

**A thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam
University for the partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of
Master of Philosophy in Anthropology**

By

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Islamabad
2011**

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Acknowledgment

All praises and thanks are to Allah, the almighty, on whom ultimately we depend for sustenance and guidance. May Allah's peace and blessing be upon our beloved prophet Muhammad who is a mercy for us from Allah, whose character and nobility none has seen before and after Him (PBUH).

I am highly indebted to Prof. Dr Hafeez-ur-Rehman Chairman, Department of Anthropology QAU Islamabad, who provided me an opportunity to pursue my studies and earn M.Phil degree. My sincere appreciation goes to my supervisor, Dr. Waheed Iqbal Chaudhry, Assistant Professor Department of Anthropology, whose guidance, support and encouragement facilitated the compilation of this research work. My sincere gratitude goes to Dr. Azam Chaudhry, Associate Professor of National Institute of Pakistan Studies, QAU Islamabad, who has entrusted me and considered me worthwhile to induct in this research project funded by LMU Munich University of Germany. I am highly indebted to Professor of LMU-Munich University, Dr. Martin Sokefeld; he proved to be very knowledgeable and caring and because of his contribution this project was completed.

I cannot miss to mention the support of my elder brother, Siraj-ul-Haq without whose trust, support, guidance and motivation it would have been nearly impossible for me to cope with many difficult situations. I cannot forget the generous hospitality of Secretary Munsif Hussain and Raheesa Khatoon, residents of Balakot, for providing me accommodation and introduce me to the community members.

Friends, I believe, are a vital part of one's life their simply being with one is sometimes enough for survival. My sincere thanks and love go to all the friends of Balakot (Narrah and Ghareebad). Some of them are Shanza Bibi, Sadia Swati, Gulzar Bibi, Naheed , Kashif, Ibtasam, Jameela Munsif, Guddo Baji and my class fellows, especially a dear friend. the importance of whose presence and encouragement at times cannot be told in words. Thanks to all my dearest and nearest, thanks to those whose names are mentioned here and also to those who are equally alive in my heart.

Tabassum Rehmani

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my deceased parents

Ali Asghar & Raqiba Ali

Table of Contents

CHAPTER NO. 1

Introduction

1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Statement of the problem.....	3
1.2 Objectives of the study.....	4
1.3 Research methodology.....	4
1.3.1 Rapport establishment.....	5
1.3.2 Participant observation.....	6
1.3.3 Key Informants	7
1.3.4 Scio-Economic census survey.....	8
1.3.5 Sampling	9
1.3.5.1 Socio-economic census survey sampling.....	9
1.3.5.2 Sampling for in-depth interviews.....	9
1.3.6 Case studies.....	10
1.3.7 Interview guide	10
1.4 Significance of the study.....	10
1.5 Theoretical and conceptual frame work.....	11
1.5.1 Anthropology and disaster	11
1.5.2 History of disaster research in anthropology	12
1.5.3 Current trends in the anthropology of disaster.....	15
1.5.4 Archaeological history	15
1.5.4 Political ecology.....	15
1.5.6 Socio-cultural behavior.....	16
1.5.6.1 Disaster behavior and response.....	16
1.5.6.2 Cultural interpretations of risk and disaster	17
1.5.6.3 Post-disaster social and cultural change	17
1.5.6.4 Applied/practicing.....	18
1.6 Vulnerability	18
1.6.1 Types of Vulnerability	20
1.6.2 Economic vulnerability.....	20
1.6.3 Social vulnerability	21
1.6.4 Physical vulnerability.....	21

1.6.5 Educational and informational vulnerability	22
1.6.6 Environmental vulnerability	22
1.7 The vulnerability concept of Wisner et al.....	23
1.7.1 Access model	23
1.7.2 Situation before the disaster.....	25
1.7.2 Hazard Impact.....	27
1.7.3 Transition to disaster.....	28
1.7.4 Emergency response, recovery and rehabilitation	29
1.7.5 Normal life of households.....	31
1.8 Disaster response and hazard mitigation.....	32
1.8.1 Disaster response by those affected	33
1.8.2 External disaster response.....	33
1.8.3 Hazard mitigation: Reducing risk and minimizing vulnerability	34
1.9 Family	36
1.9.1 Cyclical theory	36
1.9.2 Progressive theory.....	37
1.9.3 Structural functional theory	39
1.9.4 Marxist theory	40

CHAPTER NO. 2

Area Profile

2.0 Area profile	41
2.1 Manshera.....	41
2.2 Balakot	43
2.3 Town (Narrah)	44
2.4 Village Ghareeb Abad.....	45
2.5 The people.....	46
2.6. Castes of the town and the village	47
2.7 Languages	49
2.8 Infrastructure-Health.....	49
2.8.1 Education	49
2.8.2 Market	50
2.8.3 Households.....	50
2.8.4 Pakka houses	50

2.6.5 Roads and bridges.....	51
2.6.6 Mosques.....	51
2.6.7 Graveyards.....	51
2.7 Kinship.....	51

CHAPTER NO. 3

Politics of Reconstruction

3.0 Politics of reconstruction.....	53
3.1 Historical background of earthquake.....	54
3.2 People's perception of earthquake.....	55
3.2.1 General perception.....	55
3.2.2 Religious perceptions	56
3.2.3 Scientific perceptions	57
3.2.4 Reasons of declaration as Red zone	58
3.2.4.1 Geology	59
3.2.4.2 Indigenous knowledge.....	59
3.2.4.2.1 Perception of educated people.....	59
3.2.4.2.1 Case Study-1	60
3.3 Female perception about Red Zone	60
3.4 Phases of recovery	60
3.4.1 Relief	61
3.4.2 Rehabilitation.....	61
3.4.3 Reconstruction.....	61
3.5 Relief work in town and the village.....	62
3.5.1 Role of stakeholders in relief work.....	62
3.5.1.1 Government Agencies	62
3.5.1.2 Non-governmental agencies	64
3.5.1.3 Political parties	65
3.5.1.4 Religious groups	65
3.5.1.5 Jihadi groups.....	65
3.5.1.6 Communal works.....	66
3.5.1.7 Individuals	66
3.6 Role of family members in relief work	66
3.7.1 Family cooperation	67

3.7.1.1 Case study-2.....	67
3.6.2 Shared labors.....	68
3.6.3 Shared resources	68
3.6.3.1 Case study-3.....	68
3.6.4 Shared services.....	69
3.7 Rehabilitations work	69
3.7.1 Role of stakeholders in rehabilitation process	70
3.7.1.1 Government Agencies.....	70
3.7.1.2 NGOs	70
3.7.1.3 Political parties.....	70
3.8 Role of family members in rehabilitation work.....	70
3.8.1 Family cooperation	70
3.8.1.1 Case study-4.....	71
3.9 Shared labors.....	72
3.9.1 Case study-5.....	72
3.9.2 Shared resources	72
3.9.3 Shared services.....	73
3.10 Reconstruction work	73
3.10.1 Government policies for reconstruction.....	73
3.10.2 Cheques for reconstruction	74
3.10.3 Surveys.....	75
3.10.4 Delays in survey.....	75
3.10.5 Problems of laborers	75
3.10.6 Inter class conflicts	76
3.11. Issue of Red Zone	76
3.12 Temporary reconstruction policy of government	76
3.13 Criterion for allotment of prefabricated house at Balakot	77
3.13.1 Nepotism in government policies	77
3.13.1.1 Case study No.6	78
3.14 Policies of NGOs	79
3.15 New Balakot shifting plan	79
3.16 Works of major stakeholders	79
3.17 Delays in reconstruction activities	79
3.17.1 Problems of land acquisition.....	80

3.17.2 Shift of central government	81
3.17.3 Pakistan terrorism scenario	81
3.17.4 Renaming of NWFP.....	81
3.18 Role of family members in reconstruction work	81
3.18.1 Family cooperation	82
3.18.2 Shared labor	82
3.18.3 Shared resources	83
3.18.4 Shared services.....	83
3.18.4.1 Case Study	83
3.19 Current Status of New Balakot Town.....	84
3.20 Community perception about new Balakot city.....	84

CHAPTER NO. 4

Pre-Earth Quake Family Structure

4.0 Pre-earthquake family structure	85
4.1 Pre-earthquake family structure in the town and the village	85
4.1.1 Joint family	85
4.1.2 Nuclear family	86
4.1.3 Extended family	86
4.3 Joint family structure in Balakot.....	87
4.4 Types of joint family.....	88
4.4 The salient features of joint family	90
4.4.1 Joint property	90
4.5.2 Joint income	91
4.5.3 Division of labor	92
4.5.4 Authority Pattern.....	94
4.5.5 Intra family relations	95
4.5.5.1 Father and son relationship	96
4.5.5.2 Inter-Sibling Relations	97
4.5.5.3 In-laws relations	98

CHAPTER NO. 5

Factors Responsible for Structural Changes

5.0 Factors responsible for structural changes	100
5.1 External factors	100
5.2.1 Government relief distribution policy	101
5.2.2 House compensation policy	102
5.2.3 Provision of prefabricated house	103
5.2.3.1 Cases study No.7.....	104
5.2.3.2 Case study No.8	105
5.2.4 New Balakot shifting plan	105
5.2.4.1 Case study No.9	106
5.2.4.2 Cases study No.10.....	106
5.3 Migration.....	107
5.4 Internal factors	108
5.4.1 Death of parents	109
5.4.2 Lack of economic support.....	110
5.4.3 Conflicts in the family	110
5.4.4 Lack of space in the house	112
5.4.5 Male migration.....	112
5.4 Miscellaneous factors.....	113
5.4.1 Desire of independence.....	113
5.5 Impacts of external factors on intra familial relations	114
5.5.1 Father son relations	114
5.5.2 Brother to brother relations	116
5.5.3 Mother-in-law versus daughter-in-law relations	118

CHAPTER NO. 6

Summary and conclusion

6.0 Summary and conclusion	119
6.2 Recommendations.....	121

List of Tables

		Page #
Table no. 1	Age and Gender wise distribution of Population in the town and village	47
Table no. 2	Ethnic composition of the Households in town and village	48
Table no. 3	Types of Houses in the Town and Village	50
Table no. 4	Destruction of Infrastructure due to Earth Quake in Town and Village	53
Table no. 5	Casualties in the Town and Village	54
Table no. 6	Residential Pattern before Earth Quake in Town and Village	86

List of Figure

	Page #
Figure no. 1 Access-Model	25
Figure no. 2 Model of Normal life of Household	30
Figure no. 3 Map no. 1	42
Figure no. 4 Map no. 2	42
Figure no. 5 A view of Narrah town	44
Figure no. 6 A view of Gharries-abad village	45
Figure no. 7 External Factors	100
Figure no. 8 Internal Factors	108

List of Diagrams

		Page #
Diagram no. 1	Joint Family in BalaKot	87
Diagram no. 2	Parent Child Joint Family	88
Diagram no. 3	Siblings Joint Family	88
Diagram no. 4	Widow Mother and Child Joint Family	89
Diagram no. 5	External Factors	108
Diagram no. 6	Internal Factors	114
Diagram no. 7	Father Son Relations before Earth Quake	115
Diagram no. 8	Father Son Relations after Earth Quake	115
Diagram no. 9	Brother-Brother's Relations	117
Diagram no. 10	Mother in law Daughter in law Relations	118

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BHU	Basic Health Unit
THU	Tehsil Health Unit
CBO	Community based organization
DRU	District Reconstruction Unit
EQAA	Earthquake Affected Areas
ERRA	Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FHH	Female Headed Household
GOP	Government of Pakistan
ICMC	International Catholic Migration Commission
LWC	Livelihood Working Committee
LRS	Livelihood Rehabilitation Strategy
NGO	Non governmental organization
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PERRA	Provincial Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority
RDP	Rural Development Programme
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approaches
UC	Union Council
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim league nawaz
PPP	Pakistan people party
PMLQ	Pakistan Muslim league Quaid
JUI	Fazal –Ur-Rehman
KPK	Khyber Pakhtoon Khaw
SRSP	Serhad Rural Support Programme.
NIC	National Identity card.
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme.
IDPs	Internally displaced people

Chapter No. 1

1.0 Introduction

In all the societies, the social, political and economic institutions, their moralities, norms and values are always under continuous change but the rate of the change is unhurried. However, sometimes there come to pass certain situations when a rapid change occurs in almost all the aspects of a society due to sudden environmental and physical changes which are the result of natural disasters and catastrophes. In such cases, the whole of the society undergoes a brisk change.

October 8th 2005 was one of the most unforgettable days in the history of Pakistan when a severe earthquake measuring 7.6 on the Richter scale struck KPK and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). As a result, nearly 83,000 deaths taken place and over 100,000 people were severely injured, causing permanent disability to others (WB 2005). Thousands of humans and livestock obscured under the debris of mud houses while the city of Muzaffarabad and Balakot which were close to the epicenter of the quake, were most horribly hit and completely packed down. (ERRA & UN 2007)

The earthquake was overwhelming that affected a wide range of area, it not only killed heaps but also dislocated number of the population from their households and livelihood means they were depending on before the earthquake. the survivors were physically, mentally and socio-economically challenged by the natural calamity. Soon after the earthquake, relief work was started by both governmental and non-governmental organizations for providing immediate help to the affected population and also undertaken rehabilitation activities and provided shelter and cash compensation enabling them to re-establish their resources of income.

To begin with, the victims' were provided temporary shelters by managing tent village but due to its location exactly on the fault line, the tent villages were declared as "Red Zone." A reconstruction project for shifting the people of Balakot to a nearby area was planned, but the project was delayed for the reasons of conflict and disagreements between the managers and the stakeholders, for more than five years compelling the innocent people to live in temporary shelters in Red Zone. The anthropological study undertaken by the researcher was focused to earthquake hit urban and rural areas of

Balakot from February 2010 to July 2010, with emphasis on the role of different stakeholders in reconstruction process and impact of the development strategies on the family pattern.

The study is based on the findings explored through in-depth investigation of the policies and plans of government and non-governmental agencies and their impact on the family pattern and mutual relationship. The information is imperative for understanding the changing family pattern, role of family members and their relationships with each other as an outcome of disastrous 2005 earthquake and the reconstruction and rehabilitation process.

The research topic of the study was “Analysis of Post Earthquake Reconstruction Process and its Impact on Family.” For the research, two urban and rural localities of Balakot tehsil were selected to find out the inequalities between rural and urban settings regarding reconstruction process and its impact on the family patterns.

The relief and rehabilitation activities were ended well before the researcher's arrival in locale of study, while the reconstruction was in progress and it was easy for the researcher to study the reconstruction from political, economic and social aspects as per the objectives of the research. The role of community members, government and other national and multinational organizations involved in the process was also studied to observe the reconstruction process with all its characteristics and its role on the family structure.

The reason for selecting two research areas was to study the impact of the devastation not only in the rural setting but in the urban community as well. It was for the purpose of studying the nature of inequalities and differences in response and attitude of the stakeholders in that whole process of reconstruction. The reason for selecting two different research areas was that both the research areas were the worst hit in the earthquake and were most affected by the disaster. The important issue of shifting the city of Balakot to another place was also an important reason for the selection of urban research area as it was the most debated issue after declaring the city Red Zone by the government. The plan of shifting of the city was politically motivated, while the inhabitants and other stakeholders were not in favor of its implementation, the complex nature of the situation made the issue controversial and debatable not only for the

governmental or non-governmental organizations but for the anthropologists to find out the reasons behind the planners and opponents.

1.1 Statement of the problem

The disasters may take different forms; they could be manmade or natural affect the individuals and the society at different levels. The societies and their social institutions are the outcome of long term historical process, once established with its inherent values and roles, they go through different stages with invisible social change which social scientists refers to as equilibrium state. The social institutions may undergo haphazard, tremendous and radical changes, if confronted with disasters. Sometimes the disasters are so strong and instant that social institutions face the threat of extinction. This phenomenon is explained in encyclopedia as:

“(It is) an event, concentrated in time and space, in which a society, or a relatively self-sufficient subdivision of a society, undergoes severe danger and incurs such losses to its members and physical appurtenances that the social structure is disrupted and the fulfillment of all or some of the essential functions of the society is prevented.”

(Fritz. A.1968:655 Encyclopedias of Social Sciences)

Keeping the above description in mind, disaster's research (in anthropological sense) has had a great importance and significance as anthropology is meant to study the cultural pattern and societal institution of the society's undergone calamities of disasters.

The earthquake of October 8, 2005 threatened the survival of a particular community; the disturbance in the social relationships and social institutions was obvious. The disasters initiated a lot of help and support from outside and inside the country that caused more problems of family relationships by changing the family structure. The research was conducted to understand the reconstruction process with respect to its social implications on the family life as disasters hits the family units, authority pattern, joint economy, father son relationship, brother to brother relationship, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law's relations and the joint family pattern.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The objectives for the research study were devised in accordance with the sensitivity of the topic to discover various dimensions of earthquake, its impact on the socio-economic conditions, change in relationship, change of family pattern, perceptions of the people about the reconstruction and rehabilitation process carried out by the national and international players and outcome of the developmental interventions. The following were the objectives for the research study:

- To know the reconstruction process with emphasis on involvement of major actors;
- To find out pre earthquake family structure in urban and rural areas;
- To make a comparison of rural and urban disparities regarding changes at family level.

1.3 Research methodology

During all researches whether natural or social, certain methods and techniques are used to make the research smooth and within the limits of given parameters. The methodology is an important aspect of any researcher; it is the combination of tools and techniques, which are used to collect the information for the research purposes in a specific area.

Methodology refers to the structure of procedure and transformational rules whereby the scientists shift the information up and down in order to produce and organize the increased knowledge. According to Glen and Pelto:

“Methodology denotes “the-logician use” involved in selecting particular observational techniques, assessing their yield of data and relating these data to theoretical prepositions”.

(Glen and Pelto)

According to Russell Bernard:

“The word method itself has at least three meanings. At the most general level, it means the study of how we know things. At a still pretty general-level, it is about strategic choices like whether to do participant observation, field work, a library discussion or an experiment. At the specific level, it’s about what kind of sample you select, whether you do face-to-face interviews or use the telephone, whether you use and

interpreter or learns the local language well enough to do your own interviewing and so on”.

(Russell Bernard)

The researcher employed a triangulation method approach involving both qualitative and quantitative research methods. However, considering the uniqueness of the case, the researcher relied more on qualitative than quantitative methods as triangulation methods are usually regarded as more suitable for impact analysis (Turton 2001) This approach is deemed more appropriate, since it gives a more holistic picture and is capable of adjusting changes during different phases of a research.

The following methods were adopted during the field work to get the desired data.

1.3.1 Rapport establishment

Rapport establishment is very important in anthropological field work being a research technique in which a researcher establishes his/her goodwill and interacts with the people of the locale of study. In rapport building a researcher removes the fears and doubts of the respondents about the researcher and the study itself as Baily argued:

“It is a way through which a researcher can familiarize himself or herself in the field and how he/she will understand fully the language, customs and habits of persons being studied. He also discusses it as the most difficult and time-consuming task. Indeed it can be disturbing, but is necessary if valid data is to be obtained.”

(Baily, 1978:224)

In order to build rapport in the field, the researcher introduced herself as an academic and explained her presence in the community and answered their questions about the researcher and research purposes, all the suspicions in their mind were cleared as an outcome of question answer session that motivated them to help the researcher in a noble and academic work. It was a difficult task, but with the help of Munsif Hussain, Secretary Union Council, Garlat, the researcher succeeded in winning their hearts and minds.

The researcher stayed for seven months in the locale of study, through continuous interaction and participation in religious and traditional ceremonies, the researcher was not an alien for the people, I used to visit schools frequently and made friendship with

school teachers to extend her contacts. To meet and interview male members of the society, I arranged meetings with them with the help of my class fellow Sajjad Haider in the hotel where he was also staying for his research. My mother tongue *Pothari* was much closer to Hindko language spoken by the majority of the people in both the areas that helped her in communicating directly with them. Further, I belonged to Punjab and they had very good feelings for the Punjabi people because during disaster the Punjabis were the first people who rushed to help the victims of Balakot.

1.3.2 Participant observation

Participant observation is the foundation of cultural anthropology that involves getting close to the people and making them feels comfortable enough with the presence of the researcher. The researcher immerses in the society and observes the people from their point of view. Bernard Russell also gave the same definition in a more calibrated form:

"It involves getting close to people, getting involved and participated in their activities, observe and record information according to the native's point of view. It also helps in the building of rapport in an alien atmosphere. This technique gives insight and helpful in making questionnaire"

(Bernard Russell 1994:321).

The researcher adopted the method of participant observation by participating in the daily activities and ceremonies of specific community, attended all the ceremonies of (town and village) marriages, held formal and informal discussions with the local people, participated in cultivation of land, in the games played by the children of the town and the villages a Pelto and Pelto defined:

"This technique helps the researcher to find out an event in more detail and his personal observation suggests asking about relationship of this event to other types of data. In cases in which the field workers feel that a significant amount of information is available, simply through observation of a particular type of event, he may use this technique, which provides him or her the way of ensuring the representatives and objectivity of the observations in a series of repetitions of the given event"

(Pelto and Pelto)

The technique also helped the researcher to check the data, which was given by key informants, while visits to the shrines also gave an insight regarding various family matters and how disputes were resolved by them to visit at the shrines. As Peltó and Peltó have said that the participation is essential for checking and evaluating key informants data.

The researcher stayed with different families and made a good relationship, three families in Narrah, two in Garlat and three families in Ghareeb Abad. Staying with different families enabled the researcher to collect more qualitative data on family matters, its pre and post structure.

1.3.3 Key Informants

Key informant is a reliable person of the locale, who not only helps the researcher in getting information from different people but act as a source of information for the researcher being a valuable, respected and knowledgeable person of the community as argued by Peltó and Peltó:

*"Key informants interviewing is an integral part of research. Informants are people who can talk easily, who understand the information you need, and who are glad to give it to you or to get it for you."*¹

(Peltó & Peltó 1978:79)

In addition to participant observation, the key informant technique was also adopted by the researcher considering its importance for checking the validity of the data collected through various methods and techniques.

Yin defines:

"When a respondent is able to go beyond just stating facts and offers opinion and insights into events or occurrences which assist the researcher in the work that respondent can be considered as key informants."

(Yin 1984:83)

The process of selecting the key informants was a tiresome process, but achieved through continuous efforts, four key informants were selected in both the locales urban and rural on the basis of their knowledge, acceptability and social status.

¹ Peltó&Peltó: 1978:79

The first key informant was Munsif Hussain, 45 years of age, secretary of Union Council, Garlat, from the locale Narrah, he helped throughout the research and arranged accommodation in both urban and rural locales and introduced the researcher with the people. He gave in-depth information about reconstruction process and plans adopted by the responsible agencies whether governmental or non-governmental, national or international. He was very critical and informative; he accompanied the researcher to different offices to conduct interviews. He was very knowledgeable about the happening of different events including relief and extent of people involvement in the struggle to get relief goods. He enjoys a prestigious and respectful position in both the societies. He was known for his loving behavior among the members of the community. His kind favor and support made my research easy in both urban and rural area.

Ali Asghar, a local journalist was another key informant having the age of 28 years, indulged in the profession after the earthquake. According to him in relief phase Balakot, became a bazaar, everyone was making money, there was no equality and equity, he therefore, decided to do something for deserving people, so he joined the profession and openly started writing about unequal distribution of funds, about rishwat mafia among the local leaders. He was the cousin of my host and third key informant who proved to be very critical analyst for the community. He accompanied the researcher in visiting different households in order to fill socio-economic census survey forms. He was also a very good poet.

Raheesa khatoon, aged around 32 years, was the third key informant of urban locale Narrah". She provided accommodation at her household helped the researcher to introduce to the community women. She did work with different organizations as a technical trainer and runs a technical school there and was a known personality. She provided good insight for the social and cultural values female had before the earthquake.

The fourth key informant was Saima Bibi from rural locale Gareeb Abad. She was a young girl of 20 years of age; she was the source for introducing the researcher in the village. She helped the researcher in carrying out household survey and arranged interviews and informal interviews at her home. She was very hospitable and loving and was known for her hospitality among the female community.

1.3.4 Socio-Economic census survey

The census survey forms were prepared and used in the field, through which quantitative facts were collected about the socio-economic and demographic aspects of

the research area. Also facts regarding the relief works and destruction caused by the earthquake were collected. The researcher filled the survey forms by visiting the households as the people were doubtful about the forms and their utilization.

Fifty socio-economic forms were filled during the research. Every interview from primary units of data collection was preceded by filling up the forms containing basic question about gender, religion, age, marital status, economics, education and residential statuses along with migration and frequency of migration etc.

As Pelto and Pelto said:

“Census procedures are often expanded in order to gather much more comprehensive data for the household in the research population;”

(Pelto and Pelto 1970:77)

By using the technique of data collection, baseline information was gathered from which the researcher was better informed about the background of every respondent and helped to understand their stance during the interviews.

1.3.5 Sampling

A sample is the representative of any set or group, in anthropology; we use sampling method to take reasonable amount of representative of any community. The same was used by the researcher as handling the whole population was a difficult task; for the purpose of getting informative data, the sample was distributed in two categories..

1.3.5.1 Socio-economic census survey sampling

There were more than five hundred households and different *mohallas* in the town and the village, the researcher selected a sample size of 50 households, 25 from each locale through random sampling to fill the survey forms for the base line data.

1.3.5.2 Sampling for in-depth interviews

After getting the socio-economic survey forms filled, the researcher conducted 25 in-depth interviews in each locale by selecting one person from each household by using the purposive sampling method to know their views about the situation of pre and post earthquake.

1.3.6 Case studies

The method of case studies was also used during the field work in order to get a detailed and explanatory picture of the phenomena under discussion. Case studies of various aspects of social life like people's experience about the earthquake, social change, female mobility etc were collected to get more comprehensive data about the event. The method gave the researcher very profound knowledge about different happenings that was useful to draw a holistic view and broad analysis of the subject.

1.3.7 Interview guide

The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with the help of interview guide, a list of points or topics which an interviewer must cover during the interview. In the case studies a considerable flexibility was shown in the manner of interviews, use of language and order of the questions. The participants were not bound to talk in a specific language, but they were allowed to answer the question in their own language. The interview guide was consisted of un-structured and open ended questions, which gave the researcher a chance to obtain in-depth response/answers.

The researcher interviewed 50 respondents; the nature of interviews was both formal and informal to avail maximum benefits of the technique to have quantitative and qualitative data that was required to complete the process of research. Through interviews, almost all the aspects as earmarked were covered very successfully.

1.4 Significance of the study

The research study was conducted in a badly hit hilly areas of Balakot, an urban settlement Narrah and an rural village Gareeb Abad, all its households, markets, roads, schools and other institutions providing services to the people were smashed completely leaving no other alternative except to migration from the area or survive under the open sky in a severe weather and were most appropriate for conducting a research to document disaster and post disaster reconstruction programs initiated by national and international NGOs, governmental and non-governmental agencies with the funding raised either by the government, people of Pakistan or funds raised by the international community and their effects on the social life of the people to analyzes the rehabilitation process its negative and positive outcome by observing personally and through getting information from the people of the locales. It was also important to record the significance of tent city established for the shelter less people and afterwards its shifting to another place

especially focusing the attention towards the political motives of the players and reaction of the inhabitants.

Through visiting the entire areas, a reasonable data was obtained pertaining to pains and sorrows of the people they faced during the post earthquake period with the discriminatory attitude of the agencies responsible to provide relief and shelter to the affected people. The changes taken place with the calamities of earthquake in socio-economic conditions of the people and mainly the impact on family pattern were very visible there that were documented and made the part of the study as per its objectives.

1.5 Theoretical and conceptual frame work

Although a good amount of literature is available on the disaster and post disaster situation of various countries of the world, while many research studies have also been undertaken on the earthquake of Balakot, but the post effects of the earthquake on the family structure have rarely been focused before. The emphasis of the researcher's efforts in the affected areas was to explore the changed pattern of family system and its effects on the overall social setup of the people.

1.5.1 Anthropology and disaster

Interest in disaster research is constantly growing, as the physical damage done by the disasters is increasing and the occurrence of catastrophes is multiplying. Anthropologists often work in areas that are especially prone to disasters such as regions in least developed countries, thus ethnographic material is available on societies that had to undergo periods of extreme stress such as conflicts or involuntary resettlement. This material can be used for long-term and comparative studies that contribute to a better understanding of the interactions and interrelationship between nature and humans. Disaster research provides vast opportunities for anthropologists to do a combined research on the past and present, culture, ecology, politics and archaeology. Disasters are seen as opportunities to examine the organization of societies and to inquire about major anthropological themes such as social change. They provide researchers with the opportunity for exploring the structure of a society, and anthropologists explore how individuals and groups interact and integrate into the society at large. Anthropological research is important for all sciences concerned with disaster research.

Oliver-Smith and Hoffman argued that:

"As anthropology is a social science with a holistic approach, it can take into account the interplay of all three aspects of disasters: the environmental, the biological and the socio-cultural aspect. So it can combine these aspects and make contributions to the field of disaster studies in general and create linkages between all areas concerned. Especially applied anthropology can contribute a lot to disaster relief and rehabilitation operations that have to be based on such holistic research in order to be successful. The methodology of ethnographic field work is vital for disaster research and practice so to understand how disaster recovery happens and in which form socio-organizational adaptations and changes take place at micro level."

(Oliver-Smith and Hoffman, 1999, pp.2-3)

1.5.2 History of disaster research in anthropology

There are references in early anthropological literature about societies that lived under ecological stress, but were not studied in the context of disasters and their impact on the society and the people in general until the 1950s, while some of the cultural anthropologists systematically study the impact and inquire about the social consequences of natural disasters, like Samuel Prince (1920) did a study on the social impact of the explosion in the harbor of Halifax, another social scientists in that time considered disasters as sudden and extreme events that interfered with normal life of the population and so the study of disasters focused on how to mitigate them was Oliver-Smith 2002. From the 1950s onwards up to the 1970s, research became more structured; the study on disasters was mainly oriented towards pastoral societies who lived under conditions of drought. Research interest focused on the behavior of individuals and organizations in the processes of warning, impact and immediate response, but there was a little historical perspective taken into account. Only a few anthropologists published, for example, archaeological accounts of volcanic eruptions or tectonic activities.

William Torry (1979) gives an overview of past and actual trends in anthropological disaster research until the end of the 1970's. He presented two main approaches to the study of disasters, the homeostatic approach and the developmental approach. The homeostatic approach claimed that:

"Tribal societies dispose of the ability to withstand situations of crises without major changes of their society. They have a "battery of institutional safeguards"

(Torry 1979, p.518)

According to the theory; there are several coping strategies used by the societies to mitigate hazards. Dispersal is one of the adjustments that can be undertaken in times of severe stress. Torry mentioned the example of African pastoral populations who in times of drought split up their herds and communities that gave them the opportunity to migrate with their animals to different pastures in order to ensure the survival of their people and the livestock. Retrenchment of social activities was another strategy to cope in a situation of stress as explained by Torry:

"Food production and defensive operations are stressed while many other types of activity are retrenched, replaced, simplified, or merged."

(Torry 1979, p.520)

During the periods of drought, the festivals, ceremonies and even weddings were postponed or simplified for the sake of food security by the people for having no sufficient food.

The developmental approach, in contrast to the homeostatic approach, "deals largely with societies under the influence of modernizing pressures. Here the disaster agent is identified as one of several interacting forces which disrupt social stability and promote change." (Torry 1979, pp.518- 519.) The research interest is not so much on finding coping strategies but on finding the causes of disasters. Especially the linkages between modernization and the creation of disasters are subject to research in the developmental approach. Torry describes the research of Glynn Flood (1976, cited in Torry 1979, p.525), who conducted a study on the consequences of a development program undertaken by multinational donors along the Awash river in eastern Ethiopia. The research demonstrates that such programs can create tensions between different ethnic groups and disturb the ecological balance. (Torry 1979, p.525)

Torry (1979) claimed that only few ethnographies dealt with natural disasters and gave detailed descriptions on how disasters unfold. He mentioned that the field of cultural ecology had important contributions to make to anthropological theory. He regretted that between the 1950s till the end of the 1970s, the field of cultural ecology and its potential to contribute to anthropological disaster research was neglected and said that

anthropologists rather investigated which actions communities undertook to withstand situations of crisis. He also tried to identify the reasons for the comparatively little interest of anthropologists in the field of disaster research. For Torry (1979, p.521) the reasons for neglecting such issues in anthropological research lie in the way anthropologist defined hazards in that time. He argues that disasters are regarded as single events that interrupt day to day life but not the whole structure as such and so are only peripheral to anthropological research.

"Environmental hazards are typically regarded as constraining social organization only by limiting the ranges of feasible subsistence modes and by restricting the extent to which each is pursued. Individual cells, to be sure, may collapse, but social system survives intact. This is not to say that anthropologists universally characterize traditional disaster communities as changeless, but only that hazard agents are not credited as forces that power the machinery of social change."

(Torry 1979, p.521)

In the 1980s a new approach emerged. "Disasters, and the hazard leading to them, were re-evaluated and redefined as basic, often chronic elements of environments and, more significantly, as happenings humans themselves to some degree construct." (Hewitt1983: cited in: Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999, p.2). People who are living in disaster prone areas are neither ignoring the settings they are living in nor are they are unaware of it. They are forced to live within these dangerous zones due to political and economic forces and have to adjust to the environment they are living in and create a meaning to their lifestyles. But the technologies humans use to adapt to the environment have not always brought about more security but sometimes have put people into peril. One such technology is the production of atomic energy; on the one hand, it helps to meet the demand for energy and, on the other hand, puts people at risk of a worst case nuclear incident. Researchers started to acknowledge the importance of understanding the link between human action, social realities and hazards that lead to disasters.

Oliver-Smith and Hoffman (1999) claimed that catastrophes are diachronic. Catastrophes develop over time, as they are produced by unfavorable processes of societies such as environmental degradation or social inequality. On the other hand, there is the short term aspect of a catastrophe, the sudden crisis. These two time frames of a catastrophe are interrelated and inseparable. The unfavorable processes of societies

accumulate and finally culminate in a sudden crisis, which is then experienced by people as a dreadful event.

1.5.3 Current trends in the anthropology of disaster

According to Oliver-Smith and Hoffman (1999, p. 4) there are currently four major fields in anthropological studies on disasters, that are all interrelated and that draw upon and contribute to research in other disciplines:

- (1) Archeological/Historical
- (2) Political Ecology
- (3) Socio-cultural Behavior
- (3a) Disaster behavior and response
- (3b) Cultural interpretation of risk and disaster
- (3c) Post- disaster social and cultural change
- 4) Applied / practicing

1.5.4 Archaeological history

The archaeological research has contributed to a diachronic perspective on disasters to the field of disaster research. Disasters are historical processes and so there is a need for a long-term and in-depth perspective on disasters. Archaeology tries to explore how conditions of societies are prior to disaster. They have identified the physical and social processes that lead to disasters and the nature of the risk. Historical research covers such areas as creation of vulnerability or demographic shifts. Other aspects of research cover the post disaster period. The aim was to find out what makes a society resilient to disaster, what the coping strategies are and what adjustments are made to deal with new situations. Archaeologists can draw on various materials such as chronicles, annuals, etc. that not only deal with disasters but themselves report on different issues such as politics, demography, or economy and so give a broader picture also of the pre- and post-disaster situation.

1.5.4 Political ecology

The political ecology approach study the interaction between humans and nature and how political and economic structures influence the way humans use or misuse the environment. According to Oliver-Smith and Hoffman:

"Since the strictest anthropological sense all societies are viewed as perceiving and approaching their environment through cultural means."

(Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999, p.5)

Utilization and overexploitation of nature and natural resources produce hazards that can evolve to disasters. Human societies and environment are inseparable, as they are engaged in processes of constantly creating and recreating each other.

"Groups create physical niches for themselves and within them produce ecological settings that enable continuity and reinforce social and ideological constructs."

(Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999, p.6)

There are different factors that enhance the capacity of a society to cope with disasters and others that reduce their resilience. The distribution of goods is an important issue, as it puts some segments of society at risk and contributes to the welfare of others. Disaster, from a political ecological point of view, is a test for societies to prove how well they have adapted to their environment. Recently, a new concept has evolved that does not only deal with the adaptation capacity of humans to their environment, but also with the adaptation capacity of nature when confronted with a human population.

"The question of how well a society is adapted to its environment must now be linked to the question of how well an environment fares when fused with a society. The matter of mutuality has risen to the forefront."

(Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999, p.6)

1.5.6 Socio-cultural behavior

This approach deals with socio-cultural issues and encompasses a wide range of topics such as disaster behavior and response or post-disaster social and cultural change.

1.5.6.1 Disaster behavior and response

Disasters are totalizing events that have a whole range of different effects on the behavior and thoughts of those affected. There are different stages of a disaster which the affected people have to go through. The characteristics of the stages can vary considerably according to the kinds of disaster that happen and according to the kind of people being affected. Alice Fothergill (1998) for example has generated a typology of

stages of disaster. Oliver-Smith and Hoffman (1999) begin with the immediate crisis when a disaster strikes, this stage is followed by the recovery phase:

"The crisis demands and encompasses response. The behaviors implicated range from the biological to the philosophical."

(Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999, p.7)

The people were curious of knowing what has happened to them and try to give meaning to the situation they are in. Important aspects of coping with sorrows and distress are the invention of new rituals or the retrieval of traditional ones. Also, the return to religious practices can help to overcome trauma. People derive part of their identity and a sense of belonging to a community, from their homes, their neighborhood, and their community buildings, therefore, the loss of home and other essential places, the search for shelter, and later relocation put communities under stress. Jealousy and conflicts among community members will start after a period of unity immediately after the disaster. Dissent can also arise between survivors and agencies providing relief and rehabilitation or between survivors and governments. Disasters can be seen as a challenge to old power structures and emerging new political agendas.

1.5.6.2 Cultural interpretations of risk and disaster

There are big differences in how people view hazards, assess risk and define disasters according to their cultural and individual perception. People assess their environment and try to identify risk. Sometimes, they feel in danger without an objectively identifiable risk, and, in other cases, they just ignore an existing hazard. People outweigh their vulnerability and calculate potential risk against different lifestyle or livelihood options. What comes into play in the research of risk perception is the theory of cultural construction of reality. Anthropological research focuses on identifying differences of how local communities and, contrasting to that, how experts measure risk. Another point of interest lies in the question of who defines what a disaster is and when to declare a state of catastrophe.

1.5.6.3 Post-disaster social and cultural change

The interest of researchers working with this approach is to study the behavior of disasters bringing the change or retaining the status quo prior to a disaster. Anthony Oliver-Smith and Susanna M. Hoffmann (1999) claim that disasters imply a potential for change that does not always lead to change. Factors that determine whether or not a

society undergoes change after a catastrophe can be found in the conditions prior to the disaster.

"The strength of socio-cultural persistence, that is, the constancy of people's habits and ways, comprises the contrasting side of the discussion. Disasters impel societies and cultures to reassert prior patterns as much as spur them to undergo transformation."

(Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999, p. 10)

1.5.6.4 Applied/practicing

Oliver-Smith and Hoffman (1999) identified four separate fields of anthropological research on disaster, which are difficult to distinguish from each other, dealing with the problem of how to apply anthropological knowledge in disaster context and with issues of prediction, prevention and mitigation of disaster. One main goal of applied anthropological disaster research should be to identify ways of how to integrate traditional knowledge or adopted technologies to reduce disaster impact and reduce vulnerability. Another aim is to find out about social structures and customs of the affected communities in order to ensure equal distribution of aid. It is also important to strengthen the resilience of aid recipients as there is a tendency that victims of disaster become dependent on the provision of relief. Research in these fields should benefit communities in disaster prone or disaster stricken areas.

1.6 Vulnerability

The vulnerability is created mainly through everyday life of people; it is not the natural event that creates a disaster as explained by Blaikie:

"The product of the social, political and economic environment (as distinct from the natural environment) because of the way it structures the lives of different groups of people."

(Blaikie et al.1994, p. 3)

Disasters are embedded in a larger "social framework". The concept of vulnerability emphasizes the link between natural hazards and the major structures of a society. No disaster unfolds if there is only a natural hazard but no vulnerable people, and if there are only vulnerable people but no hazard, there is no catastrophe either. Even if only a weak hazard hits a vulnerable community, the impact might nevertheless be high. If the same hazard would impact a less vulnerable community it would not cause disaster. The scope of impact depends

on the type of hazard that hits a vulnerable community. A community might be vulnerable to avalanches but resilient to flooding. (Cannon 1994, p. 20) Nevertheless, social, economic and political processes of a society are the main causes for a hazard to become a catastrophe. These processes determine in what way and intensity people are affected. Wisner et al. offer a working definition of vulnerability:

"By vulnerability we mean the characteristics of a person or group and their situation that influence their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural hazard (an extreme natural event or process) It involves a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone's life, livelihood, property and other assets are put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event (or series or 'cascade' of such events) in nature and in society".

(Wisner et al. 2007, p. 11)

Vulnerability and the impact of a hazard vary according to who is affected. Characteristics that have an influence on the scope of impact are class, gender, ethnicity, caste, occupation, health status, age, residency or immigration status, language literacy and social network. (Bolin and Stanford 1999; Wisner et al. 2007) When Wisner et al. (2007) use the notion "vulnerable people", they mean the group of people who are most vulnerable. Communities that are not vulnerable are secure, or capable to protect themselves, and are capable to reconstruct their livelihoods. "The word 'livelihood' is important in the definition. We mean by this command an individual, family, or other social group has over an income and / or bundles of resources that can be used or exchanged to satisfy its needs. This may involve information, cultural knowledge, social networks and legal rights as well as tools, land, or other physical resources." (Wisner et al 2007, p.12) The notion of vulnerability does not focus only on the period previous to a disaster, but there are more dimensions of time involved in the notion of vulnerability. It encompasses the time previous to a hazard, the disaster event itself, the immediate relief phase, the recovery phase, and the post-disaster phase. The first dimension of vulnerability deals with the time previous to disaster. People who are forced to live in disaster prone areas due to poor livelihoods, lack information to anticipate a hazard and are not able to mitigate a risk. In the phase of the disaster impact itself, and also in the following period of relief, different characteristics can play a role in the creation of vulnerability. In the pre disaster period, the characteristic determining the vulnerability to

a certain hazard in a specific region is mainly class, it makes a difference if a person is from a lower class and can only afford living in hazardous places or if he/she a well-off person living in a safe neighborhood. In the period of immediate impact and in the following relief phase gender can be a significant characteristic for survival.

According to Fothergill:

"Women in developing countries are more likely to die in disasters, due to discriminatory practices, women's location in a disaster, and childcare responsibilities."

(Fothergill 1998, p. 17)

In the recovery and also in the post disaster phase, it might be a combination of gender, class and immigration that play a role.

1.6.1 Types of Vulnerability

There are different types of vulnerability identified by Zaman (1999), (i) vulnerability physical (ii) economic (iii) social (iv) information / educational and (v) environmental. Each has different components and indicators, Lavell (1994) described as political, institutional, ideological and technical vulnerability.

1.6.2 Economic vulnerability

For Lavell (1994), economic vulnerability is a synonym for poverty, Zaman (1999, p.195) claimed it as "loss of livelihoods and income opportunities, economic status, loss of assets and savings, need for recurrent aid". Economic vulnerability is the determining factor for the overall situation of people. It influences especially the social conditions and the physical conditions of the population. Economic vulnerability also includes budgetary problems of communities, regions or even countries.

"However, there is also a clear economic problem related to national and local government finances, which constitutes a further aspect of economic vulnerability and which directly affects distinct population groups at a local level. "

(Lavell 1994, pp. 55-56)

The economic vulnerability is, according to Zaman (1999), indicated by low income, poverty, unemployment, unequal land distribution and landlessness. In his chart on vulnerability types, components and indicators he also mentions relief and rehabilitation as an indicator but does not explicitly describe how this is meant. One can

conclude that the lack of economic resilience and the need for receiving relief and rehabilitation is an indicator for economic vulnerability. According to Zaman, underemployment and employment in the informal sector could be added as indicators, especially for the people who work in the informal sector lack social security and a stable source of income.

1.6.3 Social vulnerability

A component of social vulnerability is the disintegration of social organizations and the lack of social cohesion.

"The levels of social cohesion existing within communities and their willingness or ability to organize collectively in order to confront common problems are of fundamental importance for the promotion of local participation in disaster prevention and mitigation and in the response to emergencies."

(Lavell 1994, p.56)

Another component of social vulnerability is age, the elderly people are often of poor health, which leads to restricted mobility and a reduced ability to secure their livelihoods. This makes them more vulnerable to disasters. Gender is also an aspect of social vulnerability; indicators for social vulnerability are according to Zaman:

"Social helplessness, apathy, ethnic/social crisis, poor health, diseases, and marginalization".

(Zaman, 1999)

1.6.4 Physical vulnerability

The location vulnerability called by Lavell (1994), for Zaman (1999) that is a physical vulnerability that signifies the poor quality of housing, hazard-prone locations of settlement and inadequate infrastructure. It is indicated by high death tolls and damage to settlements, infrastructure, livestock and crops. For Zaman, the physical vulnerability is directly linked to economic vulnerability as it *"is a symptom of economic vulnerability."* (Zaman 1999, p.194) People who lack financial resources are forced to build their houses on marginal land or invade land, these areas are often hazard prone and lack adequate infrastructure. Furthermore, their houses are badly designed and built using low quality construction material.

1.6.5 Educational and informational vulnerability

The educational vulnerability refers to two forms of education, the formal education system and “education in disaster response”. Lavell described:

1994, p. 59) *“In many countries the formal education system lacks incorporation of issues such as people-land relationships and the physical vulnerability of different populated areas and incorporation of adequate knowledge of risk and its causes in different zones or regions of the country”*

(Lavell 1994, p.59)

Education in disaster response targets not only the school population but all people living in hazardous environments. There is a need for programs that provide training to people on how to respond in an emergency situation.

Informational vulnerability refers to the lack of proper forecasting, early warning and evacuation systems. The forecasting also includes risk mapping. Areas especially prone to hazards have to be declared as risky and, in some cases, even as uninhabitable. Lavell (1994, pp. 59-60) warns that the enforcement of such regulations often pose practical problems. Especially in developing countries, the state often lacks the capacity to implement such regulations and people do encroach on hazardous lands.

Lavell described:

“In contexts where permanent prevention and mitigation activities are clearly extremely difficult to implement in the short run, the importance of effective early warning systems accompanied by effective mobilization of the population cannot be minimized, especially in cases of hurricanes, flooding, landslides and volcanic activity.”

(Lavell 1994,p. 60)

Educational and informational vulnerability is indicated by the lack of knowledge about local natural hazards and is an expression of poor preparedness in cases of emergency, a poor evacuation strategy, and poor dissemination of information before and during the onset of a disaster.

1.6.6 Environmental vulnerability

Due to rapid population growth and lack of land resources, the existing land is

Overused which leads to deforestation and environmental degradation. Due to this scarcity of land, people settle in risk-prone, uninhabitable areas. The climate change intensifies the vulnerability of the people to hazards.

According to Lavell:

"A final aspect of importance in a consideration of local vulnerability to disasters relates to the manner in which in an increasing number of communities, particularly in urban areas, changes in the environmental conditions and balance in areas beyond their territorial limits have negative effects in terms of increased propensity to flooding, landslips and avalanches. Urbanization of slopes and hill tops dramatically changes fluvial run-off conditions in urban areas, posing severe problems for lower-lying communities."

(Lavell 1994, p. 61)

1.7 The vulnerability concept of Wisner et al.

The vulnerability concept of Blaikie et al. (1994) and Wisner et al. (2007) has been formulated in two models, the Pressure and Release (PAR) Model and the Access Model. These models are interrelated and together provide a tool for analysis of vulnerability. The PAR Model especially focuses on political aspects, whereas the focus of the Access Model lies on aspects of economy and especially livelihoods. This model is taken from an unpublished thesis of Julies.

1.7.1 Access model

The Access Model is a dynamic model which operates on a micro-level but takes into account complex processes at the local, national and international levels as described by Wisner:

"This focuses on the way unsafe conditions arise in relation to the economic and political processes that allocate assets, income and other resources in a society."

(Wisner et al 2007, p. 92)

It explains how vulnerability is generated and shows how the interplay between hazard and vulnerability takes place. For Wisner et al the distribution of wealth and power and the access to resources is constitutive for explaining how and why disaster impact differently on various households and at the individual level.

"Access involves the ability of an individual, family, group, class or community to use resources which are directly required to secure a livelihood in normal, pre-disaster times, and their ability to adapt to new and threatening situations. Access to such resources is always based on social and economic relations, including the social relations of production, gender, ethnicity, status and age, meaning that rights and obligations are not distributed equally among all people."

(Wisner et al. 2007, p.94)

The model describes how "normal" life was before the disaster takes place and after the unfolding of the disaster's calamities lead to transition from normal to abnormal life, even than each type of natural hazard has specific features for Wisner:

"There are generally shared characteristics for the way that vulnerability is generated, how the trigger event and the unfolding of the disaster have its impact, and various responses by different actors, local, national and international."

(Wisner et al. 2007, p.88)

The Access Model is a cyclical model which follows a certain disaster chronology.² There is a pre-disaster situation, which is followed by the hazard impact and as a result, transition to the disaster takes place.

²Each disaster has a certain chronology in which different stages can be identified. Alice Fothergill (1998) has developed a more detailed typology of disasters that can be divided into nine stages: Exposure to Risk: This stage deals with the situation of individuals previous to the disaster and with their vulnerability and exposure to risk.

Risk Perception: This part of the cycle shows how risk is perceived previous to the impact of a hazard and how people deal with knowing about it. Preparedness Behavior: After learning about a hazard, what are actions undertaken by people to prepare themselves for and mitigate the impact. Warning Communication and Response: „The warning response stage involves the reception of and the immediate actions in response to disaster warnings, such as tornado sirens or radio emergency broadcasts.“ [Fothergill 1998].

Physical Impacts: This stage refers to the immediate impact of the hazard. The physical impact can result in injuries, deaths destruction of buildings, and infrastructure. Psychological Impacts: Apart from physical impacts on the victims, there are also psychological impacts.

Figure-1

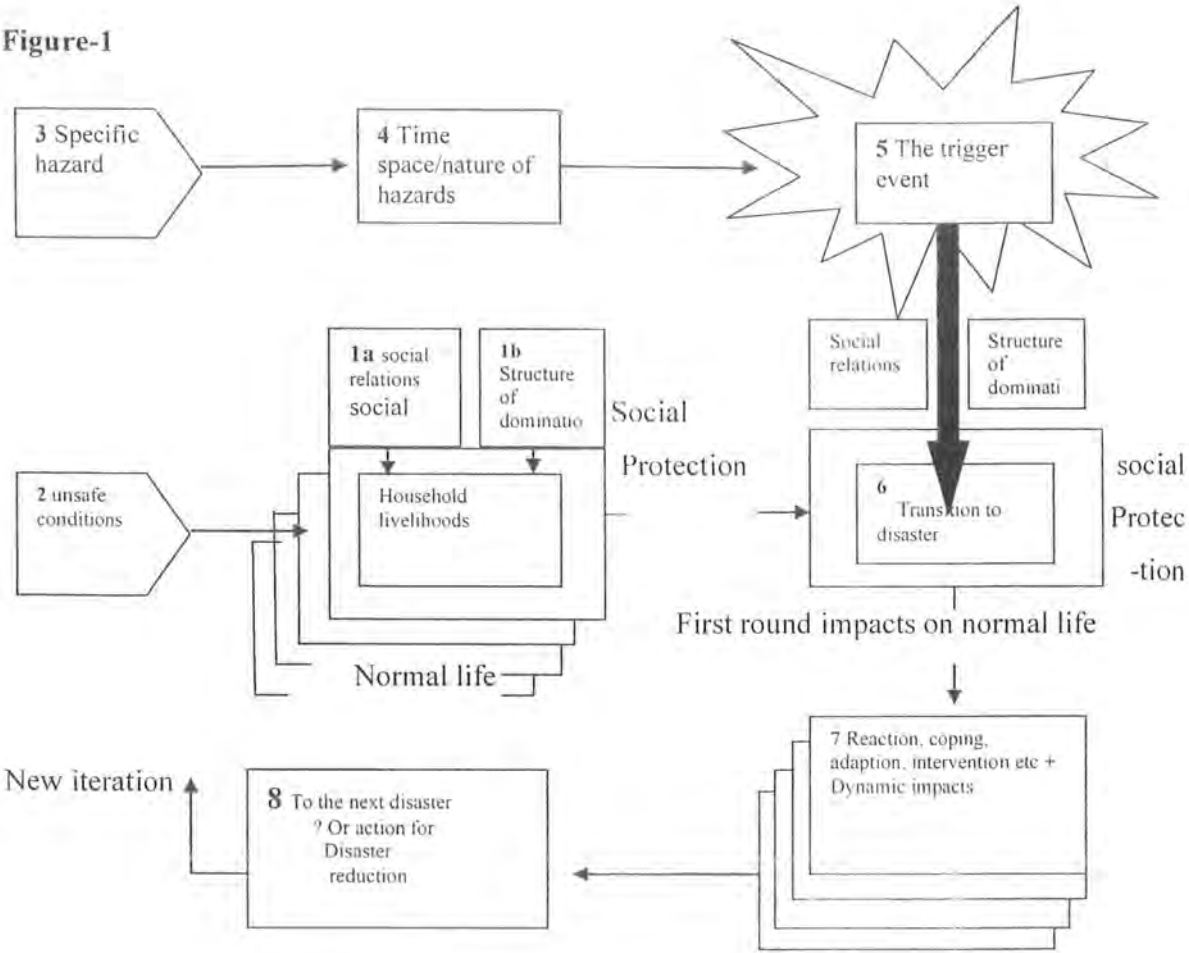


Illustration: Access-Model in Outline (Wisner et al. 2007: 89)

Source: Adapted from unpublished PhD thesis of Julia 2009: 26

1.7.2 Situation before the disaster

Boxes 1, 1a, 1b and 2 demonstrate the situation previous to the impact of the hazard: the exposure to risk, risk perception and preparedness behavior. Box 1 shows the “normal life” or “daily life” of a household and how the members of the household earn their livelihoods. Decisions about ones livelihood have to be taken on a regular basis. According to Winser:

“The iterative character of a livelihood is suggested by repeated cycles of livelihood decisions, each one sheet, arranged in the diagram behind each other and labeled ‘t1’, ‘t2’, indicating subsequent iterations of decision making year by year.”

(Wisner et al.2007, p.90)

The households and their individuals are connected with the macro level such as the regional, national or even international level through their “social relations” and are subject to “structures of domination” that influence the decisions they are making. Social relations and the structures of domination together constitute the political economy.

“The model stylizes the process of earning a living as a set of decisions made at the household level [...], individual decisions are always made in a political economic environment, and this is indicated by two boxes (1a and 1b) labeled ‘social relations’ and ‘structures of domination’.”

(Wisner et al. 2007, p.90)

The system of “social relations” refers to economic transactions that are undertaken in the society between its different members. “The first is called social relations (Figure 3.1, Box1a) and encompasses the flows of goods, money and surplus between different actors (for example, merchants, urban renters, capitalist producers of food, rural and Emergency Response: The term emergency response refers to the period immediately after a disaster and encompasses a time period from the onset of the catastrophe up to about a week after. Recovery:

“The recovery phase, typically the one-year period following a disaster, is generally when life returns to a somewhat operative, normal, or improved level”.

(Fothergill, Alice 1998: 21)

Reconstruction: This is the final stage of the chronology and can even last for years, as the consequences of the disaster might be experienced for a long time. Urban households involved in various relations of production and endowed with a particular range and quality of access to resources, called an access profile [see below]).”(Wisner et al. 2007, p. 94)

“Structures of domination” system encompasses the hierarchical relations between different segments or members of a society and are often legitimized by dominant world views and ideologies. The structures of domination emerge at different levels that are interrelated, namely the household level, the extended family and kinship level, the community level and the state level. This includes intra-household relations between the different gender and age groups that “shape, and are shaped by, existing rights obligations and expectations that exist within the household

and which affect the allocation of work and rewards (particularly crucial in terms of shock and stress.)”

(Wisner et al. 2007, p. 94)

At the next level he identifies the kinship network that means commitment to support each other. For Wisner et al the relations between different classes and different ethnic groups form another structure of domination. The state level comprises all relations between the state, government bodies and its citizens. These relations have a decisive influence on the hazard and whether or not it develops into a disaster.

“They involve issues of law and order and how these are exercised – with partiality and personal discretion, with particular degrees of intensity and efficiency, with differing degrees of coercion, or sometimes with violence. Relations at this level usually involve standards of governance and the capabilities of the civil service and the police.”

(Wisner et al. 2007, pp.94-95)

It is important to mention here that the negative impacts effects that internal state conflicts that can harm the development in the disaster’s affected areas. In cases of civil war or conflicts between the state and its citizens, the structures of domination can have an especially negative effect and can create a “complex emergency”.

The “structures of domination” in the Access Model are equivalent to the root causes in the PAR-Model, which form the macro level of causes for vulnerability. The macro and micro-levels are linked through unsafe conditions. The “unsafe conditions in Box 2 of the Access Model are the “unsafe conditions” of the PAR Model but at a local micro level. (Wisner et al. 2007, pp. 88-95) Box -1 shows “household livelihoods” within the frame of “social protection” which is a visualization of the need for hazard precautions and preparedness at the local and national levels organized by the local community or the state.

1.7.2 Hazard Impact

Boxes 3-5 relate to further aspects in the disaster cycle, which are disaster response, warning communication, response, and physical and psychological impacts. Box 3 introduces a specific hazard that has its own characteristics and potential consequences. Box 4 shows that the hazard is located in time and space. The impact of a hazard depends on the location and on the time when it occurs. The same hazard can impact in different ways depending on the region where it happens. It makes a great

difference whether the hazard occurs in a densely populated region or in a deserted place. The time dimension of a hazard has many aspects. Some hazards occur frequently, thus communities are more aware of their existence. In other cases like the Earthquake in the Balakot and KPK happen only once in a few centuries and therefore people tend to forget about it. It makes a difference in which season, on which day and which time a disaster unfolds. Another aspect of the time dimension is the space in which the disaster develops. There are sudden disasters, such as earthquakes and slow-onset disasters, such as famines. Each stage in the disaster cycle furthermore develops its own pace of change.

"The stages of the impact of a disaster after the hazard strikes are fundamental. The various elements in the vulnerability frame work (class relations; household access profiles; income opportunities; household budget; and structures of domination and resource allocation) each iterate at a different speed. "

(Wisner et al. 2007, p.108)

All these aspects are added together in Box 5 develop into a trigger event for a disaster. The black arrow that points from Box 5 to Box 6 breaks through the frame of social protection.

"Some of the immediate consequences are mediated or deflected by the safety measures in place, while other impacts penetrate these safety measures (depicted by the 'impact arrow' striking through the outer protective barrier) and fall upon different households with varying degrees of severity. The hazard event also alters existing social relations as well as structures of domination, as the more detailed explanation of these processes will show."

(Wisner et al. 2007, p.91)

1.7.3 Transition to disaster

Transition to disaster has been shown in Box 6, the households and its individuals have to face the first rounds of impacts on their daily lives. This impact is a serious one. The changes in the lives of individuals and households can be enormous. People die or suffer from illnesses or injuries due to the disaster. some may become disabled, and this alters the composition of households. Individuals and households often have reduced the capacities to secure their livelihoods. Assets may be destroyed that prevent them from

taking up income opportunities they had before the onset of the catastrophe. According to Wisner:

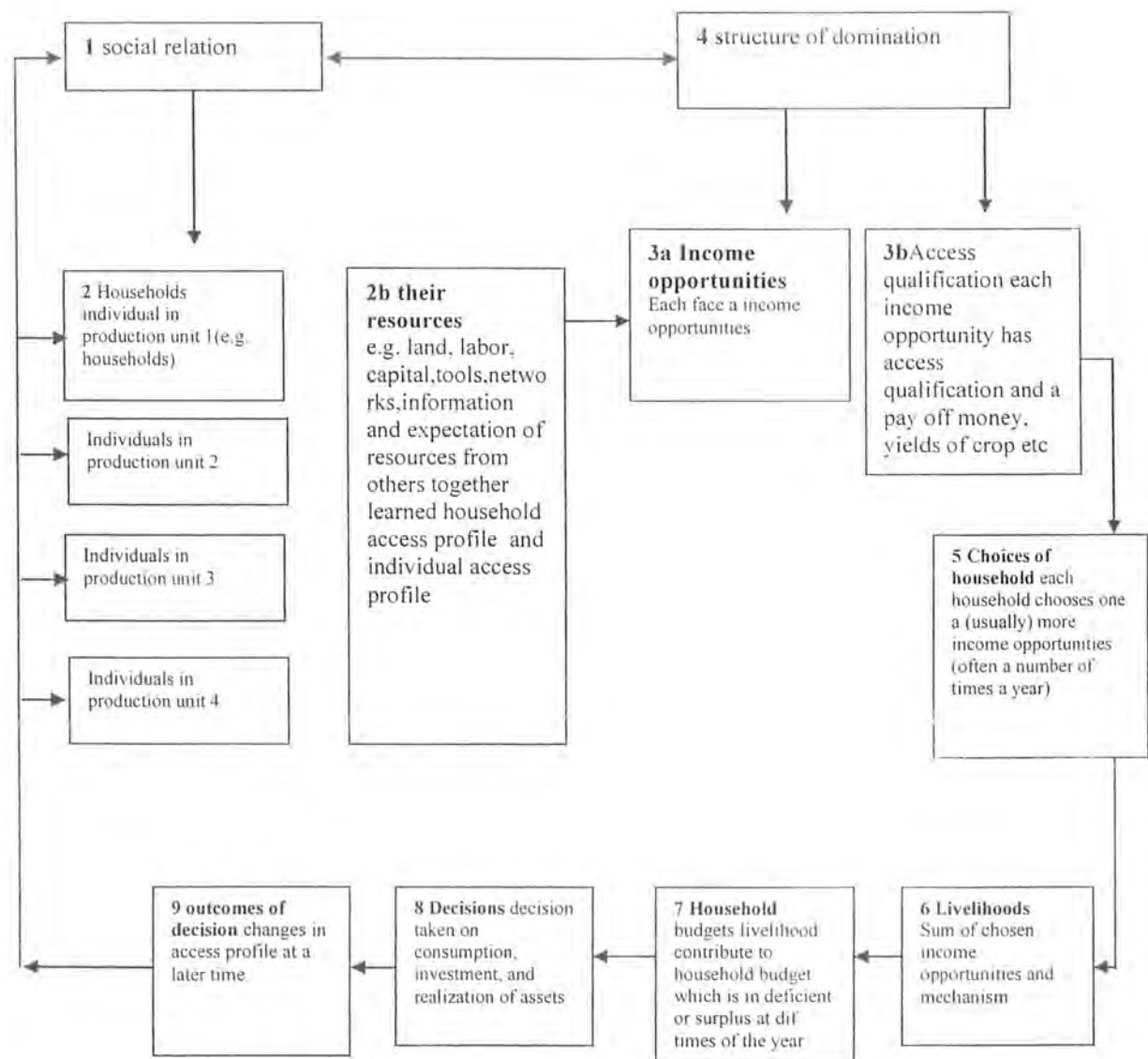
"The disaster event itself alters capabilities and preferences both in the short term (e.g. grieving, trauma, acute deprivation) and also in the longer term, since the aftermath of a disaster sees a reappraisal of previous individual and collective commitments, the strength and nature of trust, and the intensity and diversity of social networks including rules of membership."

(Wisner et al. 2007, p. 110)

1.7.4 Emergency response, recovery and rehabilitation

Boxes 7 and 8 depict the stages of emergency response, recovery and rehabilitation. Box 7 shows that the disaster unfolds as a process over time, and that coping mechanisms, interventions from outside such as relief efforts, take place. Box 8 illustrates the question if a household could enhance its disaster mitigation capacities or if it became more vulnerable to disasters. The arrow leading from Box 8 to Boxes 1 and 2 indicates that the conditions of the households have altered. Sometimes in the process of recovery and rehabilitation, vulnerability can be reduced, and mitigation and coping capacities can be enhanced. In case of occurrence of a new hazard that depends on the aspects whether another disaster can take place or not.

Figure: 2



Birth, death and demographic changes in time period

Illustration 3: Normal Life of Households (Wisner et.al 2007, p.99)

Source: Adopted from unpublished PhD thesis of Julia 2009, p.29)

1.7.5 Normal life of households

To fully understand how vulnerability is created, the normal life of households has to be described in more detail. The units of analysis in the Access Model are “households” or “hearth holds”. “Households” or “hearth holds” are units of people who share common cooking facilities, who eat together, take joint decisions concerning the household economy, and are often part of one production unit. Exceptions such as workers living in hostels are not considered as households. (Wisner et al. 2007, p.98) The household access profile defines what resources and assets each household has at its disposal. Resources and assets in this context means both material resources such as land, livestock, housing, jewelry, etc. as well as non-material resources which are credited to individuals and include assets such as knowledge, skills and social networks. Access to resources essentially defines to the degree to which households are vulnerable to hazards.

“No material ‘resources’ are also essential, such as knowledge and skills, the structural position occupied in a society such as gender, or membership of a particular tribe or caste (which can either enable or exclude a person from networks of support, facilitate or prevent access to resources and their utilization).”

(Wisner et al. 2007, pp.98-99)

Wisner et al. claim that each individual has an “initial state of well being” which cushions the effects of shock and is “primarily defined by physical abilities”. (Wisner et al. 2007, p.98). This state is reduced gradually through the impact of disasters. It is important for a household to have access to non-material and material assets, as this is the decisive factor for the condition of a household. The Access is secured mainly through laws or customary rights. In some circumstances households secure their access to resources through crime.

Each household has different options to take up a livelihood and earn an income. But the decision on choosing a specific income-providing opportunity is based on the access profile, the qualifications and assets of a household or individual. For each livelihood, different qualifications, skills and resources are required. They are termed access qualifications. Without such qualifications individuals or households cannot take up income opportunities. Individuals and households which have a wide range of qualifications can choose between varieties of jobs. They can opt for income opportunities that are better paid and often less hazardous. Those with low skills and

assets have fewer options to choose from and are restricted to less profitable ways of earning an income. The income of a household can take many forms, such as wages, natural resources, etc. "The resulting bundle of income opportunities (both in kind and in cash), together with the satisfaction of such needs as water and shelter, can be said to constitute a 'livelihood' (Box 6), which is the sum of the payoffs of the household's constituent income opportunities." (Wisner et al. 2007, p.101) According to the household budget, decisions on consumption and expenditure are taken. "The outcome of these decisions will result in a change in the access profile of each household in the next period (Box 9). These will, in aggregate, alter the flows of surplus between groups and households and may alter the social relations between groups (Box 1), so that in the next round the households are in a different set of relations to each other and larger scale structures, and enter Box 2b with different access profiles." (Wisner et al. 2007, p.101). As shown above, Wisner et al focus on households which consist of individual members as their unit of analysis. There is an inconsistency in the explanation of the access model. Wisner et al claim that "Each individual in a household has a collective claim which may be termed as access to resources. " (Wisner et al. 2007, p.98) Wisner et al. seem to neglect the intra household differences between household members. It is important to look at each individual member's profile as well.

1.8 Disaster response and hazard mitigation

After the onset of a disaster, the speed and scope of recovery depends on how people respond and adapt to it. There are two different forms of response to disaster that can be identified and are closely connected. In order to understand the mechanisms of disaster response, the two forms have to be analyzed separately: On the one hand there is disaster response by the affected people and on the other hand disaster response is provided from outside. Hazard mitigation is another form of response to disaster. It should take place before the impact of a hazard but often only takes place after the onset of a disaster in order to prevent a future catastrophe this stage is decisive in making the affected either become more vulnerable or resilient to hazards. Resilience is the "capacity of a system, community or society potentially exposed to hazards to adapt, by resisting or changing in order to reach and maintain an acceptable level of functioning and structure." (ISDR 2004)

1.8.1 Disaster response by those affected

The mechanisms that affected the people develop who are affected to deal with the consequences of a Hazard impact are called coping strategies.

"Coping is the manner in which people act within the limits of existing resources and range of expectations to achieve various ends. In general, this involves no more than 'managing resources' but usually it means how it is done in unusual, abnormal and adverse situations."

(Wisner et al. 2007, p.113)

Coping strategies involve mechanisms that enact on individual, family or on community level. The affected make use of experiences they have made in previous disasters and develop strategies and make use of capacities they still have in order to cope with the hazard impact.

"They have adapted coping strategies based on previous experiences in dealing with disasters. Although disasters may deprive people physically of food, shelter, crops, tools, they always will have resources left."

(Murshed 2003, p.147)

Anderson and Woodrow (1989) have developed a matrix to analyze the different Capacities people have. They define three types of capacities: physical/material, social/organizational, motivational/attitudinal. Some of these capacities are also mentioned in the Access-Model, such as coping mechanisms which can take on different forms: Social networks are essential in order to combine forces and pool resources, which frees their forces and resources for other individual efforts that are needed in the relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation process. Also nonmaterial aspects, such as religious beliefs, can play a vital role in coping.

1.8.2 External disaster response

Support mechanisms from outside are provided by the government agencies, NGOs or even by citizens of other regions. The first phase of support is the relief phase, starts when aid reaches the affected people immediately after the onset of a catastrophe. Relief can be defined as:

"The provision of assistance or intervention during or immediately after a disaster to meet the life preservation and basic subsistence needs of those people affected. It can be of an immediate, short-term, or protracted duration."

(International Strategy for Disaster Reduction 2004)

After the immediate relief phase, the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction was followed. It stretches normally over a long period that can last up to several years after the onset of a disaster. Rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts are defined by the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR) as:

"Decisions and actions taken after a disaster with a view to restoring or improving the pre-disaster living conditions of the stricken community, while encouraging and facilitating necessary adjustments to reduce disaster risk. Recovery (rehabilitation and reconstruction) affords an opportunity to develop and apply disaster risk reduction measures"

(ISDR 2004).

It is crucial that external response mechanisms are integrated in the coping mechanisms of the affected. Only when the external relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts support the coping strategies that individuals and communities themselves develop, they assist in the process of recovery.

1.8.3 Hazard mitigation: Reducing risk and minimizing vulnerability

Efforts that minimize disaster impact should go hand in hand with the response to disaster. So-called mitigation strategies, strategies that are currently applied often still follow the hazard paradigm and concentrate more on reducing the intensity of the hazard than on the factors that produce vulnerability.

"Mitigation of hazards is normally associated with attempts to reduce the intensity of a hazard or to make some other modification which is supposed to lessen its impact. It is often a hazard- centered rather than people-centered approach."

(Cannon 1994, p.21)

Efforts to reduce the vulnerability of people and minimize risk previous to the impact are important. These preventive strategies have to be implemented at various levels: the individual, small group and state level. Strategies at the individual and small-group level as narrated by

Winser;

"May involve avoiding dangerous time-spaces (such as fishing offshore in small open craft during the storm season), avoiding concentrations of disease vectors (e.g. malaria mosquito, tsetse fly) that have variability by

season and/or altitude and choosing residence locations that are less exposed to wind, flood or mass movement of the earth."

(Wisner et al, 2007, p.115)

Other strategies would be to keep stocks of food for adverse periods and to diversify production and income sources. Important are ties with relatives, neighbors or other community members in order to support each other in times of distress. Wisner et al (2007, pp.330- 376) suggest a seven-part strategy to reduce risk and prevent disaster at a national level, the "CARDIAC" strategy. The first objective is to make people aware of hazards, to make them understand how disasters unfold and what makes them vulnerable to them. The second objective is to conduct an "integrated hazard and Capacity/vulnerability analysis (CVA)". This analysis should be different from the existing risk assessments, as these have a technological approach to disaster but should center on vulnerabilities and compound disasters. The vulnerability analysis should integrate an analysis of the capacities of the respective communities. The third objective focuses on intercepting translation from root causes into unsafe conditions by blocking, changing, or reversing dynamic pressures. These dynamic pressures are "social, economic and political mechanisms" (Wisner et al 2007, p.343) that need to be altered or stopped in order to reduce vulnerability and prevent a disaster.

"They are instances of capacity-building measures based on pro-poor economic and political changes. Such actions reverse the mechanisms that translate root causes such as long histories of racial discrimination, unequal access to land and other resources, etc. into specific unsafe conditions."

(Wisner et al 2007, p. 343)

The fourth objective is to focus on sustainable development, which means a disaster rehabilitation-development continuum to include risk reduction into development efforts and vice versa. The fifth objective emphasizes livelihoods. On the one hand some livelihood opportunities may reduce vulnerability and, on the other hand other livelihood patterns can provide risk reduction. Examples for vulnerability-inducing livelihood patterns are activities where persons are exploited. The importance here is to reduce such patterns and increase.

"The kinds of measures that promote sustainable livelihoods and can lead to a reduction in vulnerability."

(Wisner et al 2007, p.352)

The sixth objective focuses on the integration of risk reduction into disaster recovery.

"In principle, such recovery would address economic, political and social needs- not only rebuilding infrastructure and housing, but opening the way for more resilient livelihoods. In practice, implementation of recovery along these lines requires reversing (or at least substantially palliating) the dynamic pressures and root causes that have contributed to the disaster in the first place."

(Wisner et al 2007, p.354)

The "seventh risk- reduction objective" aims at building a "safety culture" through changes in the institutions of the state and society in general. This also means that power relations have to be altered and access to resources has to be ensured for everybody.

1.9 Family

Being a basic institution of a society, the family has a lot of importance in the studies of anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientist. Joint family system and internal relationships of family members have great importance throughout the Eastern countries, especially in agriculture countries like Pakistan, because for many anthropologists joint family is the product of agricultural economy.

1.9.1 Cyclical theory

The study of family in time space context in different societies is known as cyclical theory. The family in the past is compared with the present which is validated throughout by data and the direction of change. Family pattern and impact of certain forces over a period of time on family has been studied by the sociologists like Lee play (1885-1935); Westermarck (1891-1905); Zimmerman (1947) etc.

Zimmerman postulated that there are three family types i.e. the trustee family; the domestic family and the atomistic family. These types are defined according to the amount of power vested in the family, the widths of fields of its action and the amount of its social control which it exercises. The trustee family controls through power and dominates the individual. The individual's rights and privileges are subordinate to the family group. Individuals own their primary obligations and duties to the family. The family and kin groups control the wealth, property and rights of its members. In societies where the trustee family is dominant the state is organized primarily in terms of kinship

obligations, with the family taking on the responsibility of governing protecting, supporting, and disciplining its members. Historically this type of family system is seen to have been dominant in ancient Greece and Rome (in period after the decline of Roman Empire).

The domestic family is seen as the second family type that shares power with the state or church. The family still remains a strong unit, maintaining many of the powers over the individuals that it had under the trustee-type system. When the domestic family type is in ascendancy there is balance between the power of the state and the power of the family; the state doesn't replace the family but rather restricts the rights of the family to punish its members. The development of individual rights and the conceptualization of divorce both limiting family authority, characterize family ascendancy.

The third family type, atomistic family, is resultant of the emergence of state power and the philosophy of individualism, the power and latitude of family is reduced to minimum. Atomistic family systems arise when the individual is freed from the control of the family and the church and the cultural incentive of the society is the pursuit of private and public goals of individualism. A prime illustration for understanding this type of family system is the attitude toward illegitimate children versus legitimate children. In the trustee family system the negative stigma attached toward illegitimacy result frequently in the destruction of the bastard; whereas in the Atomistic family system, the bastard is now legally afforded the same rights and privileges of the legitimate child of the state.

Zimmerman (1947) believes that the Atomistic family has characteristics of contemporary society with marriage and family obligation having minimal obligations on the individual and where the individual's major responsibilities are linked to the law and the government.

The test of sociological proposition with the historical data is an old approach and may be considered limited one. This approach can also be seen in the writings of Burgees and Lock (1945); Hill (1949) and Ogburn and Nimkoff (1955). Goode (1963-1982) has also studied family patterns in different societies over a period of about half a century. Gore (1968); Laxmanaryan (1982) and others have also made use of this approach.

1.9.2 Progressive theory

Ogburn's (1922) primary concern was with the process of social change. His contribution to society lies in the distinction he made between material culture

(technological factors, transportation, factories, machines etc) and adaptive culture (values, ideas, attitude, customs, etc). He argued that the real sources of progressive change were found in material innovations with customs, beliefs, philosophies, adapting them, to the material substructure. The fact that the adaptive culture follows the material culture led Ogburn's to postulate the hypothesis that culture lag-changes in the material culture occur and cause change in the adaptive culture which result in continuous change between the two types of social culture.

The particular interest of the researchers of family lies in Ogburn's idea (1933) about the process of social change and impact of technology, innovations, and ideologies on family system. Applying this theory to the family, the argument is made that the family system changes as a result of technological changes; the family then, is an example of adaptive culture.

Ogburn and Nimkoff (1955) present the argument that inventions and discoveries of modern technological society have led to the decline of the family's economic, educational, recreational, religious and protective functions. They indicated a list which served as a prime illustration of effect of cultural lag.

- Increasing divorce rate;
- Wider diffusion of birth control and decline in family size;
- Decline in authority of husbands and fathers;
- Increase in sexual intercourse apart from marriage;
- Increase in number of wives working for pay;
- Increasing individualism and freedom of family members;
- Increasing transfer of protective function from family to state;
- Decline of religious behaviors in family and marriages.

Leslie (1979) believes that the strength of Ogburn's work doesn't lie preliminary in this theoretical formulation but in his exhaustive description of changed relations of the family and other institutional structures which he documented for more than three decades: the increased participation of government, economic enterprises, education and so on, in the once private domain of the family.

1.9.3 Structural functional theory

Structural function theory, often called, functional theory or functionalism, emphasizes that every pattern of activity (that is very structure) in a society make some positive or negative contribution to that society (Alexander and Colomy, 1990, Turner 1991, and Ritzer, 1996). Structure-functionalists are interested in why certain structures exist in a society and especially what purpose, or function, they serve with regard to the family system in the society. The function might include producing children, caring for them when they are young, and training them in the ways of the society. If a society doesn't have a fairly persistent structure for producing new members, caring for them, and socialized them, the society is not likely to survive. Parsons (1943), Parsons and Bales (1955) Marton (1957) and Bell and Vogel (1960) had discussed this approach along with other family structural functionalists such as Hill and Hansen (1960) and Sussman (1962) of society as a whole. Many conflict theorists have seen the family as a social arrangement benefiting some people than others. Engles (1884/1902), viewed the family as a class society in miniature, with one class (men) oppressing another class (women). He contended that marriage was the first form of class antagonism in which the well-being of one group derived from misery and repression of another group. The motivation of sexual domination was the economic exploitation of a woman's labor.

Collins (1975:88) discussed that the historically men have been the "sexual aggressors" and women the "sexual prizes for men". He traces male dominance to the greater strength, size and aggressiveness of men. Women have been victimized by their smaller size and their vulnerability as child bearers. Across an entire spectrum of societies women have be seen as sexual property, taken as booty in war, used by their fathers in economic bargaining and considered as owned by their husbands. In recent years however, economic and political changes improved women's bargaining position. When they were no longer under the control of their fathers, they became potentially free to negotiate their own sexual relationships. But women often found that within the free marriage market, they had to trade their sexuality for the economic and status resources for men. Although conflict theory reverberates with the seminal ideal of Engels and Karl Marx, but other social scientists have approached the issue of conflict somewhat differently such as Freud (1930/1961) and Simmel (1908/1955; 1908/1959) also advanced a conflict approach to the family. They contended that intimate relationships inevitably involve antagonism as well as love. More recently, prey (1979) have developed these ideas and suggest that

conflict is a part of all systems and interactions. They see family members as confronting two conflicting demands: to compete with one another for autonomy, authority, and privilege, and simultaneously to share one another's fate in order to survive and even flourish. Viewed in this fashion, the family is a social arrangement that structures close interpersonal relationships through ongoing processes of negotiation, problem solving, and conflict management. This view is quite compatible with the symbolic interactionist perspective.

1.9.4 Marxist theory

This approach has also been classified separately though Nye and Berardo (1967), who explained it within the economic framework. Marx's contribution is regarded to be unique and significant in understanding family behavior, therefore Hallen (1981) treated this approach separately.

The emphasis here is slightly different; which is on the position of women in a capitalist's society, the division of labor which has domesticated a woman. Thus the house-wife has therefore been central to Marxist analysis of family. This focus neglects the internal relationship between husband and wife, internal role segregation and its significance was closely related to the feminist movement and their stand in understanding family behavior. Since the last decade, this movement has caught momentum showing concern towards women's conditions and their experiences of being subordinated and oppressed. Berger and Berger (1983) raised questions such as, whether family is useful and doing good for women. Recently Hansen and Philipson (1990) from a feminist perspective raised issues why people marry? And there is no such thing as family. In their conclusions they believed that without family ideology, it would be possible to reconsider and reconstruct the realities of relationships between men, women and children and to work towards more equal and more caring ways of living and working together.

Chapter No. 2

2.0 Area profile

The research study was conducted in two different areas urban and rural, the urban area was Narrah and the name of rural area was Gareeb Abad. Narrah was located 2 km south to Balakot bazaar and Gareeb Abad was located 2km towards north to Balakot main bazaar. Both the areas came under the administrative control of Tehsil Balakot and district Mansehra, Narrah and Gareeb Abad were the part of union council "Garlat" located at the eastern brink of river Kunhar that rises from Lake Lalasar at the head of Kaghan valley having somewhat turbulent course of 110 miles before joining the Jhelum river at Pattan. For detail locations see figure 3 and 4. The two locales were intensely destroyed in the earthquake of 8th Oct 2005.

2.1 Manshera

Mansehra city was the part of Mansehra district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan. Apart from being a major stop on the Karakoram Highway, it also links to the road to Kaghan, Naran, Shogran, Lake Saiful Mulook and Babusar Top. Mansehra was located at the eastern border of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, two hour's drive from Peshawar and three hour's from Islamabad. The district was located at 34° - 12' and 35° - 50' and 47° - 07' longitude. It was closely linked to Afghanistan in the west, which had increased Mansehra's Afghan refugee count over the past years.

(Ambela - Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 5)

The district of Mansehra has been blessed with wonderful scenery; some of Mansehra's main features were mountain ranges, plains, valleys, and numerous lakes and rivers. The largest river was the Kunhar, known as the Kunar (not to be confused with the Kunar River of the Chitral District). The river was the gateway to the Kaghan Valley that runs through Balakot.

2.2 Balakot

The Balakot tehsil was located about thirty kilometers from the city of Mansehra, a town in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan. It was a renowned tourist destination in the region and one of the first stop for tourists who wish to visit the secluded but beautiful Kaghan valley of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. The river Kunhar runs through the city and was one of the main sources for the beauty of the area. Balakot was also the main city of the area surrounded by many small towns and villages.

The Sikhs got hold of Mansehra in the year 1818 after a stiff resistance from its inhabitants. When the whole Mansehra fell under Sikh control, it was annexed to Punjab. Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed with the help of the Mujahadeens, including the Swatis of Balakot and Syeds of Kaghan, led many revolts and attacks against the Sikhs. At last on 6th May 1831 during a fierce battle Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed along with hundreds of their followers were killed.

The central mosque of Balakot was named after Syed Ahmed Shaheed. Qazi Khalil Ahmed, district Khateeb of Ahmed Shaheed Mosque Balakot. The mosque was destroyed two times by natural disasters, as it was just reconstructed again after being destroyed by 1992 flood in Balakot. During winter there was a frequent snow-fall in the region, but after March, temperature rise and result in a warmer climate. (Ambela - Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 5). The town was destroyed during the earthquake 2005 and later rebuilt with the assistance of the Government of Pakistan and Saudi Public Assistance for Pakistan Earthquake Victims (SPAPEV a Saudi relief organization). A separate project, initiated by the government of Pakistan 'New Balakot City' was developed near Mansehra, with plans to relocate the population of two Union Councils of Balakot, demarcated as a Red Zone.

2.3 Town (Narrah)



Figure- 5: A view of Narrah town

The written history of the town was not available, as far as the oral history of the town was concerned, it was according to the people inherited from generations. Most of the people relate the history of Balakot with the battle of Mujahideen with Sikhs and with the topography of village setting, and don't see the place as having its own separate history. According to them, Narrah was a forest when their forefathers inhabited, some of them stated that the area where the town was located, there was a wild shrub scattered everywhere called 'Narr (a shrub having bamboo like structure but smaller in size) that might be the reason of naming the town as Narrah.

The total population of Narrah town was approximately 5000 according to the Union council recorded data of 98 censuses. Before the earthquake, it was subdivided into three *mohallas*, upper narrah, lower narrah and Malal pandi but after the earthquake, it was divided into seven different *mohalls*, according to the town people, it happened when NGOs (non-governmental organizations) initiated different projects for the rehabilitation and reconstructing the area that was difficult for one organization to cover the whole town, however the initiated ramping of the town demarcated its boundary for the purpose. Whenever any organization launched its project, it had to be registered with the Union Council, thus the area was known by its new division:

- Upper Narrah
- Lower Narrah

- Millat town
- Dharyian
- Malal Pandi
- Mohalla Masjade Aqsa.

Among the sub-divided localities, the two density populated locales were selected by the researcher to undergo a research study that were Upper Narrah and Millat town.

2.4 Village Ghareeb Abad



Figure: 6 (A view of Ghareeb Abad)

Village Ghareeb Abad was the new name of the village, while the old name was “Purana Ghora”. Written history of the village was not known even by the elderly people too, while the oral history of the village, people could recall the history of the area for 4-5 generations back. Most of the people relate the history of their village with a picnic trip on horses. According to them, once upon a time when a Mudrasa teacher with his student came for picnic to Naran and Kaghan valley. They were traveling by horses, when they reached kaghan road 2 km ahead from main Balakot city, their horse died. At that time there was no transport facility available, they buried the horses under a tree and put up a tent for shelter. With the passage of time the teacher with the support of his student had established a mosque and started Islamic teaching there. The caravan did not go back.

And passed their lives in the village, because of the historical event the area was known as “Purana Ghora” (Old horse). The ancient history was told by a respondent during an in-depth interview.

After the earthquake, the area was given a new name of Ghareeb Abad. According to the people, Qazi sahib of Balakot gave suggestion to change the name of village, all the villagers with consensus changed the name as Ghareeb Abad, Ghareeb means poor and Abad means dwellers, so the villagers gave the title to their village according to their poor economic conditions.

2.5 The people

A sample of total 50 households was taken from both urban and rural research areas of Narrah, the total population was 391 with 202 males and 189 females, while the sample population was 212 with 107 males and 105 female. (Source: Socio-economic census form). The total population of village Ghareeb Abad was 179 with 95 males and 84 female. The following tables show the age wise and sex wise distribution of the population of the town and the village:

**Table 1: Age and sex wise distribution of sample
Population in Town and village**

Narran					
S.No	Age groups(years)	Male		Female	
		No	%	No	%
1.	10 and less	27	19	34	23
2.	11-20	30	26	29	22
3.	21-30	27	20	30	24
4.	31-40	22	15	25	17
5.	41-50	14	10	09	06
6.	51-60	08	06	07	05
7.	61 and above	06	04	05	03
	Total	107	100	105	100
Ghareeb Abad					
	Age groups(years)	Male		Female	
		No	%	No	%
1.	10 and less	25	28	31	40
2.	11-20	21	24	18	24
3.	21-30	19	20	13	16
4.	31-40	15	15	09	04
5.	41-50	07	07	05	08
6.	51-60	04	03	03	03
7.	61 and above	04	03	05	05
	Total	95	100	84	100

Source :(Socio-economic census survey form)

The above tables show the distribution of population in different age categories in both urban and rural research area after earthquake. It also highlights that most of the population was between the ages of 20 to 40 years.

2.6. Castes of the town and the village

There were different castes or ethnic group in the town and village, the members of the different caste were differing with regard to certain cultural characteristics from the other members of their society. They have their own language and certain other

distinctive customs, while the people of the “Balakot” were living in different identifiable “*QAUM*”. People used the term “*Qaum* or *Zat*” to represent their caste. Following table highlights the caste wise distribution of the households.

Table 2: Ethnic composition of the households in
Town and village
Narrah

S.No.	Castes	No. of Households	%age
1.	Swati	7	30
2.	Gujjar	5	20
3.	Awan	4	19
4.	Raja	1	0.02
5.	Mughal	2	0.9
6.	Durani	2	0.03
7.	Gakhar	1	0.01
8.	Syed	3	16
	Total	25	100
Ghareeb Abad			
S.No	Castes	No.of Households	%age
1.	Gujjar	20	83
2.	Raja	5	17
	Total	25	100

Source: (socio-economic census survey form).

The Swati caste group was in majority with 07 (30%) households, followed by the Gujjar with 20 (16%) of the households, Mughal with 03 (0.9%) households. There were also some other caste groups with very little number of households, they include Durani (0.03%), Gakhar (0.01%). The above mentioned caste groups belonged to different occupation such as government service, Shop keeping and private businessman. The Swatti caste group was the landlords of the area depending on the agricultural economy.

The Gujjars and Raja caste groups were the real inhabitants of the Manshera district 20 household (83%) belong to Gujjar caste in the village Garceb Abad and were economically sound. Male of village were doing jobs in the reputed institutions of

Pakistan and abroad. Rajas were very few in number in 'Gareeb Abad, 5 households (17%) belongs to Raja's caste in the village. Gujjars and Rajas do not have a good social relationship. Rajas were low economically than the Gujjars, involved in daily wage labor profession. Mostly Raja's were found in Abbott Abad and Haripur districts of Hazara.

2.7 Languages

The Hindko and Gujjri were the local languages spoken in the town and the village, while Hindko language was the medium of communication with Hazarwals. Urdu was also spoken not frequently, but Urdu was an official language and used to communicate with their emigrants to different countries, as 10% of the population was migrated in search of better earnings. The English language was understood by the educated persons and was also used for communication with the foreigners. (Socio-economic census survey form)

2.8 Infrastructure-Health

Before the earthquake, there was one basic health unit (BHU) in the town and no medical facility was available in the village. The village people travel to tehsil health unit (THU) in Balakot city for their medical treatment. But the medical units were destroyed in earthquake, while the reconstruction of Narrah town could not be made even after five years of the earthquake. A local man, however, constructed a private clinic in the town to provide medical facilities to the local people.

2.8.1 Education

In Narrah town, there were four primary schools, while in Ghareeb Abad there was one primary school. All schools were badly damaged in earthquake, after the earthquake, the schools were shifted to tents and prefabricated shelters. But with the passage of 5 years time, the schools were still functioning there in the same un-venerable conditions as proper school buildings could not be erected by the responsible authorities with lot of internal and external funding. Both teacher and students were facing both the seasons, in winter, there was no heating arrangement and in hot summer, there was no proper cooling system provided in the tent schools.

2.8.2 Market

There was a small market in Narrah town before the earthquake consisted of nine to ten shops selling all the basic commodities not only to the town people but for the surrounding areas. In the village Ghareeb Abad, there was only one shop before the earthquake, the markets and shops in both the locales were smashed with the earthquake but were reconstructed by the owners because of having no alternative for their livelihood. In the reconstruction phase, the market of the town expanded and there were all the facilities available for the town people like medicine stores, tailoring shops, fruit and vegetable shops etc.

2.8.3 Households

There were four types of households in both the communities that are highlighted in the table below:

Table 3: Types of houses in the sample of town and village
Narrah

S.No	Types of Houses	No of Houses	%
1.	Pacca house	7	29
2.	Pre fabricated house	14	49
3.	Bangloas house	4	22
	Total	25	100
Ghareeb Abad			
S.No	Types of Houses	No of Houses	%
1.	Pacca house	3	15
2.	Pre fabricated house	14	77
3.	Bangloas house	3	8
	Total	25	100

Source (Socio-economic census survey form).

2.8.4 Pakka houses

The *pakka* houses were made of cement with bricks, blocks or stones owned by the families having sound economical position. There were 29% *pakka* houses in the town and 15% in village. The Bungalows were also there in both the communities constructed

single storey with cement and blocks or bricks and the roof with the tin sheets supported by the wooden structure, the 22% Bungalows were in the town and 8% in the village. Prefabricated houses were in large numbers in the town and the village constructed and provided to the victim families by SPAPVE (Saudi Pak Assistance for earthquake victims) especially to the affected families of Red Zone area, 75% of urban and 77% rural population was living in prefabricated houses.

2.6.5 Roads and bridges

In the town and village, there was a main road and a link road available before the earthquake, while there were three bridges; one was main bridge and two were small bridges, all the roads and bridges were badly destroyed in earthquake and were reconstructed within one year after the earthquake. People of the town and village have no difficulties in transportation and movement from one place to another.

2.6.6 Mosques

There were four Mosques in Narrah town and one mosque in village Ghareeb Abad before the earthquake that were destroyed in the earthquake. All the mosques have been reconstructed by using RCC methodology. All the mosques were *Jamiya* Mosques, where people of the town and village offer their prayers including *Juma* prayer while children come to the mosques to learning the proper recitation of the Holy Quran.

2.6.7 Graveyards

There was one graveyard in the town and one in the village before the earthquake. All the people of the town and village, belonging to any ethnic group, caste, buried the dead bodies of their relatives in both the graveyards. But after the earthquake, people stated burying the dead bodies in the fields near the households because of heavy casualties. The researcher during the field work observed many of the graves in the open fields near the grieved households.

2.7 Kinship

Kinship is the relationship between persons by blood or marriage; kins related by blood are called consanguine kins, while relations through marriages are called affinal kins. Kinship plays an important role in regulating and creating solidarity within a

society. In the research areas all the groups trace their ancestry through male members. Male members of the society were the final authority and decision makers either in the internal household affairs or external affairs. After the earthquake, there was a change in the pattern of male authority, females have gotten position of decision making due to interventions of the different stake holders through motivational training.

Kinship terminologies

Anthropological Terminologies	Local terminologies Hindko / Gojjri		Anthropological Terminologies	Local terminologies Hindko / Gojjri	
Father Father	Dada,AJee	Dada	Brother	Beer ji	Pai
Father Mother	Dadi,Aman	Dadi	Sister	Hamshera	Behnr
Father	Abbu,Kaka	Ada	Sister Son	Khuryia	Panja
Mother	Ami,Maji	Aman	Brother Son	Patri	Pathejo
Father Elder Brother	Tayya Abu	Tayu	Brother wife	Booti	Bhabo
Father Brother	Chacha	Chachu	Husband Sister	Nannan	Behnro
Mother Brother	Mama	Mama	Wife Sister	Salli	Sallio
Mother Sister	Khala	Mosi	Father Brother wife	Chahi	Chchi
Father Sister	Pophi	Popho	Daughter	Thi	Betki

Source :(Field data)

Chapter No. 3

3.0 Politics of reconstruction

Present chapter is a comprehensive description of basic and long term reconstruction strategies of government and various agencies which helped the victims of the devastating earthquake of Oct 8th in Narran Town, and Ghareeb Abad Village. The relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs and the role of family members in three phases of reconstruction has been discussed.

The devastating earthquake destroyed the whole infrastructure of Balakot including houses, schools, hospitals, roads, bridges etc. The detail of infrastructure loss in the town and the village has been highlighted in the under mentioned tables:

Table 4: destruction of infra structure in sample town and village

Narrah							
House		Schools	Hospital s	Mosque s	Shops	Roads	Bridges
Totally damage	Partially damage						
20	5	7	1	4	20	Main road, link road	Main bridge
Ghareeb Abad							
House		Schools	Hospita ls	Mosqu es	Shops	Roads	Bridges
Totally damage	Partially damage						
21	4	1	No	1	1	Main roads	Main bridge

Source :(Socio-economic census survey form)

The devastative earthquake caused casualties in the town and village in the day time when the earthquake hit the area. People were on the way to work and some were in the fields outside their homes, therefore the rate of casualties remained low.

Table 5: Casualties in sample town and village

Narrah							
Injured				Death			
Male	Female	Girls	Boys	Male	Female	Boys	Girls
14	15	19	9	7	14	6	5
Total injured:45				Total Death:32			
Ghareeb Abad							
Injured				Death			
Male	Female	Girls	Boys	Male	Female	Boys	Girls
11	7	4	6	5	15	2	4
Total injured:28				Total Death:26			

Source: Socio-economic census survey form)

3.1 Historical background of earthquake

Pakistan is geologically located on both South Asia and the Eurasian land plate. The provinces of Sindh and Punjab are located in the northwestern area of the Indian subcontinent, while Baluchistan and most of the North KPK West Frontier Province stand on the Iranian plate. The Northern Areas and Azad Kashmir are placed on the edge of the Indian plate and are considered as active seismic zone. This point of collision between the Eurasian and the Indian subcontinent plates is of geo-strategic importance, bordered by India on the east, Iran on the west and Afghanistan on the northwest.

On October 8, 2005, a powerful earthquake hit the Northern areas of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir with a magnitude of 7.6 on the Richter scale. The tectonic plate under the subcontinent hit the Eurasian plate as it continued to move northward and to push Himalayas towards north, making the region highly susceptible to seismic activities. The earthquake was a major seismological disturbance that occurred at 08:50:38 Pakistan Standard Time with epicenter about 100 km northeast of Islamabad, along a fault linked

with the Indian Subcontinent moving north at a rate of about 40 mm/year and colliding with the Eurasian plate pushing it further towards the north. This earthquake is considered to be the worst catastrophe in the history of the region, killing more than 80,000 people, leaving thousands injured and millions homeless. According to the official sources 3,5 million people were affected by this calamity. Most of the buildings in the area were poorly constructed and were not able to endure its impact. The earthquake destroyed 203,579 housing units and damaged another 196,574. Nearly 3 million people are estimated to be shelter less and without adequate food. Also isolated communities in the earthquake affected Region remained inaccessible. More than 84 percent of the construction has been destroyed in Azad Kashmir and 36 percent in the affected area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (KPK). (An assessment of Impoverishment Risk) Oct 19, 2005 (centre for research on poverty).

3.2 People's perception of earthquake

People of the area have different interpretations and explanations about the earthquake. People belonging to different schools of thought gave various perceptions and interpretations about the earthquake:

3.2.1 General perception

According to the local people, the earthquake was a sudden movement of earth, its cause was not the sins of the people but it happened because of the change in inner part of earth killing majority of the inhabitants in the city that was more congested, while there were comparatively low rate of casualties in both the locales but most of the people were injured, the infrastructure was completely smashed.

The people were of the view that the disastrous earthquake was the routine earth movement as noticed in other part of the world, not necessary to consider it as a message or warning for the masses. The earthquake was a routine natural disaster that became the factor of casualties, injuries and damage of infrastructure in the whole of the area.

Someone's were considering the earthquake as a result of gases inside the earth which shook the land and brought disaster, while some showed their inability to share the causes of the earthquake.

The elderly people of both the locales told the researcher that the Norther areas faced a severed earthquake before 100 years, killing thousands of people and causing damaged to the property and infrastructure.

3.2.2 Religious perceptions

The people of the area are more inclined towards religion and have a firm belief of Islamic rules and regulation. The majority of respondent above the age of 40 explained the earthquake in context of religion and they had various perceptions regarding the process of earthquake. Following were the different perceptions and explanations:

- The earthquake was the result of injustice which was prevailed in the area because The Allah the almighty never tolerate injustice to the human kinds, while those killed in the earthquake were the martyred having direct access to the heaven.

- The people of the area were living a simple life and they had simple attitude but a sin of back biting was existed among them that caused the earthquake.

- The earthquake was not the wreath of Allah rather Allah wanted to check his creatures by moving them into problems, according to the people; they were the lucky people chosen by The Allah Almighty for putting them into an examination. All the people who suffered and faced hardships will get a good reward hereafter.

- The earthquake was the result of Allah's orders and it was not because of their sins, if so the big cities like Islamabad and Lahore would be destroyed first, but they remained safe.

- Allah is merciful and people were always benefited from His mercy. Sometimes Allah checks their obedience by bringing hardships on them, same happened with them and Inshallah, they would be rewarded for their losses.

- If the cause of the earthquake was sins of the people then why America was safe? Why English people have been enjoying stable life? It was all that Allah wanted to benefit the people with his mercy hereafter the earthquake to strengthening the contacts with Allah and He would reward them with his blessings.

▪ Brelvi³ respondent explained two main reasons for the devastating earthquake, according to them someone removed the name of the last Prophet (S.A.W) from Kalma Tyabba which was written on the walls of Baba Jamal's shrine that was the cause of killings and destruction.

▪ Allah has written each and everything in the destiny of every person so the earthquake too was written. It occurred and thousands of people lost their lives and all of them were martyrs as it was the holy month of Ramadan and people were fasting.

▪ Allah could forgive his own rights but never forgives the violation of human beings rights, someone must have had committed such severe mistake that cause the earthquake.

▪ There were sins everywhere in the area even the transport would take a rupee or two extra from the poor passengers, that also might be the reason of devastating earthquake.

▪ Allah gives chance to each person to bow down to His teachings, those who were dear to Allah Almighty were killed for nothing that has been historically proved just to impart a lesson for others to remain on the right path of Allah without fearing the death and loss of property. It was the sacred land of Shah Ismail Shaheed and Syed Ahmed Shaheed, The Allah almighty instructed the people to stop committing sins. In fact The Allah was kind enough on the area that the innocent people were killed by the earthquake not due to their sins but as a blessing to become Shaheeds.

▪ The people said such earthquakes were never occurred in the holy cities of Mekka and Madina during the regimes of second Khaleefa Hazarat Umer (R.A) if the earthquake were the outcome of gases under the earth, such disasters were from Allah only.

3.2.3 Scientific perceptions

A very few respondents gave scientific reasons for the earthquake. The scientific interpretations and perceptions of the local people were as follows:

³ (They emerged as a reaction to the Deobandi school of thought. Followers of this *maslak* owe heavily to the teachings and writings of Ahmed Riza Khan (1856-1921). The first Barelwi madrassah was established in 1904 in Bareilly: the hometown of Ahmed Riza Khan. They are also known as the *Ahl-e Sunnat wa Jama'at* literally meaning, the "people of the [prophetic] way and the [majority] community" (Sanyal, 1998: 635-37). As against Deobandis they justify "mediational, custom-laden Islam, closely tied to the intercession of the pirs of the shrines that was characteristic of the area" (Metcalf, 1982: 296).

- The earthquake was the result of collusion of inner plates of the earth and usually earthquake come in hilly areas. The plates are in movement round the year and when two plates come near each other it produces vibrations which results in an earthquake and when they collide it results in a severe earthquake
- There were molten rocks deep in the earth which when they become dry then release heat which result in an earthquake as the heat has to come out from the earth and all the world have observed the smokes rising from mountains of Allai. The dead persons were to die like that as it is the destiny of each person. Earth's inner structure floats on molten rocks and if there comes any disorder in the molten rocks it disturbs the smooth movement of the earth and it results earthquake.
- There were gases inside the earth, and they have more pressure than the gases which were on the earth, when the gases gather at weak part of the earth, they exert pressure on different parts which results in the earthquake. It never happens due to the sins but only Allah knows better.
- There may be lava inside the mountains that might be forcing to coming out of the rock, which was shaking the earth. The earthquake could be the outcome of lava pushing itself out of the mountain. (UN published Msc thesis Syed Qadeem 2007.p.41).

3.2.4 Reasons of declaration as Red zone

The earthquake of Oct 8, 2005 was the worst disaster in the history of Pakistan. It destroyed half of Kashmir and some districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in which the Balakot city was totally collapsed. The government announced after geological study of earthquake hit area, its verdict regarding the stay in certain parts of the earthquake active zone. Government divided the areas in different zones, Balakot city with the radius of 12 km area was labeled as 'Red Zone'. In this red zone, Narrah and Ghareeb Abad are also included. Red zone means that this area is not recommended to live in and the population should be shifted to some new place identified by the provincial Government. Following are the three institutions which determined that Balakot is the dangerous zone for inhabitants. Every institution had its own point view regarding the Red Zone.

3.2.4.1 Geology

The earthquake occurred within the Hazara-Kashmir syntaxes of the Himalayan fold belt. The main identified feature in the zone was the Balakot-Bagh fault, (Husain 2005) which was the likely source of the earthquake. The fault plane solution shows a strike of 338 degrees, dipping about 50 degrees in the N-NE direction near the surface with a more gentle dip at depth. Net slip for the event, estimated by field survey and radar range, change was $4.2 \pm 0.5\text{m}$, with a maximum slip of approximately 5m. The reported focal depth for the event ranges from 3km (MSSP), to 20km (USGS), to 26km (IGS).

The intensity distribution was estimated and interpreted by the Pakistan Geological Survey that was closely associated with the rupture zone. Outside the narrow (5- 0 km) width of the rupture zone, the signs of damage appeared to be fairly minor. While there was damage in more distant locations such as Abbotabad (35 km from upture zone), Islamabad (64 km), and Lahore (250 km distant), it could be attributed to local site effects or poor construction rather than direct intense shaking from the earthquake. Within the rupture zone, the city of Muzaffarabad suffered great damage, and the city of Balakot was almost destroyed. The distribution of subsequent aftershocks, in the Balakot, Batagram, Allai, and Beshram Qila areas, suggests that the fault rupture extended in the NW direction. (Earth quake Engineering Institute (EEI) 28 Feb 2006).

3.2.4.2 Indigenous knowledge

There were different interpretation and explanations of local people about the Red Zone are:

3.2.4.2.1 Perception of educated people

When the government announced the areas as a dangerous for living, most of the educated people strongly agreed with the announcement. According to them before earthquake they were living fearlessly but after the earthquake, the structure of land changed and it was prone to danger. Whenever rainfall starts they pray to God about a peaceful monsoons season without any wind storm, land sliding and flashfloods. Following case study is the illustration of Red Zone of the area:

3.2.4.2.1 Case Study-1

Munsif Hussein, 45 years of age respondent told the researcher that they were evacuated from the red zone area due to further danger of earthquake, thus his family became shelter less. He was living with his family in Garlat where each and every household was damaged, his house was smashed completely and his land came under a mud slide. They migrated to Gultari where their relatives were lived and he adjusted his family there. After seven month of the earthquake, in the monsoon season, river changed its direction towards Gultari, as a result many of the houses were destroyed in the flood. In the flood his family became shelter less second time then they migrated to Narrah near to other relatives where they established shelter home. Next year 2006, in the month of July when monsoon started, *Khata Pheren* stream changed its course towards Narrah (millet town), half of millet town was affected with the flash floods. He shifted his family third time to another place. They have a fear of rains in their mind as and when the rain season starts.

3.3 Female perception about Red Zone

Female of the area were least interesting in the politics either at the local or at national level, 30 of them were interviewed by the researcher to know their perception about the Red zone, Amazingly, twenty women gave no answer about it. ten women respondents told that “Red Zone” mean a fault line crossing through the area which could shake the earth any time.

3.4 Phases of recovery

When disaster comes in any society, it destroys the whole structure, demanding new settlement and behavior so new arrangements and adjustments are made to help society to continue functioning as a social entity. Soon after the 2005 earthquake, the government of Pakistan and various other non government organizations has taken initiative to rehabilitate the masses of the affected communities, for the basic and long term physical and social recoveries, all of them adopted a plan that consisted of three recovery phases (i) relief (ii) rehabilitation and (iii) reconstruction. (Cunny, 1983, p.40) Details are:

3.4.1 Relief

Relief in simple words is assistance in time of difficulty or it means to provide temporary comfort in trouble. The relief phases started immediately and continued till six month after the earthquake, during which the government, NGOs and volunteers worked to provide immediate relief to the survivors. The emergency need was preferred by both government and private sector. The relief program consisted of distributing tents, blankets, food material, clothes and medical facility etc

3.4.2 Rehabilitation

The concept of rehabilitation is derived from a Latin word “habitats” which means to make able. After the emergency needs are taken care of, a disaster stricken population is faced with the problem of establishing a system which will care for primary needs of the people while they work to achieve a new steady state. This system for the provision of the primary needs of the society may be considered wholly inadequate and undesirable by the people. Such equilibrium, however temporary, must be attained in order to return the society to a new steady state after the disaster. This temporary equilibrium is known as the rehabilitative system, and this may be the longest, most expensive, and most complex in terms of problems encountering. In the cases where the devastation has been great, the rehabilitative system may last for an indefinite period of time. (Oliver smith 1977:5-13)

Rehabilitation has diverse meaning and concepts used in various spheres i.e. physical rehabilitation, social rehabilitation and mental rehabilitation in the affected areas of Balakot and the research locales. After the emergency needs of the community were taken care of, the government and other agencies started rehabilitation programs so as to make the people capable of living a stable social life. The process contained various programs including providing metal sheets and wooden beams for temporary shelters, removing debris, providing them financial assistance etc.

3.4.3 Reconstruction

Resettlement is a common policy employed for post disaster development and planning in urban and rural areas of developed and developing countries. (Tamkloe, H. 1994: P: 452, post disaster resettlement and change). The impact of devastating earthquake in the area was spread over an area of 27,000sq km across Khyber Pukhtun Khwa province and Azad Jammu and Kashmir, in five districts of KPK, public buildings,

private households, infrastructure and social services of livelihood and business were damaged or destroyed, the private housing sector suffered the most extensive damage. Soon after the earthquake, the government planned for the policies regarding reconstruction of the destroyed and damage houses by establishing the Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority (ERRA) for the construction and rehabilitation process of the area of Khyber PukhtunKhwa (KPK) and Kashmir. (In-depth interview with Erra officials) The agencies faced various problems regarding policy making and implementation due to improper coordination between the officials and the effected masses.

3.5 Relief work in town and the village

People of the town and village were living a normal life when 8th Oct 2005 at 8:52 am a devastative earthquake of magnitude 7.6 at Richter scale hit the area. (Geologist survey report 2007) Within no time, the whole of the town and the surrounding town and villages of Balakot turned into debris. The daily smooth routines faced the toughest situation in terms of socio- economic perspective. Soon after the earthquake, the inhabitants who were outside their homes rushed towards their dwellings and many people became unconscious when they saw their ruined houses. Volunteers helped the injured people by shifting them to the hospitals at Manshera city by their own cars and jeeps, while the dead bodies were recovered from the debris. Relief work in the town and village was carried out by various people.

3.5.1 Role of stakeholders in relief work

As the earthquake struck the area, relief work was started by various stake holders such as community itself, Government, NGOs, various political parties, religious organizations, Jihadi groups, and volunteer workers from different areas of Pakistan. All the stake holders helped the people of town and village in term of providing them immediate help of basic needs. The help was both physical and financial. The following stake holders were actively involved in the relief process.

3.5.1.1 Government Agencies

As it was the month of Ramadan in which Muslims fast, many of the people were sleeping in their houses at the time of earthquake. These people either died or got injured. For first three days of the earthquake the majority of the survivors remained without any

relief and help. Some people died under the debris of buildings after two to three days because no arrangements could be made to take out of the debris. The survivors who had major injuries died due to lack of medical facilities. After the earthquake, Pakistani government started relief works in the area, the helicopter were used to carry the relief goods to the remote areas where there was no access by roads. The helicopters flew towards Ghareeb Abad too. They dropped tents and other relief goods near the village to provide immediate relief to the people. The earthquake affected the moral values of the people to great extent. People looted the trucks carrying the relief goods to the affected areas. During the first week, many of such cases were reported that was countered by employing the government employees, semi armed forces. The people were given Roshan Cards⁴ by the government with the help of councilor, through which the affected families were given edibles like flour, rice, tea, pulses, milk and sugar etc. A tent village was established near the Town "Narrah" for the survivors, the majority of families came to the tent city was from the mountainous areas, while people from Narrah and Ghabreen Abad remained away from the tent village.

According to the respondents, there was no proper management of distribution of tents, therefore, they could not rush to the tents and preferred to shift their families to the nearby comparatively safe areas.

One major problem people faced in tent villages was the observance of *Purdah*,⁵ as the people were predominately Muslims and *Purdah* or veil of female was highly observed as an obligation, they never allowed any stranger to see their female members or to take their pictures. In the society, a woman has to cover her face if she comes out of her home, but in the tent village the observance of *purdah* was not possible due to abundance of migrants from other areas and the presence of relief workers. The mobility of the women was restricted, they could not move out of the tents even in emergency circumstance.

⁴ (In the relief phase Government of Pakistan started policy to provide Prepared food (meal) to the earthquake victims, this policy named as Roshan Card scheme). Those victims registered themselves in this scheme who were eligible to get prepared food item by showing Roshan card.)
Source (In-depth interviews with respondents)

⁵ The literal interpretation of the term *Purdah* (curtain) is the seclusion of women. In Pakistan the term refers largely to the minority of women who wear the *burqa*, or veil, in public. But it might also be thought of as a whole syndrome of the segregation of women from men who are not their relatives, and the maintenance of modesty in dress and manner, regardless of costume or style, women are fully covered from neck to ankle, and women are expected to have as little contact as possible with men who are not relatives. In a wider sense, it includes what Papanek (1971:517) refers to as "symbolic shelter." The kind of social -Psychological support the woman receives from her kinfolk in this very complex area of human interaction.) Man Singh Das (p.178-179).

They spent days and nights near the debris of their houses, in the tents to safeguard their destroyed luggage and their female members. There were people of all status and ethnic groups in tent villages and there was no difference in term of their tent locations. The tent village was closed on April 30, 2006 by the government of KPK (Field data). Government also established the field hospital near the town with the help of PIMA (Pakistan Emergency medical association) to provide medical facilities. The government helped the injured and the families of deceased's financially. Some households did not receive cheques for injured person, and some of them did not receive for dead family members. The lists were prepared with the help of *patwaris*, councilors and secretaries of the union councils. According to the respondents, *Patwaris* demand bribe from many peoples and those who had links with *patwari*, received more than one cheques. To get cheques, they used to stand in rows and wait for long intervals.

Most of the local people, came there with relief items to help their relatives, while on the third day of major earthquake, most of the villagers especially females went to other cities to stay with their relatives, male remained in the village to collect their belongings and look after their debris. The villagers who could not migrated; went to open places and established tents provided by different organization and individuals.

3.5.1.2 Non-governmental agencies

For the first four days, the towns and village people did not get any help from NGOs. After four days various NGOs started relief work in the town, they provided the community with various food items and other things necessary for human survival in severe cold weather. Officials of NGOs made lists of the families and then they distribute the relief goods. During the process, many people felt shy about standing in the lines so they remained without relief goods. In relief goods people received flour, rice, sugar, tea, oil etc. People received blankets and clothes as well. Officials of NGOs came to the town and distributed relief goods among the people such as warm clothes, tents, houses (made with iron sheets), blankets, soaps, and cash money. They established temporary toilets and provided the village people with first aid medical facilities. Red Cross provided one tent to each household. Oxfam installed temporary toilets for few households. Few organizations provided biscuits, dry milk and cooked items of food to the people. During the initial days of the earthquake, the survivors faced threats of death in cold as they were left without shelter and majority of them were unable to face the cold breezes without

blankets and heating stoves. The survivors were provided blankets and stoves by various national and international organizations.

3.5.1.3 Political parties

After the devastative earthquake, various political parties got involved in relief activities; various leaders visited the town and village and distributed relief goods like rashan, tents, clothes and cash amount to each household. Political parties like *Tahreek-i-insaf*, *Jamat-i-Islami*, Pakistan Muslim league, P.P.P, P.M.L and J.U.I. All the political parties started relief works in the village after five days of the major earthquake.

3.5.1.4 Religious groups

Various religious groups belonging to different school of thoughts also provided help to the village people. They distributed edibles, blankets, tents, gas cylinders, and other necessary things for livelihoods. These groups were mainly the *Tablighi Jamat* of Deobandi school of thought, Mustafai tanzim of Brelvi school of thought, *Sipah-i-Sahaba* of Deobandi school of thought and *Jamat-i-Ahle-hadees* of *Ahl-e-Hadees* school of thought. All of them sent their members to the village for relief work. They helped people in digging graves, removing debris, and counseling them to be patient at this time of hardship and not to commit any immoral or illegal deeds. They performed special *Duaa* at each household for the dead persons and convinced the victims not to lose heart on the massive destruction as all that was Allah's will. Beside those activities, all of the groups arranged community gatherings and preached their own ideological thoughts.

3.5.1.5 Jihadi groups

After the earthquake, the first and immediate relief works were started by Islamic *Jihadi* organizations in the village as well as in other affected areas. During the first phase of relief work, all the survivors were provided edibles and soon after that they were provided other things like clothes, shoes, blankets, soaps and goods necessary for human survival. The members of *Jihadi* groups arrived at the town on the third day of the earthquake. They helped the victims in digging the debris of buildings for the recoveries of dead bodies and by providing first aid medical facilities to the injured people. People with severe injuries were taken to nearby cities of Mansehra and Abbottabad for medical treatment. The dead bodies were given baths and were buried in nearby open areas.

3.5.1.6 Communal works

In the very first hours of the earthquake, people could not understand anything regarding what caused the catastrophe people were considering it as a day of judgment and only a few people realized the true situation and tried to convince others about the destruction that was caused by the earthquake. It was the winter season and Ramadan; people were fasting and faced a hard situation for first three days as many of them had lost all edibles lying in their kitchens. Many of them remained hungry, while few of them got a little bit of food from their partially destroyed kitchens. They spent the first and second night in the open sky without any shelter. The dead bodies were buried in nearby fields and were not taken to graveyards. In the cold nights, all relatives of the households gathered in groups where male and female spent night to gather by reciting Holy Quran and *Zikar* (*Astaghafar*). On second day of earthquake, the village people were busy to bury dead bodies of their family members. Most of the villager's relatives reached the villages from different cities of Pakistan.

3.5.1.7 Individuals

After the earthquake hit the area, the people from the nearby cities of Manshera, Abbottabad and Islamabad rushed to the area and provided immediate medical facilities, food, pure drinking water, clothes, blankets, cigarettes, and Naswar. People of the nearby areas reached the town and village at evening of the first day of the earthquake. Many people from nearby areas brought shovel and spade to dig out the injured and dead persons from debris and to help village people in digging graves for the dead persons. On the fourth day, doctors from Islamabad established a free clinic for the village people and provided medical facilities to the village people and people of the nearby villages. Many people from various areas of Pakistan came to the village and helped the village people by giving them cash amounts and distributing relief goods among the village people. People of Punjab helped the village people by providing them flour, medicines and warm clothes.

3.6 Role of family members in relief work

In relief phases, family members actively participated in different types of work to help and support their family members as well as relatives in following ways.

3.7.1 Family cooperation

In emergency or disastrous situation, the role of family was either reversed or exaggerated, some time it became even double. Detail of infrastructure's loss and casualties is given in the tables (4 and 5). According to the respondent's soon after the earthquake, the cooperation of family members seemed at greater level as earthquake shutter down each and everything i.e. human beings, livestock, infrastructure etc. Those individuals who were safe and uninjured made an extra cooperation with their family members, neighbors and community members. The following case study is a true description of family cooperation in relief phase:

3.7.1.1 Case study-2

Amjad Hussain, a taxi driver told the researcher that when the earthquake hit the area, he was coming back home after dropping the children at their schools. He did not know what happened. However, when the shocks of earthquake stopped, he looked towards his home; there he saw a big stone running from mountain towards his home. He just rushed to his house and grabbed his mother in his arms and came out running and crying. He did not know if someone died or not. He saw all family members were running behind him. They did not know where they were going. On the way, when he was running, one lady was crying for help, his husband was under the roof of a destroyed shop and there was no one to help her to bring him out. Then he stopped and put his mother aside. There was his elder brother also running with his family members. His elder brother said; let's help that lady to bring her husband out. They did not have any tools to move aside the debris of shop. They started digging with hands and after sometime they were successful to bring him out. Then they came to know that whole of the Balakot was destroyed so, they started to find other relatives. His two brothers were also living nearby, so they went to find them. When they reached the home of their brothers, they saw their home was totally collapsed. They were shocked to see that, the females of their family were weeping. They pacified them and said let's try to find if someone was still alive; suddenly an idea came to his wife's mind, She said call the lost members by their names, if someone was alive, they would respond. So in that way they were successful to find out two injured females (brother's wife). They told Amjad and his brother that their husbands were not at home. They had gone to their work and children were in the school. Then he remembered his own children were also in school. So he rushed to the school and his elder brother went with females to relatives' home.

3.6.2 Shared labors

The governmental and non-governmental organizations reached there on the third day of earthquake, while the immediate relief work was started by the affected people themselves for helping the victims of earthquake. There were no differences between male and female, older and younger, everyone who was less injured and able to walk he started to help others. Above mentioned tables show that males of the community did more work in relief phase as compared to females. The males of the community told that after third day of earthquake they sent females to their relatives because they were psychologically very much disturbed. According to males, they had many other important things to do, like bringing out injured people, providing them treatment, burying the dead bodies, etc.

3.6.3 Shared resources

After the earthquake, the most important task of all the families was to save their family members, neighbors and community people. They shared their resources and helped each other "*jani ty Mali*" (self to economic support). If males of the family were injured, females tore their *dupatas* into pieces and dressed the injured members of their families; they even carried their males on their shoulders to hospitals.

3.6.3.1 Case study-3

Farhat Bibi told her story that at the time of the earthquake, her double storied house was totally collapsed, as they were living in an extended family, they lost eight family members on that day including parents, father's sister, father's sister's daughter, two brothers' wives and two children of her brother, while her two brothers were injured. She was in the school and when she reached her home, she was shocked to see that there was nothing left intact in her home. Her one brother and sister were alive and came out of home during earthquake. They told her that other family members were under the collapsed roof. They tried their level best to find them out but the cemented roof and pillars were too heavy to remove as they don't have any equipments or tools to bring them out. All the day they were just rushing here and there calling their family members *ami*, *abu bhabi* but could not succeeded to recover them.

Next morning with the help of their relatives and neighbors, they were able to bring out their family members from the debris, eight dead and two injured. The injured were taken to nearby hospitals while, a sister of Farhat Bibi remained with the dead

bodies. She further told that there were only ten families which offered the *Namaze Janaza* (funeral prayer) of their dead members and thirteen were such families who did not dig out graves for their dead ones. They dig up many small pits and buried the dead bodies in the same clothes in which they died.

After one week, there were organizations and volunteers providing *Kafan* (Funeral clothes) and helping people to dig graves. The other sixteen families told that they did not have any causality and they all helped their other relatives, *Chacha, mamu*, (uncle) *Phopo* and *khala's* (Auntie) family. They helped them to bring out injured and dead bodies from debris and destroyed homes. They also told that they provided them *Kafan* and helped them in digging graves. They told that every individual who was able to do something, he gave his utmost support and shared his resources with the victims*.

3.6.4 Shared services

Family members shared their services in the relief work, the family members who were active and present in the town and village not only provide food items, water and other basic needs of life, but helped them to establish tents also. Twelve male respondents told that when tents were being distributed by Korean company in Narrah town, they tried to convince the distributing team to provide those tents so that they could themselves distribute them among deserving and needy people. They told that they did not only distribute tents in their own families but also among their close relatives and neighbors. They told that they were a team of twelve males. They did team work and collected sixty tents from Korean company. They distributed those tents to their relatives and neighbors. The data gathered from females of the town who were working in relief phase with organizations tells that they provided their services in terms of looking after the injured people. They told that they voluntarily started working with World Vision Organizations*. They further told that women were the most vulnerable group and they tried to help them from minor injuries to major problems i.e. Giyani.

3.7 Rehabilitations work

The relief work ended in the town and village in March 2006 and after that the rehabilitation work was started by the government, NGOs and the village people.

3.7.1 Role of stakeholders in rehabilitation process

Major stake holders in the process were governmental institution, NGOs, political parties and community members.

3.7.1.1 Government Agencies

Pakistan Army provided metal sheets to each household along with wooden bars so as to enable people of the village to make metal shelters and lead a relatively comfortable life. For the purpose, councilors were given duty to make lists of the village people. Lists were prepared on the basis of National Identity Cards and then the sheets were distributed. People were to stand in lines to get metal sheets and wooden bars. Government announced financial aid of Rs 3000 per month to those families who have five children or if there were two persons of age 65 years. This package was valid for six months. The farmers were provided with seeds and fertilizers by government. Each farmer was given 12 kg of maize seeds 25 kg of natural and 25 kg of artificial fertilizers.

3.7.1.2 NGOs

The town people after some time of the devastative earthquake were given special concentration by NGOs. TCF provided 32 metal sheets and 16 wooden boards to each household. They distributed the sheets on the basis of data provided to them by councilor or secretary, they belonged to *Gujjar* castes so many of the *Swattis* did not get the sheets. TCF also constructed temporary shelters for few influential in the town.

3.7.1.3 Political parties

Political parties were actively involved in rehabilitation process and among them *Jamat-i-Islami* distributed 10 metal sheets, to the households. Along with metal sheets they would fill membership form of the people. Few households did not take the sheets due to political and ideological differences. A primary school was established by *Jamat-i-Islami* in the village and also the children were provided with books and bags.

3.8 Role of family members in rehabilitation work

Family members played their role in the following ways.

3.8.1 Family cooperation

According to the respondents, in the rehabilitation phase intra-family cooperation was seen at greater level. When ERRRA (Earthquake rehabilitation and reconstruction

authority) initiated rehabilitation phase sixteen families from Narrah town and seventeen from Ghareeb Abad who had migrated to other places after earthquake, came back to homes. The respondents told that they had to start from scratch when they came back to their homes six month after the earthquake. Ten families from Narrah town told that their homes were completely destroyed while other six families reported that though their homes were partially damaged but they were not suitable for living therein. In Ghareeb Abad village all houses turned into debris except three houses which were partially damaged. According to the respondents of locale most important task for them was to rehabilitate their families. Fourteen males and twelve females from seventeen families in Narrah were very active in rehabilitation of their families. There were many organizations that were providing metal sheets (*jasti chaddar*) and iron pieces for construction of one room houses locally known as shelter. Five respondents from Narrah and six from Ghareeb Abad told that they got a proper training from ILO of erecting the shelters. They constructed shelter homes not only for themselves but also for their relatives. Females of these locales also helped their men in construction of shelters. Eight male respondents from Narrah and nine from Ghareeb Abad told that they could not get metal sheets for construction because there was unfair and unjust distribution of sheets. They had to purchase metal sheets themselves, and then they all worked collectively.

3.8.1.1 Case study-4

Sheraz Bibi, 45 year old women told that her home collapsed in earthquake, her parents were living in Manshera, after earthquake they took her to their home. When rehabilitation phase started, her husband asked her to come back. When she reached the place of her home, there was nothing left, no home to stay in. Her neighbor Mr Adrees provided them a place to live. They spent three days and nights in their tent; then she asked her husband how many days they would share other's home. They had to make their own home. Her father provided metal sheets for shelter, and then she and her husband started construction of their own shelter. Her husband helped her in the construction of the basic structure of the shelter, he got paid a lot. However she continued constructing their home with the help of her children. Her children brought *rait* (sand) and stone from *daryia* (river) and they constructed a two room's house with verandah. She plastered its walls, roof and floor. With the help and courage of all family members, they were able to construct their home and start their life again.

3.9 Shared labors

In the rehabilitation phase, family members shared their labor; there was no distinction between males and females for any type of work. Almost all the members of families participated in efforts for rehabilitation. Fourteen males and twelve females in urban and nine males and thirteen females of village told that they did immense work for their families. Females help each other in different tasks like looking after injured, ill or handicapped persons, in cooking washing etc, whenever there were any such needs. Male members also helped each other's families in different ways, for example if there was no male member or care taker of a family, the males from the other families helped them in registering that family for different government and nongovernment aid, in bringing or buying that family the medicines and other items.

3.9.1 Case study-5

Atyia Bibi, age 25 years old, told that her father died one month before the earthquake, while in earthquake, she lost her elder brother and mother and their house was also destroyed. She was left with a younger sister and a younger brother alone, no shelter and nobody to look after and to take care of them. One of his late brother's friends came to help them at that stage. He helped them in registering their name for different aid, in getting them shelter, compensation money for dead family members and for the house destruction.

3.9.2 Shared resources

When everything is destroyed in a disaster such as earthquake, it becomes very difficult to recover immediately; it takes a long period of time. When ERRA (Earthquake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Authority) announced that families should go back to their homes, many governmental and non governmental agencies helped the victims to resettle. When families moved back, they had no resources for their sustainability, to cope with the situation; five of the families of Narrah decided to share their tents, bed and even kitchen utensils till their permanent settlement. The other seven families told that they had tents and beds for living and sleeping but they did not have a stove to cook food and it was against the norms of their families to go to stand in lines and take food items. They told that they went to neighbor's home and shared their kitchen and food items. The other families of both research areas recorded the data about shared labors; they told that there was no electricity and water available due to destruction of whole infrastructure.

Electricity supply was reestablished soon but availability of water was a big problem. All families of neighborhood shared drinking water as well as water for bathrooms. After earthquake another big issue was the unavailability of bathrooms. Males could get privacy secluded for this purpose but it was very difficult for females. They told that in one *mohalla*, one bathroom was shared by thirty to forty families.

3.9.3 Shared services

In the rehabilitation phase, families shared their services also, socially as well as economical. Families helped each other economically, psychologically, socially whenever they needed. The female respondents told that before earthquake it was thought as a matter of dishonor for females to go outside their homes and provide economic support to their families. Whenever a women's husband died or due to other reasons she became helpless, she would depend on her own parents or family members. Females of the research area told that after earthquake many women came out of their homes and supported their families. In Narrah town, three females told that after the death of their husbands they started working with different organizations like World Vision, International Labor Organization to support their families. The other seven females told that besides domestic work they also got training for capacity building from NGOs. They got some training which helped them to rehabilitate their families in a better way. According to male respondents, males and females of their community did immense work in the rehabilitation phase. If they did one task in a day before earthquake, they would get tired and behaved aggressively with family members, but in this phase males, females contributed a lot, they did not only take the responsibility of household work but also participated in construction work, established shelter, got skilled trainings and provided help to their relatives as well as community members.

3.10 Reconstruction work

Different stakeholders were involved in reconstruction process in the town and the village.

3.10.1 Government policies for reconstruction

Government of Pakistan adopted various policies for reconstruction which were changed from time to time.

3.10.2 Cheques for reconstruction

Government formed ERRA (Earthquake reconstruction and rehabilitation authority) for rehabilitation and reconstruction activities in the devastated areas. ERRA formulated policies of compensation to the owners of the destroyed and damaged houses. ERRA proposed a strategy of providing amount for reconstruction through cheques. The strategy was to provide cash amount to the affected people in three installments. Each affected household head was given first cheques of Rs.25000 for initial reconstruction. The authority did not make any difference between the types of houses and compensation amount. All household heads, either owner of *Pakka* or *Kacha* house, were given equal amount. Swatis who mainly owned big houses were given equal amounts as that given to the small houses owners. For the purpose of distribution of money lists were prepared by government. The lists were prepared with the help of *Patwaris* and councilors. Community people faced problem because the *patwari* demanded bribe from many people and those who had links with *patwari* received more than one cheque. For the cheques they were all had to stand in lines and to wait for long intervals. At the initial stage the community people were given cheques of Rs .250000 per household for reconstruction and the criteria was that the cheques were given to married couples. So in this process many households who were living under one roof got more than one cheque. The government also issued cheques to the injured and to the families who lost their relatives in the earthquake. No cheques were given for shops and mosques. The local people wanted that the government should have criteria for compensation in between small and big house owner of *pakka* and Bungalow house owner.

Cheques	Amount
Construction of house	1 st Cheque Rs .25,0000/- 2 nd cheque Rs.50,000/- 3 rd cheque Rs.1,00,000/-
Construction of Shop	Nothing
Construction of Mosque	Nothing

3.10.3 Surveys

After the earthquake government of Pakistan formed earthquake rehabilitation and reconstruction authority, with the aim to formulate effective policies for the destroyed region. Earthquake reconstruction and rehabilitation authority (ERRA) formulated various strategies in this regard. Surveys were conducted for compensation to those effectees whose houses were destroyed. For the purpose, army men were used for survey in the devastated areas. ERRA planned to give amount for reconstruction in intervals. For the first cheque of reconstruction surveys was conducted by army in the village. The compensation announced was rupees Rs 200000 and out of this amount the first cheque was of Rs 25000. People in the village were given forms which they were to fill so as to get cheques. For this purpose services of *patwaries* and school teachers along with counselors of the area were used. For cheques they were to prove their identity and the cheques were issued on the name of heads of the families. Only those family heads were given cheques who were married. Survey for the first cheques was held after four months of devastating earthquake. Survey for second cheques was held after eight months of the earthquake and that time army was not involved rather SRSP (Sarhad rural support program) officials conducted the survey in the village.

3.10.4 Delays in survey

Due to improper policies and strategies of ERRA, people faced hardships regarding compensation for reconstruction. There were constant changes in ERRA policies, which caused the people to face more hardships. Surveys were delayed for long periods and the people were compelled to spend days and nights in tents. The cold weather lingered for seven months and the people were in immediate need of shelters. They demand compensation to be given at proper times so they could get their shelters constructed.

3.10.5 Problems of laborers

Twelve laborers of Narrah and Ghareeb Abad who were working in various cities of Pakistan or abroad came back to their homes after earthquake among them five families were such who had no adult male members at their home. These laborers did not go back to their working places just because of cheque problems. There were no clear policies of government regarding the cheques so many people remained in the village waiting for the survey to be started. Those who went back to their working places came

back many times when they would hear rumors about the starting of survey. This led to many problems as many laborers lost their jobs and many of the contractors who had started constructions in other areas, stopped their work which brought conflicts among them and the companies with whom they had contracts. Many of those constructors did not go to work for more than eight months after the earthquake.

3.10.6 Inter class conflicts

In the Town Narrah, there lived upper, middle, lower class people and all of them were given same forms with announcement of same compensation amount that gave rise to inter-class conflicts. Among Swattis few families were economically well off and they were considered among the elites of the town while other castes of Awan, Gujjar and Syeed belong to middle, lower and lower middle class. All of them got same forms and all of them were to stand in rows for the survey forms which brought conflicts among the lower and upper class people. The *Gojjars* were discriminated by Swattis each time. That was the first event when the lower groups demonstrated against the Swattis and they defended their interests.

3.11. Issue of Red Zone

A major issue for delay in reconstruction was that of Red Zone. After five months of the earthquake, government declared the town and village a red zone area. The government declared the middle school of Garlat as the centre of red zone and its surroundings around 10 kilo meter areas. All type of reconstruction was banned in the Red Zone area, because the government was planning to shift the city of Balakot to a new safe location. Area of Bakirayal, near Manshera was announced as new location as alternate of Balakot. The government announced that people living in Red Zone would be given prepared *Pakka* houses in Bakirayal area. The declaration of town and village in red zone spread disappointment among the majority of the local people. Love for ones mother land is natural fact and majority of town and village people strongly condemned the declaration of government.

3.12 Temporary reconstruction policy of government

The research areas under study were declared as red zone where reconstruction was banned so government announced they would provide prefabricated houses to the people of red zone.

3.13 Criterion for allotment of prefabricated house at Balakot

All earthquake affected families displaced from Hazardous danger zone were provided prefabricated houses on the given criterion.

1. Destitute, widows, senior citizens and orphans who do not have any source of income.
2. The affected families having their own piece of land for construction of pre-fabricated house in Balakot.
3. In case of a tenant, he must have an agreement with the owner of the land duly confirmed by union council Nazim/Secretary.
4. Must have one residential address (temporary or permanent) in NIC.
5. Must have name in the list of pre-fabricated houses prepared by Mohallah Committee members and verify /countersigned by UC Nazim /Secretary
6. The land and the ownership of the land dully confirmed by the Nazim/Secretary before entering the name in the list for the confirmation of the contractor to construct the house.
7. At the time of allotment, it was again confirmed by ERRA field staff and Saudi inspection team on a Performa prepared by ERR.
8. After the allotment, the same Performa is signed by the owner, concerned Nazim / Secretary, Army representatives and DDOR/Tehsildar. A photograph of the owner was required with the allotted letter for pre-fabricated house allotment.

According to above mention criteria the prefabricated houses were to be allotted to each individual of the red zone. Nazim of the tehsil gave the responsibility to the Union council Secretary of the project. According to the local people the union council Secretary adopted the policy of Nepotism and many of the poor did not have prefabricated house even after five years. In the research areas both in the town and village ten families were still waiting for prefabricated houses.

3.13.1 Nepotism in government policies

The above mentioned three reconstruction policies were not properly implemented due to nepotism and influence of the influential people. In reconstruction programs the Pakistani government involved the local leaders and union council members to achieve better results, and to have access to every individual. First reconstruction policy was to

provide compensation for destroyed homes. Initial survey was conducted by the Pakistan Army; it was very transparent work no corruption involved. When army left the project and ERRA started work on it involved the local administration. Local administration members, councilor and *Patwaris* (revenue official) created problems for poor people. Influential people got more than one cheque and those poor and middle class faced great hardships. Out of fifty sample fourteen families of Narrah town did not receive the last installment of house compensation, even after five years and twelve families were waiting for temporary shelters.

3.13.1.1 Case study No.6

Mian Shaib, a 56 year old man told that he was living in Narrah town before earthquake. His house was totally damaged and his two daughters were died. He told that even after four years and seven month, he has not been given house compensation money. To get house compensation money he went everywhere and tried to approach authoritative persons but all in vain. He further told that he did not even receive prefabricated house. He was a poor man and has no access to authoritative person so his family has faced many problems. His family was lived with their relatives because of having no personal shelter. During the interview, Mian sahib became very emotional and repeated the following piece of poetry:

Faat Yeh Jurm K Ghurbat Ma Main Na Ankh Kholi Thi

Saza is Jurm ki Kiun Umr Bhr Main Nahi Samjha

Khudya un k Han Tareek Saey Bhi chamakty Hain

Meri Qandeel Kiun Tareek Tar ha, Main Nahi Smjha

Wo Jis Na Dard Ki Zanjeer di Soghat Mein Rahi

Sub Khuch Jan kr Kiun by Khabar Hai Mein nahi Samjha

(I cannot understand why I have suffered all my life only because of the sin of taking birth in poverty. I cannot understand why my lamp is lightless while even their darkness is bright. I cannot understand why he is unaware of my plight who himself gave me the chain of pains.)

3.14 Policies of NGOs

The following national and international NGOs worked for reconstructions in the areas of research:

Child Aid for Afghan Children, This organization provided 7 Marla plots to widow women in town Narrah, and also provided (100) one room houses (shelters) in the town Narrah to poor People. Millet Tractor, these organizations provided 100 shelters in Narrah town; TCF, this organization provided amount and CIG sheets to the people of Narrah town to construct shelter for them. ALDAWA, this organization provided 100 shelters to the earthquake victims of Narrah town. Oxfam, this organization established water scheme in narrah town and surrounding areas and also provided bath rooms to the people of narrah town; SRSP (Surhad rural Support Program), this organization conducted survey for house Compensation and New Balakot project plots. Al Khidmat Foundation, this organization provided CIG sheets in the Narrah town for the construction of house. UNDP (United Nation Development Program), this organization provided prefabricated rooms for government offices and schools. All of the government offices and schools in Balakot are functional because of the UNDP provided prefabricated rooms.

3.15 New Balakot shifting plan

New Balakot shifting project was announced by the former President Pervaiz Musharif when he visited the devastated area after the earthquake. The logo of the project was **“Built Back Better”**, carving out safe future and sustainable living conditions for people in earthquake affected areas. (Erra report 2007)

3.16 Works of major stakeholders

The Earthquake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Authority (ERRA), Sarhad Earth Quake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction authority (SERA) were the two government institutions which were taking care of the project, while ERRA was responsible for project planning and payment to PERRA, in the project, it was the responsibility of provincial government (PERRA) to take active steps for the completions of the project.

3.17 Delays in reconstruction activities

Reconstruction activities in the devastated areas did not take place even after five years after major earthquake. People are living in prefabricated houses which are not

environmental friendly and space of house is not compatible for one family. Due to improper coordination among the government agencies the policies regarding reconstruction were not successful after even five years and the survivors have had to live miserable lives in prefabricated shelters (temporary house). The delay in reconstruction was due to following reasons:

3.17.1 Problems of land acquisition

The most important factor in delaying reconstruction was land acquisition in Bakriyal town. There were two groups involved, one was land owner and the other was tenet. The provincial government's first step was taken to compensate the land owners according to their status of land. When it completed land compensation policy, provincial government issued a letter to ERRA (Earthquake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Authority) that they start their work at Bakriyal. ERRA chairman visited the Bakriyal town and gave two initial projects to contractor companies. In the initial project they started leveling of Road and Drainage; during this process tenet of Bakriyal started protest and halted project of Bakriyal Town.

They claimed that Balakot earthquake victims are compensated and also are Bakriyal land owners but why are we being ignored. Then ERRA issued letter to provincial government to take notice of this issue. Provincial government took another step to compensation tenants; they were compensated by existing house types. They again started protest against this house base compensation policy. They claimed that in one house there are two and three families living, so we should be compensated according to family size. The provincial government accepted their claim and compensated them according to family size to restart the development work.

The central body and ERRA chairman visited Bakriyal Town to observe the progress of the construction work, during the visit; the ERRA authorities demolished two houses for being dangerous. The people of Bakriyal came out on roads and started protest against the act, afterwards there was a quarrel between the locals and the ERRA officials, the police intervened but the people could not surrender. During the fighting between the police and the locals, the Bakriyal Qari Saqib was murdered; the construction work was again stopped and could not be started until June 30. The government of Pakistan announced 31st June 2010 for the completion of the work. A Turkish organization started working on mosque in new Bakriyal on 7th July 2010.

3.17.2 Shift of central government

Another factor that caused delay in the implementation of the project was a change in Pakistani Government as the project was announced by the ex-Prime Minister. In 2008 the central government changed and Pakistan people party (PPP) became central Authority. The Government policies for reconstruction were in dilemma, when new government came. They abandoned previous governments plan and started new policies to make their good reputation, according to respondents Pakistan People's Party did not take serious steps for earthquake victims.

3.17.3 Pakistan terrorism scenario

Another factor was the war against Terrorism in Pakistan from March 2009 onwards; Swat was under war against terrorism, bomb blasts were happening all over Pakistan. It was very tough time for government as well as for the whole nation. One million internally displaced people (IDPs) were also being supported by the government. Due to the said issue, the government of Pakistan did not take step for the development of Balakot city.

3.17.4 Renaming of NWFP

The name of North Frontier province was changed to Khyber Pukhtunkhwa representing the Pushtun community. The people of Balakot were against the new name, according to them, the name ignored the identity of Hazara people. The people of Balakot started protesting against the new name given to the province as a result five people were killed in Abbotabad. According to the Balakot people, all the people in provincial government were pushtuns so there was another serious issue raised, because the provincial government was of pashtuns, they did not take serious interest in the project that caused delays.

3.18 Role of family members in reconstruction work

In the reconstruction phase, family members played multiple roles according to their strength, resources and socio-economic support. The family members of the locales both urban and rural contributed in reconstruction activities in the following ways.

3.18.1 Family cooperation

According to respondents there was no cooperation between families and family members in reconstruction phase. It, rather, gave rise to many conflicts between them. There were many national and international agencies working to help the victims. They did that in different ways like providing shelter home, household's items, furniture, cash money etc. People became self centered, they started thinking for their individual interest they became greedy and selfish. Unlike the first two phases where people were much cooperative with each other, in the phase, the external help and support made people selfish and individualistic. There started a race among the people to collect as much money and resources as possible.

For example, Farooq Swatti told that his house was totally destroyed, they suffered a lot and had a very tough time and still they were waiting for some help to reach them as they were not allotted prefabricated houses (shelter). He told that in the earlier two phases, he got a lot of help from his relative's friends and neighbors while no one help them in reconstruction phase. When Saudi Pak Assistance (SPAPVE) distributed shelter homes in the red zone area, his two brothers received enough material because of their links with the people in the organization. But he remained deprived of that help because he had no links with them. Even though brothers' homes were only partially damaged and they got them repaired. They received shelters homes when they did not actually need them. When Farooq asked for his brother's shelter, they rented out the vacant houses on rent instead of giving to the homeless.

3.18.2 Shared labor

There was also no labor shared between the families in the phase particularly in the town area as compared to those in early two phases. In the phase, people received enough money and other necessary items of life and became independent of each other economically. They cared less about each others; there was less need of sharing labor with each other. Female respondents told that earlier they used to help the females of other families in households chores like cooking, washing care taking of children, etc. In the later phase, they preferred to attend different workshops and trainings for which they were paid. Similarly, male members who helped each other in different tasks became less interested in helping each other because of the paid trainings and workshops by different organizations. However, there was shared labor in the village area because no such

trainings and workshops were conducted there. In the village, both male and females still helped each other in daily life matters.

3.18.3 Shared resources

According to respondents, sharing of resources among families in reconstruction phase was less as compared to earlier two phases. In-depth interviews of 25 females and 25 males were conducted in both research areas. A female respondent said: *"Na baji kci nai kujh deta, pehly phel saryaian much madad kiti pehn, beer, mama, chacha, etc. jadu tu Goverenment pesy ty shelter mujh kujh palisian brahan chudian, fir lokan ko aprhi aprhi ho gai. Her kci apnian jaban peryan"*. Which means that they told that in the beginning people helped each other, especially close relatives; sisters, brothers, uncle and aunties supported each other, but when government made policies to provide shelter homes and distributed money among the victim's, people became selfish, everyone started filling up one's own pockets.

Male respondents' view about shared resources was that it disappeared completely in reconstruction phase. One reason was that people had already settled their living patterns by then and secondly government and non governmental agencies had provided them their basic needs for survival. So, their dependency and cooperation became less in this phase.

3.18.4 Shared services

In the reconstruction phase family members shared their services, in the families where males and females both were active; they helped each other in domestic as well as outside jobs i.e. cooking, cleaning, domestication of animals, economic support. Those families in which females lost their husbands or their husbands were ill, injured or handicapped, and also the males who lost their wives, they performed many roles in a single status.

Among the female sample population, the husbands of five females were paralyzed and four were died. They told that they suffered a lot after earthquake and all the jobs were done by themselves i.e. to take care of children, ill persons, as well as domestic chores and to support their families economically.

3.81.4.1 Case Study

Gulzar Bibi of village Ghareeb Abad told that her husband died after four months of earthquake due to heart problem. After his death they lived with their relatives in

Abbotabad for three years. She often thought about how long they would remain dependent on others. She came back to her village and started working for her home and children. In fact she spent a whole year moving here and there and visiting different offices to register her family in different aid policies of government and non government agencies. After one year of struggle she was able to sustain her family independently.

3.19 Current Status of New Balakot Town

When researcher was in the field and visited the site of New Balakot, there was no work started except the leveling of Road and one sign board was established. The people of Balakot were disappointed with central government, ERRRA and provincial Government. They started business in Balakot and 20 % people started construction of houses.

3.20 Community perception about new Balakot city

- Balakot could not be shifted because it was the gate way of whole valley. If it was shifted, the surroundings regions would become valueless.
- Balakot city was the central place of social activities, all business activities, schools, colleges, hospitals and courts were there. If it was shift then the social life of nearby region will be disturbed.
- Political leaders were not interested to shift Balakot; there political strength would be weakened.
- People of Balakot were not willing to go to new Balakot city because their social status could be affected.
- Land owners were not willing to shift new Balakot city, here they have social status, and prestige that could be affected with the shifting.
- Caste system was dominating in Balakot, Swattis were not willing to shift to the new Balakot, their social hierarchy and domination would be finished.
- Business men were not willing to shift, especially hotel businessman and Jeep business.

Chapter No. 4

4.0 Pre-earthquake family structure

Family is a basic and primary institution of each and every society. its shape and characteristics may differ from region to region influenced by traditional heritage of cultural norms. It would not be wrong to say that the whole social structure of society is somehow shaped by the groups of families residing in that particular society. The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children of the sexually cohabiting adults. (Murdock: 1989) Family group is often characterized by the common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. Keeping these basic functions of family in view, the researcher observed the structure of family existing there before the earthquake and changes occurred after the earthquake.

4.1 Pre-earthquake family structure in the town and the village

Before the earthquake, the residential pattern of families in Narrah and Village Ghareeb Abad was of three types:

1. Joint Families
2. Nuclear Families
3. Extended Families

4.1.1 Joint family

The joint family system consists of married brother or brothers, their children and also unmarried sisters residing together, sharing the common familial resources (Fortes 1969). The foremost and most important characteristic of joint family is the combined and common property equally shared by all members of the family. The ownership means the possession of agricultural land and the transmission of family holdings from one generation to the next. This type of family structure was found in abundant numbers before the earthquake. Joint family was considered as of high social status in Narrah and village Ghareeb Abad. In Narrah fifteen out of the twenty five sampled and Ghareeb Abad fourteen out of twenty five were joint families. The reason for the large number of the families present in such a traditional culture was agrarian society. In this type of family unity was the common characteristic.

4.1.2 Nuclear family

Nuclear family refers to the family form composed of husband, wife and children (Murdock 1949). It is the type of family found in each and every culture. The nuclear family system was another desired family type in Narrah and Gareeb Abad before the earthquake, there were 6 nuclear families in the town and 5 nuclear families was in the village.

4.1.3 Extended family

Extended family consists of parents their married son(s) and unmarried sons(s) and daughter(s) living together (Fortes 1969). The third family type was found to be extended family. It constitutes four households in Narrah and six in Ghareeb Abad. In that type of families, the head of the household was usually a male member such as a father, elder son or elderly women in absence of elder males.

Table 6: Residential patterns before the earthquake in
the town and the village

Narrah			
S. No	Type of families	Households No	Percentage
1.	Joint	15	70
2.	Nuclear	06	20
3.	Extended	04	10
	Total	25	100%
Ghareeb Abad			
S. No	Type of families	Households No	Percentage
1.	Joint	14	67
2.	Nuclear	05	15
3.	Extended	06	18
	Total	25	100%

Source: Socio-economic census survey form).

The above table shows that in both the research areas, rural and urban, the number of joint families was higher. In Narrah Town fifteen households were of joint families, six

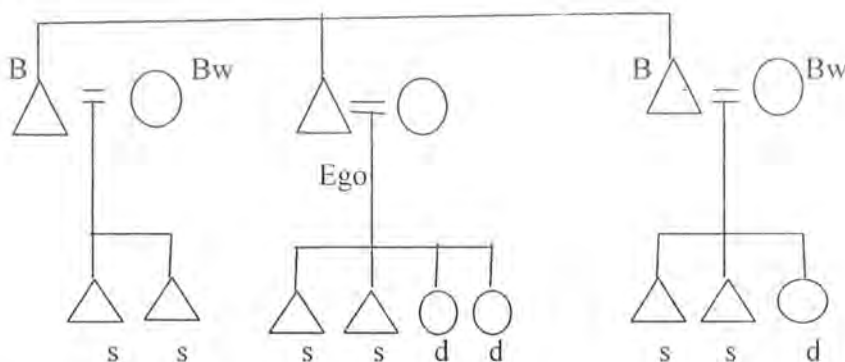
nuclear and four extended families. As in comparison the village family pattern was fourteen household of joint family, five nuclear and six extended families. The other two family patterns were less in number. The researcher focused on joint family pattern and its major characteristics in both research areas. In the short period of time it was not possible to cover all three types of family pattern and their major characteristic.

4.3 Joint family structure in Balakot

Pakistani society is a folk society where 73% of the total population lives in villages (population census report 2010). Folk society is an isolated society which enjoys outside contact, but it maintains very little communication with the world outside.

As far as the family system in Narrah and Ghareeb Abad was concerned, the society being semi agricultural, migration trend was very common i.e. people were migrating out of city and out of country. There was a higher ratio of joint families, therefore orientation and procreation was combined to form joint families consisting of wife, husband, unmarried children and married sons and their families. Following diagram shows the sibling joint family of three brothers.

Diagram 1:



The functions of such a family were:

a) Primary functions:

- Procreation
- sex need
- A separate house
- Socialization of children
- Stabilization of personality

b) Secondary functions:

- Economic unit
- Health and welfare
- Recreation
- Education
- Religious (Murdock 1949)

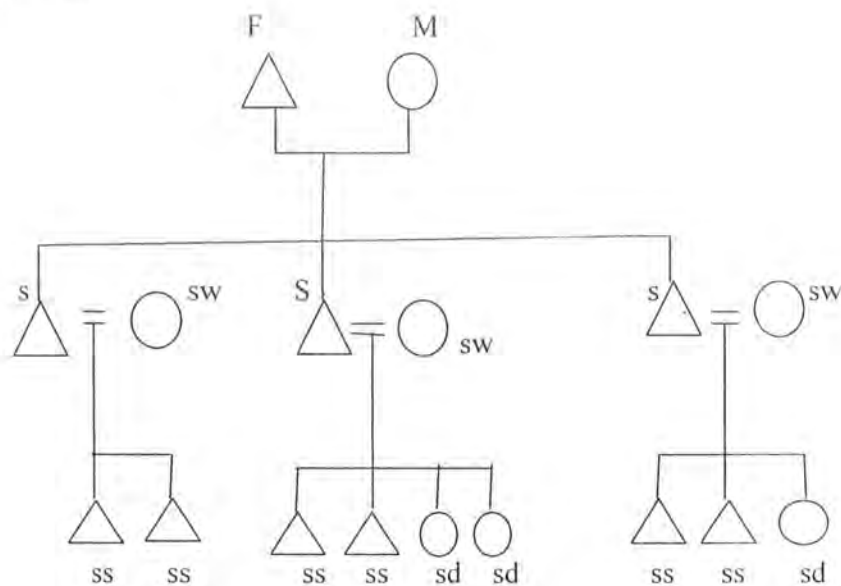
4.4 Types of joint family

In the Town Narrah and village Ghareeb Abad, the joint family system was the major family pattern adopted by the majority of the population, due to its socio-economic importance and having a strong hold for having inherited traditions and excellent historical record. In the Town and village under study, most of the joint families form a unit under joint control, economic or otherwise, usually exercised by the oldest males. Often the responsibility of running the household rested with the senior male in the family. The existing joint family in the research area was studied on the basis of data gathered from twenty nine such families that were living joint family pattern pre earthquake. According to the data collected by the researcher, three types of joint families were functioning in the town and village:

a) Parent –child joint family

In both the locales, out of twenty nine joint families, ten were of parent–child extended family, that consisted of a married couple, one or more of their married children, other unmarried sons and daughters living in the same house and sharing the joint income and property. Such extended families might be larger, containing many nuclear family units.

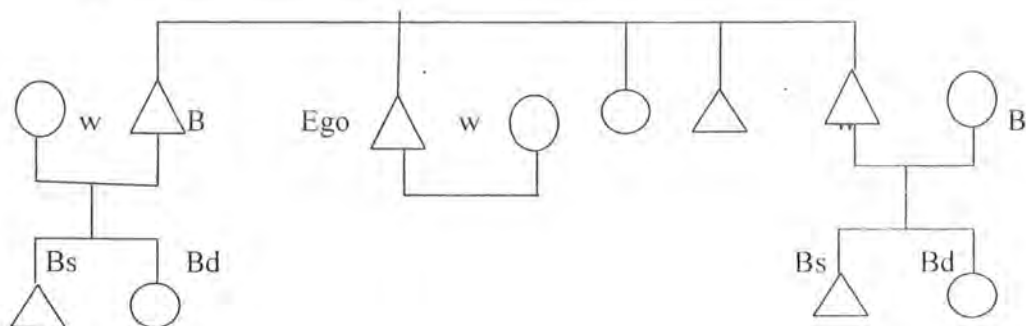
Diagram 2:



b) Sibling –joint family

The joint families were sometimes composed of families linked through sibling. For example such a family may have consisted of two married brothers, their wives and their children. The sample contained eight in town and six examples in villages of such families.

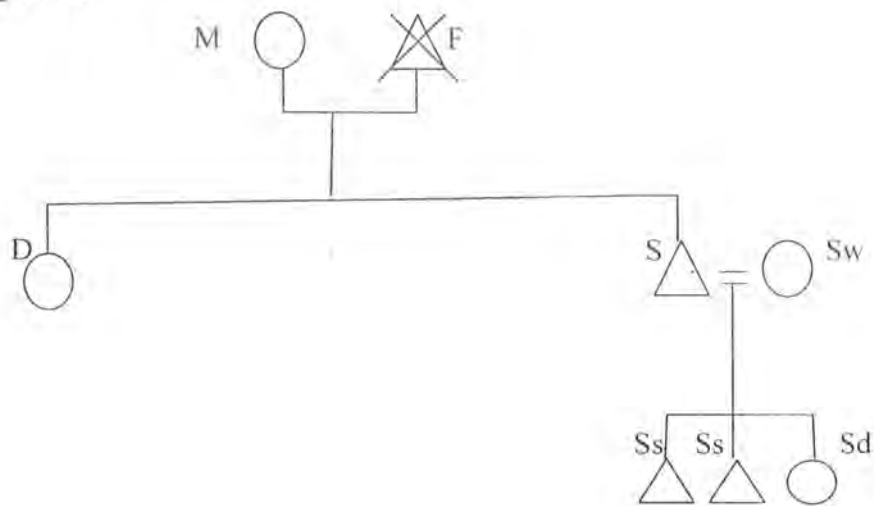
Diagram 3:



c) Widow mother and child joint family

Such family consists of a mother and her married sons and unmarried children. Only five cases of that type of family were found in the sample. All such types of families retained their joint structure and pattern of family which were likely to perpetuate itself as a social unit other than the independent nuclear family.

Diagram 4:



4.4 The salient features of joint family

The joint types of families are common in some of the world societies; especially in Asian civilizations. Due to psycho-social, economic and cultural factors, the differences exist in kinship system, authority pattern and membership, but there were certain characteristics which were common to all. All such characteristics and common features of joint family were studied thoroughly in both research areas that are discussed below:

4.4.1 Joint property

The most important characteristic of a joint family was the combined and common property equally shared by all the members of the family. The ownership means the possession of the agricultural land and the transmission of family holding from one generation to the next. The property of family includes both moveable and immovable property and though useable for all the members of the family, the rights of owning it are limited to few.

The supreme authority and control was exercised by the father over the property. He was advised to divide it in his life-time, but in most cases in the town and village the property remains undivided and son was dependent for as long as the property was intact. After the death of the father any property shared holders could take his share if he likes and lives separately. The joint family was maintained when in the absence or death of father; the elder sons control the joint property and hold as the head of the household. In case of the death of father the mother could control the property affairs. If she had no

sons, the father's brother assists in controlling the property matters. According to Islamic Law of Inheritance, a female has the right of inheritance and in case of no heir; the daughters could get the property. This was accepted in Narrah and Ghareeb Abad, but in practice it was often different. For example in case of no male child of a share holder the property often goes to the male members of his paternal family like brother, brother's sons etc. Similarly the share of property to a son hostile to his father, impotent, guilty of minor offence, afflicted with a chronic or acute disease, idiot, blind or lame depends on the discretion of the father. After death, the parents can leave certain possessions of higher value like jewellery, valuable utensil etc. to any of the loving son to keep or distribute to each of the child equally.

In different ethnic groups the joint property was a considering factor. In the higher group of Swatis who were the landowners (Zamindars) the property holds the members to be joint and even without its division, the son take over the charge of land and retires the father from the supervisions of land. If the elders or the elder brother is out of city or country for some job purpose, as four such cases out of the sample of fifty have been recorded, the younger brother takes the responsibility of the land affairs; however the final decision was taken with the consent of the elder brother as well as the father.

Provision of a separate room for each son and his family was the duty of parents. In my sample of study out of twenty nine joint families, twenty nine joint families told that parents preferably live with the youngest son after his marriage. There was not specific reason behind this, according to respondent it was the tradition of our society and it was continued generation to generation. After the death of parents, the portion or a room which remained in the use of parents goes to the youngest son, but the moveable property is divided equally.

4.5.2 Joint income

Joint income was the main source of livelihood shared by all the family members. The agriculture land, being a common source of income, plays an important role in the cohesion of such a family. Each member of family irrespective of gender contributed in the family income by doing different jobs at home or outside. The contribution could be made either through agriculture source or non agricultural activities, especially with changing times, while male migration had provided a new set of jobs.

Farming was the main economic activity in the town and village in which both the male and female members participated actively. The joint income was derived from the

land in the families of big landlords. Out of nine cases of joint families taken as a sample, in twelve cases those families cultivate their own lands and their main activity was farming.

The families who did not have enough land for cultivation, their joint families were not able to fulfill their needs through the income received from land. In six cases out of twenty nine, it was recorded that joint families had sons, one son did work in local area as shopkeeper, driver or employed in any government offices, rest of the sons were working outside the town; either they were employed out of city or out of country. They send money to their families used for joint expenses. The females were also engaged in making embroideries, handicrafts and kitchen gardening which was an additional source of income.

In the village Ghareeb Abad, five families were living in joint family system before earthquake. In nearly five cases, it was observed that they cultivate land as their family's joint income dependent on agricultural land. In such cases male and female both were involved in agriculture work, ten of the joint families were dependent on agriculture, their male members were engaged in different jobs inside or outside the country. They send money to their father and he was the responsible to manage all house hold tasks through the joint income of his son. In case of having no father, the mother was responsible with the help of her young sons and managed her joint family system. The females of the village were engaged in domesticating animals, kitchen and gardening which were an additional source of income.

Serious problems and disputes arise in the joint family when arguments start on the material contribution i.e. who was contributing, what and how? Such disputes and conflicts over joint income tended to weaken the joint structure and caused disunity among the family members. The joint sources of income were inevitable for the survival of a joint family and any dispute over source of income lead to break-up of the joint family

4.5.3 Division of labor

All family members contribute to the joint economy in different ways as all emigrants were contributing through remittances. The able bodied individuals, male and females were involved in boosting up agricultural production and performing different daily tasks but there was division of labor by gender within a family. According to Keeling (1966) "*class and age may influence the division of labor.*"

The researcher observed during the field survey that there was a male elder child and other brothers and sisters, who take care of his younger siblings, which was normally the duty of a female child. However, the effect of class (social, economic) on the division of labor by gender was very rare, as females of each class and *zat* (ethnic group) help their males in various fields.

In families of all *zats*, there was a distinction between the working spheres of male and female as well as old and young persons. The females bear the major burden of domestic works and in addition they work full time in the fields. They remained busy throughout the day in doing various tasks, such as cooking, washing, attending children, bringing water from the wells for domestic use, taking cattle's to the fields for grazing, bringing grass from the fields to feed their cattle's, making and selling various handicrafts and participating in gathering at different occasions, such as birth, marriage and death etc. Mostly they were involved in such activities up to the age of 45-50 years. There were number of fields which were reserved for males such as preparing land for cultivation, taking grain to the market for sale, shopping of daily necessities from the cities (as the village has very few and small shop), shop keeping and other skilled tasks such as cutting hair, making and repairing agricultural implements. However, in the village life it was found that the male and female were also participating in construction and repairing of the houses, cutting and storing crops, making fodder for cattle and to milk them.

As far as the non-agricultural activities were concerned, the female only do teaching job that was socially accepted both in the town and village, as there was a Gujjar women working as a peon in a school of Manshera city but she introduces herself as a teacher. Though male and female participate in the same activities in some cases but it was considered unfair for both the sexes to participate in a specific job reserved for a specific sex only.

In division of labor, according to age, usually aged women remained at home and did the domestic tasks while young married females bring grass for cattle's, to provide meals to their males working or taking care of their crops. Bringing mud and clay to plaster the room, floors and a special kind of grass to make brooms was also the duty of young females. In the crop cutting season, aged women stay at home to look after the children and to cook meals for the whole family. Old ladies usually participate in gathering especially in death rituals.

In case of no young female in the family, aged women participate in each and every activity regardless of age or division of labor; she also participates in cutting crops.

Similarly, when there was no old woman, young females have to bear the responsibilities of aged women as well. Aged men plough land themselves until they were physically unfit however during crop cutting season they take cattle for grazing away from those fields where crops were cutting. While young males participated in crop cutting and taking to the market. However, in taking grain to the houses and in storing aged men were also participated activities.

4.5.4 Authority Pattern

Authority pattern is one of the common characteristics of joint family and is closely linked with other features like joint property and joint income and provides the basis for intra-familial relationships. Age and sex both are important for determining the authority pattern. The members of both sexes and of all age groups existed in the households but the eldest male is acknowledged as a superior authority by rest of the family members. (Tyler S.A:1977) This is because the elderly people are venerated as repositories of communal and family wisdom. During their life time their experiences are depended upon as a source of reliable guidance in any crisis. In the joint social structure of the town and village, the patrilineal descent concentrates all the power and authority in the male line. In such a system Tyler S.A. writes, "Men have authority over their juniors. Fathers retain authority over their sons until their death. If the joint family doesn't segment at the father's death, the eldest son assumes the position of family head." (Giri Raj Gupta p.72).

It has been recorded further in the male-oriented society of the town and the village that the authority was exercised by the males over the females. Among the higher class of Swattis they were dominant over other groups, out of twenty samples taken from the town, in eight cases, the males as head of the family were authoritative. Their authority and power lasted as long as they were alive. Although they consulted their wives in many important matters but took the final decisions at their own.

The women exercised the maximum authority as a mother when they became the mother-in-laws. In six cases, according to respondents, mothers-in-law were strict towards their daughters-in-laws. The mother was all in all, in many cases of Swatti and Gujjar joint families where the father died or ill, the authority to a great extent was exercised by the elder women. She was the sole authority who decided all the house hold matters. According to five female respondents, three were Swatti and two were Gujjar caste group, mother-in-law was the deciding body in the household and family affairs, the

women were allowed by her to move outside the house, they were allowed to give a glass of water to a guest without her permission. Mother-in-law decides all the issues from smaller one to the big decisions of marriage and education. She never let her children speak in her presence, even the sons who were married, bowed before the authority and will of their mother. In such cases, the mother controlled the finances, prosperity affairs, family relations and marriage of the children. However in six families, where the parents were old and physically weak, they were very much dependent on their children and couldn't exercise any kind of authority over them.

According to the respondents, in five cases, sometimes in the absence of mother or in case of illness of the mother, the unmarried grown up and matured daughters assumed the household responsibilities and exercised authority over the wives of the brothers.

In the research locales, the authority was enjoyed by the male head of the family and in that way the males have absolute control over all the females. In the joint families, the pattern was of male dominance and female dependence. The husband was an authoritarian figure.

The position of the women was subordinate in nature, in her parents' home subordinate to their father and in in-laws home, subordinate to their husbands. They were consulted in serious matters, otherwise in routine matters they were not participating equally to men. The elder females were superior among themselves just due to age factor like mother, mother-in-law, while the elder daughter was exercising the authority in absence of elders. Gender was another powerful determinant of authority, in case of husband-wife relationship, the males had authority and superiority in the matters of eating, they were served food in a respectable way; while female take food with their children after serving the males.

4.5.5 Intra family relations

Joint family was regarded as an ideal pattern of living amongst the people of my research area. They were the proponents of this system. They believed that it signified unity, love, affection and enhanced cooperation. It established strong relations and consequently promoted family solidarity. According to the respondents the males had the supreme power, authority and control. The elder male was authoritative and was dominant over the younger, the father was the main figure and his position could be retained by the elder son after his death or sickness. The position of females was very

inferior due to regulation of female role to reproduction and household work; moreover they were dependent on male throughout their lives.

However the internal solidarity within a joint family was maintained due to the relationships between male members. Essentially the stability of joint family depends on the strength of the father-son and brother-brother relationship to guarantee the continuity or land ownership through inheritance from one generation to the next. All sons inherit equally at birth but the land was kept in one holding through the joint family system. (Bertrand, 1973)

In the joint family system the eldest male was the family head and played the role of a major decision maker. The eldest sons usually assumed the headship upon the death or disability of father. All the members respected the family head and obeyed his order without delay.

Among females, the eldest person was the decision-maker and had an authoritative position as a mother, significantly as mother-in-law and her relationship with daughter-in-law. All such relationships were essential for the cohesion of a joint family.

4.5.5.1 Father and son relationship

The father and the son were the two important members of a joint family as both were the property owners and the property keeps on transferring from father to son due to which the joint family system was maintained. Collective strength, internal unity, solidarity and cooperation between the father and son were essential for a joint family.

The relations between father and son were reserved and very much formalized. The son had respect, reverence, obedience, and high esteem for his father. In such a tradition oriented atmosphere there was more discipline and strictness for the bringing up of a son. The father was the person who was the bread winner for the family and he was the final decision maker whose will was at command. Until such a stage when the sons did not earn and remain dependent on the father he had total control and authority over all the decisions. If the sons were earning and the father was invalid and dependent on his elder son the authority was exercised by the elder son. In that case the father was consulted but the final and accurate decision was made by the son. But in case of an independent income earned by the father he was dominant over his sons and he exercised the authority. In such cases, where the elder son was abroad, the father had complete authority in all the matters of household even in such families where the father was not physically fit to participate actively in life. In case of father's illness and the absence of

elder brother, the younger brother had the right to consult but did not have any authority for giving decision; the mother enjoyed power and authority of making decision.

In the matter of marriage of a son, the father distributes share of property and also gives a separate room for the newly married couple to live in the joint compound. It has been recorded in many cases that the sons after marriage took good care of father and helped him in the management of land. If the sons were doing the non agricultural jobs they got a share equally through the joint property income. In the distribution of the property, the father assumed the role of such a single authoritative person who maintained equality and unity among his sons. He initiates cooperation and unity among his sons and thus strengthened the father-son relationship.

4.5.5.2 Inter-Sibling Relations

The relations between the siblings were significant after father-son relations in the both the localities, all the brothers inherit the father's property; thus they were equally attached to it. They had equal rights and obligations in a family.

According to respondents, the brothers maintain the family prestige and in times of crises they support each other. However, the family pattern in which the brothers in a joint family were expected to consider each other's position and honor, the ideal situation was for several married brothers live together. All cooperated together under the father's directions in maintaining the joint economy, all obeyed him in all the important matters. It was after marriage, however, that the cooperation between the brothers was not long-lasting and they tried to live in separate dwellings, disintegration the joint family. With change in social life, they no longer lived under the same roof. The dominated pattern was one of individual residence located in the close nuclear proximity of a family compound. All of them were of the opinion that whenever they get a proper and accurate reason for separation they would live independently.

However, the cooperation between brothers was very rare in practice in the joint family, there were many chances of break-up of joint brother's family if the wives had strained relations and they had conflicts, quarrels and clashes. In such cases where the elder brother was outside the house and doing job in the city or abroad, the cooperation between the rests of the brothers was not much and often disrupted over petty issues such as the quarrels between children of one another. When there were two or more married brothers having common residence with their respective families, the chances of clash of interests were more frequent than when they were living apart from each other. Within

the joint family, the regard of elder brother by the younger ones was of the usual custom and an important feature of children's training by the parents. The younger brothers showed restraint, careful and a reserved behavior in the presence of elder brothers.

According to respondents, in many cases when two brothers work together, they did not have very good relations because the elder brother wanted to live jointly with the younger brother but their wives were of the opinion of living in nuclear setup to enjoy more liberty and independence. Another important reason of living separately from the joint household was lack of space in the houses, however if the brothers were newly married, they could somehow adjust within the joint compound in a limited space but when they had one or two children, they become conscious of the children's needs and more space for their upbringing. So there were quarrels between the wives of the brothers over one another's children. In the way the brother's good relations were became strained.

4.5.5.3 In-laws relations

Among the in laws-relations, the relationships on the part of females could not be under-estimated, as the relations between-in-law and daughter in law were as important as the relationship of father with sons and brothers. The mother in-law-and daughter-in-law have an important relation because the two females have authority at different, stages the mother-in-law was a supreme authority and a dominant figure for her daughter-in-law; also she indirectly controls the household.

Kamarousky was of the opinion that as a result of the female's closer ties to her parents, troubles would more often involved the wife and the husband's parents than the husband and wife' parents. According to respondents, in eight cases it was found that the mother-in-law –daughter-in-law relationship was frequently a source of family quarrels; they had hatred each other because the mother-in-law and daughter in-law competed for the loyalty of their son/husband and conflict started between them. The greater involvement of females in kin relations means that the wife and the husband's mother might very easily come into conflict; because she was the one who supervises the activities of her daughter-in-law and allows her to visit her parents place.

In the break-up of joint family, the strained and unfair relations of the wife and husband's mother become an immediate cause. The relationships either fair or unfair were very important for the solidarity of a joint family. The most frequent arguments were between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law because the pair was lived together

that was easier for conflicts to arise. The older woman tries to control everything and tries to be very strict while the younger woman wanted to have a control (Parish, 1978).

It had been found in the joint families that the daughter-in-law had the hardest life in owing to the ill-treatment and supreme authority of the mother-in-law over the daughter-in-law who experience humiliation and interference in her personal life.

The daughter-in-law especially in the *Swatti* and *Gujjar* caste group suffered humiliation; they had less freedom and do not enjoy a sense of relief within the house. They were deprived of any such free movements as they were under control of mother-in-law and were even restricted to visit her parent's house. Whereas the other caste i.e. *Mughal*, *Awans*, their mother-in-laws was less restricting. According to respondents, *Swattis* and *Gujjars* were the real inhabitants of regions, they were practicing joint family system where the authority of mother controlled all the members so it becomes the norms, custom of the families and they were still using that authority.

In three cases where the daughter-in-law was educated and also worked as teacher in a school and four cases where they belonged to the city were less likely to tolerate ill treatment by her in-laws. For such a female joint family living becomes more difficult and results in the adoption of nuclear family which was highly preferred by her. There were six cases where the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law had very good relations in such cases the marriages were within the same family and they were preferential marriages with parallel cousins, the mother-in-law was more cooperative, agreeable, and adjustable. The daughter-in-law also has a sense of honor and prestige and she gave very less chances of conflicts with her mother-in-law.

Mother-in-law was an important and strong character in the makeup of a joint family as she bears the heavy responsibility of disciplining and supervising the children. With the children of elder son, she become much attached and starts training them about the indigenous norms. The presence of the mother was much important where the sons had gone outside the town or village to the work. She became the protector of her son's family but not always, there were also such families where mother in-law and daughter in-laws had conflicts.

Chapter No. 5

5.0 Factors responsible for structural changes

During the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction phase after the earthquake, the family system was affected by policies of government and non-governmental organizations. So many aspects of change have been identified as operating family system; especially significant has been the impact of governments policies i.e. house compensation cheques, provision of prefabricated house and New Balakot city project. However, the search for benefits and basic needs broke up the joint family unit rapidly, the reason behind was government's policies of aid, rehabilitation and reconstruction for attached families.

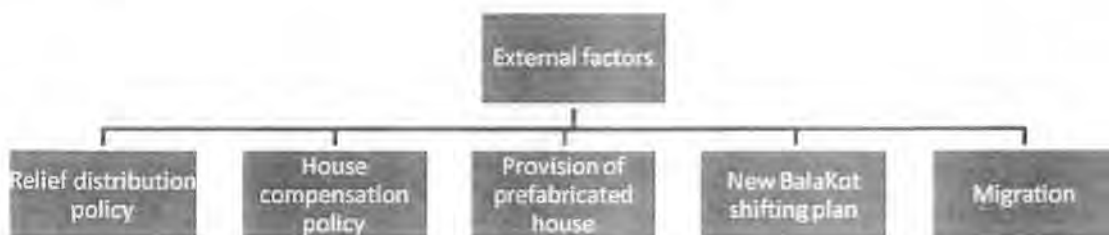
It is worth understanding that changes in the family structure have their basis in economic, social and ecological factors and over the course of certain time period a joint family structure turns into nuclear. But when there is a disaster like earthquake, many factors become responsible for the change in family structure. Same happened in the research area also. Factors responsible for change in family structure could be divided into two types:

- External Factors
- Internal Factors

5.1 External factors

While studying the reconstruction process, it was observed that different policies of government and non-governmental organizations to facilitate the victims of earthquake socio-economically, the joint family tended to break up and the nuclear/conjugal family structure emerged rapidly in particular research areas:

Figure - 7



5.2.1 Government relief distribution policy

Whenever a disaster occurred, it is very difficult for the government and other supporting organizations to control the situation immediately with proper management.

After the earthquake, the first and immediate response of the government and non-governmental organizations was to provide immediately relief to the victims. In both the areas of research, there were no institutions working for disaster management, it was very difficult for the government and non-governmental institutions to conduct survey, to know how people were living before earthquake and how to provide relief which would reach the community members equally without disturbing their social structure.

The government took steps immediately with the help of army to establish tent villages near the town. The tent villages were established on emergency basis, there was no consideration of social hierarchy, family composition and rich and poor dichotomy. According to respondents, they had sent their females to their relatives in different cities like Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi and Abroad etc. They themselves were living in tent villages which were not properly managed by the army, only one tent was allotted to one family without taking into consideration the size of the family as it was very difficult for joint family members to live in the tent village, so in that immediate phase, the breakup of joint family unit started.

During the relief phase, the food items were also distributed family wise on the basis of ration cards system. Every male and female who had spouse and siblings, was registered separately, that was another reasons for breakup of joint family unit.

The first and immediate need of the time was shelters; different national and international organizations provided tents to the shelter less people of the locales. In the town "Narrah" the government of Korea sent tents to the earth quake victims while the Korean organization that was functioning in the affected areas had no proper relief distribution policy; those who approached them were successful in getting tents and other material for shelters, while the others were ignored.

In the time of sufferings, the male members remained in the town and village; while they shifted their females to their relatives living in different cities as mentioned earlier. Male encamped at the place of destroyed houses or near the debris to take care of their destroyed house-hold materials, out of those 8 joint families migrated from the area, three of them came back after one month and established their households in safe places in the town, while other came later.

In the village “Gharries Abad” at the time of earthquake, there were five families lived in joint family structure were shifted to other areas, when came back to the town were no more joint families, they were converted into nuclear families due to the compensation received by each couple and allotment of a separate tent in the tent village. Similarly, in the village “Ghareeb Abad” at the time of earth quake, there were shelters less three joint families but later on converted into nuclear families.

According to the respondents, relief distribution policies made people independent, while in pre-earthquake, they were socio-economically dependent on each other by living in one house having a specific role for living, elder family members had authoritarian attitude towards younger family members, while females were not suppose to participate in the decision making, especially in the matters relating to the property, marriages and education of the children etc. According to the female respondents, the joint family system was an ideal family system, they had no responsibility to manage the family matters and were relaxed, all the decisions of family were handled by the elders.

5.2.2 House compensation policy

Another important factor of familial alteration was the reconstruction and rehabilitation process, the ERRA, a government institution adopted house compensation policy. When the relief phase ended in April 2006 and rehabilitation phase started, the ERRA’s first policy was to compensate the victims for the destruction of their households, for the purpose a survey was conducted in collaboration with the Sarhad Rural Support Program (SRSP). The basic aim of the survey was to estimate the total loses of completely damaged houses and partially damaged houses.

As the process of giving compensation started, there was resentment among the villagers due to equal amount to small and big families. The joint families where many married brothers lived with their families were more disturbed as they were living in one big house and were given compensation for one family unit. As and when the implementation was announced by the ERRA, local people started protesting against the policy and demanded compensation on the basis of family unit, the ERRA body members and local leaders started negotiations, finally the ERRA accepted the community demands and the policy was revised to provide compensation on family basis. Government provided money in installments for reconstruction of houses as detailed next:

1st installment	75 thousand	Plinth level
2 nd installment	50 thousand	wall level
3 rd installment	25 thousand	Roof level

The SRSP was monitoring the project; those family units who could not start the reconstruction of their houses were not given second installment, while others arranged their households separately that also disturbed the joint family pattern.

In the town, six joint family units became nuclear because of the house compensation policy. By taking house compensation, three Swatti and two Awan families reconstructed their houses and became nuclear, while among the Gujjar caste group, one family constructed separate home and became independent, according to Earth Quake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Authority (ERRA).

According to female respondents of joint families, “Shukar Hai Zalzla Aya” thanks God that earthquake made them independent. They told that in a joint family system they spent very tough time. Mrs. Jamila told her story of living in a joint family system that in a joint family, she never knew the income of her husband. Her father-in-law was very strict; he had control over all the male and female family members. She further told that even her husband did not talk to her in the presence of his father. After the death of her father-in-law, her mother-in-law took the authority, she was as strict as his husband was, and she controlled the income and equally distributed the things between all three brothers’ wives. After the earthquake, when her husband brought her to Quetta with him, she came to know that all household necessities were managed through her husband’s income, she and her children spent very good time there living independently, while on return after two years, she preferred to live in a separate house in a joint family, she spent a very tough time under the authority of father-in-law and mother-in-law, to enjoy the freedom of expression and more importantly she had the freedom to use his husband’s income according to her wishes. She further told that living independently in a separate home, she was feeling relaxed and happy rather than living in the joint family.

5.2.3 Provision of prefabricated house

There was another government policy that caused the breakup of joint family unit, that was the rehabilitation phase where ERRA conducted survey by geologists to explore the structure of earth and to know the causes of earthquake in that particular region.

The geologists declared the area as a red zone by declaring it dangerous for construction of houses and other buildings. Government of Pakistan announced that the people of red zone area would be shifted to another safe place, so after the announcement, permanent reconstruction was banned in that particular areas. The shifting plan was long term project and it was to be decided where they would be shifted to. ERRA made another plan for red zone inhabitants to reconstruct temporarily residences till the shifting of the people to the new area. The temporary reconstruction policy was to provide prefabricated houses to the victims of red zone. There were some rules and criteria to provide prefabricated house as discussed in chapter three.

The size of prefabricated houses was small and it was difficult for the joint family members to live in that small house. In the Town Narrah” data of twenty families was collected; fifteen families told that they were divided into nuclear units by the distribution of prefabricated houses (shelter). The other four families told that they migrated from other villages (Keth, Serash, Jo sacha, Kronch and Graan) to Narrah Town after the relief phase when prefabricated houses were distributed.

Following are the few case studies of joint family units which turned into nuclear families by the policy.

5.2.3.1 Cases study No.7

Fatima Keaton, a 35 years old woman lived in Narrah town told that before the earthquake, her husband and his two other brothers were living in one house in a joint family system and had enough agricultural land, while two younger brothers were living out of city on jobs and the elder brother was running his business in Balakot to look after his joint family members. They had a big house in which three conjugal families were living jointly with social and economic cooperation.

When the earthquake hit the area, their house collapsed completely and they became shelter- less and the joint family spread into different cities, one conjugal family went to Quetta and the other two went to Lahore to their relatives. When relief phase and emergency phase was over, they came back to Balakot and were provided with independent prefabricated houses (shelter) on the basis of family unit by the Saudi-Pak assistance program (SPAPVE). separating the joint family unit into different nuclear family units. Her husband was doing job in Islamabad and she herself took care of all household responsibilities instead of depending on her brother in law.

5.2.3.2 Case study No.8

Shaida Bibi 40 years of age lived in Narrah Town told that they were living in the village "*Kath Search*" before the earthquake. Their house was totally collapsed in the earthquake, while their land came under sliding. Her husband was running a shop in Balakot Bazaar which was also destroyed. They were living in a joint family system with her husband's brother family and mother-in-law. Immediately after the earthquake, the joint family unit was divided when her brother-in-law shifted his family to Graan to his wife's parents, while she with her husband came to 'Narrah Town' to her parents. In the town prefabricated houses were distributed to each family. Her parents gave her five Marla's of lands where they established shelter, while his brother-in-law also managed a separate house by getting a small piece of land on rent. So their joint family system changed into nuclear units.

According to male respondents of joint families, the joint family system was an ideal pattern of living, they were secure and had a social status. They told that in their small city, there were fewer opportunities for employment. There was trend to go out of city or country for the purpose of job. By living in a joint family system, male members had no problem caring their families behind. They sent money to their head of household; the elder were managing all the matters of their families, they educated and married their children without any problem because the matters were resolved by their elders.

They further told that by living in a joint family, many family problems were easily solved by the family head without discrimination of earning hands or the non earners, but by living in a nuclear family system, it became difficult for the family head to manage each and every thing at his own without the help and cooperation of other family members.

According to a respondent, "*Bhary ghar bhary log ty dil vi bhary si*" big home, large and hospitable family, their living pattern was different and they were very hospitable. They had the traditions of celebrating engagement, marriage and death events according to their values and social status with the joint economy but with the change of family pattern, such celebrations were not possible for a single earner of a nuclear family.

5.2.4 New Balakot shifting plan

The new Balakot city project was not implemented due to certain reasons especially the lack of government initiatives. Its fate was not known by the inhabitants of the area because the government could not implemented the policy statement issued by

the than president of Pakistan by having the sufficient funding from inside and outside the country.

Shifting of the Balakot city to a safer place was probably fixed for three to five years, but the same could not be done with the laps of more than five years. According to the plan a policy was formulated that all the families of Red Zone declared area would be allotted constructed house in New Balakot city". The new Balakot shifting plan did not directly impact joint family unit as discussed in above policies, but due to this policy people of the town and village were in an uncertain position. According to the local people, they could not construct their homes to normalize their routine life and were forced to live in tents or with their relatives.

The dream of new Balakot city created problems for the people, as per the plan plots were to be given on the basis of their pre-earthquake size of the houses. When the survey was conducted, the real brothers became against each other for claiming the ownership of the land, while before the earthquake they were living together and sharing their resources with each other. According to a respondent "*sub paisy k putr bun gay, niky bndhy di tmeez much kam ho gai*" money becomes more important for them, respect of elders and younger has been finished.

5.2.4.1 Case study No.9

Muhammad Maroof, 48 years old man lived in Narrah Town told that they were three brothers living together in a big double story house before the earthquake. They lost their home and family members in earthquake and were living separately in prefabricated houses. They wanted to reconstruct their home and live together in a joint family system but the new Balakot City dream had hanged them. Their joint family system was affected as their children were living separately for five years and are aware of the norms of living together.

5.2.4.2 Cases study No.10

Noreen, a 19 years old girl living in village Ghareeb Abad told that they had a big house before earthquake. They were eight family members living as joint family. In earthquake their house collapsed and her mother died. When Saudi Pak Assistance provided shelters in their village, her elder brother established his separate shelter and her father and unmarried siblings established independently their own shelters. Consequently their joint family system divided into two units. Although by division they were facing socio-economical problems but to take long term benefit they separated. It was

announced that in New Balakot City plots would be allotted on family basis. So their family divided into two units. Now her brother did not support them financially and his wife also did not help them in domestic chores. Whether they would get plot in new Balakot City or not but its idea divided their joint family system into two units.

5.3 Migration

The migration as a result of earthquake is also linked with the change in family structure. In the town of "Narrah" six families migrated to Manshera and Abbottabad cities. Before earthquake the families were part of joint family unit and their male members were doing jobs in those particular cities. In earthquake their houses were totally destroyed and they were left with nothing. It was not easy to reestablish their setup in transitional phase where the policies of aid, rehabilitation and reconstruction were complex and did not match the pre-earthquake structure of the community. In the village Ghareeb Abad five families migrated to other cities after earthquake due to the destruction of house and critical relief and rehabilitation process.

In the town and village under study, it was found that male members of a family would often go abroad purely for financial and earning purposes. The nature and status of migration found in the town and village is as under:

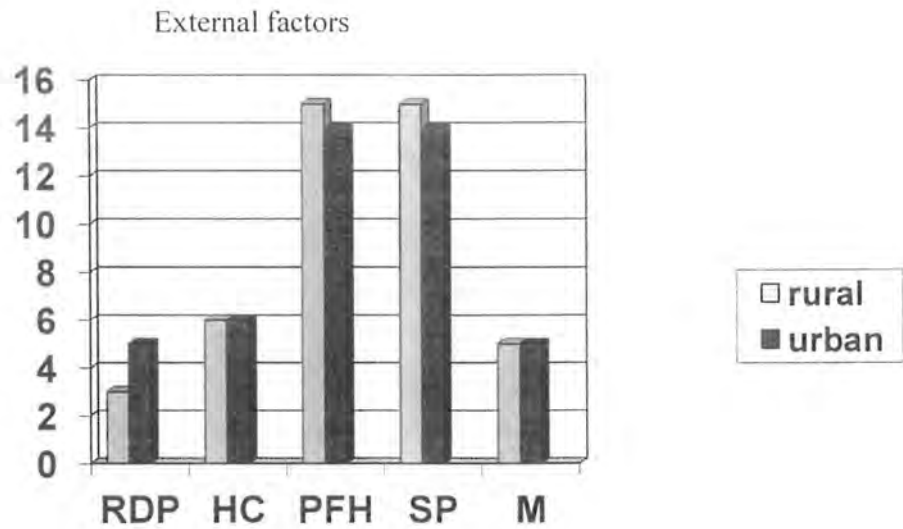
- i. Internal migration: such migration is within the country.
- ii. External migration: outside the country.

Two other kinds of migration are:

- iii. Semi permanent migration; in which the migrant is expected to come back
After a certain time period
- iv. Permanent migration: Migrant who has no intentions to come back? A migrant who has migrated from the town and village on permanent basis and sold his property
- v. Compulsive migration: It is a usual practice which has been taking place since old times. People here were also compelled to migrate after they were destroyed socio-economically in earthquake.

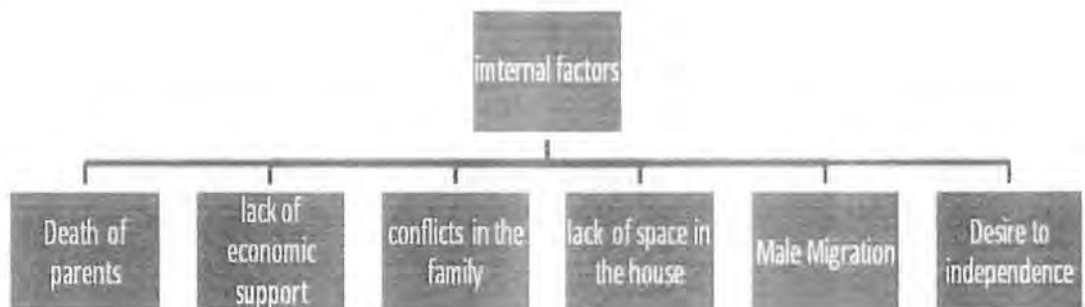
Any kind of migration after the earthquake was due to socioeconomic loss that also broken the joint family structure and emerged into nuclear family system.

Diagram 5



The graph shows the affect of external factors on joint family system that encouraged the nuclear family pattern in a very traditional settlement.

Figure -8



5.4 Internal factors

When a joint family turns nuclear, without accepting any change from the factors of external surroundings as discussed earlier, which were caused due to the reconstruction process, then obviously certain factors were found within the familial circle and the town and village surroundings. The factors were the internal factors which arise within the family itself and eventually lead to its break up into nuclear units that could be attributed to many factors such as the death of parents, lack of space, lack of economic support, conflict among family members, and male migration. All the factors were directly responsible for the breakup of joint family and establishment of a nuclear family. The factors have been discussed within the framework of the joint families residing in the town and village.

5.4.1 Death of parents

The death of parents is the most common and inevitable factor which plays an important role in the breakup of a joint family unit. In such case, usually the male members claim their share of property, while married women also desirous to have their share. After having the share, most of the male members prefer to live separately by constructing their houses by breaking the old and traditional joint family system.

In different ethnic groups of the locales, it was found that in three of Awan families who were socio-economically well off, the death of father and mother led to break up of a joint family. The other joint families after the death of father usually converted into nuclear families. In two cases of Syed and Swatti ethnic groups, the death of parents separated the married brothers and their families and they established their separate household. It has been observed in four cases of the joint family that the death of father did not break up a joint family even if the elder son did not lived there, yet the younger son and his wife and children remained in the joint household. He also kept the widowed mother and unmarried sisters till the death of mother, and the cohesion of family was retained until all the sisters were married.

It was found that death of parents weakened the social cohesiveness within family. Three brothers told that when their father was alive, they were living under father's control. Two brothers were doing job in Muzzafrabad their wives and children were living in Balakot. They visited their family every month, while the responsibility of their children was on their father. But after the death of the father, they became independent economically and morally into a nuclear family unit.

The other three families told that death of mother affected the socio-economic life of their families. When their mother was alive, monthly income was collected by her, she was equally providing facilities to all the members of family. In the presence of mother all brothers' family had same social status. All the children of their family went to good institution for education. They had a joint property; there was good earning from agriculture. They had two servants for domestic and agriculture work. After the death of mother, wives of brothers started conflicts with each other and they started living independently. After separation they became weakened socially and economically. Joint economy fulfilled the needs of all members of joint family, even if their younger brother was not good in earning but in a joint family he was maintaining his status socially and economically.

5.4.2 Lack of economic support

Another factor which was very important for determining the breakup of a joint family was the lack of economic support. The term economic support implies such as economic condition in which family supports the whole joint family members and makes them comfortable, however, when the economic support lacking, it leads ultimately to the establishment of nuclear family. The economic support is an important requisite for a joint family. In twelve cases out of fifty samples, the internal factor became a reason for the members of a joint family who sought to have their independent economic source, separate from the joint source. In the families where more than two married brothers were living along with their families and parents, they faced problems when the family size increased and one person could not afford a large joint family.

In seven cases of *Gujjars* families, their joint family members were more in numbers and the earning members were few and had fewer resources. The married male members as well as elder and younger ones worked for a joint income. But when the married members had children and they were grown up, they wanted to have their own household to utilize their income independently for their children. Due to the circumstances, the joint family weakened and one by one the married brothers left the joint family to have an independent source of income.

In other five cases of the families belonging to the *Mughals* and *Syeds*, they had a joint source of income and when the sons were married and afterwards when they have children, they find a separate household and separated their share from the joint property and maintained an independent economy.

In the remaining eight cases of *Swatti* families in the town and *Gujjar* families in the village, after the death of the parents and after getting share of the property, all the married sons separated their economic source but they lived within the same house. The breakup of a joint family was due to the lack of economic support.

5.4.3 Conflicts in the family

Another significant internal factor involved in the change of family structure was the conflicts among the family members. In fifteen cases out of fifty samples, the conflicts on different issues among family members became an immediate cause for the break-up of a joint unit. Conflict was an inevitable condition in society and family due to which inter-personal relationships tend to change. Conflicts were however viewed as 'bad' and disruptive for a family system and human interaction.

In eight joint families of urban and rural area, the conflicts arose between the young and old generations and most frequent conflicts were between the two females i.e. between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Such conflicts were one of the key problems confronting the two females. The relations between the mother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws were not fair and good because the two females were together. It was observed that the conflicts always involve specific in-laws such as the husband's mother and sister-in-law and so on. In the joint families troubles were generally more frequent between the wife and the husband's mother.

In other seven families where endogamy was practiced and the marriages were arranged within a family, the female dependence was more prevalent, when male dependence occurs it is sure to cause trouble between the wife and the husband's parents (especially the mother-in-law). The quarrels of wife with the husband's mother were the matter of daily routine that at last ends at the change in the family pattern.

By interpreting the data on internal causes of joint family breakup, it supported fully the conflicts for disrupting the relations of the couple with other members of the family including the in-laws in any joint family irrespective of a particular group of a family. In case of such joint families, where the joint property has bound the family together, the conflicts arise, between the daughter-in laws at the time of the division of property. The clashes start developing and weaken the joint set-up when each son gets his share and he wants to have his own separate economic source. If the brothers live jointly conflicts are created among them by their wives who cannot live under one roof and force their husbands to take their share out of the joint property and establish a nuclear household separately.

In seven cases of the higher class families, the mother-in-law assumes her traditional role, establishes good relations with her daughter-in-law, the conflicts do arise between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, but their intensity varies in lower and middle classes. In cases when daughter-in-law was educated or belongs to the city and could not adjust herself in her in-laws, she develops conflicts with her mother-in-law who was strict, traditional, uneducated and does not know about the city life at all. Such conflicts either occurred in between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law or son's wife has conflicts with her sisters-in-law. All such internal rifts, disputes and clashes among the members of a joint family, disturb the different relationships and become a cause for breaking the joint family system.

5.4.4 Lack of space in the house

The lack of sufficient accommodation is also very important in causing the break-up of a joint family. Lack of space implies such a situation in a joint family where the residence of two or more married couples becomes difficult. In the urban research area, ten joint families belonging to lower and middle class were facing narrow and congested environment, where total accommodation was consisted on three rooms. One room was used by men and the other is occupied by the women. If there is some other small room it given to the married son and his wife and other two rooms were used by other family members, that realized the married couple to have an independent accommodation to ease not only their family but to provide comfort to other family members. The joint family unit with less space created conflicts between the married family and the husband's parents.

Lack of space in the joint household of the village and town was an issue in other six cases where the family belonged to lower class of wage laborers, tenants and landless people who have less sources of income. The problem was created when one or more sons were married and insufficient accommodation troubled them along with other members, the trouble became a burning issue between the married couple and other family members that lead to a separation of the married could by breaking the traditional joint family system.

In the above six cases of lower class, the lack of space led to find more space and then towards a nuclear living. However, in the higher class group of the big landlords like *Awans*, *Gujjars*, the lack of space was not the factor for breakup of a joint family, but some others factors were involved in their case.

5.4.5 Male migration

The male migration is another factor which causes the breakup of the joint family. In eight cases out of the total fifty cases in both the locales, the factors of male migration was an important agent of change of joint family unit. The migration of males towards the urban centers and some time to the foreign countries has influenced the family members to bring changes in its composition. In the Town Narrah and the Village Ghareeb Abad, it was noticed in eight cases that the migration was the only factor for disintegration of joint family system.

Among the joint families of the village, the rate of migration was increasing among the young male that has brought changes in the ideas, traditions and living pattern

of the town people and villagers that influenced the family structure of such joint families. In four cases of male migration, four persons were working in Dubai doing jobs of construction there. They send money regularly to their wives and parents separately which cause a conflict among the parents of the emigrant and his wife that ultimately forced the married couple to re-establish their separate home by changing the living pattern from joint family system to nuclear family.

In one case of higher status group of *Gujjars*, the family of the emigrant has built a new house in the village furnished with modern accessories. Due to the modern set-up of the house, the wife of emigrant become independent and dominant in the absence of her husband and she has loosened herself free from the hold of her mother-in-law to a great extent. In that way the effect of migration was detrimental for the authority pattern and solidarity of a joint family.

5.4 Miscellaneous factors

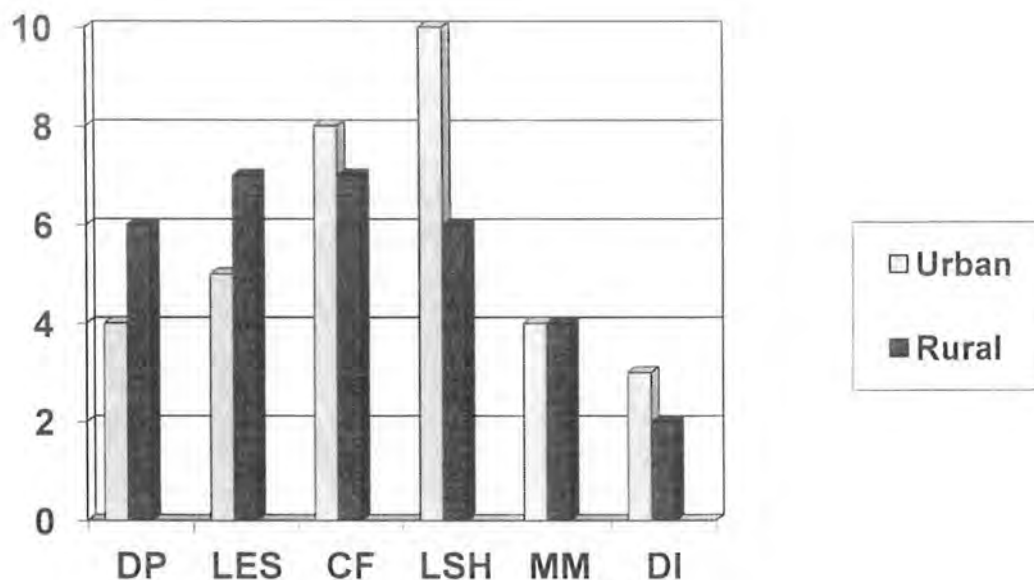
Among other factors for break-up of a joint family into nuclear units, most important factor are:

5.4.1 Desire of independence

The desire of independents sometimes becomes important in the change of family pattern. The young married couples in five of the cases after marriage were remained with the joint family as long as they were not in a position to build their own house. The desire for an independent living was often found in the group belonging to the middle class who were moderate and educated enough to realize that after marriage, the sons should be given separate rooms. In such cases the married couples were encouraged to have their own independent living. Such an attitude on the part of the parents indicates that the town and village people adopt the nuclear way of living as an acceptable pattern. In number of cases of the low class and also middle class families of the town and village the parents want to allot separate rooms to their sons so that their desire for an independent living could be fulfilled.

In the end it is concluded that in all types of joint families, despite all the factors, the firmness and cogency of the joint family is considered ideal however, the internal factors which are responsible for the breakup of joint family do not have a direct link with reconstruction process, but external factors as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Diagram 6 Internal factors:



The graph shows the internal factors which cause the breakup of joint family unit. These factors did not have direct link with reconstruction process but they have effect on the joint family unit. This graph shows the number of nuclear families which were affected by the internal factors.

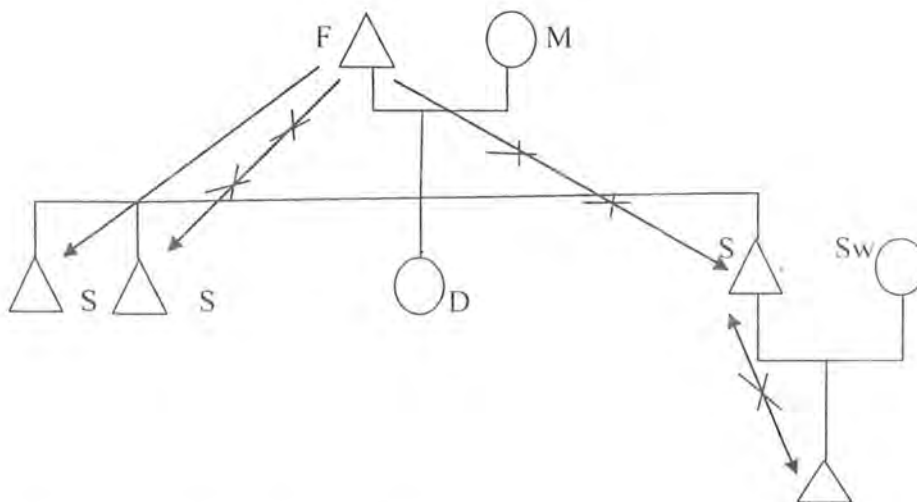
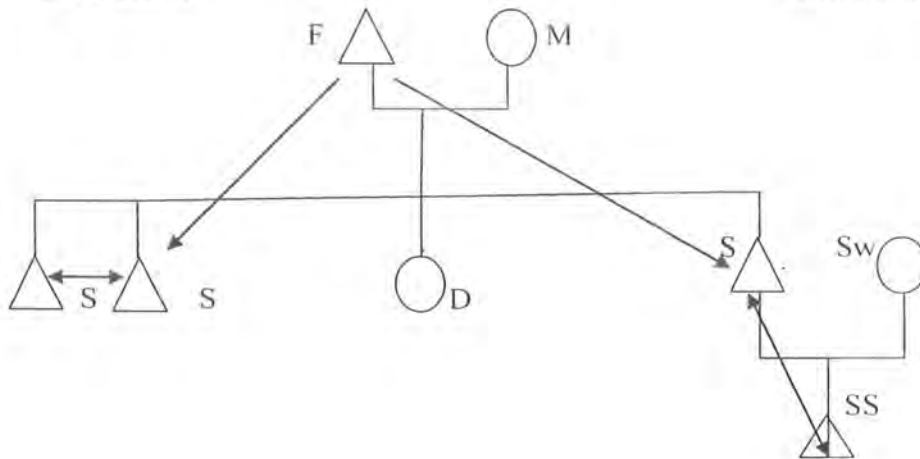
5.5 Impacts of external factors on intra familial relations

Joint family cohesion depends on a variety of factors, recent changes particularly the opportunities to live in a separate home, compensation policy, economic support as well as the employment opportunity after the disaster both for urban and rural people has altered the traditional family cohesion which reflects changes in various important intra-familial relations.

5.5.1 Father son relations

The researcher intend to discuss their relation by keeping in mind the previous chapter where it was mentioned that father-son relations are important for the survival of joint family whether they are married or un-married.

Before Earthquake



In both the areas of study, in a joint family, the father was the head of a household; he controlled all the earnings and expenditure. In seven cases, sons contributed to the family joint income equally, more than the father, as he was the owner of the whole property (agriculture as well as non-agriculture) and the joint income, he was considered the master of the household. Researcher also found the changes taken

place in the traditional father-son relationship in the study areas, the findings are hereunder:

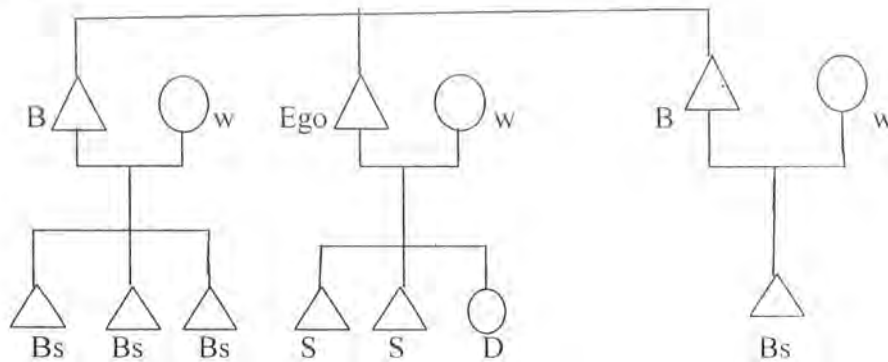
After the disaster, the development organization provided an opportunity for the young generation to have independent source of income (relief items, relief cash income, employment opportunities). As a result of which, father-son relations (In economic terms, dependent and independent) have relax. They became independent economically that cause relationship of cohesiveness. The second reason for the change in their mutual relations was that after disaster son migrate to the other cities and gained exposure to the outer world, the exposure to the outside world and contact with the other cultural values different from their own has changed the thought of sons and as a result changed the attitude and relation of sons towards their father, the two sons working with international organizations and got very good salaries; that gave them more power. The disputes between father and the sons' occurred when the father was insisting to use their money to buy land in Balakot but son were of the view to construct independent houses in Abbottabad city.

In a formal interview with one of the sons of above family, he spoke about the conflict with his father with a mind that his decision was more important and practical than his father. The researcher observed that in six cases, the pattern of formulized respect continued in a separate home but son started independent living and did not hand over their earnings to his father, thus lessening the authority of the father. They consulted their matters with their father but the authoritative power of father decreased. Researcher observed that in two families in Narrah and three families in the village, the sons do not seek advice on their family matters from their father. In other words the father does not have the same role or level of power as before the earthquake.

5.5.2 Brother to brother relations

The second most important factor that affected the relations after the earthquake, were the relations between the brothers.

Diagram: 9



The above diagram is of joint family which consists of three married brothers and their families, their relations were significant when they were living in a joint family in a one house and were contributing towards the house economy according to the nature of their job and were expecting to get their share from common property and income that was destroyed due to land sliding. After the earthquake, when the government distributed compensation money, elder brother got three compensations for his family because he had contacts. The other two brothers got single compensation, the unequal distribution led to intra family conflicts. Furthermore, in three cases, when one brother migrated from the villages, the other brother had to bear the responsibilities of cultivating the land of emigrant or bearing his agricultural labor and taking care of his family. After the disaster, they wanted to register themselves for compensation, but were not allowed to do so being emigrants, while other brothers established their homes and started jobs in their area and became strong economically that lead to the inter-brother conflicts. The researcher observed that the conflicts finally resulted in a destruction of joint family. In eight cases the brothers who established separate households have very formal relations with each other; they visit each other only on special occasions but were supporting different candidates in the elections.

Traditionally, brothers were expected to be mutually, (financially, socially) supportive but in case of conflict with other area people in above situation, they become jealous of each other. Usually when the father's authority over them declines or cease after his death.

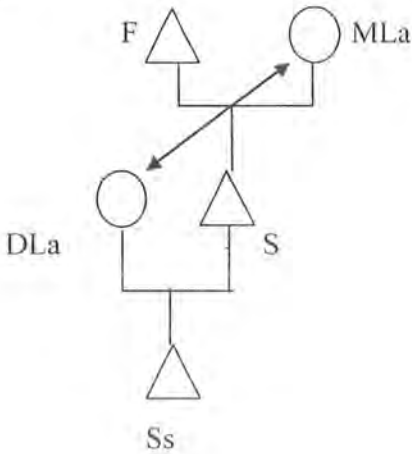
In one of the two families, three brothers were married to real sisters, elder brother was settled in the town while the rest of two brothers working in Islamabad and

Muzafrabad. In the joint families, the close blood relationships between females were the main factor for the long lasting cohesion of the family. Though male migration has affected the brother-brother relationship but the relations have the same traditional importance as it had in the past.

5.5.3 Mother-in-law versus daughter-in-law relations

The relations between females specially relations of mother-in-law and daughter – in-law has a great importance in a joint family. These two females pass time in the company of each other as compared to other joint family members.

Diagram: 10



After the disaster, there were changes in the familial relations. Mother-in-law had the authority while living in joint household and has a control over the sons and grand children. Post earthquake, when the joint families dispersed with their family member's to different cities to manage their families socio-economically strong. When, the families returned to their home, they did not rejoin the joint family and started living independently because their houses were no more there. The mother in-law started living with one son preferably the younger one, so her authority restricted to a smaller unit. As in the joint families the mother- in-law collected the income of all her sons and agriculture income, but by living independently, daughter in -law managed her household and agriculture economy. In the independent house, daughter in-laws enjoyed the authority over the children and household affairs. In urban locale, seven female told that they respect their mother in laws but with the change of socio-economic conditions their authoritarian roles have come to an end, the same was enjoyed by the housewives.

Chapter No. 6

6.0 Summary and conclusion

The present study was conducted to understand the post earthquake reconstruction process and its impact on family structure. Various anthropological methods were deployed in order to find out the post earthquake situation in particular research areas, including rapport establishment, participant observation, key informants, case studies, interviews, sampling, socio-economic census survey and handful of literature on disaster to make a clear and acceptable anthropological study.

The study was conducted in urban and rural research areas namely Narrah and Ghareeb Abad of Tehsil Balakot, district Manshera. The research areas were selected in Balakot because of severe destruction as a result of the earthquake and also to observe the role of national and international organization working for relief and reconstruction.

The sample size was consisted of 50 households both from urban and rural areas, while the total population was 391. There were different castes in the areas called *Quom*, the *Hindko* and *Gujri* were two local languages of the people, though people able to communicate in Urdu too, but English language was difficult for them. There were three types of households in the village that were destroyed after the earthquake, *pakka* houses were partially damaged, *kacha* house were completely smashed, while Bungalows were also affected. All the basic facilities were available there like roads, electricity, telephone, water supply system, schools and shops but severely damaged by the earthquake. The schools building were not reconstructed, the schools were functioning in the tents or prefabricated structures provided by the government and national and international donors, the shops were reconstructed by the people themselves.

The devastating earthquake destroyed almost all the infrastructure of the area that caused major changes in socio-economic sectors, people living in an organized and socially stratified society faced a drastic change after the earthquake, they became weak socially and economically having no *pakka* shelters of their own, while the structure of traditional family system also received a heavy blow as a result of the earthquake and its post era impact.

The recovery phase started immediately after the relief period that was in progress during the research study undertaken by the researcher, which took five years but not completed according to the needs of the local inhabitants. In the process of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction, there were many governmental and non-governmental

organizations working in the areas having the same objective to help and recover the devastated community. The organizations adopted various strategies for the development, rehabilitation and reconstruction phases.

Managing such a vast scale disaster was not an easy task that encompassed many districts especially the rural settlements. Though the development work was started but was lacking coordination among the relief agencies and NGOs that were involved in relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction activities of the community. Every organization was pursuing its own goals and was unaware about the activities and operation of the other relief and rehabilitation organizations. Systematic need assessment surveys were missing, relief and rehabilitation organizations were not covering the entire community, rather distributing relief goods to some fractions of the communities. The relief goods like tin sheets and other construction material was provided by a single organization, while other organizations showed reluctance to work in that community. In this way only a smaller portion of the community was benefitted while others were ignored. On the contrary, some relief goods were distributed by different organizations in the single targeted population. In those spurious and mendacious conditions, the efficient working of NGOs and relief and rehabilitation agencies was stultified and undermined.

The relief initiatives were prolonged to over six months, during that the dependency of local population on the relief agencies for relief goods kept on mounting. There were very little initiatives on the part of international relief agencies, government and the NGOs regarding the employment generation and business establishment. Local people were not involved to any significant extent in the relief and rehabilitation initiatives of the government and other relief agencies. People criticized the government and army role for keeping them in dark about their future plans which caused a severe fissure in the relations of people with government and other agencies. People could not fully initiate the construction of their businesses, and homes because of declaration of area as Red Zone. The government itself was very ambiguous about the planning and distribution right from the very start of relief operation as it announced Rs.100, 000/- as death compensation for a single death but actually it was given for one to five dead persons, it also promised to give healthy stipend for injured but it was very hard to get it. Army promised to give local people 'tin sheets' after the provision of wooden structure but the promise was not fulfilled. People were in flux about their future life after the declaration of local area as Red Zone. Officials themselves were not clear about the situation.

After analyzing the data, it has been concluded that family pattern in the research areas went through considerable changes after the earthquake. The most prominent factor was the provision of prefabricated houses that initiated the independent living that completely changed the family pattern from joint to nuclear in a traditional society and affected the interpersonal relationship and socio-economic functions.

Before the earthquake, fathers had the authority in family matters and their decisions were considered as final, but after the earthquake, there was a change in the father's authority; other people were indulged in decision making. Family size and family relationships assumed a new shape, while the joint families were predominant before the earthquake but there were more nuclear families enjoying their independence after the earthquake.

The role and status of women has also changed in nuclear families, before the earthquake the women were deprived of power/authority under the male dominance and mother-in-law's authority. In the nuclear family units, females were free and equally participating in decision making of family issues. Contrary to the past, women enjoyed more power and status. A significant number of families became democratic /egalitarian, mainly due to independence of young members and the emancipation of women.

Balakot was an egalitarian society, there was no clear differences regarding urban and rural setup. In both research areas, the family structure was the same and the changes in family structure came equally because both urban and rural areas were demarcated as the Red Zone thus the people were forced to live in prefabricated homes.

6.2 Recommendations

Natural disaster like earthquakes are bound to happen but effective mediatory measures can be drawn to minimize their impacts. An effective disaster preparedness body comprising of trained volunteers is mandatory, while there should also be an effective means of communications between victims and aid organizations during the disasters. There should be a strong and functional coordination mechanism among the different organizations working in disaster areas. All the organizations should work under a single body that regulate and coordinate the activities and responsible for fulfilling the needs of the people. The people of the disaster stricken area should be involved in the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction initiatives in order to make the process acceptable.

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