*mian* or *gharwala*) went abroad. But in case of joint family, which is most prevalent form of the family structure in the rural areas, she had the caretakers (*khayal rakhnay walay*) in the absence of her husband. In such cases husband's father (father-in-law, *susar*), or younger or elder brother-in-law took care of the woman and they managed most of the household affairs.

The woman was considerably more protected in case of the joint family system but one could not set aside the role of larger families in restricting her liberties. The joint family system also became a source of conflict where the migrants send money and all family members depend on it. In such cases the wife of migrant had to face many problems of unequal distribution of income and resources. So, the freedom of woman due to her husband's migration was more restricted in the joint family system and she enjoyed more liberty in the nuclear families. This liberty of being independent in household related decision-making was not an attractive one for women.

In the village, women had to look after all kinds of family affairs where she had to take care of family businesses such as agricultural and other economic activities. She had to visit her and her husband's relatives in case of marriages, engagements, and other festivities on one side and also participate in the death ceremonies on the other side.

Most of the time women, whose husbands were working abroad, were depending on their natal (*mekay* or *pekay*) families. In such cases the remittances were managed and allocated in consultation with the natal family members.

The migration was only a men's phenomenon in the rural Gujrat. Women were not allowed to move abroad independently for labour purpose. The existing

studies have identified that women's migration is limited in its scope in Pakistan. Khan *et al.* (2012:26) mentioned that the ratio of women's migration was very low as compared to the men in rural Gujrat. They were not allowed to move abroad independently, their movement depended on two main reasons a) marriage, and b) whole family' migration. Shaw (2000) discussed marriage related migration from Pakistan to UK. She asserted that, "since 1970s, the bulk of new immigration from Pakistan has been related to young second- or third-generation British Pakistanis who marry 'back home' and bring, on their return to Britain, brides, or bridegrooms, particularity cousins, with them." This process of selection of spouses was beneficial for rural women. They are only given the chances to migrate if they were selected as a spouse.

8.1.6. Migrants-Left Behind Families' Connections

The left behind families got maximum benefit out of the migration and leading one was the increase in their household income. The increased income levels made it possible for the left behind families to spend money on various household affairs including, a) family business, b) small and large purchases, c) agricultural land , d) residential plots, e) construction and expansion of houses, f) family gatherings relations with relatives, g) marriage related decisions, h) giving loan to the families, i) arranging social gathering, and j) investments on health and education of the family members back home.

The left behind families' dependency on their migrant members was not only restricted to the household's economy but also on the household affairs. They normally consulted their migrant member for the health and education related issues and participation in the relatives' social gatherings. All such dependencies varied among the nuclear and joint families. Most of the respondents identified that dependency of the households was much higher on the migrants in cases where no elders existed.

The links and dependency of the households was much lower in situations where elders of the families were available. It was very difficult for the left behind families to take decisions independently in absence of the elderly. In such households the majority of the issues were discussed with the migrant members and their advices were taken to handle the situation. The below mentioned figure no. 8.1 clearly shows the dichotomy of the decision with and without elders in the family. It depicts that the

dependency of the left behind families was much higher on the migrant members where there were no elders in the family.

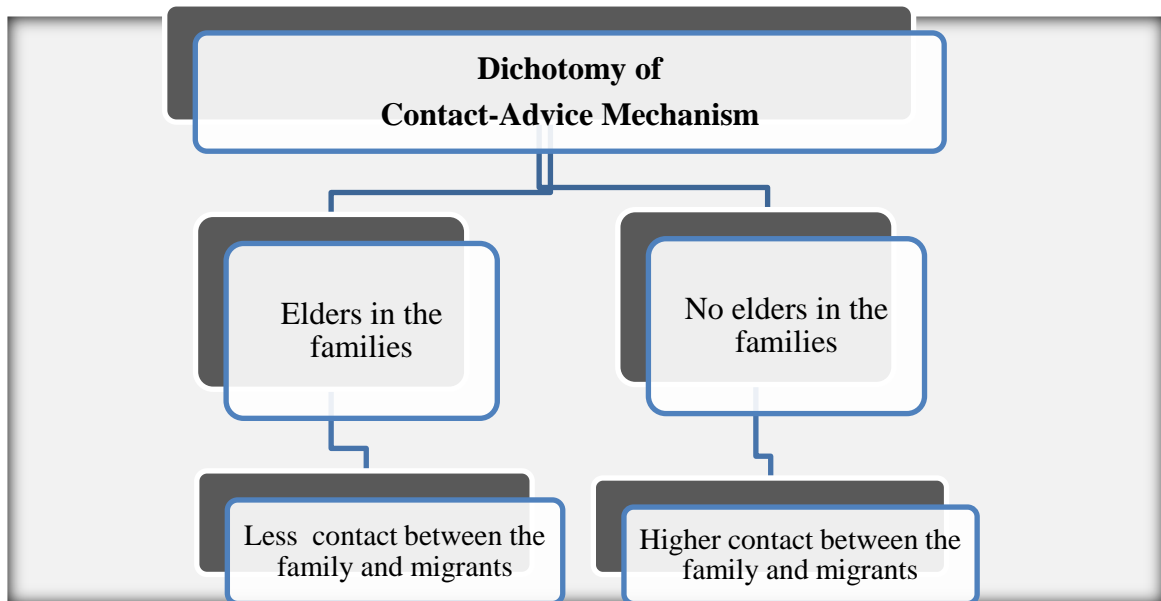


Figure No. 8.1 Contact-Advice Mechanism: The Role of Elder

Margolis (1995:29-41) and Brettell (2000:104) mentioned about the role of transnationalism theory in understanding the links between migrants and their dependents. They mentioned that “in this modern world advanced telecommunications and improved modes of transportation have shortened the social distances between societies; immigrants maintain their bonds to their countries of origin making home and host society a single arena of social action.”

8.2. The Impact of Migration on Education

The first of the main objectives of the present research was to understand the ‘impact of the migration and remittances on the educational outcomes of the children left behind’. The education as a variable was further divided into three main sections, i.e. a) school enrollment, b) school attendance, and c) the academic achievements or outcomes. In the below given section detailed discussion has been presented about the impact of migration on the each component of the education.

8.2.1. The Impact on the School Enrollment, Attendance and Academic Outcomes

Different researchers discussed the impact of migration on education of the children left behind. The first group of the researchers has found that the process of migration and the regular inflows of remittances could possibly refrained children from the left behind families in three domains of education; a) school enrollment, b)

attendance, and c) academic performance of children (Giannelli & Mangiavacchi, 2010:80; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2011:1333,1335; Cortes, 2015:64; Jampaklay, 2006:93,107; Gibson & McKenzie, 2011:107; and Antman, 2011:200). In the preview of these researchers the process of migration has negative correlation with education of the children. The main reasons behind this negative correlation is based on few things, like, a) absence of parents- the real caretaker, b) access towards money, c) no check on the nonacademic activities.

The second group of the researcher has identified an escalating impact on the three sub-indicators of education. Funkhouser (1992:1212), Cox-Edwards & Ureta (2003:456), Hanson & Woodruff (2003:24), Yang (2004:29), Acosta (2006:16), Acosta (2011:920), López-Cordóva (2005:217), Alcaraz *et al.*, (2012:156), and Yang (2008:593), are the main exponents of the second stream which identifies a positive effect of migration process on the education of the children left behind.

For the current research purposes, to measure the impact of the migration on education both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used. To see the impact of migration on education on the children in left behind families a survey of 400 families was conducted in the village. The quantitative analysis highlighted a positive correlation between migration and educational outcomes of the children from left behind families in the village.

The data showed positive effect of migration on the educational performances of the female students when compared to male students from the migrant families beyond primary school levels (see Table No. 5.13 at page 101).

For the in-depth understanding of the correlation between international migration, remittances, and educational outcomes of children from migrant families a qualitative analysis was also done in addition to the quantitative analysis. For said purpose 50 in-depth interviews from of the left behind families were conducted to see the impact of migration on the educational outcomes of the children.

The possible impact of migration on the education was observed through qualitative explanation. It was found that the enrollment and attendance of the students increased significantly because of migration of a family member and the transfer of remittances. The regular inflow of remittances on one side relaxed the poverty burden of the left behind families and on the other it allowed them to spend more on school enrollment and to ensure their attendance in the educational institutions. The educational outcomes were not the same for both genders studying at

different levels of education. The males studying in the elementary schools (middle and high schools) and above levels were negatively affected by the migration and transfers of remittances while the performance of the girls remained consistent in all levels of education.

Boys were much eager to move abroad as it was done by their fathers and other relatives. The amount allocation from the remittances was not wisely utilized for the education; rather it was wasted by the young boys on the non-academic activities.

8.2.2. Migration-Education Model

Kusumawardhani (2012:11) mentioned that Bredl (2011:163) derived a model on the basis of McKenzie & Rapoport's (2011:1331-1358; 2006:21-28) findings about the impact of migration and remittances on education of children in the left behind families. This model was applied to the current research to see the possible effects of migration and remittances on the children from left behind families in the locale. Bredl (2011:162-163) identified several channels through which migration and remittance could possibly effect household's investment in human capital: a) *remittance effect*, b) *disruptive family effect*, and c) *immediate substitution effect*. Khan (2016:227-229) also used this model to see the impact of migration on the education of children from the migrant families in rural Gujrat, Pakistan. The results of the study were partially in line with the model however, the performance of the girls beyond primary school levels was better than the boys.

First of all, remittances and potentially higher earnings after migration (such as from entrepreneurship) increase the resources of household which leads to higher maximum years of schooling affordable by households (McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006:19; Kusumawardhani, 2012:9). The researchers on the current topic have identified that "remittances will relax credit constraint of households and allows them to move towards their unconstrained optimal level of education, resulting in more years of education for their children (McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006:19; Kusumawardhani, 2012:9)." For households where credit constraint is not binding, remittances will have no direct impact on schooling. Secondly, there is an adverse effect of migration on children's education called the disruptive family effect. We may think that absence of parents (especially the father) in the left behind families could adversely affect the children because they lack the role model in their critical

growing period, or requires children to perform additional household responsibilities. Lastly, migration could induce future/chain migration from the very household. The access to the right information and the effects of the network could induce the children in the left behind families to become the migrants (McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006:19; Kusumawardhani, 2012:9). This immediate substitution effect will increase the opportunity cost of schooling. Consequently, children will prefer to migrate rather than studying in the schools.

In the current research this model was partially applicable as the male children were performing in line with the explanations provided by the researchers (McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006:19; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2011:1333; Kusumawardhani, 2012:11; Bredl, 2011:163) while the performance of female children were totally opposite to the explanation presented in the model because the female students in contrast were performing well in all of the three domain, i.e. a) school enrollment, attendance, and the academic achievements. Although, the allocation of the remittances was much higher on the male children as compared to the female but even in such situations female active participation and better performance in education was appreciable in the village.

The results are in line with the study conducted by Khan (2016: 228-229) in the rural settings of Gujrat, Pakistan. Khan (2016: 228-229) mentioned that the performance of female children was better than the boys in beyond primary schooling. The quantitative analysis of the current research also validated the qualitative perspective (see table no. 5.15 at page 103).

8.2.3. The impact of Parents' Education and Profession on Educational Achievements

The role of parents' education and profession in determining the educational outcomes for children was very important aspect in the current research. The fathers were the migrants in the village and in their absence mothers or the father's brother and sometime close-relatives (*rishtadar*) were responsible to look after the educational matters of the children. The income of the left behind families was mainly depending on the remittances which indirectly affected the educational careers of the children while allowing the families to spend more on the education related expenses. Some researchers have identified the positive effects of increase in income through

the migration in the left behind families. Gratz (2006:7) mentioned that “parents’ income and profession has a greater role in the educational careers for offspring.”

The association between father’s education and profession could be vivid in nature but to some extent it has some effects on the offspring’s’ educational careers. Meng and Yamauchi (2016:2) mentioned that “parents migration often bring income for social wellbeing of the family but at the same time lack of parental care can also have adverse effects on children’s education.”

In the current scenario the respondents were asked about the role of fathers’ education and professions in the educational careers of the children left behind. In response the respondents answered that it had definitely affected the educational careers of the children. Majority of the migrants’ education (almost 70 percent) was below matriculation and 30 percent migrants had completed education up to matriculation or beyond. The fathers with the qualification of matriculation or beyond were more concerned about the academic performance of their children as compared to the fathers with lower level of education.

In addition to the education of fathers’ there was also the impact of the professions on the educational careers of their children. To understand the impact of the fathers’ professions and country of emigration a set of questions was asked from the respondents and it was found out that both the country of migration and the profession of migrant fathers mattered for the motivation or the inspiration for the children to study well. The respondents mentioned about the psyche of manual/unskilled workers (either working in Middle East, Europe or the rest of the world) who migrated about two-to-three decades ago were least concerned about the educational performances of their children and they were not concerned even about the levels of education they may or may not achieve. But for them substitute migration was more important. Such trends of substitute migration were very common among the migrant sending regions across the world (McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006:19; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2011:1333; Kusumawardhani, 2012:11; Bredl, 2011:163; and Khan, 2016:227).

They were always waiting for their male children to reach at a certain age limit (for instance, eighteen years in the context of Pakistan). Once they males reached 18 years of age these children applied for national identity card and passport-the two important documents required for migration process. Parents perceived that in

Pakistan the possibility to excel in professional careers was very limited for their children and therefore concentrated explored suitable ways for migration.

Migrant fathers working in professional careers in more advanced countries were totally in favor of the quality education. Most of them wished that their children could study to achieve higher levels of the education. Few of the migrant parents not only spent on the educational careers of their children but also expected them to perform better and achieve higher education because in their perception the higher levels of education could help them to excel in their professional careers.

On the other hand mothers' education and profession were equally important for academic careers of their children. The data revealed that most of the mothers from the left behind families had an average or even below average level of education. A majority (60 percent) mothers were illiterate or had completed just the primary level of education while 20 percent had cleared the middle level. 10 percent mothers had done Matriculation and the same percent had Intermediate or above levels of education.

Majority of the mothers from the left behind families were not part of any economic activity and were simple housewives. Only few (5 mothers) carried out some kind of economic activity. Apparently, both categories of women, either doing any economic activity or not, were in any case engaged in the household affairs. It was their prime responsibility to look after household matters and additionally some of them were also taking care of family's agriculture lands and crops. They were also supervising education matters their children in the absence of male members due to migration.

8.3. The Impact of Migration on Health

The second main objective of the research was to observe "the impact of the migration and remittances on the health care practices of the family members left behind." This section deals with the aspects related to migration, inflow of remittances, and health outcomes of the migrant families in the village. Anthropology as a social sciences field views human kind and health holistically. According to Nkosi (2012:84) "the basic proposition of holism in anthropology is that human behavior and human health arises out of complex interactions taking place within the cultural systems."

There are three major approaches in medical anthropology to study health issues; a) ecological/epidemiological approach, b) interpretivist approach and, c) critical medical anthropology. All three approaches were used for the current study to understand the healthcare system in the village. People of the village mainly focused on the diseases and their cures keeping in view the social and geographical environment which directly came under the domain of ecological/epidemiological approach of medical anthropology. Some of the people still used the traditional cures for the ailments. The dietary patterns were also observed to see the role of remittance in the food security.

Three major practices of spiritual healing; i.e. a) breath (*dam*), b) taking amulets (*taweez*), and c) visitation to shrines (*mazar*) were used by the migrant families to ward off the evil eye and other miseries of life including ailments. The practices of spiritual healing come under the domains of interpretivist approach of medical anthropology. Miller (2009:177) asserted that “interpretivist approach tries to examine different aspects of healing, such as ritual trance, as symbolic performance.”

The third domain of medical anthropology is critical medical anthropology. It was used to see the role of alleviated economic conditions of the left behind families in adopting the modern medicine practices in the village. Most of the migrant families shifted from traditional to the private and modern treatment methods which are best known in the field of medical anthropology as Contemporary Western Biomedicine (CWB). Miller (2009:164) mentioned it as a healing system mainly based on the modern Western science and technology. It emphasizes on the technology to diagnose and treat health problems. But the access to this CWB way of treatment was not easy because those who could afford availed the professional consultation, while the non-migrants were deprived of consulting the expensive specialists and afford modern treatment. The left behind families because of improved levels of income were in a better position to consult medical professional in the private sector hospitals in the case of illnesses. Singer (1995:81) mentioned that “the critical approach to medical anthropology seeks to uncover hidden causes of poor health as they relate to capitalism and neoliberal economics while examining health structures on a macro and micro level.” Miller (2009:178) further explained the main crux of this model as “Critical Medical Anthropology focuses on the analysis of how structural factors such as the global political economy, global media, and social inequality affect the

prevailing health system, including types of afflictions, people's health status, and their access to healthcare.”

The case of the access of the left behind families towards the CWB came under social inequalities based on the economic increases. These difference in the economic positions of the village people created the “culture of migration” for the others to move abroad to achieve the same economic position but they were again blocked by the insufficiency of the economic resources. Leghari (2009:5) mentioned about emulation (*rees/dekhadikhi*) as a major force which pushes people from the villages of the Gujrat to the Greece. This emulation process was caused by the economic inequalities and pushed people to follow their kinsmen even when choosing the irregular migratory routes- which were life taking.

8.3.1. Traditional Medicine and the Sick Role Behavior

The traditional healthcare or Ethnomedicine refers to the cultural orientation of the illness. The major concerns of the Ethnomedicine remained in understanding the illness through native perspective while focusing on the origin, mechanisms involved in an illness, cultural descriptions of the illness, and possible solutions for it within a specific cultural context. Nichter (1992:x) identified ethnomedicine as the study of how wellbeing and suffering were experienced bodily as well as socially, the multivocality of somatic communication, and processes of healing as they are contextualized and directed towards the person, households, community, state, land, and cosmos.

The framework of “sick role behavior” was pioneered by Talcott Parsons (1951:23). Parsons (1951:23) focused that “illness is not simply a biological or psychological condition, and it is not simply an unstructured state free of social norms and regulation.” He further mentioned that sick role is normal social role involving some rights and obligations. Most of the times this role was shaped by society, groups or cultural traditions to which sick person belongs. By this concept he meant that the individual, who suffered actually in functionalist perspective, became unproductive member of society and it is the responsibility of medical professional to overcome this state through the curing mechanisms.

In the village, the sick role was not considered as a deviant rather a special attention was paid to the sufferers through the process of caretaking mechanisms by

the family and close relatives. Most of the times, the sick lay down on a bed (*charpai*) during that illness (*bimari*) period.

The information collected through in-depth interviews revealed that there was a positive impact of both migration and remittances on the health care utilizations among the left behind families. In majority of the households the impact of migration was visible and this benefited the families living back home. The migrant workers were continuously sharing views of the regions they live in. This orientation enlightened the people at origin towards healthcare services. Majority of the respondents stated that migration and remittances made it possible for them to spend more on the healthcare by consulting the best available doctors at the time of the illness. Furthermore, they also mentioned that in post-migration scenario they were spending wisely for health care utilizations.

8.3.2. The Selection of the Healthcare

The findings of present study revealed the application and prevalence of both the modern and traditional medicines in the village. The practice of the modern medicine or CWB was in effect due to two main reasons, a) the worldview migrants shared and, b) the improved economic positions they achieved through migration. In addition to both the traditional and modern modes of healthcare practices the rural masses were also dependent on the spiritual healing mechanisms while the homeopathy was the least opted option for them.

Only two public sector healthcare facilities were available in the village but the trend of the left behind families towards these facilities was not positive as compared to the other families. The left behind families preferred consulting the private doctors (either based in the village or the city). This shift was only possible due to the economic improvements made easy by the process of migration. These findings are in line with Mishra, Kusuma & Babu (2014:61) as they mentioned about the shift in the selection of the healthcare providers among migrant communities in India.

Traditional healers, spiritual healing mechanisms and homeopathy were available in the village but only few of the left behind families opted for these services. The selection of these options was mainly based on the nature of the disease people suffered from.

8.3.3. The Impact on Food Security and Dietary Patterns

One of the major impacts of the migration on the left behind families was the food security. The process of migration through the transfers of remittances reduced the economic burden of the families. They could easily allocate a part of the remittances for buying healthy food. Migration and the inflow of remittances could improve the food security in the migrant sending regions (Lucas, 2005:158; Lucas, 2007:114; Khan *et al.*, 2009:206).

Majority of the respondents mentioned that they spend a reasonable part of their incomes to ensure the quality of food items like, a) milk, b) rice, c) meat, d) vegetables, and e) fruits. They were in a better position to access the food in the after migration situation.

A question was asked from the respondents during in-depth interviews about the satisfaction of the food and responses were presented in figure no. 7.1 (see page 154) The results showed that a majority (94 percent) of the respondents were satisfied about the quality of food while only 6 percent said that there was no such role of remittances in ensuring the food quality and security. Migration actually helped the left behind families to spend heavily on the food security which would not have been possible for them without the regular receipt of money.

8.3.4. The Impact on Social Wellbeing

The main purpose for migration from the village was to overcome the poverty burden and to ensure the social wellbeing of the families left behind. Massey *et al.* (1993:436) asserted that migration ultimately “diversify the allocation of household resources, such as a family labour”. Taylor (1999:74) also mentioned that, “migration can be a valuable strategy to generate additional income, insure against production risk, and help households overcome market failures, such as missing or imperfect credit and insurance markets.”

Gassmann *et al.* (2013:3) mentioned about the social wellbeing of the migrant families at origin as they could benefit in many ways like a) increased household resources, b) reduction in labour, c) more spending on education, nutrition, health, housing, and material living standards. Different researchers have related nutrition to the migration and the inflow of remittances. Zezza *et al.* (2011:1) mentioned that, migration has become a key channel in achieving number of objectives including nutritional levels and family livelihoods. The transfers of remittances from the

developed to developing world have increased tremendously during last decade which directly improved the nutritional levels of migrant dependent families.

The respondents were questioned on the patterns of food intake during fieldwork and they stated that in the after migration scenario “*we feel proud to consume more money on the food related items. It was very difficult for us to meet the required nutritional needs of family members across genders and ages in the before migration situation.*” The major impact was also observed on the food intake of the school going children from migrant households as they looked healthy and agile.

The role of migration in improving the physical health of individuals had been seen by number of researchers. Antman (2012:10-19) found a positive impact of the migration on the health outcomes of the children, spouses, and parents. Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:264) conducted research in Mexico and identified a positive impact of the migration on the health of children which was measured through examining two indicators, i.e. weights-for-birth and infant mortality rates. Macours & Vakis (2010:859) in the context of Nicaragua mentioned that there was a positive impact of the international migration on the early cognition development of children. Anton (2010:273) conducted research in Ecuador and found a positive impact of the migration on the health of children which the researcher measured through weight-for-height and weight-for-age. Kanaiaupuni & Donato (1999:343) also mentioned a positive relation between the international migration and health of children which they measured while looking at the chances of survival of the children.

The field data of the current research showed a positive impact of migration on the physical health of children from migrant families. A question was asked from the parents (majority of the father) of migrant households about the weight-for-birth and length/height-for-birth and later on it was also cross checked from the records of the healthcare institutions where these children were born. Majority of the parents stated that at the time of the birth the length/height and weight-for-birth were comparatively nearer to the ideal measurements. The Lady Health Workers of the village also authenticated these claims.

Mental health is one of the major components of the social well-being under the definition of Gassmann *et al.* (2013:7). The issue of mental health had been widely discussed by the migration researcher while focusing on the process through which a member of a family member departs. The families’ were emotional charged in the absence of their members and they felt sad and lonely. To determine the

mental health conditions of family members left behind in the village, a self-reported indicator was used. They were asked about different conditions like feeling lonely, sad, and depressed due to the absence of their migrant members and they felt that migration undoubtedly brought prosperity and wealth but left a deep psychological and emotional effect on the families.

8.3.5. The Impact on Maternal Healthcare Utilizations

International migration and the influx of remittances brought some changes in the healthcare practices among migrant families in the villages. In the after migration scenario they could access more modern general and maternal healthcare. The health service delivery offered at the hospitals opened the opportunities for women to access the sophisticated ways of treatments and at the same time it influenced the perceptions of families' heads that had pivotal roles in the selections of modes of treatments. In most of the cases, father-in-law (*susar*), mother in law (*sas*), and migrants' elder or younger brother (*jaith or dewar*) were making decisions in the absence of the migrant member. The worldview shared by their migrant members and transfers of remittances convinced them to choose the formal health services.

8.3.6. Migration-Health Model

Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005:264) were amongst the main exponents of the migration-health model. The model narrates that the most obvious channel through which migration can positively affect child nutritional status is the increase in household's income and wealth. This increase in the income allows households to purchase nutritional food and medicines. In addition, savings from the remittances allowed the parents to make additional investments they could not have made otherwise.

McKenzie & Sasin (2007:6-10) pointed out two reasons why remittance income may be spent in differently than "normal" income. First, if health is seen as an investment by parents and remittance income is considered secondary then according to permanent income hypothesis; remittances will be mainly invested, for example, in child health, instead of being spent on normal consumption. Second, it is possible that money is remitted with a specific purpose, favouring investment over consumption.

8.4. Conclusion

The impact of migration on the education and health of the families left behind had been investigated in this research. The findings of the research show a positive impact of the migration on the dependent variables, a) education and b) health. The process of migration made the lives of dependents more vibrant. The main crux of the migration was witnessed in change in the economic position of the families. That economic change was the main force that provided momentum to the change in the education and health patterns among the left behind families.

The impact of migration on the education of the children was multi-dimensional. The main impact of the migration was seen as the reduction in the families' economic constraints and it consequently allowed them to spend more on the quality education of the children who could chalk their careers much easily. For the girls the process of migration and the transfers of remittances made it possible for them to enroll in the higher educational institutions without any hurdle. But for boys, migration became a main hurdle to touch the higher levels of education as they went astray. The educational careers of both the genders were thus influenced by the migration.

The youth irrespective of the fact that good education could benefit them in building a career were caught in the whirlpool of 'culture of migration'. With a single-minded purpose the youth were ready to emulate known migrant members to go abroad in search of jobs and money. The children from the families were no exception and preferred to move abroad through substitute migration process in quick time. Attaining reasonably acceptable educational status became a very ordinary thing for them and they did not expend energies on it.

The performance of the boys was unimpressive compared to the girls studying in the elementary schools and in the higher classes. The main reason behind ineffective and questionable performance of the boys was that their minds were occupied with the sole ambition to go abroad and in their aspiration matured as they grew old. The shift from educational career to the migration started occurring in their minds when these boys reached 18 years of age.

The second major objective of the research was to see the impact of migration on the health of the families left behind. The data revealed that a number of healthcare options were available in the village but the selection of the one of these options was depended purely on the nature of ailment and the affordability of medical care.

A shift in the selection of the modern medicine was observed amongst the left behind families. The main reason behind this shift was the access of income through the inflow of remittances which reduced their poverty burden and allowed them to spend more on the modern methods of treatment.

The impact of migration and remittances was also evident in food security of the families as majority of the left behind families were now in a better position to spend wisely not only to purchase the food items but judge the quality of these food items as well. The migration and remittances could also be positively associated to the change in the dietary patterns. The data revealed that majority of these household were unable to access such items and quality of food including, fruits, vegetables, and meat items in the before migration situation. It was migration and continuous stream of remittance that actually made it possible for them to buy healthy and nutritious food of their choice.

The migration had greatly impacted the social well-being of the families left behind. It improved the nutritional levels with an increase in the access to the variety of food items with composite calorie levels.

In addition to this the physical and mental health of the families could also be associated to the migration of the family member. The physical health of the families was good as all of the family members were taking proper diet and were somehow engaged in exercises and leisure activities which ultimately made them healthy and strong.

There were some adverse effects of the migration for the families as their blood relations had to live in faraway places and return home on vacation mostly after a couple of years. For the families it was a long absence which they had to bear with patience and fortitude. It would at times end in psychologically charged mental state. The elderly parents too suffered in long hours of melancholy at the absence of their sons but accepted the fact that the migrant member's sacrifices were for the sake of the family wellbeing.

GLOSSARY

<i>Aam</i>	Mango
<i>Akberabad</i>	The old name of the village Karrianwala.
<i>Akhlaat</i>	Humours
<i>Amrood</i>	Guava
<i>Angoor</i>	Grapes
<i>Apnay ghar</i>	Own house and it is also used for girls (in marriageable age) which means that they have to depart from their parents and to settle with the husband.
<i>Balgham</i>	Phlegm
<i>Baloch</i>	One of the largest tribes in Pakistan.
<i>Balochi, language</i>	A language which is widely spoken in Balochistan province in Pakistan.
<i>Banjhpan</i>	A typical term used for infertile women. It is also commonly used as curse.
<i>Baragosht</i>	Beef
<i>Barani</i>	Rain-fed area, where cultivation is mainly based on rain water.
<i>Barrilla Sharif</i>	A renowned and commonly visited shrine in rural Gujrat. It is also famous for the <i>langar</i> - public feast.
<i>Bayat</i>	Taking oath on the hands of <i>pir</i> .
<i>Bhindi</i>	Okra, ladies' figures
<i>Bimari</i>	Illness
<i>Bimarpursi, ayadat, Temardari</i>	Enquiring after one's health
<i>Biradari</i>	Kinship
<i>Brahvi, language</i>	A language which is widely spoken in Balochistan province in Pakistan.
<i>Budh</i>	Wednesday
<i>Bukhar</i>	Fever
<i>Chadar charhana</i>	Spreading of floral/cloth sheet at tomb of the saint/ <i>pir</i> .
<i>Chai</i>	Milk/mix-tea
<i>Chaleswan, Chehlum</i>	Fortieth day after the death
<i>Challey Sharif</i>	A shrine in the village of Karrianwala
<i>Charpai</i>	Cot/bed
<i>Chicken baryani</i>	Rice cooked with chicken and spices
<i>Chotagosht</i>	Mutton
<i>Chowk</i>	Center or junction of Bazaars
<i>Dal chanay</i>	Split Bengal Gram
<i>Dal mash</i>	White Lentils
<i>Dal masoor</i>	Red lentils
<i>Dal mong</i>	Yellow Lentils

<i>Dalin</i>	Pulses
<i>Dam, a rite</i>	Breath- a spiritual rite
<i>Dam</i>	Blood
<i>Daswan</i>	Tenth day
<i>Dekhadikhi</i>	Emulation or following others
<i>Dewar</i>	Younger brother-in-law
<i>Dodhi</i>	<i>Milkman, Milkmen</i>
<i>Donkey, donkey lagana</i>	Literal translation in English as the donkey- an animal but in the migration context is widely used term for the process of illegal/irregular migration.
<i>Gajar ka halwa</i>	Carrot pudding
<i>Gosht</i>	Meat
<i>Gujjar, caste</i>	Major inhabiting caste in the district. The name of the district Gujrat was also given because of the Gujjar rules.
<i>Gujrati people</i>	The residents of Gujrat District in Pakistan
<i>Guzarakarna</i>	To show contentment
<i>Hakeem, Hikmat</i>	Traditional medicine healer/physician
<i>Halwa puri</i>	A subcontinent dish which contains poori or puri bread (made from flour) alongside halwa- a sweet dessert. It is mostly served at breakfast.
<i>Hifz-e-Quran, Hafiz-e- Quran</i>	Memorization of the Holy Quran, the person who memorize Quran.
<i>Hindko, language</i>	A language which is spoken in some parts of upper Punjab especially in the neighboring part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province in Pakistan. It is also spoken in certain parts of KP.
<i>Hubo</i>	A royal worker of king Akbar who re-established the village Karrianwala in 1593.
<i>Hundi, hawala</i>	Illegal, undocumented process of the transfer of foreign remittances.
<i>Jaith</i>	Elder brother-in-law
<i>Jamun</i>	Black Berry
<i>Kacha</i>	Mud house
<i>Kala/Bhora chana</i>	Black/ Brown Chickpeas
<i>Kareela</i>	<i>Bitter Gourd</i>
<i>Karyana store or Dokan</i>	Shop or small grocery store
<i>Kela</i>	Banana
<i>Kharboza</i>	Cantaloupe
<i>Kharif</i>	Summer cropping season
<i>Kharway</i>	The tehsil/sub-district Kharian of district Gujrat commonly known as <i>Kharway</i> - the little Norway because a hung chunk of population from this tehsil is settled in Norway.

<i>Khayal rakhnay walay</i>	Caretakers, those who look after the left behind families in the absence of migrants
<i>Kinnow</i>	Citrus
<i>Langar</i>	Distribution of food, also used as public kitchen or feast. It is mostly distributed on shrines.
<i>Lassi</i>	Yogurt-drink
<i>Lelay</i>	Literal translation in English as “sheep herd” but in the migration context it is widely used term for the group of illegal/irregular migrants.
<i>Mangal</i>	Tuesday
<i>Mannat</i>	Making a vow, divine intercession
<i>Mareez</i>	Patient
<i>Mazar</i>	Shrine
<i>Mehman nawazi</i>	Hospitality
<i>Mekay or pekay</i>	Natal kin, Married women’s parents’ family
<i>Mian or gharwala</i>	Husband
<i>Mohajir</i>	Migrants, especially those migrants who came from India during the partition in 1947.
<i>Mohalla</i>	Town-quarter, subdivision of the village
<i>Motapa</i>	Obesity
<i>Murgi ka gosht</i>	Chicken
<i>Musami</i>	Sweet-lime
<i>Nagha</i>	Off days
<i>Namardangi</i>	Impotency
<i>Nazla-zukam</i>	Flu
<i>Numberdar or Lumberdar</i>	Village head, revenue collector in the village.
<i>Pacca</i>	Cemented house
<i>Palak</i>	Spinach
<i>Pehlay din</i>	First day
<i>Phal</i>	Fruits
<i>Pir</i>	Spiritual leader
<i>Punjabi, language</i>	A language which is widely spoken in Punjab province in Pakistan.
<i>Pushto, language</i>	A language which is widely spoken Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and in some parts of Balochistan.
<i>Qehwa</i>	Green tea, tea made of selection preserved herbs
<i>Rabi</i>	Winter cropping season
<i>Rajma</i>	Red beans
<i>Rees</i>	Emulation
<i>Rishtadar</i>	Kinship, close-relatives
<i>Sabzian</i>	Vegetables
<i>Safoof</i>	A medicine powder/mixture made of herbs and plants
<i>Safra</i>	Yellow bile

<i>Saraiki</i> , language	A language which is widely spoken in the southern parts of Punjab in Pakistan.
<i>Sar-dard</i>	Headache
<i>Sarman Kari</i>	The name of the tribe who laid the foundations of the present day Karrianwala village. The name of the village was given after that tribe “ <i>Sarman Kari</i> .”
<i>Sas</i>	Mother-in-law
<i>Satwan</i>	Seventh day
<i>Sauda</i>	Black bile
<i>Seb</i>	Apple
<i>Sehat</i>	Health
<i>Sharbat</i>	Syrup
<i>Sindhi</i> , language	A language which is widely spoken in Sindh, especially in the rural Sindh.
<i>Sirsatwan</i>	Royal worker of the king Akbar who established Karrianwala village in 1207.
<i>Soyem</i>	Third day
<i>Sufaid lobiya</i>	White Beans
<i>Susar</i>	Father-in-law
<i>Tarboz</i>	Watermelon
<i>Taweez</i>	Amulets- that contains verses from the holy Quran.
<i>Tawi</i>	A river
<i>Thek thak’</i> or <i>‘vall’</i> (in Punjabi) or <i>‘sehatmand’</i>	Healthy, in good health
<i>Tibb-e-Unani</i>	Traditional medicine
<i>Tilawat-e-Quran</i>	Recitation of the Holy Quran
<i>Tokri</i>	Basket
<i>Zaat</i>	Caste
<i>Zakhira-andoz</i> , <i>Zakhira-andozi</i>	Store keeper, store-keeping

REFERENCES

- Abbasi, N. M. (2010). *The Pakistani Diaspora in Europe and Its Impact on Democracy Building in Pakistan*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Abreu, A. (2010). The New Economics of Labour Migration: Beware of Neoclassicals Bearing Gifts. *Forum for Social Economics*, DOI: 10.1007/s12143-010-9077-2.
- Acosta, P. (2006). Labor supply, school attendance, and remittances from international migration: The Case of El Salvador. Policy Research Working Paper Series 3903. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Acosta, P. (2011). School attendance, child labour, and remittances from international migration in El Salvador. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 47(6), 913-936, 2011.
- Acosta, P., Calderón, C., Fajnzylber, P. & López, H. (2006). Remittances and Development in Latin America. *The World Economy*, 29(7), 957–987.
- Acosta, P., P. Fajnzylber and J. H. Lopez. (2007). The Impact of Remittances on Poverty and Human Capital: Evidence from Latin American Household Surveys. In Ç Özden, & M Schiff (eds.), *Internationalmigration, economic: Development&Policy* (59-98), Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Adams, R., & Page, J. (2005). Do international migration and remittances reduce poverty in developing countries? *World Development*, 33(10), 1645-1669.
- Addleton J. (1984). The impact of international migration on economic development in Pakistan, *Asian Survey*, 24(5), 574-596.
- Addleton, J. (1992). *Undermining the centre: the Gulf migration and Pakistan*. Karachi Pakistan: Oxford University Press.
- Ahmad, N., Hussain, Z., Sial, M.H., Hussain, I. & Akram, W. (2008). Macroeconomic determinants of international migration from Pakistan. *Economic and Social Review*, 46(2), 85-99.
- Akram, M., & Faheem, J. K. (2007). *Public provision of education and government spending in Pakistan*. PIDE Working Paper No. 40. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.
- Alarcon, Rafael. (1992). Norteizacion: Self-Perpetuating Migration from a Mexican Town. In Jorge Bustamante, Raul A. Hinojosa, and Clark Reynolds. (eds.) *U.S.-Mexico Relations: Labor Market Interdependence* (pp. 302-18), Stanford University Press.
- Alcaraz, C., Chiquiar, D., & Salcedo, A. (2012). Remittances, schooling, and child labor in Mexico. *Journal of Development Economics*, 97(1), 156-165.
- Altman, I. (1995). Spanish Migration to the Americas. In R. Cohen (Ed.), *The Cambridge survey of world migration* (pp. 28-32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Amjad, R. Arif, G. M., Irfan M. (2012). *Preliminary Study: Explaining the Ten-fold Increase in Remittances to Pakistan 2001-2012*. PIDE Working Papers 2012: 86. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.
- Amjad, R. Irfan, M., & Arif, G.M. (2013). *How to Increase Formal Inflows of Remittances: An Analysis of the Remittance Market in Pakistan*.

- Working Paper. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics/Lahore School of Economics/International Growth Center.
- Amuedo-Dorantes, C. & Pozo S. (2011). Remittances and Income Smoothing. *American Economic Review*, 101(3), 582-587.
- Amuedo-Dorantes, C. & Pozo, S. (2009). *New Evidence on Healthcare Expenditures by Mexican Households*. IZA Discussion Papers 4617 Institute for the study of Labor. (IZA).
- Amuedo-Dorantes, Georges, A. & Pozo, S. (2008). *Migration, Remittances and Children's Schooling in Haiti*. IZA DP No. 3657. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor.
- Anjos, C., & Campos, P. (2010). *The role of social networks in the projection of international migration flows: An agent-based approach*. Working Paper No. 24 United Nations Statistical Commission.
- Antman, F. M. (2011). The intergenerational effects of paternal migration on schooling and work: What can we learn from children's time allocations? *Journal of Development Economics*, 96(2), 200-208.
- Antman, F. M. (2012). *The impact of migration on family left behind*. IZA Discussion Paper No. 6374. Retrieved from: http://www.iza.org/MigrationHandbook/16_Antman_The%20Impact%20of%20Migration%20on%20Family%20Left%20Behind.pdf. Retrieved on 23 December 2013.
- Anton, Jose-Ignacio. (2010). The impact of remittances on nutritional status of children in Ecuador. *International Migration Review*, 44(2), 269-299.
- Arif, G. M. (2009). *Economic and Social Impacts of Remittances on Households: The Case of Pakistani Migrants Working in Saudi Arabia*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration.
- Arif, G.M. (1998). Reintegration of Pakistani Return Migrants from the Middle East in the Domestic Labour Market. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 37(2), 99-124.
- Arif, G.M. and Irfan, M. (1997). Population mobility across the Pakistani border: Fifty years experience. *Pakistan Development Review*, 36, 989-1005.
- Asian Development Bank. (2006). *Workers' remittance flows in Southeast Asia*. Asian Development Bank. Retrieved from <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/workers-remittance/workers-remittance.pdf>. Retrieved on August 21, 2007.
- Babatunde R. O., & Martinetti, E. C. (2010). Impact of remittances on food security and nutrition in rural Nigeria. Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management. Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin.
- Ballard, R. (1987). The political economy of migration: Pakistan, Britain, and the Middle East. In J. Eades (Ed.), *Migrants, workers, and the social order* (pp. 17-41). London: Tavistock.
- Ballard, R. (2003a). A case of capital-rich underdevelopment: The paradoxical consequences of successful transnational entrepreneurship from Mirpur. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 37(1&2), 25-57.
- Ballard, R. (2003b). The South Asian presence in Britain and its transnational connections. In B. Parekh, G. Singh, & S. Vertovec (Eds.), *Culture and economy in the Indian Diaspora* (pp. 197-222). London: Routledge.
- Bauer T, Zimmermann K. (1998). Causes of International Migration: A Survey. In P Gorter, P Nijkamp, & J Poot (eds.) *Crossing Borders:*

- Regional and Urban Perspectives on International Migration* (pp. 95-127). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Behrman, J. R., & Skoufias, E. (2004). Correlates and Determinants of child anthropometrics in Latin America: background and overview of the symposium. *Economics and Human Biology*, 2(3), 335–251.
- Blackwell, M., & Seddon, D. (2004). *Informal Remittances from the UK - Values, Flows and Mechanisms*. Norwich: A report to DfID by the Overseas Development Group.
- Borraz, F. (2005). Assessing the impact of remittances on schooling: the Mexican experience. *Global Economy Journal*, 5(1), 1-30.
- BP. (2008). *BP Statistical Review of World Energy*, June 2008, London.
- Bredl, S. (2011). Migration, remittances and educational outcomes: The case of Haiti. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31(2), 162–168.
- Brettell, Caroline B. (2000). Theorizing Migration in Anthropology. In C.B. Brettell and J.F. Hollifield (eds.) *Migration Theory* (Pp. 97-135). New York: Routledge.
- Brunborg, H., Østby, L., & Henriksen, K. (2006). *Statistical Patterns and Demographic Change in Norway*. Paper Presented in the Workshop “Globalization and Intercultural Linkages: The Case of Migration and Intercultural linkages between Pakistan and Norway” during Conference on “The Social Science-Policy Nexus, Buenos Aires Argentine from 20-24 February 2006.
- Buencamino, L., & Gorbunov, S. (2002). *Informal money transfer systems: Opportunities and challenges for development finance*. <http://www.un.org/esa/esa02dp26.pdf> (accessed 5 May 2005).
- Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment (2016a). Number of Pakistani registered overseas workers (upto July, 2016). Islamabad: Government of Pakistan. <http://www.beoe.gov.pk/files/statistics/2016/country-2016.pdf>
- Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment (2016b). Statement showing number of Pakistani workers registered for overseas employment through bureau of emigration & overseas employment during the period 1971-2016 (upto September, 2016). Islamabad: BE&OE.
- Cartwright, M. (2013). *Greek Medicine*. In Ancient History Encyclopedia. Retrieved on October 25, 2015, Retrieved From http://www.ancient.eu/Greek_Medicine/
- Castles, S. (2000). International migration at beginning of twenty-first century: Global trends and issues. *International Social Science Journal* 52 (165), 269-281.
- Castles, S., & Millers, M. J. (2009). *The age of migration: international population movements in the modern world*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Central Intelligence Agency, USA (2016). *The World Factbook: Pakistan*. Washington, D.C.: CIA.
- Charsley, K. (2008). Vulnerable brides and transnational ghar damads: Gender, risks and ‘adjustment’ among Pakistani marriages to Britain. In Rajni Palriwala & Patricia Uberoi (eds.), *Marriage, migration and gender: women and migration in Asia volume 5* (261-285). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

- Christie, T. & Afzaal, M. (2005). *Rote Memorization as a Sufficient Explanation of Secondary School Examination Achievement in Pakistan: An Empirical Investigation of a Widespread Assumption*. Paper Presented in the conference Assessment and the future schooling and learning held in Abuja, Nigeria. Retrieved from: <http://www.aku.edu/AKUEB/pdfs/IAEA05.pdf>.
- Čiarnienė, R., & Kumpikaitė, V. (2008). The Impact of globalization on migration process. *Socialiniai tyrimai/ Social Research*, 3 (13), 42–48.
- Cohen, R. Ed. (1995). *The Cambridge survey of world migration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cortes, P. (2015). *The feminization of international migration and its effects on the children left behind: Evidence from the Philippines*. Working Paper. Boston, MA: Boston University School of Management.
- Cortés, R. (2007). *Children and women left behind in labor sending countries: an appraisal of social risks*. Global Report on Migration and Children.
- Cox-Edwards, A. & Ureta, M. (2003). International migration, remittances, and schooling: Evidence from El Salvador. *Journal of Development Economics*, 72, 429-461.
- Dahya, B. (1974). *Pakistani Ethnicity in Industrial Cities in Britain*. In A. Cohen (ed.) *Urban Ethnicity*. London: Tavistock.
- De Hass, H. (2008). *Migration and development: A theoretical perspective*. International Migration Institute, Working Paper No. 9.
- De, P. K. & Ratha, D. (2012). Impact of remittances on household income, asset and human capital: evidence from Sri Lanka. *Migration and Development*, 1(1), 163-179.
- Department of Health. (2013). *Three Year Rolling Plan of District Gujrat 2010-13*. Gujrat: NCHD.
- Deutsche Bank Research. (2003). *International migration: Who, where and why? Current issues: Demography special*. Frankfurt: Deutsche Bank Research.
- Doving, CA (2009). Migration-ritual attrition or increased flexibility? A case study of Pakistani Funerals in Norway. In Virindera S. Kalra (ed.), *Pakistani Diaspora: Culture, Conflict, and Change* (pp. 212-232). Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Duque-Páramo, M. C. (2004). *Colombian immigrant children in the United States: Representations of food and the process of creolization*. PhD Thesis submitted to Department of Anthropology College of Arts and Sciences, Florida: University of South Florida.
- Duryea, Suzanne, López-Córdova, E. & Olmedo, A. (2005). *Migrant Remittances and Infant Mortality: Evidence from Mexico*. Washington: Inter-American Development Bank. Mimeo Graphed.
- Dustmann, C. & Glitz, A. (2011). *Migration and Education*. NORFACE MIGRATION Discussion Paper No. 2011-11.
- Enterprise for Business & Development Management. (2009). *Baseline study on illegal migration, human smuggling and trafficking in Pakistan*, EBDM/BEFAre/ACTIONAID. Retrieved on December 14, 2013. Retrieved from url: <http://www.befare.org/Baseline%20Survey.pdf>

- Esquivel, G., & Huerta-Pineda, A. (2007). Remittances and poverty in Mexico: A propensity score matching approach. *Integration and Trade*, 27, 45–71.
- Faist, T. (2008). Migrants as transnational development agents: an inquiry into the newest round of the migration–development nexus. *Population, Space and Place*, 14(1), 21-41.
- Fajnzylber, P., & Lopez, J. H. (2007). *Close to Home: The Development Impact of Remittances in Latin America*. Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank.
- Ferraro, V. (2008). Dependency theory: An introduction. In G. Secondi (Ed.), *The Development Economics Reader* (pp. 58-64). London: Routledge.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. (2002). *The state of food insecurity in the world 2001*. Rome.
- Frank, A. G. (1967). *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Frank, R. & R. Hummer. (2002). The Other Side of the Paradox: The Risk of Low Birth Weight among Infants of Migrant and Non-migrant Households within Mexico. *International Migration Review* 36 (3), 746-65.
- Funkhouser, E. (1992). Migration from Nicaragua: Some recent evidence. *World Development*, 20, 1209-1218.
- Gallup Pakistan. (2008). *A case study of Pakistani labour force in the Gulf*. Dubai: Gilani Research Foundation. Retrieved on October 26, 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.gallup.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/A-Case-Study-of-Pakistani-Labour-Force-in-the-Gulf.pdf>
- Gao, Y. Li, L. P., Kim, J. H., Congdon, N., Lau, J, & Griffiths, S. (2010). The impact of parental migration on health status and health behaviours among left behind adolescent school children in China. *BMC Public Health*, 10(56),1-10.
- Gassmann, F., Siegel, M, Michaella, V., & Waidler, J. (2013). *The impact of migration on children left behind in Moldova*. UNU-MERIT Working Paper Series No. 2013-043. Pp. 1-40.
- Gazdar, H. (2003). *A Review of migration issues in Pakistan*. Paper presented at the Conference “Regional Conference on Migration, Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices in Asia.” Dhaka. (22-24 June 2003).
- Ghosh, B. (2006). *Migrants’ remittances and development: Myths, rhetoric, and realities*. International Organization of Migration.
- Giannelli, G. C., & Mangiavacchi, L. (2010). Children’s schooling and parental migration: Empirical evidence on the ‘left-behind’ generation in Albania. *Labour*, 24, 76-92.
- Gibson, J., & McKenzie, D. (2011). Eight questions about brain drain. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 25(3), 107–112.
- Gilani, T., Khan, M. K., & Iqbal, M. (1981). *Labour migration from Pakistan to Middle East and Its Impact on the Domestic Economy*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.
- Google Maps. (2013). Karrianwala-Pakistan
- Government of Pakistan (2016). *Pakistan Social and Living Standard Measurement Survey, 2014-15*. Islamabad: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics.

- Government of Pakistan. (2000). *District Census Report of Gujrat*, 1998. Islamabad: Population Census Organization, Statistics Division.
- Government of Pakistan. (2004). *Overseas Pakistanis Division Yearbook 2004-05*. Overseas Pakistanis Division, Government of Pakistan.
- Government of Pakistan. (2008). *Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2006-07*. Islamabad: National Institute of Population Studies.
- Government of Pakistan. (2013). *Economic Survey of Pakistan, 2011-12*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Economic Advisor's Wing, Finance Division, Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs
- Government of Punjab. (1921). *Gazetteer of the Gujrat District*. Lahore: Government Printing.
- Gratz, Jen. (2006). *The Impact of Parents' Background on their Children's Education. Public Education for Public Good*. Retrieved from <http://www.macalester.edu/educationreform/publicintellealessay/Gratz.pdf>
- Gratzer, W. (2005). *Terrors of the table: The curious history of nutrition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grossman, M. (1972). *The demand for health: a theoretical and empirical investigation*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved from <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c3485.pdf> Retrieved on November 11, 2015.
- Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. (1997). *Culture, power, place: Ethnography at the end of an era*. In A. Gupta & J. Ferguson (Eds.). *Culture, power, place: exploring in critical anthropology* (pp. 1-29). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Halliday, T. (2006). Migration, risk and liquidity constraints in El Salvador. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 54(4), 893-925.
- Hammar, T. (1990). *Democracy and the nation state: aliens, denizens and citizens in a world of international migration*. Aldershot Brookfield: Avebury.
- Hanson, G. & Woodruff, C. (2003). *Emigration and Educational Attainment in Mexico*. Working Paper, preliminary.
- Hasan, A., & Raza, M. (2011). *Migration and small towns in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Hatton, T. J., & Williamson, J. G. (1998). *The age of mass migration: Causes and economic impact*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hefferman, M. (1995). French colonial migration. In R. Cohen (Ed.), *The Cambridge survey of world migration* (pp. 33-38). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Helmenstein, C. & Yegorov, Y. (2000). The dynamics of migration in the presence of chains. *Journal of Economic Dynamics & Control*, 24(2), 307-323.
- Helweg, A. W. (1983). Emigrant remittances: Their nature and impact on a Punjabi village. *New Community*, 10(3), 435-443.
- Hetland, A. (2010). *The know Norway book*. Mr. Books: Islamabad.
- Hettige, S. T. (2012). *Understanding psychosocial issues faced by migrant workers and their families*. Colombo, Sri Lanka: The Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare & The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. 1-98. Retrieved on October 24, 2015. Retrieved From:

- https://www.eda.admin.ch/content/dam/countries/countries-content/sri-lanka/en/emb_colombo_resource_en_224603.pdf
- Hildebrandt, N., & McKenzie, D. (2005). The effects of migration on child health in Mexico. *Economía (Journal of the Latin American and Caribbean Economics Association)*, 6(1), 257–289.
- Hu, Feng. (2013). Does migration benefit the schooling of children left behind? Evidence from rural northwest China. *Demographic Research*, 29(2), 33-70.
- Hunzai, K. (2010). *Labour migration and remittances in the mountains of Pakistan*. Kathmandu: International Centre of Integrated Mountain Development.
- Hussey, P. S. (2007). International migration patterns of physicians to the United States: A cross-national panel analysis. *Health Policy*, 84(2-3), 298–307.
- Institute of Development. (2006). *Sending money home: Can remittances reduce poverty*. Id, 21, Insights.
- International Centre for Migration Policy Development. (2013). *Pakistan: Migration Country Report*. Budapest Process, A silk routes partnership for Migration. Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD).
- Iqbal, M., and M. F. Khan (1981) *Economic Implications of the Return Flow of Immigrants from the Middle East: A Preliminary Study*. Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad. (Research Report No. 132.)
- Iqbal, Z. & Sattar, A. (2005). *The contribution of workers' remittances to economic growth in Pakistan*. PIDE, Research Report No. 187. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad.
- Jampaklay, A. (2006). Parental absence and children's school enrolment: Evidence from a longitudinal study in Kanchanaburi, Thailand. *Asian Population Studies*, 2(1), 93-110.
- Jan, M. A. (2008). *Migration Trends from Pakistan*. SDPI Research and News Bulletin, Vol. 15, No. 3, <http://www.sdpi.org/help/researchandnewsbulletin/julysept08/Migration%20Trends.html>.
- Jimenez, M.A.C. (2009). Household development in Tlapanana: A comparative study between households receiving remittances and households not receiving remittances. *Journal of Poverty*, 13(3), 331–349.
- Jorge, N. (2008). *Remittances and Household's Expenditures on Health*. Munich: University Library of Munich.
- Kanaiaupuni, S. K., & Donato, K. M. (1999). Migradollars and mortality: The effects of male migration on infant mortality in Mexico. *Demography*, 36 (3), 339-353.
- Kandel W., & Massey, D. S. (2002). The culture of Mexican migration: A theoretical and empirical analysis. *Social Forces*, 80(3), 981–1004.
- Kandel, W. & G. Kao (2001). “The impact of temporary labor migration on Mexican children's educational aspirations”. *International Migration Review*, 35(4), 1204-1231.
- Katseli, L.T., Lucas, R.E.B., & Xenogiani, T., (2006). *Effects of migration on sending countries*. OECD Development Center, Working Paper No. 250.

- Kearney, M. (1986). From the invisible hand to visible feet: Anthropological studies of migration and development. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 331-361.
- Khadria, B. (2008). India; skilled migration to developed countries, labour migration to the Gulf. In S. Castles, & W. R. Delgado (Eds.), *Migration and development: Perspectives from the south* (pp. 79-112). Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Khan S. (2016). The Impact of International Migration on Children's Education in Rural Gujrat, Pakistan. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, 6(3), 226-229.
- Khan, R. E. A., & Ali, K. (2005). Bargaining over Sons' and Daughters' Schooling; Probit Analysis of Household Behavior in Pakistan. Working Paper 01-05, Department of Economics Islamia University Bahawalpur. 1-27. Retrieved on October 25, 2015. Retrieved From <http://econwpa.repec.org/eps/hew/papers/0505/0505002.pdf>
- Khan, S. (2013). *The impact of remittances on maternal health care utilizations: a case study of district Gujrat. Unpublished Project Report under University Research Fund 2012-13*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Department of Sociology, Quaid-i-Azam University.
- Khan, S., & Sajid, M. R. (2011). The essence of shrines in rural Punjab: A case study of shrines at Barrilla Sharif, Gujrat-Pakistan. *Humanity and Social Sciences Journal*, 6(1), 66-77.
- Khan, S., Sajid, M. R. Gondal, M. A., & Ahmad, N. (2009). Impacts of remittances on the living standards on emigrants' family in Gujrat-Pakistan. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 12(2), 205-215.
- Khan, S., Sajid, M. R., Gondal, M. A. & Hafeez-ur-Rehman. (2012). Why do people migrate: An investigation of the major factors behind international migration from Kharian to Norway. In S. Khan & Hafeez-ur-Rehman (Eds.), *Revisiting Migration Issues in Pakistan* (pp. 16-31). Deutschland: Lambert Academic Publishing.
- King, Russell. (2012). *Theories and typologies of migration: An overview and premier*. Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations 3/12.
- Koenig, H., McCullough M., & Larson D. (2001). *Handbook of Religion and Health*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kofman, E. (2008). Family migration. In IOM (ed.) *World Migration 2008: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy* (pp.151-172). International Organization for Migration.
- Koser, K. (2007). *International migration: A very short introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Krippner S. (2003). *Models of Ethnomedicinal Healing*. Paper Presented at the Ethnomedicine Conferences, Munich, Germany. April 26-27 and October 11-12.
- Kuhn, R. (2006). The Effects of Fathers' and Siblings' Migration on Children's Pace of Schooling in Rural Bangladesh. *Asian Population Studies*, 2(1), 69-92.
- Kuutsch, C., & Martin, P. (2004). *Migration and development: Remittances and cooperation with the diaspora*. <http://www.gtz.de/migration-and-development/download/dokumentation-plenum2.pdf> (accessed 25 August 2004).

- Kusumawardhani, N. (2012). *Migration, money, and education: The impact of migration and remittances on children's schooling in Senegal*. Unpublished Master Thesis for Master Program in Economics and Public Policy, Sciences Po Paris-Ecole Polytechnique-ENSAE.
- Laenen, F. V. (2005). *Norwegian left court Pakistani Vote*. The Brussels Journal. Retrieved from <<http://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/143>> Retrieved on 1 July, 2011.
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47–57.
- Leghari, Inam Ullah. (2009). *Pakistani immigrants in Greece: from changing pattern of migration to Diaspora politics and transnationalism*. Paper presented in 4th London School of Economics (LSE) PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece London School of Economics, Hellenic Observatory 25 and 26 June 2009.
- Lerner, D. (1958). *The passage of traditional society: Modernizing the middle east*. Glencoe ILL: The Free Press.
- Liang, Z. (2001). Demography of illicit emigration from china: A sending country's perspective. *Sociological Forum*, 16(4), 677-701.
- López-Córdova, E. (2006). *Globalization, Migration and Development: The Role of Mexican Migrant Remittances*. INTAL-ITD Working Paper No. 20, the Inter-American Development Bank.
- López-Córdova, J. E. (2005), Globalization, Migration, and Development: The Role of Mexican Migrant Remittances, *Economía*, 6 (1), 217-256.
- Lowe, H., Payne-Jackson A., Beckstrom-Sternberg. S. M., & Duke, J. A. (2000). *Jamaica's ethnomedicine: Its potential in the healthcare system*. Canoe Press: University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica.170.
- Lucas, R. E. B. (1997). International migration in developing countries. In M. R. Rosenzweig & O. Stark (Eds.), *Handbook of population and family economics* (pp. 721-798). Elsevier Science B.V.
- Lucas, R. E. B. (2005). *International migration regimes and economic development*. Executive summary of the report prepared for the Expert Group on Development Issues, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/thirdcoord2004/P22_AnnexIII.pdf.
- Lucas, R. E. B. (2007). Migration and rural development. *eJADE electronic Journal of Agricultural and Development Economics*, 4(1): 99-122
- Lucassen, J. (1995). Emigration to the Dutch colonies and the USA. In R. Cohen (Ed.), *The Cambridge survey of world migration* (pp. 21-27). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.;
- López-Cordóva, E. (2005). Globalization, migration and development: The role of Mexican migrant remittances (Forthcoming). *Economía, (Journal of the Latin American and Caribbean Economic Association)*, 6(1), 217-256.
- Macours, K., & Vakis, R. (2010). Seasonal migration and early childhood development. *World Development*, 38(6), 857-69.
- Maimbo, S. M., Richard, J., Adams, H., Aggarwal, R., & Passas, N. (2005). *Migrant labor remittances in South Asia*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Mansour, W. Chaaban, J. & Litchfield, J. (2011). The Impact of Migrant Remittances on School Attendance and Education Attainment: Evidence from Jordan. *International Migration Review*, 45(4): 812-851.

- Mansuri, G. (2006). *Migration, School Attainment and Child Labor: Evidence from Rural Pakistan*. mimeo, World Bank.
- Mansuri, G. (2007). Does Work Migration Spur Investment in Origin Communities? Entrepreneurship, Schooling, and Child Health in Rural Pakistan. In Ozden, C. & M. Schiff (eds), *International Migration, Economic Development and Policy* (pp. 99-139). Macmillan-World Bank: Washington DC.
- Margolis, M. (1995). Transnationalism and popular culture: The case of Brazilian immigrants in the United States. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 29, 29-41.
- Massey, D. S. (1995). The new immigration and the meaning of ethnicity in the United States. *Population and Development Review*, 21(3), 631-652.
- Massey, D. S. (2003). *Patterns and processes of international migration in the 21st century*. Paper Presented in Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7 June, 2003.
- Massey, D. S., Arango J., Hugo G., Kouaouci A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 431-466.
- Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, & J. Edward Taylor. (1998). *Worlds in Motion: International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford University Press.
- Massey, Douglas S., Rafael Alarcon, Jorge Durand, & Humberto Gonzalez. (1987). *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico*. University of California Press.
- McKenzie, D. & Rapoport, H. (2006). *Can migration reduce educational attainments? Depressing evidence from Mexico*. CReAM Discussion Paper No 01/06.
- McKenzie, D. & Rapoport, H. (2007). Network effects and the dynamics of migration and inequality: Theory and evidence from Mexico. *Journal of Development Economics*, 84(1), 1-24.
- McKenzie, D. (2006). Beyond Remittances: The Effects of Migration on Mexican Households In Ç Özden, M Schiff (eds.), *International Migration, Remittances, and the Brain Drain* (pp. 123-147). Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- McKenzie, D., & Sasin, M. J. (2007). *Migration, remittances, poverty, and human capital: Conceptual and empirical changes*. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4272.
- Meng, X, & Yamauchi, C. (2015). *Children of Migrants: The Impact of Parental Migration on Their Children's Education and Health Outcomes*. Discussion Paper No. 9165 June 2015. Germany: IZA.
- Mensah-Bonsu, A., & Burger, K. (2008). A bargaining model of migration: Getting the permission of the farm household. In R. B. Dellink & A. Ruijs (Eds.), *Economics of Poverty, Environment and Natural-Resource Use* (pp. 185-204). The Netherlands: Springer.
- Messina, A. M. & Lahav, G.(eds.) (2006). *The migration reader: Exploring politics and policies*. New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited.
- Miller, B. D. (2009). *Cultural Anthropology* (5th Edition). Pearson Education Inc.
- Mines, Richard. (1981). *Developing a Community Tradition of Migration: A Field Study in Rural Zacatecas, Mexico and California Settlement Areas*

- Monographs in U.S.-Mexican Studies No. 3.* La Jolla, Calif.: Program in United States Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Ministry of Education (2013) Pakistan education statistics 2011-12. Islamabad: National Education Management Information System, Academy of Educational Planning and Management, Ministry of Education, Trainings & Standards in Higher Education Government of Pakistan.
- Mishra, S., Kusuma, Y. S., & Babu, B. B. (2014). Pluralistic care and therapeutic itineraries among a migrant tribal community in an eastern Indian city. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* (New Series), VI/6 (1), 61-78.
- Mitchell, J. C. (1969). The concept and use of social network. In J. C. Mitchell (Ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations* (pp. 1-50). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Molina Flores, Juan Jose. (2006). *Remittances, saving, investment, and school enrollment in developing countries*. PhD Thesis Submitted to Fordham University, New York.
- Murray, R. B., & Zentner, J. P. (1989). *Nursing concepts for health promotion*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Nair, P. R. G. (1998). Dynamics of emigration from Kerala: Factors, trends, patterns and policies. In R. Appleyard (Ed.), *Emigration dynamics in developing countries, (Vol. II: South Asia)* (pp. 257-291). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine. (2009). Homeopathy: An introduction. National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine. National Institute of Health, US Department of Health and Human Rights, Retrieved from <http://nccam.nih.gov/health/homeopathy>.
- Newman, M. E., & Girvan, M. (2004). Finding and evaluating community structure in networks. *Physical Review E*, 69, p. 026113.
- Nguyen, M., & Winters, P. (2009). *The impact of migration on nutrition: the case of Vietnam*. Department of Economics. Washington, DC.: American University.
- Nichter, M. (1992). *Anthropological approaches to the study of ethnomedicine*. Amsterdam: Golden and Breach Science Publication.
- Nishtar, S. (2010). *Choked pipes: Reforming Pakistan's mixed health system*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Nkosi, B. M. (2012). Understanding and Exploring Illness and Disease in South Africa: A Medical Anthropology Context. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2(24), 84-93.
- Oda, H. (2007). Dynamics of internal and international migration in Rural Pakistan: Evidences of development and underdevelopment. *Asian Population Studies*, 3(2), 169-179.
- Oda, H. (2009). *Pakistani migration to the United States: An economic perspective*. IDE Discussion Paper No. 196, Institute of Developing Economies.
- Osili, U. O. (2004). *Migrants and housing investments: Theory and evidence from Nigeria*. Indianapolis: Indiana University-Purdue University.
- Overseas Pakistani Foundation (OPF), <http://www.overseaspakistanis.net/2-7-million-pakistani-workers-proceeded-abroad-last-five-years/#more-334>

- Parsons, Talcott (1951). *The Social System*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Pieke, F., Van Hear, N., & Lindley, A. (2005). *Synthesis study: A part of the report on informal remittance systems in ACP Countries*. University of Oxford: ESCR Centre on Migration, Policy and Society.
- PILDAT. (2011). Right to free and compulsory education in Pakistan: Enforcement of article 25-a in the constitution of Pakistan. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency-PILDAT.
- Piore, M. J. (1979). *Birds of passage: Migrant labor in industrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Piore, M. J. (1979). *Birds of passage: Migrant labor in industrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; Reich, M., Gordon, David M. & Edwards, Richard C. (1973). Dual Labor Markets: A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation. *American Economic Review*, 63(2):359-365.
- Piotrowski, M. (2009). Migrant remittances and skipped generation households: investing the exchange motive using evidence from Nang Rong, Thailand. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 18(2), 163-196.
- Ponce, J., Olivie, I., & Onofa, M. (2011). The Role of International Remittances in Health Outcomes in Ecuador: Prevention and Response to Shocks. *International Migration Review*, 45(3), 727-745.
- Population Reference Bureau. (2007). *World Population Data Sheet*. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau.
- Portes, A. (1978). Migration and Underdevelopment. *Politics & Society*, 8(1), 1-48.
- Portes, A. (2006). Migration and Development: A Conceptual Review of the Evidence. In Stephen Castles & Paul Delgado Wise (Eds.), *Migration and development perspectives from south* (17-41). Geneva: IOM.
- Punjab Development Statistics. (2011). *Bureau of Statistics*. Lahore: Government of Punjab.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48(2), 167-227.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1889). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 52(2), 214-301.
- Reich, M., Gordon, David M. & Edwards, Richard C. (1973). Dual Labor Markets: A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation. *American Economic Review*, 63(2):359-365.
- Reichert, Joshua S. (1981). The Migrant Syndrome: Seasonal U.S. Wage Labor and Rural Development in Central Mexico. *Human Organization*, 40 (1), 56-66.
- Rossi, A. (2008). *The Impact of Migration on Children in Developing Countries*. Paper prepared for the Youth Migration Conference April 24-26, 2008 Bellagio, Italy.
- Rostow, W. W. (1960). *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rouse, Roger C. (1992). Making Sense of Settlement: Class Transformation, Cultural Struggle, and Transnationalism among Mexican Migrants in the United States. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645:25-52.
- Rystad, G. (1992). Immigration history and future of international migration. *International Migration Review*, 26(4), 1167-1199.

- Saleem, A., & Bhatti, A. A. (2012). *Gujrat-Pedia: Geographical, Historical, Socio-Cultural, Civilizational, Economical and Literary Overview*. Gujrat: University of Gujrat Press.
- Salter, J. (1873). *Asiatic in London*. London: Seely.
- Schoorl J. (1998). *The Analysis Generating International Migration. A multi-country approach to study the determinants of migration*. Paper presented in Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development: The Hague, Netherlands.
- Shah, D. (2009). Monitoring the Quality of Secondary Education in the Context of Decentralization in Pakistan. *Bulletin of Education and Research*, 31(1), 1-25.
- Shah, N. M. (1995). Emigration Dynamics from and within South Asia. *International Migration*, 33(3&4), 559-625.
- Shah, N. M. (2001). *Current Issues in Middle East Migration from Pakistan and other South Asian Countries*. Pakistan population Stabilization Prospects 2nd Conference Proceedings 31st October to 2nd November 2001, Islamabad Pakistan.
- Shah, N. M. (1998). Emigration Dynamics in South Asia: An Overview. In R. Appleyard (Ed.), *Emigration dynamics in developing countries, (Vol. II: South Asia)* (pp. 17-29). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Shah, T. H., Malik, D. S., & Perveen, A. (2012). Use of remittance on non-productive activities. In S. Khan & Hafeez-ur-Rehman (Eds.), *Revisiting Migration Issues in Pakistan* (pp. 42-54). Deutschland: Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Shaikh, B. T., Rabbani, F. & Safi, D. (2010). Contracting of primary health care services in Pakistan: Is up-scaling a pragmatic thinking? *Journal of Pakistan Medical Association*, 60(5), 387-389.
- Shaw, A. (2000). *Kinship and continuity: Pakistani families in Britain*. Amsterdam: Harwood
- Siddiqui, T. (2005). International migration as a livelihood strategy of the poor: the Bangladesh case. In T. Siddiqui (ed.), *Migration and Development Pro-Poor Policy Choices* (pp. 71-108). Dhaka: Dhaka University Press.
- Siddiqui, R., & Kemal, A. R. (2006). Remittances, trade liberalisation, and poverty in Pakistan: the role of excluded variable in poverty change analysis. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 45(3), 383-415.
- Siegmann, K.A. (2010). Strengthening whom? The role of international migration for women and men in Northwest Pakistan, *Progress in Development Studies*, 10(4), 345-361.
- Singer, M. (1995). Beyond the ivory tower: Critical praxis in medical anthropology. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 9(1), 80-106.
- Singh, S. (2007). Sending money home-maintaining family and community. *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*, 3(2), 93-109.
- Skeldon, R. (1992). International Migration within and from the East and South-east Asian region: A Review Essay. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 1 (1), 19-63.
- Skeldon, R. (2005). Migration and migration policy in Asia: a synthesis of selected cases, in T. Siddiqui (ed.), *Migration and Development Pro-Poor Policy Choices* (pp. 15-37). Dhaka: University Press.

- Smith, Robert C. (1998). Transnational localities: Technology, Community, and the Politics of Membership within the Context of Mexico-U.S. Migration. *Journal of Urban and Comparative Research*, 6, 196-240.
- Smith, Robert C. (1999). *Los Ausentes Siempre Presentes Politics, Gender, and Generation in the Imagining and Making of Transnational Community*. Unpublished manuscript. Dept. of Sociology, Barnard College, Columbia University.
- Southiseng, N & J. Walsh (2011). Remittances and changing role of women in Laos. *International Journal of Human and Social Sciences*, 6(1): 1-7.
- Stark, O. (1991). *The migration of labor*. Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Stark, O., & Bloom, D. E. (1985). The new economics of labour migration. *The American Economic Review*, 75(2), 173-178.
- Statistics Norway (2014). *Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, 1 January 2014*.
- Suleri, A. Q., & Savage, K. (2006). *Remittances in crisis: A case study from Pakistan*. An HPG Background Paper. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Tahir, M.W., Kauser, R., Yousaf, R., Tahir, M.A., & Nazeer, M.A. (2012), Pakistan to Greece: Mapping of Illegal Migration among Dwellers of Gujrat, Pakistan. In Sarfraz Khan & Hafeez-ur-Rehman (eds.), *Revisiting Migration Issues in Pakistan: A Collection of Research Article* (pp. 78-94). Saarbrücken: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing GmbH & Co. KG.
- Taylor, E. (1999). The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process. *International Migration Quarterly Review*, 37(1), 63-88.
- Tinker, H. (1995). The British colonies of settlement. In R. Cohen (Ed.), *The Cambridge survey of world migration* (pp. 14-20). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- UNESCO (2012). *Student mobility indicators, 2012* Institute for Statistics http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=136&IF_Language=eng&BR_Topic=0. No figures are so far available for 2011 and 2012.
- UNICEF (2015). *Levels and Trends in Child Mortality 2015*. New York: United Nations Children's Fund.
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2007). *The impact of international migration: children left behind in selected countries of Latin America and the Caribbean*. New York: United Nations Children's Fund.
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2011). *Impact of Labour Migration on "Children Left Behind" in Tajikistan*. Dushanbe: United Nations Children's Fund.
- United Nations Children's Fund/United Nation Development Fund. (2008). *The impact of migration and remittances on communities, families and children in Moldova*. New York: United Nations Children's Fund/United Nation Development Fund.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2004). *World economic and social survey: International migration*. New York.
- United Nations Organization (2013a). *Population Facts* No. 2013/2. Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Geneva: UNO.

- United Nations Organization. (1975). *Report of the world food conference*, Rome 5-16 November 1974.
- United Nations Organization. (2013b). *232 million international migrants living abroad worldwide*, UN Department of Public Information, Press Release, United Nations Organization.
- United Nations Statistics Division (1998). *Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration, Revision 1*. New York: United Nations Organization. Retrieved On October 26, 2015. Retrieved From: <http://www.armstat.am/file/doc/99475948.pdf> P. 95.
- UNODC (2012). *Migrant Smuggling in Asia: A Thematic Review of Literature*. August 2012, http://www.unodc.org/documents/humantrafficking/2012/Migrant_Smuggling_in_Asia_A_Thematic_Review_of_Literature.pdf
- Van Dalen, H. P., Groenewold, G., & Fokkema, T. (2005). The effects of remittances on emigration intentions in Egypt, Morocco, and Turkey. *Population Studies*, 59 (3), 375-392.
- Vogel, A. & Korinek, K. (2012). Passing by the Girls? Remittance Allocation for Educational Expenditures and Social Inequality in Nepal's Households 2003-2004. *International Migration Review*, 4(1), 61-100.
- Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world system*. New York: Academic Press.
- Wasserman, S. & Faust, K. (1994), *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications (Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weeks J. R. (2008). *Population: An introduction to concepts and issues* (Ninth Edition). Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Wiest, Raymond E. (1973). Wage-Labor Migration and the Household in a Mexican Town. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 29(3), 108-209.
- Wood, C. H. (1982). Equilibrium and historical structural perspectives on migration. *International Migration Review*, 16(2), 298-319.
- Woodruff, C. & Zenteno, R. (2007). Migration networks and microenterprises in Mexico. *Journal of Development Economics*, 82(2), 509-528.
- World Bank (2013). *Migration and Development Brief, 21*, Washington DC.
- World Bank (2015). *Infant Mortality Rate*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Retrieved on October 24, 2015. Retrieved From: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN>
- World Bank (2016). *Migration and remittances data* (updated on April, 2016). <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>
- World Bank. (2002). *Pakistan Poverty Assessment. Poverty in Pakistan: Vulnerabilities, Social Gaps, and Rural Dynamics*. Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Sector Unit South Asia Region.
- World Bank. (2004). *Global development finance*. Washington, DC.
- World Bank. (2006). *The Development Impact of Workers' Remittances in Latin America – Volume II, detailed findings*. Economic Report No. 37026, Washington.
- World Bank. (2011). *Migration and remittances factbook*. Migration and remittances unit, Washington, DC.
- World Bank. (2015). *Migration and Development Brief 24*. P. 1
- World Bank. (2016). *Migration and remittances factbook*. Migration and remittances unit, Washington, DC

- World Health Organization. (1946). *Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization*. New York: WHO.
- World Health Organization. (2013) *Health topics, mental health*. Retrieved from: http://www.who.int/topics/mental_health/en. Retrieved on 25 December, 2013.
- World Maps. (2015). *Pakistan Map*. Retrieved from <http://www.oworldmap.tk/pakistan-map>. Retrieved on November 7, 2015.
- Yang, D. (2004). *International migration, human capital, and entrepreneurship: Evidence from Philippine migrants' exchange rate shocks*. Mimeo: University of Michigan.
- Yang, D. (2006). International Migration, Remittances and Household Investment: Evidence from Philippine Migrants' exchange rate shocks, Working Paper 12324, in <http://www.nber.org/papers/w12325>
- Yang, D. (2008). International migration, remittances and household investment: Evidence from Philippine migrants' exchange rate shocks. *The Economic Journal*, 118, 591-630.
- Yap, L.Y.L. (1977). The attraction of cities: a review of the migration literature. *Journal of Development Economics*, 4(3), 239-264.
- Zachariah, K. C., Mathew, E. T., & Irudaya, Rajan. S. (2001). Social, economic and demographic consequences of migration on Kerala. *International Migration*, 39(2), 43-71.
- Zeza, A., Calogero, C., Davis, B., & Winters, P. (2011). Assessing the impact of migration on food and nutrition security. *Food Policy*, 36(1), 1-6.
- Zimmerman, M. & Snow, B. (2012). *An Introduction to Nutrition (v.1.0)*. Retrieved on October 23, 2015, Retrieved From: <http://2012books.lardbucket.org/pdfs/an-introduction-to-nutrition.pdf>

Annexure-I

Table No. 7.3. Names and prices of seasonal fruits

S. No.	Local Name	English Name	Price (Rs./Kg)	S. No	Local Name	English Name	Price (Rs./Kg)
	<i>Fruits in Summer Season</i>				<i>Fruits in Winter Season</i>		
1	<i>Aam</i>	Mango	120	1	<i>Kela</i>	Banana	65*
2	<i>Kela</i>	Banana	70*	2	<i>Seb</i>	Apple	130
3	<i>Seb</i>	Apple	140	3	<i>Anar</i>	Pomegranate	200
4	<i>Angoor</i>	Grapes	200	4	<i>Amrood</i>	Guava	40
5	<i>Nashpati</i>	Pear	80	5	<i>Kinnow</i>	Citrus	110*
6	<i>Kharbooza</i>	Cantaloupe	55	6	<i>Froter</i>	Lime	90*
7	<i>Tarbooz</i>	Watermelon	40	7	<i>Mosami</i>	Sweet-lime	120*
8	<i>Aroo</i>	Apricot	90	8	<i>Japani Phal</i>	Persimmon	65
9	<i>Garma</i>	Cantaloupe	30	9	<i>Santra</i>	Orange	120*
10	<i>Jamun</i>	Black Berry	100				
11	<i>Strawberries</i>	Strawberries	130				
12	<i>Alobukhara</i>	Plum	90				
13	<i>Khubani</i>	Apricot Fresh	120				
14	<i>Loquat</i>	Loquat	130				
15	<i>Mitha</i>	Lime	75*				

*following fruits were sold in a dozen from while others sold in kilograms

(Source: Field Data, 2011-12)

Annexure-II

Table No. 7.4. Names and prices of seasonal vegetables

S. No.	Local Name	English Name	Price (Rs./Kg)	S. No	Local Name	English Name	Price (Rs./Kg)
	<i>Vegetables in Summer Season</i>				<i>Vegetables in Winter Season</i>		
1	<i>Baigan</i>	Eggplant	60	1	<i>Phool Gobhi</i>	Cauliflower	45
2	<i>Kareela</i>	Bitter Gourd	120	2	<i>Band Gobhi</i>	Cabbage	50
3	<i>Kadoo</i>	Pumpkin	50	3	<i>Palak</i>	Spinach	40
4	<i>Teenday</i>	Apple Round	60	4	<i>Moli</i>	Radish	30
5	<i>Bhindi</i>	Lady's finger	100	5	<i>Gajar</i>	Carrot)	35
6	<i>Ghia Tori</i>	Bottle gourd, Calabash	65	6	<i>Shimla Mirch</i>	Bell Pepper	45
7	<i>Kali Tori</i>	Black Calabash	65	7	<i>Shaljum</i>	Turnip or Swedes	35
8	<i>Arvi</i>	Colocassia	80	8	<i>Mattar</i>	Peas	80
9	<i>Aloo</i>	Potato	40	9	<i>Aloo</i>	Potato	80
10	<i>Pyazor Piaj</i>	Onion	45	10	<i>Methi</i>	Fenugreek leaves	45
11	<i>Sabz Chanay</i>	Green Chickpeas	50	11	<i>Saag</i>	Leaf based Spinach	30
12	<i>Loki</i>	Long Melon	40	12	<i>Pyaz or Piaj</i>	Onion	70
13	<i>Kheera</i>	Cucumber	80	13	<i>Phalian</i>	French Beans	40

(Source: Field Data, 2011-12)

Annexure-III

Table No. 7.5. The list of pulses with price

S. No.	Local Name	English Name	Price (Rs./Kg)
1.	<i>Dal Chanay</i>	Split Bengal Gram	120
2.	<i>Dal Mong</i>	Yellow Lentils	120
3.	<i>Dal Masoor</i>	Red Lentils	110
4.	<i>Dal Mash</i>	White Lentils	120
5.	<i>Lobiya/Rajma</i>	Red Beans	140
6.	<i>Sufaid Lobiya</i>	White Beans	135
7.	<i>Kala Chana</i>	Brown Chickpeas	85
8.	<i>Sufaid Chana</i>	White Chickpeas	75
9.	<i>Sabat Masar</i>	Brown Lentil	120
10.	<i>Moong Sabat</i>	Green/Golden Gram	100

(Source: Field Data)

Annexure-IV

Village Profile Survey

**IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE EDUCATION AND HEALTH:
A Case Study of Karrianwala Village in District Gujrat, Pakistan**

Name of the Village/Mohalla: ----- **Union Council:** ----- **Tehsil:** -----
District: ----- **Province:** -----
Name of the Respondent: ----- **Sex**-----**Age**-----**Education**-----
Occupation-----
No. of Migrant HH in the Village: ----- **No. of Non-Migrant HH in the village:** -----
Major Country of Migration: ----- **Major Occupation of Migrants:** -----

Q. 1. Location of the Village with respect to its surroundings

East ----- West-----

North----- South -----

Q.2. Topography of the Village -----

-----Q.3. Number of Households -----
-----, Population of the Village-----, Total Landholdings of the Village: -----
----- (in Acrs)

Cultivated Land: -----, Uncultivated Land: -----, Land
Under Forest: -----

Q.4. Main Ethnic Groups in the Village

Ethnic Groups	No. of HH	Popul-ation	Land holding	Forest	Occupation						Influential Group	Reasons for Being Dominant
					Govt. Job	Army	Agriculture	Business	Daily wage labor	Any other specify ---		

Q. 5. Educational Institutions **for Boys** in the Village/Mohalla

Govt. Institutions	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Class Rooms	Sitting Facilities in the Class			Toilet	Drinking water	Boundary wall	Play ground	Computer Lab.	Library	Any other
				Chairs and Tables	Bench and Tables	Ground Sitting							
Primary School													
Middle School													
High School													
Intermediate College													
B.A / M.A Level College													
Private Institutions													
Primary School													
Middle School													
High School													
Intermediate College													
B.A / M.A Level College													

Semi Govt.													
NGO Based													

Q. 6. Educational Institutions **for Girls** in the Village/Mohalla

Govt. Institutions	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Class Rooms	Sitting Facilities in the Class			Toilet	Drinking water	Boundary wall	Play ground	Computer Lab.	Library	Any other
				Chairs and Tables	Bench and Tables	Ground Sitting							
Primary School													
Middle School													
High School													
Intermediate College													
B.A / M.A Level College													
Private Institutions													
Primary School													
Middle School													
High School													
Intermediate College													
B.A / M.A Level College													
Semi Govt.													
NGO Based													

Q. 7. Technical Institutions **for Boys** in the Village/Mohalla

Govt. Technical Institutions	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Class Rooms	Sitting Facilities in the Class			Toilet	Drinking water	Boundary wall	Play ground	Computer Lab.	Library	Any other
				Chairs and	Bench and	Ground Sitting							

				Tables	Tables								
Computer Institute													
Vocational Schools													
Technical Schools													
Any other Specify													
Private Technical Institutions													
Computer Institute													
Vocational Schools													
Technical Schools													
Any other Specify-----													
Religious institutions													
Madrasa													
Mosque School													
Any other Specify													

Q. 8. Technical Institutions **for Girls** in the Village/Mohalla

Govt. Technical Institutions	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Class Rooms	Sitting Facilities in the Class			Toilet	Drinking water	Boundary wall	Play ground	Computer Lab.	Library	Any other
				Chairs and Tables	Bench and Tables	Ground Sitting							
Computer Institute													
Vocational Schools													
Technical Schools													
Any other Specify													
Private Technical Institutions													
Computer Institute													

Vocational Schools														
Technical Schools														
Any other Specify-----														
Religious institutions														
Madrasa														
Mosque School														
Any other Specify														

Q.9. Village Facilities

Facilities	Road	Pavement of Streets	Sanitation	Electricity	Gas	Water Supply	Post Office	Health Facility *	Telephone	Market	Internet Café	Transport	Play ground	Any creative industry	Any other Specify
Yes															
No															

- Govt. Dispensary, Hakem, Homeopathic, MBBS, Dispenser (Tick mark ✓) regarding response)

Q. 10. Major Crops

Major Crops	Wheat	Rice	Cotton	Maize	Sugarcane	Fodder	Vegetable specify	Fruits Specify	Any other Specify
Yes									
No									

Q. 11. Do you think that the migrant families have started spending more money on social activities such as;

a. Marriage Feasts-----

b. Luxury items, and other social activities -----

c. Urs at the shrines -----

d. Games -----

e. *Mela* and any other Festivals-----

Q.12. Did you witness any utilization of remittances (money sent by the migrants) on development programs such as:

a. Road construction-----

b. Improvement in health facility -----

c. Improvement of welfare work -----

d. Charity and donation -----

e. Water supply and sanitation -----

f. Any other specify-----

Q. 13. What is the general trend of youth towards migration?

a. Is it increasing? If yes specify -----

b. How do they manage to go abroad? -----

c. If no why not? -----

Q.14. Where do the migrant households spend the money?

a) On purchase of land -----

- b) On purchase of plot -----

- c) On construction of house -----

- d) Spending money unplanned -----

- e) On Live Stock & Farming-----

- f) On Business-----

Q.15. Did you hear any major fraud occurred for migration in the village. Can you recall any incidence of fraud?

Q. 16. How many migrants have sold their land to go abroad?

Q.17. Have they made any progress in their business or in their socio-economic conditions because of migration/remittances? Yes-----No-----

a. If yes, how, specify -----

b. If No, why not? -----

Q.18. Have the socio-economic status of the migrants being raised in the community? Yes----
---- No-----

a. If yes, did the community accept it?-----

b. if no, why not?-----

Q.19. Do you think the children of migrant families are taking interests in their education?
Yes-----No-----

a. If yes, specify -----

b. If no, why not? -----

Q. 20. How many children have been spoiled because of fathers' absenteeism

Q. 21. What is the impact of the father absentee-ship on:

a. Education of the children -----

b. Behavior of the children -----

c. On the parents -----

d. On the younger brothers -----

e. Any other, specify -----

Q. 22. What is the impact of migration on the wife of the migrants?

a. More prosper----- b. More authoritative----- c. Take part in
decision making -----

d. She is ignored ----- e. She has no value in the household affairs -----
- f. She is not consulted in any family matter-----

g. Any other specify-----

Q. 23. Narrate the brief history of the Village

Q.24. What are extra-curricular activities of the migrants children?

Any other Remarks relevant to Migration

Annexure-V

Socio-Economic and Census Survey
Impact of Migration on Education and Health
(A Case Study of Karrianwala Village District Gujrat, Pakistan)

Name of the Village: **Karrianwala** Mohalla: ----- UC: **Karrianwala** Tehsil & District: **Gujrat**
 Province: **Punjab**

Questionnaire No. -----

Socio-Economic and Demographic Information of Respondents

S. No	Variables	Responses
1.	Name of the Respondent (optional)	-----
2.	Age	Years _____
3.	Levels of Education	Years Passed _____
4.	Marital Status	1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Widowed 5. Separated
5.	Family Monthly Income (from all resources)	Rs. _____
6.	Family Structure	1. Joint 2. Nuclear 3. Extended
7.	Family size	1. Male ----- 2. Female ----- 3. Total -----
8.	Housing structure	1. Cemented (RCC, RBC, Bricks-Cemented) 2. Bricks/Mud 3. Mix
9.	Size of the plot	1. -----Kanals 2. -----Marlas
10.	House ownership	1. Owned 2. Inherited 3. Rented 4. Shared 5. Any other -----
11.	Total number of rooms in the house	_____ Rooms
12.	Total number of living rooms in the house	_____ Rooms
13.	How old this house is?	_____ Years
14.	How many children are in school going age?	1. Male ----- 2. Female ----- 3. Total -----
15.	Is any of your family member have reported diseases?	1. Yes 2. No
16.	Total number of emigrants in the family?	1. Male ----- 2. Female ----- 3. Total -----
17.	How many of your family members are planning to emigrate?	1. Male ----- 2. Female ----- 3. Total -----

18.	What are the major push factors of emigration?	1. Poverty	2. Unemployment	3. To Support family	4. Security situation	5. Family conflicts	5. Natural Disaster	6. any other__
19.	What are the major pull factors of emigration?	1. Better living conditions		2. More job opportunities	3. Marriage	4. Business	5. any other _____	

20. Household Roster

S. No	1. Name	2. Sex	3. Age	4. Relation with HH Head	5. Marital Status S=Single M=Married D=Divorced W=Widowed				6. Education (Years Completed)	7. Occupation*					8. Caste	9. Religion	10. Sect
					S	M	D	W		G S	SE	DWL	F	AO			
1.																	
2.																	
3.																	
4.																	
5.																	
6.																	
7.																	
8.																	
9.																	
10.																	

11.																	
12.																	
13.																	
14.																	

* 1. Govt. Servant = GS, 2. Self-employed = SE, 3. Daily wage labor = DWL, 4. Farmer = F

21. Information about the Migrants

S. No	1. Name of migrant	2. Age	3. Sex	4. Education	5. Occupation in Pakistan before Migration	6. When Migrated	7. Country of Migration & City	8. Occupation in the country of Migration	9. Avg. monthly income	10. Reasons of migration *	11. Remittances Per Month (Cash)	12. Remittances (In-kind per month) (Rs)	13. Total Remittances per Month	14. Modes of remittances **
1.														
2.														
3.														
4.														
5.														

*1. Income, 2. Marriage 3. Education 4. Any other

**1. Bank 2. Money transfer agency 3. By-self 4. Through other visitors 5. *Hundi* 6. Any other

22. Money Spent on Education

S. No	1 Name of school going children	2 Gender	3 Age	4 Class Level	5 Primary School Attended*	6 Secondary School Attended*	7 College attended *	8 University Attended*	9 Education completed 1.Yes	10 Medium of instruction 1.Urdu	11 Monthly fee (Including	12 Monthly tuition fee	13 Annual expenses on	14 Pocket money (Rs)	15 Transport exp.	16 Total monthly expenses on

									2. No	2.English	boarding if any) (Rs)	(Other than School Fee) (Rs)	uniform , books etc.(Rs)			education
1																
2																
3																
4																
5																
6																

*1. Govt. 2. Pvt. 3.Pvt. Residential 4. Govt. Residential

23. Family Income (Monthly)

1Agriculture	2Livestock	3Job	4 Business	5 Daily wage labor	6 Remittances	7Income from other source	8Total monthly Income	9Total monthly expenses	10Total Monthly Savings

24. Household Accessories (Before and After Migration)

S. No	Household Accessories	<u>Before Migration</u>			<u>After Migration</u>		
		Yes	Qty	Value (Rs.)	Yes	Qty	Value (Rs.)
1.	Water Supply						
2.	Gas Connection(s)						
3.	Heating Unit(s)						
4.	Air Conditioner(s)						
5.	Telephone Landline(s)						
6.	Computer(s)						

7.	Television(s)						
8.	Radio(s)/						
9.	Tape recorder						
10.	DVD/CD Players						
11.	Internet Connection(s)						
12.	Dish Antenna(s)						
13.	Mobile Phone(s)						
14.	Car(s)						
15.	Tractor/Trolley						
16.	Combine Harvester						
17.	Agricultural technology						
18.	Motorcycle(s)						
19.	UPS						
20.	Generator						
21.	Any other item_____						

25. Information on Livestock

S. No	Kind of Animals	<u>Before Migration</u>			<u>After Migration</u>		
		Yes	Qty	Value (Rs.)	Yes	Qty	Value (Rs.)
1	Buffalo						
2	Cow						
3	Sheep						
4	Goat						
5	Horse						
6	Any other _____						

26. Investment Patterns of Remittance (During last two years)

S. No	Investment Patterns	Yes	Total Money invested (Rs.)
1.	Purchase of agricultural land		
2.	Plots for the construction of house		
3.	Business		
4.	Construction of house		
5.	Bank deposits		
6.	Wealth (Jewelry)		
7.	Prize bonds		
8.	Shares		
9.	Livestock and farming		
10.	Any other item _____		

27. Information on Household Monthly Expenses

S. No.	Particulars	Average Monthly Expenses (Rs) (Before Migration)	Average Monthly Expenses (Rs) (After Migration)
1.	Food items (meat, vegetables, grocery items)		
2.	Dressing including shoes items		
3.	Cosmetics		
4.	Jewelry		
5.	Utilities bills (electricity, gas, water, telephone, internet, dish TV)		
6.	Transport		
7.	Committee/ loan		
8.	Social occasion (Marriage, births, deaths, birthday, etc.)		
9.	House rent		
10.	Health expenses		
11.	Educational expenses including school and academy tuition fee		

12.	Income Tax		
13.	Repayment of loans		
14.	Domestic servants		
15.	Any other item_____		
16.	Total monthly expenses		

28. Money Spent on Charity (During the last two years)

S. No	Items	Cash	In-Kind items	Value of In-kind items	Total Money Spent (Cash + In-kind)	Remarks
1.	Beggars					
2.	Help for Marriage					
3.	Help for Education					
4.	Help of Orphans					
5.	Help of Sick Persons					
6.	Langer during Ramadan					
7.	Sadka/Khairat					
8.	Any other specify-----					

29. Donation for Religious Activities (During the last two years)

S. No	Items	Cash	In-Kind items	Value of In-kind items	Total Money Spent (Cash + In-kind)	Remarks
1.	Donation for Mosque					
2.	Donation for Madrasa					
3.	Donation for Shrines					
4.	Kashmir Fund					
5.	Support to the religious organization					

6.	Urs					
7.	Zakat					
8.	Ushar					
9.	Other religious activities					
10.	Any other specify -----					

30. Donations for Welfare Activities (During the last two years)

S. No	Items	Cash	In-Kind items	Value of In-kind items	Total Money Spent (Cash + In-kind)	Remarks
1.	Road Construction					
2.	Water Supply					
3.	Sanitation					
4.	Transportation					
5.	Dispensary					
6.	Water Tab/hand pump					
7.	Donation to the welfare organizations					
8.	Any other specify -----					

31. Non-Refundable Support to the Relatives/Friends (During the last two years)

S. No	Items	Cash	In-Kind items	Value of In-kind items	Total Money Spent (Cash + In-kind)	Remarks
1.	Relatives					
2.	Friends					
3.	Any other specify -----					

32. Money Spent on Health (During the last one year)

S. No	1 Name of Patient	2 Gender	3 Age	4 Reported Disease	5 Mode of treatment*	6 Doctor Fee (Rs)	7 Medicine Expenses (Rs)	8 Transport Expenses (Rs)	9 Total expenses of disease (Rs)
1									
2									
3									
4									

*1. Govt. Hospital 2. Private Clinic (dispenser) 3. Specialist 4. Hakim 5. Quaker 6. Homeopathic 7. Spiritual Healer

Annexure-VI

In-depth Interview Schedule

**IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE EDUCATION AND HEALTH:
A Case Study of Karrianwala Village in District Gujrat, Pakistan**

Questionnaire No. _____

<u>Village Identification</u>	
Name of the Village: -----	Union Council: -----
Tehsil: -----	District: -----
Province: -----	
<u>Respondents' Profile</u>	
Name of the Respondent: -----	Sex: -----
Age: -----	Education: -----
Occupation: -----	Average HH Monthly Income -----Rs.
<u>Migrants' Profile</u>	
Name of Migrant: -----	Age: -----
Qualification: -----	Occupation: -----
Average Monthly Income -----Rs.	
1 st Country of Migration: -----	1 st City of Migration: -----
When Migrated to 1 st Country: -----	
2 nd Country of Migration: -----	2 nd City of Migration: -----
When Migrated to 2 nd Country: -----	Why migrated to 2 nd country: -----
Avg. monthly remittance send home----Rs	Who receives remittances: -----
Who spent remittances: -----	Mode of remittances transaction: -----

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Section-1 History of Migration and Networking Abroad

1. At present how many of the family members are living abroad? Male-----
Female-----Total ---
2. When did they migrate? Give the details of the history of migration of each family member?
3. What compelled your family members to migrate abroad?
 - i. What type of circumstances your family was facing at the time of migration?
 - ii. Who helped them to migrate?
4. To which country they migrated?
 - i. Was that their first country where they migrated? Give the details for each visit abroad.
 - ii. Why they selected the specific country/countries?
5. How did they manage to go?

Section-2 Reasons for Migration (Push/Pull Factors)

6. How your family members arrange the migration tour of the family member?
 - a. Did your family get any loan to send first person abroad?
 - b. Did your family sold land or plot to make arrangement to send a person abroad?
7. What were the major push factors for migration?
8. What were major pull factors for migration?

Section-3 Flow of Remittances

9. Are migrants sending money back home (yes-no)?
 - a. How much money they send?
 - b. Do they send in-kind remittances? Like electronic goods etc.
 - c. Do they send money separately for their spouse?
 - d. Do you keep the record of the remittances?
 - e. Do they ask for the utilization of the remittances that where you people are consuming?
 - f. who receives and consumes remittances?
10. Through which mode they send money? And in your opinion which mode suits you the best?
11. In your opinion, the remittances fulfill your needs?

Section-5 Emigrants communication and visits back home

12. How many times they normally visits back home?
13. On what occasions they normally get back?
14. Through which mode they normally interact with you?
15. Are they actively concerned daily household chores while living abroad?
16. Do they advise their children or you for their educational issues?
17. Do they advise their children or you for their health related issues?
18. Do they advise you or their children/spouse on the dietary patterns and physical fitness?

Section-6 Migration and Education

19. In your opinion what are the major impacts of the migration on the education of the family members?
20. In your opinion is it necessary to invest on the education of the family members?
22. Do you think there are tangible outputs of the education of the family?
23. Do you invest equally on both male and female family members?
28. Tell us about the investment of remittances on education of the family members before and after emigration scenarios?
24. Is there any influence of the migrants in the investment of remittances on the education of the family members?

25. In your opinion, migration does escalate or deescalate the educational achievements of the family members.
26. Are you really concerned about the educational activities of the family members?
27. If, yes then what makes you to take care of educational activities of the family members?
28. In your opinion, private institutions are better for admitting family members or public ones?
29. In which type of schools/institutions your family members are presently enrolled? Private/Public?
30. In which school your family members are enrolled? English Medium/Urdu Medium?
31. How much is the distance of the schools from home?
32. How they approach there? Taxi, Personal Transport etc.
33. Do they visit academy after school timings? If yes how much fee you pay for it?
34. What is the performance of the children/family members in the schools in the last exams?
35. Do they perform well even their father is not here?
36. What type of measures can be taken to improve the educational interests of the children, in the absence of father?
37. Tell us about the school infrastructure where your children or the children of the emigrants and studying?

Section 7 Migration and Health

38. What is a good health? Whom is a healthy person in your opinion?
39. Please tell us about the daily dietary. Specify by mentioning; breakfast, food items like vegetables, fruits, milk, meat, etc.
40. Are you involved in physical activities? Like sports, gymnasium related exercises, play electronic games, watching TV, doing homework etc.
41. Do you smoke? Ever drank alcohol.
42. Are you found of internet use? How much time you spent of the internet use?
43. Please tell us about your emotional state;
 - a. Do you feel loneliness?
 - b. Do you remain happy or unhappy?
 - c. Do you sleep well and sleep most of the time or remain?
 - d. Do feel sad most of the time or remain happy?
 - e. Do you remain in home or avoid living in home?
 - f. Had you ever attempted to suicide?
44. Do you feel any difference in your dietary patterns after the migration of family member?
45. Overall what is the impact of migration on the family health?
46. In the case of illness, which doctor you prefer to visit and why?
47. Do you consult the migrant member in the case of treatment process?

Remarks

Annexure-VII

SELECTED PICTURES



Photo-I Main Mosque



Photo-II Modern House of the Migrant Family



Photo-III Researcher with Principal of the Government College



Photo-IV A View of General Bus Stand in the village



Photo-V Researcher with respondents



Photo-VI A view of Central Bazaar of the village (from main entrance near general bus stand)



Photo-VII A multi-story house of the Migrant family in the village



Photo-VIII Another view of the main Bazaar of the village



Photo-IX A franchise of money transfer agency



Photo-X A private sector bank



Photo-XI Government college Karriawala



Photo-XII A view of shops in the central bazaar



Photo-XIII Franchises of travel agencies/recruiting agencies in central bazaar



Photo- XIV Another private bank in the village