

MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE
INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE



BY

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Final Approval of Thesis

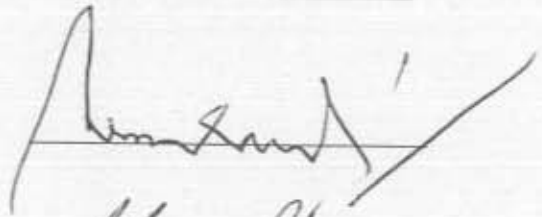
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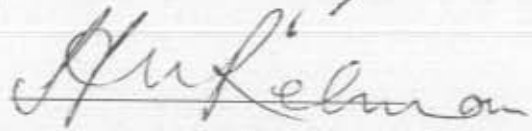
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DEDICATED TO

MY BELOVED

PARENTS,

SISTERS

AND

BROTHERS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1-10
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The Problem	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem	2
1.4 Hypothesis	4
1.5 Objectives of the Study	4
1.6 Significance of the Study	4
1.7 Research Methods Used in the Field	5
1.7.1 Snow-Ball Sampling	5
1.7.2 Informal Discussions	5
1.7.3 Scheduled Interviews	5
1.7.4 Socio-economic and Census Survey	6
1.8 Review of Literature	6
CHAPTER 2: VILLAGE PROFILE	11-26
2.1 Geography	11
2.2 Agriculture and related Sectors	12
2.3 Industry and Trade	16
2.4 History, Ethnicity / Tribes and Culture	18
2.5 Administrative Set Up	23
2.6 Health	24
2.7 Education	24
2.8 Important / Historical Places	25
CHAPTER 3: MIGRATION	27-37
3.1 History of Migration	27
3.2 The Concept of Migration	28
3.3 Types of Migration	29
3.3.1 Seasonal Migration	29
3.3.2 Temporary Migration	29
3.3.3 Continuous Migration	30
3.3.4 Recurrent Migration	30



	3.3.5	Permanent Remover	30
3.4		Catalysts of Migration	31
	3.4.1	Economic Conditions	31
	3.4.2	Political Circumstances	31
	3.4.3	Armed Conflicts	31
	3.4.4	Environmental Conditions	32
	3.4.5	Culture and Tradition	32
	3.4.6	Technological Factors	33
	3.4.7	Information Flow	33
	3.4.8	Push and Pull Factors	33
3.5		The Pakistani Case	34
3.6		Mirpur District	35
3.7		Trends of Migration in Mirpur	36
		CHAPTER 4: MARRIAGE TYPES	38-45
4.1		Marriage Types in Mirpur	38
	4.1.1	Kin Marriages	39
	4.1.2	Cousin Marriages	40
	4.1.3	Patrilateral Parallel Cousin Marriages	40
	4.1.4	Cross Cousin Marriages	40
	4.1.5	Exogamy	41
4.2		Interests Behind These Marriages	41
	4.2.1	For British Nationality	42
	4.2.2	To Improve Economic Conditions	42
4.3		Marriage Process	42
	4.3.1	Arrival of British Family	43
	4.3.2	Marriage Ceremonies	43
	4.3.3	Departure of British Family	44
	4.3.4	Departure of Respondent of Britain	45
	4.3.5	Residential Pattern and Jobs of Respondents in Britain	45
		CHAPTER 5: CAUSES OF DISSOLUTION	46-64
5.1		Non-cooperative attitude of wife.	47
5.2		Interference of in-laws.	53

5.3	Unwillingness for marriage.	59
5.4	Non-cooperative attitude of husband.	62
CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION		65-66
	RESPONDENTS' PROFILE	67-69
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	70-71

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Chapter # 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Mating patterns perform the activity of production and survival of human race in a society. The institution of marriage determines and provides the socially sanctioned ways of mating patterns. Marriage is the established institution for mating of a spouse. It is a legal, physical and moral union between a man and women, continuing through the raising of their children. In marriage children produced by the woman are usually accepted as the legitimate offsprings of the married couple.

Marriage is followed by certain ceremonies and rituals but all societies have their own ways to perform them. In Muslim societies, it is a religious duty and also followed by certain ceremonies. So in a Muslim society, family can never develop without the institution of Marriage (Nikah), because any mating practice other than Nikah is considered illicit and illegal. Marriage is a contract between a man and a woman of mating. This contract may be dissolved at any point of time if either of the parties, i.e. man and women wish to do so. However dissolution of a marriage is not a pleasant phenomenon from the social point of view. If we see on a broader level there is a very low proportion of marriages which dissolve as dissolution occurs only in extreme cases.

1.2 THE PROBLEM

What impacts migration has imparted upon the institution of marriage and how does it contribute to the marriage dissolution in Mirpur?

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

It is very difficult for human beings to live without being influenced by their surroundings. In case of any change in their surroundings, effect becomes inevitable same is the case with migration, which means "It is a relatively permanent move from one area to another" (Dictionary of Anthropology, p. 190). This movement also has deep impact on all spheres of life (Social, religious, political and economic) of migrated people.

In my locale, a large number of families have migrated to Great Britain. These families have not permanently migrated to Great Britain, they are settled in Great Britain but they also own homes and property in Mirpur and thus also visit their relatives in Mirpur, frequently. They have settled there mainly for economic reasons but their social life is also being effected, especially the institution of marriage, which means "the established institution of starting a family which involved legal, physical and moral union between a man and woman, continuing through the raising of their children (Dictionary of Anthropology p. 341). While dwelling in Britain, these migrated families also tend to maintain their ties stronger with their relatives living in Mirpur. That's why they do not let their children marry there, with the Britishers. Instead they arrange their marriages with their Mirpuri kin girls and boys. This migration has created a gap between the worldview of these partners. With this cultural difference, the institution of marriage is struggling for its survival. The focus of my study was to reveal the catalysts which are playing their pivotal role in dissolving these marriages. I have also tried to highlight those cultural factors which are creating disturbance and hindrance in the way of such marriages because breaking up of something is obviously followed by some factors. I would see that what cultural differences are playing their roles in making such marriages problematic. In my locale, the residential pattern after marriage is patrilocal after

marriage, bride is supposed to reside with her husband, in his home. But this situation is opposite in these marriages. The residential patterns of males are Uxorilocal in Britain. This residential pattern softens the way of interference of in laws, as also mentioned in the journal 'marriage and family, 88/89' "Clashes with in laws were exacerbated by the fact of common residence".

There also exist difference between the relationships of spouse. In our society, the status of women is of subordinate nature. Her all decisions are being influenced by the husband and she cannot do much against his will. But a woman in Britain enjoys equal status to that of men, legally and socially. She is free in all her decisions and acts and no one can force her arbitrarily, even her parents. But with the reference of such marriages, status of women becomes super-ordinator. First, because of Uxorilocal pattern of residence and second is that legally his stay in Britain depends on his wife. I would also see whether these marriages are held with the consent of partners or forced.

Following key terms are defined which were used in the proceeding paragraph:

Migration: The long-term relocation of an individual, household, or group to a new location outside the community of origin. (H. J. de Blij, 1995; p, 113).

Marriage: It is a cultural phenomenon, which sanctions a more or less permanent union between partners, confirming legitimacy on their offspring's. (Dictionary of Anthropology)

Dissolution: Here it means both "separation" and 'Divorce".

Separation: An arrangement by which a married couple lives apart but don't end the marriage. (International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences)

Divorce: The dissolution of a valid marriage while both partners are still alive, who are then free to remarry. (International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences)

The trend of out migration to England from Mirpur has been practiced since long. Now the families settled in England do not let their young ones marry there, with the British. They arrange their marriages with Pakistani kin girls and boys. Many such marriages are being dissolved.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

- a. Cultural traits regarding the spousal relationship are different in England and Mirpur.
- b. Cultural differences play a major role in marriage dissolution.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- a. To find out the causes and impacts of migration on institution of marriage.
- b. To record the types of marriages.
- c. I also aimed in exploring the underlying motives and the interests behind these marriages.
- d. To search for the causes of the dissolution of marriages.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

We can overcome this problematic situation by creating awareness in the masses. My intentions were to spot the factors leading to the dissolution of marriages, so that people would avoid the possible reasons causing this problem. It will be beneficial for related people in coping with this issue because after knowing the factors one can easily try to overcome them. In my locale, such study not was undertaken in the past.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODS USED IN THE FIELD

Methods are the tools, which are used to collect data from the field by the researcher. In this research following methods were used:

1.7.1 Snow-Ball Sampling

“Snowball sampling is very useful, however, in studies of social networks, where the object is to find out what people know and how well they know each other. It is particularly useful in studies of small, bounded or difficult to find populations, like members of elite groups women who have been recently divorced, when migrants from a particular tribal group, and so on”.

(Bernard Russell, 1940, p. 97).

It was most suitable to approach subjects through mutual contacts starting with a few cases that were initially pointed out; it was possible subsequently to set up a snowball technique, because each subject invariably knew of several cases that they could identify.

1.7.2 Informal Discussions

Informal discussions with relevant persons were also helpful in collecting data. It is like a conversation between two persons or may be more.

1.7.3 Scheduled Interviews

I used scheduled interview method in collecting the data. I also used an interview guide, having relevant questions, which were to be answered by the interviewee.

1.7.4 Socio-Economic and Census Survey

I also used this method to collect baseline data.

1.8 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The movement of population from one geographical location to another is a widespread phenomena and as old as humanity itself. H. J. Deblj in "Human Geography, Culture, Society and Space" defines the term migration, as "The Long-term relocation of an individual, household or group to a new location outside the community of origin". An individual may look upon migration as a step toward the advancement of his position and better economic and social living conditions. "Economic pull is clearly evident in migration studies". (Peter A. Morrison; 1968, p. 63)

E. G. Revenstein stated in Law of Migration;

"Migrants move from area of low opportunity to the area of high opportunity".

(1975, p. 79).

This phenomena also have many other advantages like "Rural out migration appear to contribute to the development and well being of sending regions". (Kingsly Devis; 1977; p. 140).

Migration from this area was at its peak during the last half 50s and starting the 60s. As Chris states that, "it is now well established that immigration into Britain from the new common wealth countries during the 'long boons' of 1950s and early 60s, was closely related to the demand for labor especially in the low skilled sector of one labour market in both manufacturing and services".

(Chris Mannett; 1988, p. 334)

Migration to Britain from Mirpur has a long history. It started during the British Raj. As Nasra M. Shah and Fred Arnold described in "Pakistan" that "migration to England started during the days of British Raj". (1992; P.265).

The migration of Mirpuris started after the partition of India and Pakistan or more precisely in the later fifties of this century. Although there are some instances of individual serving in the "Royal army" who were from Mirpur and settled in Britain after world war-II. So the mass migration of Mirpuris happened in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The main factor responsible for this migration was the construction of Mangla dam as meager economic resources worked as push factor in migration. These migrated people have their regular contact with their relations living in Mirpur. Their original culture is that of Mirpur but now they are living in British culture, which is entirely different from their original culture. As Anwar quoted in "Pakistani in Britain". "The children of Asian parents born or brought up in Britain are a generation caught between two cultures. They live in the culture of their parents at home, and are taught a different one in school, in neighborhood and at work. Their world is neither the 'old' nor the 'new' but both. They are in difficult situation within the family; parents cannot fully understand their children, children rarely fully understand their parents. Stress and conflict between the generations inevitably arise". (Anwar: 1981, P.07). He also pointed out the problems, which arose from this gap. "A highly proportion of the experts interviewed felt that in Asian families there was inter-generation conflict.... The youngsters want to feel more settled here and then they are going to be challenging the establishment. They will reject a lot of things in their culture and their community, they are going to challenge the leaders. This is going to cause a lot of conflict within the community". (Ibid, P.14) This conflict out of this problem is obvious because "any contact between two societies with different cultural pattern influences change in both

societies. (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences). These migrated people have their roots back in Mirpur and they also don't want to be totally cut off from their relatives. To remain in touch with their relatives they prefer to marry their children with their relatives living in Mirpur. These people think that endogamous marriages keep the family unite and organized, as Eagler quoted "Marriage within kin group is the most favored form of marriage. In connection with marriage, people would say; a half from one's own home is better than a whole from outside. In other words, it is better to marry one's son and daughter to relatives than to bring in outsiders" (Eagler; 1964, P.207).

Antoun (1972; P.125) says, "patrilateral parallel cousin marriage is however a preferred form this is, a male should marry his father's brother daughter and she should marry him. The preference for a close patrilateral parallel cousin not binding however, and other marriages such as to mother's brother's, daughter are considered desirable".

Barth while talking of Kurds says "theoretically you may propose to marry any girl. In practice there is a strong preference for father brother daughter marriage. Certainly a father brother daughter is considered to have first right of refused". (Barth; 1953, P.26).

This view also equates with one expressed by Ahmed who says "Unlike other segmentary societies where exogamous rules define a clan. Mohamand women are rarely given outside the clan and almost entirely endogamous within the tribe". (Ahmed; 1980, P.132).

The problem of dissolution is also happening along with these marriages. Dissolution of these marriages contains both divorce and separation. Separation means "an arrangement by which a married couple live apart but do not end the marriage" (dictionary of Anthropology) and "The word 'divorce' in English is derived from Latin word 'divortium' that again is derived from 'Dis' which means apart and 'vestere' which means to run. So

divorce, means, the dissolution of a valid marriage while both partners are still alive, who are then free to remarry" (S. Pothen; 1987, P.03).

"Divorce is the most practical index of family disintegration, it shows that integration of family depends on successful marriage" (Ibid, 02) Divorce not only cause family disintegration but also contains other losses, "divorce has been repeatedly conceptualized in terms of multiple losses-loss of valued social role, loss of an intimate relationship, loss of an adult household member, loss of a source of income and unpaid services, and often loss of a familiar residence and a regular daily contact with ones children". (Journal of marriage and the family May, 1986).

"Divorce may also bring a loss of the major person with whom one had constructed a shared view of the world; the symbolic interdependence of married partners. It is clear that the newly divorced tend to experience increased depressive feelings over time" (Ibid). One reason among many others is that both partners don't knew each other much and don't had any regular contact with each other because they usually meet each other at the time of their marriage. This is also a major factor. "The couples most at risk, it is clear, are that with little income, and a meager education, these who marry before age 20. Those who knew each other less than a year before marriage" (Marriage and family; 88/89).

Karen Kayser and Kersten also mentioned, "of course many marriage dissolve before real emotional closeness has ever developed; in-fact, this lack is probably one of the major reasons for dissolution". (Karen Kayser Kersien; 1970, P.470).

Another factor is that in these marriages parents usually don't consult their children and in the result "Forced marriages, brought about through pressure from guardians and relatives, carry the seed of divorce. Such marriage have many advantages in terms of kinship and property relations, they have them for the two families but not necessarily for

the couple themselves. These marriages are marked big quarrels and hostility from the very first day. So that it soon became clear that blood relationship was not sufficient to keep the marriage in existence" (Aharon Layish; 1982, P.139).

Another encouraging factor is mentioned in the *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 88/89, in these words, "The rise in divorce rates itself signals the unmistakable message that divorce is an acceptable solution to marriage problems and carries no social stigma or suggestion of personal failure". The ratio of divorce is increasing in almost all part of west. "Man; the journal of the royal anthropological institute, Dec; 1994; states that, "one of the most profound changes in the pattern of 'family life' in the western world in recent times has been the increasing number of marriages that end in divorce. Divorce rates which were marginal at the turn of the century have become central demographic features of most European countries". The problem of divorce is also being experienced in Muslim countries also as stated in "Journal of Marriage and Family"; Nov, 1986: "In Islam, family dissolution is allowed as the resort for a man and woman who cannot maintain a socially healthy marriage and family".

GILGIT AGENCY

MAP OF
AZAD JAMMU & KASHMIR
N.W.F.P.

MUZAFFARABAD

INDIAN OCCUPIED
KASHMIR

BAGH

KOTLI

MIRPUR

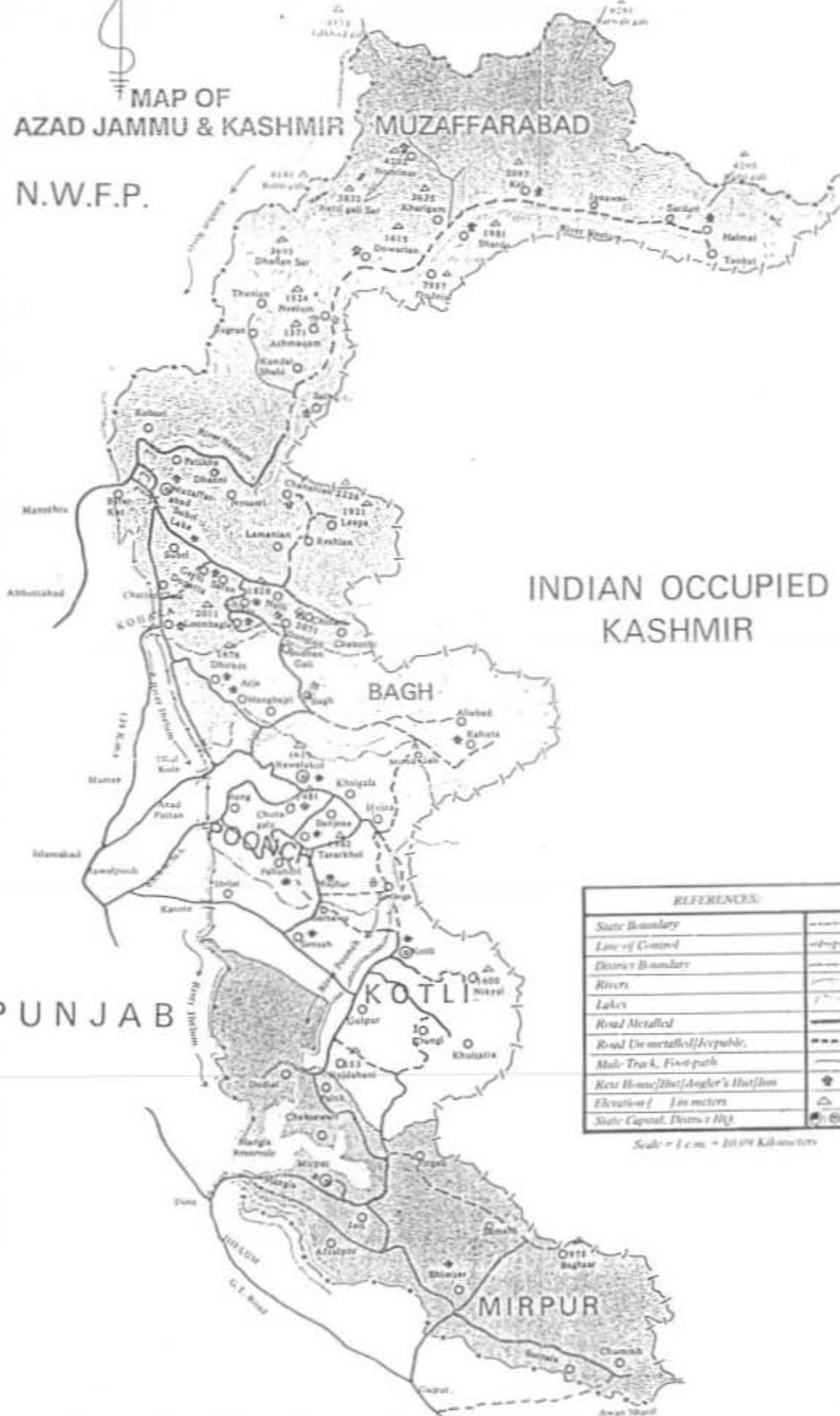
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REFERENCES:









State Boundary	-----
Line of Control	- - - - -
District Boundary	-----
Rivers	~~~~~
Lakes	~~~~~
Road Metalled	=====
Road Un-metalled/Jeepable	-----
Mule Track, Foot path	-----
Rest House/Hot/Angler's Hut/Hut	⊙
Elevation / In meters	▲
State Capital, District HQ	⊙

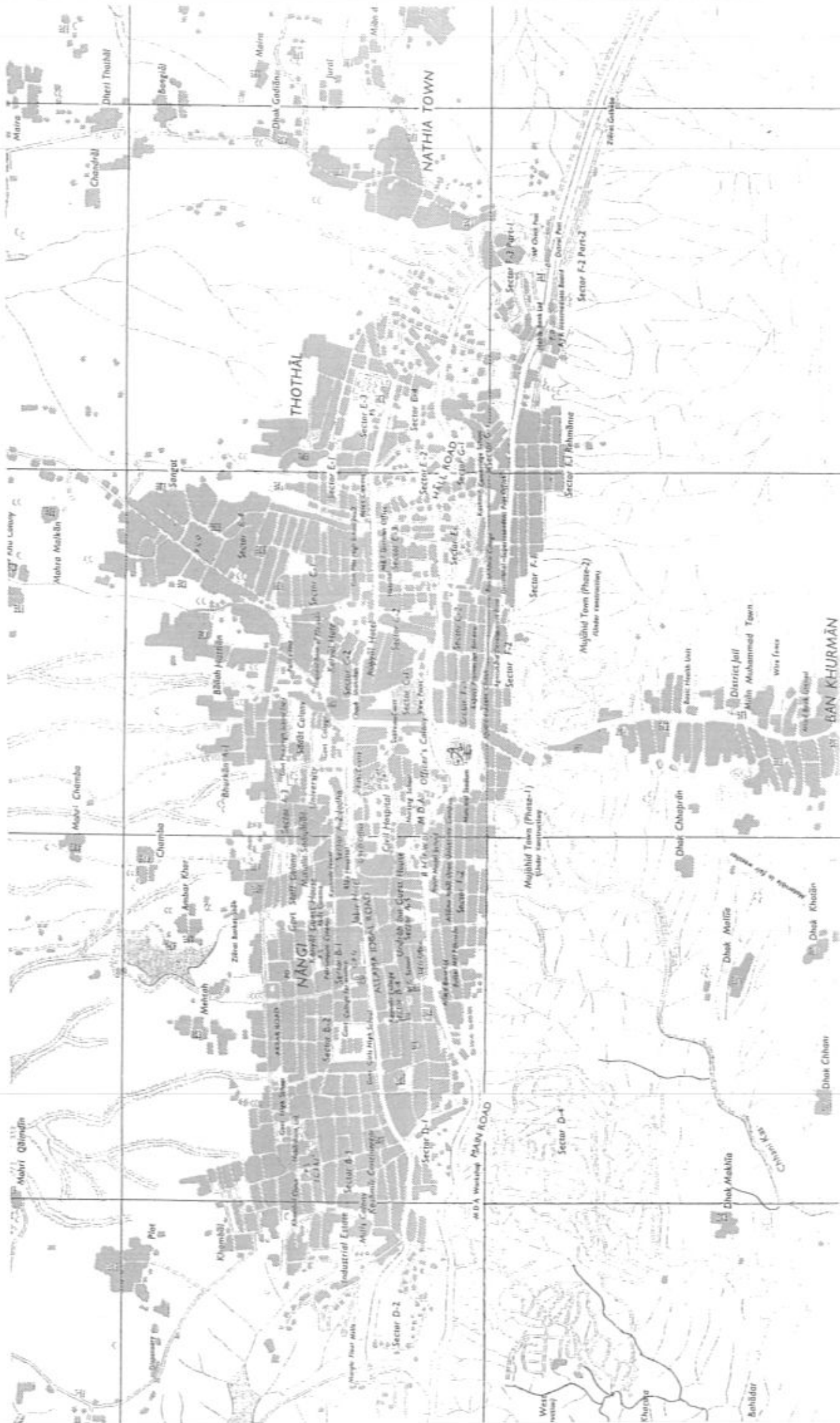
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نقشہ کی جہت

	لاہور کی جہت		فیصل آباد کی جہت
	ریاستی سرحد		ریاستی سرحد
	ضلعی سرحد		نہر
	سکول کی جہت		ریاست کی جہت



GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DISTRICT

2.1 GEOGRAPHY

Name, Location, Boundary and Area

Prior to Dogra regime Ghakkars were the rulers of this area. About 500 years ago Miran Shah Ghazi of Ghakkar tribe established his rule over the area. The town of Mirpur was named after him. The old town of Mirpur came within the area of Mangla dam and submerged into the depths of Mangla Lake. The new city was established at a distance of about 6 kilometers from the old city which is the district and divisional headquarters. Initially, Mirpur was a large district. Firstly, the Kotli tehsil was detached from it to form Kotli district in July, 1974 and then in December, 1995 Bhimber tehsil was separated to constitute the Bhimber district.

The district is bounded on the north and northeast by Kotli district, on the east by Bhimber district, on the south and southwest by Gujrat and Jhelum districts and on the west by Rawalpindi district.

Physical Feature/Topography

Topographically, Mirpur district is a semi-mountainous track. The major part of it is a plain with low and scattered hills. These hills are called "Pubbis" with an average height of not more than 300 meters above sea level. There are some places, which are rough and rugged ravines.

Rivers and Streams

The two main rivers namely Jhelum and Poonch flow into this district. Poonch river originates from, the Poonch valley in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir. After passing through Kotli district, it enters into Mirpur district from the northern side and falls into Mangla Lake. The Jhelum River flows along the western boundary of the district. Jhelum River has its source located in the occupied Kashmir valley. The upper Jhelum canal, which originates at Mangla also passes through Mirpur district.

Climate

The climates of the district is hot in summer and cold in winter. The summer season starts in April and continues till September. The mean maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during the hottest month of June is about 38⁰C and 25⁰C respectively. The mean maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during the coldest month of January is about 18⁰C and 5⁰C respectively. The average annual rainfall is about 1300 millimeters.

2.2 AGRICULTURE AND RELATED SECTORS

Agriculture

Total area under cultivation is 52503 acres. Wheat, Maize, Jawar, Bajra, Rice and Pulses are the major crops. Whereas sugarcane is cultivated in the hunted quantity. Vegetables are also grown in some areas. When water level goes down the land under the water of Mangla dam are cultivated and wheat is grown in considerable quantity but in case of heavy snowfall on the mountains or heavy rains in the dam leading area, cultivation is not possible. Acreage, production and yield major crops grown in the district for the year 1997-98 is given in the following table.

Table 1

Acreage, production and yield of major crops grown in Mirpur district 1997-98

S. No.	Crop	Area (Hectares)	Production (Tonnes)	Yield per Hectare (km)
Rabi				
1.	Wheat	11638	36681	1276
2.	Barley	141	113	125
3.	Pulses	189	58	125
4.	Onion	21	133	2613
5.	Vegetables	34	162	1950
6.	Fruits	30	116	1550
Kharif				
7.	Maize	5751	14492	806
8.	Millet	3217	4407	554
9.	Paddy	482	1297	1089
10.	Pulses	900	285	128
11.	Potato	40	560	5600
12.	Vegetables	40	196	2000
13.	Fruits	61	720	4800

Source: District Agriculture Development. Government of Azad Jammu Kashmir, Muzaffarabad.

Irrigation

Like other districts of Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Mirpur has a big source of water, but unluckily it cannot be used for agricultural purpose, except in the areas of Khari Sharif.

Previously Maharaja government had an agreement with Punjab government to provide water for irrigation free of cost from southern canal, which was used for agricultural purposes, but floodwater and water logging had eroded mostly land. Azad Jammu & Kashmir government has planned to develop small water channels from Jarri dam to irrigate some areas of Mirpur district. The water channel is lower than the lands, so it does not work properly.

Horticulture

Fruit-trees like mango, mulberry, walnut are found scattered all over the district. There is an increasing trend to grow orange, lemon, etc. Detail of number of fruit and vegetable farms in Mirpur district is given in the following table.

Table 2

Number of fruit and vegetable farms with area in Mirpur district, 1997-98

S. No.	Sub-Division	Fruit Farms	Area (Hectares)	Vegetable Farms	Area (Hectares)
1.	Mirpur	117	566875	72	76125
2.	Dudyal	76	600000	50	165125
	Total	193	1166875	122	344250

Source: Deputy Commissioner Office, Mirpur, Azad Jammu & Kashmir.

Forestry

There are very few forests in the district. The forests are under the administrative control of Forest Department, Government of the Azad Jammu & Kashmir and are being regulated under the Forests Regulation Act 1930. The management plan includes the

protection of forests, extraction of timber, resin tapping, fulfilling the admitted rights of the locals and development of the forests. Details are as under.

- a. Demarcated forest area 59940 acres
- b. Type of Forests
 - i. Mixed evergreen, bush leaved and forests, deciduous forests.
 - ii. Olive, Phulai, Shisham, Bhaker, Sanatha etc.
 - iii. Open inflammable pure Chir (pine)
- c. Main Species are Chir (Pine) Olive, timber, durum Sanatha, Dahamen etc.

Source: Forest department, Government of Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Muzaffarabad.

These forests are also a source of income for the government of Azad Jammu & Kashmir. Besides, multifarious benefits are also achieved, like environmental protection, regulation of water, conducive environment for wild life, aesthetical value and fulfilling the needs of the local population i.e., timber, Fodder and Fuel wood, etc. Revenue generated by the Forest Department during the last five years is given in the table.

Table 3
Year-wise revenue generated by forest department Mirpur district

S. No.	Year	Revenue (Rs.)
1.	1994-95	25656561
2.	1995-96	32799652
3.	1996-97	14316622
4.	1997-98	8848504
5.	1998-99	13744707

Source: Forest Department, Government of Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Muzaffarabad.

Livestock

Sheep, goat, buffalo, cow, horse, donkey and camel are the common livestock in the district. The main animals in this area are donkey and camel. The donkey is very useful to the agriculturist class for carrying water from springs, manure to their land and transporting the distances. Camel is the only mean of conveyance to places not connected by road in the upper hilly regions otherwise inaccessible places are approachable only on horses and mules backs. In Mirpur tehsil, people are very fond of keeping horses of noble breed.

2.3 INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Industry

The industry in the Mirpur district is more developed as compared to the remaining parts of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Due to the geographical continuity with the major industrial cities of Punjab, industrialization has picked up its pace over the past few years. This has also attracted the attention of the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and some industrial estates have been established in the district. Government offers more incentives to the local and non-local investors, which has stimulated sufficient progress in this area. There are about 60 heavy and 100 small industrial units in the district. These include textile, flour mills, auto-rickshaw and cassette factories, beverage units, vegetable oil units, ----- air-conditioner assembling units, cosmetics and drug factories, resin factories, match and foam factories. Detail of industrial units in Mirpur district is given below in table.

Table 4

Industrial units in Mirpur district, 1997-98

S. No.	Site	No. of Units	Sick Units	Labor
1.	Industrial Estate	32	38	3262
2.	Out of Industrial Estate	33	13	3211

Source: Director, Industries, Government of Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Muzaffarabad.

Mining

No minerals have been detected in the district as yet.

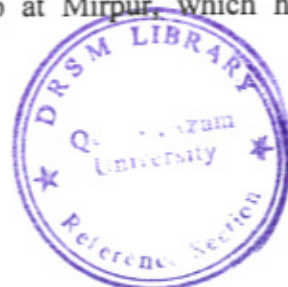
Communication

The district headquarter is connected with its tehsil headquarters and the main towns through metalled roads. Mirpur, Bhimber and Kotli districts have better road links.

The district headquarter is also connected with Grand Trunk Road at two points, one near Dina and the other at Sara-i-Alamgir. There are about 384 kilometer metalled and 100-kilometer non-metalled roads in the district.

As regards cable-communication, there is a major telephone exchange at the district headquarters under the administrative control of Special Communication Organization, which caters for the needs of about 4000 subscribers. There are other small exchanges in almost every town of the district. New digital telephone facilities are also being provided. The digital exchanges in Mirpur, Dudyal, Chakwawari have also started functioning and will cater for the increased requirements of telephone facilities.

Recently a radio station has also been set up at Mirpur, which has started functioning.



Trade and Trade Center

As regards trade and economic activities, there are branches of all the scheduled government banks and financial institutions in the district. The sole Chamber of Commerce and Industries of Azad Jammu & Kashmir is also based at Mirpur which controls business and industrial activities in addition to regulatory control of industries department of the government of Azad Jammu & Kashmir. Efforts are being made to establish a dry-port in the district as well.

2.4 HISTORY, ETHNICITY/TRIBES AND CULTURE

History

Ghakkhars were the rulers of the Mirpur prior to Dogra regime. The last independent ruler of Ghakkhars were Sultan Maqarab Khan and Sultan Asalat Khan who lost their lives in a war with General Gujjar Singh. In the Dogra regime, the Ghakkhars were Jagirdars. Dudyal and Thab were the famous Jagirs of Ghakkhars.

During the regime of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Col. Shadi Khan prepared a scheme to get rid of Dogra domination and tried to uphold the banner of independence which his forefather Raja Sultan Khan had raised. But Col. Shadi Khan could not succeed and was hanged by the Dogras. Subsequently it came under the British rule alongwith the rest of the area and ultimately passed into the hands of Raja Ghulab Singh alongwith the rest of the state through a treaty concluded between him and the British government in 1846. The district remained under the Dogra administration till the 22nd of October, 1947 when the local population rose against the Dogra tyranny and liberated a large part of the state including this district.

The new Mirpur district was established in 1967. After completion of the construction of Mangla dam new city was established beside the boundaries of the lake in the shape of small and big towns. A majority of the people got affected because of the dam and ultimately shifted either to the new Mirpur town or to various cities of Punjab province. In addition, quite a number of people migrated abroad and settled primarily in Great Britain. This has established a unique over-seas connection with people of this area and abroad. The Mirpur district is also twined with city councils of Birmingham and Breadford.

Ethnicity and Tribes

The major tribes residing in the area are Jat, Rajput, Gujar, Kashmiri and Bains. Besides, there are several smaller tribes including Jarral, Syed, Arain and Bhatti, etc. Ghakkars are mostly in Mirpur tehsil. Kashmiris are found in Mirpur City and its surrounding areas. Syeds are scattered in all tehsils. Ghakkars have been the ruling dynasty just before Dogra regime. They have their origin in Iran and are stated to have migrated to India in the days of Mahmud Ghazanavi. They are mostly known. Not much is known about the origin of Jat and Gujjar. They are probably the original tribes of this area.

Food

Wheat is the staple food grain of the people. The manner of cooking is the same as throughout Pakistan. Near towns, vegetables are found in abundance. During festivals, people cook Pulao, Zarda, Biryani, etc. Halva is much liked by the village folk. Potable water is available from wells and springs which are quite numerous throughout the district. In certain areas, however, the sub-soil water level is low; therefore, there are no

wells. People in such areas collect rainy water from ponds and use it for drinking and bathing purposes. The villages are generally neat and clean. Now a day's tea has replaced the traditional beverage "Lassi" (a drink made by yogurt) everywhere in the district.

Dress and Ornaments

The common dress of the people is Shalwar and Kameez. Women folk use the same dress with the addition of a Doputta as head wear. Those working in the fields mostly use a Kameez and a Tehband instead of Shalwar. The festival dress is the same but of a little superior cloth mostly of gaudy colours. In summer, garments are loose which are more comfortable. In winter, people use blankets or Loi to protect themselves from cold. Majority of people wear turbans. Thousands of people of this district have gone to United Kingdom and United States of America to earn their livelihood. Therefore, being in touch with the western world, most of the males and few of the females now wear European dress. Women folks like wearing golden and artificial ornaments.

Dwellings

Most of the houses are large and very good Bungalows even in remote rural areas are built. People settled in United Kingdom try to earn more money for building big bungalows/houses in their homeland. The houses are built pacca, both in urban and rural areas using bricks, concrete and marble.

Occupations

Still agriculture is the principal occupation of the people. Apart from agriculture, a number of people work in industries established in the district. In addition, there are a

number of people who are in government and other services. Thousands of persons are in United Kingdom and other countries to earn their livelihood. Women folk in villages spend a very busy life as they assist their male members in fields. Whereas children look after the cattle.

Culture, Customs and Traditions

People observe their religious and other festivals in quite a colorful manner. Especially the dress of the women-folk is of gaudy multi-colour. The women folk sing and dance only on occasions of marriages. Places where the dance is performed are not open to men-folk. Bhangra is a common dance performed on festive occasions and only males take part in it. People are keenly interested in kabaddi, wrestling and tent pegging.

Most of the population of the district have dual nationality i.e. Britain as well as Pakistani (AJK) so the Mirpur has become a multi-cultural city. People very often visit Europe. New and old culture is combined here, although the young generation is fond of modern culture but religious bonds are very strong and majority of the population favor the Islamic traditions and follow the path of Almighty Allah. The Islamic traditions are outstanding in rural area and have high moral values in the society.

Betrothals and Marriages

The parents arrange marriages. The bride and bridegroom have little say in this matter. On the fixed day of marriage, bridegroom wear a Sehra tied to his turban or cap. Sehra is made of flowers and a golden or silvery thread. It is also covered with a colored cloth of fine variety. Bridegroom is usually taken on a horse back, or in some areas, on a camel to the house of the bride accompanied by friends and relatives in a procession headed by a

party of musicians and often a small party of men performing Bhangra dance. The bridegroom's parents present ornaments and clothes to the bride. The quantity and quality of these articles depends upon the status of the parties concerned.

At the time of betrothal and marriage, Mehandi is applied to the hands of bride and bridegroom. Nikah is usually performed during the morning hours. After Nikah ceremony and lunch etc .the bride is taken in a palanquin/Doli to the bridegroom's house.

Births

Birth of a male baby is rejoiced with great favor. After the birth Mullah or some elderly male member of the family recites Azan in the ears of the newborn baby. On the 7th day, barber shaves the baby's head. Local singing parties eunuchs visit the house and sing and dance to celebrate the occasion. They are given charity in cash and also in kinds. Aqiqa ceremony is performed after birth. For this ceremony two sheep or goats for male baby and a single goat or sheep for female baby is slaughtered and meat is distributed to the poor.

Deaths

When death occurs, friends and relatives of the bereaved family gather in the father's house for condolence and burial of the dead body. The dead body is given bath and covered in Cuffon. After Namaz-i-Janaza, the dead body is carried on a cot in a funeral procession to the graveyard where it is buried in the usual religious manner.

2.5 ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP

Executive and Revenue System

Mirpur district consists of two sub-divisions, Mirpur and Dudyal. The executive head of the district is Deputy Commissioner, assisted by an Additional Deputy commissioner (G), two Assistant Commissioners and one Extra Assistant Commissioner.

In both the sub-divisions, there are two Tehsildars and three Naib Tehsildars who look after the revenue matters and also perform other administrative functions. There is one commissioner of Mirpur division, which includes Mirpur district, Kotli & Bhimber.

Police Department

To maintain law and order in the district, police force headed by superintendent of Police with the supporting staff is functioning in the district. There are 7 police stations in the district namely Dudyal, Chaksawari, Islamgarh, Afzalpur, Mirpur City, Mangla and Thothal.

Judiciary

There is a District and Session Court at the district headquarters, one Senior Civil Judge and one Civil Judge and Sub-Judge in Dudyal sub-division deal with the judicial cases. In pursuance of Sharia Ordinance, District Qazi and Tehsil Qazis are adjudicating the Civil Courts in both civil and criminal cases. There are also circuit benches of High Courts. Shariat Court and the Supreme Court of Azad Jammu & Kashmir in the district headquarters.

2.6 HEALTH

District Health Officer supervises the health care activities at the district level. Break-up of health services available in Mirpur district is as under in table:

Table 5

Break up of health services in Mirpur district, 1997-98

S. No.	Institution	Number
1.	District Headquarters Hospital	1
2.	Tehsil Headquarters Hospital	1
3.	Rural Health Centers	4
4.	First Aid Centers	25
5.	Health & Immunization Centers	16
6.	Maternity Centers	15

Source: District Health Officer, Mirpur, Azad Jammu & Kashmir.

There are several private hospitals to cater for the medical needs of the people. There is also a para-medical school, nursing school and public health school in the district.

2.7 EDUCATION

Detail of educational facilities available in the district is given below in the following table:

Table 6**Education facilities 1997-1998**

S. No.	Type of Institution	Number
1.	University of Azad Jammu & Kashmir	1
2.	Degree Colleges (Male/Female)	8
3.	Intermediate Colleges (Male/Female)	2
4.	High Schools (Male/Female)	13
5.	Middle Schools (Male/Female)	84
6.	Primary Schools (Male/Female)	352
7.	University College of Engineering and Technology	1
8.	College of Home Economics	1
9.	College of Education	1.

Source: District Education Office, Mirpur, Azad Jammu & Kashmir.

Besides, there are number of private schools and colleges working side-by-side with the government institutions.

2.8 IMPORTANT / HISTORICAL PLACES

Mangla Dam

The Mangla Dam project was completed in 1967. It is the second largest dam of the country with a capacity of power generation upto 1000 megawatts. The total area of the dam is around 160 square kilometers. Besides power generation capacity, it is the main source of irrigation down the stream in the province of Punjab. In addition, it is a big source of fresh water fish, which is, produced approximately 27 lac tones annually. The administrative control of the dam lies with WAPDA. It is also a good picnic point.

Mangla Fort

It is a beautiful tourist resort that oversees the waters of Mangla as the lake is located in its footsteps. It also reminds the visitors of the Mughal era's architecture.

Ramkot Fort

This fort is located in the waters of Mangla Lake, which is a reminiscent of the Mughal era. The tourists hire boats to reach this important resort.

Burjun Fort

This fort is located 30 kilometers away from the Mirpur town. The Mughals also built it.

Pir-e-Shah Ghazi Shrine

This is the shrine of a famous saint Pir-e-Shah Ghazi located at Chechian about 6 kilometers away from the district headquarters. The shrine of famous Punjabi folk poet and mystic Mian Muhammad Bakhsh, the author of the Saif-ul-Maluk, is also located besides the shrine of Pir-e-Shah Ghazi. These shrines are the point of attraction for the people from all over the country. The Azad Jammu & Kashmir Auqaf Department looks after these shrines.

Chapter # 3

3.1 HISTORY OF MIGRATION

This serves just as a prologue and therefore is not exhaustive, because in this thesis my emphasis is not on the history of migration in detail.

Wandering of people freely over territories hunting and gathering food has been termed primitive migration. (Matras, 1978). This type of migration exists and has always existed in the world from time immemorial. Besides, also modern human beings frequently migrate from one place to another and from his own country to other countries in search of job or a better living. Until World War-I the movements of people from one country to another country was relatively free. Tourists did not need passports. People moved abroad to earn a good living.

In the history of great religions migration started from the different areas of Holy Prophets to other peace areas. Hazrat Moses (God be pleased with him) and also Hazrat Muhammad (peace be upon him) migrated with their followers. The wave of migration before 1800 was the forced movement of slaves from Africa, mainly to the new world of America. The number of Africans who had to leave their native place as slaves migrate is unreliable and range between 10 and 20 million. (Leonard, 1969)

Beginning in the nineteenth century a massive movement from Europe to the western hemisphere took place and perhaps 75 million people entered America after 1800. between 1901 and 1930 from Australia about 5,36,000 immigrants.

The largest migration from 1880 to 1913 has been connected with the blow to peasant agriculture in southern and Eastern Europe resulting from the collapse of wheat prices and as well with improvements in transport and settlement of new lands.

After World War-II large-scale migration occurred. From Indo-Pak subcontinent many people moved to different countries. These people had served in the British Army during the World War-II and had seen various foreign countries. As a result they developed some liking for those countries. They got better job opportunities in foreign countries. In 1947 Pakistan came into being and approximately 15 million Muslims emigrated from India to Pakistan.

3.2 THE CONCEPT OF MIGRATION

After having a glance at the history of migration it may be convenient to have a look at the various definitions of migration as given by social scientists.

Migration is a process wherein the individuals moves from one geographically identified territory to another, and also move periodically from one climatic region to another.

“Migration is a process of entering or leaving from the population of a given place or category by mean other than birth and death”.

(Matras, J. 1972)

Charles B. Nam, defines the term migration as “The movement of people across national boundaries”. (1968,p. 287).

“Migration is commonly defined as the permanent change of residence by an individual in a group. A person is usually classified as an immigrant if he has stated his intention of setting in the country of entry for at least one year”.

(Britannica Encyclopedia, 1973, p. 185)

M. Anwar explains this term as, “migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. It can be from one country to another or simply from one part of country to another.” (1979,p. 17)

3.3 TYPES OF MIGRATION

Anthropologists are able to differentiate between two major types of migrations. These are: (i) Internal migration, (ii) External Migration.

The first type the "Internal Migration" is dislocative migration with specified political boundaries usually a nation-state (Encyclopedia of Anthropology, 1976, p. 269). The second type, the "External Migration", which, according to the same source, means a dislocative migration, takes place across the identified political boundaries, usually from one nation-state to another. This type of migration is termed also international migration. Matras (1980) has been able to classify migration aimed at better means of living into five types:

- i. Seasonal Migration
- ii. Temporary Migration
- iii. Continuous Migration
- iv. Recurrent Migration
- v. Permanent Removal.

3.3.1 Seasonal Migration

Seasonal migrants are those who travel once a year, either as complete or partial families or as single adult individuals, to areas in which great numbers of workers are needed temporarily in such occupations as harvesting or processing of raw food items.

3.3.2 Temporary Migration

In many societies and areas a labour surplus exists, so family groups or adults migrate temporarily in promising areas and also learn technical works and establish his economic position.

3.3.3 Continuous Migration

Families, usually nuclear, travel together from job to job living in temporary quarters of one type or another at each location. In this type of migration no home village is involved. Thus the effects noted concern solely the migrants themselves.

3.3.4 Recurrent Migration

Recurrent migration denotes an intensification of temporary non-seasonal migration. It does appear in some areas where a large amount of wage labour is available, "In recurrent migration men make irregular journeys, of varying lengths of time to obtain wage labour throughout their productive year". (Leonard Broom, 1969)

3.3.5 Permanent Removal.

Permanent removal includes all those patterns in which workers move from their home areas to other specific locations which offer more opportunities for employment and where they settle more or less permanently.

Besides these forms of migration, anthropologists have pointed out another form of migration also, namely return migration, which is defined as "the movements of the migrants back to their home lands to resettle.

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

3.4 CATALYSTS OF MIGRATION

What impels to pull up stakes and leave the familiar for the uncertain? Research has shown that it usually is not just one factor, but also a combination of factors that leads to an often-fateful decision. The key factors are;

3.4.1 Economic Conditions

Poverty has driven countless millions from their homelands and continues to do so. Perceived opportunities in destinations such as Western Europe and North America impel numerous migrants, legal and illegal, to cross the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, and the Rio Grande in search of better lives.

3.4.2 Political Circumstances

Oppressive regimes have engendered migration streams throughout history. More than 125,000 Cubans left their country in 1980 on the "Mariel Boatlift" to escape communist dictatorship. Vietnam's desperate "boat people" fled by the hundreds of thousands after Hanoi's communists took control of their country. In 1972, Uganda's dictator Idi Amin expelled 50,000 Asians, from his African country. Both escape and expulsion mark migrations driven by politics.

3.4.3 Armed Conflict

The dreadful conflict that engulfed the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s drove as many as three million people from their homes, and many (in 1995 the number still was uncertain) became permanent emigrants, unable to return to what remained of their abodes. During the 1980s, the bitter war in Afghanistan sent as many as six million

people across the country's borders. In 1995, with their country still in disarray, most of these migrants seemed to be compelled to remain in Iran and Pakistan.

3.4.4 Environmental Conditions

One of the historical major examples of environment-induced migration involved the movement of hundreds of thousands of Irish citizens from Ireland to the New World during the 1840s. Prolonged excessive rains rotted the country's potato crops, which created a famine; as a result, the demographics of both Ireland (the source) and the U.S. Northeast (the chief destination) were permanently altered. Environmental crises such as major earthquakes and volcanic eruptions also stimulate migrations. For example; every major earthquake in California is followed by a surge in emigration. But many of the emigrants return, so that the net outflow generated by such crises is comparatively small.

3.4.5 Culture and Tradition

People, who are uncertain that their cultures and traditions will survive a major political or governmental transition, and who are able to migrate to perceived safer havens, will often do so. When British India was partitioned into a mainly Hindu India and an almost exclusively Muslim Pakistan, millions of Muslim residents of India migrated across the border to the Islamic state. Given the opportunity after decade of Soviet obstruction, more than two million Jews left the former U.S.S.R for Israel and other destinations, unsure of their futures in the new Russia. South Africa's turbulent political transition during the mid 1990s impelled many whites to emigrate to Australia, Europe, and North America.

3.4.6 Technological Factors

For many migrants, emigration is no longer the difficult and hazardous journey it used to be. While many migrants still move by simple and even difficult means, millions more now use options provided by modern transportation, more secure initial relocation, and more comfortable habitation. Researchers suggest that the growing availability of air conditioning greatly reduced the return migration from the Sunbelt back to the north, resulting in a larger net flow of regional migrants in the United States.

3.4.7 Information Flow

News today travels faster than ever, including news of job opportunities and ways to reach desired destinations. Gone is the time when would-be emigrants waited months, even years, for information about distant places that might beckon them. Television, radio, and telephone have stimulated millions to make the "migration decision" by relaying information about relatives, opportunities, and communities already established in destination lands. Turks quickly heard about Germany's need for labor. Algerians knew where to go in France. Haitians knew that a "Little Haiti" an outpost in constant touch with the source of migrants.

3.4.8 Push and Pull Factors

Anthropologists who study human migration have found it useful to identify conditions and perceptions that tend to induce people to leave their abodes (**push factors**), and have perceived circumstances that effectively attract people to certain locales from other places (**pull factors**).

From our preceding discussion of migration catalysts, we can deduce a number of push and pull factors. Usually, the decision to migrate results from a combination of the two, plus perceived obstacles (or lack thereof) that have nothing to do directly with place of origin or destination. Because a migrant is likely to be more familiar with his or her place of residence (source) than with the locale to which he or she is moving (destination), push factors are likely to be more accurately perceived, in general, than pull factors. Push factors will include individual and personal considerations such as work or retirement conditions, cost of living, personal safety and security, and for many, weather and climate. Pull factors are likely to be more vague and to depend, perhaps, on several visits, at best. Many migrants move on the basis of excessively positive images and expectations regarding their destinations. (H. J. De Bilij, 1995, p. 113)

3.5 THE PAKISTANI CASE

Migration to foreign countries for better job opportunities started immediately after Pakistan's independence. After independence some Pakistanis went to work to Europe and other western countries. Very few people went to Middle East. However, the bulk of migration started after 1970, when Middle East demand of manpower increased and Pakistan government provided a few facilities for migration. Migration from Karachi and other urban centers of NWFP and Punjab started some ten years back but from the rural areas a few years later. There are a few villages from where 75% of the population has migrated to the Middle East during the last ten years.

Now the government has already planned to send some of its manpower to foreign countries and get foreign exchange. The exact figure of out-migration is not available in any official document. Some recent estimates based on information available

from manpower division, Government of Pakistan indicate that approximately 2,700,000 people have migrated to Europe, USA and Middle Eastern countries since the creation of Pakistan, and the majority of these out-migrants are males from rural areas.

The ethnic groups and nationalities in Britain started to arrive in substantial numbers at the end of nineteenth century. Initially they were Irish, Polish and other Europeans who were needed in Britain to fill the need for a workforce. Later on commonwealth nationals also migrated to England, in which migrants from South Asia particularly from subcontinent contributed a large proportion.

"The migration of Pakistanis to Britain can be explained in terms of colonial links, political freedom of movement and an economic 'push' and 'pull' which slowly developed into a 'chain migration'". (M. Anwar, 1979, p. 21).

The majority of Pakistanis in British are from rural areas of the north of Pakistan. About 60 to 70 percent originate from Mirpur District of the Pakistani part of Kashmir.

3.6 MIRPUR DISTRICT

Mirpur District and Division of Azad Kashmir lies in the North West of the Indian subcontinent. Azad or 'free' Kashmir is the term given by Pakistan to the Western portion of the old state of Jammu and Kashmir. Mirpur district lies in the foothills bounded by mountains to the north, which culminate in the Karakorum Range and the more fertile plains of the Punjab to the south. The Mirpur is essentially Punjabi in culture and his language is a dialect of the Punjabi tongue.

Mirpur district is a poor farming area in comparison to many regions of Pakistan and particularly the more fertile parts of southern Punjab. The topography and climate of

Mirpur has hindered the development of a good communication network. There are no rail or air links and asphalt roads only exist between the main towns.

3.7 TRENDS OF MIGRATION IN MIRPUR

During the First World War British shipping companies recruited a vast number of Indians into the Merchant Navy, many of them came from the Punjab and what is now Azad Kashmir. British manpower was being diverted into the armed forces so ship-owners had to seek a new source of labour. When the war ended some of the men decided to stay in Britain where they found employment and gradually settled. (Saifullah Khan, 1980, p. 79). A Pakistani who claimed to have been in this country since 1930 told that he came as a seaman and then decided to stay here. (M. Anwar, 1979, p. 22)

During the Second World War many more joined the British Army and Navy. The area that is now Azad Kashmir, and parts of the Punjab where, and have remained, the most important recruiting areas for the Army. Mirpur and Jhelum are particularly well known for their high percentage of men in the Pakistan Army. This is mainly due to the overpopulation and poor quality of land in these areas but a further reason is the tradition of army and navy service. (Saifullah, 1980, p. 65).

In Mirpur another unique phenomenon caused a large movement of population in the 1960s. Several miles north of the small town Dina (10 miles north west of Jhelum) in the Punjab the northern foothills raise form the plain. This area of Mirpur district harbors a natural cup or 'bowl' of land surrounded by barren hills. Much of the land was relatively fertile compared to other parts of Mirpur. In this bowl of land there were approximately 200 villages and a small town now called Old Mirpur, of approximately 12,000 inhabitants. In the 1950s a joint international venture (U.K., Canada, Australia,



new Zealand, Germany and USA) started to build the world's largest earthen dam here. At the beginning of the 1960s the population near the dam itself was evacuated and from 1963 onwards the whole population of the area was shifted in stages until, in 1967, the water started to fill up behind the dam. About 100,000 people (18,000 families) were moved. Families received compensation in cash for their houses and, those with fewer than half an acre, cash for their land. Farmers with larger plots could exchange land for land in the Punjab. (Saifullah, 1980, p. 66)

At the time of Mangla Dam's construction, government of Pakistan was aware that people will resist. With the help of influential persons of Mirpur government of Pakistan offered two British passports to each effected family.

The large numbers of Mirpuris in Britain are a direct result of displacement by Mangla dam, and an arrangement at governmental level to admit them into Great Britain. Although the construction of the dam intensified or catalyzed migration to the United Kingdom, the movement began long before the dam and the theory that Mirpuris left solely for this reason is incorrect. After the 1962 Act special facilities were provided for displaced people who wished to go to England. Previously, Azad Kashmiris had to get their passports from Karachi but in the late 1960s passport offices opened in the cities of Rawalpindi and Mirpur. (Saifullah Khan, 1980, p. 67)

Ch. Zaman (who was citizen of district Mirpur and was settled in Britain since 1932) gave gift of Ambulances to Pakistan government and in return, in 1987, General Barki of Pakistan Government issued 500 British passports on the request of Ch. Zaman. This factor also played a vital role in the migration of many families to Britain.

MARRIAGE TYPES

4.1 MARRIGE TYPES IN MIRPUR

Pattern may be defined as a peculiar way of doing something. So through marriage pattern, I mean the types of marriages that people follow. I have used this term to explain the categories into which people like to marry their sons/daughters.

Like any other society in this village marriage is also compulsory and in the first step towards the formation of a family, primarily for the purpose of reproduction and thus increase in the strength of the family and secondary for sexual relationship between a male and female. The legal and social aspects of marriage are fully observed in Mirpur, and a marriage performed with the consent of parents and in the presence of the whole village. Marriage is the most important life cycle ritual in the life of villagers. It is the main event that establishes relationship between different families and binds members of same Biraderi and village. The arrangement of such relationship is solely the responsibility of parents. Male and females never indulge in this matter and have no say. However, with the spread of education and due to the influence of mass media, some families have since started asking the opinion or will of their sons and daughters before actual marriage proceedings.

In the most cases it is only a formality as selection of bride and groom and the elders, usually the parents, do all other traditional arrangements. Children are never consulted while choosing their partners. The individuals who are getting married are simply informed of the decision. They have never been given the right to say "yes" or "no" the main reason of which is that marriage is not regarded just an affair concerning the bride and the groom rather it is the involvement of two families and bondage with the

community they belong to. It is more than the union of two individuals, as it fosters and develops new relations between two families. When two individuals are joined in matrimony, they do not do so at their own, sequences of marriage are going to be broad based and the families concerned would also be getting into new kind of affinal relations. In addition to the biological kinship ties that already find these families, the affinal ties further strengthens these ties. Hence parents believe that their children cannot make such crucial decisions at their own for they lack the insight and wisdom. From the early childhood children are socialized to obey parents, they accept the decision of their parent's whole-heartedly.

4.1.1 Kin Marriages

Prevalent and preferred form of marriage in village Mirpur is kin marriage. Few cases of non-kin marriages, levirate and sororate marriages and exchange marriage are also there. When marriage takes place within a defined category of kin, it is referred to as endogamy. Marriages in Mirpur are kin endogamous. Villagers use the terminology of "Apina Which Shadi" (kin marriage) and "Ghairan Which Shadi" (non kin marriage).

Villagers use "Apna" for their consanguineous and affinal kin while "Ghair" is used for those with whom they have no blood relation. It was considered a matter of insult to many one's daughters out of relations or Biraderi there are instances where the girls were married with the boys of younger age. It was because they prefer to keep their "Nasal" lineage pure. All Biraderi members are supposed to share same blood being descendents of a common ancestor.

4.1.2 Cousin Marriages

Villagers use the word "Apna" for their own relatives; they always prefer their "Khuni Rishtaidar" (blood relatives). They also differentiate between "Dur Ke Rishtadar" (distant kin) and "Qarebi Rishtadar" (close kin). In the category of "Dur Ke Rishtadar" (distant kin), they include those relatives with whom they are related through their close kins or through affinal links. The categories of "Qarebi Rishtadar" include Chachazad, (patrilateral Matrilateral parallel cousins and patrilateral matrilateral cross cousins). In selection of spouse villagers give first preference to their close kins. In case of non-availability of spouse within close kins, they prefer their distant kins and their Biraderi and village.

4.1.3 Patrilateral Parallel Cousin Marriage

According to the data 19% marriages in Mirpur held in this category. Locally they called it "Chachay Ney Kar Shadi" (marriage at the house of fathers brother). Villagers prefer their blood relatives, due to which patrilateral parallel cousin marriages have been flourishing. It is accepted in Mirpur that father's brother has the first right over, his children. If "Chacha" (father's brother) asks for a Rishta (proposal), his brother usually gives him a positive response.

4.1.4 Cross Cousin Marriages

Trend of marriage with Mamoozad (matrilateral cross cousin) and Phopoozad (Patrilateral cross cousin) is also most preferred form of marriages. There is no specific term used for this form of marriage. According to Fox, "Cross cousin have the advantage of being out side ego's lineage/clan under either unilineal descent. They are therefore ideal mate if ego wants to marry a close relative" (Fox, 1967, 185).

Fox is of the opinion that it is advantageous because it provides to ego an ideal mate, if he or she wants to marry a close relative. It provides a strong bond for already related families.

4.1.5 Exogamy

In Mirpur, culturally and economically recognized group is kin group. To marry outside their kins is termed as "Ghairan Wich Shadi" (kin exogamy). Two categories of "Ghair" (outsiders) have been defined by the villagers. Firstly, members belonging to their own Biraderi but not their blood relatives and secondly those from other Biraderis. According to the data, all marriages are held within their Biraderi. Although some are outside their family but not outside their Biraderi. Practice of marriages within Biraderi is strictly followed.

4.2 INTERESTS BEHIND THESE MARRIAGES

After the construction of Mangla Dam, a large number of populations went to England and with the passage of time, after settling in England, they bring their families England with them. So most of the families are divided and living into two countries, England and Mirpur. Large numbers of relatives of Mirpuris are settled in England and marriages with the relatives living in England are very common in Mirpur.

There exist some factors, which motivate these marriages. According to the British Mirpuris, the most important reason is "Kar Ne Izzat Kar Wich Ee Ravay" (to keep the person within the family). These people don't like that their daughter or son marry with any Britisher or other person outside their family, with this fear, they prefer their blood relatives living in Mirpur. They also want to remain in touch with their relatives living in Mirpur and don't want to be totally cut off from their motherland.

4.2.1 For British Nationality

The people of Mirpur always feel attraction towards England. Their dream can only come true after getting married with their relatives living in England because after marriage, one can easily go England after getting visa from the respective embassy. The people of Mirpur prefer marriage with their relatives living in England. They think that their son/daughter will go England and will stay in uxori-local residence (who are also his/her relatives) and can live happily.

4.2.2 To Improve Economic Conditions

The Mirpuris living in England are wealthier as compared to the people living in Mirpur. Another reason behind these marriages is to improve their economic conditions with the help of remittances sent by their son for example one of my respondent told me that he sent 450,000 Rs. to Pakistan (Mirpur) from England in one year. They think that with the help of these marriages, their economic condition can be much improved.

4.3 MARRIAGE PROCESS

Process means "a series of actions performed in order to do something" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 1995 p. 922). Marriage is a way to reinforce family ties and the way marriage is arranged, reflects the cultural norms and values of the family and society in which we live in like any other society, in Mirpur too marriage is thought to be a first step towards formation of a family. The legal and social aspects of marriage are fully observed in Mirpur and a marriage is performed with the consent of partners and in the presence of whole family. It is the main event that establishes relationship between different families and binds members of same Biraderi and village. The arrangement of

such relationship is solely the responsibility of parents. The marriage between British and Mirpuri family goes under a process, which is same in all these types of marriages. Because according to the circumstances, this process becomes inevitable and without going through this process, the marriage between British and Mirpuri family can not be performed.

4.3.1 Arrival of British Family

The process of marriage between families living in England and Mirpur takes place in different stages. The most important thing is presence of both parties at one place at the same time. This can only be practiced if the family living in Mirpur goes to England or family living in England come to Mirpur. Latter is observed in Mirpur. So, after the acceptance of marriage proposal from both parties, the British family comes to Mirpur. They usually live in their relatives' house but some have their separate homes in Mirpur and they live over there. After their arrival, they start marriage preparations.

4.3.2 Marriage Ceremonies

After the arrival of British family, and with the consent of both families, the date of marriage is finalized. In this ceremony, the elders of both families finalize the date of marriage. Family of groom goes to the house of bride, where the family of bride also serves them. Both parties finalize the date, which suits them. This ceremony is called "Dyairay Paana"(to final the date). The gap between this ceremony and marriage is usually of 2 to 3 weeks. Within this period, both parties have to prepare themselves for marriage.

Mehndi: The ceremony of Mehndi is performed in both bride's and groom's house, separately, before the day of Barat. Usually the family of groom (except groom) goes to the house of bride along with the Mehndi. The female members of groom's family lead their family while going to bride's home, with plates of Mehndi in their hands having glowing candles. They sing marriage songs all the way. The family of bride receives them at the entrance of their house or at the entrance of marriage hall. In some families, family of bride also performs same ceremony. On Mehndi, the participants give "Salami" to groom, and bride, which are in the shape of rupees and also put Mehndi on the hands of bride and puts oil on the head of groom. Some people also spend a large amount of money on fireworks and at the end of ceremony they are served with dinner.

Barat: On the day of Barat, groom with his family and relatives goes to bride's house. But mostly it happens in marriage halls, where the family of bride receives Barat. After Nikah, all participants enjoy lunch and after the lunch, the family of bride says Good-bye to their bride and groom on Rukhsati.

Valima: Usually, after the very next day of Barat, the ceremony of Valima is performed from groom side. They invite all their relatives and also relatives of bride. All participants are served with lunch and after lunch they give "Naendra" (marriage gift in shape of cash) to groom's side.

4.3.3 Departure of British Family

When the British family arrives Mirpur, mostly they have 3 to 4 month holidays with them. Marriage preparations and marriage process takes the time of almost 2 months. After few days of marriage, both bride and groom files the case for visa in British embassy, where she argue that (if bride is from British family) I am citizen of Britain and

recently married in Mirpur, please grant visa to my husband so he can live with me in England. Groom gives interview in embassy and they return back and wait for their visa approval, which takes usually one or two years. At the end of their holidays, the British family departs to England along with bride/groom. These families usually arrive with return tickets with them.

4.3.4 Departure of Respondent to Britain

After the departure of his bride, the groom waits for the reply from the embassy. This process may take a year or two. And after getting visa from embassy, groom tries to go there as soon as possible. And he departs to Britain within one or two months after getting visa.

4.3.5 Residential Pattern and Jobs of Respondents in Britain

According to the data, 87% of my respondents are male (27 out of total 31). And after going to England, they use to live with their wife's family (uxorilocal) until they buy their separate home. The male, who goes to Britain after marriage, is termed as "Mujahid Force" by British Mirpuris. They usually do their job in factories or in take ways. Whatever he earn in Britain, he also saves some amount for his family living in Mirpur.

Chapter # 5

CAUSES OF DISSOLUTION

Dissolution means the breaking up of something. And with the reference of marriage dissolution, it means, both "separation" and "Divorce". In this study 74% (23/31) cases were of divorce and, 22% (07/31) were of separation.

Dissolution (Divorce and separation) since it disintegrates the family unity is, of course, a social evil in itself, but it is a necessary evil. It is better to wreck the future happiness of the parties by binding them to a companionship that has become odious. Islam also gives the right of dissolution to both, men and women, if they are unhappy and unsatisfied with each other. "But if they separate. Allah will compensate each other out of His abundance, Allah is ever All-embracing, All-Knowing" (Al-Nisa, 130;04).

An analysis of this study shows that dissolution in each case was the result of inter-related factors, a chain of events rather than one single factor. The combination of factors involved gradually accumulated to the point where the only means perceived by the party or parties for reducing stress was dissolution of the marriage.

Mostly the phenomena of dissolution happened in Britain not in Mirpur. In Britain, women are legally independent in their decisions. No one can force them or forbade them to do anything, even their parents, the males who goes from Mirpur to Britain depends on their wives in Britain. So, that's why, according to the data 80% marriages dissolved on wife's initiative.

With respect to the cases of dissolution cited by the respondents it may be noted that each case is somewhat unique as far as the different personalities and circumstances involved is concerned. Nevertheless, a central core of cultural norms, which were shared by all respondents, gave raise to number of common problems. For the purpose of

discussion, hence, it has been possible to develop a typology of the common patterns that emerged from the various causes given for the dissolution of marriage. An analysis of these provides qualitative insight into the common causes of dissension, which led to dissolution in the small number of cases studied.

Since the final break up in each case is attributable to numerous factors, the same subjects are repeatedly referred to, as the various causes of marital failure are discussed.

The common factors resulting in marital failure are discussed below;

- Non-cooperative attitude of wife.
- Interference of in-laws.
- Unwillingness for marriage.
- Non-cooperative attitude of husband.

5.1 NON-COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE OF WIFE

Study revealed that 12 out of 31 dissolutions were due to non-cooperative attitude of wife. Causes of dissolution are varied, as were the individual personalities and circumstances. Each case study has its own unique causes, process, and consequences.

Case Study 1

In this case, respondent married with his Father's Brother's Daughter. The groom was a low educated person having a job of dishwasher in a hotel. Conflict started when he forbade his wife not to remain outside the home from morning to evening with her friends. His wife refused to do so and asked him, "don't try to forbade me I am free to go anywhere, who are you to ask me, if you want to stay here then calm down otherwise go back to Pakistan". After this he talked to his parents in Pakistan, they advised him to

leave her. He again persuaded her wife to refrain from her doing but she replied the same, than he divorced her and returned back.

Case Study 2

Relationship of respondent with his wife was of cross cousin and she was his Mother's Brother's Daughter's. Both were doing there jobs in Britain while doing the job respondent realized that with his salary both of them can live easily and there remains no need of his wife's job. So he asked her to leave the job. But she refused to do so and told him that she will not abandon the job. This was the beginning of sour relations, which ultimately broke the marital companionship.

Case Study 3

Wife of my respondent was daughter of his Father's Mother's Brother. His wife was indulging in such indecent activities, which were not acceptable at any cost to him. His wife was a smoker and drinker, and she used to spend maximum time with his male and female friends. So he used to ask her to quit these activities (drinking, smoking, spending time outside the home) but she did not pay much attention towards this issue. After continuous requests, he found the best solution in the divorce, she was also agreeing to this solution because she was also fed up by his continuous interference.

Case Study 4

In this case, wife never performed any household job as if she had no interest to do so. She never cooked anything for her husband e.g. breakfasts, lunch and dinner; all was to be brought by the husband from hotel. She even never served the meals. Instead of this, he used to serve her on the table. She never bothered to remove the pots from table to

kitchen. Sometimes he made breakfast at home but she never helped him in this process. He used to ask her to take interest in domestic chores at least in cooking but she never gave positive response. Instead she replied that I don't have any interest what so ever in these tasks. This non-cooperative attitude from her side was the main reason of dissolution.

Case Study 5

He was engaged with his Father's Brother's Daughter at her own choice. After the Nikah but before Rukhsati, she told him that she was pregnant for four months and this baby belongs to her boyfriend. He demanded her to leave her boy friend but she said that she couldn't leave her boy-friend rather you accept this child as yours and I will arrange your stay in Britain he refused her offer because this situation was not acceptable for him at any cost. So he divorced her, and returned back to Mirpur.

Case Study 6

In this case, respondent married with his Father's Brother Daughter. Both of them had a commitment before marriage that they will stay in Mirpur. But after sometime of marriage, her cousins initiated her not to stay in Mirpur and leave for Britain on grounds of hot weather conditions and bad medical facilities in Mirpur as her cousins trapped her. She returned to England and also insisted her husband to join her but he refused to do because he was running his own hospital in Mirpur. He persuaded her to come back but she did not do that. This process took 4 ½ years but when she refused to return back, he divorced her and remarried in Mirpur.

Case Study 7

In this case the relationship between husband and wife was not of blood but of same caste. After going England, he came to know that her wife is interested in her boyfriend who is already married and had four children. However her attitude was quite normal and she never made me suspicious. One day she went out of home and when she did not return back late night, her parents started searching her, but in vain. After one week her parents found her and bring her back to home. In this period father of respondent went to England. In the presence of all relatives, his father asked that once a girl has eloped with her boyfriend, it is a swear mistake as well as a dishonor for the whole family. It is more shameful to allow her come back and re-reside in home. He also agreed with his father and divorced her.

Case Study 8

Respondent was married not with his relatives but in the same caste. This wife's attitude toward him was fine. They had three children too. After 12 years of marriage, her cousin (Mother's Brother's Son) also went to England. His wife started taking interest in her cousin. Her attitude also changed and she started accusing her husband of allegedly indecent behavior. She told British home office that she doesn't want to live with her husband. So home office gave her a separate home. Two children joined her mother while one child preferred to live with his father after the separation, whereas she married with her cousin.

Case Study 9

Wife of respondent was the daughter of his Mother's Brother. Inherent problem was that she was not interested in him although her marriage was not by force and her parents had

consulted her before marriage. At that time she agreed but after marriage I came to know that she is interested in someone else. I tried lot to convince her but she refused to live with me. So, after arranging Indefinite Stay for me, she gave me divorce, and married herself to an outcaste man after two weeks of divorce.

Case Study 10

He was married with his Father's Brother's Daughter. She was very moody and hot-tempered one-day guests paid a visit to them, his mother asked her to make tea for the guests, she in turn replied that am I your servant to make tea for the guests and also abused the mother. He slapped his wife but she also started abusing him. After this incident she refused to bring him in to England. She demanded divorce via her advocate in England. So he gave divorce to her.

Case Study 11

He was married not in his blood relatives but in the same caste. After marriage she went back to England. She used to call him daily. The documents sent by her to him for applying the visa, were incomplete when he told her about the documents she came to Mirpur and went embassy with him on the turn of her interview, she gave only two minutes interview and told me that embassy has rejected our case. After that he came to know that she told the embassy that she don't want to live with him, that's why they rejected the case. After 2 weeks of the rejection of case, she went back to England. She did not even inform him about the birth of child, as she never contacted him. She told him that she would not give the child to him until his 16-year age. He was of the view that she will be fine after some time. But she demanded divorce via her advocate. In the meantime, his child died at the age of 09 months. This time too she also did not inform

him about the death of child, and she also did not send the dead body to him. After this, I gave her divorce.

Case Study 12

She married in her caste but not in blood relatives. After 03 months of marriage, he went back to England. He used to call her once in month. On the other hand, she was willing in going to England to her husband. She also continuously requested him on phone, but he never gave positive response. In spite of birth of girl, he did not call her. After two years of marriage, without any conflict and reason, he sent divorce from England to her and married with a wealthy and aged widow.

Going through these 13 case studies where non-cooperative and hostile attitude of wife lead to the dissolution it is crystal clear that for sustainability of a marriage, it is necessary at the part of spouse's to compromise, understand, and respect the ideas of each other. They must care for mutual likings and disliking. But it is seen in the present cases that the wife cared for none of these things. It happened mostly where the wife belonged to England and husband to Mirpur.

In Pakistani culture, social mobility of women is limited and also checked by men. But in England women are free to move anywhere without the permission of husband. This glaring shift requires compromise at the part of both the parties.

Contrarily wherever their husbands not to remain outside the house unnecessarily asked the wives they responded aggressively and threatened them. Husbands kept silent out of necessity however they were unhappy over the state of affairs. Illicit sex relations were also factors for separation/dissolution. Having boyfriends in England is quite



normal but it is considered highly immoral in Mirpur. It was told by the male respondents that their wives had boy friends. When they were asked to leave them, they refused to do so. It was highly shameful and not acceptable at any cost for them. So this state of affairs led to the dissolution. Use of drugs at the part of wives is also a cause of the same. In most cases, it is observed that the husband's were dependent upon wives families for residence. In case they showed any disliking regarding their wives attitude they were threatened to leave the residence.

5.2 INTERFERENCE OF IN-LAWS

According to the field findings, interference of in laws was responsible for dissolving 10 marriages out of total 31. There were also some other allied factors towards ending these marriages. The relevant case studies are;

Case Study 1

In this case, respondent married with his Mother's Brother's Daughter. She went back after 03 months of marriage and returned back after 10 months. He felt a marked change in the behaviour of his wife's and father-in-law.

One day, they all went to attend a marriage of their relative. When they returned back, his wife and father-in-law were packing their luggage. He asked them that where were they going? They said we are going to England. He inquired his wife too. She replied that since my father is demanding me that's why we are going. My father in law blamed me that I didn't treat well my wife, and did not care her, which was a baseless allegation. My father in law's statement was totally incorrect. All of us tried to stop them

but they did not. I also asked my wife many times but she said that she cannot do anything against the will of her father. So, they went to England without any reason.

Case Study 2

Both partners were cross cousins. She was daughter of his Father's Sister. He went to England after two years of his marriage and started his job in a factory. Problem aroused after four months when his parents-in-law started asking him not to sent money to your parents and whatever you earn, give it to us, and forget your parents. His wife also supported her parents. In this situation, it was impossible for him not to support his parents, who were economically dependent on him and stay with parents in law. He tried his best but his parents in law did not change their demand. So he left his home after one month of this conflict, on the complaint of his parents in law, British Home Office also cancelled his visa. That's why he had to return back.

Case Study 3

The relationship between spouses was of cross cousins. After having conflict with his wife over the issue of her job, attitude of his parents in laws also played a detrimental role in the dissolution. His uncle was settled there near his house. After the death of his father, his uncle used to look after him. He used to visit his uncle's home frequently who were near by him. His parents in law started forbidding him not to go to his uncle's home. This was not acceptable to him because he never differentiated between his father and uncle. The objection of his parents in law was not right. His wife also did not support her husband but parents and she also tried to force him to obey her parents. He refused to obey his parents-in-law.

Case Study 4

He was married with his relatives and his wife was his second cousin. After marriage she went back to England. Conflict aroused when he sent special sweets to England made of "desi ghee" (pure ghee). His mother in law by temperament was a very suspicious person. At that time she had pus in her backbone and was in much trouble. After eating those sweets her pain increased and became unbearable for her. God knows better that whether it was because of the sweets or just by chance. She started blaming her son-in-law that this was only because of sweets having amulets to kill her. She publicized it that he wanted to kill her and his wife also started blaming him. His mother in law asked her daughter not to go to her husband in Mirpur and also not to bring him to England. He tried his best to clarify but they didn't listen. When they did not change their view, he left them and remarried in the family of his brother's in laws.

Case Study 5

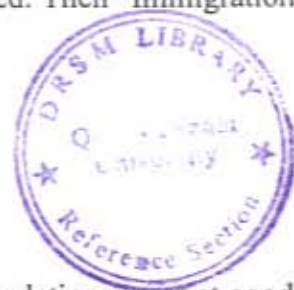
Along with the conflict with his wife over her non-serious attitude towards domestic chores, he was also continuously disturbed by his parents in law. After getting visa one year of his marriage, his parents in law demanded that he should stay in their home in spite of his own separate house in England. It was impossible for him to live in his wife's house although he had his own house and also his brothers were settled there and they also had their own homes. But his parents in law insisted continuously to reside with them. His wife also supported her parents not the husband. On this unnecessary demand of his parents in laws, he did not go England and got separated.

Case Study 6

He got married with the daughter of his Mother's Brother. He went to England after 02 years of his marriage and resided in his wife's home. Conflict started just after 04 months. Reason being that, sister of his wife was divorced after their marriage and his parents in law were of the view that his sister living in his neighborhood had a role in the divorce of their daughter. His in laws had hatred in their heart towards his sister. So they started forbidding him not to go to his sister's house. It was very difficult for him to do so. His in-laws used abusive language for his sister. He also tried to refrain his wife from doing so but she said that her parents and siblings were very right since your sister is the real culprit. In these circumstances, his further stay in his wife's house became impossible. So he left the home and went to his sister's house. At this, his wife gave statement to "The Immigration Office" that they have been separated. Then "Immigration Office" deported him.

Case Study 7

He was married with his Father's Sister's Daughter. Their spousal relations were at good terms. But the problem was his uncle (Father's Brother) who trapped his mother in law (Father's Sister). The reason was that they had their ancestral profession of grocery. His uncle also had a shop of same profession. Problem aroused when they opened a new shop nearby his uncle's shop. His uncle developed professional jealousy over this. So his uncle started trapping his mother in law by telling lies about him and also misguided her. The main purpose of his uncle was to ruin their good relations in which he succeeded. His mother in law asked him to leave her daughter but he refused to do so. But when she insisted continuously then he said that if his wife would ask him for divorce then I would



do it, otherwise, never. But his mother in law did not accept it. He tried to convince his mother in law but of no avail. This process took two years but when this conflict could not be resolved, he gave divorce to his wife against the will of his own, his wife and his parents. He remarried after 07 years of divorce but her wife did not marry again.

Case Study 8

He married within his caste not in blood relatives. He had commitment with his wife to live in his brother's house not in her house. After few weeks of marriage, his mother in law became very ill and his wife had to go to England. When his mother in law recovered she refused to send her daughter to him and also demanded him to stay with them. This demand was not acceptable for him when he went to England his mother in law did not allow him to meet his wife. His wife also tried to convince her mother but in vain. He went again to his mother in law with elders of the family. They also tried to convince her but she did not. Then his wife told him that it is the requirement of circumstances and a necessity that we should be got separated. So unwillingly he had to give divorce to his wife, only because of his mother-in-law.

Case Study 9

She married within her caste. She went to England after one year of her marriage, the main reason was rude behavior of her mother in law although her husband was good towards her. Just after one week, she handed over to her the charge of kitchen. Her mother in law did not allow her to sit and chat with the wife of her husband's brother. Her mother in law also stopped her to spend even some time with her husband. She always tried to keep the couple away from each other. After 06 months she stopped her to

do kitchen works and locked her into a separate room without any reason. She did not allow her to change and bath. When she used to go to washroom, she used to stand outside the door and start beating the door. Her husband was under total control of his mother. He did not forbid his mother in doing so. She remained in this condition for three months and after 03 months her mother-in-law brought her Pakistan when she arrived at Islamabad airport, foul odour was emitting of her body and lice in her hair because of three months without bath. She was admitted in hospital for one week. Doctors out of surprise remarked, "was this girl married with a man or to a beast"? Her mother in law went back to England after one week. She refused to go to her husband and got separation.

Case Study 10

His wife was not his blood relative but from the same caste. Both, husband and wife were happy with their marital life but his father in law was unhappy with this situation, without any reason. His father-in-law was married, thrice. His father-in-law forced his wife to leave him and also did not let her to go to Pakistan to her husband. His wife wanted to come to Pakistan but his father-in-law stopped her. Problem went on to its peak when his father-in-law sued a case for divorce in Jehlum court. His father-in-law had given bribe to the judge so without any testimony judge announced his decision against him. Father-in-law did all this because he was aware that his daughter would never divorce her husband, that's why he gave bribe to the judge. Thus dissolution happened.

Going though these 10 cases it is evident that interference of in-laws lead to dissolution of marriage.

In Mirpur it is supposed unreasonable to interfere in domestic or familial issues, and privacy of a family is greatly favoured but it is seen in case of respondents that their in-laws used to interfere and put unreasonable restrictions over them. For instance, the behavior of parents-in-law in our society is loving, caring and respectful towards her son-in-law but in the cases studied, it is seen that behavior of parents-in-law towards their sons-in-law was imposing, propertial and dictatorial. For instance, they put restraints upon social relations of their sons-in-law. They forbade them in straight words to keep any relations whatsoever with their close relatives. They asked them not to send money to their family in Mirpur. In 03 cases, respondents were forced to live in the house of their wives' parents. Although they were having their own residence they disliked this enforcement as a dishonor for them. The manifest reason being that it is shameful at the part of son-in-law to reside in the house of in-laws as local norms do not permit to do so. This factor became a conflict between parties that led to the dissolution.

5.3 UNWILLINGNESS FOR MARRIAGE

06 cases of marriage dissolution fall in this category, which comprises 20% of total 31 cases studied. Aharon Layish highlighted this problem in his book (*Marriage, Divorce and Succession in the Druze Family*) as "Forced marriages, brought about through pressure from guardians and relatives, carry the seeds of divorce" (P. 139; 1982). This problem as studied by Aharon has also played a role in dissolving the marriages in my study. The six cases are as under;

Case Study 1

He was married in his distant relatives of his mother side. He came to know after the marriage that his wife was not interested in this marriage and her parents did it with force. He tried his best to make her happy but she was always unhappy and uneasy. She was interested in someone else. So she started requesting him to divorce her. Thus he divorced her after one year of marriage. Ironically enough the person in whom, his wife was interested and for whom she got divorce, got married somewhere else.

Case Study 2

His marriage was arranged with the daughter of his Mother's Brother. He got divorce from his wife after 06 months of their marriage as she was interested in someone else but her parents did not consult her in before marriage decision. She was unhappy with this marriage, so she divorced him after 06 months of marriage and married a person living in Britain.

Case Study 3

This female respondent was married with the son of her mother's sister. She went England after one year of marriage. Attitude of all was fine with her except her husband. His attitude towards her was of ignoring, he also always tried to avoid her and never talked with her, happily. She came to know after sometime that he was not interested in this marriage and he only did so on the request of his parents. He did not change his attitude even after the birth of a child. She requested him to treat her as a wife but he replied that he don't want to live with her anymore. When the circumstances turned unbearable, then she left her home and went to her brother's house, after 03 years of marriage. He never contacted her. He sent divorce to her after two years of separation.

Case Study 4

He was married with the daughter of his father's brother. He went to England after 1 ½ year of marriage and started his work as a taxi driver. She was not interested in him but her parents did so by force. Infact, she was interested in older brother of her husband. He tried his best, but she gave divorce to him after two years of their marriage. She came back to Mirpur and married with the elder brother of her previous husband. Now they are living happily.

Case Study 5

His wife was daughter of his father's brother. His uncle and Aunty brought their daughter to Pakistan for outing. They told her that the purpose of their visit here was to meet the blood relatives. But they arranged her marriage without her consent. She became silent at the forced decision of her parents but when she went to England she eloped with a Pakistani boy in spite of her two-month-old child. She refused to come back to her house so her parents disowned her. His father in law took care of his child.

Case Study 6

His wife was not from his close relatives but from same caste. After the "Nikah" she went back to England but did not call him and also did not contact him. The reason was that she was not interested in this marriage but her parents did it by force. Neither she nor he gave divorce but they got separated. None of them remarried.

The above six case studies amply reveal that dissolution occurred due to unwillingness for marriage, a factor that if kept in mind would not have ended in disaster.

It is evident that girls were not interested in marrying the respondents. They did it just to show courtesy towards their parents or they were mischievously brought to Pakistan just to visit relatives but were stressed to marry with respondents before leaving Pakistan. This unwillingness could not sustain the marriage contract due to absence of willingness. Even afterwards mutual understanding could not develop between spouses and marriages ended in dissolution.

5.4 NON-COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE OF HUSBAND

Five cases of dissolution belong to this category. In these cases partners (husbands) belonged to Mirpur had also their role in dissolving their marriages. We cannot say that British partners made all mistakes but Mirpuri partners also played detrimental role in turning their martial life problematic. The following case studies throw light upon this issue.

Case Study 1

He was married in his distant relatives but both partners know each other before their marriage. They got married in England and then they came back to Mirpur. But she never complained him for any thing. When she went back to England her mother asked him to leave her. The cause was that he gave very little time to his wife. Instead he used to spend his all time with his friends. She also requested him to give her required time but he did not bother. So because of his attitude, she refused to live with him.

Case Study 2

He was married with the daughter of his Father's Sister. He went to England after one year of marriage. He was hot-tempered and also abusive. Over little things, like (over the

choice of meal, over the taste of meal etc). He became angry and abused her. She used to tell each and everything to her parents, so one day, when he again misbehaved with his wife, he was severely beaten by his parents-in-law, and also sued for divorce. So after 08 months of case, divorce was granted through the court.

Case Study 3

He got married in his distant relatives. He was told that he would be married with younger daughter but he was married with elder one. So he went to England after one year of marriage. He took some time in adjusting with his wife.

One day he came late at night. His wife started questioning him soon after his entrance in the house. He was very tired and wanted to go to upstairs but his wife stopped him. He pushed her with his hands but unfortunately her hand burnt with the wall heater by the push of her husband. His wife started crying. By this noise their neighbors called the police. His wife told the policemen that her husband has burned her. So policemen arrested him. He told them many times that it was just an accident; he had no intentions to do so.

His wife refused to live with him anymore, because she was frightened now. She also asked through police to deport him thus the marriage ended in a disaster.

Case Study 4

He married with his cross cousin who was daughter of his Mother's Brother. She stayed in Mirpur one year after the marriage then she returned back to England. He also went England after two years of marriage. He was indulged in bad habits like smoking and drinking, his parents also tried their best to stop him, but of no use. He could not abstain

those habits even after his marriage. He also used to misbehave with her after drinking. His wife requested him many times to quit this habit, but he never showed positive response. She also told her father but her father advised her to bear it and wait for change. Her father also requested her not to give him divorce. However he did not quit those habits. So, one day when he was out for work. His wife committed suicide in her home. She did not leave any letter but he was sure that she did only because of his attitude.

Case Study 5

This female respondent married with the son of her Mother's Father's Brother. She went to England after one year of her marriage. After few weeks of her son's birth, her brother was murdered in Mirpur so she came back to Mirpur with her husband while her son was in Britain with his Father's Sister. After two weeks, he left his wife in Mirpur and went back to Britain without any conflict. After going to Britain, he married with a British non-Muslim. He also did not give the baby to his mother.

In the above five cases, husbands' attitude was not cooperative but it was in accordance with their culture. For instance, smoking, wife abusing, aggressive behavior, and spending less time with wife. They were asked to abandon these habits but they did not bother about it because for them these were not as serious matters as to lead to marriage dissolution since these are normally the behavioral characteristics of husbands in Mirpur. But for their wives, these were not acceptable, that's why they divorced them.

Chapter # 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

According to the field findings, detailed case studies and their analysis, it comes to light that all the reasons leading to marriage dissolution are rooted in cultural differences between England and Mirpur.

Both partners belong to two different countries having their separate and different cultural backgrounds norms and behaviors etc. One from Mirpuri culture and other from British culture. Families of British partners does not indigenously belong to Britain but are migrated from Mirpur. Each case has its own causes of dissolution but some also fall in certain categories and thus have no sharp line of demarcation.

I have seen that both cultures differ from each other in terms of relationship between husband and wife. In Mirpuri culture, every movement of wife is checked and sanctioned by her husband and she has to seek permission from him before stepping out of the home. Her husband also questions her. But situation in Britain is opposite, women can move freely anywhere and anytime. There is no check upon them from any side. No one can ask, question and force them. Having boyfriends in England is not considered a taboo but is an accepted norm but it is highly immoral in Mirpur. It was told by male respondents that their wives had boyfriends and when they were asked to leave them, they refused. In Mirpur, to interfere in the familial affairs of other is considered morally bad. Mostly people use to avoid this situation but respondents told that they were interfered and oddly restricted by their in laws. The attitudes of parents-in-laws towards respondents were of imposing and dictatorial nature. They also tried to limit their social relations and forced them not to send money to their parents living in Mirpur. They also compelled them to live in their house. All this does not prevail in Mirpur.

Non-cooperative attitude of male partners, who belonged to Mirpur, also played a pivotal role in dissolution. They had habits of aggressive behavior, smoking, abusing etc. these are considered manly behavioral characteristics of husbands in Mirpur, which are not at all acceptable for their wives in England.

In Mirpur, parents usually don't invite their daughter's willingness in the decision of their marriage. It is all in the hands of their parents and they cannot go against it. The same is not true in Britain because persons brought up there are in an independent culture where everyone is free in his/her decisions. But when the parents of British partners marry them with respondents against their will, that marriage contract did not go long. They did it just to show courtesy towards their parents but when they went back to England, they dissolved the marriage contract.

All these causes are directly related to cultural norms, which are altogether different in Mirpur and Great Britain. The main reason behind these marriages is migration from Mirpur to England. This is the impact, imparted by the migration on the institution of marriage. Thus we can safely conclude that the reasons behind dissolution of marriages are mainly caused by cultural differences. Hence, the hypothesis may be accepted as true on anthropological basis.

Table 7
Social profile of the respondents

	Persons	Percentage
Total respondents'	31	100
Male	27	87
Female	04	13

Table 8
Age

Years	Persons	Percentage
20-24	03 (two females)	10
25-29	15 (two females)	48
30-34	07	22
35-39	05	16
40-44	01	03

Table 9
Marital Status

Status	Persons	Percentage
Divorced	23 (two females)	74
Divorced and remarried	10	
Separated	07 (one female)	22
Separated and remarried	03	
Died	01 (female)	04

Table 10**Types of Marriages**

Types	Persons	Percentage
Arranged	23	74
Love	03	10
Arranged + Love	05	16
Caste Endogamy	31	100

Table 11**Relationship with the Spouse**

Relation	Persons	Percentage
Father's brother's son	-	-
Father's brother's daughter	06	20
Father's sister's son	-	-
Father's sister's daughter	03	10
Mother's brother's son	-	-
Mother's brother's daughter	06	20
Mother's sister's son	01	3
Mother's sister's daughter	-	-
Father's relatives	02	6
Mother's relatives	04	13
Out of family but within Qaum	09	29

Table 12**Level of Education**

Level	Persons	Percentage
1-5	03	10
6-8	06	21
9-10	12	41
11-12	01	04
13-14	03	10
15-16	02	07
Others	02 Ph. D	07

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

SPOUSE SELECTION PROCESS

- What was your age at marriage?
- What was your Wife/Husband's age at marriage/
- How was your Wife/Husband chosen?
- Were you engaged? If so, how long?
- When you go to England after marriage?
- Your stay in England?
- What is duration of your marriage?

CAUSE OF DIVORCE

- How long you stayed with your spouse?
- What was your wife/husband's job and average monthly income?
- Where did you live after marriage, why?
- Did you ever hit your wife or abuse her? (Did your husband ever hit or abuse you)?
- What would you say was the main cause(s) of your divorce?
- How early in marriage did differences become evident?

PROCESS OF DIVORCE

- Which of you first suggested the idea of divorce?
- When was the final separation actually made?
- When was the decision to divorce implemented?
- How was the divorce brought about?

- How long did the process take?
- What was the legal ground for divorce?
- How long did your marriage last?
- How long have you been divorced?
- What is your age now?
- Where did you live after your final separation/divorce?

