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**Increasing Trend of Exogamy and its impact on Biradri System**  
**(A Case Study of a Punjabi Village District Khushab)**



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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of  
requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Anthropology

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Quaid -i-Azam University  
Islamabad, Pakistan.**

**2011**

Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad  
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## DECLARATION

The author certifies that this thesis represents his own original work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution. Information derived from published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given. Human research ethics are considered in conducting this research.

Tayyba Nawaz

M. Phil Anthropology



*Dedicated to*  
*My dear*  
*Abu Jan and Ami Jan*

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## **Abstract**

Marriage is a social institution building chunk of a family system. Reproduction has been the main ploy for mankind to increase the number of individuals as the means to survival. As in the past, most of the people select mate from their own kin relations, very few marriages were arranged out of the clan and biradri, but with the changes in the socio-economic and socio-political culture, the phenomena of inter caste marriages has been changed and marriages are taking place even outside the caste groups. The research carried out in a remote village of Punjab clearly indicates towards the surge in exogamous marriages. It also reflects that no society can abstain from the overwhelming effects of globalization. Nevertheless, this change can be attributed towards a positive approach in the society in terms of increasing social harmony resulting into galvanization. With the technological advancement and increasing interaction, the people of Mardwal have changed the criteria for choosing life partners from endogamy to exogamy relying on mutual understanding, educational background and social and economic status. The present thesis deals with the increasing trends of exogamous marriages and its impact on family structure. To find out the answer of these research questions, the research tool used for this research is in-depth interviews to get thorough insight of the issue in addition to case studies that are also made part of the research to have better understanding of the increasing trend of exogamy. Total of sixty five in-depth interviews were taken out of which 55% were of practiced exogamous marriages. Factors behind this changing preference are also studied thoroughly to understand its possible consequences. The major factors, which forced the people of Mardwal to practice

exogamy, were to avoid family conflicts, migration and for getting better education while electronic and print media imparted awareness about medical complications related to endogamy. Analysis of endogamy and exogamous marriages were made to understand the increasing phenomena of exogamous marriages by analyzing the cultural transformation and the factors that obligated the people to think beyond biradri traditions. They consider it more useful for securing the future of coming generation or to avoid family conflicts which were increasing day by day due to different reasons.

It is pertinent to mention here that there is no bar on exogamous marriages as far as Islam is concerned. Islam allows making connections with the outer world and exploring new avenues and encourage out of family marriages, while the exogamous marriages have been supported by the medical science rather than endogamous marriage, especially in case of cousin marriages which had caused many medical complications. As inference from the study of a remote village of Punjab, practice of exogamous marriages was on the rise, however looking at the results and findings of the research attained through comprehensive and large scale exploration of the effects of exogamous marriages on the overall social structure of Pakistan have made the study unique to provide a guideline to stimulate the people for adopting exogamous marriage pattern to withhold the traditional marriage system that has numerous negative effects not for the couple but for the whole society as well.

## Chapter - 1

### INTRODUCTION

Human beings happen to be the most socially developed creature on this earth. Process of social evolution of mankind has emerged and progressed gradually and consistently. Reproduction has been the main ploy for the mankind as a mean of increasing the numbers and for survival of the entire species. With the continuous social development, the institution of marriage was formulated for recognition and legalization of marital relations. It is narrated in the Holy Quran that segregation of humans on the basis of casts and regions is only made for the purpose of identification and it has no role as far as judgment of piety of an individual or a group of the people is concerned. However, due to numerous reasons and attributes human race diversified itself into such diverse system of internally identical yet independent units making the process of intermarriage between two different social groups, an extremely improbable proposition.

Owing to the tremendous technological and scientific advancements in the past, the world has virtually been transformed into a global village and the inhabitants of this era where financial and economic needs supersede any other system of discrimination both at micro as well as at macro level. At the same time enhanced knowledge base has dissolved the conservative mindset made consistent by the human beings causing discriminations to the mankind. People have started materializing the relations based on mutual respect, understanding and matching socio-economic interests as compared to the conventional cast and creed system which has created so many misunderstandings amongst them in the past.

A comprehensive literature review revealed that there were very few studies that solely focused on the increasing trends of exogamous marriages and its impact on family structure in Pakistan. However, before reviewing the literature it was essential to go through the context of a Pakistani village, its culture, marriage traditions, socio-cultural factors and cultural expectations of society towards choosing life partners. In rural areas of Pakistan it is found a customary pattern to choose a mate from the kin relations and people feel proud when they succeed in getting a marriage partner from their *biradri*.

Traditionally, in many cases this process results into misunderstandings leading towards serious disputes among real sisters and brothers on account of refusal of *rishta* for their own sons and daughters. The researcher during the course of research study in Mardwal observed various dimensions of marriages that were explored through various methodologies to understand the difference in primitive and modern coupling to portray the complete picture of the exogamous marriages.

## **1.1 The Problem**

The research study undertaken by the researcher deals with the increasing trends of exogamous marriages in the rural community of Mardwal located in the district of Khushab in Punjab province. The purpose of the study was to highlight the prevailing phenomenon of exogamy, its changing trends and causes of transformation from exogamy to exogamous. Marriage in human races is inevitable process and there are many prominent impact of this cultural transformation on individual life as well as on the whole family structure and society's fabric. Marriage in human life brings about many changes which, in turn have different types of impacts upon human beings.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Marriage is a universal phenomenon especially in Muslim culture inevitable to satisfy the biological, psychological, social, emotional and sexual needs of the human body. Its history goes back to Adam and Eve and after that it was practiced among all Muslims present in the realm of world to make a relationship legal.

There are two main types of marriages, endogamy and exogamy, which will be discussed in this dissertation. In this chapter the exogamous marriage will be discussed in detail as per the requirements and objectives of the research topic. Exogamy is a type of marriage taking place outside the tribe and social unit. The word exogamy derived from the Greek word *gamos* meant for outside. The opposite of exogamy is endogamy to marry someone inside the same group or social unit.

According to American heritage dictionary exogamy has been defined as:

*“Exogamy is the custom of marrying outside the tribe, family, clan, or other social unit.”<sup>1</sup>*

According to word house menu:

*“Exogamy is a marriage traditionally outside one's social, kinship, religious or ethnic group”.<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> *The American Heritage, Stedman's Medical Dictionary*. April 16, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Random House Word Menu, 2010.

The transformation of thought process has resulted into a reasonable increase in outside marriages in Pakistani society, the research study has the same backdrop endeavored to evaluate the causes, advantages, disadvantages and consequences of increasing trends of exogamy in a rural area of Punjab province of a developing country like Pakistan and its overall impact on the whole society.

The purpose of the study was to carry out a complete investigation and analyze causes of exogamous marriages in the chosen community, drawing the attention towards the broken family bonds, to test some of the current theories that were developed to explain exogamy for in-depth understanding of the conditions under which exogamous marriage is likely to occur and an attempt to give a better understanding of the practice of out of family marriages as a human reproductive adaptation.

The research has been carried out in a rural area of Punjab, province of Pakistan, where joint family system was the most prevalent way of life. However, during the fieldwork it was noticed that joint family system was in transition and was replacing by the nuclear family system. The factors of changes were analyzed through the intensive interaction of the people, gathering of quantitative and qualitative data.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

By keeping the background of the research topic in mind, such a study area was selected which was easily accessible and was more representative in nature. To motivate the people to share their views with the researcher, the standard tool of in-depth interviews was used, while the participant observation method was adopted to investigate the findings and a deeper insight into the research objectives. Research objectives were

made to identify direction and sequence of the study. In the first hand the extent of exogamous marriages was investigated by using interview guide technique to enhance the canvas of investigation.

A critical role of education pertaining to the prevalence of exogamous marriages was studied and was analyzed. Another factor influencing the increasing trend of out of family marriages was also made the part of research objectives. Strenuous efforts were put in to study and analyze the possible causes of rising inclination of community towards marrying outside the kin groups? What were the circumstances that forced a particular social group or individual to opt for such decision? What type of family structure was prevailing in the community before the occurrence of changing? What types of changes were going on from the past few decades and their relation with the decision of marrying in family or out of family? Power relations within the household were studied and decision making process was focused to measure the increasing phenomenon of exogamy influenced by its factors. In the analysis of the research, relationship of all the dependent and independent variables were drawn so that the possible causes and consequences could be thrashed out thoroughly and accurately.

The objectives of the study were as following:-

1. To find out the nature and extent of changes taking place in marriage pattern;
2. To study the determining factors responsible for endogamous marriage pattern;
3. To investigate the role of education and migration in increasing trend of exogamous marriages;



4. To identify the possible consequences of exogamous marriages on the family structure and its impact on relationships within the Biradri system of respective families.

#### **1.4 Locale of study**

The research was carried out in a village Mardwal of distric Khushab, a beautiful area situated at 4 Km south of Noshehra. It was a valuable place worth witnessing owing to its beautiful scenes, fertile soil, ancient and indigenous culture and unlimited legendary stories. It has a tourist attraction due to its unmatched beauty and rich culture due to its geographical location in the Soon Valley. Geographically, the district of Khushab was possessed of all diversities of nature like mountains, deserts, lush green harvesting land, lakes and rivers. Soon valley was one of the most beautiful hill stations of Pakistan quite rich in natural resources (salt & coal) etc.

#### **1.5 Significance of the study**

The research study was aimed explore the socio-cultural setup of a remote village of Punjab and the effects of changing global atmosphere over its cultural make up. As inference from the study of a remote village of Punjab (Mardwal), practice of exogamous marriages was on the rise, however looking at the results and findings of the research, it was observed that the marriage pattern was in transition that was effecting the existed marriage patter. The research will provide a chance to the readers to compare the benefits of Endogamous and Exogamous marriages in the backdrop of rural areas of Pakistan.



## 1.6 Research methodology

The research methodologies are defined as a set of scientific methods or procedures for doing scientific research. By adopting the research methodologies during the research work make the study more authentic and reliable.

Keeping in mind the importance of methods and techniques, the researcher adopted various methodologies during the research work for gathering adequate data required to achieve the research goals as per defined objectives. A brief detail of the tools used has been given in the upcoming lines.

### 1.6.1 Sampling

The sampling is a way of selecting respondent's sample representing the whole of the population of the community under study. For selecting the sample size, the method of stratified random sampling was applied, as the population of the village was scattered therefore, the sample was divided into two parts, one was of urban population and other of rural population called *Dera jaats/dhoe*<sup>3</sup> in the local language of Mardwal. Most of the *Dera jaat/dhokes* were located mostly at far distant places in mountainous area.

The sample of respondents was according to the population ratio that was interviewed in different phases according to the line of action designed before entering the locale of study. Total 65 in-depth interviews were taken, out of which 39 (60 percent) of respondents were included from urban part while 26 (40 percent) respondents were

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<sup>3</sup> Houses located at a distance from each other on mountains/sub setting around the main cluster of population

from the *Dera jaat/dhokes*. The division of respondents helped in closer look at equal representation and analysis of both parts of community.

## **1.7 Tools used for Data Collection**

### **1.7.1 Rapport Establishment**

Rapport establishment is the foremost tool used in the research field to establish good relationship with the community members. There are many benefits of building rapport among strangers and become a part of that community. In this way communication problem is solved and respondents can easily talk on the desired topic without any hesitation.

The researcher applied the technique for research purpose and with help of a known personality in the village helped to introduce the researcher with the community members highlighting the researcher's motives to support his presence in the village, while researcher himself briefed the respondents about the research details in order to gain their confidence and receiving their cooperation.

In the initial stages, it was difficult to adjust in a new environment and in an unfamiliar atmosphere in addition to follow the cultural norms acting like the locals but with the repetition of efforts the problem was with the help of some of the local people. The local inhabitants were found very cooperative and always ready to help whenever any difficulty confronted the researcher. They were taking keen interest in the research process and were asking different amusing questions.

The elderly people though were not educated but were following the inherited traditions were not in favor of exogamy and were reluctant to respond to the researcher's

questions. They argued a little but favored the endogamy and its benefits. But the young community members were more excited while arguing on the matter.

### **1.7.2 Key Informants**

The key informants are those people who are knowledgeable about the community and have a respectable place in the area. They are supposed to know each and every aspect of their having cordial relations with other community members. The description of key informants as given by Peltó and Peltó testify their role:

*“More than someone who controlled a lot of information about a culture and willing to talk to you.”*

(Peltó and Peltó: 1978)

The key informant’s interview is a standard anthropological method that is widely used in health related and other social development inquiry. This is one method used in rapid assessment for gathering information from the affected community. The term “key informant” refers to anyone who can provide detailed information and opinion based on his or her knowledge of a particular issue. Key informant interviews are to seek qualitative information that can be narrated and cross checked with quantitative data by using the method of triangulation.

The key informant method is based on obtaining information, over time, from a community resident who is in a position to know the community well. The person or persons selected to be key informants must therefore have a broader knowledge and vision of the community.

This is the most important step for penetrating into a community and has a strong impact on the study. So the researcher selected one male respondent who was retired government servant and was running his own English medium school in the village and the other was lady of age of 35, well known and respected figure of the village. Both of them helped the researcher by not only introducing her to the community but by providing her access to every corner of the study area without any hesitation.

### **1.7.3 In-depth Interviews**

The in-depth interview is a technique designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participant's perspective on the research topic. During in-depth interviews, the person being interviewed was considered the expert and the interviewer as his student. The researcher's interviewing techniques were motivated by the desire to learn everything about the research topic. The researcher remained engaged with the participants by posing questions in a neutral manner, listening attentively to participants' responses, and asking follow-up questions and probes based on those responses.

They do not lead participants according to any preconceived notions, nor do they encourage participants to provide particular answers by expressing approval or disapproval of what they say. The in-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face for keeping the sensitivity of the topic restricted. During the field work, the researcher conducted 65 in-depth interviews; the interaction with the respondents in a formal sitting was a very exiting experience. This fieldwork took about five months but gave insight of the community settings in which marriages were taking place and also the whole process of decision making that influenced the mate selection in the research area.

In-depth interviews uncovered valuable insights, and enabled the researcher to find out “the real story” from the people’s mind. Respondents were most likely to open up on one-on-one basis. Quality of data was considered much more improved by in depth interviews as compared to other tools used. The skilled interviewers were able to respond to questions and probed into the larger details. Questions were added or altered in real-time if needed. Overall it was an interesting and unique experience of interviewing.

#### **1.7.4 Participant Observation**

The participant observation is not a casual observation; it is a scientific way of observation. Participant observation, which is used in informal setting, is an important method in anthropological research. This method gives the researcher an opportunity to collect qualitative data of descriptive nature. Once the local barrier against outsiders is lowered the researcher can get more valid and reliable data.

As deliberated by Pelto:

*“The relative un-systematized scanning of information through participant observation is basic to all there other, more refined, research techniques. Preliminary data from participant observations provide the fieldworker with insights and clues necessary for developing interview questions, psychological tests, or other more specialized research tools”.*

(Pelto and Pelto: 1978)

The Data obtained through participant observation served as a check against participants' subjective reporting of what they believe and do. Participant observation was also useful for gaining an understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which study participants lived; the relationships among the people, ideas, norms, and events; people's behaviors and activities what they do, how frequently, and with whom.

In addition, the method enabled researcher to develop a familiarity with the cultural milieu that remained fruitful throughout the project. It gives a nuanced understanding of the background that was only possible through the personal experience but the disadvantage of participant observation was the lengthy and time-consuming process and was difficult for documenting the data, it was hard to write down everything that was important for the research.<sup>4</sup>

During the fieldwork the researcher participated in different activities like dish washing, teaching children, telling interesting stories, playing cricket and *luddo* with children, attending ceremonies of marriage, and agricultural activities etc. The tool helped in understanding hidden fabric of community as well as of inhabitants of the research area. The participation in their social and religious ceremonies and involvement with the local people helped them in lessening hesitation and made the conversation more convenient.

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<sup>4</sup> Bogdewic S.P. 1992.

### 1.7.5 Case Studies

A case study is a research method common in social sciences. It is based on an in-depth investigation of a single individual, group, or event.<sup>5</sup>

Rather than using samples and following a rigid protocol (strict set of rules) to examine limited number of variables, case study methods involve an in-depth, longitudinal (over a long period of time) examination of a single instance or event.<sup>6</sup>

The case study provided a systematic way of looking at events, collecting data, analyzing information, and reporting the results. As a result the researcher may gain a sharpened understanding of why the instance happened and who did it and what might be important to look at more extensively in future research. The case studies lend generating and testing hypotheses. The case study has been supported and well-formulated by Lamnek, 2005:

*"The case study is a research approach, situated between concrete data taking techniques and methodological paradigms."*<sup>7</sup>

(Lamnek)

### 1.7.6 Informal group discussions

The informal group discussion on a particular topic could be called focus group discussion adopted by the anthropologists in field work for crosschecking the data collected through interviews and other tools.

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<sup>5</sup> Shepard, Jon; Robert W. Greene 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Robert K. Yin. 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Bent Flyvbjerg, April 2006.



The researcher frequently used the technique during the entire period of research and interacted with different people at home, schools, social and religious gatherings.

Through the focus group discussions, the researcher composed variety of detailed data about the people's perceptions relating to the role of kinship and other determinants that influence the marriage system and its impact of family life in the locale of study. During the fieldwork, the researcher stayed in the village for five months, during that period she participated in different local activities. In addition to that she made informal discussions with the community people on different aspects of marriage and its impact on family.

The informal group discussions provided valuable information and interesting aspects of respected cultural trends and traditions which could not be obtained by formal interviews.

The women of Mardwal also spent a lot of time with the researcher whenever they were free from their domestic activities. They also shared their problems and marriage related difficulties with the researcher in a very friendly environment. Most of them were illiterate but they were kind enough to help the researcher in understanding different aspects of local women's marital life.

### **1.7.7 Mapping**

A map was drawn to understand the local topographical features and geographical characteristics of the research area. This map contained sketches of all the household locations, land masses, fields, mosques, water sources, etc., that gave a rough idea of



community locations. Being an important tool, it was used during the fieldwork with the help of an expert person who was familiar with every corner and important place of the research locale.

### **1.7.8 Field experience**

Research is a very good way of knowing about different social, cultural and scientific issues. First of all human beings observe the phenomenon around him/her, then the next step is to think about it in terms of investigating why this happened?. Human beings have curious nature and this nature turn a way towards knowledge and scientific investigation. This scientific investigation is termed as research.

Research in social sciences and especially in the discipline of Anthropology came up with many interesting experiences of field work. The research undertaken in the village Mardwal was very interesting for the researcher in many ways and was a challenging task. How these challenges were faced and how field problems were solved? A brief description of the field experiences of the researcher are listed below.

The first step for doing research in the field was to build good rapport among community members. Rapport establishment was a research method of anthropology by which researcher has to maintain such an image in the community so that people start trusting him/her and do not consider him as stranger while giving information. To achieve the goal, the researcher used different methods and technique to handle different situations which confronted during data collection.

For instance when she discussed the purpose of research and informed them about the characteristics of the research topic, the response of elderly people was not

pleasant and satisfactory. They do not pick points clearly and shown their reservations for the researcher's presence there that might be for changing the mindsets of young people for marrying outside the caste and kin relations. After spending four days the researcher convinced them that the researcher's presence was not for any harmful activities except for the academic activity. After long discussions with them they were satisfied about my presence in Mardwal and promised to cooperate.

After successfully gaining the trust of community's elderly members, next step was to find out active and trustworthy key informants. Two key informants were selected, one was a retired teacher of 65 years old and other was young and active lady of 35 years. They were very reliable informants and cooperated at every step of the research. With their existence she solved many issues like learning and understanding of the local language, culture, social norms and values etc.

During the fieldwork researcher visited many famous places of the area and enjoyed the beautiful natural beauty of the valley, like cutting crops, digging out potatoes from fields, running tube wells etc. The researcher also participated in sowing and digging out potatoes and different seasonal vegetables which they took to nearby cities for selling at *sabzi mandi*.<sup>8</sup> During the visit of different places the researcher took snapshots of important events and activities in different locations in the research area. All the research activities were an interesting experience which gave wonderful features about the cultural practices and physical features of the area.

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<sup>8</sup> A big market where vegetables are sold

## Chapter - 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Review of literature broadens theoretical orientation of the chosen topic and provides further feedback about the research problem. It also helps reader to clear the concepts related to the research problem under discussion.

A comprehensive literature review revealed that there were very few studies that solely focused on the increasing trends of exogamous marriages and its impact on family structure in Pakistan. However, before reviewing the literature, it was essential to go through the context of Pakistan's rural culture, their marriage options and practices, social factors and cultural expectations that were involved in a marriage. In rural areas of the countries like Pakistan, it is a customary pattern to choose a mate from near kin relations and people feel proud when they succeeded in getting a marriage partner from their *biradri*.<sup>9</sup>

Traditionally, in many cases this process results into misunderstandings leading towards serious disputes among real sisters and brothers on account of refusal of *rishta*<sup>10</sup> for their own sons and daughters. After having a brief overview of the cultural context of the study area, literature review related to the subject has been given, this will serve to enhance validity of the arguments given by the researcher.

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<sup>9</sup> Extended family/patriline, brotherhood.

<sup>10</sup> proposal

The research was mainly focused on exogamous marriage pattern. Exogamy is a pattern of marriage where an individual chooses life partner from outside one's own group or social unit. The word exogamy was originated in 1865 from Greek word "exo" meaning outside and "gamos" meaning marriage. Hence the review of literature particularly deals with studies related to exogamous marriage patterns, its causes for preferences and its possible outcomes or consequences.

Kinship, family and marriage patterns have been extensively studied by the Anthropologist, Sociologist and historians who gave detailed accounts on above mentioned topics. The anthropologists have tried to give different definitions of marriage some of which are given below.

In Gupta's (1974) views marriage fulfills four functions:

*"First function of marriage is a religious performance without which individual is incomplete. Second function implies children who will carry the name of father. Third is that children are necessary to ensure a happy life for parents. The fourth and the last function of marriage is to satisfy sexual desires of both partners in a socially accepted manner".<sup>11</sup>*

(Gupta: 1974)

According to Redcliff Brown (1950):

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<sup>11</sup> Gupta. G. Raj. 1974.

*“Marriage is a social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in society, determined by parenthood in the social sense.”<sup>12</sup>*

(Redcliff Brown: 1950)

A dictionary of sociology defined marriage as:

*“Marriage is a cultural phenomenon which sanctions more or less permanent union between partners, conferring legitimacy on their off springs”.<sup>13</sup>*

Westermarck (1926) defined marriage as:

*“A relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights or duties, both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born into it”<sup>14</sup>*

(Westermarck:1926)

The marriage serves as a means to emotional and sexual gratification. It is also a form of Ibadah for the Muslims as it is obeying the Allah and its messenger (P.B.U.H). The marriage has been considered as the only possible way for sexes to unite, instead of

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<sup>12</sup>Brown, R. 1950.

<sup>13</sup> Dictionary of Sociology, 1988.

<sup>14</sup> Westermarck, Edward. 1926.

choosing to live in sin, however by choosing marriage one is displaying obedience to Allah.

As for as the origin of the institution of marriage is concerned, Brehm consider it a probable primeval habit. It was, also believed and practiced even in the primitive times, the habit for a man and a woman (or several women) to live together, to have sexual relations with one another where the man is considered being the protector and supporter of the family and woman being his helpmate and the nurse of his children. This habit was sanctioned by custom, and afterwards by law, and thus transformed into a social institution.<sup>15</sup>

Émile Durkheim has suggested:

*“Origin of exogamy is religious. In his argument regarding the taboo against incest, Durkheim stated that its root laid the law of exogamy, which is defined as prohibition to marry inside the same clan, where a clan is defined by people who have the same totem.”<sup>16</sup>*

(Émile Durkheim)

Lewis Henry Morgan,<sup>17</sup> in his work on kinship has explained:

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<sup>15</sup> Brehm, Thierleben, 1989.

<sup>16</sup> Satbir Singh, May 15, 2010.

<sup>17</sup> Lewis Henry Morgan,

*"Exogamy was introduced to prevent marriage between blood relatives, especially between brother and sister, which was common in a previous state of promiscuity."*

(Lewis Henry Morgan)

Charles Darwin while arguing about the origin of exogamy said that:

*"Exogamy arose from the strongest male driving the other males out of the group".<sup>18</sup>*

(Charles Darwin)

According to Thomas (1898);

*"Exogamy is the custom of seeking a mate or marriage partner outside of one's own kinship group or class, religion, ethnic group or area of residence. Exogamy is when one marries someone outside one's own group. The organizational advantage of exogamy is that outsiders are constantly brought in, which might be desirable" e.g. if the group has shortages in their work force. The tangential disposition of the male is expressed in the system of exogamy so characteristic of tribal life. The movement towards exogamy doubtless originates in the restlessness of the male, the tendency to make new coordination, connections and alliances, the stimulus to seek more unfamiliar women, and the emotional*

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<sup>18</sup> Cambridge Journal Online, Behavioral and Brain Sciences 2009.

*interest in making unfamiliar sexual alliances. But quite aside from its origin, exogamy is an energetic expression of the male nature."*<sup>19</sup>

(Thomas: 1898)

Different theories have been proposed to account for the origin of exogamy. Here is given some references which explain how and why concept of exogamy originated. John Ferguson McLennan introduced the terms exogamy (marriage outside the group, as in bride capture between warring tribes) and endogamy (marriage within a specific group, leading to monogamy and determination of kinship through males, rather than females) He argued that exogamy was originally due to scarcity of women, which obliged men to seek wives from other groups, including marriage by capture, and this in time grew into a custom. Exogamy was linked to totemism by McLennan (1876), who argued that: *"primitive tribes live in the totem stage of cultural evolution; having kinship through mothers only, and exogamy as their marriage law"*.<sup>20</sup>

(McLennan: 1876)

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<sup>19</sup> W.I. Thomas. 1898.

<sup>20</sup> McLennan, John Ferguson. 1876.



Claude Levi-Strauss introduced the "Alliance Theory" of exogamy, that is, that small groups must force their members to marry outside so as to build alliances with other groups. According to this theory, groups that engaged in exogamy would flourish, while those that did not would die out, either literally or because they lacked ties for cultural and economic exchange, leaving them at a disadvantage. The exchange of men and/or women therefore served as a uniting force between groups.<sup>21</sup>

Local people of Mardwal believed that exogamy is marrying to another group that is not of their own caste or *biradri*. Same views are expressed by Kurtz (2007). He explained the concept of marriage:

*"Anthropologists once identified exogamy, the tendency to form alliances with strangers by "marrying out", as a core component of human nature. Of course, every society identifies boundaries outside which legitimate marriage cannot take place. Nonetheless, within those boundaries, most societies frown on close marriages within existing family lines, and this sets a nearly universal value on the practice of alliance and interchange between insiders and outsiders".*

(Kurtz: 2007)

Islam is a religion which teaches its followers how to live a life and how to behave with others. It stresses its followers a responsibility to form in-group solidarity that is necessary because it causes a fear among their enemies not to think about

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<sup>21</sup> Levi Strauss, Claude, 1947.

something to do wrong with it. In the same way when deciding about choosing life partners, Muslim families usually try to find it first of all in near kins, if not found suitable match then they go out of families for *rishta*. This view has been supported by Stanely Kurtz:

*"The very strong form of endogamy uniquely practiced throughout much of the Muslim world, shows that it is possible to construct a human society on the basis of another fundamental strategy. Instead of cultural communication, adaptive development, and mutual trust, this strategy stresses intense in-group solidarity and unbreakable cultural continuity."*<sup>22</sup>

(Stanely: 2007)

While Gough (1959), based her studies on that of Nayar, suggests that:

*"There should be one, parsimonious definition of marriage which should center on legitimization of any child born within the union of one woman to one or more other persons"*<sup>23</sup>.

(Gough (1959)

Leach (1955) disagrees with Gough and argues that no definition can be found that could apply across cultures to all cases which might be considered marriage. He

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<sup>22</sup> Stanely Kurtz, 18 Feb. 2007.

<sup>23</sup> Gough, E. Kathleen 1959.

instead offers ten classes of rights, which he suggests are a good template for determining whether or not marriage exists.<sup>24</sup>

In 1989, Czech anthropologist Ladislav Holy offered a credible general explanation of the Muslim preference for parallel-cousin marriage. Holy showed how cousin marriage serves as a fail-safe protective device to secure collective family honor, and linked the honor-based function of cousin marriage to a broader appreciation of super-charged, in-group solidarity as a social strategy. He argues that:

*“No society can do without some form of in-group solidarity. But once you understand how Muslims construct society as a collection of counterbalanced, sometimes allied, sometimes feuding, closed-off, and self-sufficient family cells, and the problem of Muslim cultural persistence begins to make sense, Holy also allows us to appreciate that the Muslim seclusion of women (another critical barrier to modernization and assimilation) is part and parcel of a larger complex of practices, at the center of which is parallel-cousin marriage. The most popular explanation of parallel-cousin marriage treated it as a way of keeping wealth within the family line. Holy argues that the high value placed on endogamy sharply sets Muslim society apart from the rest of the world. Yet in a positive sense, parallel-cousin marriage serves as a powerful tool*

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<sup>24</sup> Leach, Edmund R. 1955.

*for preserving the internal solidarity and cultural continuity of the group.”<sup>25</sup>*

(Ladislav Holy)

There are two universal categories of marriage partner selection restrictions. They are referred to by anthropologists as exogamy rules and endogamy rules:

*“Exogamy rules require that marriage be outside of some defined social group, such as one’s own family. In contrast, endogamy rules require that it be within some larger group, such as the local community. In other words, rules of exogamy tell you who you cannot marry, while rules of endogamy specify who would be acceptable and preferred as a marriage partner. Both of these types of rules operate at the same time. Social distance is the key factor in this determination.”<sup>26</sup>*

The incest taboo is a term used by anthropologists to refer to a class of prohibitions, both formal and informal, stated and unstated, against incest, the practice of sexual relations between certain or close relatives, in human societies. So incest taboos specify criteria for endogamous and exogamous groups. Same views have been expressed by Murdock as:

*“Incest taboos exclude close relatives (the exogamous group).*

*Beyond that group are more distant relatives, friends, and*

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<sup>25</sup> Ladislav Holy, 1989.

<sup>26</sup> Dennish O.Neil. 4 Aug 2009.

*associates (the endogamous group) with whom marriage is usually desirable. More distant still are all outsiders or aliens with whom marriage and sexual relations are by and large either discouraged or forbidden. In North America, the exogamous group includes an individual's siblings, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and sometimes cousins. There often are explicit incest laws prohibiting marriage or mating with these relatives. The endogamous group generally consists of the members of an individual's ethnic/racial, religious, and socio-economic age groups. The North American endogamy rules, which encourage marriage within these groups, are usually in the form of implicit social pressure by friends and relatives. These rules may remain unstated below the surface until an individual tries to deviate from them".<sup>27</sup>*

(Murdock)

In the developing countries, the Pakistani social structure of families plays an important role in mate selection. There are always some preferred relations that are considered more trustworthy and suitable for marriage, while the literature review has also expresses the same notions.

About 30% of all cultures define cousins as preferred mates, in other words, the endogamous group includes relatives outside of the nuclear family but not more distant

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<sup>27</sup> Murdock G.P, 1949..

than cousins. In the rural areas of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, it is not unusual to find that one third of marriages are with first cousins. Endogamy decreases as a society becomes more industrialized and receptive to the notion of romantic love; in turn, more exogamy reflects a more open and fluid society. Bull further added that”

*“At the macro-level the report indicates a generally consistent pattern of social endogamy, especially for the property/land-owners and the landlessness. Despite industrialization, people's marriage choices continued to be influenced by ownership, rather than romantic love. At the micro-level, regional differences on people's marriage choices are found in different chapters. However, it was not caused by an increase in degrees of people's belief in romantic love, rather, it was "due to the rural proletarianization of the 18th and 19th centuries, which increased the size of the group of farm workers, thereby expanding the number of possible marriage candidates from this group”<sup>28</sup>.*

(Bull)

Lu Pei Hua et.al (2009) identified another factor that caused a generally higher social exogamous rate in the urban regions was the unscrupulous way by which people's class status was determined.

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<sup>28</sup> Bull, 2005.

*“Historically, one's class status was classified according to his/her father's class status. Therefore, high exogamous rates in the urban regions did not necessarily represent regional openness or fluidity in terms of class mobility; rather, they were caused by class immobility in the rural regions that forced more 'undesirable' martial candidates to marry exogamous groups. The authors have successfully identified this methodological problem”.*<sup>29</sup>

(Lu Pei Hua)

According to the report of the conference of commission for racial inequality, it was found that out of the 10.3 million marriages at the time of 2001 census, only 219,000 (2%) were inter-ethnic.<sup>30</sup> but there were notable variance, which highlighted the different levels of acceptance of exogamous relations amongst ethnic groups guided by religious and cultural differences in Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are considerably less than Chinese or African-Caribbean communities to accept intermarriage involving a White partner.

Inter family marriage is an old tradition which is still followed among the Muslim world. There are many reasons for practicing this tradition, one of the factors is to keep wealth and honor in family, especially in Pakistan it is most preferred practice while choosing marriage partner. According to the Nicolai's study of the Muslim inbreeding:

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<sup>29</sup> Lu, Pei Hua, 2009.

<sup>30</sup> A CRE E-Conference 4-6 Sep. 2007.

*“The most famous example of inbreeding is in ancient Egypt, where several Pharaonic dynasties collapsed after a couple of hundred years. In order to keep wealth and power within the family, the Pharaohs often married their own sister or half-sister and after a handful of generations the offspring were mentally and physically unfit to rule. Another historical example is the royal houses of Europe where royal families often married among each other because tradition did not allow them to marry people of non-royal class.”<sup>31</sup>*

(Nicolai)

According to the latest researches in the field of medical, continuous cousin marriages affect the intelligence and IQ level of the offspring. Now interfamily marriages are related with less intelligence and low IQ level. The below mentioned reference is supporting the argument made by the researcher.

*“The high amount of mentally retarded and handicapped royalties throughout European history shows the unhealthy consequences of this practice. Luckily, the royal families have now allowed themselves to marry for love and not just for status. The Muslim culture still practices inbreeding and has been doing so for longer than any Egyptian dynasty. This practice also predates the world’s oldest monarchy (the Danish) by 300 years. There are also*

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<sup>31</sup> Nicolai Senn, 11 August 2010 ,



*evidences suggesting that inbred people has a higher risk of developing mental disorders. The clinical observations indicated that depression is very high in some communities where the consanguinity of marriages is also high."* <sup>32</sup>

A rough estimate shows that half of the Muslims in the world are inbred. In Pakistan, 70 percent of all marriages are between first cousins and in Turkey the amount is between 25-30 percent.<sup>33</sup>

Statistical research on Arabic countries shows that up to 34 percent of all marriages in Algiers, 46 percent in Bahrain, 33 percent in Egypt, 80 percent in Nubia (southern area in Egypt), 60 percent in Iraq, 64 percent in Jordan, 64 percent in Kuwait, 42 percent in Lebanon, 48 percent in Libya, 47 percent in Mauritania, 54 percent in Qatar, 67 percent in Saudi Arabia, 63 percent in Sudan, 40 percent in Syria, 39 percent in Tunisia, 54 percent in the United Arab Emirates and 45 percent in Yemen are consanguine (amongst the blood relations).<sup>34</sup>

Several studies show that children of consanguineous marriages have lower intelligence than children of non-related parents. Research of the Reproductive Health Journal shows that the IQ is 10-16 points lower in children born from related parents and that abilities related to social behavior develops slower in inbred babies:

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<sup>32</sup> Indian Journal of Psychiatry, 2009.

<sup>33</sup> Jyllands Posten, Feb. 27 2009.

<sup>34</sup> Reproductive Health journal, 2009.

*“Effects of parental consanguinity on the cognitive and social behavior of children have been studied among the Ansari Muslims of Bhalgapur, Bihar. IQ in inbred children (8-12 years old) is found to be lower (69 in rural and 79 in suburban populations) than that of the out bred ones (79 and 95 respectively). The onset of various social profiles like visual fixation, social smile, sound seizures, oral expression and hand-grasping are significantly delayed among the new-born inbred babies.”*<sup>35</sup>

In a developing country like Pakistan, awareness about the medical complications and diseases caused due to intra-family marriages is very less and it is almost non-existent in rural areas of Pakistan. The reasons for this lack of knowledge includes the illiteracy, lack of such material in the text books and the limited access of media in far flung rural areas of Pakistan.

According to National Academy of Science (1978):

*“ The risk of having an IQ lower than 70 goes up 400 percent from 1.2 percent in children from normal parents to 6.2 percent in inbred children: “The data indicate that the risk for mental retardation in mating of normal parents increases from 0.012 with random mating to 0.062 for first-cousin parentage. The study concludes, that “The occurrence of malignancies, congenital*

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<sup>35</sup> Indian National Science Academy, 1983.

*abnormalities, mental retardation and physical handicap was significantly higher in offspring of consanguineous than non-consanguineous marriages.*"<sup>36</sup>

The detailed case studies of normal trend of marriages in Pakistan indicate that the prime decision makers in choosing a life partner for a girl or a boy are mostly the parents. Parents are also supported by grandparents and elder members of family in choosing an inbred life partner for their children. Furthermore the overriding factor for inbred marriages is not economic rather socio-cultural factor. Following DHS Survey illustrates the same view point validating the researcher's stance.

*"Although the recent Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) show that two-thirds of marriages in Pakistan are consanguineous, the socio-cultural determinants of such marriages remain largely unexplored. This paper examines the relative importance of the three commonly perceived reasons for such marriages: religious, economic and cultural. The analysis is based on qualitative data collected in 1995 from multi-ethnic and multi-religious communities in Karachi, the largest city of Pakistan. Results show that consanguineous marriages are preferred across all ethnic and religious groups to a varying degree, and that parents continue to be the prime decision-makers for marriages of both sons and daughters. The major reasons for a preference for*

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<sup>36</sup> Proceedings of National Academy of Science. 1978.

*consanguineous marriages are socio-cultural rather than any perceived economic benefits, either in the form of consolidation of family property or smaller and less expensive dowries."*<sup>37</sup>

Brothers and sisters develop a very strong sense of affiliation with the passage of time and when they grow up and get married, that affiliation forces them to get their children married to each other to keep their bondage intact and strong.

Furthermore, the same source notes that "a brother is felt to have the right to marry his own children to his brother's children" (ibid:239) and more specifically, thus first cousin marriage is based on sentimental attachments between siblings and takes precedence over marriage with distant patrilineal kin. On the other hand, father's brother daughters' marriage is partially based on the feeling that a brother's son has first rights over his father's brother's daughter and thus takes precedence, in many instances over other first cousin marriage" (ibid: 241).

Preferential marriages are based on the fact that more reputable and respected families are given preference over less reputable families in marriage choices. More respected families are normally the ones which abide by social norms and customs in a stricter manner. If we have to explain marriage choices, we must combine an analysis of situations valid for appropriate reasons in which the proposal has been made.

*"When Dhund (an Indian tribe) discuss the preferences they not only mention that the members of the different categories make*

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<sup>37</sup> R. Hussain , 1999.

*good marriage partners, but they also point out that they expect people to marry them. The preferences are spoken of as social expectations which means, that of course to be regarded as normal, reputable members of their community who abide by its standards, people must pay a certain amount of attention to them. To attain respectability, therefore it may be necessary to acquiesce in what have been referred to elsewhere as "normal marriages" (Bates, 1974).<sup>38</sup>*

It's well known fact that marrying a cousin increases the chance of a recessive gene to appear, which in turn increases the risk of a birth defect.

The chance of first cousins having children with a birth defect is 4-7%, vs. 3-4% for a non-consanguineous couple; it might not sound that bad. But if it is informed that the odds of having a birth defect are ~50% greater, then it sounds worse. The advantage of marriage to kinsmen has received some attention in the general literature, as well as in the Pakistani context. Here it is emphasized that endogamous marriages tend to reinforce the consanguine relationships which already exists within the kin group (Korson and Mair 1971:156).<sup>39</sup>

Despite the general pattern for reproductive success favoring close kinship, couples that were second cousins or more closely related did not have as many children. The most likely reason, scientists say: offspring of such close relatives were likely to

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<sup>38</sup> Bates, D.G, 1974.

<sup>39</sup> Korson and Mair, 1971.

have much shorter life spans, because of the chance of inheriting harmful genetic mutations.

*“If a person has a rare recessive gene that causes birth defects and has two children with a person who does not have that recessive gene, there is a 1 in 4 chance that both those children will have the gene. If they outbreed, there is a 1 in 64 chance that cousins will have the recessive gene. If those cousins inbreed, there is a 1 in 256 chance that their child will have the birth defects. That may sound pretty good, but if they marry someone outside their family, there is essentially 0% chance that the child will have the birth defect.”<sup>40</sup>*

The beginning of family formation may be either marriage or parenthood, marriage is therefore considered as the focus of the process of family formation, and mate selection as one of the most problematic feature, especially in the case of poor and developing countries of the world.

The Problem of finding suitable marriage proposal due to numerous reasons has become a big problem for girls in Pakistan, that is why the scope of exogamy is on the rise and parents tend to forget the restriction to get married in their own cast or language for the sake of an appropriate life partner for their daughters as well as for sons. There

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<sup>40</sup> Needham, R. 1962.

were lots of cross cultural marriages in Pakistan over the past few decades, thus weakening the concept of endogamy.

The following review gives an overlook about the idea of village exogamy practiced in an Indian village. Same kind of exogamy was found in the research area. According to Karve:

*"There is a considerable amount of variation between sub-castes in their kinship patterns. While most prohibit marriage outside the sub-caste, the size of the group can vary a great deal. Some communities in Southern India prefer marriage within a circle of close relatives, usually between a man and the daughter of his elder sister, or between the children of brothers. Such consanguineous marriages are getting rarer because suitable grooms are difficult to find. Another characteristic of Indian kinship systems is the variation in their prohibition against marrying partners who belong to the same village. In the language of the kinship studies such communities who marry outside their own village are called "village exogamous." In the northern districts of Karnataka a majority of communities are village exogamous, while in the southern districts the majority does not prohibit this."*<sup>41</sup>

(Karve)

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<sup>41</sup> Karve, Irawati, 1965.

According to Francis Bloch:

*“Clearly, if wedding celebrations are a signal of status, weddings between partners who belong to the same village do not present an opportunity to communicate any new information given the rather good knowledge about other local households that prevails in most rural Indian communities. When the bride's family is marrying into a family from another village, however, the quality of the match is unknown to the village of the bride's family and this change in status can be signaled to the village by the size of the wedding celebration. Additionally, while families themselves are quite careful about obtaining reasonably good information on their prospective in-laws, the new in-laws are often quite unknown to the other families in the village. Therefore, variations in village exogamy provide a natural experiment that allows us to test if wedding celebrations are driven by signaling motives.”<sup>42</sup>*

(Francis Bloch)

Furthermore, the mobility within a village is often achieved by imitating the behaviors of families of higher social orders (Srinivas, 1989)<sup>43</sup>.

*“A great deal of effort and expense is devoted to the presentation of external attributes. Household decisions are often made with an emphasis*

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<sup>42</sup> Francis Bloch, 2001.

<sup>43</sup> Srinivas, 1989.



*on how one's family will be viewed by others: What will others say? What will they think? For the parents of a daughter, marriage is potentially the most important source of mobility since marrying into a "good family" can greatly enhance how a family is viewed by its peers, and a prestigious match is an occasion for great celebration and status displays<sup>44</sup>."*

(Rao, 2001)

Families clearly gain direct utility from simply moving up the social ladder and being associated by marriage with a prestigious, wealthy pedigree. Thus, when a family member marries into a rich family, it is in their interest to demonstrate this to the rest of the village, particularly if the rest of the village does not know the new in-laws. The most effective way of signaling a family's newfound affinity-derived status is to have as lavish a wedding as they can possibly afford. On the flip side, if a family member marries a poor local family well known to everyone in the village, this may also be an occasion of celebration, but lavish displays are no longer necessary since not much can be gained by signaling.

Ironically, suspicion as to the advisability of first-cousin marriage had been raised by Charles Darwin (1862)<sup>45</sup> in the improbable context of a book on self-fertilization in orchids. In keeping with family tradition Darwin married his first cousin Emma Wedgwood in 1839, with 10 children born over the next 17 years. Although happily married, after the death of three of their children, including his favorite daughter Annie in

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<sup>44</sup> Rao, Vijayendra, 2001.

<sup>45</sup> Darwin C. 1862.

1851 probably of tuberculosis, Darwin (1875)<sup>46</sup> became concerned that their union may have been a mistake from a biological perspective. However, studies conducted by his son George into the prevalence and basic health outcomes of contemporary first-cousin marriage in Great Britain helped to convince Darwin to the contrary. But by that stage the topic of cousin marriage had become a matter of often acrimonious public debate on both sides of the Atlantic, and by the end of the 19th century legislation banning first-cousin unions had been enacted by 12 state legislatures in the United States.<sup>47</sup>

Although the institution of the family has been accorded profound importance in Islam, the right to dissolution of marriage is given to both spouses. The Qur'an and Sunnah provide clear guidelines for dissolution of marriage that protect the rights of all stakeholders, the husband, the wife, the children, and society at large. However, there are certain practices in Pakistan, which are often in blatant violation of Islamic teachings, largely due to public ignorance of Islamic teachings and weakness of law and its improper implementation.

*“Marriage is highly revered and extolled in Islam and accorded a detailed treatment both in the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). It is, for instance, called the sign of God, a way of prophets and the Sunnah of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). The Qur'an uses the simile of a garment to describe the mutually protective and beautifying relationship between spouses, and*

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<sup>46</sup> Darwin GH, 1875.

<sup>47</sup> Ottenheimer, 1996.

*requires them to be very kind and considerate to each other. It also assigns different roles to each spouse to ensure smooth functioning of the family that emerges as a result of the marriage contract between husband and wife in a prescribed way. Islam treats marriage as an everlasting institution with specific rights and responsibilities assigned to each partner. A Muslim marriage is a social contract between two independent persons who have attained puberty. Islam introduces checks and balances to protect and secure the rights of all stakeholders in this matter. However, Islam does not rule out dissolution of marriage as a last resort for estranged couples. Describing divorce as the most detestable among the permissible acts, Islam gives both the partners the right to terminate their marriage contract if they fail to fulfill the primary objectives of marriage.”<sup>48</sup>*

The following cited article examines the patterns of mate selection and the core issue of agency, this brief article reports on fieldwork in a remote community in Pakistan, where the family continues to have supervening influence over individual choices in mate selection. It explores the role of the family as a security provider and demonstrates the limited scope for individual agency.

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<sup>48</sup> Shagufta Qamar, 2003.

*“The behavior of the family in mate selection, where strong security concerns are observed, indicates a culture-centered approach to tackle the issue in a clan context, where members try to maximize various aspects of security in the exchange of mate relations. Intensive fieldwork indicates significant feelings of insecurity among individuals over spouse selection and adoption of family-centered choices. Often the families of this agrarian community give priority to exchange marriages of their offspring, leaving limited options for the evasion of family control, since social security concerns normally prevail.”<sup>49</sup>*

In rural areas of Pakistan, Biradri has a very vital role while process of mate selection is going on especially in case of joint family system there are greater chances to have its impact and effects on marriage decisions. Views of Alvi (1972) about Biradri and its relation with kinship system have been described as:

*“The basic institution of the kinship system of Muslims of West Punjab is Biradri. For the moment we translate the word Biradri as “brotherhood” which emphasizes horizontal fraternal ties between contemporaries rather than convergence of vertical lines of descent which is also implied in concepts of Biradri.”<sup>50</sup>*

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<sup>49</sup> Muhammad Zaman, 2008. *Marriages Study*, Germany, South Asia Research, Vol. 28(3): 285–298

In cultural context of Pakistan in general and specifically rural areas where inter Biradri marriages are preferred due to different reasons. While marriage outside Biradri is not considered as prestigious one. Alvi (1972) expressed it in following words:

*“There is no prior ranking of Biradri’ s in a hierarchy of status. An allocation of relative status results from an inter Biradri marriage. A person who gives a daughter in marriage outside his Biradri, in effect, accepts an inferior status. Keep in daughter within own Biradri is an index of social prestige. Well the peasants and landlords generally post we take girls but do not gives ours.”*

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<sup>51</sup> Hamza. A. Alvi, 1972.

## Chapter - 3

### VILLAGE PROFILE

#### 3.1 Universe of the Study

There were numerous theories presuming the logic behind the name of "Soon Valley". According to Malik Sarwar Awan's research, the word Soon has been derived from a Sanskrit word Sohan's meant for beauty but with the passage of time it became Soon instead of Sohan.

The Soon Valley was located in district Khushab, geographically the district was quite and unique in nature possessing all the diversities of nature, there were mountains, deserts, lush green harvesting lands, lakes and rivers. The Soon valley was positioned in between the hilly tracks and was the most beautiful hill stations of Pakistan and was quite rich in natural resources especially salt and coal. Populace was very hard working and bulk of it was associated with farming and agriculture known for its delicious sweets specially Dhooda and Pateesa. The city was named as "Khushab" by a Muslim King Sher Shah Surry on his arrival in the area. The literary meanings of the word Khushab were "Metha Pani" or Sweet Water.

The valley starts from Padhrar village and ends at Sakesar that was located at an altitude of 5010 feet on the highest peak of the Salt Range. The Soon Valley was 35 miles (56 km) long and on average 9 miles (14 km) wide. The Valley has some special features that distinguish it from other areas. Chitta, Sabhral, Khoora, Nowshera, Kufri, Anga, Ugali, Mardwal, Dhadhar, Uchali and Bagh Shams-ud-Din were important towns in Soon valley while Kanhatti Garden, Sodhi Garden, Da'ep and Sakesar were the tourism resorts.

The Awan tribe was the chief tribe settled inside the Soon Valley accessible through public transport from Islamabad (M2 Balkasar Interchange), Lahore (M2 Kalar Kahar Intrechange), Sargodha, Khushab and Mianwali were at a distance of about 2 and a half hour's drive from Khushab. From Islamabad, the valley was connected by Jabah road via Talagang. After crossing Jabah town one crosses Ahmadabad, Khabakki town makrumi chouk and Mardawal, while Naushehra was inhabited just before the boundaries of the main Town of Soon valley. Naushehra was the main town of Soon Valley and transport for all surrounding villages and towns was available there. For Khushab and other eastern village's main bus/taxi stop was Mardwal Chowk while for villages west of Naushehra Y-Cross serves as Bus/Taxi point. The villages west of Naushehra were Sabhral, Kufri, Koradhi, Uchhali, and Chittah were before the Pakistan Air Force Base of Sakesar.<sup>52</sup>

### **3.2 Mardwal**

According to the research, history of the Mardwal goes back to 150 years; the old village of Mardwal was located near Bhalothi, where its remains were visible even today. According to a legend story, it was labeled as Mardwal on the basis of an old man called "Baba Mardu". His real name was Mardan Ali and he had 5 sons; each of his sons were heading an independent generation in the area, one of them was Muhammad, whose generation was called as Mamdaa, the second son was Aataa and his offspring were called Atwal, the third one was Phattoo heading Pathwal tribe. Fourth son was Smyle and

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<sup>52</sup> [www.soon valley.com](http://www.soonvalley.com)

his generation was known as Samlaal, while the fifth son was known as Dilawar and his generation was called as Diral. Mardwal was also known as the “cheaters dwell”.<sup>53</sup>

### **3.3 Demographics**

Mardwal was a beautiful area situated at 4 Km south of Noshehra, it was a precious place worth witnessing owing to its beautiful scenes, fertile soil, ancient and indigenous culture and unlimited legendary stories. It has a huge tourist attraction due to its unmatched beauty and rich culture.

Total population of Mardwal was about 16,000 out of which 95% were Awans. It has the honor of being a village of brave warriors who fought against invaders throughout the history. Awans have contributed towards conscription and recruitment for the ancient warriors like Alexander and form a formidable part of the fighting force of Pakistan Army. Due to brave soldiers the area remained safe from invaders since pre historic era.

#### **3.3.1 Socio-demographic composition of the village**

The present chapter deals with the socio-demographic features of the village. Source of the quantitative data presented here is the socio-economic and census survey conducted in this study. There were total 3010 households in the village, whereas total population inhabited was 16000.

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<sup>53</sup> A. Shah , 2009.



### **3.3.2 Population**

A population is the entire collection of people, animals, plants or things, while in sociology, population refers to a collection of human beings from which we may collect data. It is the entire group we are interested in, which we wish to describe or draw conclusions about. The total population of the village Mardwal was about 16,000 living in 3010 household.

#### **3.3.3.1 Distribution of sample population**

In order to make any generalizations about a population, a sample, that is meant to be representative of the population, is often studied. For each population there are many possible samples. A sample statistic gives information about a corresponding population parameter. For example, the sample means a set of data that would give information about the overall population mean.

Socio-economic and census survey form was used to get information about the general distribution of the sample population. As total population of the area was 16000 but only 10% population was examined, with the help of socio-economic survey, as a population sample.

As 1600 people constituted ten percent population which was taken from 230 households. In this way the researcher visited number of households that gave a chance to glance on inhabitant's behavior and spend time with them which made her presence trustworthy and reliable.

**3.3.4 Distribution of sample population according to Gender**

The sample population consisted of 1600 people out of which 684 were females which made 42.75% of population sample, while 916 were males which were 57.25% of the population. Sample of survey from male population was slightly higher than female due to presence of more young male members in the community. Average persons per household were 7. All this information is given in table 1.

**Table No- 1: Distribution of population according to gender**

<b>Respondents gender</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Female	684	42.75
Male	916	57.25
<b>Total</b>	1600	100.00

**3.3.4 Age distribution of population sample**

With the help of socio-economic and demographic survey, the information which was revealed about division of community’s people into age groups is given in table 2. Sample population was divided in to three groups. First group was consisting of age 0-29 years old. 784 people were included in this group which made highest percent of the population i.e. 49%. Second age group was consisting of people who were of age 30-59 years; they were 36% of the population sample. Third and last category was of persons having age of 60 and above, which were 252 out of 1600. It made 15% of the sample population. These elder members of the community were mostly retired from army or

engaged in agricultural activity. They were most respectable and active members of the community participating in village organization and playing powerful and decisive role in domestic matters.

**Table No 2: Distribution of population according to age and groups**

Age group (in years)	Number	Percentage
0-29	784	49
30-59	564	36
60-above	252	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>1600</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** socio - economic and demographic survey

**Table- 3: Population distribution according to their profession**

Respondents profession	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	543	34
Armed forces	148	9.3
Private jobs	245	15.3
Own business	137	8.56
Teaching	62	3.9
L.H.W	26	1.6
Others	132	8.25
Unemployed	307	19.18
<b>Total</b>	<b>1600</b>	<b>100.00</b>

### **3.3.5 Distribution of sample population according to professions**

To live and survive in the society, humans have to adopt some professions which help them in their social survival and to maintain their status among community. As the research area was agriculture based community, 543 out of 1600 belonged to agriculture profession, 34% of the people surveyed were engaged directly or indirectly with some form of agricultural activity.

Next category of profession was the personals of armed forces, especially Pakistan army. It is considered a reputable and highly prestigious profession, 148 persons have joined armed forces which make 9.3 % of sample populace.

In Mardwal, many people do private jobs for instance works in poultry farms, work as a factory labor, have their own shops etc. That includes 245 persons which make 15.3 % of the surveyed population. A numbers of people who were doing their own business in the same village or nearby villages were 137, which constitute 8.56% of the sample population.

There were 62 people out of 1600 persons in sample population who were teachers which were 4 % of the surveyed sample including socio-economic senses survey forms. More than 50 % teachers belonged to private sector of education. It shows increase in number of private schools in the research area and importance of education.

Lady Health Worker's profession was adopted by 26 ladies and formed 1.6 % of the sample population. Women of the area adopted the profession for sharing their family's burden. The next category was miscellaneous job category of the people which

includes tailoring, shoe-making, blacksmith, carpenter, welder etc, 132 people belong to that job group were 8.25 % of the sample population. There were 307 people who were unemployed and were 19 % of the sample population, which includes those people who were retired from their jobs.

**Table 4: Distribution of Population according to Family Structure**

Family structure	Number	Percentage
Joint family	111	48.26
Nuclear family	92	40
Extended family	27	11.73
<b>Total</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>100.00</b>

### 3.3.6 Family structure of Mardwal

The family structure of the respondents is given above in table number -4. Highest percentage of the respondents was those who were living in joint family system, they were 48 %. The trend shows the preference of the rural area’s people, they still consider it more fruitful and beneficial for their family’s survival.

There were 40% nuclear families out of the population sample of 230 households which shows the increasing trend of living with wife and children only. The tendency of living in nuclear family was popular amongst the younger generation in the village Mardwal. The mindsets of sample population were changing with the time passage, their

lifestyle and thinking has been influenced by the increasing interaction with outsiders and due to interaction with urban population. The percentage of living in extended family system was 12 percent.

### 3.3.7 Distribution of population according to caste system

Awan was the main caste of the village, other caste groups were Maliks, Tanny, Dory, Batti, Ghorey, Ganjay, Tahriey. The sub-caste grouping was only for the recognition of their people in a well populated area, the sub-castes were nominal, while more than 98% people were Awans, while the sub-castes were the branches of Awan caste. Remaining 2% were belonged to lower castes such as *blacksmith, mocha, mirassi, mussali, nai*, the people of the lower castes were known as *kammi* who serve the rest of the population in one or the other.

**Table No-5: Educational distribution of gender**

Education	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	294	223	517
Primary	272	235	507
Middle	71	58	129
Metric	184	62	246
Above	95	104	199
<b>Total</b>	<b>916</b>	<b>684</b>	<b>1600</b>

### **3.4 Illustrious places in the village**

There were many shrines (Ziarats) <sup>54</sup> in Mardwal which includes Toot wale Badshah, Mai wali dheri, Faqeer Baba Ghulam Muhammad, Baba Sahri waly, Baba Shah Muhammad, Baba Faiz Ali Shah, Bilian wali Sarkar. The shrine of “Toot waly Badshah” was prominent among others. The shrines were the places of people gatherings, some visit the shrines for the fulfillment is the most revered of all the shrines in the area. A large number of places having historic as well as tourist significance are available in the area, Brief details regarding few of such places are proffered below.

#### **3.4.1 Mai Wali Dheri**

Mai Wali Dheri is the second highest peak of the area, Located 3 Km east of Mardwal. Its spherical shape presents a beautiful scene once viewed from the valley and surroundings. A safe and easy way to climb onto it has been constructed due to contribution of a local lady. The name written on the tomb stone “Peeroz Bibi zoja Sayyed Ahmed Hamdani almarouf Sakhi Shah Noori Sultan Bilawal Hamdani Danda Shah Bilal Chakwal”

There are numerous local folk tales about the Mai; one of the most common stories says that she wanted to be buried at such a place from where she could receive wind from all of the four directions. She happened to pass by the hillock and on finding it appropriate, she wished her burial there. The shrine presents a scenic view of Khushab, Mianwali and Wanhar etc.

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<sup>54</sup> Ziarat is a sacred place for Muslims where some respected and pious person is buried

### **3.4.2 Bhata cave**

Numerous ancient caves were across the entire valley, but unfortunately they remained untapped from archeological department as well as tourism department. Bhata cave was one of the prominent caves of the area situated at a walking distance of 15 minutes on Bhaloti road. Its depth was around 50 meters and was approximately 12 meters wide, it has two portals covered by bushes and occupied by wild pigeons.

### **3.4.3 Ran Gach spring**

The Ran Gach spring was situated on the eastern side of the Bhaloti road, this area was quite rich in remains of remnants of ancient Mardwal. Unlimited old buildings and utensils were found there. The people from ghorey, budhial and butti castes were lived in the area.

### **3.4.4 Baba Ashab**

Tomb of Baba Ashab was also the place of importance for the local people located near the village Dhoke Ashab, the saint buried was a pious and renowned religious personality, the village was named after him having a population consisting of 40-50 households.

### **3.4.5 Tootan Wali Sarkar**

The shrine of Tootan Wali Sarkar was located inside the graveyard of "Badshahan". According to the inhabitants, the saint was among the 5 saints who



preached Islam, spent their lives there and were buried at different places in the valley. They were Sultan Mehdi, Sawi Beri Waly and Sultan Ibrahim Sahri Waly.

### **3.4.6 Sahri waly Baba**

Baba Sahri Waly was an eminent legend of the village Mardwal who was known for his “*karamat*” of healing the ailment of joint’s disorder and severe pain. Bakht Bhari, an old woman of the community told the researcher during data collection that she had severe pain in her legs and remained bed ridden for about a month, she visited the shrine for three consecutive days and on 3<sup>rd</sup> day she was absolutely fine.

## **3.5 The unexplored archaeology of Soon valley**

The unexplored archaeology of Soon Sakesar valley was an open invitation for the archaeologists, historians and researchers to unfold the mysteries of the past. The area had the traces of inhabitation of prehistoric civilizations. Numerous caves were the places of interest for archaeological excavations. The ancient civilization Buddhism ruled the valley and left their traces behind. The valley not only served as a passage for invaders and warriors but was the hub of providing manpower to the Armed forces.

The traces of ancient civilization could be traced back to pre historic era. At the end of last ice age that melted down around 10,000 years ago, the northern Pakistan finally settled into its present topographic and morphological features and the Soon Sakesar valley was being located at the base of Northern Pakistan was the part of it.

The climatologically, geographical and environmental scenario of the Soon Sakesar valley was most suitable for the ancient man to stay long before the advent of civilizations. It was an area that was moderate in climate, where summer seasons were

pleasant and winter were not as hostile as the snow covered northern areas of Pakistan. So man evolved here during Stone Age in caves and natural shelters through all the three Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic periods. Human footprints present in the limestone formation of the valley that clearly indicate the traces of Stone Age. The legitimization of pre-historic civilization could be further explored through the archaeological studies to trace the presence of Homo erectus, Homo Habilis, Australopithecus or Pakipithecus to highlight the past of the Soon Sakesar valley. Most of the sites were near the springs in the hilly tracks, where hunting was the most adopted activity by the locals as well as by the hunters from other far flung areas.

### **3.5.1 The Major archaeological sites of the valley<sup>55</sup>**

The major archaeological sites of Soon valley were:

1. Fort and Hindu Shahi Temples of 9 A.D. at Amb Sharif.
2. Temples at Sakesar.
3. Human foot Prints (Fossils) at Daep Sharif.
4. Ruins of temples at Shakar Kot.
5. Archaeological mounds north of Naushahra.
6. Akrand cliff Fort near Kanhati garden.
7. Ruins of a central jail of Indo-Parthian kingdom near Bhanaka.
8. Hindu temple at Narsing Phoohar.
9. Tulajh Cliff fort near Khura.
10. Kot Magan Cliff fort near Jahlar.
11. Hardo Sodhi cliff Fort.
12. Remains of Bhuddist stupa at Hardo Sodhi.
13. Pre-Historic caves.
14. Stone terraces (graves) of different shape and sizes of Budhist period.
15. Ruins of small settlements of different periods scattered all over the

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<sup>55</sup> Source: Soon Sakesar \_ History, Archaeology and Culture.

<http://soonsakesar-history.com/arch.php>

### **3.6 Education**

The higher education level of the village was not so much encouraging because of inadequate facilities existed in the village; there was only one Government high school for boys and one Government middle school for girls where more than thousand students were getting education. There are 15 Government primary schools and 3 private middle schools in the village. Owing to the paucity of staff and lack of facilities in Government Schools most of the students prefer studying in the private schools. People were eager to attain higher qualification but due to non availability of a government college for boys as well as for girls, students were compelled to travel to Noshehra, a nearby settlement causing a unbearable financial burden on the families and tiresome problem of travelling through un-easy transportation means.

It was revealed during the research that parents were not satisfied with the educational standard of the schools; especially the government schools functioning in the area, they were looking for improvements in the course /syllabus as well as in teaching methods through arranging training workshops for the capacity building of existing academic staff. The shortage of teaching staff was another factor of dissatisfaction of the parents, according to them, there were many highly educated people among the community, their appointment as teachers would resolve the shortage problem. The children of the community were very intelligent and have an urge for higher education.

### **3.7 Civic facilities**

The village had numerous civic facilities to satisfy their daily domestic and off-domestic needs, but being a rural settlement, the village was also lacking some of the

amenities for which they have been struggling since times. The facilities available in the Mardwal village were:

### **3.7.1 Water**

About 60 % of the total village population receives water from the supply facility; however some people use water from wells for drinking and other purposes. Use of wells as a source of water was under threat due to countless reasons; the people were using a water reservoir *bannah* located in the village which was the major source of water for washing clothes, drinking water for animals, and a swimming facility for young boys in the summers. There were three water supply tanks which supply water to whole of the village, out of the tanks one main water tanks was located in the centre of Mardwal village adjacent to village graveyard.

### **3.7.2 Electricity**

The electricity was available in the village since 1991, before the provision of electricity; people used “*laltain* (lamp)” or “*dewa*” for lighting their houses and firewood for heating and cooking purposes.

### **3.7.3 Natural gas**

Unfortunately people have no access to Natural gas supply, most of the population use wood as a household fuel, few families use LPG (Liquid Petroleum Gas) cylinders which they procure from urban parts of the area. Some people collect individually wood from nearby jungle for their daily use, while others buy it from camel

owners. People use two types of wood for cooking purposes, thin fuel wood called *santha/jhara* and woody stems known as *moti lakri/tal wood*.

#### **3.7.4 Transport facilities**

The transport facilities were available to the population of the village Mardwal but the quantity and quality of vehicles was not satisfactory. A bur service owned by the local people was plying for Rawalpindi, Lahore, Sargodha, and Chakwal. About half of the population of Mardwal lives at far distant areas called “Dera jaat”.

#### **3.8 Agriculture**

The village consisted of mountainous tracks and number of pastures, the soil of was very fertile and gives good yield to the farmers. Barley, wheat, maize and seasonal vegetables were the important crops irrigated through the tube wells, rain and well’s water. The excessive agricultural produce was supplied to the markets of Rawalpindi, Lahore, Faisalabad, Gujranwala etc. With the changing trends of mechanization, the farmers were doing their agriculture by using machines like tractors and threshers in order to improve the level of kashtkari as well as to increase the agricultural produce.

#### **3.9 Pakistan Air Force (PAF) Base Sakesar**

On the outer fringes of the Soon valley lays a 4,992 feet peak called Sakeser. In the late-50s, PAF selected it as a site for high powered Radar station to provide air defense cover to the northeaster areas due to its ideal location and altitude. In 1960, a radar installation was commissioned at Sakesar. In 1961, it was formally inaugurated as

the PAF base that was used during the 1965 and 1971 wars. The establishment of the base was the source of generating employment and related financial opportunities for the local people.

Owing to existence of this base, local populace interact with the outsiders who come from different parts of the country with their families for discharging their duties at the base. The interaction with the PAF staff brought various social and economic changes in the community and affected the material and non material culture.

### **3.10 Population characteristics**

There were about 22 villages in the area and population wise Mardwal was the second largest village after sub-tehsil Naushera. The rural settlements produced many doctors, engineers, lawyers, scholars and highly qualified academicians. There has been an increasing migration towards urban centers for higher education and jobs. There is ever increasing number of families who are migrating towards cities for getting higher education or in search of good job opportunities as there were their kin relatives who were supporting their migration, especially in Multan, Chishtian, Sargodha, Rawalpindi, Lahore there were many “*Chaks*” where their ancestors bought lands and settled there. People residing in far flung areas, especially in *Dera jaat* and mountainous parts were living a tough life.

### **3.11 Medical facilities**

The village has almost a dozen doctors and most of them reside in cities due to jobs/ practice. Number of Hakims (traditional healer) and dispensers were working in

their private clinics. In neighboring city Naushera there was a 60 bed Civil Hospital providing services of genie, medical, ENT, separate T.B chest ward, surgery, T.B Dots (a therapy for curing T.B patients). A well managed operation theater facility was also available there in the hospital in addition to a well equipped dental unit. Total ten doctors were serving in the hospital out of them seven are male and three females while two of them were specialists.

Major diseases prevailing in the area were anemia, T. B, abdomen worms, cardiac strokes, C.O P D, while other diseases includes tonsillitis, pharyngitis, ascetic bronchitis, diarrhea, malaria, typhoid. Around 300 patients daily visit the hospital. There was no C.T Scan facility available, the cases relating to Neurosurgery were referred to the hospital at Johrabad, Sargodha, Khushab, Rawalpindi and Lahore. Medicines were given free of cost and doctor were not allowed to private practice.

Fauji Foundation Medical Centre was also located in Naushera for retired army personals and their families having the facilities of X-Ray and Laboratory with OPD. Three doctors including a specialist were serving in the hospital. The hospital serves around 30000 patients annually. A team of eye surgeons lead by Dr. Azhar Qazi was regularly visiting the village since last 24 years. They hold a free one week eye camp in which they operate 80-100 patients, patients were provided with free of cost medicines.

### **3.12 Markets**

There were more than forty shops in the village selling daily use commodities, while no central market was there but scattered shops usually established in the



households, ten were cloth shops, five shoe stores, three crockery shops, eleven general stores, six vegetable shops, five meat shops and two jewelers shops.

### **3.13 Literacy level**

There was an increase in number of enrollments due to the establishment of a Degree College in adjacent village of Noshehra. Literacy rate of the area was about 65 % but was increasing with the increase in population and availability of amenities, while the keen interest of parents in educating their children, especially the girls was also contributing towards increasing the literacy ratio. Literacy level is increasing day by day with the improvement of standards of education. People are taking more and more interest in education of their children especially for girls.

### **3.14 Political structure of the area**

Political structure of the study area is based upon strong family bonding and combine family system. Political party's representatives go to Biradri head and ask for votes for their party in days of election. After that they say "Duae-khair" and it is symbol of the support from that family. They fully convince people that they will work for their benefits and will strive that the government facilitates them in every aspect of life.

### **3.15 Religion**

John A. Hutchinson, <sup>56</sup>in his book '*Paths of Faith*'; has acknowledged the difficulty in defining the religion:

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<sup>56</sup> Hutchinson, John A. 1981.



*“Formal definitions of religion are as numerous, as various, and often as mutually conflicting as there are students of religion. Often such definitions illustrate the oriental parable of the blind men describing the elephant, each taking hold of part of the beast and defining the whole in terms of this part. Like the elephant, religion is a large and complex phenomenon. In this connection, some historians of religion question or reject the word religion as a distortion of the form of experience it seeks to communicate. Several of the world's major languages lack any word that can be adequately translated as "religion." The common noun religion imputes a unity or homogeneity of experience that many observers believe does not exist”. (pp. 3-4)*

Majority of the people were Muslims Sunnis, while few families were wahabis in the village, both were practicing their religious activities according to their faith without any outside interference, while not a single household belonged to Shiaism was existed there in Mardwal.

### **3.16 Rituals and ceremonies**

The people of the village perform different rituals and ceremonies according to their beliefs and religious commandments. The celebration of such ceremonies make the culture rich and attractive for its followers, people cooperate with each other and participate in such gatherings to strengthen their relations. Though the celebration of different ceremonies and participation of the people without caste and creed was the

traditional practice but a change was observed by the researcher that was not only alarming but also the threatening factor for such celebrations and people's participation at mass level. The young generation was not only ignoring the traditional practices but also were reluctant to participate, the attitude of the new generations towards the inherited norms was creating a social disorder and curbing the social bonds. The social and cultural bonds were not as strong as were few decades before.

### **3.17 Food**

Traditional food items used by the villagers were *saag*, *makhan*, *makai ki roti*, *lassi*, *desi ghee*, *chapatti*, Rice and all types of vegetables. The people of the village take food thrice a day, breakfast early in the morning, lunch at mid day and dinner at sunset. All types of seasonal fruits, juices, cold drinks and readymade food was also in use by some of the families.

### **3.18 Dress Patterns**

The usual dress pattern was gameez and shalwar of both the sexes, the elderly people wear Dhoti and gameez, while women were using colored clothes with Dupatta or Chadar to observe purdah. The young girls stitch their dress according to latest fashion e. g long shirts, trousers, frawks, etc. small kids wear gens and shirt. Young boys wear "kurta" "shalwar" and "gameez" "shalwar", while some of them wear trousers and modern fashionable shirts.

### **3.19 Language**

Local language of Mardwal was Punjabi, spoken and understood by the whole population, while Urdu language was also spoken by the people in different situations. The medium of instruction in the educational institutions was Urdu and Punjabi.

### **3.20 Family structure**

The family is a unique institution for the social life of human settlements through marriages usually in kin relatives. Throughout the world, there are many arrangements for regulating mating and reproduction, caring and bringing up children and meeting personal needs.

However, the traditional joint family pattern was in transition, the trend of nuclear system was emerging. In the past, women were not supposed to speak for their rights or place their demands before their elders, but with the change of culture, the women were not only sharing the family decisions but also sharing their views on the matters of their own marriage. The overall mechanism of living was changed and women were empowered to contribute their will in decision making.

#### **3.20.1 Joint family**

Joint family system is the very basic characteristics of a village structure prevailing in rural areas of Pakistan but its percentage is somewhat going down. Different factors caused breakdown in it. One of the reasons behind it is the new generation's demands for separate setup of their family because they do not want disturbance in their married life, individualism in their matters, want their own power of making decision

without help of elders, wanted to build their upcoming generation according to latest demands of the era etc. In the village Mardwal, most of the people were living in nuclear families with their wives and children to safeguard their privacy and for the sake of children's education.

### **3.20.2 Nuclear family**

Social relationships between adult males and females can be organized within families by emphasizing either spouse or kin relationships. In the nuclear family arrangement, spouses and their offspring's constitute the core relationship in the family.

### **3.20.3 Extended family**

The extended family system is a combination of several nuclear, polygamous and polyandrous types of families and the relationship between the members is biological and social. Accordingly a family in which relatives in addition to parents & children such as grandparents, aunts or uncles live in the same home is known as an extended family. The structure of the extended family offers certain advantages over that of the nuclear family. Crises such as death, divorce, and illness involve less strain for family members, since there are more people who can provide assistance and motional support. In addition, extended family constitutes a larger economic unit than the nuclear family, if the family is engaged in a common enterprise a farmer a small business; the additional family members may represent the difference between prosperity and failure.

The fact that the parties to a marriage must be members of two different kin groups has crucial implications for the structure of the family. Indeed, the continuity, and therefore the long term welfare, of any kin group depend on obtaining spouses for unmarried members of the group from other groups. There were extended families in the village Mardwal sharing their income equally without gender discrimination, but their offspring's were denying the living pattern having no privacy.

## **Chapter 4**

### **CHANGING MARRIAGE PATTERN**

This chapter deals with the nature and extent of changing marriage patterns and perceptions of the people about endogamy and exogamy. The findings of research have been discussed in this chapter. The data has been collected and then analyzed by using different anthropological tools and techniques for the collection of data.

#### **4.1 Operational definition of endogamous marriages**

Endogamy is the practice of marrying within a specific ethnic group, class, or social group, rejecting others on such basis as being unsuitable for marriage or other close personal relationships

Endogamy is common in many cultures and ethnic groups. Several ethnic religious groups are traditionally more endogamous, although sometimes with the added dimension of requiring marital religious conversion. This permits an exogamous marriage, as the convert, by accepting the partner's religion, becomes accepted within the endogamous rules. Certain groups, such as Orthodox Jews, have practiced endogamy as an inherent part of their religious beliefs and traditions. Roman Catholics traditionally practiced religious endogamy as well.

Proponents claim that endogamy encourages group affiliation and bonding. It is a common practice among dislocated cultures attempting to make roots in new countries while still resisting complete integration. It encourages group solidarity and ensures

greater control over group resources (which may be important to preserve when a group is attempting to get established within an alien culture).

Endogamy can serve as a form of self-segregation; it helps a community to resist integrating and completely merging with surrounding populations. It helps minorities to survive as distinct communities over a long time, in societies with other practices and beliefs.

Endogamy also plays an important role in social stratification of different social factors, such as occupations, activities, or education. This type of social endogamy is apparent in the United States because occupations have become a chief form of social networking for many adults after college. For instance, actors and actresses generally marry or bond with people in a similar industry.

Class endogamy affects social mobility, children of top executives have an easier time following a similar path as their parents due to similarities between the two, but also the power that executives have in modern corporations allowing them to influence hiring and promotion decisions. Elite families generally contribute to endogamy within big business, producing social links that are carried forward and keep certain groups restrictive. There have been such rapid changes in business and technology; however, new fields open up where people achievement can create new hierarchies. Professions also establish endogamy: A child growing up with doctor parents, for instance, learns to feel at home in that world and is likely to choose a similar education and career; a son or

daughter of a famous actor or musician has a much greater chance of becoming a successful performer compared to the son or daughter of an average worker.

Marriages that are taking place between the real paternal and maternal children of *masi/ khala, phupho, mamoo, chacha's children* <sup>57</sup>are called endogamous marriages. The endogamous marriage limits the choices for making alliances in extended families.

## 4.2 Operational definition of exogamous marriages

Exogamy is the custom of marrying outside a specified group of people to which a person belongs. In addition to blood relatives, marriage to members of a specific totem, clan(s) or other groups may be forbidden. Different theories are proposed to account for the origin of exogamy. Edward Westermarck said it arose in the aversion to marriage between blood relatives or near kin: that is, in horror of incest. From a genetic point of view, aversion to breeding with close relatives results in fewer congenital diseases, because, where one gene is faulty, there is a greater chance that the other - being from a different line - is of another functional type and can take over. Out breeding thus favors the condition of *zygosity* that is having two non-identical copies of a given gene. J. F. McLennan holds that exogamy was due originally to scarcity of women, which obliged men to seek wives from other groups, including marriage by capture, and this in time grew into a custom. Émile Durkheim derives exogamy from totemism, and says it arose from a religious respect for the blood of a totemic clan, for the clan totem is a god and is

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<sup>57</sup> *Masi* ( mother's sister daughter/son); *phupho* (father's sister daughter/son); *mamoo* (mother's brother daughter/son); *chacha* ( father's brother daughter/son)



especially in the blood. Morgan and How maintain that exogamy was introduced to prevent marriage between blood relations, especially between brother and sister, which had been common in a previous state of promiscuity. Frazer says this is the true solution, that it really introduced group marriage, which is an advance to monogamy, and that the most complete record of this is the classificatory system of relationship. Lang, however, denies and said that so-called group marriage ease only tribe-regulated license. Hill-Tout writes that exogamous rules arose for political reasons by marriage treaties between groups.

Marriages outside one's real paternal and maternal children of *khala*, *phupho*, *mamoo*, *chacha* are the exogamous marriage.

#### 4.3 Types of exogamy

In Asia' there is numberless instances of intermixing of breed between Tartars, Mangols, and Tungus, between Russians and Chinese, and so on. Often we hear of many races that refrain from, disapprove of, or actually prohibit marriages or sexual relations generally with persons belonging to another race.<sup>58</sup>

Generally there are four main types of exogamous marriages (i) village exogamy, (ii) linguistic exogamy (iii) caste exogamy and (iv) distant relative exogamy. A brief description of exogamous marriage is given below.

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<sup>58</sup> Gordon, *De le'espece et des races les etres organises*, ii. 360 n. 2.

#### 4.3.1 Distant kin relatives exogamy

The exogamous type of marriage was practiced between distant kin relatives who are locally called “*door par kay rishtedar*”. The marriage in distant kins was most acceptable type of marriage in the village, even the elderly members accepted it because it was between relatives, not with a person who was totally an outsider. There were 17 cases out of 36 respondents who married in distant kin relatives according to an old man of 64 year old:

*“ shadi awal to koshish krty ham k apne qarebi rishte daron mainn  
ki jae warna kam az kam door par ki rishtey dari hone chahye.  
Iska kam az kam yeh to faida ho ga k koi bhe larai ya masla ho jae  
to bary khandan k bazurg bech bachao kraa date han. Isk ilawa  
bhe bht sey faidey hain”*

(we try to marry our children in close relatives or at least they should be distant relatives. The obvious advantage of this marriage is that if there is any conflict between the couple, elders of the family sort it out).

#### 4.3.2 Caste exogamy

Caste exogamy is defined as the marriage outside of one's caste. This is prevailing type of exogamy in Mardwal and constitute 36% of the sample of exogamous marriage. The prime reason of such a high percentage of families adopting this type of exogamy is, the availability of a enhanced array of choices for marriages with people belonging to different sub castes, without deviating from their chief caste of Awan,

Factor of having same main caste Awan, increases the acceptability level among the elders and youngsters.

Selecting mate for children in sub caste made marriages more durable and successful according to the views of respondents from both younger as well as elder generation. The sub casts marriages were a prominent feature of social setup of Mardwal.

### **4.3.3 Linguistic exogamy**

Linguistic exogamy is a form of exogamy in which marriage occurs between speakers of different languages. There were four cases of linguistic exogamy found in the village Mardwal during the research which made 11 % of the total respondents who were interviewed. Respondents who practiced exogamy were married to sindhi (people from Sindh Province) mates or from KPK. The families have relatives living in Sindh or KPK provinces for many years. Either they have migrated to Punjab or some of their relatives shifted to Punjab province and settled there permanently.

The biggest disadvantage of the exogamy as told by a respondents of 38 year old: *"When someone marries his children in another far distant provincial setting , there were more chances that people had least contact with their children. As both parents and the married couple cannot afford frequent visits to each other owing to increasing inflation".*

Another disadvantage expressed was the to learn the language of their counterpart and also to adjust in new environment of another provincial settings with

different cultural traditions and customs, for having the language skills and understanding among the family member, a reasonable time was required.

#### 4.3.4 Village exogamy

The village exogamy was practiced by the groups that want their members to marry people from outside their village and social class. Sometimes groups even specify the group.<sup>59</sup> Detailed case study of a respondent has been included to depict a practical illustration of village exogamy.

Two out of thirty six respondents practised exogamous marriage in which they married to a family belonging to a nearby or distant village. It was found that most of the marriages were arranged in adjacent or nearer villages.

There were many benefits, according to a respondent woman of 36 years age married in a nearby village told the researcher:

*“Frequent visits of the families makes this type of marriage more beneficial as they can easily visit each other in need of hours. Another reason that made this type of marriage successful and beneficial is that, culture and traditions of nearby villages are almost same and thus easy to adopt”.*

Parents of the youngsters, who married in nearby villages, believed that they can take better care of their daughters after marriage, as they can easily address their post

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<sup>59</sup> Gies, Frances and Joseph, 1989.

marital problems and assist them according to their capacity also being neighbors. The table given below gives overview of the percentage of each marriage type in Mardwal.

**Table-6: Types of exogamous marriages as practiced by respondents**

Type of exogamy	No. of respondents practicing exogamy type	Percentage
Distant relatives exogamy	17	47
Caste Exogamy	13	36
linguistic Exogamy	4	11
Village Exogamy	2	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 4.5 Trends of exogamous marriages

Numbers of reasons were explored for the increasing trends of exogamous marriages. With the help of socio economic census, it was found that a change in marriage pattern was taking place in the selected community. Trends of exogamy were increasing as compared to endogamy. It means that more people were marrying out of family. As Table given below shows that 38 percent respondents were having endogamous marriage and 55 percent of the marriages were exogamous. Remaining 6 percent were those respondents who experienced both types of marriages.

**Table-7: Marriage-wise distribution of Respondents**

<b>Marriage type</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Endogamy	25	38.46
Exogamy	36	55.38
Both (second marriage cases)	4	06.16
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100.00</b>

There were many reasons/factors behind preference of endogamous and exogamous marriages as observed during the research. Many of the village families were forced by the factors to go out of their families for choosing the mates for their children.

For comparative analysis, both endogamous and exogamous marriages and forcing factors were studied during the research work in the village Mardwal:

#### **4.6 Reasons behind preference of endogamy**

Different factors and reasons were described by the respondents for preferring the endogamy. What are the benefits of marrying in kin members, what made them decide to marry among relatives and what forced them stay away from going out of family to select suitable match for themselves and their children? A brief description in the form of a table, followed by qualitatively analysis of the contents of the table is given below.

**Table-8: Reasons of endogamy preference**

<b>Factors/Reasons for Endogamy</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Relatives compromise on lot of matters	13	20
Parents decision	12	18.5
More durable relationship	11	17.5
More understanding and trust in family	8	12
Preference for marriages	6	9
Availability of suitable match in family	6	9
To make family bond strong	6	9
To keep wealth within family	3	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100.00</b>

#### **4.6.1 Parents decision**

The parents are the decision makers in most of the marriage cases, as explored from community of Mardwal. An important aspect regarding marriage was mate selection. In rural areas of Pakistan in general and especially in the research locale the joint family and extended family pattern was dominant. Joint families play a vital role in mate selection. Marriage not only inter relates two individuals but also creates wide network of relationships between two families. For almost all the families, mate selection was very much important for making the marriages successful.

In Mardwal, decisions regarding marriage of children were in the hands of elders, especially parents were the decision makers. Though with the overall increase of knowledge the society was coupled with the amount of awareness brought in by the media, say of children in deciding their matrimonial issues was on the rise. However, the dominance of parents and elders in such issues was there that has resulted in a predominant following of endogamous marriages in the village.

During the research and interaction with elder members of the locale, it was learnt that parents and elders were under immense pressure of their immediate family members to carry out the marriages with each others' children in close kin members. The pressure was up to such an extent that relatives ask for proposals even when their children are born or of such age when they were not able to understand even the meaning of a marriage.

However, it was found that elders succumb to the family pressures either due to economic reasons or due to emotional blackmailing of relatives. Nevertheless, trend of refusing inappropriate or unsuitable proposals owing to mismatches in terms of renewed educational, financial or cultural environments by the family heads was also rising. The trend was undoubtedly contributing towards increase in the exogamous marriages.

It was observed during the research work in the village Mardwal that change in endogamous marriages was conceived by the respondents through electronic media and frequent availability of telecommunication means. The youngsters were getting more powers rather veto powers for deciding their life partner, particularly in educated families. However, the will and desire of the parents was as necessary as the desire of the individual.



#### 4.6.2 Availability of suitable match in the family

In case of endogamous marriages it was noticed that people find a boy / girl who suits their family setup as well as fulfill their requirements and preferences of education, financial standing and other related aspects. The factors reinforced by the fact that both parties were the members of the same clan that makes the process of mate selection much easier for the elders as well as the children.

According to a number of young respondents, mutual understanding between the children belonging to same families was increasing with the passage of time. A stage arrives, once this understanding between cousin's results into desire of getting married. There were many cases amongst respondents where children have forced to carry out endogamous marriages.

Zakia Eglar, expressed her views in the following words about endogamous marriages:

*"Marriage within the kin group is the most favored form of marriage. In connection with marriage people would say, " a half, from ones own home is better than a whole from outside; in other words it is better to marry one's sons and daughters to relative then to bring outsiders." <sup>60</sup>*

According to present research a reasonable proportion of respondents were ready to compromise upon financial and educational standards in case they find a suitable life

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<sup>60</sup> E. Zakya, 1960.

partner for their kids amongst relatives than that of a person belonging to an unknown family. They consider it more secure for future of their children to spend a successful life.

#### **4.6.3 More trust and understanding in family**

According to some respondents it was very much natural for them to prefer near relatives for marriages of their children. As they consider relatives as more reliable as well as trustworthy. They believe that their children will remain more comfortable and happy as compared to marrying out of family (exogamic marriages).

They argued that family members understand each other's beliefs and behaviors which create more understanding and environment of trust between the couples. Having similar social back ground and norms made the relationships more durable and pleasant. Both the partners already have understanding and know each other habits and their family setup. Similarly, the couple had the same chain of relatives, which minimizes the chances of conflicts and disputes erupting from each other's relatives' interference.

According to an educated respondent's views:

*"In our area people do not like to marry outside of their kin members because there is strong connection among Biradri members. When one experience of endogamy is good they will prefer to do another one among the kins. It made easy path for adjusting due to trust and strong ties which make this process more acceptable for generations to follow elder's practices of marrying in the Biradri".*

According to Donnan's views about close kin marriage"

*"In the case of preference for FBS/FBD (father's brother son/ father's brother daughter) therefore prior knowledge of the spouse and his or her kin is thought to guard ones reputation against deception and promote good relations between two sides, but it is also thought to add to possibility of good future relations between couples themselves. In short, FBD/FBS marriage is favored, because it averts troubles of various kinds."*

#### **4.6.4 More durable relationship**

During the research it was found that people who practiced endogamy believed that they had more strong and durable relationships. They argued that once a couple was married in the family, there were numerous factors which keep their relation strong and reliable for a longer duration as compared to out of family marriages. Influence of elders on both families remains the most powerful galvanizing force for keeping relations more durable.

Similar argument was given in favor of endogamous marriages, by a 42 years old woman:

*"By having forehand background knowledge of each others' relations, their habits, style of living and conduct makes life easier and strengthens the family bond".*

Another major role played by the influence was in terms of resolving marital conflicts. As the matrimonial life passes through numerous ups and downs and some time, ostensibly, a stage comes where both the partners come on a point of no return. Now, once a couple was married within the family, role of elders was to break the status quo, convince both parties for resolving their mutual issues by give and take policy and hence bring their life back to normal. The aspect in the opinion of respondents, has no or very negligible role in exogamous marriages.

#### **4.6.5 Preference for marriage in family**

Few respondents argued that they had married their children in family because they prefer to marry in family. They believed that once the children belonging to the same family live together for many years, their childhood passes playing, studying and enjoying together that brings mutual harmony and association among children that make the phenomenon of mutual understanding strong which forms the basis of a strong matrimonial relation and made the situation much easier for the parents who were already intended to follow the similar marriage pattern.

According to few respondents, choices made by their children for selection of their marriage partners, amongst the family, were quite irrational for match making. They resist at initial stages, but eventually had to succumb to the wishes of their children and accept their demands even once they considered it entirely unsuitable and illogical. According to some respondents, such cases have resulted in inter family disputes, claiming many lives besides permanent social boycott of certain families by the other relatives.

#### 4.6.6 To keep wealth within family

One of the most important as well as notorious reason, behind the preference of endogamy in the country in general and in Mardwal particularly, was to keep the property, assets and finances within the family, especially in daughters' marriage. Many respondents were afraid that if they decide to marry their daughters out of family, they will have to give family assets to outsider that not only brings materialistic humiliation for them but also cause social stigma.

The phenomenon was so adversely prevalent amongst the people that they must keep their wealth inside the family. The steps may include marriage of underage girls with elder males and vice versa, marriages with the Holy Quran or not marrying their daughters at all. A similar case of underage marriage was practiced in a village of district Khushab that came in spot light of the local print and electronic media a few months ago.

As Czech anthropologist Holy <sup>61</sup> argues:

*"The most popular explanation of parallel-cousin marriage treated it as a way of keeping wealth within the family line. Holy argues that the high value placed on endogamy sharply sets Muslim society apart from the rest of the world. Yet in a positive sense, parallel-cousin marriage serves as a powerful tool for preserving the internal solidarity and cultural continuity of the group."*

(Holy)

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<sup>61</sup> Ladislav Holy, 1989.

This phenomenon, undoubtedly serves the purpose of the parents and elders to keep their wealth intact; however, it has adverse effects on the psychological, emotional and resultant physical health of the affected. Such people feel themselves socially relegated and often caught by the diseases like hyper tension, high blood pressure and diabetes, at a very younger age.

#### **4.6.7 To keep Family Bond Strong**

Moreover, as per a respondent, the strength of a family was also counted in terms of availability of manpower. In order to maintain and upgrade their family strength, elders prefer marrying their children of their own “Blood” i.e. children of real brothers and sisters. Thus they not only retain their wealth but called the fighting force. According to the respondents, if marriage takes place between sister’s or brother’s children it would made family bonding strong and forceful, both internally as well as externally.

In most of the rural areas of Pakistan including the village Mardwal , most of the people were dependant on others as far as earning of livelihood was concerned. In rural areas, as compared to urban areas, due to comparatively less education there were more disputes among families. Therefore, having more number of children especially males in order to have more strength and fighting force.

Another important aspect was explained by few of the respondents for maintaining the purity of their caste in general and clan in particular. It was revealed during the research that many of the girls who obtained Masters Degree couldn’t get married even in the age of thirties. As their parents were in search of a suitable partner

from their kins and thus ruined the life of their daughters just to maintain the sanctity and purity of their cast and clan.

It was more beneficial for both the families to make new alliances for smooth sailing of relationships. The mutual understanding and development process brings more ideas to grow in a fruitful manner for a group's solidarity.

#### **4.7 Watta satta marriages**

Watta Satta or exchange marriage is a form of marriage involving an arranged and reciprocal exchange of spouses between two groups. Exchange marriage is most common in the rural areas of Pakistan. In the village Mardwal, the symmetry of an alliance was often maintained by a systematic exchange, whenever a marriage was arranged between a daughter from group A and a son from group B, a marriage between a daughter from group B and a son from group A was also arranged. The traditional idea was for a brother and sister from one family to marry a sister and brother in exchange from the same family. The practice was known as Watta Satta, exchange marriage and cross-cousin marriage.

Such marriages invariably prevent the males from both the families from taking an extreme step of divorce or separation.

Respondents also said that both parties pressurize couples to keep the marriage smooth because many other relations, both emotional as well as financial, could be affected through breakup.



## Chapter - 5

### CAUSES OF CHANGING MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Change is a continuous process and occurs in all fields of life, the research was also focused on the changes in marriage patterns, with a special emphasis on exogamy. As the socio-cultural scenario in urban as well as rural setup is changing, due to different factors like increasing literacy rate, changing lifestyles, changing mindsets etc. so the family ties and relations are affecting to a great extent directly or indirectly. Especially in case of family bonds and relationships, which resulted in increasing rate of exogamous marriages in rural settings as well. This chapter deals with causes that bring change in the marriage patterns in the study area, Mardwal.

**Table 9: Factors responsible for changing marriage pttrens**

S. No.	Reasons/factors behind changing marriage patterns	Number	Percentage
1	Parents decision	7	11
2	Much more valued in out of family	5	8
3	To avoid family conflicts	7	11
4	Due to bad experiences of endogamy	9	14
5	Migration	8	12
6	Education	13	19
7	Awareness about medical complications	5	8
8	Breakdown of joint family system	6	9
9	Impact of media	5	8
Total		65	100.00



## **5.1 Parents decision**

It was explored during the research that youngsters generally perceive that exogamous marriage decision were taken on the will of the children and the elder members of the family do not wanted to do so. But the case was different in Mardwal. The exogamous marriage of 14 % respondents was their parent's decision. The reason was the dissatisfaction of parents from inter-family conflicts and disputes. To cope with the inter family and inter caste conflict, the majority of the people were intended to marry their children outside the caste groups.

Here is a case study of a man, who decided to get a girl, outside of his family, for his son.

### **5.1.1Case Study -1**

Mr. Iqbal was a 55 years old man having Masters degree in physics and was the Principal of Boys College, Naushehra. He was married outside the family and had two daughters and a son. All his children were educated and well established. His son was married to a girl, selected by his father, who lived in nearby village. His son obediently agreed upon his decision and he was very happy with selecting a girl as her daughter-in-law. She belonged to a middle class family and daughter of a widow. Whole family was satisfied with the decision because she was a nice and well mannered girl. Now Mr. Iqbal was waiting for a good match for his 2 daughters.

In his point of view marriage is the name of social contract and they have to make many compromises in whole of life due to the biradri system prevailing in the society

especially in the rural settings because the process of mate selection was becoming more difficult, the reason was the insecure feelings about children's future. Materialistic approach was on the rise, unbalanced system of social status was another hurdle in smooth running of such relations. He further argued that change in family structure has decreased the family bonding because of breakdown of joint family system and increasing emergence of a nuclear family system. As a result, rate of cousin marriages or close kin marriages was decreasing day by day.

According to Mr. Iqbal, literacy rate along with educational standard had slightly been improved in Mardwal. Girls do not face any resistance from their families to attain higher education; on the other hand boys were not much interested in getting higher education. Many families were facing difficulty in selecting daughter's suitable life partners matching their educational standards. Interestingly parents compromise on their son's marriage with illiterate girls, but they wait for a good or suitable spouse for their daughters as the girls have been slightly empowered due to their education which did not exist two or three decades ago.

He further added that it was considered good to be married in blood relatives, because elders find it more beneficial for children's future, and also a tool to preserve land ownership in their own family's hands. According to Mr. Iqbal's point of view, increased connections with neighboring cities had also changed peoples' mindset. They have become more conscious and clever. Many people were easily accepting marrying out of caste, out of families or even out of village, the parents and children decide where to marry and what would be beneficial for the children. The paternal or maternal uncles

have lesser role/say to pressurize parents or children to marry in kin relatives or in the family.

## **5.2 Enhanced level of Respect**

The decision of marrying out of family was considered good in many ways according to the respondents, the reasons was that once you develop a relation with a new group of people possessing entirely different social, economic and to an extent cultural back ground you tend to garner respect many times more than marriage within family.

The respondents felt more valuable and respectable when they or their children were married out of family. In their view, such a relation was the part of their routine as far as family was concerned; however the family treated them with more respect and gratitude.

The phenomenon may occur in quite a natural manner, because exogamous families do not normally have deep intimation with each other prior to the relation. Once they were getting tied together in a relation they desired to multiply the amount of intimacy and mutual respect with each other, on the other hand, the process does not get that significance, due to prolonged nature of the relation between the endogamous partners. Respondents believed that those people who married their children especially sons, outside the family, they were supposed to earn more respect from the respective family.

### **5.3 To avoid family conflicts**

One of the factors, which forced respondents to marry out of families, was to avoid prolonged unnecessary family conflicts. Respondents told that now a day's many families avoid selecting mate from their immediate family because most of the families are entangled with each other in so many disputes which virtually have complicated their lives without any reason.

As most of the disputes involve kiths and kins of each other on both parties, resultantly both the families involved in the relation have to bear the brunt mere on the basis of having relation with the parties involved in the dispute. The respondents feel compelled towards exogamy because if they marry in their families new conflicts will rise.

Conflicts were of many types, For instance, if someone had married their children to their parental relatives their maternal siblings will be annoyed and vice versa. This situation usually resulted into family disputes and even lead mutual boycott. In endogamy, Post marital conflicts not only affect the couple but the whole family faces the bad consequences. By all that pre-existing relationship of the respected families also suffer. This part of the endogamous marriages was the most fearful for the respondents. They said that they would prefer to marry outside rather to marry in the family and set their already existing relationship to the danger.

#### 5.4 Due to bad experience of endogamy

Endogamous marriage always carries a lot of expectations of both partners and their families, as many of them were mentioned in the reasoning for endogamous marriages. When the expectations were not materialized, people react in a very vigorous way. Many of the respondents suffered from the same situation or have seen someone else experiencing the situation that led them to change their views about marrying in family.

The respondents were of the view that they suffered from the bad experiences of endogamy so they prefer to marry out of family. These bad experiences include deceitful about financial status of the marriage partners, misbehavior of the in-laws, disputes on the family property and using biradri pressure in negative way etc. One of the respondent's words can express the feelings of bad experience about marrying in family very well.

A respondent Mr. Asad of 35 years age argued:

*“Hum nay to apney khandan main is liey shadi ki the kay apney han, mar kay bhe chaon main phenky gay. lekin inhun ney to who kia jo suluk gher bhe nhe krtay. Ab to hum yehe kahen gay k apno say to gher bhaley hoty han.*

(We married in our family because we believed that even if our relatives maltreated us, still they will be kind with us. But our own blood relatives have treated us in such a bad way that even outsiders would not have done so. Now we are of the opinion that outsiders are better than blood relatives.)

## Case Study-1

Mehtab Bibi was a 70 years old lady, had six children, all were of young age and two of them were uneducated. She was a poor lady and her husband worked in agricultural field on daily wage basis. She told that her youngest son was married in the relatives. He was the most beautiful, intelligent son and was doing job in P.A.F, he was happily married, but after two months she got suspicious about her daughter-in-law. She thought that she could not work properly because of her younger age.

One day when her son noted that she could not bend her arm to wear scarf on her head. When asked she told that often she feels pain in joints and her arm was swollen. He told her parents about the entire situation. They also told about her joint pain. Then after investigation it was found that they had also consulted with doctors and she was taking medicines properly. He asked about the medical checkup reports, and then he came to know that his wife was suffering from bone cancer.

He decided to take her to Lahore and Rawalpindi for medical checkup in private hospitals but her disease was incurable. Then he searched about her disease on internet and contacted with international doctors. They informed him after detailed discussion that she was incurable and a time will come in her life when she will lose control of her lower body and may be paralyzed. His wife told that she had refused to marry before her marriage was fixed but her parents and family members forced her to marry as they thought that she may get well after marriage. My son divorced her on fourth day of Eid when she was in her parents' home.

He did not want to divorce her but there was no other alternative for the problem. She further added that she and her son were helpless because no information was given by her parents before the marriage and the sad incident of divorce could not happen. After few months, she arranged her son's marriage out of family in Khushab city and both the family was happy with his re-marriage with any demand from the bride's parents as per prevalent custom of inter family marries.

She further argued that the disadvantage of endogamy was the compromises of both the families on matters and qualities of spouse selection. In other words families ignore some weak points and highlight strong ones. She further added that in many cases of endogamous marriages chances of clashes seem to be more. Whole family suffers in case of separation or divorce, and may have harmful effects on mutual relationships.

She told that in the village, the parents were well aware of the importance of education for their children. They try that their children attain higher education and good jobs to improve their standard of life. In doing so their age goes up to 25-30 years which was the marriage age. The parents were facing many problems in the proper selection of mates especially for their daughters. Mehtab bibi was in favor of giving freedom of choice to the children in selecting life partner as it was the matter of their lives.

## **5.5 Migration**

The migration from one place to another as an old tradition, the people of the village were migrating to cities either for their children or seeking livelihood opportunities that usually brings changes in the views, beliefs and lifestyles of individual



as well as families on the whole. The trend of migration has strengthened the exogamous marriages.

Most of the families in Mardwal had migrated from villages towards cities, for better educational opportunities of their children. Due to migration their interaction with their families in the village were minimized with the passage of time because of financial as well as educational issues. Once their children were educated enough to be inducted in practical life they found appropriate partners from their new social setup and hence indirectly contributed towards increasing trends of exogamy.

Many cases of exogamy were found in the families who had experienced migration and spent a span of life outside their village. That gave them a chance to meet with different people and make alliance with them. There were some respondents whose children were living out of village and even out of country. One of the respondent of such family who lived in foreign country said that his children decided to marry there which was not opposed by him. He argued:

*To manage my children's life well in these modern societies, they needed partners that suit their lifestyles and that's why selected marriage partners for them out of family. Now they were living happy life and had no regrets on their decision of marrying out of families".*



## **5.6 Breakdown of joint family system**

Joint family system is one of the basic forces behind endogamy. The area where research was conducted was facing the breakdown in the joint family system. Majority of the respondents believed that the break down was the cause of increasing trends of exogamous marriages because joint family system needs inter family marriages to keep it alive and strong.

Secondly it was explored that in joint family systems elders had more decision power and they utilize it on youngsters to influence them to marry in their family. Respondents also argued that people living in the joint family system had more patience and compromise on many things. That's why their inter-family marriages were more successful. The joint family system was not as stronger as it was before; while the traditions that were the part of it were also on the decline along with the endogamy.

Respondents also believed that breakdown of joint family system gave them more independence in decision making and enabled them to decide for the benefit of their family. Such kind of freedom in decision making increased the number of exogamous marriages in Mardwal.

## **5.7 Impact of media on mate selection**

Media is playing an important role in changing people's mindset as well as lifestyles, thinking, way of behaving and influencing while making decisions on social issues. Since last decade its impact on the masses has become stronger with each passing day. In Mardwal it was found that young generation especially the young boy's access to

media sources like mobile phones, internet, Indian movies, etc. was increasing and they were gaining its impact. For instance, when a question asked from a respondent why did he opt for love marriage, he replied that:-

*“love marriage ka khayal mjhy aisy aya ky main bhot ziada Indian films dakhta tha VCR rent pay ley k ata tha aur doston k sath mil k dakhta th., us say mere dil main ye bat beth gae k piar muhabbat ki shadi ziada kamyab hote ha. is kalye chaye walden razi hun ya zabardasti unko manwana pary, lekin mein shadi krun ga to sirf apne pasand say”.*

(The idea of love marriage came to my mind through watching VCR rented movies with my friends. These movies engulfed it in my heart that love marriage was more successful and I decided that whether my parents liked it or not I would practiced love marriage)

Recently a cable station has started functioning in Mardwal and the residents were taking cable connection on very low cost. According to an old person named Ali Sher:

*“Yeh sub India walo ki sazish ha k woh hmari nojwan nasal ko filmo dramo k chakr main lga kar unko nikama bnana chaty han, ab waldain ki zamadare ha k who hosh k nakhun lein aur apne masoom bacho ko is cable k asrat say mehfooz rkhen.*

(It is an Indian conspiracy as they want to make our children lazy by involving them in films and dramas. Now it's parents' responsibility that they keep their innocent children away from the bad effects of cable)

Many elders strongly condemned and resisted on opening of cable station in their community and considered it as a means of spoiling the character and personality of the youngsters. They said that upcoming Indian movies were the most powerful tool for spoiling younger generation. The tendency, according to the elders, will lead to breakdown in family relationships and especially influencing Biradri system.

### **5.8 Mate selection**

It was observed during the field work that when a boy or girl attain their age the parents expect a proposal as the cultural fabric allows relatives to sent proposal for the young children or they depend on the close relatives as compared to outsiders.

In Mardwal girl's education ratio was higher as compared to boy's education. So their parent's expectation for suitable and educated match for their daughters was rising instead of compromising on the matter. Many educated as well as illiterate parents search for suitable match without taking emergency steps to marry their children especially the girls.

### **5.9 Women expectation and cultural limitations**

It is a universally accepted fact that every youngster has specific expectation for ideal mate or life partner. It was found during research in Mardwal that there were many girls who were above 25 or 30 and were unmarried due to many factors for not having suitable mach within the family. The parents of highly qualified girls were looking for an educated proposal from within the family, but the availability of a proper match was a difficult task while the family conflicts were also affecting the process of marriages.

In Mardwal, it was not appreciated for girls to speak in matrimonial matters especially for selection of their life partner. So many girls compromise on their elder's decision in this matter. Whatever match they would find or decide, she had to marry there. There was no other option for the girls except obeying their elders. Though the Islam has given right to the women to agree or disagree on the life partner choice, but unfortunately, the right of choice was not given to women while in rare cases to the males.

## **Chapter - 6**

### **ROLE OF MIGRATION AND EDUCATION**

This chapter deals with the role of education and migration in the increasing trends of out of family marriages in Mardwal. In the rural context of Mardwal, it was found that many of the families living in the area have migrated to the cities for improving their status, for getting higher education of their upcoming generation. They migrate to avail urban opportunities along with their families to nearby urban centers that provide them the opportunity to establish relations with higher social classes.

#### **6.1 Role of migration**

For betterment of life, human migration from one place to another is an old tradition. Now with the modernization migration from villages to cities is really common and frequently practiced. Number of researches concludes that migration brings changes in the view, beliefs and lifestyles of individual as well as the families. Same was the case with the people of Mardwal, the migration, directly or indirectly, has increased the trend of marrying outside the family due to the urban exposure.

##### **6.1.1 Outcomes of migration**

Many cases of exogamy were observed in the families who had experienced migration and spend a span of life outside their village that provided them a chance to meet with different people to make alliances with them. Some of the respondent's children were living out of village, and even out of country. So to manage their life well

in those modern societies they need partners that suits their lifestyles and that's why they themselves, in some of the cases or their parents select marriage partners out of families. Following are the outcomes of migration that ultimately played a role in the increasing trends of exogamy in Mardwal.

#### **6.1.1.1 Better social status due to migration**

The migration was usually practiced for financial gain. Financial betterment was followed by an increase in social status and lead families to find marriage partners who could meet their social standings. When people migrate to cities or urban centers, they expect more options for their children marriage in good and prestigious families. One of the reasons for practicing exogamy was migration, many of the villagers migrated due to different reasons for attaining social, economic and educational status, which lead them to adopt exogamous marriage patterns.

Here is given an example of a family who had migrated to Sargodha, still living happily there. They were much satisfied with their present social status, which was improved after migration, One of the elder family members expressed his happiness in these words,

*“When our family migrated to Sargodha, we were of low social status. But we worked hard day and night and got higher education. After getting educations we find a good job here, now our social standard is much improved. All of these blessings are due to migration of our family. Two of my brothers married outside*

*of family. I decided to marry outside of the family and satisfied with my decision"*

#### **6.1.1.2 Increasing interaction with other cultures**

In Mardwal the migration was a major source of interacting with other cultures, when they spent a part of their lives in the foreign country; they accept and adopt those cultural traits at some extent. To meet the standards they need partners of that cultural background as it was not possible within the family or caste. Following case study deals with the outcomes of migration that lead people to marry out of the family.

##### **6.1.1.2.1 Case study-2**

Mr. Fateh Muhammad was 78 years old having B.A. level education retired from Pakistan Air Force and lived in joint family system married to a distant relative in the age of thirty one. He has two daughters and two sons. When he got retired, he migrated to America with the help of his brother who was already settled there. He got a job and settled there and took his family there. His children got high-quality education and good jobs. He decided to marry them better families settled in America. The children were agreed with the father's decision. He married all of his children according to his wishes that were enjoying their prosperous lives in America.

The 98% of the people were married in their close kin relatives in Mardwal but the trend was inter family marriage has changed, the people were aware of medical complications of marriages in kin relatives while people also knew that children born as a result of kin relation marriages have less IQ level and less intelligence and take more

time in learning process. Mr. Fateh Muhammad being the ex-resident of the village knew about the changes in marriage patterns and he had no regrets on adopting exogamy for his children. Even the young generation does not hesitate to convince their parents to demands life partners of their choice.

Mr. Fateh Muhammad that the parents have prime authority to decide where to marry their children, while children were not suppose to exercise their choices before the changes in culture and socio-economic spheres, but the situation has been changed and children were expressing their views Mr. Fateh Muhammad was in favor of asking opinions of children while making marriage decisions. He said that advantage of exogamy was the birth of healthy and intelligent children while disadvantage was the adjustment problem especially for the girls.

Now a day with advancement and modernity people became more educated and aware of their rights and responsibilities. Acceptance level of outsider marriage has emerged in the villages due to family's disintegration and weak kin relations. The trend of out of family marriages has taken their root deep into the cultural foundations of Mardwal.

#### **6.1.1.3 Least interaction with relatives**

It was analyzed that when respondents migrated to out of villages they had least interaction with the native people due to different reasons. According to the respondents, some of the reasons were transportation expenses, busy life schedule, and children's educational activities that created gap between the relatives. It was found in Mardwal that



children of migrated families were not so much attached to their relatives because of rare interaction.

As and when the migrant families arrived to stay with the relatives in the village, their children feel adjustment problems due to unfamiliarity least interaction with the relatives but considered proud and superior. Same was the behavior of the local people with the relatives visiting the village after a long time. That kind of misunderstanding and adjustment problems restricted both sides to get married to each other as less cases of such marriages were observed in the village Mardwal.

#### **6.1.1.4 Breakdown of joint family system due to migration**

People in Mardwal usually migrated alone or with their immediate family (wife and children), there was no frequent interaction between them and the spirit of joint family becomes weak because of their living pattern in a nuclear family abroad that was the reason they were not inclined towards permanent settlement in the village and prefer to stay out most of the time, restricting their visits on special occasions.

According to the respondents as joint family system played a vital role in endogamous marriages but was decreasing among the migrated families as they were not the part of joint family system. Hence, it was observed that migration has directly influenced the breakdown of joint family system that contributed towards the exogamous marriages.

**6.2 Types of migration verses marriage types**

It was observed that migration was directly or indirectly affecting the marriage pattern. There were 3 types of migrations, rural to rural, rural to urban and rural to foreign, each type was having its own affects on the marriage pattern of the village, 26 individuals out of 65 respondents had experienced migration, according to them the best migration was rural to urban and most of them practiced exogamous marriage, while Exogamy was less practiced by those who migrated from rural to rural area.

Migration to a foreign country was not very common and difference between exogamy and endogamy practice was not very high among the migrants. The reason was the financial factor of migration; they left their children in the village who never experienced the independence and awareness. Table number 10 is presenting the relationship between types of migration and marriage types.

**Table No. 10: Types of migration verses marriage types**

Type of migration	Exogamy	Endogamy	Total
Rural to rural	3	5	8
Rural to urban	8	5	13
Rural to foreign	3	2	5
Total	14	12	26

**Table No. 11. Reasons of migration**

Reasons for migration	Number	Percentage
Private job	4	15
Gov. job	8	31
Education	5	19
Business	6	23
Family conflicts	3	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>

### **6.3 Role of education**

Education is the key factor to increase the social status, economic position and to prosper in life. It makes the life better and educated human beings can alter the fate of their entire families. When the families migrate to cities they become more in a position to get better education facilities for children. Education is the most integral institution of any community.

Education in the largest sense is an act or experience that has a formative effect on the mind, character or physical ability of an individual. In its technical sense, education is the process by which society deliberately transmits its accumulated knowledge, skills and values from one generation to another.

Education is concerned with the development of a whole person. It involves students acquiring knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that will be part of their life. It

also involve the decision making process of one's marriage. When the decision of an individual's life is being made, there is a great role of status and education of a person. When the respective family has more interaction with outsiders having better economic and educational back ground status they will prefer the more suitable partners for their children.

Education was found one of the main reasons behind exogamy in one way or the other in the village further enhanced with the education level of respondents was analyzed in relation to their marriage types. Education directly, as a source of changing mindsets, or indirectly, as a source of increasing financial conditions, affects the marriage patterns followed by the respondents.

**Table No. 12: Marriage types verses educational level of respondent**

Education	Endogamy	Exogamy	Total
Illiterate	6	3	9
Primary	2	2	4
Middle	7	9	16
Metric	5	6	11
Intermediate	5	8	13
Above	5	7	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>65</b>

### **6.3.1 Awareness**

With the passage of time electronic and print media's role in educating the people is increasing all over the world. Similarly internet, especially the social networking sites like Face book and Twitter have given an entirely new dimension to "Person to Person" contacts. People have started to know each other that ultimately provided a means of mate selection that was never before.

Formal education has also played its role in raising awareness level of masses across the board. Increasing literacy rate is directly proportional to the rise of awareness regarding various social specifically matrimonial issues, in the village, both the mediums were active to increase awareness of complications resulted from cousin marriages that lead the local people to think about the medical complications that were frequently occurring in the families practicing endogamy.

### **6.3.2 Medical complications related to cousin marriage**

In last few decades, various diseases have harmed the people as a result of cousin marriage highlighted by the media for public awareness. As a result, a reasonable majority of educated people deviated from inter family or cousins marriages in order to prevent their coming generations from such disease.

In the research carried out by the researcher, evidence was found that younger generation knew the harmful effects of continuously marrying in families and close kin members; they try to convince their parents and grandparents to find their mates from

outside. In some of the cases, the families were advised by the doctors not to marry in families to prevent related diseases transferring from generation to generation.

### **6.2.3 Less educated mate**

It was observed in the village that within a family system, children of a particular family grow and work hard in such a manner that they surpass their relatives in education and resultantly find out reasonable job and salary, but could not find any suitable partner from within the family and were compelled to find out suitable partners from outside their blood relatives.

### **6.2.4 Children's independence and intelligence**

Though the choosing a life partner in the village was mostly the responsibility of the parents but in some cases youngsters choose life partner of their own choice and then forced parents to agree on their will. With changing scenario in whole of the society, the demands of young generation were increasing and the situation was somewhat different as compared to the past.

Owing to the growing impact of print and electronic media, the younger generation was more aware about their priorities in terms of mate selection. They don't feel shy in voicing their opinion during their matrimonial discussions; that trend was contributing towards adopting the exogamic marriages in the area.

### **6.2.5 Increasing social and economic standards**

As the level of education is increasing, it has become easy for people to get good jobs and interact with people of higher social and economic status. As the education level of the study area was really high, especially the girls were highly educated (table of education) that resulted in better economical conditions of the families.

Educated people also experienced more interaction with the people of upper social status, as they went to different institutes, out of their village, for getting education. All the factors resulted in a desire to become a part of higher economic and social circle. To fulfill the desire, people prefer exogamous marriages.

### **6.2.6 Financial disparities**

In certain cases, financial disparities amongst families were creating hindrances to carry out mutual marriages and hence diverting their attention to marry their children out of the family and cast. The same attitude has been highlighted through a case study:

#### **6.2.6.1 Case study-3**

Mrs. Akhtar was 64 years old lady who was a retired teacher having double M.A education. She had two sons and a daughter; two of them were practicing doctors, while a son was a commissioned officer in Pakistan Army. Her children were married out of family and were living happy lives. She told that in her village people tend to prefer endogamy and follow traditions and customs of ancestors but lots of people were well educated where trend of marrying in family was somewhat different.

She told that she doesn't have family bonding and relationship with her family in the village due to marrying her children outside the family and meager communication with the rest of the family. She was of the view that reasons behind increasing trend of exogamous marriages were to safeguard the family members from the conflicts and clashes due to cousin marriage, while through educating the children, the social culture has changed that demand to adopt such measures that might be useful for the coming generations. But there were a lot of difference of thoughts between old and younger generations, the elders were inclined towards practicing 100 % endogamy but the youngsters were advocating the exogamous marriages.

She further added that education was a powerful tool to change a society and culture, therefore adopting of exogamy was not a bad option as it provide new avenues to prosper and maintain a healthy family.

She emphasized that parents should arrange marriage with equal status families, to enable the children to cope with difficult circumstances. But unfortunately, the traditional mindset prevailing in the elderly people of the village, the transformation of newly emerged cultural trends were penetrating into the society with a very low pace.

She further added that family relations are not so much strong that were in the past, roots of biradri system in the villages were becoming weaker because of many clashes in kin members that shifted the priority of the people from endogamy to exogamy. Another reason behind less rate of endogamy was the diminishing element of respect for each other among families.



Chapter - 7

CONSEQUENCES OF EXOGAMY ON FAMILY STRUCTURE

Family is an important social institution in human life which plays an important role in the socialization and emotional growth of an individual. Different types of family system exist in the world. Joint family system is a traditional family system in Pakistan while the nuclear family system is an emerging concept. Changes in material and non material elements of life are bringing changes in family structure where marriage is a basic element for family formation. Changing patterns of this institution are directly or indirectly affecting the family structure. This chapter deals with the consequences of exogamy that are affecting family structure of the community.

Table No. 13: consequences of exogamous marriages

Consequences of exogamy	Number	Percentage
Breakdown of joint family system	11	17
Financial benefits	8	12
Acceptance of Cultural differences	6	9
Difficulty of adjustment	5	8
Expansion in relationship horizon	4	6
Division of family assets	6	9
Material benefits	7	11
More durable relations	5	8
Delayed marriages	8	12
Financial burden	5	8
Total	65	100

## 7.1 Weakening bonds of family relations

It was found that weak family bond worked vice versa; it is not only a factor of exogamy. Immense progress made by the humans in every walk of life, in terms of scientific and technological advancements that has affected their lives in two distinct and entirely converse ways.

At one side, people are enjoying the miraculous facilities of daily life and communication, but on the other hand entire society is running to acquire more and more facilities which has resulted in compromise on the time and attention which they require to pay to their spouse and children in general and other blood relations in particular.

This trend of shifting away from immediate families due to multiple reasons is acting as a main player towards inflating trends of exogamy in the society.

In the family system, history of inter family disputes is a routine affair. According to the respondents who prefer exogamy:

*“Mutual disagreements amongst individuals resulted into such unavoidable clash of agreements that people desire to keep their next generations away from indulging in such disputes and hence prefer marrying outside their families”.*

In the families, clashes are already there among relatives which are exaggerated after marriage. So it was better to choose someone distant relative to avoid all types of disputes and family clashes which lasts for years and years.

## 7.2 Breakdown of joint family system

Joint family system plays a strong role in Pakistani culture especially in the rural context. In Mardwal strong kinship ties exist among family members and they cooperate with each other on different occasions especially on marriages and deaths.

During the fieldwork in the Mardwal village, it was observed that many marriage decisions were taken for maintaining and enhancing biradri relationships. Parents as well as relatives mostly paternal uncles put pressure on children to practice endogamy whether suitable partner exist in family or not, but they had to marry only in blood relatives.

One of the respondents, a old teacher of 52 years explained the importance of blood relations:

*“Khandaan Biradri to sub say ziada zarore ha, Biradri he ki wja say hum sub ikathy rhty han . aur kisi ki jurat nhe hote k koi bat kren .to phir lihaz krna parta ha Biradri k faisly manne parte han. Aur Biradri ki khushe aur salah yehe hote ha k bachon k rishte apne khandan mein kiey jaen.*

*(Blood relationships are the most important for us. Due to the biradri we are living in strong bonding. No one has courage to say anything to us. So we have to obey biradri decisions and biradri's happiness lies in endogamous marriages of our children)*

It was analyzed that due to increasing exogamous marriage practices, joint family system was weakening day by day.

### **7.3 Financial effects**

The achievement of worldly benefits and having a prosperous life has been the main focus of human either through the farming or off-farming activities within the boundaries or by migrating outside, that created a sense of competition among the families. The sense of competitions has played a significant role in keeping the blood relations and families away from each other and choosing a family which is financially and economically at par with their status, leaving behind their own families.

According to a number of respondents, they wanted to marry their kids with children of their relatives who have become financially well off but they well off families were not interested to maintain their relations with the poor families. The factor has contributed towards increasing exogamic marriages in the rural settings as well as in the village Mardwal.

It always happens that one finds an appropriate life partner for his children from his co workers, business partners and friends according to his requirements. Such kind of practice paved the way towards exogamy. They got material benefits from each other because of the environment of trust that exists between the two parties.

### **7.4 Acceptance of cultural differences**

Intermingling of different cultural groups in exogamous marriages has increased the cultural acceptance and adoptability. In Mardwal, the respondents told that some of the people of the area had practiced provincial exogamy in the province Sindh and KPK that increased the respective family's interaction level but also gave local community a

chance to learn about other cultures and enabled them to make alliances with different people. In the beginning, they felt strange for becoming the part of new culture and family, but with the passage of time, they accepted the norms and values of a new culture. The exogamous marriages opened the door for new relationships and chances of practicing new relationships.

### **7.5 Problem of adjustment**

It was revealed from respondent's views that exogamous marriages have another dimension of adjustment faced by both the partners. The adjustment problem usually takes place where the girl was married to an un-known family having different culture. In case of non-adjustment, the newly married bride was blamed for having other option for marriage and thus a clash emerges in the family that could lead to separation or divorce.

### **7.6 Expansion of relationship**

In the village Mardwal, there were many people who enhanced their relationship by carrying out marriages outside of families in order to explore new avenues of hope and advancement.

Here is an argument of a respondent, who was in favor of out of family marriages,

*"You have much more choices of partner in exogamous marriage in terms of education etc. than endogamous marriage. By conducting marriages in different families, new relations of mutual respect and regard are formulated which result in reduction of*

*mutual differences and hence increase in social harmony which emerges as a positive sign for the society”.*

### **7.7 More durable relationship**

According to the respondents, there were more chances of durable and strong ties which make trustworthy relationship in exogamous marriages. The main reason of a durable relationship was the marriage between the two unknown families as there was very less interference from both families that create an adjustment space for the couple. According to different respondents, the interaction of more people increases the possibility of interference in marital life that lead to weakening the mutual relationship.

### **7.8 Divisions of family assets**

Many of the families had family assets such as land, livestock and money etc., which were the source of earning to secure the children's future. When elders decide about marriage partner, they put these points in mind that if they select life partner from out of family, they would have to divide their property. Not only the property division, there were more factors of inter family marriages.

But according to the respondents who practiced exogamous marriages, the distribution of wealth was not a problem as it was not the permanent belonging of a person, that have to be divided sometimes even in the endogamy marriages. They further added that for the children's secure future, a suitable match selection was more important for the parents and compromises like wealth distribution make no sense.

## 7.9 Delayed marriages

There were many reasons of delayed marriages in the village Mardwal that were the source of creating different problems for the children, especially the girls and their parents. A respondent woman told the researcher:

*“Delayed marriage of my daughter resulted in rough attitude of people with them. I became hopeless when nobody came to me for daughter’s proposal; even close relatives did not helped in this situation. Anger and frustration became element of my unmarried daughter’s personality. Fear about future life of my daughter’s life creates a continuous tension for parents. When their marriage become late and there is no way for them to escape from this situation they become frustrated when they think and see all things around their surrounding related to marriage of their age fellows.”*

According to the research findings, the people of the village were practicing the exogamous marriages in case of having no proposal from within the biradri or caste group. The problem of having no proper match within the family for the educated girls was further aggravated with the increasing of their age limits that forced them to marry their girls outside the family.

The exogamous marriages also created misunderstandings among the close relatives for not considering their children worth marriage because of having less



education and no proper means of earnings. The supports of endogamy were of the view that by having agricultural assets, the objection of education and jobs was unnecessary and an excuse just to avoid the relatives.

### **7.10 Exogamy as a financial burden**

Furthermore, mobility within a village is often achieved by imitating the behaviors of families of higher social orders (Srinivas, 1989)<sup>62</sup>. A great deal of effort and expense is devoted to the presentation of external attributes in marriages. Household decisions are often made with an emphasis on how one's family will be viewed by others: What will others say? What will they think?

For the parents of a daughter, marriage is potentially the most important source of mobility since marrying into a "good family" can greatly enhance how a family is viewed by its peers, and a prestigious match is an occasion for great celebration and status displays.

This, more than anything, explains why some weddings are particularly lavish. Status is a value in itself. While it may also generate some secondary benefits like greater access to networks and information (Rao, 2001)<sup>63</sup>, families clearly gain direct Utility from simply moving up the social ladder and being associated by marriage with a

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<sup>62</sup> Srinivas, M.N., *the Cohesive Role of Sanskritization and Other Essays*, Oxford University Press, Delhi and Oxford, 1989.

<sup>63</sup> Rao, Vijayendra, "Celebrations as Social Investments: Festival Expenditures, Unit Price Variation and Social Status in Rural India, *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 38.1, October 2001



prestigious, wealthy pedigree, one of the respondents gave reason for lavish display of wealth and honor to the people of biradri:

*“When a family member marries into a rich family it is in their interest to demonstrate this to the rest of the village, particularly if the rest of the village does not know the new in-laws. The most effective way of signaling a family’s newfound affinity-derived status is to have as lavish a wedding as they can possibly afford. On the flip side, if a family member marries to a poor local family member – well known to everyone in the village, this may also be an occasion for celebration - but lavish displays are no longer necessary since not much can be gained by signaling”.*

Show off wealth of a family during marriages was considered as a status symbol by the people of Mardwal. Everyone tries to give false image of higher status of oneself by spending amount in a luxurious way, even poor or low income families try to mimic and spend lot of money on such occasion.

### **7.11 Acceptance of love marriages**

In Pakistani culture most of the marriages are arranged and percentage of love marriages is quite less. It is a normal custom to practice arrange marriage with whole family’s combine decision and will, however this trend is changing to some extent from the last few years. During the research in the village of Mardwal, it was observed that

the trend of love marriage was the impact of modern means of communication and entertainment like Mobile phones, TV dramas, films, internet etc.

Another factor was the changing cultural environment of the village, where interaction level was increasing with outsiders with the expansion of choices and opportunities for marrying out of families with a better life partners.

During the fieldwork, it was observed five youngsters did love marriage out of sixty five respondent's families which were 7.69% of total respondents that shows the community's acceptance level towards love marriages that were always resisting the love marriages for their children. But some of the educated families do not mind the concept of love marriages if found suitable according to their living conditions. According to the research findings, the old culture of marriages was in transition in the village Mardwal and in its surroundings.

### **7.12 Young generation's response towards exogamy**

The young generation of the village prefer to select life partner from exogamous group as they want to choose a better mate from outside of their kin group from a well settled family because marrying in kin relatives has a series of conflicts and misunderstanding among the elders that could spoil the married life of two innocents but the elders were always insisting to marry their sons and daughters in family especially with father's brother children(FBD/FBS) or mother's brother daughter or son children(MBD/MBS) as considered safer and durable relationship.

Mr. Mushtaq, a young respondent of 27 year age, expressed the reasons of his FBD/FBS marriage:

*“FBD marriage is considered good because they can be considered like your own siblings. They would treat each other just like brother and sisters. Most of the times, they give same assistance and support as between the real sibling relationship so FBD/ FBS marriage is preferred”.*

Another reason, young generation gave, for preferring endogamous marriage for elders was the wealth and its distribution, while on the other hand young generation wanted to spend life of their own choice in an independent and free of interference atmosphere.

### **7.13 Elder’s responses towards exogamy**

Most of the elderly members of the village Mardwal, were preferring the endogamous marriages for the reason explained by them:

*“One of the reasons for preferring marriage in family is that kin relations are more able to take care of each other and had more affectionate attitude. There is a stronger element of love and respect in such marriages.”*

Another reason given by them is reproduced below:

*"It is our parents and grandparents tradition (ancestor's tradition) and customary pattern to marry within family or close relatives. We consider that in this way our prestige will be increased in the eyes of the members of the society in which we are living."*

#### **7. 14 Exogamy and causes of weakening the biradri system**

With adoption of exogamous marriage pattern, the ties and bonds of relationship were affected in the village Mardwal, the dominance, decision making power and the influence of elderly people was minimized that ultimately effected the It was analyzed during present research that when families started marrying out of families of their children, roots of Biradri system became weaker and weaker.

An elderly person having 69 years of age argued in favor of endogamy by condemning the exogamy:

*"It weakens the roots of Biradri system when someone marries out of family. Their status become low and people consider that they were not able to find suitable match in their own Biradri. So there was no other option to marry their children out of family."*

The people of the village were more concerned with the future of their children whether getting married within the biradri or outside, but the practical strategy was to arrange marriages with brother's or sister's children that also succeeded fruitful in some

of the cases, but mostly the people were facing very deep rooted problems within the families.

But according to some of the moderate and educated people, exogamy was the prominent choice of the villagers in addition to the endogamy. As a result, most of the families were moving towards exogamy marriages in case of finding no match within the family or biradri.

### **7.15 Percentage of success of endogamy and exogamy**

To analyze the success of both the marriage patterns, it was pertinent to ascertain the views of and young people. According to one of the mature respondent, they wanted to marry their sons and daughters in family, especially with father's brother children (FBD/FBS) or mother's brother daughter or son children (MBD/MBS). The views expressed by the mature person are reproduced as under:

*"It is our experience that when marriages are taking place in kin members there are more chances of success as compared to out of family marriages. There are many reasons for success of these interfamilial marriages. For instance both families made many compromises on different matters and cooperate with each other. In these types of marriages chain of members from both families are involved and in case of any dispute or clash try to resolve the issue with minimum harmful impact on the Biradri system".*

While the young and educated perspective was differently articulated, the same is given for the comparison of both the patterns:

*“When someone marry out of family there is no inter family issues which causes any disturbance in the couple's life. As there is no interference in any personal matter as in case of endogamy where lot of elders family members are involved in personal affairs which are likelihood of exaggerating matters rather than resolving them”.*

Through the debate, it has been understood that both inter family and out of family marriages have their own advantages and disadvantages, while the arguments given by both the segments of society were valid according to their experience.

## Chapter - 8

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Marriage is the building block of a family system and in turn acts as a source for survival and extension of human race. Mankind has gone through various evolutionary phases during the process of adopting its current social shape. Irrespective of the religious, social and cultural norms of a society, legalization of sexual relations between male and female through the marriage has been common practiced.

Since the pre-historic times, men have known and discriminated on the base of caste, creed and tribal affiliations and hence these affiliations became the foundation stone for the conduct of community marriages. With the modernization and technological advancement the modern day world has adopted the shape of a global family, where economical interests overshadow remaining priorities both at individual and national level.

The present research explains the causes that have changed the nature of marriage patterns in the society and their impact on the rural area of the village Mardwal. Various types and subtypes of exogamy practiced in the society such as family, linguistic and society exogamy have been briefly described. All types of exogamous marriages as practiced by the respondents in the village have been discussed, according to the results, the *distant relative exogamy* was found to be the most dominant.

During the course of research, it was discovered that marriage patterns are going through transition and as a result the trend of exogamy was on the rise that means more

people were practicing the marriages out of their families. According to the data collected during the research study, 38 percent respondents had practiced endogamous marriage while 55 percent marriages were exogamous and remaining 6 percent were the cases of re-marriage gone through the experience of both types of marriages.

The parents decision and determination, availability of suitable match within the family, more understanding and trust in family, chances of having a more durable relationship, perception of compromise, children's demand, keeping wealth within family and strengthening the family bonds were the main logics behind the preferences of endogamous marriages in the rural area.

After having discussion on the factors behind adopting endogamy as the most suitable marriage, study also discusses the causes of changes that were brought in the marriage patterns in the recent past. Feelings of being more valued in an exogamic relation, parents decision or resolve to avoid family conflicts, bad experiences of endogamy, migration, education, awareness about medical complications, breakdown of joint family system and impact of media were determined as the major causes for the increasing trend of marriage patterns towards exogamy.

In the succeeding chapter, the contribution of migration towards the rise of exogamy has been discussed. In the rural background of the village Mardwal, it was established that many of the families living in that area have migrated to cities for improving their status, for getting higher education of their upcoming generation and for their social mobility towards a higher social class. By attaining the higher status of living, the people were more conscious about the children's marriages and searching for the best



suited mates according to the wishes of the children, that were usually not accessible in their family or the caste group, thus they were reasonable for adopting exogamous marriage patterns.

Rural to rural, rural to urban and rural to foreign were types of migration observed by the people of the village having their own impacts on marriage type. 26 out of 65 respondents had experienced migration in any form, according to them the most popular kind of migration was rural to urban and most of them practiced exogamous marriage. Exogamy was less practiced by those who migrated from rural to rural area for different reasons known to them.

The role of electronic and print media and formal education in enhancing the mass awareness has been discussed by the researcher as both types of the media was active in the village for imparting the awareness about the complications related to the cousin marriages and incidence of diseases due to exogamy.

In the last chapter, consequences of exogamy that were affecting the family structure of the community have been discussed. Breakdown of joint family system, financial benefits, acceptance of cultural differences, difficulty of adjustment in new families, expansion in relationship horizon, division of family assets, material benefits, more durable relations, delayed marriages and financial burden emerged as the major factors for increasing exogamy in the area.

It is pertinent to mention here that there is no bar on exogamous marriages as far as Islam is concerned. Islam allows making connections with the outer world and

exploring the new things. Islam rather encourage out of family marriages, on the other hand, medical science also supports exogamous marriages to avoid cousin marriages that were the cause of medical complications for the offspring's.

The study also exposed that the rapid transformation in the educational, socio – economic and cultural make up of the society has resulted into changes in the thought process of people. Endogamous marriage practices in vogue in most of the orthodox societies in the world are rapidly tilting towards exogamic trends. The research was carried out in a remote village of Punjab clearly indicates towards the surge in exogamous cases. It was also reflected that no society can abstain from the overwhelming effects of globalization. Nevertheless, this change can be attributed towards a positive approach in the society in terms of increasing social harmony resulting into galvanization.

## **Recommendations**

As inference from the study of a remote village of Punjab, practice of exogamous marriages in our society is on the rise. However, the results and findings have been analyzed and elaborated by using different methods and techniques to avoid unreasonable mentions in order to make the study comprehensive large scale research on the effects of exogamous marriages on the overall social structure of Pakistan through studying a rural settlement of Punjab region. This research will prove its worth being an anthropological exploration adding positives of exogamous marriages in the overall perspective of Pakistani society that could be act as a stimulus towards encouraging people in adopting this marriage pattern that has numerous inherent benefits for both the individuals in general and for the society in particular.

Twentieth century has been a time of immense changes in every facet of human life in the universe. This dissertation consists of thorough examination of marriages, different types of marriages practiced in the village Mardwal, causes and consequences of endogamous and exogamous marriages, society's perspective about mate selection, its procedure and complications faced by the parents to select a suitable match especially for the highly educated girl, attitude of the relatives and adjustment problems of newly married couple either in exogamous or endogamous marriages, fears of property division and family conflicts and much more.

The studies also emphasized on multifaceted and diverse perspective of marriage and human pair-bonding in general, specifically by looking at exogamous marriages rather than inter family as well as inter Biradri marriages as the endpoint of marriage.

By exploring the bonafied information about the marriages of many types and consequences as an outcome of the marriage contract, there is a dire need of marriage counseling and making sure the couple's therapy in future.

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## **Research topic**

### **Increasing Trends of Exogamy and its Impact on Biradri System**

#### **(A Case Study of a Punjabi Village, District Khushab)**

##### **General information about community**

Name of the community/ village  
Name of Tehsil  
Name of District  
Name of Union Council  
Number of Union Council  
Total population of the area  
Total number of households in the area  
How far is the community from nearest city?  
How far is this area from nearest airport?  
Is irrigation in this area rain fed, irrigated or by wells water?

##### **Facilities available in the community**

PCO  
Drinking water  
Bank  
Post office  
Police station  
Factory  
Hotels  
Playground  
Market  
Natural Gas  
Electricity  
Metallic road  
Vocational institute for boys  
Vocational institute for girls  
Video/CD centre  
Internet café  
Basic Health Unit (BHU)  
Homeopathic clinic  
SCHOOL  
Telephone  
Hakim  
Medical store  
Mosque

##### **Profile of the Respondent**

Name of the Respondent

Respondents Age

Respondent's sex

Respondents Occupation

Monthly Income

Number of family members

Family structure:

- i) nuclear
- ii) joint family
- iii) extended family

Income source:

- i) govt. job
- ii) private job
- iii) land

Number of children:

- i) sons
- ii) daughter

Father's education

Mother's education

Marriage type:

- i) endogamy
- ii) exogamy
- iii) love marriage
- iv) arrange marriage

## Interview guide

### Objective No. 1:-

- **To find out the nature and extent of changes taking place in marriage patterns**

1. What type of changes in marriage patterns has been occurring in your area?
2. What factor brought the changes in marriage ceremonies and decisions?
3. Do you still consider that endogamy is more strictly favored by elder generation of your community?
4. If yes, what are the reasons?
5. What is the response of younger generation towards this favoring trend of endogamy?
6. In your community which type of marriage (endogamy, exogamy, love marriage, arrange) is preferred by youngsters?
7. Who takes the final decision about marriage matters?
8. Are your relatives interfering in your marriage decisions?
9. Is there any role of women of your community in their mate selection decision for their own marriage or their children's marriages?
10. Do you think that people of your area have started favoring out of family marriages instead of relatives?
11. What is the estimated percentage of endogamous marriages in your family?
12. What is the estimated percentage of exogamous marriages in your family?
13. How much important is the role of strong family bonds in the mate selection procedures and matters?
14. Do you think that family structure affects members of the family while deciding life partner for their children?
15. Which type of marriage will you prefer for your children or grand children, endogamy or exogamy?
16. How much social status of a family matters while selecting mate for children?
17. Do you think that political benefits are involved in following certain type of marriages?

18. What is role of social standing in marriage ceremonies?

**Objective No. 2:-**

- **To study the determining factors responsible for endogamous marriages**

1. Is there any role of political structure in breakdown of endogamous marriage trends?
2. Why percentage of cousin marriage is decreasing day by day?
3. Do you think that younger generation of your community is more desirous of choosing life partner of their own choice?
4. How financial constraints matters when choosing someone for marriage?
5. What are the factors behind delayed marriages?
6. Do you feel that changing lifestyles with modernization is affecting children's choices about life partners?
7. On which person should the final decision of marriage depend?
8. What is the major factor which brought a change in people's thinking about decrease in number of endogamous marriages?
9. What is the role of media in changing marriage patterns and children's choices, demands and expectations about life partner?
10. Are people of your area becoming influenced by modernization?
11. From where are youngsters of your community getting inspirational ideas?
12. Do you ever tried to convince your parents and grandparents about your ideal?
13. What qualities should an ideal wife or daughter-in-law possess?
14. What qualities should an ideal husband or son-in-law possess?

**Objective No. 3:-**

- **To investigate the role of education and migration in increasing trend of exogamous marriages**

1. Up to what extent, movement of families from remote areas to cities contributes in changing marriage patterns in respective families?

2. What is the percentage of people who are migrating towards cities for education or for job?
3. Do you think that trend of getting higher education is increasing day by day in your village?
4. People who are migrating towards cities like to come back or permanently settle there?
5. Are families who are migrated towards cities, select mate from their Biradri or from the place where they settled?
6. Do you think that increasing trends of immigrants adopting exogamy is silent rebellion against native norms, values and even culture of their ancestors?
7. Is it true that overall low literacy rate of our country provides an opportunity to the individuals attaining higher qualification, to look down upon their relatives and preferring equally qualified outsiders for marriage?
8. How rise in co-education in educational institutes especially at university and professional colleges, has contributed towards move away from interfamily marriages?
9. In your opinion endogamy is more successful or exogamy according to your experience?
10. What changes education brought in your people's mindsets?

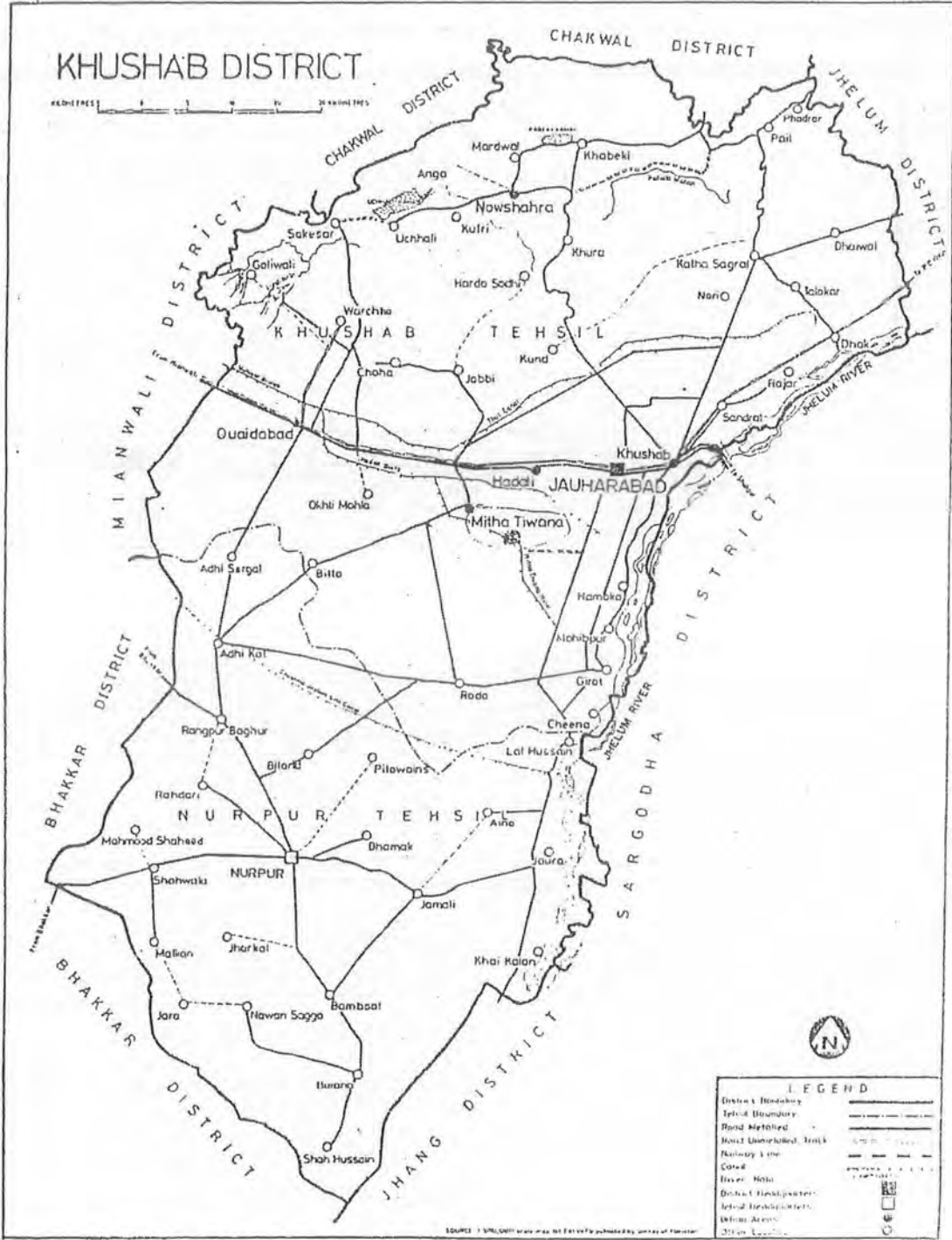
**Objective no. 4:-**

- **To identify the possible consequences of exogamous marriages on the family structure and its impact on relationships within Biradri system of the respected families**

1. Do you believe that exogamy weaken the family structure?
2. Does exogamy affects native norms and values of the concerned families?
3. What type of disputes mostly arises after marrying out of family?
4. What type of marriage will cause more disturbances in the structure of the family in your point of view?

5. Do you think that by exogamous marriages can create gap between elder and younger generation of the family?
6. What are the possible Impacts of practicing exogamy on relationship within extended family (Biradri)?
7. What are the problems you faced after marrying outside?
8. Does exogamy can bring an increase or decrease in family status in terms of finance, education, social status and political influence? If the married couple faces problems/disputes due to exogamy that will be most affected by them, the boy's family or the girl's family?
9. Up to what extent these problems can arise and how disputes are settled/and by whom?
10. Is this true that endogamy serve as a tool for preserving internal solidarity within family members?
11. Do you believe that exogamy strengthen the exchange of cultural norms, customs, traditions and values of two family?
12. How norms and values of society play role in strictly following endogamous marriages?

ANNEX-G



# SKETCH OF MARDWAL VILLAGE

Teh & Dist. KHUSHAB.





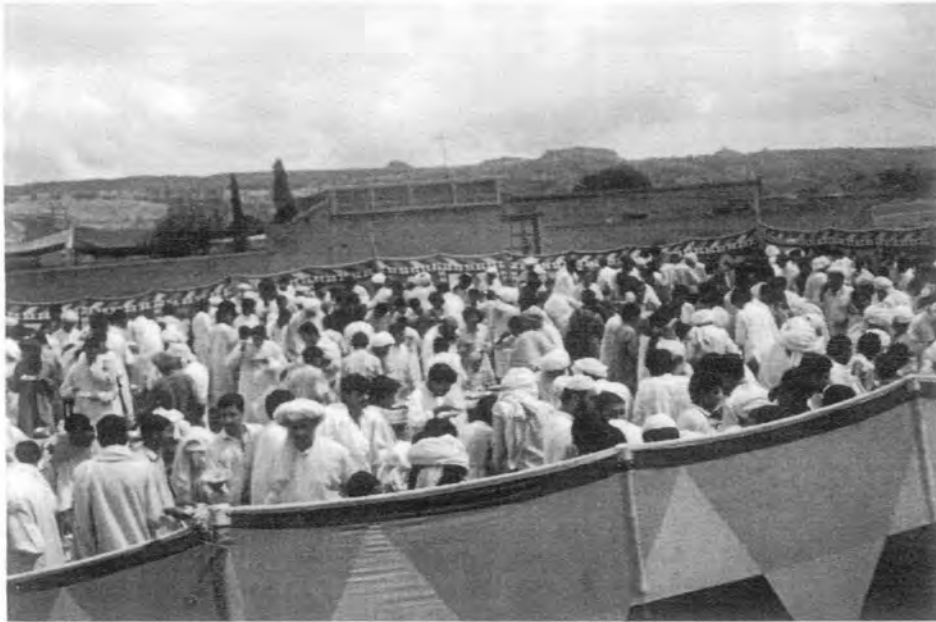




Traditional Luddi (Dance) on Marriage Event



Preparation of Food for Walima



Modern System of Serving Food (Round Table) During Walima



A Beautiful View of Soon Valley

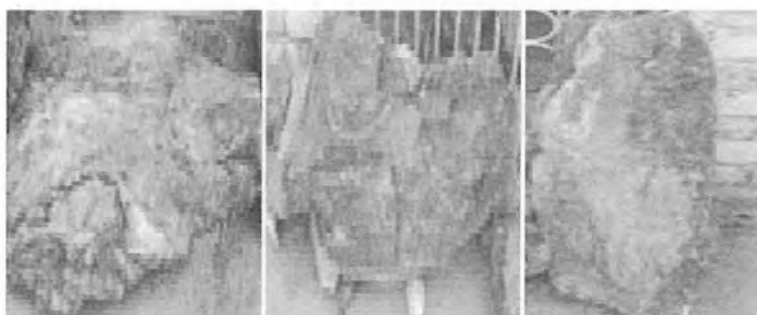


Ziarat of Mai Wali Dheri

**2000, years old Buddhist grave in Soon Valley**



**9 meter long grave in soon valley**



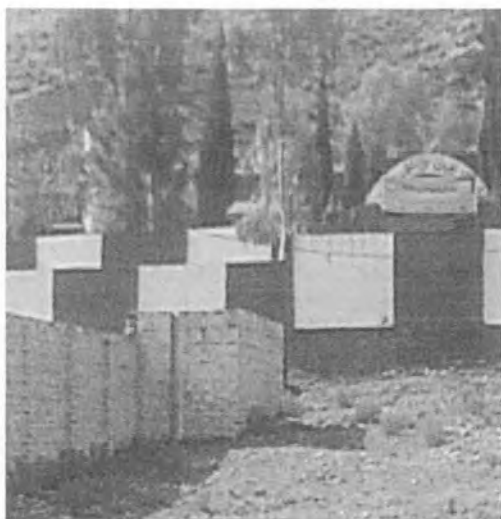
**Archaeological stones found at soon valley**



**A grindstone used to grind wheat**



**“Churn” used to make butter**



**Government high school for girls**



**Graveyard of the village**



**Transport System**



**Agriculture – Main Source of Earning**