

USAGE OF DOWRY
(A Case Study Of Pathar Garh, Tehsil Hassanabdal,
District Attock)



BY

Mahreen Iftikhar

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD

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Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
(Department of Anthropology)

Final Approval of Thesis

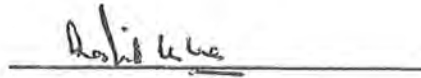
This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Ms. Mahreen Iftikhar. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the Degree of "M.Sc in Anthropology".

Committee

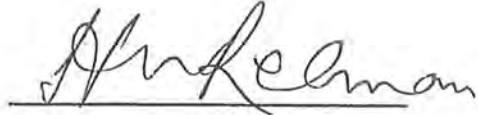
1. Mr. Tariq Mahmood
Supervisor



2. Dr. Rasheed Khan
External Examiner



3. Prof. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman
Chairman



DEDICATION

TO MY PARENTS WHO SACRIFICED FOR MY PROSPEROUS FUTURE AND INSPIRED ME FOR HIGHER IDEALS OF LIFE, MY MOTHER WHOSE PRAYERS AND INSPIRATION IS THE TORCH TO MY SUCCESS, AND MY LOVING FATHER WHO GAVE ME CONSIDERABLE TIME OUT OF HIS HECTIC ROUTINE LIFE.

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CHAPTER NO 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The present study is based on custom of dowry in Pathar Garh, Pakistan. This research is focused on the practice of dowry. The purpose of study is to know the use of dowry by in-laws and to find out that "How the things of dowry are used by bride"? It highlights the factors which are involved in the practice of dowry.

Dowry or price of the groom is an important part of marriage. Dowry means "a natural endowment or gift or talent". A dowry is a type of payment or gift of property that accompanies a bride upon marriage. The types of dowry tremendously depend upon the economic conditions of the families and involve the customary expectations of the society. Every society has its own norms and rules to regulate marriage and dowry. Customs are important aspect of our culture.

In Pathar Garh people follow this custom and always try to give more and more things in dowry to their daughters. They must give essentials of dowry whether they live from hand to mouth just to maintain their status. Usage of dowry indicates that here mostly brides use the utensils or other household items of their mother-in-law. If they use their own dowry then it is only in such case when her mother-in-law does not have sufficient dowry for use or when she becomes the part of nuclear family. Usually here in-laws do not take permission from bride to use her dowry items because they think that they are alike their daughters, while for usage of certain things of dowry in-laws are in habit to take brides's permission such as electronic appliances, jewelry and dresses. Researcher also explains the hierarchy regarding the usage of dowry. Bride uses certain items of dowry occasionally while she keeps certain items of dowry for her personal use like dress, jewelery etc.

1.2 Statement of the problem

"How goods given in dowry are used by bride?"

In Pakistan, marriages are patrilocal and dowry places high respect in marriage ceremonies. Researcher observed two kinds of things while discussing dowry. Firstly

observed ornaments and clothes and the other is furniture and electronic appliances. It has also been seen in Pathar Garh village that what kind of things the bride has used by her own self, means what sort of things she has in her own possession and whether she allows to her in-laws to use her dowry or not. It is commonly observed that the mother of the bride gives her instructions not to open her dowry in her in-law's house until she will be able to have separate household or she reaches at the stage of mother-in-law. Bride uses ornaments, clothes and furniture for her personal use while electronic appliances and utensils are used on special occasions and on the arrival of guests to serve meal. The usage of dowry in a proper way has been started after becoming mother-in-law so bride discloses her dowry items for daily use and secondly in case of becoming the part of nuclear family system.

1.3 Literature Review

In present study two concepts are of pivotal importance. These are marriage and dowry. In the following pages, an effort has been made to define and describe these two concepts with the help of anthropological literature. Furthermore an effort has been made to describe the relationship between these concepts and other related concepts like bride's status, bride wealth, Haq-mehr and long term relationship between spouses and their in-laws with the help of anthropologist and other social scientist's work on different communities and thus conclusions drawn.

Rituals and ceremonies are important part of culture and these are the representative of the cultural behavior of the people. Culture determines the way to observe rituals and ceremonies in the prescribe way. In the rituals and ceremonies not only the individual takes part but the whole community involves in it.

According to David (1976):

“The rituals and ceremonies in a specific community are prescribed in that, their performance doesn't depend solely on the whim of an individual, but are expected by others under specific circumstance and in specific manner.” (David 1976:336)

Marriage is an important ritual almost in all the societies; Dowry is first and foremost aspect of it. Marriage has been described as a socially recognized union between men and women that records legitimate. It produced one of the fundamental links of kinship called affinal link.

David & Philip (1976) have defined marriage as:

“Marriage is publicly recognized and culturally sanctioned union between male and female which is intended to be enduring to give primary sexual rights in each other to the couple and to fulfill further social functions, child rearing, economic partnership between husband and wife and the formation of alliances between kin groups are characteristics of marriage.” (David & Philip 1976:110)

Marriage is one of the most important social institutions in any society. It does not only involve the establishment of legitimate relationship between two spouses but it also creates new relationships and redefines the existing relations between the members of kinship groups on both sides. Transactions from one social category to another for the spouses are another important characteristic of marriage.

Genep (1960) has mainly focused on these aspects of marriage:

“Marriage constitutes the most important of transition from one social category to another, because for at least one of the spouses it involves a change of a family, clan, village and tribe. In some time a newly married couple even establishes residence in a new house. The change of residence is marked in the ceremonies by rites of separation, always primarily focused on the territorial passage.” (Genep 1960:116)

Marriage has, beside others, economic aspects as well. Economic transition are important part of marriage ceremonies the world over.

According to Genep (1960):

“Marriage always has economic aspects of varying importance and that acts of an economic nature such as establishing an amount, payments, return of the payment for the girl or the young man etc, become intertwined with the rites proper” (Genep 1960:119)

In marriages Dowry places high importance so different Anthropologists have given multiple concepts to delineate the very idea of dowry, Diwan (1990) conceptualized it as:

“It is any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given, directly or indirectly:

1. By one party to the marriage to the other party to the marriage.
2. By parents of either party to the marriage or by any other person to either party to the marriage or to any other person at or before time of the marriage in connection with the marriage of the said parties.
3. Dowry means money, goods or estate that a woman brings to her husband at marriage.
4. It is a property which a woman brings to her husband at marriage”.

(Diwan 1990:25)

Dowry has visibly migrated, escalated and embraced in all over the world. It has become an active tradition, norm and religious practice for those who believe that there is an absence of such a custom and tradition in their faith.

Ghadially (1997) defined:

“Dowry also known as trousseau is a gift of money or valuables given by the family of the bride to the family of the groom at the time of their marriage” (Ghadially 1997:7)

Dowry practice lies in the roots of every society, while in most of the society's people are strictly following it as common tradition. According to Parveen, there are certain factors regulating dowry practices more enormously in any area all over the world to ensure the continuity of the practice of dowry such as:

1. It is considered an incentive to lure a more suitable match.
2. It is submission to the demand of a perceived 'suitable match'.
3. It is used as an excuse for denial of inheritance to women (i.e., the expenses on dowry and wedding are unilaterally decided by the men folk of the family as transfer of inheritance by other means).
4. It is considered a good support mechanism to help the new couple so that have a convenient start in practical life.

(Parveen 1999)

Encyclopedia of Americana (1987) noted that, “the payment of dowry is relatively rare practice among the societies of the world. The dowry is the transfer of valuables from bride's family to groom's family and is associated with the view that women and children

are economic liabilities. In contrast with the practice of bride price in which women are valued for their reproductive and economic services it is also seen as giving daughter her share of the family state and as helping the new family”.

Caleekal discussed about the roots of dowry:

“Dowry as a quantifiable offering in a marriage does not have its roots pertaining solely to the Indian culture. It has been noted to be part of the custom, practice in early 12th century Europe and was often reflected in European fairy tales and literature making such references to a woman’s “dowry” as offerings of a “straw mattress”, a “wooden stool” or “form animals”. (Caleekal 1997)

Davies (1996) wrote in his article:

“The dowry system is a custom that has existed in most parts of South Asia. Dowry is a form of payment made by the wife and her family to the husband and his family. It often includes not only money but also property for social mobility also exasperates the hierarchical lower status of women. The dowry is a culturally sanctioned and socially structured practice”. ([Http://funkawagnalls.com](http://funkawagnalls.com))

In some countries it is customary for women to bring money, goods, or estate to her husband at marriage that is called dowry. A well known example for this practice is India where dowry is paid in cash or kind by the brides family to the grooms family along with the given away of the bride (kanyadan). The ritual of kanyadan is an essential aspect in Hindu marital rites: Kanya = daughter, Dan = gift. A reason for the origin of dowry or perhaps be that the groom and his family has to take up the onerous responsibility of supporting the bride for the rest of her life.

According to Diwan (1990) stated:

“An approved marriage among Hindus has always considered as kanyadan of family. In Hindu marriage, gifts to the bride and bride groom got entangled and later on assumed the frightening name of dowry, for the obtaining of which compulsion, coercion, an occasionally force began to be used; ultimately most Hindu marriages became a bargain”. (Diwan 1990:23)

In social context, dowry refers to property given to the bride groom and his family. The modern phenomenon of dowry does not tally with the earlier concepts of bride price and with the customary concepts of giving property to the bride herself. The dowry system is not recognized in the religion or the law of the Muslim society but has spread into it. Conversely, Islamic Law provides Dower to enhance the status of women. In Islam only the dower or *mehr* is presented and it is proved by the Holy Quran.

“And give the women (on marriage) their *mehr* as free gifts.” (Quran 4:4)

“Then keep them in all decency or part with them decently. It is not lawful for you to take anything you have given them”. (Quran 2:229)

In the first era of Islam marriage was a simple affair without pomp or ceremony. Any expenditure incurred in its performance was quite minimal and not a burden on either family. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said,

“The most blessed marriage is one in which the marriage partners place the least burden on each other”.

(Encyclopedia of Islam & the Muslim World 2003:721)

It is evident that Islam stresses on simple and easiest marriages with least burden. There is no concept of *jehaiz* (dowry) in Islam. There is no word for it in Arabic. In Arabic *jehaiz* means a slow racing horse. However, abundance of wealth in Arab countries now has prompted the rich families to give gifts to their daughter at the wedding. But as there is no word for *jehaiz*, they adopted a new word “*Bayana*” for the purpose. It means the marriage gifts given to the bride.

Dowry is considered a status symbol and dowries are proudly displayed in the wedding hall. A number of marriage negotiations break down if there is no consensus between the bride and the groom’s family. Traditionally, dowry entitles a woman to be a full member of husband’s family and allowed her to enter the marital home with her own wealth. In this respect, parents wish to give more amount of dowry to fulfill the demands of in-laws and as safeguard of their daughter’s newly marital life.

The dowry is an exceptional part of marriage transaction. Dowry is donation, which is given or promised by the wife or by her side to the husband or his side with the purpose

that it remains forever with him because of the burdens of matrimony. The classical dowry was more valuable in worth; the more appealing was the women, or offer of marriage to an available gentleman. First and foremost, wives brought lands and money to their husband's marriage proposals were frequently discussed in the most cold-blooded terms. The institution of classical dowry imposed the chief costs of establishing the new household upon the bride or her family. As dowry puts huge burden on the family of bride to encompass the demands of groom's family as they want to give relief to the in-laws to compensate bride's economic conditions.

Juliette (2004) viewed:

"To alleviate what's considered impending burden on the new in laws, bride's families give dowries of money, household goods, jewelry or land to groom's family. While the custom dates back to Greco-Roman times, it has gained popularity across South Asia in the last 20 years as modernization and desperation have combined to increase dowry demands to disastrous levels. The costs vary from land, from animals to furniture, cars and tens of thousands of dollars". (Juliette 2004)

Banerjee (1997) wrote:

"Dowry murder is rampant. Many dowry related deaths are not reported. The facts statistics, information, reported and insight into the tragedy (which is serious problem) are suppressed. There is need to fight this violence and injustice not with emotions only, but with hard facts. Dowry system has become one of the majority evils in the society. The inability for a wife and her family to meet the dowry demands of the husbands and his family are responsible for the domestic violence in the early years of marriage and thousands of dowry related murders known as dowry deaths". (Banerjee 1997:20)

Demands for dowry can go on for years. Religious ceremonies and the birth of children often become the occasions for further requests for money or goods. The inability of the bride's family to comply with these demands often leads to the daughter in law being treated as a pariah and subject to abuse. In the worst cases, wives are simply killed to make way for a new financial transaction that is another marriage. Dowry is a gift given by parents to show love and affection to their daughters at the time of her marriage. Nowadays it is supposed to be a gift not for the daughter, but for her in-laws.

Brides themselves sometimes demand more by way of dowry from their parents to ensure, adequate respect in the groom's household. Amount of the dowry has linked with the complexion of bride and physical appearance of the bride. If the bride has fair complexion and she is pretty then her complexion will compensate her low amount of dowry but if she has dark complexion then the amount of dowry will be increased to compensate her color complexion.

Kapadia (1966) described in his book:

“A Bengali graduate expected his spouse to be; adorned with jewelry and Gold ornaments from head to foot, a cash demand of at least 4000, besides the personal dower for the bridegroom's embellishment called barbarians, from a girl's father----- if the father has a misfortune to possess a girl of somewhat dark complexion or in any way ugly, or deformed, the demand may run to 15000. Add to this the numerous other items of expenditure to be incurred by the bride's father on, before and after marriage”.

(Kapadia 1966:108)

The vast social issue of dowry also remains in place, that families prefer the birth of a male child to that of a female. In rural communities, Pakistani families reported that one of the most acute financial pressures they faced was the marriage of their daughters.

Lena (2000) articulated in journal of political economy:

“The scarcity of men (marriage squeeze) could drive rising dowries. Marriage squeeze variable fails to be significant in replication of the dowry function as well as in alternative specifications. The evidence in favor of an inflation interpretation to dowry increase is weak. The rise in dowries might have resulted from an increase in wealth, an interpretation that challenges the notion of rising dowries as a determinant of gender bias”.

(Lena 2000)

The economic aspect the marriage can be seen in many forms it can be observed as an essential part of a marriage alliance right from the process of marriage preferences to the expenditure on the actual ceremony of marriage and afterwards. The economic status of potential spouse is one of the main considerations in marriage preferences.

As Donnan (1988) viewed about Dhund community is northern Pakistan:

“Dhund expect to marry more or less with in same economic category as them and certainly, all things being equal not marry some one who is less well off”.

(Donnan 1988:145)

A marriage payment is a broader category that includes both type of economic transactions, bride price or bride wealth and dowry. However the actual economic expenditure on a marriage can be distributed into three broader categories for the purpose of this study i.e. the ceremonial expenses, the dowry and the bride wealth. The ceremonial expenses comprises of the total expenditure spent on serving feast to the guests on marriage ceremonies and the exchange of gifts between the kin groups of husband and wife. While such expenses are integral part of any marriage alliance, however only one amongst dowry and bride wealth is involve in an alliance. Dowry is a source of exchange of goods. The bride family gives bride wealth to bride in the form of jeweler and goods. Dowry is actually for a newly married couple. It is the property of bride.

Levison (1996) argues that:

“Dowry is the form of marriage transaction in which the bride’s kin transfer wealth to the bride’s household as the part of the marriage contract. In the classic formulation the transferred wealth remains with the newly married couple and is often defined as the property of the bride alone.”

(Levison 1996:359)

The family of the groom and bride take part in the discussion to decide the quantity of dowry. Dowry is very necessary and important for the successful marriage to enhance the prestige of bride and bride’s family.

As Mandelbaum (1970) described:

“In all regions, negotiates must reach agreement on the exact amounts of gift in money and kind that are to be given before, during and after the wedding. The principal payments whether dowry or bride wealth, or intended to stabilize the marriage to benefit the girl and if magnanimous, to enhance the prestige of the donors.”

(Mandelbaum 1970:106)

Providing a suitable dowry for a marriageable daughter is a common problem for families. It is often a difficult and burdensome matter, but it is an imperative of the system of family and jati. In marriage ceremony the bride's family displays the dowry. The major reason to display the dowry just to show it to the public, that the bride's family has a strong financial position. Displaying of dowry also gives opportunity and makes an impression on other people and invites them that they come and marry with his unmarried daughters.

According to Hazlehurst (1970):

"The ceremonies of marriage and the public display of dowry serve as public statement of once financial position and are meaningful to other members of the local community." (Hazlehurst 1970:652)

The amount of dowry increased the social and economic status of bride's family as well as groom's family. The groom's family also gets prestige just because of high and good amount of dowry which they receive from bride's family. If the groom is highly qualified and bride is not, side by side if she does not have good looks then dowry will be used for the purpose of compensation.

Kapadia (1966) argued:

"Among some castes the bride's father has to pay a dowry to the bridegroom. The amount of the dowry is generally regulated by the social and economic status of the bridegroom's father, the social prestige of the bride-groom's family and the educational qualifications of the bride. This amount is reduced at times but often this reduction is very meager." (Kapadia 1966:137)

When large amount of dowry is demanded from groom's side and if bride's family is not eligible to fulfill such demand then in reaction girls commit suicide most of the time and they burn themselves. If bride's family is not able to afford high amount of dowry then majority of time girls have no option except this.

An article by Frederick in the Dacca Herald entitles Goa Alarm over women burning to death:

"Women in Goa are burning to their death and no body seems to know why ----- shockingly, some 109 predominantly young women died of their burn injuries in a 20-

month period, and women activists suspect that many of these cases are link to dowry-demands and post-marriage harassment.” (Frederick 1998:22)

Whenever the bride’s family and the groom’s family have equal status then they have lots of expectations from each other. High status is an indicator that both parties and families will participate in good amount of dowry and dower.

Donnan (1988) Argued:

“The relative wealth of the two sides to a marriage contract is usually conspicuously indicated by the amount of *daj* (dowry) which is given. This becomes especially important as an indicator of wealth where one of the parties to the marriage is unknown to the kinsmen, friends, and fellow-villagers of the other.” (Donnan 1988:146)

It is observable that mostly groom’s family gives the list of things as dowry, which they demand from the bride’s family. Most of the time this list consist of high branded things and arrangements of these things create difficulty for bride’s family. So it becomes problematic for the bride’s family to fulfill such demands.

According to Bisraam (1998):

“The dowry lists which were difficult to produce in a restricted consumer market, such as HMT watches, Scooters and Motor cycles, Refrigerators added to the woes of the bride’s family.” (Bisraam 1998:62)

Dowry typically involves moveable property, money, jeweler, furniture, other household items, domestic animals, even servants and seldom includes a share in the bride’s patrilineal estate of lands and buildings.

Altekar (1998) offered an appropriate solution:

It is now high time for society to put an end to this evil custom, which has driven many an innocent maiden to commit suicide. There are signs to show that this custom is becoming unpopular and odious, but public opinion must assert itself more emphatically. The youth must rise in rebellion against it. The custom is really as heinous as the counter custom of bride price, which has been so vehemently condemned by our culture. Proper female education, marriage at an advanced age, mainly settled by the parties themselves and the awaking of the public conscience seem to be the only remedies that will eventually

stamp out the custom.

(Altekar 1998:62)

1.4 Conceptual Framework

1.4.1 Proposition

The in-laws use goods of dowry by the permission of bride.

1.4.2 Conceptualization and Operationalization of Proposition

There are certain concepts which are used in proposition. To answer the research question and to keep the research according to the research objectives, multiple empirical concepts are modified through which the conceptual definitions are brought into the solid form. Conceptual definition of each concept which is used in the proposition and its Operationalization is mentioned below:

1.4.2.1 Bride

According to Houghton:

“A woman is about to be married or has recently being married”.

(Dictionary of English Language 2009)

Main concept in proposition is bride. The bride is a woman who has just been or is about to be married. Bride is a girl who participates on her own marriage. Bride synonym is wife, spouse and partner. Researcher has observed and took interviews from those girls who have passed through process of *nikah*. Brides usually remarked that to gain respectable status in in-laws, they must have to bring a large amount of items in dowry. Moreover, physical beauty or appearance, face cut, complexion also affects the status of a bride and amount of dowry. Researcher also has observed the element of demand only in such case when she is facing any physical disability or fault.

1.4.2.2 Dowry

According to Levison and Ember:

“Dowry is truly the bride’s property comes from the rules regarding its disposition in case of her death or divorce”.

(Levison and Ember 1996:359)

Another concept of Proposition is dowry. It refers to any property given before, at or after marriage either directly or indirectly to the bride by her parents in connection of

marriage. Dowry does not indicate that property which bride may inherits under the laws of inheritance and succession applicable to her. The Researcher has seen the dowry system in locale, the role of dowry and its importance for marriage. Dowry is supposed as an essential component of marriage. In Operationalization, it has been observed that dowry items most significantly consists on crockery, clothes, furniture, electronic appliances, jewelers, and in some cases on estate. It has been noticed that to whom she allows to use her dowry. Researcher found competition among different economic classes regarding goods of dowry because quality and quantity of dowry's goods vary from class to class. Upper class wants to give all necessary and branded items, on the other hand middle and lower class also wants to give only need based items. It has also been noticed that what types of goods are more valuable in dowry

Amount of dowry also plays pivotal role to enhance the prestige of bride and her family. A good dowry is considered which consists of all useful items or which is full of stylish and luxurious items.

1.4.2.3 In-Laws

"In-laws in cultural anthropology, affinity, as distinguished from consanguinity is kinship by marriage. It is the relation which each party to a marriage, the husband and wife, bears to the kindred of the other".

(www.encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com)

A person's affinity kin are called by kin names with 'in-law' added and the term in-laws is used informally as an umbrella term for them:

Parents-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law

Son-in-law, daughter-in-law

Brother-in-law, sister-in-law

Other constructions are occasionally used including the addition of the prefix "step" as in 'stepfather-in-law'.

The concept of in-laws is used in preposition. In laws are the people with whom bride has affinal link and who are relatives by marriage. In-laws are more respectable and more honorable for brides and bride's family. Researcher has observed that to whom bride

allows to use her items of dowry. Moreover bride's behavior has also been noticed towards her mother-in-law and sister-in-law in using her items of dowry. In Operationalization of this concept, behavior of in-laws has been noticed towards daughters-in-law that how dowry creates distinction between their status. In-laws pay more attention or regard to that daughter-in-law who brings attractive amount of dowry and they give her relief in domestic chores. In-laws also wishes that bride's parents should bring some presents on every visit for their son-in-law and daughter, so this act also becomes the source of uplifting the prestige of bride and her family.

1.4.2.4 Permission

“Permission, in philosophy, is the attribute of a person whose performance of a specific action, otherwise ethically wrong, would thereby involve”

(www.encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com)

In operationalization, Researcher observed that either in-laws use their daughter-in-law's dowry by taking her permission or without getting it they make frequent use of dowry items. In most cases in-laws do not bother it as they consider that daughter-in-law alike their own daughter. They suppose it as reciprocal system that they are providing her space to get adjust in their home so if they will use her items then it does not matter so much. Similarly it has also noticed that what types of goods are more valuable in dowry and to whom bride allows for usage of these goods. Commonly bride allows to her mother-in-law, sister-in-law to use her dowry items like crockery and electronic appliances while clothes and jewelers are considered her personal possessions, so she keeps it under her usage. Bride admits that mother-in-law or sister-in-law can use her items frequently without permission but not in case of *jethani* and *devrani*. They must have to use her respected items with her permission, as it is understood that they also have their own dowry.

1.5 Objectives of Research

There are six objectives of research:

1. To find out the factors involved in regulating the dowry system.
2. To explore the link between status and dowry
3. To examine the effects of dowry on the marital life of bride

4. To know the hierarchy to use the things which are given in dowry.
5. To examine how dowry regulates long term relationship between husband and wife.
6. To find out whether parents are forced to give dowry to their daughters.

1.6 Significance of Study

Researcher's particular interest is carrying out research on usage of dowry and sees its link with marriage in Pathar Garh. Marriage is one of the most important occasions in almost all societies of the world. Hence the custom and ceremonies associate with this occasion are also highly regarded and among these customs dowry considers as an important part of marriage through which bride transfers the property and goods from the bride's family to groom's family.

The research will be useful for further academic and anthropological research on dowry and to know its link with marriage. It will be useful to open new aspects for future researchers to held research on use of dowry items. This research highlights diverse patterns of dowry and its role in the locale. This study gives an opportunity to know that how dowry effects the matrimonial adjustment and to find out how dowry increases the status of a bride in her in-laws. Practically this research might be helpful for NGO's, Government, Policy makers to take further steps on this burning issue.

1.7 Research Methodology

In anthropological research, Anthropologists use different techniques and methods in order to study a community. Examiner has used following methods for the conduction of field research. These tools and techniques are mentioned below.

1.7.1 Participant Observation

According to Howard:

“Participant observation stands for a plan study through the eye. It may be used as one of the methods studying collective behavior and complex social situations as well as seperate units composing a totality”. (1994:194)

In this method an individual learns the language of that particular community he or she follows the daily routine of the people of community. Participant observation basically means to observe what native do. In this methodology an individual does not ask from people but observe their non verbal actions and interact with local people.

To collect accurate data about any society it is very important to use the technique of participant observation. With the help of this tool an anthropologists can see and observe the different aspects of a society and can know the insider's view. The researcher adopted this technique and lived in the village to know the custom of dowry which is prevailing in Pathar Garh. The researcher spent almost four months with those villagers and got first hand knowledge about things associated with dowry. Researcher also noted the behavior of the relatives and neighbors on displaying the dowry.

During research, Researcher stayed in village and participated in four marriages. Among them two were with patrilateral parallel cousins, one was between distinct kin.

1.7.2 Rapport Building

Howard described:

"It refers to the state of mutual confidence and friendly atmosphere between the interviewer and the respondent in which the later opens up his inner self before the former. The "rapport" establishment is the vital component of the interviewing process for obtaining true and correct information on the phenomenon under study".

(Howard 1994:200)

Researcher explained the people about purpose of research and reason of interview. He kept respondents in believe that the obtained information will be remained confidential and will not be quoted. People trusted investigator and discussed their views regarding dowry. Thus early 15 days of fieldwork splurge in rapport building for the intention of developing understanding with the present conditions of respondents, first of all the nature and purpose of the research was explained to informants, assuring subject that their secrecy would be preserved. It was necessary to gain their trust then researcher was able to understand their thinking and practically prove that he is trustworthy. At first people were reluctant to express their thoughts and personal feelings in front of researcher but by and by

they became familiar and gave a light catharsis to their pent up emotions regarding the prevailing trends of dowry.

1.7.3 Key Informant

According to Neuman:

"An informant or key actor in the field research is a member with whom a field researcher develops a relationship and who tells about or informs on the field".

(Neuman 1991:361)

The co-operation of the key informants proved very supportive in judging, observing and cross-checking the information which researcher received from respondents. Researcher has taken the information about research topic through the key informants who have much information about the locale. In the present study researcher got fully contribution of Nazima and Shehla who were the pioneer inhabitants of the locale. Nazima was illiterate and has four siblings. Shehla was primary pass and bachelor. They helped pollster and introduce in front of people and also provide guidance about the locale.

1.7.4 Interview Schedule

Interview is defined by Howard :

"A face-to-face or telephonic questioning of a respondent in order to obtain the desired information".

(Howard 1994:28)

Webster defined that schedule is, "a formal list of catalogue or inventory." The soul purpose of which is the collection of data from a large or widely distributed groups of people.

(Webster 1994:205)

For the purpose of present study, data was collected through interview schedule which is a set of questions and which are asked by the interviewee in face to face situation with the respondents. The structured interview schedule is that in which the questions, their wording and sequence are fixed and are identical for every respondent. The unstructured interview schedule follows on interview guide, specifying topic related to the research proposition and give considerable liberty to the respondents to express their views. In current research the method of structured interview schedule is used to get the deep-rooted information. Investigator employed 60 interviews 57 from females and 3 from males and

got their perception about practice and use of dowry. Researcher selected 60 persons to get detailed information. Investigator held informal discussion with some old age females to know their views about present era life and about current situation of dowry. Canvasser has used the techniques of interview schedule because it provided chance to be close with people without affecting their life and also to their life style.

In this method researcher has made up different questions for data collection and through interviews was able to get information. This tool became more effective due to its informality, the researcher communicated informally with inhabitants to collect useful information. Pollster held interviews separately with the patrons of the family and siblings or old age people to get authentic and concise data regarding the topic. Researcher got the opportunity to note their facial expressions as well as their way of talking which is the cornerstone of a good research.

1.7.5 Sampling

Goodi and Hatt defined "sampling as a smaller representation of a large whole". Thus sampling is the study of a segment of a stratum of a universe. While a sample is a miniature picture of the entire group of population, like random assignment is a process of systematically selecting cases for inclusion in a research project".

(Goodi and Hatt 1991:171)

In the present study researcher used Simple random sampling. Sampling is the basic technique in every scientific research and it is the first phase of research. This research technique was employed for achieving basic information of the target population and later for the collection of data for the problem. Under present study Sampling has been used on two levels. Firstly Researcher applied simple random sampling to conduct interviews and then to fill census forms.

1.7.5.1 A Simple Random Sample

Hogan articulated:

"A simple random sample is obtained by choosing elementary units in search a way that each unit in the population has an equal chance of being selected. A simple random sample is free from sampling bias. Instead of using a least of random numbers, data

collection can be simplified by selecting say every 10th or 100th unit after the first unit has been chosen randomly as discussed below. Such a procedure is called systematic random sampling". (Hogan 2005:7)

Through simple random sampling researcher has selected 116 houses to get the basic enumeration of the families. A research population contains important subgroups such as castes, social class or ethnic groups. So through sampling research has been done. It also kept away examiner from the hectic longer exercise of collecting data from each household of the locale.

1.7.6 Socio-Economic Census Forms

Howard stated:

"A social survey is a process in which quantitative facts are collected about the social aspects of a community composition and activities". (Howard 1994:123)

In order to get basic information regarding the demographic, economic and social facts of the respondents; researcher has filled up 116 census forms which helped researcher to become familiar with the people of the locale. It led to the recognition and description of ethnic groups with in the locale, other professions, level of education, source of income, type of households, and availability of basic amenities etc. This survey was helpful as a framework for which samples were selected for subsequent inquiries; it was also useful for qualitative research which helped researcher in making interview schedule. Socio-economic census helped in the enumeration of people, houses, age, sex, and other important variables. So, it was a way of getting statistical data of any population regarding demographic profile of the locale by using simple random sampling.

1.7.7 Case Study

"Case study refers to the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular participant or small group, frequently including the accounts of subjects themselves. A form of qualitative descriptive research, the case study looks intensively at an individual or small participant pool, drawing conclusion only about that participant or group and only in that specific context. Researchers do not focus on the discovery of a universal and generalized truth nor do they typically look for cause-effect relationships;

instead, emphasis is placed on exploration and description”.

(<http://writing.colostate.edu>)

Case studies improve the quality of data. Due to case study researcher became able to get first hand data through respondents and researcher can know the background of respondents and their family condition. It proved helpful to know the impact of quantity of dowry on marriage and to get detail about use of dowry items.

1.7.8 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions are used widely because they provide useful information and offer the researcher a number of advantages. Researcher has implied the technique of focused group discussion to generate a debate and collect information about research. “Practice and use of dowry” was the topic of focused group discussion. Women and girls were the active participants of discussion; in addition men also participated in it. They were interested in this topic because they are fulfilling the economic responsibilities.

The reason for selecting this topic was that television is very powerful mode of communication. Television has played a great role in changing pattern of dowry of the people. Through focused group discussion Researcher came to the conclusion that by the passage of time the custom of dowry, part and parcels in dowry have been changed and utilized on different occasions.

1.7.9 Photography

This methodology is part of the visual arts. Researcher took photographs of the locations and of the related things. It also helped the researchers to prove their work in more authentic way. In present research the tool of photography has been applied to capture the places or locations of village, display of dowry and dowry's items.

1.7.10 Mapping

Map should locate major action settings (fields, religious places, market places), major social division of community, direction and distances or neighboring communities and major nature features such as rivers and mountains. This technique helps in knowing the internal layout of the village. Maps are quite helpful in depicting various places such as mosque, schools, graveyard and roads etc. So, it is easier to understand the layout with the

help of a map. Canvasser has used this tool in fieldwork to know the location of locale.

1.8 Locale

This study has been conducted at Pathar Garh. Before the partition, British quarreled with the inhabitants of Pathar Garh. Villagers saved their selves through stones because of unavailability of any weapon. People throw stones on the enemies from the top of the hill, so stones of the hill safe them from the enemies. That is why it's generally viewed that the name "Pathar Garh" means "*Pathron ka Garh*" abstract from this notion.

The name *Attock* was given to the district after the 1972 census, prior to that it was known as *Campbellpur* tehsil *Hasanabdal*. The total area of the locale is 24000 kanal. This village has the population of 4116 persons with 522 house holds. Pathar Garh is approximately 9 to 10 miles away from the main Grand Trunk Road. Its distance from the nearest two villages is, 7 or 8 kilometers from *kot sundki* and 5 kilometers away from the village of *Wah Garden*. Local language of Pathar Garh is *Punjabi* and *Urdu*.

1.9 Problems faced during field work

During fieldwork in village Pathar Garh, researcher has faced various problems and was bound to overcome these problems to collect relevant and useful data. Detail of these problems which were encountered by the pollster is given below:

First problem was concerned with the clarification of purpose of thesis to the people of Pathar Garh. In this regard, key informants helped a lot and told them that it is academic activity and Researcher explained them that it is just an academic work and did not give them guarantee of any kind of financial help by Government. During informal discussion and interviews people given information they object one another. So, it was very difficult to deal with the situation.

Many problems have been faced to assure them that these things are not concerning with the topic. Load shedding was another major problem but it became useful for canvasser because this situation provided couple of chances for informal discussion and interviews. People came out of their houses, shelters and mostly gathered in courtyards. Researcher attended their companies and collected a lot of detail in this way.

Second problem was, people were astonished that why I am conducting research in Pathar Garh, what are my intentions behind this work, why I am doing research especially on the topic of dowry and why my parents have allowed me to work here alone.

At first people raised such questions about me and my research .They were not ready to discuss their views and taunted me but gradually with the help of key informants, Nazim's wife and side by side through my supportive attitude these problems were resolved at early stage.

CHAPTER NO 2

VILLAGE PROFILE

2.1 District

The name Attock was given to this district after 1972 census, prior to that it was known as *campbellpur* district. The name of Attock owes its origin to the narrow gorge of the Indus River near the famous Attock fort. The district lies from 32-36 to 34-00 north latitudes and 71-43 to 73-00 east longitudes

2.1.1 Location

It is bounded on the north by Mardan and Abbottabad districts of the NWFP, on the east by Rawalpindi district, on the south by Sargodha district and on the west by Mianwali district, and Kohat and Peshawar districts of NWFP. The Indus River flows along the western boundary of Attock district for about 130 kilometers. It divides Attock district from all the three bordering districts of NWFP. The total area of the district is 9,789 sq.km.

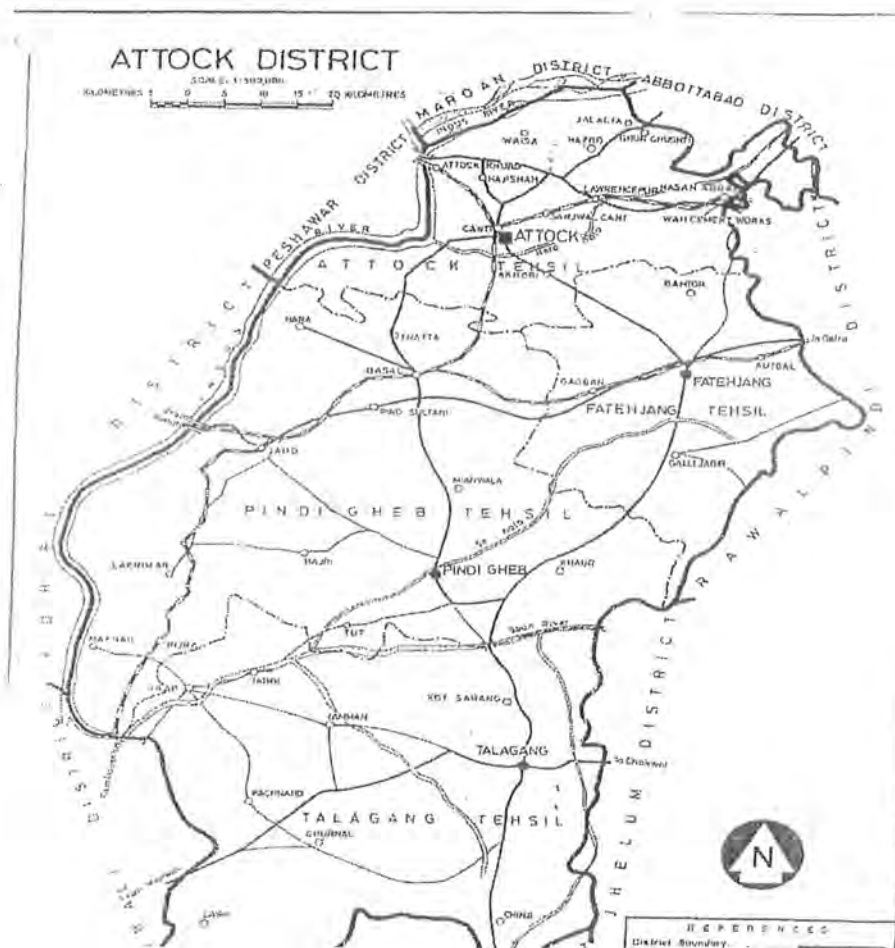
2.1.2 Topography

The topography of the district is a combination of the hills and the plains. The area in the north, north-west and south is hilly. In the north, the hills are the southern extension of the hills of Abbottabad district. The southern slopes of Gandgar hills of Haripur Tehsil form a projection in the north of Attock Tehsil. In the middle of the district, along the border of Attock and Pindigheb Tehsils are the famous Kala Chitta hills. The Kala Chitta range attains its greatest height in the west near the Indus River where it rises more than 1,000 meters. The range is rugged but it is covered with forest. There are several other isolated ridges. Among them the most important is that of Khairi Murat which rises to about 950 meters. In the southern part of the district are found the lower slopes of the salt range and the Sakesar hills. An important feature of the topography of Attock district is its general slope which is from north-east to south-west. Away from the hills the land is plain and good for agriculture.

2.1.3 Climate

The climate of the district is extreme. The district south of Kala Chitta is an upland plateau. It gets intense heating in summer while in winter a bitter north wind prevails. In Attock Tehsil, the summer is comparatively short and the cold weather long and severe.

The annual average rainfall in the district is 33 millimeters. The rainfall months are June to September in summer and January to March in winter. The mean maximum and minimum temperatures for the summer are 40 C and 26 C while the mean maximum and minimum temperatures for the winter months are 21 C and 4 C respectively.



Map of District Attock 2.1

2.2 Historical Background Geography and Physical Layout of Village

The Punjabi speaking people of Pathar Garh belong to a group loosely called Pathans. This category includes all the descendants and the supporters of Ahmad Shah Abdali,

The popular version given about the historical background is that Ahmad Shah Abdali fought a battle against Afghans in Kabul and was given various places as a reward for his great skills. He distributed various properties to his supporters, who were Pathans and at present the land owners of pathar Garh are coming from their lineage. (They are the fore- fathers of the present Alizai Pathans.)

Pathar Garh is delimited by natural boundaries. It is located on a small mount with small bushes and nettles growing on it. It is also said that the village had Jalalsir as its name, but later on it become Pathar Garh. The early villages were situated at a lower level, it is stated that during the Sikh war looting and killing was common and there was always danger of ones life so the people of Jalalsir climbed the mount and rescued their lives and started living on the present mount.

The district census report also says that in 1800 Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler seized the entire district including the fort, its actual occupation by Sikh troops lasted for only few years, after the Sikh war the place was occupied by the British later on.

British quarreled with the inhabitants of pathar Garh. Villagers saved their lives through stones because of unavailability of any weapon. People threw stones on the enemies from the top of the hill so stones of the hill saved them from the enemies

Its general view the name Pathar Garh means *Pathron ka Garh* abstracts from this notion. The word "*Pathar*" means "*Stone*" has been derived from Urdu language and "*Garh*" means "*abode*".

The remainings of the early villagers are still to be seen in the form of broken pieces of pottery. It was also learned from the village numberdar (the village headman) that few coins of early civilization were found, which later on were handed over to the Taxila Museum. Few clay pots were also discovered with corns preserved in it.

2.2.1 Housing and Accommodation

Generally the village can be divided into two parts, the upper and the lower village; the upper village contains residents living on the top of the mount and lower village has the villagers living at the lower range of the mount.

The pattern of housing is well-planned and houses are located next to one another. Walls are made of bricks, cement and stones. Some houses have big roofs with wooden log and bricks. This wood is brought sometimes from their nearest neighboring villages and sometimes villagers cut it from Pathar Garh. Few of the houses have special orientation for example the house of the land owners. Most of the houses are rectangular in shape.

The small hall is locally which is seen in every house. Generally it is divided into two portions one serving as kitchen and the other for storing grain. Some houses have sheds for keeping their cattle but mostly researcher observed that the cattle are in corner of the house yard. Actually it depends upon the status of the house to have a separate shed for cattle. Some houses had small “*Kotri*” which in fact is a small room serving at a time for kitchen and for storage.

The rooms do not have windows except the big room which is at a time living, sitting and bed room. The windows carry shutters that open into the veranda. Most of the old houses have windows with iron bars.

“*Brohlies*” are made of mud is considered to be insect and rat proof. These *brohlies* can hold up to more than fifteen maunds of loose corn. Mostly the storage is in “*Godaams*”.

All the houses have neat and clean courtyards, where all the daily work is done. Usually “*Batakht*” is located next to the entrance door of the house, which is the guest room or the meeting place for men. The kitchen which is flat roofed made up of bamboo and mud which is supported by some bricks. A moveable “*choolah*” is placed in the small room which serves as a dinning room. In rainy seasons cooking and washing is done in the “*Passar*” as it is a warm place in winters.

2.2.2 Structure of the Houses

According to Marshall

“House hold refers to a group of persons sharing a home or living space, who aggregate and share their incomes as evidenced by the fact that they regularly take meals together.” (Marshall 2006:283)

75.86% houses are *pacca* (made of baked bricks), 18.00% are *semi pacca* and 6.13% are *kaccha*.

2.2.2.1 Pacca Houses

They are made of clay, cement, bricks, wooden beams are in the roof. *Pacca* houses usually consist of three to six rooms with a big courtyard and are decorated with crockery along with their traditional things. The side walls as well as the ceiling of these houses are fully plastered. The architecture of these houses is quite simple. Two of the houses apparently seem to be very stylish. Most of the cemented houses are white washed from inside.

2.2.2.2 Semi-Pacca Houses:

These types of houses are built with cement, mud, wood, stones and belong to middle class. These houses are also partially plastered. These houses consist of 2 to 4 rooms. One of the rooms is used for kitchen purpose and the rest as bed rooms, drawing room and guest room. The *semi-pacca* houses have also usually a larger open courtyard. This place is the center of activity for most part of the day and living takes place here. Female visitors come and gossip here. Food is cooked in a corner of the courtyard.

2.2.2.3 Kaccha Houses

The *kaccha* houses are primarily constructed with mud. People construct their house in the shape of a big hall and a small room is built next it. The big hall is used for sleeping and other room is used for the cattles.

Table# 2.1 House Pattern

Type of House	No of Household	Percentage
Kaccha	11	10.48 %
Semi-pacca	33	28.44%
Pacca	72	62.06%
Total	116	100%

(Source: census form)

2.3 Area

Pathar Garh is composed of 24,000 kanal, out of which 4,000 kanals is pahari and 3,000 is barren land. It has got 522 households. The lands are irrigated by rains and by a water course known as *kala* with several other streams and springs. To the east of the village Kala course is flowing which further at Burhan village turns into Dhamra crossing behind the Cadet College, Hassan Abdal. Further turns into canal Haro and thus entering village Ghazi near Tarbela dam, it is called Sindu River by the people.

Pathar Garh is approximately 9 to 10 miles away from the Grand Trunk Road. Its distance from the nearest villages is 7/8 kilometer from *Kot* and *Sundki*, 5 kilometer from *Wah Garden Village*, 5 kilometer from *Hassan Abdal*, 2 kilometer away from *Berhama Exchange* and 6 kilometer from *Burhan*. There are four ways to enter in Pathar Garh. One way is *Hassan Abdal*, 2nd is *Burhan*, 3rd is *Berhama*, 4th way is *Wah Garden* village.

2.4 Population

The numbers of inhabitants of pathar Garh are 4116 persons. One can go around the village within an hour provided knowing the way of the streets. The present generation has been living on this mount since birth. Every one knows all about his community people and most of them have acquaintances among the residents of the surrounding villages such as *Babarki*, *Dalu*, *Wah Garden* village and others. Pathar Garh is surrounded by 16 villages. There are 522 houses leaving 20 houses empty. No one is living there because some died and others left for the cities while few migrated to “*dhowks*”. The average house hold size is 7.8.

Table# 2.2 Population Distribution

Gender	No of people	Percentage
Male	781	57.92%
Female	591	43.07%
Total	1372	100 %

(Source: census form)

2.4.1 Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Groups of pathar Garh village are Ali Zai (khan), pathans, Gujars, Sayyeds, Awan, Kashmiri, Mughals, Quareshi, Ansari, Nai, Tarkhan, Malyar, Tailee and Mochi.

Two main casts exist in the village are Zamindars and landowners. Those who are purchasing the lands from land owners are called Gujar and landowning group comprises of khans and pathans. The Zamindars are people directly or indirectly and relatively permanent engaged in the process of cultivation. The landowners carry the title of khans which signifies their status as landowners. Land is the principal source of livelihood for them and exclusive ownership of land has given them a higher social position. The landowners in pathar Garh own tractors, trolleys, thrashers and hire labor for their agricultural work. The landowners are classed as zamindar is hereditary. All local zats may own land but they would not be called the zamindars because their zamindari is not hereditary, it is acquired.

The Gujars are the largest in number among other zats in pathar Garh. Most of them are holding land and own personal property. They cultivate their land while many house-holds have given their lands to tenants. In past they held the status of tenants but now they acquired land from the khans. Some Gujars work for the zamindars.

The sayyeds say that they are the descendants of the Holy Prophecy Muhammad (P.B.U.H). There are several houses of sayyeds and the Imam of the Mosques are sayyeds. They are called *shah Ge* as a token of respect and in regard of their position.

The Awans and Kashmiries are fair complexioned people with sharp noses. They are shrewd people and avail themselves thoroughly of the opportunities that come their way. Majority of the people are in abroad. They also run bakeries in Hassan Abdal.

Mugahl, Qureshi and Ansari live in Pathar Garh. Some of them are working in P.O.F (Pakistan ordinance Factories). They also related to business. Some of them are settled in aboard. People of these castes who belong to lower class are cultivators and masons.

Nais are in better position than the rest of the occupational groups because few nais of Pathar Garh have left for other countries. In the village nai acts as a messenger on different occasions such as death, birth, marriage, circumcision of a boy etc. when he is send for delivering happy news to the relatives, from every house invariably he is given a few rupees. On different occasions the nai's wife works within the household, washes dishes, cooks and puts oil in elderly women's hairs and makes plaits. She takes post natal care of the woman of landowners for forty days, washes the clothes of the mother and of the newly born baby. She is paid in cash, grain and clothes are also given. Nai cooks on feasts. He circumcises the children, cuts hairs and shaves the villagers. Their knowledge about internal affairs of the households is quite dependable and people often inquire with them about the village affairs.

Now very few Tarkhans carry their occupations. They make the wooden doors and windows of the house for the Zamindars and others. In fact, majority of the Tarkhans are working as mason, they are well off and every tarkhan in pathar Garh has a personal paaca house. One of them tarkhan's daughter is the school teacher at the girl's school. She gives Quranic education as well as teaches the girls how to stitch clothes. There are only few house holds of Tailee. They sell oil in the village which is taken for lamps at the shrine. The oil is made from "surson".

Mochies mend the broken shoes and make traditional sandals for the villagers. They buy the raw leather from the market in Hassan Abdal. They are not considered "clean" people as they are indulging with the shoes of the villagers, so they can't have the concept of "cleanliness". They too have the seyp the landowners. At present 2 households are working in the village and others have left their occupations. Some people work in the

town where they have their own set up, personal shops and earning a lot of profit.

Table# 2.3 Ethic Composition

Name of Caste	No of Household	Percentage
Sayyed	7	6.03%
Khan	4	3.44%
Pathan	5	4.31%
Gujar	33	28.44%
Awan	21	18.10%
Kashmri	13	11.20%
Nai	8	6.89%
Mochi	2	1.72%
Tarkhans	3	2.58%
Ansari	2	1.72%
Mughal	4	3.44%
Qureshi	6	5.17%
Malyar	5	4.31%
Tailee	3	2.58%
Total	116	100%

(Source: census form)

2.4.2 Food

The villagers eat simple food, but with the passage of time people of Pathar Garh are also adopting new type of food. Basic components of food are vegetables, Meat and Wheat. Food habits of people are different according to their living standards. People who belong to rich class can afford every type of food. Middle class people also eat good food, but people who belong to poor class eat simple food. They can not afford different types of food. Media has played an important role in changing food patterns of village Pathar Garh.

2.4.3 Dress

A uniform style of dress is worn by the villagers. Men wear “*shalwar kamiz*” with “*chadar*” on shoulders. Young men wear silky and gaudy clothes on various festivals. Few of the old villagers are seen wearing turban. Women wear “*shalwar kamiz*” with “*dopattta*” for covering heads. When the young women visit other village or some town they observe “Purdah” by wearing “*burqa*” or “*chadar*”. The newly married women wear their gold jewellery whenever they visit their relatives and neighbouring villages.

2.4.4 Language

Language is very important for communication. Through language we convey our message to others. Language of a particular area is very important to understand its people. The major and main language of the village is “*Punjabi*”. Most of the people speak Punjabi as well as Urdu.

Table# 2.4 Languages spoken in Pathar Garh

Language	No of Household	Percentage
Punjabi	82	71.68%
Urdu	34	29.31%
Total	116	100%

(Source: census form)

2.4.5 Gossip

Gossiping is an important activity of women in the village Pathar Garh. Mostly this act is common between two neighbour women. Both the sex’s men and women carry gossiping at various places; when women go for fetching water or at some body’s house for baking the bread, while men gossip at shops or at the “*Batakut*” where they sit and chat to each other.

2.5 Kinship and Social Organization

Social Structure:

According to Hoebel, “social structure is the ways in which groups and individuals are organized and related to one and other in the functioning entity that is

society.”

(Hoebel 1958:308)

2.5.1 Family

According to Hoebel, “Marriage establishes the family, a group consisting of mated spouses and their off spring. It defines a set of statuses and related roles and expectancies governing the relations off the nuclear group as spouses, parents, off springs and siblings. It defines their statuses and roles in relations to wider group of kinsmen and to the wider world of non kinsmen. Marriage is an institution; the family is the group or body of personnel, whose actions are directed toward fulfilling the aims of the institution

(Hoebel 1958: 356)

In Pathar Garh mostly Joint and Extended family system is followed. Occurrence of nuclear family system is very rare. Joint family system is followed due to economic reasons. So, people live together because separately they even can not maintain their bread and butter. There are 3 types of family:

1. Nuclear Family
2. Joint Family
3. Extended Family

2.5.1.1 Nuclear Family

According to Muhammad Ullah, “The term Nuclear Family refers to simply the two adults of opposite sex living in a socially approved sexual relationship and has their children. It is a familiar unit of mother, father and children. Nuclear families are those where only two generations, parents and children live together. Even if the children move out the empty next is still considered a nuclear family”

(1968:406)

In Pathar Garh, nuclear family doesn’t come into existence just after marriage. After two or three years of joint residence, family divides into two or three nuclear families, so few nuclear families are seen there.

2.5.1.2 Joint Family

According to Muhammad Ullah, “Joint family is different from nuclear family as it involves three generations residing at the same household at the same time. It comprises of persons siblings, parents. Grand parents are and also some times uncles or aunts.”

(1968:406)

Joint family is a prevalent and important form of extended family. It is a group of people sharing same residence and economy. Joint family system is very common in the village Pathar Garh. People like to live in joint family because they can not afford their bread and butter separately.

2.5.1.3 Extended Family

According to Muhammad Ullah, “Extended family refers to a social unit including parents, children and other relatives. Pre-dominate this unit also called consanguine family because it is also blood-based tie” (1968:406)

The extended family generally consists of two generations, father and mother with a married son and his children, un-married daughters, the daughter either she is widow or divorced. Mostly the extended families of Pathar Garh consist of two couples where two brothers live together with children along with parents.

Table# 2.5 Types of Family

Types of Family	No of Household	Percentage
Nuclear Family	27	23.27%
Joint Family	54	47.55%
Extended Family	35	30.17%
Total	116	100%

(Source: census form)

2.5.2 Marriage

Marriage is one of the main events in the life cycle as it particularly refers to the relationship between a sexually associating pair of adults within the family. First cousin marriage is the predominant as well as the culturally preferred pattern. Selection of the spouse is done by the parents of the child and to accept the parents’ wish is considered the ideal behavior of the children. The age limit for marriage varies from 16 to 23 years. Marriages are arranged by the elders of the household and in the result of consultation with the *biraderi* members. Usually the initiative is taken from the groom’s side. The groom’s relatives go to see the potential bride in her natal house. Enquiries are made on

both sides from the neighbors, which proved to be the best sources of information. After thoroughly checking proposal is accepted, date is fixed and the wedding takes place.

Mostly people prefer to do marriage within their family, same caste and sect. Exogamy marriages have recorded in the village. They like to marry in the same sect rather than in same caste. It is not compulsion for them to marry within the village so; they also marry outside of their village.

According to Islam marriage is a civil contract between man and woman. Islam allows polygyny, and in Pathar Garh the examples of polygyny have seen in middle class and very rare in upper class. At present there are some examples of levirate in pathar Garh. The system of levirate was commonly practiced before, but now the daughter-in-law is not forced to stay. However, if she is willing to stay then she is allowed to do so.

Table# 2.6 Marriage Type

Marriage type	No of People	Percentage
Exogamy	99	85.34%
Endogamy	17	14.65%
Total	116	100%

(Source: census form)

2.6 Economic organization

2.6.1 Occupation

According to Marshall Occupation refers towards, “An economic role separated from household activity as a result of the growth of markets for labor. Such roles form part of a wider economic division of labor in an industrial enterprise, formal organization or socio-economic structure”. (Marshall 2006:457)

The occupation in the village can roughly be classified as occupations related principally to agricultural. Occupation related to laboring within the village inside and outside the country. The productive techniques are mixture of old and new. Wooden plough was used but now tractors are utilized for the cultivation of land. The landowners own these tractors but rent them to the villagers. The plough is mostly drawn by the pair

of oxen and consumes a lot of human and animal energy. There are few wells which are working on the animal power like ox.

Women carry out a number of economic activities. They plaster the thrashing ground with clay and are seen helping in weeding, cleaning and drying the seeds. They carry sacks of corn for grinding and make pop cones at home. Women clean the lentils and grain with the help of winnowing basket; some do it using an electric fan to produce the wind. Females belonging to the poor families work on others fields and get paid for their selves. All members of the family work in the fields of their relatives to harvest the crop just to provide them help and company, in reward they get some amount of the crop.

Table# 2.7 Occupation of Male Population

Occupation	Male Population	Percentage
Wages/ Labor	267	34.18%
G. servant	85	11.88 %
Business men	99	12.67%
Agriculturalist	209	26.76 %
Others	121	15.49 %
Total	781	100 %

(Source: census form)

34.18% people rely on daily wages. They are divers, conductors and labors. 11.88% people are government servant. They are offering their services in POF factory in Wah Cantt and Sanjwal Cantt. 12.67% people have their own business. They are property dealers; they have their own shops of bakeries and also the shops of spare parts of vehicles. 15.49% people are settled in abroad as labors, truck drivers and mechanicals etc. this has left a strong effect on the lives of their families, as almost in all houses one can see the presence of electronic appliances like cassette recorder, Radios, washing machine and kettles etc. The women feel proud while wearing imported clothes and the houses are well equipped with modern gadgets in competition with other occupational groups.

2.6.2 Agriculture

26.76% people are related to agriculture. But now they are adopting new occupations which are mentioned above. Agriculture is the main economy of Pathar Garh and land is the owner of prestige and honour. The main crops are wheat, oil seeds, barley, bajra, jawar and sugarcane. The village is canal irrigated and farmers rotate their crops. The busiest time is at Rabi; summer harvests are bajra, where as jawar and sugarcane are Kharif crops. Vegetables grown are potatoes, peas, onions, ladyfinger, cucumbers, carrots, turnips and beets etc.

2.6.3 Livestock

The villagers have cattle's including buffaloes, goats, sheep, cows, donkeys and horses. Villagers having buffaloes, cows and goats sell the milk either within the village or outside the village, which is highly profitable. Cattle represent a major investment in the village as milk is a source of cash income. Cattle ownership is considered a status symbol.

Eggs and poultry birds are sold within the community. Donkeys are used as beasts of burden and horses are means of transport. For human beings, goats are relatively less important source of milk production than cows and buffaloes. They are reared to be sold on occasions like Eid festivals.

2.6.4 Market

There is no proper market in the village. The village has 23 shops of its own having vegetables, fruits and spices. People buy things from these shops for their daily use. Some buy the spices and vegetables and make payments at the end of the month. While those who can not make the payments in cash give grain equivalent to the price of the spices.

The shopkeepers buy the goods for their shops from Hassan Abdal. All the 23 shops are situated in the lower village.

2.7 Education

The original settlers of Pathar Garh are illiterate, although there are enclaves of people who could speak different language and know about religious education. Their local speech is rich of special idioms and pronunciation.

There is a school for girls having 12 teachers to teach them both Quranic and formal education along with stitching. The girls’ school consists of 9 small rooms with a small (kaccha) yard. The building has been given by government. Girls have to sit on the floor and it is a problem for the girls to get accommodation in the rooms. Girls from the neighboring villages come for education, especially to learn stitching and cutting etc.

There is one Government school for boys till metric in Pathar Garh. The boys have to go to the neighboring villages for study. The general attendances suffer for the boys because they work for family’s bread and butter. There is also one private school till metric in village.

Mostly the parents discourage their boys for getting education because they want that the boys provide them help in the fields and encourage them to do laboring. Usually people of low class or low caste are semi-skilled and they prefer to do work in factories and on daily wages. Literacy rate of the village is 60% till now.

Table# 2.8 Educational Attainment

Education Level	No of People	Percentage
Illiterate	213	15.52%
Primary	273	20.89%
Middle	296	21.7%
Metric	371	27.04%
F.A	87	6.34%
B.A	51	3.71%
Informal Education	81	5.90%
Total	1372	100%

(Source: census form)

2.8 Political Organization

2.8.1 Nazim

Nazim is considered as a head of village, who deals with political affairs side by side he handles social and economic dealings. He introduces his village in front of Union Council. He sorts out the problems of local people. He arranges *Punchait* to solve the problem so he acts as mediator between disputed people and parties without the getting the help of police.

2.8.2 Numbardar

Political power is officially held by the village headman who represents the village in the Union Council. He holds judicial powers and is the legal representative in the Union Council of Pathar Garh. The informal cases or the daily issues occurring in the households are solved by the headman. The concerned parties do not seek the help of the police but the matters are handed over to the numbardar; as the presence of Police in the village is considered disgraceful for both villagers and the numbardar. Serious issues and disputes concerning women, property and wealth are referred to the Union Council, which meets on every 24th of the month. The numbardar derives power from the socio-economic status based on economic position and zat.

The numbardar comes from Alizai Pathans and his numbardari is hereditary. He exercises judicial functions both in petty and serious matters. In various matters the evidence of the numbardar about the disputes are considered reliable. He displays his generosity by giving cash and clothes to the orphans and the needy of the village.

2.8.3 The Patwari

The Patwari is a government official and lives in Tehsil Hassanabdal. He is a representative from the land revenue department and is supposed to keep the records of the land in the village. He visits Pathar Garh occasionally and is treated as a guest at the village head man's house. The villagers don't have any regards for him and always criticized those who impose taxes.

2.8.4 The Village Imam

The leader of the prayers is greatly respected by the villagers, he offers Namaz-i-Janaza (prayer offered at the dead body) and give suggestions in matters of education. He acts as a postmaster and herbalist (Hakim). The village Imam is an important figure because he has the religious authority and can use it for political ends as well.

2.8.5 The Chowkidar

The village Chowkidar collects the land taxes from the villagers and keeps official records. He also registers the name of the deceased and of the new birth. He is paid after six months in the form of grains from every land owning house. The office is hereditary.

2.9 Religion and religious activities

Islam is the religion of the majority of the inhabitants. A few Sikhs have opened a shop of "*Heqmat*" but they are not inhabitants. There are 4 Mosques are in the village for sunnies and one Mosque for Wahabis, where People pray on ever Friday and on different occasions. The village shops remain close on Friday at time of Juma and every body goes for juma prayer then the shops re-open after the prayer. The imam and his wife, both give formal education of the "Holy Quran" and "Islam" to the children of the village. For this purpose there are 4 *Maktabas* in the village. All the Mosques have loud speakers to call for prayers and enchant the entire village.

The supernatural is almost as pervasive as is the natural in the minds of the villagers. Crop failure, ailing animal, economic reversal, loss of health, loss of property, persistant family troubles and disease sterility are ultimately attributed to supernatural beings. For dispelling the effects villagers would consult first the Imam Masjid. He would diagnose the disease by giving them emulates for the ailing person and would direct them to approach some saint's shrine; vows and offerings are paid to the shrines for achieving success and for getting rid for the troubles.

On every Thursday and Friday visits to shrines take place. There are three shrines within the village, each one having its own importance. There is a shrine of two sayyed women (sisters who are buried next to anothers). Men are not allowed to enter the shrine but they can pass by the shrine and can offer the Fateha. If any males attempt to enter the

shrine he will be harmed by the power of shrine. A sayyed lady takes care of this shrine, she sweeps and cleans and the shrine and takes away the grains and oil to her place for her personal use. The villagers say that she deserves this and pious women are buried there and they do not mind it, otherwise they would have harmed her.

The annual Urs of wali baba is also held in Pathar Garh with great fervor and enthusiasm. Night long celebrations are highlighted by singing Qawali. This festivity is exclusively for men and some are so inspired by the verses of the song that they slip into a spiritual trance, locally known as *Haal*. A large sum of money is given to the Qawals. Sweets and rice is cooked in large amount and is given free to all those who go and listen to Qawali, the money are pooled by the land owners as well as the villagers.

There is a shrine exclusively for children who are suffering from eye diseases and body rashes. The women take their children to this shrine where oil is placed in the lamps, grain are thrown into the spring flowing next to the shrine as a token of regard for saint buried next to this stream. The water is used as a healing medium as the face and eye are washed with the holy water of this stream. Researcher observed that on the 11th of every lunar month sweet is cooked in the name of ALLAH and Hazrat Qadir Gilani (An Iraqi Saint) and is distributed either to the orphans or given to the Imam Masjid.

2.9.1 Eids

Eids in pathar Grah are celebrated with pomp and show. Eid-ul-Azha is the festival of sacrifice for the Muslims and on this eid a goat, a cow and sheep has to sacrifice by every house hold. Another eid which is known as Eid-ul-Fitr falls after the Holy month of Ramazan fasting. The landowners give away clothes and money to orphans, children and the Maulvi of the Masjid on this occasion.

The twelfth Rabi-ul-Awal, the birthday of Holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), is celebrated in the village with Great Spirit. People cook sweets on that day, recite verses of Holy Quran and food is disturbed among the poor and orphans.

2.9.2 Hajj

Hajj is performed with great zeal and favors and especially due to the liberal policy of the government and modern facilities of transport, the hajjis today are numerous than they were in the past.

2.9.3 Sects

According to Alexthio:

“A relatively small religious group that sets it self apart from society makes heavy demands on its members”. (Alexthio 1994:372)

There is no major religious conflict in pathar Garh. Most of the villagers belong to sunni sect and others are wahabi.

Table# 2.9 Sects of the Respondents

Sect	No of House	Percentage
Sunni	75	65.65%
Wahabi	41	35.34%
Total	116	100%

(Source: census form)

2.9.4 Graveyard

The village has two grave yards, one for the landowners and other is for the rest of the villagers. The landowner’s graveyard has a boundary wall and all the graves are “*Pacca*”. The graveyard of the lower “*Zats*” does not comprise of a boundary wall. Instead it is huge and open. The graves of the lower zats are *kaccha*, very few are made up of bricks and cement. There is a watch man for the grave yard, who sweeps the grave yard.

The villagers visit the grave yards and shrines on Thursday and Friday. Offering of “*Darood*” on cooked food is done on Thursdays in the afternoon. Food is cooked for the sake of ALLAH and is given either to the orphans or to the *maulvi*.

2.10 Modern Amenities

2.10.1 Introduction of Mass Media

A lot of change has been observed among the villagers with the introduction of radio, television and cassette players. Almost all villagers have television sets in the house. Music programmes are very popular among the villagers. Many people hear news regularly on radio sets and also on TV.

There are three regular buyers of newspaper, the numberdar, the maulvi of the Mosque and nazam of the village. Other sources of information are those people who go daily to sell the milk and vegetables in Hassan Abdal and wah cantt.

2.10.2 Medical Facilities

There was no dispensary or government hospital in the village. But now this village has two private hospitals. These small hospitals are opened in houses. There is one big hospital for the people of Pathar Garh and Babarki which is made by Doctor Qadeer Khan.

Most of the people whenever suffer from flu, malaria fever and typhoid. Always at the initial stage of illness they resort to the shrines of saints and then to the maulvi (leader of the prayer) who gives them amulets and charms to wear around their neck. When the disease gets stronger then they consult to the doctor. At present there is one lady health worker's office in the village. They help the women in their deliveries, birth and in Abortions.

2.10.3 Electrification

All inhabitants have electricity in their houses but there is no street light in the village. The connection of electricity was given with the efforts of Ghulam Sadiq Khan (a late land owner) who was the chief engineer of West Pakistan. The proposal was given out of 56 villages; Pathar Garh was considered the best deserving village to get this facility. Researcher observed that the people of pathar Garh usually switch on fans during summer they do not switch on the lights in the day just to avoid the huge amount of bills of electricity.

2.10.4 Post Office and Bank

There is a small house serving as the village post office. The “Imam-Masjid” (leader of the prayers) acts as the village post master, so one room of his house has been turned into a post office. In case of money orders the villagers are informed and they themselves go to the general post office, Hassan Abdal. This post office is providing the services to all the surroundings villages too. Approximately all the women are responsible for the safe keeping of the family money. Majority of the women control household management and are responsible for taking decisions about small household purchases. For banking people go to wah cantt and Hassan Abdal.

2.10.5 Transportation

The village is 9 or 10 miles away from Grand Trunk Road. There are private suzukies and pickups for passengers. This runs from morning till evening.

CHAPTER NO 3

PRACTICE OF DOWRY

The research is focused on the practice of dowry in Pathar Garh. The concept and practice of dowry is attached with people's honor. According to inhabitants of Pathar Garh, dowry is a matter of fact and source of protection which enhances confidence of bride in in-laws as well as provides her security. Respondents viewed that "*Jahaz aurat ka zewar hay*". Bride doesn't attain the due respect without dowry. If bride's parents are unable to give appropriate amount of dowry then villagers taunt and behave quite ironically and no one is ready to give respect to bride and her family.

Moreover, during research it has come into notice that jewelry and Haq-mehr are interlinked ideas with dowry. On the contrary, it has been observed that generally in-laws do not ask for dowry from bride's family before marriage because it leaves negative impression on in-law's status, but as soon as marriage is done in-laws show their attitude. They do not ask for branded items before marriage just to maintain their self-respect, prestige and status. Occasionally, there are certain conditions in which dowry is demanded by in-laws like age factor, dark complexion, any physical defect, in situation of divorce and widow etc. So bride's family doesn't mind it because it is considered as right of groom.

3.1 Factors to regulate dowry system in the locale

Dowry places a great dignity and decorum for Muslim Women. According to respondents, there are various reasons behind this practice in locale. So, for the purpose to describe these reasons the researcher have tried to scatter the information on three grounds:

3.1.1 Religious factors

There are some religious factors which are involved to regulate system of dowry in Pathar Garh. Moreover it is suggested that "*Dowry is a right of Bride*" and parents do not marry their daughters without dowry. Parents remarked that it is parent's duty to give dowry to their daughters on their wedding. Respondents viewed that dowry is an Islamic obligation and give example of our Prophet (P.B.U.H) to strengthen their view of dowry:

"The best of the marriage is one which is least burden some in the financial sense to the families of bride and groom".

3.1.2 Economic factors

Economic factors are more important in practice of dowry in Pathar Garh. Respondents argue that they give well amount of dowry just because of class competition, so in this way they can show their status. In local term "*hum jo apne haseyat k mutabaq de skty hain whoi hum dety han*". Here a lot of people have changed their occupation and they moved towards cities or migrated to abroad in search of jobs, so on the bases of strong financial condition they give dowry. Dowry's quantity or quality both are changing. Majority of people in Pathar Garh give good dowry to show their strong economic status in front of all villagers.

3.1.3 Social factors

While discussing social factors; relatives of bride encourage or motivate bride's parents to give dowry to their daughters, in this way they raise their Social Class. Mostly they give expensive items in dowry, for the purpose that they will achieve a respectable status in the whole village by doing so. In some cases, in-laws demand dowry items according to the modern life style, but it happens rare because generally in-laws do not demand dowry items. The give and take of dowry items in the village is based on Social Custom. In the locale people don't demand dowry verbally. But in the case of any disability in bride, parents of bride offers to the groom's family that they will give dowry according to the will of groom's parents. So groom's parents also demand dowry in case of any disability in bride.

While exchanging views on dowry, it has been noticed that parents give preference to expensive and latest items in dowry because they consider that it will become cause of enhancing prestige for their daughters in in-laws and side by side to avoid taunts of relatives. Dowry considers as compensatory element for every bride. Normally here people prefer to marry endogamous marriage but incase of exogamous marriage bride's parents try to give large amount of items. Nowadays in Pathar Garh media has great influence on the lives of people. People watch advertisements of new and modern products on the Television. They wish that their daughters-in-law also bring these things with them in dowry. Migration from village to city and towards abroad has

played an important role to regulate the dowry system. Most of the people of Pathar Garh are settled in abroad and their financial condition is getting better than past, so in this way they can give large quantity of dowry. In this modern age people are getting aware about new trends of dowry through modernization and education. Education is changing their mode of thinking. When a girl gets education then way of thinking will automatically be changed. In social factors, orientation of dowry is also a leading cause of giving dowry in locale.

Another important element is competition, which is promoting it from generation to generation over many years. Here people give dowry to daughter on the bases of race. Parents wish to add every single item in dowry so that their daughter can use it in time of need instead of using already used stuff of in-laws.

3.2 Importance of Dowry

Dowry in Pathar Garh places high respect for the bride. No one give respect to newly bride without dowry. Although in-laws do not demand for good amount of dowry but still they have wish and desire for it from bride's parents. In case of absence of dowry, in-laws taunt bride after her marriage or at that time when she uses in-law's things. But now they don't consider these taunts as cheap act.

Case Study # 1

Aroosa 27 years old. She told that even after three years of marriage, her mother-in-law couldn't accept her with a core of heart as the member of family. She also told that her in-laws did not like her because she was the choice of her husband not of her mother-in-law. Gradually her mother-in-law accepted her because of her good amount of dowry. Just after 3 months of marriage, her husband died in a road accident. Her mother-in-law thought of getting her remarried to her second son just on the bases of her dowry because she did not want that her dowry will go out of her hands. Widow and her mother got ready while *Devar* was not ready to marry her. Her *Devar* couldnt approve the idea of getting married to his *bhabhi*. So widow's mother remarried her to some other guy. Her second in-laws demanded her to bring Dinning Table and Fridge. They also said that she should bring these things from her previous in-laws home. Eventually, when she couldn't they decided to divorce her .Then her mother pleaded not to do this and hand over a full size fridge and dinning Table after one month to her in-laws. In this way her mother

saved her marital life. It shows influence of dowry on marital adjustment.

Table# 3.1 Importance of dowry in village

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	Strongly agreed	52 %
2	Perform as tradition	18 %
3	To upgrade status	30 %

(Source: interview schedule)

3.3 Continuity in tradition of Dowry for Inhabitants

In Pathar Garh people consider that Dowry is “*meeras*” of bride. A bride is recognized through her dowry. So, every bride wishes that she must go to her in-laws with good amount of dowry. People also remark that they up bring their daughters so they cannot send them to in-laws with empty hands and that’s way they have to follow the custom of dowry. People say that dowry is recognized as tradition or customs thus they have to perform it. It is also gift for bride from her parents. Most of the time dowry becomes a source to show off the wealth and status for bride’s family and usually parents give dowry to their daughters because they can afford it.

Table # 3.2 Custom of dowry among villagers

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	As a tradition	49%
2	Gift for bride	13%
3	Just to pretend status	21%
4	Economically can afford	17%

(Source: interview schedule)

3.4 Increasing popularity of dowry in village

Trend of Dowry is increasing day by day in Pathar Garh. Gold and haq-mehr are inter-linked concepts of dowry. Now this trend is increasing that Bride’s family give dowry to their daughters on the basis of amount of Gold and haq-mehr. If groom’s family gives good amount of gold in *wari* then in return bride’s family also gives good quantity of dowry to bride otherwise bride’s family give ordinary or less dowry.

Case Study # 2

Amna 27 years old. She told that she is a nurse in a Private clinic and her husband is doctor in same clinic, so they both are running it. She explained that her elder sister demanded from her future mother-in-law to give gold necklace. Mother-in-law got ready at that time but when wari was displayed, gold necklace was missing. Bride's elder sister told her mother-in-law that she will not give bride's all items of dowry because of absence of gold necklace in 'wari'. So brides elder sister gave her half part of her dowry. In such way bride's family wanted to realize her mother-in-law that if you people give her gold necklace then they also give all dowry items.

3.5 Respondents' perception of dowry

3.5.1 Brides' Views about Dowry

During research, Researcher got the views of brides about dowry and come to know about three types of responses. Almost 65% brides respond that dowry should be given in any case because "*ye Aurat ki maras hai*". According to brides here every woman is recognized by her dowry. So dowry is very necessary to maintain respect of every girl at in-laws home. In locale this is a common tradition that on marriage women come and see dowry and on the basis of dowry whole village gives respect to the bride, her parents and also to her in-laws.

Case Study # 3

Rubab 19 years old. She told about the prevailing custom of dowry. It's taken as custom in her in-law's side that every groom has to prepare the entire dowry for his bride and bride's parents just have to give her clothes. Her mother-in-law and father-in-law wanted to follow the same tradition with same pattern. Bride's parents did not agree at first because of the tradition of Pathar Garh but on insistence of her in-laws, parents got ready to follow this tradition. When neighbors came to meet her, they raised questions about absence of her dowry. She felt ashamed and told the whole story to her parents. Although her in-laws did not demand of any thing but because of the behavior of neighbors she bought the whole dowry within two weeks. She said that in village this is reason of giving dowry to any bride not only to avoid the taunts of in-laws but mainly to avoid the taunts of neighbors and relatives which can create maladjustment because the comments of the neighbors are very devastating.

3.5.1.1 Co-relation between dowry and divorce

According to some brides *“the custom of giving dowry should not be encouraged and infact it is a curse”*. They remarked that amount of dowry does not increase the value of girl in in-laws. It is believed that every good or even bad situation happens due to fate but still we cannot negate the importance of dowry in marriage because sometimes it prove very helpful to stop the increasing rate of divorce and it may be termed as paragon of respect and modesty for girls. Almost 30% brides view that if in-laws are not good mannered then they do not give importance to bride and her dowry, as well as without bothering they give divorce to girl.

Case Study # 4

Qasra 25 years old. After three years of her marriage, she got divorced on the basis of a petty issue. Although she has brought too much dowry and everyone in Pathar Garh was surprised to see her dowry, even her in-laws were left with wide open eyes. She has brought 50 *tola* Gold, 15 beddings, quilts, crockery, microwave oven, full size washing machine, fridge and television. She told that her in-laws always gave her respect on basis of her dowry. She said that once she wanted to attend the marriage ceremony of her relatives. Her mother in-law and father in-law did not allow her to attend the marriage party. At the last moment when she was ready they did not give her permission. She got annoyed and left the in-law’s house and spends whole night at relative’s home. Next morning when she turned back, her mother in-law said her *“A loose character Girl”* and her husband gave her divorce. At the time of giving divorce no one considered her dowry. It happened only due to her fate.

In village majority of people perceived that luxurious dowry can compensated divorce rate in-laws get inspiration from brides dowry and give get respect on the bases of out. While some people say that they don’t find any link between divorce and dowry, even good dowry can not stop the divorce because it depends on girl’s fate.

Table # 3.3 Role of dowry to minimize the ratio of divorce

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	Yes there is relation	13%
2	It does not exist	42%
3	Its matter of fate	45%

(Source: interview schedule)

3.5.1.2 Education compensate minimum amount of dowry

5% brides respond that when parents give good education to their daughters then education and Strong character building must compensate to minimum amount of dowry. They remark that if dowry is an essential element for marriage then it should comprise of only necessary or useful things. On the other hand parents give each and everything in dowry only for respect and prestige. Mostly here females are primary and middle pass and do not get higher education. They say, they do it because their parents know it very well that they have to give same amount of dowry as they give to an un-educated girl. So it shows that good education does not affect the quantity of things in dowry. Many people remark that Dowry should be eradicated but unfortunately it would not be possible because this custom lies in the roots of our culture and society.

According to people the link between education and dowry is necessary and in village it has been observed in few cases. While mostly education can not become the cause of fewer dowries due to the fact that education and dowry both are separated rites of a girl.

Table # 3.4 Relation between education and dowry

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	Positive relation exists	23%
2	Negative relation exists	77%

(Source: interview schedule)

3.5.2 Groom’s views on dowry

Mostly grooms of Pathar Garh remark that their wives should bring good amount of dowry, so in this way spouses will get respect form villagers and relatives. When a girl brings good amount of dowry then girl, her family, her in-law’s and her husband get respect. Whenever men arrange get together for enjoyment, they discuss that what their wives have brought for them as dowry like land, job cycle, motorcycle etc. In this way he gets more and more respect in the eyes of neighbors and relatives. If a girl does not bring good amount of dowry then her husband also taunts her due to less dowry because now he doesn’t get respect and high social status among his fallows. Even boy gets ready to divorce the girl on the basis of her lesser amount of dowry and he tries to re-marry with

that girl who would bring a lot of dowry. So groom’s attitude shows that strong marital bond and respectful life depends only on voluminous dowry.

3.5.3 In-laws’ views on Dowry

In-laws of Pathar Garh remark that dowry is important for every girl. According to them every bride should bring dowry and without it she cannot get respect. In Pathar Garh parents give dowry to their daughter’s whether they live from hand to mouth only for the purpose that their daughters get respect from in-laws and relatives. Here in-laws use to say that they also give dowry to their own daughters whether their in-laws demand it or not from them. Thus they have strong desire that their daughters-in-law should also bring good amount of dowry, which will increase their respect in village and family. They wish for appreciation of dowry but if people say that their daughter-in-law has brought nothing special or less amount of dowry then obvious change can be notice through their facial expressions and their behavior also changes towards her. Here every in-law wishes that her daughter-in-law should bring a lot of things in dowry to shut the mouths of neighbors and relatives.

So in Pathar Garh bride and her parents are respected on the basis of her dowry. Even parents give dowry to their daughters by taking debts in order to save her marital life. In-laws never pressurizes to their daughters-in-law for the use of dowry because here dowry of newly married girl is used for decoration purposes while mother-in-law’s dowry is used for daily purposes. Some times in-laws demand from daughter-in-law to open only those items of dowry which they do not have for use. In joint family system always mother-in-law’s dowry is used but if bride becomes a part of nuclear family or gets separation then she unpacks and uses her dowry for common use. In-laws never force a girl to unpack her dowry and to use it. Simultaneously if bride does not give anything to her in-laws for use then it weakens the family ties and she does not get honor.

Table # 3.5 Use of dowry on different occasions

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	Bride uses dowry in daily life	24%
2	Opens dowry items on feasts	64%
3	Unpack dowry after separation	12%

(Source: interview schedule

3.5.4 Bride's family views on dowry

According to the views of bride's family that dowry is a gift by parents to show love and affection to their daughters at time of her marriage. Nowadays it is supposed to be a gift not for daughters but also for in-laws. In-laws of bride shamelessly and bluntly ask their demands to be met. In modern time dowry is formed on luxuries not necessities, the major reason of divorce as parents remark is less amount of dowry. When parents fail to provide all luxuries of life to her daughter then in-laws start to tease her which sometime results in committing suicide.

Table # 3.6 Brides' parents' views on dowry

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	Dowry is favorable custom	63%
2	Dowry increases respect of bride	15%
3	Refusal of marriage without dowry	22%

(Source: interview schedule)

Usually people do not consider it important that how they are giving dowry to their daughters because they just want to give good amount of dowry. A girl faces psychological and social problems in the absence of dowry. Due to fewer dowries no one gets ready to give her respect and no one wants to establish relationship with the bride's family next time. Even in some cases it has been notice that in-laws demand for dowry from the bride's parents after marriage and it mostly happens in the case of fewer dowries. Now in-laws think that it is their right to taunt the bride. Here borrowing money for dowry is very common but most of the time it becomes very difficult for bride's parents to return it back.

Case study # 5

Lubna 27 years old. She told that her brother was in Bosnian's army and during war his leg got injured with bullet. He returned back because he was disabled. He got 4 lac rupees from army. Her brother spends all his money on her marriage and her parents also borrowed some money. They gave her each and every thing in dowry and even 5 *tola* gold in jewelry. She told that before her marriage, her parents were living a prosperous life but now they are starving. Many years have been passed of her marriage and now she has 5 children but still her parents are returning debts which they had taken

from relatives for her dowry. Now they are living from hand to mouth. She said that it was better for her parents if they did not give her dowry because it made her parent's life like a hell. Her parents gave dowry for dignity and also for her successful marital life but now this dowry became a curse for them.

3.6 Dowry and Social Class

Dowry and Social Class are also linked with each other. Our society comprises on three strata:

Upper Class

Middle Class

Lower Class.

Every class wants to marry within same social class. In all social classes dowry is being practiced according to their status and affordability. Huge differences have been observed among these economic classes. Atmosphere of competition has been created in dowry dealings. Although lower and middle class cannot compete upper class but they do their best to lend vast variety of items in dowry. Respondents of middle and lower class say that they do not give less amount of dowry to their daughters, infact they give all necessary or valuable things in dowry and some times even better than a elite class. For this purpose the also take credit from different sources.

Table # 3.7 Middle & lower class practice less amount of dowry

Sr. #	Responses	Percentage
1	No	33 %
2	We Give dowry by taking credit	67 %

(Source: interview schedule)

So, lower or middle class give dowry to their daughters according to their economic status, mostly they pay more attention towards quantity not quality. While upper class practices land transference in dowry but for lower class it is not possible due to their weak economic position. In this way, upper class enjoys higher social status and prestige. It is observed that brides' family can demand Haq-mehr according to their own will from groom's family by giving luxurious dowry. They usually want to write amount of gold and Haq-mehr not in thousands but in lacs.

Case Study # 6

Annie 23 years old. She belonged to a rich family and her caste is Khan. She told that she is married to her maternal cousin. Suddenly on her barat at the time of nikkah, her parents demanded from her in-laws to write 7 Canal land or whole amount of jewelry and also 4 Lac in Haq-mehr. She viewed that by doing this her parents wanted to save her future. They gave her good amount of dowry and in return they wanted that Haq-mehr also should be according to dowry. Her in-laws did not agree at first and barat was returned back, then on next day they got ready and again the barat came. She told that now she is living a happy and successful life. On the contrary, middle and lower class cannot demand for large amount of Haq-mehr. From in-laws, usually they write Rs.500/- or Rs.1000/- in Haq-mehr.

When researcher focuses on practice of dowry in elite class then two types of responses has been noticed. According to some people, here elite class gives excess of items to their daughters' at-least more than middle and lower class because they have strong economic conditions. On the other hands some people remark that elite class does not give too much dowry, infact elite people are miser while rest of classes are much better than elite class in pattern of giving dowry.

Table # 3.8 Practice and trends of luxurious dowry among elite class

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	Yes	42 %
2	No	3 %
3	They are miser	55 %

(Source: interview schedule)

3.7 Quantity verses Quality

In Pathar Garh everyone must give dowry to daughters whether they are rich or poor. Actually Rich people want to give more and more things in dowry. Poor people also try to follow them so lots of time quantity may be same but quality varies from person to person and class to class. Here women usually show-off and discuss dowry of newly married .Everyone from neighbors and also from groom's family observe dowry of bride. If she brings good dowry then people appreciates her and her dowry but incase if she does not bring dowry in good quantity or she brings less amount of dowry then

everyone starts blaming to her family. Usually here in Pathar Garh women at the time of displaying dowry make comparisons between the dowries of their daughters with newly married girl, just to pretend that they have given much better dowry to their daughters.

Villagers remark that always good quantity of dowry increase the social status of bride family when people see that this bride has brought well amount of dowry to her in-laws then they develop the desire to establish relationship with her family. So in society bride gets respect on the bases of dowry.

Table # 3.9 Quantity counts more as compare to quality

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	To raise social status	33%
2	To develop further affinal ties	50%
3	To gain respect	17%

(Source: interview schedule)

In Pathar Garh quality does not matter but quantity matters a lot. Here Rich people give attention towards quality while rest of people is just stick to quantity. They want to give each and everything to their daughters in dowry regardless of its quality.

In Pathar Garh two marriages were held in October on different dates. One bride had come from city and second had come from village. On their marriages, all women compared their dowry and concluded that the bride who had come from village she had brought good quantity of dowry than other. Although quality wise her dowry was not good. The bride who belonged from city had brought good dowry in quality wise. In Pathar Garh for majority quantity of dowry is center of attention not quality.

3.8 Dowry and Types of Marriage

Dowry is always affected by the type of marriage. If marriage is endogamy then most of the time fewer amounts are considered but same principal is not applicable in case of exogamy. Usually in Pathar Garh people prefer to do marriage within family or caste. So they also practice family trends in dowry tradition. In endogamy, all people have good understanding and idea of economic position about each other. Thus they already know that what amount of dowry they will get from the bride’s parents. In exogamy situation is different. The bride’s parents try to give more things in dowry to their daughter just to get Prestige and honor. Parents try their level best and make sure

that they give all necessary and modern items in dowry to make a good impression on in-laws.

In case of patrilateral marriages, bride has to bring maximum amount of dowry in order to develop strong bonds with mother-in-law and to oppose the matrilineal marriage system, where already bride has healthy relationship with her mother-in-law on the bases of blood ties. So, in such case fewer amount of dowry does not affect her marital ties.

3.9 Displaying of dowry

Researcher observed that dowry is a custom or essential part of marriages ~~the~~ and at the same time it's displaying is also an important tradition for the people of Pathar Garh. People view that most of the time they prepare dowry for daughters by taking credits, so it is also necessary to display it in front of all villagers and relatives to gain respect and appraisal. All people follow the custom of dowry by their own will and they always try to compare its quantity with each other. In Pathar Garh big items such as furniture, TV, fridge, washing machine and cots are directly delivered to in-law's home four days before of mehndi while small items are collected at bride's home and then they send to groom's home.

So, all things are hand over to groom's family before marriage except bride's and groom's clothes. Bride's mother and sisters visit to her in-laws and decorate her room. Beddings, quilts, flour box, crockery stand and other items are set on *marani*. Crockery, spoon set, water and tea set are decorated on corners. The cloth of corner and *marani* is embroidered with beautiful beads and thread which shows bride's skills. Bride's *wari* is displayed on mehndi when in-laws come at bride's home to perform the ritual of her mehndi, they also bring her *wari* on same day and they take it back on barat with her *doli*. Here dowry is displayed at two times, one on groom's mehndi and then on barat.

On barat such items like clothes (see plate# 3.1) make up kit, *naray*, *Parande*, groom's clothes, shoes, Shaving box etc are display on cots. (See plate# 3.2, 3.3) Bride's mother and sisters go to decorate her room in groom's house before two days of mehndi. Usually the relatives of groom see the dowry items on groom's mehndi, while the relatives of bride see it on valima ceremony.

Bride's all dowry is send to her in law's house except groom's clothes , in-law's clothes and other items such as *nary*, make up kit, jewelry etc. At function of barat these

things are displayed on cots in courtyard before arrival of barat, so villagers see and appreciate it. In-laws bring back *wari* with bride's doli while bride's friends and close relatives go to her in-law's house on *tariya* to take her things with them. In *tariya* in-laws give lunch or tea party to bride's friends and to her close relatives who bring her luggage.

A very fast change has come in the Pattern of displaying of dowry. In the past, all dowries' items such as cots, fridge and hand sewing machine was displayed on the day of barat. The entire bride's dowry, her clothes, shoes, her in-law's clothes, groom's clothes and his shoes were displayed on floor of courtyard before the arrival of barat. Firstly the relatives and neighbors of both sides have seen the dowry and after that nikkah ceremony was held. Then barati took the entire dowry on their heads and set it in the girl's in-law's house. Now all items of dowry are sending to groom's house four days before of mehndi's function except bride's clothes, groom's clothes and her in-law's clothes.



Plate# 3.1 Garments



Plate# 3.2 Displaying of socks and handkerchiefs



Plate# 3.3 Cosmetics and jewelry

3.10 Dowry Impacts on Bride’s Marital Life

Dowry always has its impact on each bride’s marital life and its impact varies on the bases of its amount. Large amount of dowry positively affects the marital life of a bride. Due to it mostly bride gets respect from villagers, family and in-laws. She also gets fame and honor side by side she is much cared by her in-laws.

Table # 3.10 Dowry’s importance for matrimonial adjustment

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	Strongly agree	62.66 %
2	Agree	25.66 %
3	Not agree	13.66 %

(Source: interview schedule)

Case Study # 7

Shazia 32 years old. She told that she has two children. she has brought very good amount of dowry. Her in-laws respected her on the bases of good dowry. Her two *devranies* have brought fewer dowries because of non-affordability. She told although they all are cousins to each other but inspite of this thing she has great importance in her in-laws on the bases of dowry. She told that she has two rooms while her *devranies* have only one room. Side by side she also has authority of taking decision.

Same thing happens in the case of fewer dowries. Fewer dowries also affect the marital life of a bride. Nobody from in-laws or relatives gives her respect and also gives honor to her family. Everyone taunts her on small acts because of her fewer dowry. Everyone from in-laws gives her instructions about utilization of house hold things. Even sometimes in-laws demand from bride that she must go and bring this thing from her parents because she does not bring any expensive and useful item in her dowry.

Case Study # 8

Nuzaht told that 50 years have been passed of her marriage. At the time of her marriage she has brought nothing except two cots because she was orphan. She told that her mother-in-law, *Devranies* and *Jatanies* were also taunted her and they were not willing to give her their utensils for usage. If she utilized their utensils then they snatched them form her hands. Thus her mother-in-law separated her and her husband from joint family and suggested them to make a proper house. She remarked that now she has all

necessary household items in her home

3.11 Dowry affects the Social life and Social status of bride’s family

Dowry affects the Social life and Social status of a bride’s family. If bride brings good amount of dowry then everyone respects her as well as to her family. People also show the desire to develop a relationship with bride’s family. They think that to get good amount of dowry or to raise the prestige, it is better if they establish an affinal relationship with bride’s family by taking her sister or cousin. In Pathar Garh usually on mehndi and valima all members of each family are invited, while on Barat only two persons are invited from each house. When women see bride’s dowry on groom’s mehndi and valima and her clothes on Barat then at the spot they get start to compare her dowry with other newly married bride. In case if bride does not bring good amount of dowry then everyone passes remarks on bride and her family. So in this situation no one from the groom’s family further wants to develop relationship with bride’s family. In this way all villagers and also relatives humiliate the bride’s family. On the contrary, if bride brings good amount of dowry then everyone from the family and village appreciates to her parents, brothers by saying that her parents have given her very large amount of dowry. On such bases she is much cared by her in-laws

Table # 3.11 Element of Respect on Bases of Dowry

Sr.#	Responses	Percentage
1	Yes	71.66 %
2	No	28.33 %

(Source: interview schedule)

Respect or Prestige always depends on fate and on good natured in-laws. In Pathar Garh whenever Parents visit to their daughter’s home. They always take something for them like fruit, sweets and money. It is considered very respectable for the bride that her parents bring gift for her and it also becomes a cause of respect and pride for the bride in her in-law’s home.

Case Study # 9

Sadia 22 years old. She got married in June 2009. Her parents provided her everything in dowry even emergency light and her dowry cost of 4 lac rupees. She told that her in-laws give her a lot of respect. Whenever her parents come to meet her they always brought lots of things like seasonal fruits for her and for her in-laws. These things help her to gain respect in front of her in-laws and neighbors. She told that her in-laws appreciate her by saying that *“Still the parents of our daughter-in-law are giving her lots of things, even after many months of her marriage”*. Sadia told that a girl who brings good amount of dowry she is always cared by her in-laws and in-laws give her relief in daily house work.

CHAPTER NO 4

USE OF DOWRY

As mentioned in the first chapter, the proposition of this research work is that the in-laws use goods of dowry by the permission of bride. In the light of the analysis of data collection and observation done during this research work this particular proposition has been proved null. So now, seven categories are made to categorize the objects given as dowry. This chapter focuses on the usage of objects which are given as dowry.

This chapter highlights the variety of objects which are given as dowry by distributing them into seven categories. Each heading explains its own objects like variety of items and their usage i.e. what type of objects are used by what type of in-laws and what are those local traditions which are guiding and legitimizing the use of dowry objects for the bride's in-laws.

Pollster makes an effort to draw that what are the prevailing patterns of dowry in Pathar Garh and also tries to dig out its utilization.

4.1 Essentials of Dowry:

The important Part and Parcels of dowry are: Jewelry, Home Appliances, Dresses, *Nary*, *Pankhi*, Decorations pieces and in some cases also *chaki*, Buffaloes, Land or even Motorcycle.

Pattern of dowry regarding furniture includes bed room set such as bed, two cots, sofa, cupboard, 1 big table, 2 side tables, chairs, dinning table, dressing table, and showcase (see plate# 4.1). Beddings comprise of 9 or sometime even 11 *bistary*, *Talai* or *Razai* (see plate# 4.2). In utensils every type of utensil is included such as *Marble set*, *Chini ka set*, *Plastic Set*, *Steel set*, *glasses and jug of both Plastic & Kanch*, *majma*, *seeni*, *ketli*, *gadwe*, *brohla*, *trame*, *hamam*, one flour box, spoons set, spices boxes and also water cooler (see plate# 4.3). In jewelry usually they gave *wanga*, *ganne*, *murkeeya mundari* and *nath* for bride.

In Electronic Appliances people mostly give Room cooler, Electric Iron, Juicer Fridge, Television, washing machine (see plate# 4.4) and all necessary things which are related to kitchen and sometimes even beater and toasters etc.

In dresses, here people give 11 pairs of suits to their daughters and sometimes even 31 pairs of suits. In locale it is custom that bride takes *Nary* in dowry for groom. The bride specially makes *Nary* on *Kaga* and it may be 7 or 9 in numbers. Bride brings 7 suits for groom and clothes (*phanaviya*) for all in-laws.

In Pathar Garh bride makes three types of decoration pieces, first decoration piece is *pankhi* which is in the texture of silk or cotton and it's color depends on bride's choice. Mostly people prefer to make it in bright colors such as red, shocking pink, green, orange and dark brown. The *pankhies* are decorated by *Moti Seetary* or embroidered by thread (see plate# 4.5). For second decoration piece, bride cuts empty plastic bottles and mould in a shape of flower and then attach artificial flowers on its edge thus it becomes a flower arrangement (see plate# 4.6). For 3rd decoration piece, bride takes *Plastic ki Takiya* and by combining makes different items such as tissue box, mirror, vase and house to which in local language they call *kothi* (see plate# 4.7). She decorates these pieces in her room just to show her interest in house hold activities. Bride also makes *Marani poch* of cotton and silk for shelves, on which utensils are put. *Marani poch* usually makes up with embroidery and *moti steetary*. (See plate# 4.8)

People who have good amount of cows and buffaloes they give them to their daughters as dowry. People of upper class even give land to their daughters in dowry because here land considers as a sign of respect and honor. So in this way bride's parents raise their status or dignity among villagers and they perform it just to enhance prestige of their daughters.

Case Study # 10

Ayesha 24 years old. She got married in 2007. She brought almost everything in her dowry. She told that at the time of marriage, her father in-law said to her mother that his family has concern with Ayesha not with her dowry, so they don't give it. He strictly has forbidden her parents to give Television and Fridge by saying that they have already 4 Fridges and Television. When Ayesha's mother and cousin went to in-laws to set her room then during chatting her cousin told to her father-in-law that Ayesha's Parents are giving her all things except Fridge and Television. Thus Ayesha's father-in-law called to her mother and said *Bibijan* you must give Television, Fridge and microwave oven; because my other daughters-in-law's parents will talk about the absence of such things.

Ayesha said that infact all in-laws have desire to get everything but apparently they forbade.

Table # 4.1 Items which are center of attention in dowry

Sr. #	Responses	Percentage
1	Furniture	8 %
2	Home appliances	82 %
3	Motor cycle	3 %
4	Land	7 %

(Source: interview schedule)

In response that which item is focus of attention for people in dowry. It has been observed that here 8% respondents remark that people pay more attention on furniture, so in furniture they give everything which is in their reach. 82% respondents say that they give furniture along with home appliances. 3% respondents say that in very few cases people give motorcycle to groom. 7% respondents view that they give all necessary things to their daughters including land because of affordability.

4.2 Use of Dowry

4.2.1 Furniture

Furniture comprises of items like bed, showcase, sofa set, one cup board, chairs, dinning table, two small tables, one big table, one big iron box etc. Two *Baksays* are (box) kept in the room of bride while big iron box and cots are kept in *varanda* (courtyard). Bride puts some things in room while others in *varanda*. Usually upper class gives stylish and branded furniture. Mostly they include dinning table in furniture while rest of classes try to give only necessary item of furniture and for them quality of such things don't matter. On the other hand elite classes always pay more attention on quality of wood of furniture and on its styles, so high class concerns with such matters. Researcher gives information regarding utilization of dowry. Cots are used for sitting arrangements of guests; in the evening all the family members gather, sit on the cots and chat with each other. Bride puts some crockery in showcase while some on corners. Dressing table is used for putting makeup items. In big iron box, bride puts things which do not use in daily routine like pillows, round pillows, *Razai*, *Tali*, *Bastary* etc. Elder daughter-in-law puts her sofa set in the drawing room while others put in their rooms. It

has noticed in the village that usually bride gives permission to in-laws for use her dowry items. She learns from her mother that if she does this then will get respect and also will be able to gain place in in-law's heart.

Case Study # 11

Asqa 21 years old. She migrated from Rawalpindi to Pathar Garh. She was the only Child of their parents. She belonged to middle class family. When she got married, she brought quite a lot of dowry. Her Mother-in-law asked her to use her cots for daily usage. She agreed because she wanted to gain respect from in-laws.

4.2.2 Beddings

Beddings consist of 9 or 11 *bastry*, *Talai*, *Razai*. Bride uses her beddings occasionally not regularly. Mostly she uses them only for decoration, means just to show that in which quantity she has brought them. Brides usually bring 9 *Tali* and *Razi* but now the quantity of these items has increased into 11. Bride's family's gives cover of beddings to grooms family; texture of bedding's cloth depends on bride's choice. Usually these covers are given to in-laws one week before of mehndi. Then in-laws fill these beddings with cotton by performing a ritual in which all women come and participate to fill and sew the beddings. The material of bedding and its quality or quantity both varies.

Bride puts her beddings on big iron box while some brides keep them on bed room's *Marani*. When guest visit, they prefer to use mother-in-law's bedding but in case if mother-in-law does not have enough bedding then bride uses her own beddings for guests. Whenever neighbors ask to borrow the beddings on any occasion like on weeding and death ceremony then on such occasions mother-in-law gives her own beddings in spite of daughter-in-law's beddings.

Case Study # 12

Nuzhat 23 years old. She said that once there was marriage in her relatives and they required some bedding. Nuzhat told that her mother-in-law preferred to give her own beddings instead of giving daughters-in-law's beddings. Nuzhat's mother-in-law thought that on wedding, beddings will be misuse and all people may be walk on them with shoes or may be children will create mess on it. So she refused to give the beddings of her daughters-in-law by saying that their beddings are new ones. Nuzhat said that they all use

their beddings occasionally and for causal purpose they use the beddings of their mother-in-law.

In Pathar Garh mostly brides don't give permission to use their beddings because of fear of misuse and they prefer to use it by themselves. While some brides give their bedding for the causal use.

4.2.3 Crockery

Crockery consists on every type of utensils such as marble set, *chini ka set*, glasses and jug of both plastic and *kanch* material, *majma*, *seeni*, *Ketli*, *gedwe*, *hamam*, *brohla*, *trami*, flour box, spoon set and even spices boxes and water cooler.

Few years back, in pathar Garh there was not a trend to bring crockery on rent because bride's dowry and her mother-in-law's utensils had been used on all occasions like wedding, death etc. But now here bride's dowry is used for decoration purposes and to serve the guests. New style of crockery has been introduced. The various designs of crockery are available in the markets. So people of pathar Garh are giving the crockery of new style to their daughters in dowry. All people whether they belong from any class they must give such items in dowry. Although its quality differs from class to class because high class always tries to give stylish and expensive items of crockery just because of affordability

Brides want to use their dowry items by themselves but they also give permission to in-laws for use them, especially to crockery items. Thus they make hierarchy regarding utilization of things which are given in dowry. Bride further defines that crockery items consist of those items which are used to cook and serve the meal, so utilization of crockery gives her a chance to buy it in latest styles. Usually she uses her crockery items on some specific occasions like on feast, arrival of guests, on death ceremonies, on *Quran khani* and *Milad*. On these occasions brides hand over their crockery to mother-in-law. Bride makes category regarding the usage of crockery, on marriage and death ceremonies she gives plastic and steel sets for use. While on the feast and for special guests, she uses stone set. Where as on casual purposes she uses mother-in-law's utensils.

In the category of crockery, the concept of permission is totally absent. In Pathar Garh in-laws do not take permission from bride to use her crockery items because they consider that her just like their own daughter, so they can use her dowry without

permission. Sometimes brides are not willing to give their own utensils to in-laws because of two reasons and the first reason is that they are afraid of misuse of them. The second reason is the behavior of in-laws with bride. If mother-in-law does not give her own utensils to daughter-in-law for use then in the reaction daughter-in-law also does not give her utensils to in-laws. So joint family converts into nuclear family and then bride uses her own dowry by herself, now dowry is used by her spouse not by her in-laws.

Crockery is major part of dowry. Normally it is used by every member of house to serve the food so bride gives permission to use crockery. In few cases bride doesn't give permission but it seem very rare.

Case Study # 13

Shaista 52 years old. She has one son and one daughter. She told that her daughter-in-law was not ready to give her utensils for use. She said that once her husband was admitted in the hospital and she asked for *Tarmoos* to her daughter-in-law. Firstly she agreed and gave it to her. But next day she said it is mine and you should buy for yourself from the market. Shaista told that atonce she went to market and bought a *tarmoos* for her husband and after this she went to hospital. She also remarked that she was very upset by the behavior of her daughter-in-law. She vowed at that time that she will do same thing with her daughter-in-law in future. Once her daughter-in-law got ill and she needed some utensils but shaista refused to give her such things as a plenty.

4.2.4 Jewelry

Jewelry is important component of bride's dowry. According to inhabitants of Pathar Garh without jewelry dowry concept becomes meaning-less. Few years ago in pathar Garh jewelry were given in good quantity. Old women told that they have brought gold bangles, nose ring, ear ring, gold button and gold's flowers for hairs and much other gold jewelry in their dowry. There was also a trend that gold necklace was made on velvet stuff. But now situation is quite different and people are giving very few ornaments to their daughters not more than a ring and a pair of ear rings because gold prices are higher and higher day by day, so people can not afford heavy jewelry of gold. They give light weight gold set to their daughters. Now hardly people give 3 *tola* gold in jewelry but in past they were in habit of giving 22 *tola* gold.

Two types of jewelry are given as dowry. First type comprises on gold jewelry and second type is artificial jewelry. Jewelry is considered as personal possession of bride. In-laws do not use her jewelry on any occasion, in case if they use then firstly they take permission from bride. Mostly bride uses her jewelry by herself; she wears it on weddings, festivals like *Eid* etc. Bride permits her in-laws to use her artificial jewelry but very rare allow them to use gold jewelry. Bride must wear jewelry on parties and when she visits to relative's house because it is consider as symbol of respect as well as an indication of status of bride's family. Jewelry composes of *wanga*, *ganne*, *murkeeya*, *mundari* and *nath*.

Bride prefers to give artificial jewelry for wearing to her mother-in-law and sister-in-law. Because gold jewelry consider very expensive, so she likes to wear by herself.

Case Study # 14

Kalsoom 26 years old. She married with her cousin who belonged from middle class. One day her sister-in-law came and asked for her earrings. She said that her sister-in-law was going on the mehdi function of her friend so she wanted to wear earrings. Kalsoom told that she kept all her artifical jewelry not gold jewelry in front of sister-in-law for selection. She allowed her by saying that whatever earrings she wants to take; she will take. So sister-in-law chose one pair of earrings to wear on the function. On returning from function she returned back her earrings and also thanked to her.

4.2.5 Electronic Appliances

Electronic appliances are very useful in every day life and with the help of these items people save their time. Few years back, the ancestors of Pathar Garh were not given electronic appliances in dowry because at that time there was no facility of electricity in the village. So to compensate it people gave good amount of gold, cows, and buffaloes to their daughters. Parents of bride who had good dairy they could easily give 2-3 buffaloes to their daughters. Now, parents do not appreciate the act of giving animal in dowry to bride. It has seen that this act has done twice and thrice in which buffalo and *chaki* has given to bride but only in such case if bride has some physical fault or dark complexion.

With the passage of time people start to give electronic items in dowry. Now there is facility of electricity in the village so people give more and more electronic appliances. People who belong to land owning class they mostly give every kind of electronic

appliances such as full size fridge, 21 inch T.V, microwave oven, full size washing machine, beater and food factory, cooking range etc. Middle class gives electronic items according to their income. Although poor class also gives all items of electronics such as Small size fridge and washing machine, juicer, sewing machine etc, but rarely they give T.V, CD player and DVD player.

Electronic appliances consist of room cooler, electronic iron, Fridge, Television, CD player, DVD player, washing machine, juicer and all necessary items which are related to kitchen like beater, Toaster etc. Fridge and T.V are used by the whole family. Washing machine is used to wash the clothes of all family members, so bride can not refuse to give such dowry items. For use of some specific electronic appliances in-laws take permission from bride like sewing machine, Micro oven, Toaster, juicer, beater, C.D player, Music player, V.C.R etc. These things are used under her instructions just because of delicateness of such items. Bride sets her electronic appliances such as juicer and toaster in show case. She keeps room cooler and fridge in her bed room for her own use. Sewing machine is used by bride but often sister-in-law and mother-in-law also use it by taking permission.

Usually brides refuse to give their electronic appliances for usage of whole family. By considering that electronic items are very costly and have fear of misuse of such item by in-laws, so they hesitate to give their expensive electronic appliances.

Case Study # 15

Razia 24 year old. After 2 months of her marriage once her mother-in-law asked grinder for chopping. Razia told that she refused to give it to her mother-in-law and said to her that you have your own grinder then why are you not using your own grinder. She viewed; she did it because of fear that her grinder will be spoiled. So she didn't want to give it to her mother-in-law for use.

4.2.6 Dresses

In dresses *ubayas*, *chader*, *sari* and *shalwar kameez* are including. Brides also bring dresses for groom and in-laws. It was noticed in Pathar Garh that usually brides do not give dresses to their in-laws for wearing on any occasion because they are afraid of misuse and due to fitting problem. Every girl has its own fitting according to her figure, so usually bride refuses to give her dresses. Bride uses *ubaya* and *chadar* whenever goes

out side the house while she wears sari on special occasion like on weddings. Casually she wears *shalwar kameez*.

In some cases bride does not able to say “NO”, so she permits her in-laws to wear her dress but un-heartily because she does not want to wear such dress which is used by any other girl. Thus in this category the concept of permission lies. In-laws wear dresses of bride by taking her permission. If any in-laws want to wear her *Ubaya* and *Duppta* she permits them while in matter of dresses she always hesitates. Bride also offers her *chaader* to mother-in-law for wearing on some special occasions like wedding, feast etc or in such case if mother-in-law does not have good *chaader* then bride offers her own *chaader*. She does it most of time because in this way she gets prestige and honor in the eyes of her mother-in-law and in in-front of her husband as well. She strengthens her affinial ties with her in-laws. So, bride prefers to give such things to her mother-in-law and sister-in-law rather than other affinial relatives.

Rarely has it seen that brides do not give dress to their sister-in-law for wearing. Almost every bride gives her dresses but in-case if she denies for giving her dresses to in-laws then mostly reason of refusal lies with fitting problem.

Case Study # 16

Asma was a newly married girl. She was 22 years old. She told that she has brought a lot of dresses in her dowry. Her sister-in-law liked her cloths very much. Asma narrated that once the whole family was invited on their cousin’s marriage and they must have to go there. Her sister-in-law asked from her for one dress to wear on marriage ceremony. Asma gave the shawl of suit. She did not want to give her dress because of her fatness and fitting problem. So she refused by saying that it would not suit you, it is better that you should take its *chaader* and wear it with your own suit.

4.2.7 Decoration Pieces

In Pathar Garh every bride must keeps three kinds of decoration pieces as dowry. *Panki* is first decoration piece that hang on the wall in bride’s room for decoration purpose as well as it uses during summer. Second decoration piece makes of empty plastic bottle and artificial flowers, plastic bottles are cut in different shapes and then flowers are attached on it. This decoration piece keeps on the side tables or central table in bride’s room. Third decoration piece makes up with specific material that called in

local term “*Plastic ki takiya*” and by joining them bride makes such items like tissue box, mirror, vase and house.

Bride makes *Marani poch* by herself and usually she selects material and color for it by her own choice. She uses different type of thread for its ornamentations. It uses to cover the shelf and *marani*. So all decoration pieces are use for the personal usage of bride and to decorate her own room, often she uses it for the decoration of drawing room.

4.3 Use of dowry link with age factor

Women of Pathar Garh are classified according to age in to two categories. In first category are 20-25years old women, in second above 50 years old. Bride usually uses her mother-in-law’s dowry. Infact bride uses dowry only in three cases:

1. In case of separation, means when she starts living as nuclear family and gets separation from joint family.
2. Secondly in case of mother-in-law’s death, so in the absence of useful utensils bride opens her dowry and use them
3. Lastly, in this situation when mother-in-law’s dowry is not enough and it does not fulfill the requirements of whole family. On such base bride opens her dowry by her own choice for daily use. She does not refuse to give things to her *Nand*, *Davrani*, *Jatani* and *sass* due to respect and due to joint family system. Because she desires to establish strong family ties with in-laws.

Table # 4.2 Element of Permission regarding use of dowry

Responses	Respondent	Percentage
Yes	4	3.33 %
No	58	96.66 %
Total	60	100.00 %

(Source: interview schedule)

Case Study # 17

Shamim Akhtar 48 years old. She got married 25 years back. She brought seven beddings, two cots, two single bed, a sofa set, 4 chairs, a big table, two small tables, utensils of marbles, stone, glass, plastic, all types of spoon set, necklace, earrings, nose ring, *jhommar* in jewelry. She got respect in her in-laws and relatives on bases of her expensive dowry. Her dowry was used as soon as she got married because of an adequate

amount of things of mother-in-law’s utensils for daily use. When her *devranies* came after marriage, they all started to use shamim’s dowry because they did not want to spoil their dowry items for common use. So, they used shamim’s dowry in the replacement of mother-in-law’s dowry and shamim did not refuse them to use it.

Table # 4.3 Daughter in-law’s Dowry for Utilization

Responses	Respondent	Percentage
No	2	3.33 %
We do not want to use her dowry	18	30.0 %
We have own dowry for use	33	55.00 %
Yes we use	7	11.66 %
Total	60	100.00 %

(Source: interview schedule)

When women reach at the age of 50, they start to use their dowry items and also give it to their daughter-in-law for common use. Because at this stage they want to get an authority and involvement in the family matters as they are used too, so they want to do it with the help of dowry. Researcher observed during research a very common thing which is related to the utilization of dowry that daughter-in-law uses the dowry items of mother-in-law on the behalf of some instructions and mother-in-law gives too many instructions about utilization of her things only to that daughter-in-law who does not bring good dowry.

Case Study # 18

Shela told that 30 years have been passed of her marriage but still her mother-in-law (farooq masi) taunts her and says that shela’s mother gave her nothing. Shela brought only two cots, one bucket, 6 cups and saucers in her dowry, she further narrated that her mother-in-law gave very good dowry to her own daughters and grand-daughters. Her mother-in-law did not allow her to use things because shela had brought very less stuff in her dowry. If she allowed her to use things then she put some restrictions on shela about utilization of things that she must use things in this or that way. Shela told that once she was using her mother-in-law’s bucket for cleaning of floor. Her mother-in-law gave her instructions that she should wash it after using it. After some-days shela’s mother-in-law said to her that she should use her own dowry’s bucket which she has brought by mistake.



Plate# 4.1 Furniture



plate# 4.2 Bistary, Talai, Razai (Bedding)



Plate# 4.3 Utensils



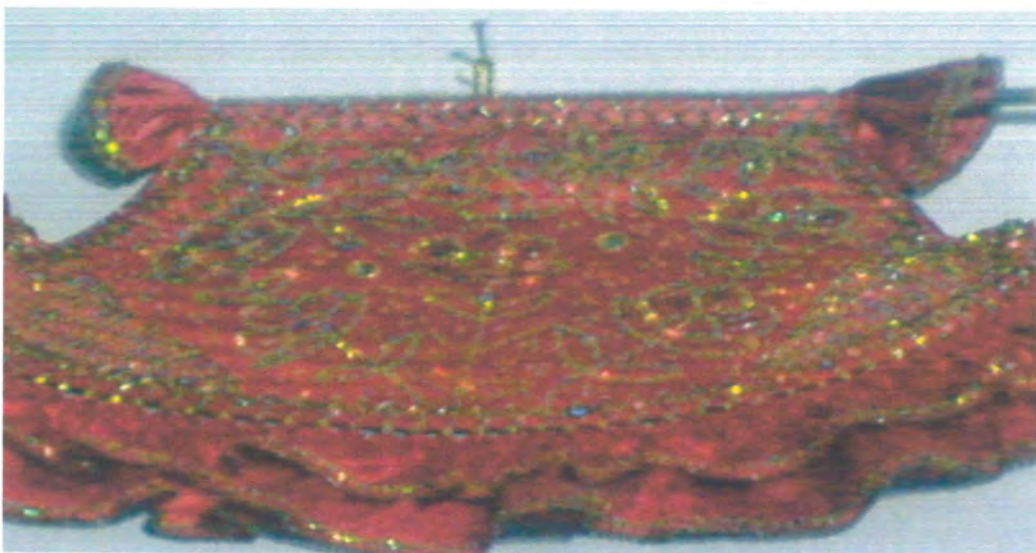
Plate# 4.4 Fridge



Plate# 4.7 Kothi (House)



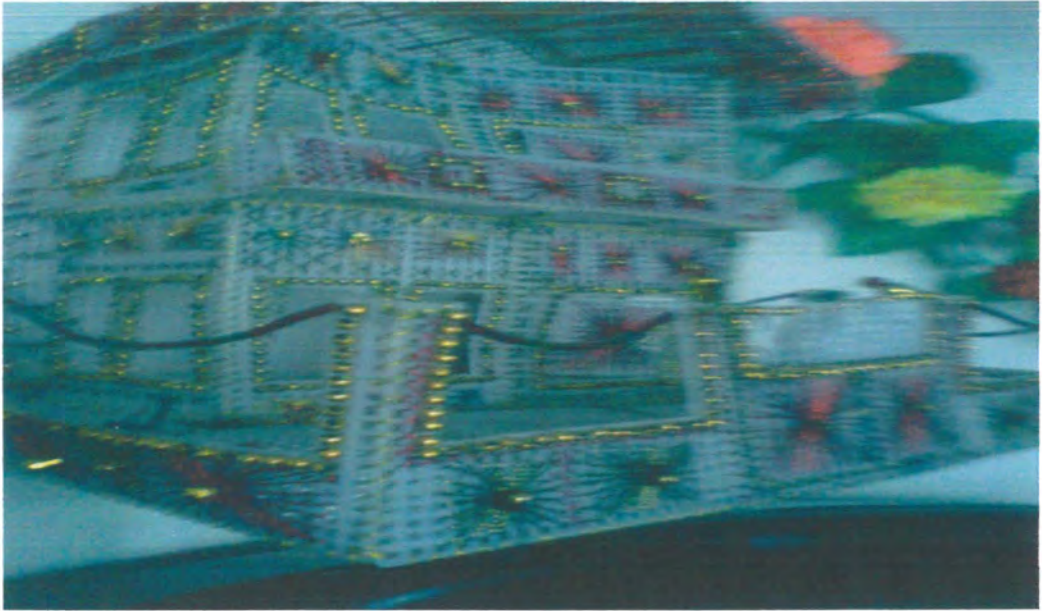
Plate# 4.8 Marani Poch



Plate# 4.5 Pankhi



Plate# 4.6 Flower Arrangement



Plate# 4.7 Kothi (House)



Plate# 4.8 Marani Poch

CHAPTER NO 5

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Dowry is a form of wedding gift that is also sometimes called Price of the groom. Dowry means “Money or property brought by a bride to her husband at marriage. Dowry is a sum of money required of a postulant at a convent. This custom has been settled in Agricultural societies where it may form any important part of the financial arrangement for a marriage. Dowry typically involves movable property like furniture, money, jewelry and others household items, domestic animals, even servants and seldom includes a share in the bride’s patrilineal estate of land and buildings. Thus, while dowry has been called a “premortem inheritance” given to daughters, it typically lacks the real-property component due to sons at their father’s death. Dowry is truly the bride’s property comes from rules regarding its disposition in case of her death or divorce.

So, dowry is designed as the form of financial security for the bride, in-the-case of her marriage failing. It is classically known as a payment from the bride’s family to groom as part of the marriage contract. Dowry is a transaction between two parties involving cash or other valuable articles such as precious metals, gems, clothing, appliances, real estate and goods for entertainment, make as a condition for entering a marriage contract. Every society has its own norms and rules to regulate marriage and dowry. Customs are important aspect of our culture. Dowry is commonly practiced in Pathar Garh. Dowry enhances the social status of bride, in some cases it is demanded by In-laws but a lot of time the bride’s family gives a big amount of dowry by their own will. It not only includes items of daily use like furniture and utensils but also gold, a car, a plot and a handsome bank balance. In marriage quantity of dowry is most important because it strengthens the marital bond and also gives respect and honor to bride from her in-laws. If not so then she is maltreated and looked down upon by the boy and his family members.

Research was intended to find out the general perception of villagers about dowry. Custom of dowry lies in the roots of Pathar Garh and people are practicing it since many years whether they belong to any class. The inhabitants of Pathar Garh consider dowry as curse but it has importance to them as well. The research problem was that “how goods

of dowry are used by bride?" Mostly, all goods of dowry remain in the possession of bride. She uses all goods like furniture, crockery, dress, jewelry and electronical appliances by herself. In-laws use such things not regularly but occasionally.

Some religious, economic and social factors are involve to regulate the practice of dowry in Pathar Garh. Villagers remarked that "we are followers of Islam so we give the dowry to our daughters." They also said that "dowry is an Islamic obligation." In a sense our Holy Prophet has given dowry to his daughter. Social class is also matter for given the dowry, middle and lower classes give necessary items of dowry. Upper class give branded things as compare to other two classes. Displaying of dowry is an important factor to regulate dowry system in Pathar Garh.

Dowry considers as status symbol. Bride's parents display items of dowry in front of the villagers and through it they gain a lot of respect. People try to show off their wealth by exhibiting worthy item in dowry. Dowry and marital life are directly inter-linked with each other. If bride brings expensive things as dowry then she earns more respect in the eyes of in-laws or her husband and she is not forced by in-laws to do a lot of domestic chores. In-laws make comparison between their daughters-in-law on basis of dowry; if one brings fewer things in dowry then she has to do a lot of domestic work to compensate it. She uses other in-law's goods for daily purpose by their permission. Some respondents view that dowry does not have impact on the matrimonial life and adjustment of spouses. Only mutual understanding, trust, education of couple and luck is very important for the good and long term relationship.

Dowry regulates long term relationship among spouses and *Haq-Mehr* affects the amount of dowry. If groom's family don't put *Haq-mehr* according to wish of bride's family then in return they give half portion of dowry. Bride's family gives expensive gifts like watch, gold ring to groom and gold chain or earrings to mother-in-law. These gifts regulate long term relationship between husband and wife, as well strengthens bride's relation with in-laws. Although expensive gifts don't bring good luck for her but its helps her to spend happy life.

Parents are not forced by the in-laws to give dowry to their daughters. Apparently in-laws don't demand for it from the bride's family but internally they have desire for a good amount of dowry. Infact there is an element of reciprocity that if they are giving

good amount of dowry to their daughters in return they expect from their daughters-in-law to bring same amount of dowry. If parents don't give good amount of dowry then mostly they are taunted by the close relatives as compare to in-laws. In some cases in-laws demand for dowry from bride's parents like if girl has dark complexion, overage and one who is lisping. In such cases, if the groom and his family demands for dowry then parents of bride has to be agreed upon it. Because according to them groom is accepting their deficiency daughter so he has right for demand.

There is hierarchy to use the things of dowry, furniture and bed sheets are used daily but mattress (talai) and quilts (razai) are used when guests visit them. Bride uses her jewelry, dresses by herself and uses decoration pieces to decorate her room which is also a part of her dowry. In-laws use delicate utensils and home appliances in her presence by the permission of bride and usually they use those things which are not available in their house before. Normally bride and in-laws use the things together.

Element of permission does not exist in the use of all items of dowry. So proposition gone null because mother-in-law allows her daughters-in-law to use her things with out any restriction. Here it is custom that when a girl herself becomes a mother-in-law, then she takes out things of her dowry and give it to her daughters-in-law for use because now it doesn't matter for her if dowry gets spoil. The main reason to practice such custom is that through it she can get authority or hold at home. Infact, daughter-in-law's dowry is used occasionally not regularly but no one take permission from her to use it. In-laws think that she is part of their family and also alike their daughter, so they feel that there is no need to take permission from her to use her dowry's items. She gives permission to in-laws for usage of certain dowry item like crockery, furniture but on the other hand she also hesitates to give permission to use certain items of her dowry like jewelry, dresses, electronic appliances and beddings. These things are consider as personal possession of bride and these items remain under the use of bride not her in-laws. If in-laws use them then mostly before usage of such items they take permission or these items are used it her presence.

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GLOSSARY

Azan	Call for prayer
Barat	Wedding day
Batakht	A sitting room for men
Brohla	Storing box for grains
Biraderi	Collection of related households
Baksa	Big iron box
Bastry	Bedding
Cheeray	Clothes
Chaki	Hand grinder
Choolah	Stove or Oven
Chaader	Scarf, head cloth for women
Daj	Dowry
Devrani	Groom's Younger brother's wife
Doli	A small kind of sedum
Dowks	Groups of houses
Darood	Blessing offered on cooked meal
Eid- Milaad	Birthday celebration of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H)
Eid-ul-Fitr	Religious festival after the holy month of fasting
Eid-ul-Azha	Religious festival falling on 10 th day of Zil Haj
Fateha	Commencement
Gani	Necklace
Gadwe	Utensil for preserving milk
Godaams	Room specifically made up for storing grain
Haq-mehr	Alimony, a gift settled upon wife
Jatani	Groom's Elder brother's wife
Kagar	A wooden piece on which alastics (nary) are made
Kathle	Kettle

Kothi	House
Kotri	Room for storage
Kameez	Shirt worn by men and women
Kaccha	Mud house
Kammi	Village servant
Leari	Animals
Majma	Tray
Maktabas	Institution for teaching of Islam
Marani	Corners
Mochi	Cobbler
Mohalla	Street
Monderi	Ring
Mootisatary	Beads
Mourkian	Earrings
Naih	Barber
Nary	Alas tic
Nikah	The signing of an agreement between bride and groom to live together for their whole life is known as nikah, in the law of shariat
Numberdar	Have political status in village
Nath	Nose ring
Pacca	A dwelling with all its walls and roofs made of bricks and stones
Passar	Warm place in winter
Purdah	To observe seclusion
Qawali	Group singing hymns
Razai	Quilt
Roti	Round flat wheat bread
Saint	A pious person
Sarhando	Pillow
Seni	Flat plate of keeping flour
Shalwar	Baggy trousers
Seyp	A work relationship between a Zamindar and Kammees

Tabby	Cook
Talai	Mattress
Tariya	On 4 th of wedding day bride's friends visit at her place
Tarkhan	Carpenter
Tailee	Oil presser
Tahli	Plate
Urs	A yearly festival on the tomb on Saint
Vanga	Bangles
Valima	Feast held by groom's side/ Reception
Veranda	Porch, Terrace
Wari	Bridal's gift from groom
Zamindar	Landowner
Zat	Caste

Interview Schedule

- 1: Is dowry important practice in Pathar Garh?
- 2: Do the people of Pathar Garh give dowry to their daughter's by their own choice?
- 3: Does the society pressurize to give dowry?
- 4: Is dowry demanded in Pathar Garh?
- 5: How much dowry should be given to bride?
- 6: Do you find any relation between dowry and successful marriage?
- 7: Does upper class give plenty of goods in dowry?
- 8: Does lower class not give premium dowry?
- 9: Do there exist any relationship between good education and dowry?
- 10: Can fewer dowries affect a girl's material life?
- 11: Do you consider that good amount of dowry becomes cause of less divorce rate?
- 12: Which sorts of things were included in your dowry?
- 13: Which kind of thing did you bring in a good quantity in dowry?
- 14: What types of things are mostly in bride's dowry?
- 15: Will you demand anything in dowry from in-laws of your son?
- 16: Does a girl gain respect on the bases of dowry at in-laws?
- 17: Do the parents of bride get any respect by giving good amount of dowry?
- 18: Do the behavior of husbands changed towards wives because of dowry?
- 19: Does the bride wish to take large amount of dowry in in-laws?
- 20: Which items were included in dowry of your daughters?
- 21: Which items of dowry your daughter-in-law has brought?
- 22: Did you unpack your dowry in your in-laws at ones after marriage?
- 23: Did your daughter-in-law unpack her dowry by her own will?
- 24: Does your daughter-in-law give her dowry for use?
- 25: Do you allow to your mother-in-law to use your dowry?
- 26: Do you take permission to utilize the dowry of your daughter-in-law?
- 27: If dowry can compensate bride's dark complexion?
- 28: What are the views of women of Pathar Garh on a new bride's dowry?
- 29: Is the bride has right to purchase her dowry from market?
- 30: Does here dowry display on marriage ceremony?

31: Is there any special day to display the dowry on marriage ceremony?

32: Do you think that the custom of dowry should be practice in future?

SOCIO ECONOMIC CENSUS & SURVEY FORM

Sr. No. _____

House No: _____

[illegible]

CONDITION OF EDUCATION

Sr. No. _____

House No: _____

[illegible]

CONDITION OF HOUSEHOLD

Sr. No. _____

House No: _____

[illegible]

PATTERN OF MARRIAGE

Sr. No. _____

House No: _____

[illegible]