

Working Paper Series on Rural-Urban Interactions
and Livelihood Strategies

WORKING PAPER 15

Migration and small towns in Pakistan

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June 2009

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ISBN: 978-1-84369-734-3

This paper can be downloaded free of charge from <http://www.iied.org/pubs/display.php?o=10570IIED>. A printed version of this paper is also available from Earthprint for US\$20 (www.earthprint.com)

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to acknowledge the NGOs/CBOs who helped them in their respective towns. These are:

1. Thardeep Rural Development Project in Mithi
2. Conservation and Rehabilitation Centre in Uch
3. Nazir Ahmad Wattoo of Anujman Samaji Behbood, Faisalabad for having arrangements and identified people for the visit to Chiniot.

This paper was prepared with financial support from the Swedish International Development Corporation Agency (Sida) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (Danida). Please note that the views expressed in this publication are those of the authors only.

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Introduction

Migration has long played a key role in shaping the size and distribution of the population of Pakistan. Since the partition of the British Indian Empire in 1947, and up to recent and ongoing conflicts within the region, Pakistan has been the destination for large numbers of cross-border migrants and refugees. These migrant groups, together with the growing number of rural people displaced by agricultural modernization and mechanization, have contributed to the substantial increase in the levels of urbanization in Pakistan, especially in the more industrialized provinces of Punjab and Sindh. At the same time, like the people of so many low- and middle-income nations, Pakistani citizens have sought work abroad, and in the 1970s large-scale labour migration to the Middle East began in earnest. Remittances have since become an important component of the national economy and of the livelihoods of many households.

These complex and substantial movements have resulted in profound changes in settlement patterns, and also in deep socioeconomic and cultural transformations. Smaller urban centres, such as the ones described in this paper, reflect the growing discrepancy between changing values and widening economic opportunities on the one hand, and the persistence of a feudal system of political power often supported by a highly controversial administrative and political devolution plan, on the other hand.

This study draws upon secondary sources and census reports of the government of Pakistan. In addition, it draws upon previous work done by the authors, and detailed interviews which have been carried out for this study. A list of the persons interviewed, along with excerpts from their interviews, is given in Appendix 1. These excerpts have been translated from Urdu recordings totalling over 16 hours.

The authors also visited three small towns chosen for this study: Mithi in southern Sindh, Uch in southern Punjab and Chiniot in central Punjab. In these towns and their neighbouring villages, the authors interacted with the local population, community-based organizations (CBOs) and various business, ethnic and clan organizations and political representatives, and observed the developments taking place. These visits took place on 2–5 and 11–16 November 2007. The reasons for the choice of towns, their history and social features are detailed in Section 7 of this paper.

The interviewees were carefully chosen to represent businesspeople, NGO workers, artisans, representatives of welfare associations, people who have migrated and emigrated successfully or unsuccessfully and agents who arrange legal and informal emigration. These persons were identified by the Thar Rural Development Project (TRDP) in Mithi, the Conservation and Rehabilitation Centre (CRC) in Uch and by Nazir Ahmad Wattoo for Chiniot.

1 The Pakistan context

1.1 The political context

Political structure

Pakistan is a federation of four provinces (see Map 1), each with an elected provincial assembly. In the national assembly, every province is represented in proportion to its population, while in the national senate each province is equally represented. Provinces are divided into *zilas* or districts, and districts in turn are divided into rural and urban *tehsils* or sub-districts. The *tehsils* are further subdivided into union councils (UCs) which are the lowest administrative unit. The average population of a UC varies between 50,000 and 70,000. The larger cities, which include the provincial capitals, are run as city districts and subdivided into *tehsils* or towns and the towns into UCs. The *zilas*, *teshils* and UCs are headed by elected *nazims* and *naib nazims* (mayors and deputy mayors) who are elected indirectly by directly elected councillors. Thirty-three per cent of councillor seats are reserved for women and five per cent for workers and peasants. There are 103 *zila* governments in Pakistan, 335 *tehsil* councils and 6,022 UCs.

According to the Devolution Plan enacted in 2001, all three levels of local government have considerable autonomy and can raise funds and plan and implement physical and social developments independently. They are supported by a bureaucracy that is subservient to them. The *zila nazim* is responsible for the district administration as a whole and is assisted by a senior bureaucrat, the District Coordinating Officer (DCO), who coordinates the functioning of all government departments in the district. These departments are headed by District Officers and consist of District Coordination, Human Resource Management and Civil Defence, Finance and Planning, Works and Services, Agriculture, Health, Education (apart from universities), Literacy, Community Development, Information Technology, Revenue, Law and Magistracy.

Before this devolution to the district level, all planning and implementation were controlled by the provincial government and its line departments. The system is still in a process of experimentation and is highly controversial. Its critics claim that by making the bureaucracy subservient to the *nazims*, the *nazims* have acquired far too much power which they can abuse with impunity. Studies carried out in a few UCs of the Punjab¹ seem to indicate that clan and caste grouping have increased as a result of the devolution plan and that development has become more unequal as *nazims* have invested in areas which voted for them or in areas which were politically powerful and of advantage to them. Similarly, press reports indicate that community, labour and peasant boards provided for in the plan have not materialized. On the basis of their field visits in connection with this study, the authors have come to the same conclusions.

Demography

Pakistan's population has increased from 28.244 million in 1941 (at the census taken before Independence) to 130.580 million in the last census in 1998. In 1941, the urban population was 14.2 per cent of the total population, and in 1998 it was 32.5 per cent. Critics of the 1998 census point out that in reality the urban population is much larger, since the huge informal settlements in the peri-urban areas of the cities are very often not part of the metropolitan areas and as such their populations are not considered urban. They also point out that the new definition of urban centres in adopted in 1981 considers only those areas

¹ Dr Ali Cheema (2004), presentation at the Akhtar Hameed Khan Memorial Forum, Karachi, 7 October, of an ongoing study related to the Devolution Plan being carried out by the Lahore University of Management Studies.

which have an urban governance system. As a result, a large number of settlements of over 5,000 inhabitants are denied an urban status in the census.²

In Pakistan, election constituencies are determined on the basis of the last census result. The Annual Development Plan allocations are made on the same basis and the provincial share of the revenues from the divisible pool are also determined on the basis of each province's population according to the last census. Hence, census results have been highly political and usually controversial. In addition, in Sindh and Balochistan there are large ethnic minorities who also feel that census results are manipulated by the establishment in favour of the communities that support it. Table 1 in Appendix 3 summarizes the demographic situation and its evolution since 1901 up to the 1998 census.

Urban growth between 1941 and 1981 was much higher than the national average. This was because of: migration from India between 1947 and 1951; the introduction of green-revolution technologies in the 1950s and 1960s, which pushed small producers and landless labour out of the rural areas; and industrialization in the 1960s and 1970s which attracted migration from the rural areas.³

Poverty in Pakistan

In the UNDP *Human Development Report 2006*, the Human Development Index (HDI) rank of Pakistan is 134 out of 177 countries. The report shows that 17 per cent of Pakistan's population lives on less than US\$1 per day and 73.6 per cent on less than US\$2 per day. The proportion below the national poverty line is 32.6 per cent. Life expectancy at birth is 63.6 years for females and 63.2 years for males. The adult literacy rate is 63 per cent for males and 36 per cent for females.⁴ The tertiary education rate is very low at 3 per cent.⁵ Poverty incidence declined from 46.5 per cent in 1969/70 to 17.3 per cent in 1987/88, due to overall economic growth and pro-poor policies, but in 2000 poverty incidence had increased again to over 30 per cent. In addition, the unemployment rate increased from 5 per cent in 1992 to 7.8 per cent in 2002 and remains the same today.

In terms of income distribution, the share of households in the lowest-income quintile fell sharply while that of the highest quintile increased.⁶ Recent figures published by the government show that poverty in Pakistan based on headcount declined from 34.46 per cent in 2000/01 to 23.94 per cent in 2004/05, with a major decrease in the rural areas, from 39.26 per cent to 28.13 per cent.⁷ These recent government figures have however been disputed by a number of scholars.⁸ The share of income of the poorest 20 per cent of the population in 2004 was 9.3 per cent while that of the richest 20 per cent was 40.3 per cent.⁹

² Reza Ali (2002), "How urban is Pakistan?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Volume XXXVII, Nos. 44, 45, Delhi.

³ Arif Hasan (2002), *Urban Change: Scale and Underlying Causes: the Case of Pakistan*, unpublished study prepared for IIED (UK).

⁴ UNDP (2006), *Human Development Report 2006*, OUP, New York.

⁵ *Daily Dawn* (2002), "Call poverty by any name", Karachi, 2 December.

⁶ M.T. Hasan (2002), *Governance and Poverty in Pakistan*, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad.

⁷ Government of Pakistan (2007), *Pakistan Economic Survey 2006-07*, Finance Division, Islamabad.

⁸ For instance, Dr Kaiser Bengali quoted extensively in Sibtain Reza Khan and Shahid Shah (2007), *Lagging Far Behind*, *The News on Sunday*, Karachi, 14 October.

⁹ UNDP (2006), *Human Development Report 2006*, OUP, New York.

Another important indicator is the number of married women in the age group 15–24 years. In urban areas, this is rapidly declining while in the rural areas the change is less pronounced. Together with literacy figures and the increasing use of television, this points to the creation of a younger urban generation which is very different from that of the rural areas.

Pakistan spends only 0.57 per cent of its GDP on health. Infant mortality is 70 per thousand and the under-five mortality rate is 5 per thousand. Population growth has come down from 3.2 per cent between 1971 and 1981, to 1.8 per cent.¹⁰ The under-nourished population is 23 per cent.¹¹ There are major human-resources problems facing the health sector in Pakistan. Population per doctor is 1,254, with 2,671 per nurse and 18,318 per lady health visitor. It is difficult to operate an efficient health system given these skewed conditions. However, immunization of children between 3 and 12 months increased from 53 per cent in 2000/01 to 71 per cent in 2005/06.¹²

In the past few years, according to the UNDP report, Pakistan has done well on gender issues. Its gender-related development-index rank has moved from 120 out of 173 countries in 2002, to 105 of 177 countries in 2006. Similarly, its gender-empowerment measures are ranked 66 for 2006.¹³ This is because of the measures taken by the Musharraf government of allocating seats to women in parliament and local bodies, where female membership levels were 20.4 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively.

There are a number of other aspects to poverty. Pakistan's debt servicing stands at 4.5 per cent of its GDP and is equal to 22.8 per cent of exported goods, services and net income from abroad. Military expenditure is high at 3.4 per cent of GDP¹⁴ and Pakistan ranked first among developing-world recipients in the value of arms-transfer agreements in 2006, concluding US\$5.1 billion in such agreements.¹⁵ One redeeming feature of the Pakistani situation is that among the seven South Asian countries it ranks fourth in the HDI.¹⁶

Physical conditions

Physical conditions in the rural and urban areas of Pakistan according to the 1980 and 1998 housing census are given in Table 2 in Appendix 3. They show a big difference between the urban and rural areas and clearly demonstrate that sanitation, congestion at the household level, and water supply are the major issues in both rural and urban areas. The figures in the table have been updated in recent government publications but they also point to the same problems in both rural and urban areas. In percentage terms there have been improvements in these measures, but not in absolute terms.¹⁷

In the housing census of 1980 and 1998, no differentiation was made between planned areas and informal settlements. As such, an overall picture for the informal settlements, where most of the poor and migrant households live, is not available. Pakistan requires 570,000 housing units per year – about 50 per cent each for urban and rural areas. However, only 300,000 units per year are being built. The housing backlog has increased

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ UNDP (2006), *Human Development Report 2006*, OUP, New York.

¹² Government of Pakistan (2007), *Pakistan Economic Survey 2006–07*, Finance Division, Islamabad.

¹³ UNDP (2006), *Human Development Report 2006*, OUP, New York.

¹⁴ Ibid.

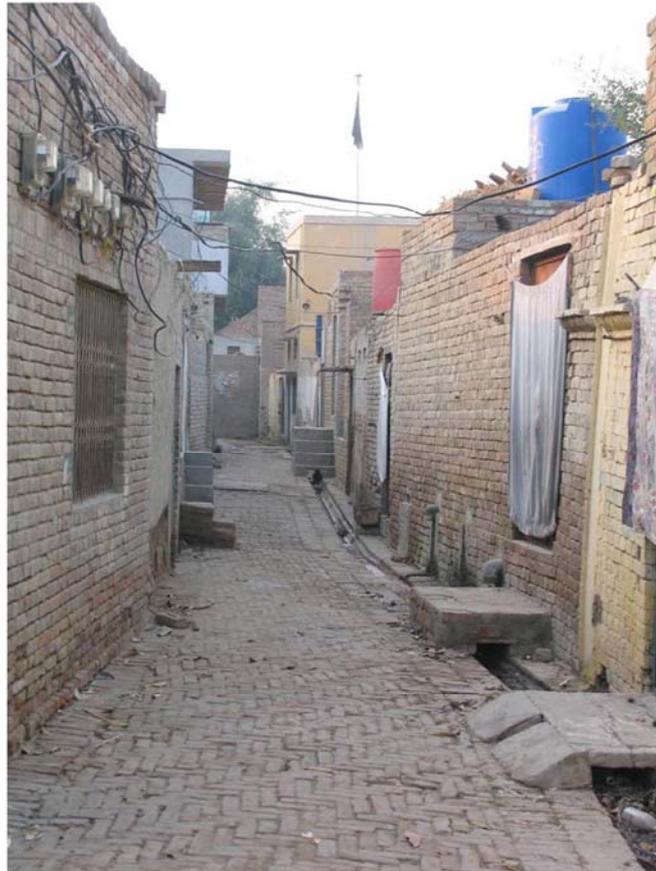
¹⁵ Khalid Hasan (2007), "Pakistan topped list of arms purchasers in 2006", *Daily Times*, 2 October.

¹⁶ UNDP (2006), *Human Development Report 2006*, OUP, New York, 2002.

¹⁷ Arif Hasan (2006), *Scale and Causes of Urban Change in Pakistan*, Ushba Publishing International, Karachi.

from 4.3 million in 1998 to 6 million in 2005. To cater only to the incremental demand, the housing requirements are expected to increase from 300,000 in 2005 to 800,000 by 2010.¹⁸

It is difficult to ascertain what percentage of housing is built informally. However, it is clear that the demand–supply gap has been met to a great extent by the creation of informal settlements. These settlements are of two kinds: *katchi abadis* (informal settlements) on state land, and the development of unserviced settlements through the informal subdivision of agricultural land (ISAL). As a result, informal housing units in the urban areas of Pakistan increased from 1.9 million in 1981 to 2.7 million in 1995, when 7 million people lived in *katchi abadis* and another 12 million in ISALs. Current figures for houses in informal settlements in the urban areas are not available. However, a 2002 study estimates that at that time they were in the neighbourhood of 3.5 million units housing 24.5 million people.¹⁹ This does not include poor groups living in the environmentally degraded neighbourhoods of the congested inner cities which have turned into high-density slums.



A STREET IN UCH BUKHARI

Both the *katchi abadis* and the ISALs are increasingly being built far from city centres and the places where their residents work. This is creating transport problems and extra expenditure for the commuting poor. It is also distancing them from health and education facilities.²⁰ In percentage terms, *katchi abadis* are gradually decreasing as very little government land is left to be encroached upon.

Unequal development

¹⁸ Engineering Consultants International (Pvt) Limited (2006), *Karachi Housing Study for the Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020*, City District Government, Karachi, Draft, September.

¹⁹ Arif Hasan (2002), *Urban Change: Scale and Underlying Causes: The Case of Pakistan*, unpublished study prepared for IIED (UK).

²⁰ Arif Hasan, Asiya Sadiq (1994), *Mapping City Inequality: A Case Study of Karachi*, unpublished report prepared for IIED (UK).

The above statistics show that Pakistan is a poor country with an increasing gap between the rich and the poor. It is also a country of major differences between provinces and between rural and urban areas. According to government statistics, for instance, there are 7.5 million girls and 11.5 million boys studying in the rural areas at all levels of education whereas the corresponding figures for urban areas are 6.5 million girls and 7.5 million boys, indicating major gender-related differences. However, contrary to common belief, only 4.6 per cent of all students are enrolled in *madrasahs* or religious seminaries. Similarly, female literacy in the age group 15–24 in urban Punjab is 72 per cent, whereas in urban Balochistan it is 40 per cent. In rural Punjab, female literacy in this age group is 36 per cent whereas in Balochistan it is 11 per cent.²¹

Government programmes for poverty alleviation

The most important government programme is the Katchi Abadi Improvement and Regularization Programme (KAIRP). It has been in operation since 1978 and deals only with *katchi abadis* and not with the ISALs. The programme gives a 99-year lease to the residents of *katchi abadis* against a payment of lease and development charges, and is supported by large loans from the World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB). However, the programme has not been successful in the past due to: the absence of community participation, complicated procedures, exacting standards, lack of transparency and accountability, and a deep-seated mistrust between communities and local government organizations. Until the early 1990s, the programme was regularizing 1 per cent of *katchi abadis* per year, which meant that the programme would be completed in a hundred years.²² Recent figures show that the regularization process has not improved.²³ The cut-off date for regularizing *katchi abadis* is 23 March 1985. However, since then, new *katchi abadis* have continued to be created, and so their residents remain vulnerable to evictions.

In addition to KAIRP, the government of Pakistan in the past five years has initiated two important funds for poverty alleviation. One is the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF) and the other is the Khushal Pakistan Fund (KPF). The PPAF gives credit to NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs) for their micro credit programmes. In addition, it gives grants for community-level infrastructure projects in both rural and urban areas. It also funds human and institutional development through which it trains its staff and community members. So far it has disbursed Rs25.370 billion (US\$429 million) of which Rs24.474 billion (US\$408 million) have been provided as a loan from the World Bank; 56 per cent of disbursed funds have been used to finance 1.189 million loans (of which 43 per cent were to women) for the micro credit programme. The project operates in 111 districts of the county.²⁴

The KPF provides grants to local governments at the *zila*, *tehsil* and UC level for infrastructure projects. It too is funded by World Bank and ADB loans. In addition, the government has established the Khushali Bank, which provides loans for micro credit (without collateral) and has an endowment which funds, through grants, NGO development projects and supports NGOs in meeting their overheads and research and extension activities. The Khushali Bank was established in 2002 through a US\$150 million loan from the ADB. It utilizes US\$70 million of this loan for micro credit loans, and US\$10 million has been allocated towards institutional capacity building. The remaining US\$70 million has been

²¹ See: Government of Pakistan (2007), *Pakistan Economic Survey 2006–07*, Finance Division, Islamabad, 2007 and Government of Pakistan, *Population Census Reports*.

²² Asian Development Bank (1989), *Report on the Pakistan Low Cost Housing Project*.

²³ Master Plan Group of Offices (2007), *Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020 (draft)*, City District Government, Karachi.

²⁴ PPAF (2006), *Quarterly Progress Report, October–December 2006*, Islamabad.

allocated to support policy reforms for the micro credit sector in Pakistan.²⁵ There are no evaluations to show how these funds have contributed to the alleviation of poverty in Pakistan.



AN NGO OFFICE IN MITHI

Impact of structural adjustment, WTO regime and globalization

Pakistan underwent structural adjustment in the early 1990s. As a result, subsidies for the social and agriculture sectors were considerably reduced, affecting health, education, social housing, employment and incomes. Utility and transport charges were enhanced, a general sales tax was imposed, government assets were sold to the private sector, and direct foreign investment was encouraged. These are the main reasons for an increase in the gap between the rich and the poor²⁶ in Pakistan. There has been large-scale entrenchment in government institutions that have been privatized, and there has also been considerable opposition from civil society organizations to privatization of services such as water, sanitation, electricity and telecommunications.

This opposition has been accompanied by civil society and people's movements against projects funded by international finance institutions (the World Bank and ADB), especially those related to water. Due to these and similar projects, communities have been evicted and the environment has been adversely affected through the destruction of habitats and productive land resources, and there have been increases in health hazards and economic vulnerability.²⁷ World Bank and ADB reports also indicate that their projects in Pakistan have not been successful and are not sustainable.²⁸

The regime of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the culture of globalization, backed by government policy, have attracted a lot of direct foreign investment, as a result of which Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves have increased considerably. In addition, in the

²⁵ Khushali Bank (<http://www.khushhalibank.com.pk/>).

²⁶ M.T. Hasan (2002), *Governance and Poverty in Pakistan*, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad, *Daily Dawn* (2002), "Call poverty by any name", Karachi, 2 December.

²⁷ For details, see Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum website: www.pff.org.pk.

²⁸ World Bank Watch (2003), *ADB in its Own Words: An Analysis of Protect and its Reports for Indonesia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka*, July, and ADB-793 Pak (1996), *Evaluation of KUDP and Peshawar Projects*.

aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Pakistanis abroad, because of a sense of insecurity, now send back more of their earnings to the country than ever before. It is now easy to export from Pakistan, and the slogan of the Export Promotion Bureau is “export all you can”. As a result, there are periodic food shortages, and food prices that cannot be controlled by the government agencies.

Global capital has also been active in seeking to make huge investments in the urban real estate sector. These investments are going to deprive fishing, agriculture and urban communities of their lands and means of livelihoods.²⁹ There is strong opposition from civil society organizations to these real estate investments and a number of court cases have been filed against them. In addition, the concept of corporate farming is being promoted and press reports state that the government has identified 8 million hectares of land for this purpose. It is feared that this would result in large-scale evictions of tenants and share-croppers.

On the other hand, the government points to the fact that, because of its policies, Pakistan has had an average growth rate of 7 per cent over the last three years, its international trade is growing at more than 15 per cent per year, and government revenue has been growing at 20 per cent per year. The government also points out that, as a result of its policies, the number of vehicles on the roads in the last financial year increased by 3,013 per day and that there are now 58.6 million mobile phones in use in Pakistan.³⁰ The government views these as signs of prosperity and development. All the above issues have a direct bearing on migration and the future of small towns.

1.2 The geographic setting, sociology and migration

Migration patterns in Pakistan are related to its geography. The country can be divided into four broad geographical areas: the northern mountains, the western highlands, the Indus plains and the eastern deserts. Each of these areas can be further subdivided into smaller geographical entities (see Map 2).

Hydrologically, on the other hand, Pakistan can be divided into three main regions. The Indus basin, which consists of the River Indus and its tributaries, is the largest of the three. It drains into the Arabian Sea and is inhabited by 77 per cent of Pakistan’s population. The closed basin of the Kharan desert in Baluchistan drains into larger saltpetre wastes known as *hamums*, the largest of which is the Hamum-i-Mashkhel where the Mashkhel river system terminates. The third unit is the Makran coastal basin, consisting of a large number of small seasonal rivers and two perennial ones, the Dasht and the Hingol, which drain into the Arabian Sea. In addition, there are the catchments and watersheds of the northern mountains and the western highlands which feed these river systems.

The northern mountains

Three of the greatest mountain ranges in the world, the Karakoram, the Himalayas and the Hindukush, meet to form the northern mountain region of Pakistan. This region has an average altitude of 3,000 metres and contains several peaks of over 6,700 metres. It also contains the largest glaciers in the world outside the polar region. These glaciers feed the Indus River system on which most of Pakistan’s agricultural and other human activities depend.

²⁹ See websites of Shehri (www.shehri.org) and URC (www.urckarachi.org).

³⁰ Government of Pakistan (2007), *Pakistan Economic Survey 2006-07*, Finance Division, Islamabad.

Rainfall varies considerably in the northern mountain region. Where it is substantial or where soil conditions react favourably to the melting snows, there are extensive pine and fir forests and lush pasture-lands. For the most part, however, the area is barren, sparsely populated and inaccessible, except for the valleys which are fed by glacial rivers and springs. Agriculture and pastoral activity, on a small scale and at subsistence level, are carried out in these valleys by harnessing the sources of water.

People from the high mountain region did not have a tradition of migration except from areas which lay directly on the trade routes. With the end of the old barter economy and the building of communication networks, migration has increased over time since the harsh climatic conditions prevent cash-related productive activities except for tourism. In the Ismaili areas the Aga Khan Network has developed social-sector infrastructure due to which people have migrated to the urban areas for education, skilled jobs and businesses.

The western highlands

The entire region of Pakistan west of the River Indus and south of the mountain region, except for the Peshawar and Charsadda valleys in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), the Derajat plain in the NWFP and the Punjab, and the plains between the Indus and the Kirthar range in Sindh, form the western highlands of Pakistan. The Pothwar plateau, east of the Indus and encompassing the whole of the Rawalpindi division, also forms a part of this region. The entire region is a plateau with a number of small mountain ranges whose altitude diminishes going south towards the sea.

The western highlands of Pakistan are, by and large, arid, rocky and sparsely populated. Moving south from the Pothwar plateau towards Balochistan, the aridity increases and the major part of Balochistan is desert. Small communities carry out rainfed agriculture and nomadic pastoral activity. In the small river valleys fairly extensive agriculture and fruit farming is carried out. However, such areas form no more than 5 per cent of the land mass of the region.

Agriculture in the western highlands is almost entirely rainfed and rainfall is erratic. In addition, there is an immense pressure on productive land. Communication systems are poor and almost no industries have been set up in these areas. Social-sector infrastructure is also poor. All this is an incentive for migrating. However, little migration takes place from valleys that are cut off due to an absence of a road infrastructure or where a strong feudal system exists such as in certain regions of Balochistan. Almost all of this migration is of manual labour, mostly for construction purposes.

The coastal belt of the western highlands, known as the Makran coast, has had close links with the Musqati maritime empire. Many of the ports along the coast were owned by the Musqatis and linked to their other ports on the eastern coast of Africa and the Arabian peninsula. The Musqatis have for over 200 years employed persons from the coast in their police and armies, as they trusted them more than their local population. This migration has had a major impact on the lives of the people of this region and on agriculture and trade. This is discussed below, in Section 3.2 of this paper.

The Indus plains

The Indus plains in Pakistan lie south of the mountain region and between the Indian frontier in the east and the western highlands, and extend down to the Indus delta country in the south. They also extend east into Indian Punjab and link with the Gangetic plains of northern India. This entire region is flat and the soil consists of fine alluvium deposited by the Indus and its tributaries. The plains can be divided into two distinct regions, the upper plains which

roughly correspond with the borders of Punjab province, and the lower plains which are in Sindh.

Most of the area of the Indus plains has historically been an arid desert. The only natural vegetation of any substantial quantity has been along the rivers. This has consisted of tamarisk and *tali* forests sustained by the yearly flooding of the rivers. Most of these forests, especially in the upper plains, have been cleared in recent times for irrigated agriculture. In the delta region there are also substantial mangrove forests.

The Indus plains contain 77 per cent of Pakistan's population and almost all its major cities and industries. Income per capita and literacy rates are higher here than in the rest of the country, especially in the upper plains, and communications are well developed. These conditions have led to the migration of skilled, educated people and entrepreneurs from the villages to the urban areas. These trends are discussed below in Section 3.1 of this paper.

The eastern deserts

East of the lower Indus plain are the deserts of Nara and Thar in Sindh, and of Cholistan in the Punjab. These deserts extend east into Indian Rajasthan. They consist of shifting sand dunes of 20 to 100 metres in height with flat areas between them. These flat areas are fairly fertile and yield a good crop of millet and other grains after the monsoon rains. After the rains the desert also supports a variety of grasses which are excellent fodder. However, rains are meagre and erratic and these areas are subject to long periods of drought. In addition to rainfed agriculture, pastoral activity is carried out here. In the Thar and Nara deserts alone there are over 2.75 million head of livestock against a human population of 760,000. Due to extremely arid conditions in the desert, this pastoralism has been nomadic.

Large parts of these desert regions have now been brought under cultivation through canal irrigation. Outside such areas, the desert region until the 1980s contained no major human settlements except small scattered hamlets seldom consisting of more than 40 to 60 households. However, with the building of roads and the expansion of political activity and administrative structures, all this is rapidly changing and urban populations are increasing as a result of new, urban-based economic activities.

2 Migration to Pakistan

The areas that constitute Pakistan today have received a very large volume of migrants from India and from neighbouring countries due to development policies under British rule and later due to political and ethnic conflicts. These migrations and their repercussions are discussed in this section.

2.1 Development of the Punjab canal colonies

Between 1872 and 1929, the British developed perennial irrigation in the regions of central Punjab, which are now part of Pakistan. As a result, they colonized over 4.5 million hectares of desert and pastoral land for agricultural purposes. They imported peasants from eastern Punjab (now in India) to colonize these lands and in the process marginalized the local pastoral population and completely changed the demography of a number of districts that constitute Pakistani Punjab.³¹ A population increase of 18 per cent between 1901 and 1911 in the rural areas of Pakistan is attributed to this first Punjab migration. Increases in the subsequent two censuses were 8 per cent and 9 per cent. An increase of 22 per cent in the urban population between 1911 and 1921, compared to 4 per cent between 1901 and 1911,

³¹ Imran Ali (1989), *The Punjab Under Imperialism: 1885–1947*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

is also considered to be the result of the development of *mandi* (market) towns that emerged to handle and export the agricultural surplus that perennial irrigation made possible.³²

Before perennial irrigation was introduced, agriculture was carried out through inundation channels or in the floodplains of the Punjab rivers. The rest of the region was for the most part arid. The tribes living in the floodplains resisted the development of perennial irrigation and colonization, since it was depriving them of their pasture lands and ancient way of life. The British suppressed the rebellion, executed the leaders and declared the floodplain tribes to be “criminal tribes”. Members of these tribes were denied admission to educational institutions and government jobs, and denied access to land. Since they kept harassing the settlers, they were confined to concentration areas and developed a reputation as cattle thieves, a reputation that still lives with them. Thus, a major division between the “locals” and the “settlers” emerged, and continues to this day.

There are also major physical differences between the old settlement patterns and those introduced by the British at the turn of the 19th century. The old settlements are on mounds, built on the rubble of former settlements. They have narrow winding lanes and agricultural-land subdivisions are irregular. In the colonized areas, land is divided into squares of 25 acres and each square is divided into one-acre plots. The settlements are also built on squares of 25 acres or their multiples. This process and its repercussions have been described by Professor Pervaiz Vandal (Box 1).

Box 1: The making of the Punjab canal colonies

The colonization by the British brought about a fundamental change in settlement patterns in the central Punjab. The British launched a programme of irrigation of the vast lands between rivers, the Doabas, with canals taking off from barrages built on the rivers. The gentle southward slope of the land made this ideal, as there was no major hurdle to overcome. The making of these canal colonies transformed the economics, political outlook, governance and culture of the region. More than 5 million acres were taken from original inhabitants, the pastoral and nomadic people, and allocated to people from other parts (now mainly in India) of the central Punjab. The original inhabitants living in various clans and tribes, small and big, were given the generic names of *Janglis* (savages) and deemed to have no rights, culture or values and were literally driven off the land.

The building of canals, allotment of lands to newcomers, maintenance of the irrigation system, distribution of the canal water (the life blood of the land and the new settlers), adjudication of conflicting claims of land and water, collection of revenue and cancellation of allotments of the defaulters of revenue was administered by the British-led bureaucracy. The Deputy Commissioner could and sometimes did make or break families with results reverberating for generations. Thus, there developed a very close nexus between the settlers and the officials, which coloured their political and even cultural outlook. The Sahib did indeed become the *mai-bap* (mother and father) of the settlers of the canal colonies.

Villages called *chaks* were planned on the lands taken from the original inhabitants by the Crown, and among the villages at reasonable distances towns were laid out. These towns were central market places, called *mandis*, for livestock and agricultural produce. Both villages and towns were planned on a grid layout, as opposed to the traditional labyrinthine pattern of streets. The canal projects resulted in a great increase in agricultural produce, and the *mandi* towns were linked with a network of roads, with the more prosperous *mandis* linked through the railway network to collect the produce of the region for export by sea, mainly via Karachi.

See over

³² Calculated from government of Pakistan population census reports.

During the two World Wars, 'men and grain' of the Punjab were exported, and Karachi acquired more prominence. This predominance of the North–South trade using railways altered the status of some of the older trading cities that relied on the West–East trading pattern with Central Asia.

Source: Pervaiz Vandal (2004), *The Lesser Cities of the Punjab: Forgotten or Neglected?*, paper presented at the Urban and Regional Planning Conference, NED University, Karachi, 5 June.

The colonization process was followed by the creation of Pakistan in 1947, and the further migration of people from Indian Punjab to Pakistani Punjab (see Section 3.2 below). Thus, the population of settlers increased, and they now control the economy of the colonized areas, are better educated and fiercely upwardly mobile. The locals are catching up but they still mostly consist of agricultural labourers, pastoralists and old pre-colonization elite families retaining considerable political importance. Politically, the local–settler conflict expresses itself through the Saraiki Suba (Province) movement. Saraiki is the old language of southern and parts of central Punjab, which were overwhelmingly Saraiki-speaking in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but now have a large Punjabi-speaking population. The movement is demanding government jobs and improved infrastructure for the Saraiki-speaking region, and actively promoting its language and culture.

2.2 The 1947 migration from India

When the British Indian Empire was partitioned in 1947, 4.7 million Sikhs and Hindus left what is today Pakistan for India, and 6.5 million Muslims migrated from India to Pakistan.³³ Thus, over just a few months, the population of Pakistan increased by 1.8 million people, or 6 per cent. However, this increase was mostly in the urban areas of the Sindh and Punjab provinces. There was almost no migration to the NWFP and Balochistan. According to the 1951 census, 48 per cent of the urban population in Pakistan had originated in India and had migrated since August 1947.³⁴

A large number of towns in the Punjab, both large and small, had a population increase of anything between 90 and 192 per cent in the inter-census period of 1941–1951. In the 1931–1941 period, these cities experienced much less growth.³⁵ These towns are located in the districts of Bahawalnagar, Rahim Yar Khan, Faisalabad and Toba Tek Singh, where the refugees settled. Towns and other districts where the refugees did not settle registered a negative growth because of the departure of the Hindus and Sikhs. Such towns are in the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Layyah and Rajanpur.

The urban population of Sindh in 1941 was 12 per cent of its total population. In 1951 this had increased to 29 per cent. Most of the smaller towns registered a negative growth, as a result of the departure of the Hindus. However, Sindh's two major towns, Hyderabad and Karachi, increased by over 150 per cent during the inter-census period because of migration. In the case of NWFP, the urban population actually declined from 18 per cent of the total population in 1941 to 11 per cent in 1951. Census figures show that of the 29 towns and cities that existed in the NWFP in 1951, 24 had a negative growth. This is because of the

³³ Iffat Ara and Arshad Zaman (2002), *Asian Urbanization in the New Millennium: Pakistan Chapter*, unpublished paper written for a publication of the Asian Urban Information Centre for Kobe, August.

³⁴ Worked out from Government of Pakistan Population Census Reports

³⁵ Major population increase took place in the larger cities of Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanpur and Rahim Yar Khan.

departure of the Hindus and because the refugees from India did not settle in the NWFP. The situation in Balochistan is not dissimilar from that of NWFP.³⁶

There are three main reasons why the refugee population settled in the Punjab and Sindh. First, about 80 per cent of the refugees to Pakistan came from Indian Punjab and had a cultural and linguistic link with the province, in addition to physical proximity. Second, the division of Punjab (into Indian and Pakistani) was accompanied by a compulsory transfer of populations, which was not arranged for the other provinces. Third, there were better communication links between Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab and Sindh than there were between Indian Punjab and the distant provinces of Balochistan and NWFP.

The refugee movement to Sindh took place because Punjab refused to accept more refugees and also because Karachi, the capital of Sindh, had been made the capital of Pakistan. However, through rioting and conflict, the Hindu and Sikh population of the NWFP and Balochistan were either driven away or exterminated, and they were not replaced by a refugee population.

The socioeconomic impact

The migration from India had a major impact on the sociology, economics and politics of Pakistan. Before the coming of the refugees, clan and caste organizations were strong and urban areas were divided into clan neighbourhoods. Caste and professions were inter-related. With the coming of the refugees and the anarchy that followed, caste and clan organizations in the towns where they settled became weak and ineffective, almost overnight. Neighbourhoods vacated by migrating Hindus and Sikhs were occupied by Muslims and were no longer homogenous in terms of ethnicity or caste.³⁷

The refugee populations very soon came to dominate the cities in Sindh and Punjab in which they settled, and a fiercely upwardly mobile go-getting culture replaced the old value system. This culture, because of its increasing control on the economy of Pakistan, expanded into the other regions as well. All this had an important impact on politics, and a division was created between the indigenous population and the refugees, especially in the case of Sindh. This division continues to this day. Aspects of this change in socioeconomic terms are shown in Table 3, Karachi: demographic change due to partition, in Appendix 3. Karachi's political problems and ethnic conflicts, and those of all Sindh, are to a great extent rooted in the demographic change that took place in 1947.

The other major change that took place due to the refugee migration was that, from a multi-religious, multi-cultural society, Pakistan became a mono-religious society attempting to become a mono-cultural one as well. This mono-culturalism was resisted by the smaller provinces, but in Sindh the refugees supported it.

The physical impact

The physical impact of the migration from India on the Punjab and Sindh cities was considerable. The inner cities, where most of the richer Hindus and Sikhs used to reside, were taken over by the refugees. Their densities increased within a few months due to subdivisions of large homes and the occupation of open areas for makeshift residential accommodation. Old religious and community buildings were also occupied and turned into residential accommodation. Many of the occupied areas became poor neighbourhoods whereas before they were middle- and upper-middle-class ones. The refugee migration was

³⁶ Calculated from government of Pakistan population census reports.

³⁷ Arif Hasan (2002), *The Unplanned Revolution: Observations on the Process of Socio-economic Change in Pakistan*, City Press, Karachi.

the beginning of the environmental degradation of a number of old cities, and the destruction of their cultural heritage, in both physical and social terms.³⁸

Open areas in the cities, such as parks and playgrounds, were turned into reception areas for refugees, and subsequently became squatter settlements. The migration created an immense problem with regard to water, sanitation and health. The government managed to tackle this in the initial stages but other factors in the 1950s and 1960s, discussed below, multiplied these problems to such an extent that the government became helpless. The comparative tolerance of squatter colonies in Pakistan, compared to other Asian countries, is the direct result of the migration from India and the support given to refugee reception camps and informal settlements by the government and various social welfare and religious organizations.

The case of Sindh

The case of Sindh is very different from that of the Punjab. In the Punjab the overwhelming majority of migrants were Punjabi-speaking. There was already a Punjabi Muslim middle-class in existence, and so the conflict between the refugees and the local people was comparatively small-scale. In the case of Sindh, the migrants were predominantly Urdu-speaking, whereas the locals were Sindhi-speaking. Also, the Sindhi Hindus constituted the business and professional class in Sindh. Sindhi Muslims were by and large landlords and agriculturists and before partition the Muslim population of Sindh considered the Sindhi Hindus as exploiters. The migrants to Sindh quickly took over the functions vacated by the Sindhi Hindus. In addition, they settled almost entirely in the towns, thus creating a rural–urban divide. For example, in the 1998 census almost 42 per cent of the urban population of Sindh stated that Urdu (as opposed to Sindhi) was its mother tongue, as compared to 2 per cent in the rural areas.

This division has manifested itself politically, with the refugee population (until recently) supporting a strong centre and the Sindhi population fighting for greater political autonomy and decentralization.³⁹ The void created by the departing Hindus and Sikhs was also filled by migration from the Punjab and the NWFP. Table 4, Languages spoken: Pakistan/provinces, in Appendix 3 illustrates this well.

2.3 Migration as a result of the Indo-Pakistan wars

India and Pakistan have fought three wars since 1947, and numerous small-scale battles. The wars took place in 1948, 1965 and 1971. The Kargil conflict took place in 1997. All these wars produced refugees.

The 1948 Kashmir war

The 1948 conflict resulted in the division of Kashmir. A large number of Kashmiris migrated to Pakistan and settled in Azad (free) Kashmir, as the Pakistani part is called. The Hindu elite who were the rulers of Kashmir were forced to migrate, thus finishing off the old feudal system. Nationalist-minded Kashmiris migrated to Azad Kashmir from Indian Kashmir and have since waged a diplomatic, and at times armed, campaign for establishing an independent and united Kashmir or for the holding of a referendum under UN auspices for allowing the Kashmiris to determine their own future. During the Afghan conflict, the Kashmiri independence and/or referendum movement acquired an increasingly Islamic character.

³⁸ See: Khalid Bajwa (2008), *Development Conditions of Androon Shehr: The Walled City of Lahore*, unpublished PhD thesis, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.

³⁹ For details see G.M. Sayed (1995), *The Case of Sindh*, Naeu (new) Sindh Academy, Karachi.

The social changes brought about by the end of feudalism in Kashmir, and the emergence of Islamic culture, freed the Azad Kashmiris from serfdom. The region that they occupy is really the extension of the western highlands of Pakistan, where there is immense pressure on productive land and rainfall is erratic. These two factors together have resulted in large-scale migration from Azad Kashmir to urban areas of Pakistan, especially Karachi. The Kashmiri migrants to Karachi work as drivers, cooks and in the building industry. As a result of the 2005 earthquake in Kashmir, they went back to their devastated villages to rehabilitate themselves. Their connections with Karachi helped them in the rehabilitation process (Box 2, Interview 34). Also, as a result of their departure, there was an acute shortage of drivers, cooks and waiters in Karachi and there were almost no contractors and workmen left for erecting timber shuttering for cast-in-situ concrete works.⁴⁰

Box 2: Interview with Mushtaq Ahmed: the Karachi connection

Mushtaq Ahmed comes from a small village in Azad Kashmir. His father was a *numbardar* (government-appointed village revenue collector). As such, the family was not poor. But then his father died when he was 7 years old and the family simply could not live off the land they possessed. So, in 1984, when he was 11 years old, Mushtaq was sent to Karachi where his uncle was working. His uncle got him a job with a family as a domestic servant for very low pay. He developed connections with neighbourhood servants and they arranged a better job for him. At this job the employers were very kind and taught him how to cook and improved his reading and writing skills. He has remained a cook but as his experience and expertise grew, he was able to get himself better jobs.

Mushtaq's family has lived well because of the money he has sent. However, he has not been able to save. He says that families who have members in Karachi eat better, dress better and think differently, especially in political and social terms. They relate politics to political parties rather than to individuals, unlike others in the village. They are also able to think in terms of their children, including their girls, getting college and professional education, which the others cannot. Their help is often sought in arranging reconciliation in village disputes and they are considered wise. Local business opportunities are also more easily accessed by their families. A lot of shops have been funded by money from Karachi. Mushtaq's family has kept their land but it gives them nothing more than two to three months of "ration" per year. They have let it out on contract to landless labour in their village. Today there are 50 to 60 people from his village, of about 65 households, working in Karachi.

The earthquake of October 2005 devastated Mushtaq's village. Families with members working in Karachi were able to seek relief and rehabilitation from their connections in Karachi. Their employers helped them with money and with connecting them to NGOs and relief organizations working in the affected area. Also, for the rehabilitation process there were complex procedures involving banks, government regulations and political dealings. The families with migrant members were able to understand and fulfil these requirements easily, unlike the others. Mushtaq feels that he, like many others, would still be destitute today without the Karachi connection.

Source: Interview carried out by Arif Hasan, Karachi, 17 December 2007.

The 1965 and 1971 wars

In the 1965 war, Pakistan captured a large area of the Indian part of the Thar desert, and in 1971 India captured a large part of the Thar desert in Pakistan. Many UCs in Pakistani Thar were Hindu majority areas, and Pakistani Thar as a whole was dominated by the Hindu upper caste who controlled most of the productive land and livestock. They also dominated the politics of Thar and strictly enforced caste divisions, making upward social and economic

⁴⁰ One of the authors is an architect and this is his experience at building sites.

mobility almost impossible for the Hindu lower castes. Their control over the caste system also ensured the maintenance of agriculture-related infrastructure through *baigar* (forced labour) and the protection of forests and pasture lands.

Following the 1965 and 1971 wars, the Hindu upper castes and their retainers fled to India. As a result, the feudal institutions that managed agricultural production and the maintenance of infrastructure collapsed. This has had severe repercussions on the natural environment of Thar. In addition, the lower castes were freed from serfdom and to some extent from discrimination. Many of their members, as a result, have acquired education and are important professionals and NGO leaders. Apart from the migration of Hindus to India, 3,500 Muslim families moved from Indian Thar to Pakistani Thar. They were given 12 acres of land per family (a total of 42,000 acres), thus introducing another factor in the social and political structure of Thar and creating a new interest group. Studies indicate that famines in Pakistani Thar associated with drought are to a great extent the result of the social and economic changes that the Indo-Pakistan conflicts have brought about in the region.⁴¹ The social changes would have taken place in any case, but through other processes and over a longer period of time.

2.4 Migration as a result of the Afghan conflict

As a result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent *jihad* and civil war, 3.7 million Afghan refugees came to Pakistan.⁴² The majority of them settled in refugee camps in the peri-urban areas of the NWFP and Balochistan. As a result of this refugee influx, the growth rate of Peshawar, capital of NWFP, increased from 2 per cent per year between 1961 and 1972 to 9 per cent between 1972 and 1981. It again fell to 3 per cent between 1981 and 1998. Similarly, Quetta, the capital of Balochistan, increased at a rate of 7 per cent per year between 1972 and 1981, compared to 3 per cent during 1961–1972 and 4 per cent during 1981–1998. According to the National Alien Registration Authority (NARA), 600,000 Afghans have settled in Karachi.

Most of the Afghan refugees, like the majority of the population of NWFP, are Pushto-speaking Pukhtoons, and so the Afghan migration considerably increased the number of Pushto-speakers in Pakistan. It strengthened Pukhtoon culture, of which there was a blossoming in the NWFP following the Soviet invasion. The Afghan migration also led to the strengthening of the religious establishment in Pakistan, which became the main support to the military government of that time although it never received more than 7 per cent of the vote in any election in the country. The migration was accompanied by massive opium cultivation and heroin manufacture, in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. The finances generated as a result were used to fund the war. Guns came with the heroin trade and so what the Pakistanis refer to as the “heroin and Kalashnikov culture” consolidated itself in Pakistan⁴³ with disastrous results for democracy and for the young people in urban areas who became drug addicts.⁴⁴ The emergence of the drug and gun mafia also undermined the administration of the state as government employees, especially those belonging to the law-enforcing agencies, became collaborators of the mafia.

The richer Afghans very quickly established themselves in business and trade in Peshawar, Quetta and other cities in NWFP and Balochistan, and in Karachi. There is a view that these

⁴¹ Arif Hasan (2002), *The Unplanned Revolution*, City Press, Karachi.

⁴² Iffat Ara and Arshad Zaman (2002), *Asian Urbanization in the New Millennium: Pakistan Chapter*, unpublished paper written for a publication of the Asian Urban Information Centre for Kobe, August.

⁴³ For detail see: Ahmed Rashid (2000), *The Taliban*, I.B. Tavis and Co. Ltd, London.

⁴⁴ According to the Pakistan Country Report of the UNDCP, September 2002, there are 1.5 million heroin addicts in Pakistan. In 1979, there were none. In addition, there are another 1.5 million chronic addicts using drugs other than heroin.

businesses were financed by the heroin trade and through corruption in the Afghan transit trade through Pakistan. The Afghans have become major transporters and have supported poor Afghans in operating inter-city and intra-city buses. As unskilled construction workers they were (and still are) willing to work for lower wages. All this has been resented by the local populations who consider the Afghan migration responsible for their high unemployment rate. Afghans have also invested in fisheries in Karachi. They have become boat owners, crew and watchmen, and also labourers at the fish harbours. Their presence is resented by local entrepreneurs, boat owners and local fishermen. Newspaper reports suggest that most of the Afghan labour involved in this sector consists of “non-regularized” immigrants.⁴⁵

For centuries, if not for thousands of years, the Koochis or Pawandas as they are called in South-Asia, have migrated with their animals for winter from the cold of Central Asia to the relative warmth of northern India and Pakistan. During their stay in winter, they maintained and constructed agriculture- and building-related earth works in exchange for water, fodder and space for their animals. This movement took place between the Oxus and the Jamna rivers. It was restricted as a result of the creation of Pakistan but continued between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Afghan war made this movement impossible and so the Koochis in large numbers settled in Pakistan with their animals.⁴⁶ Their leaders acquired funds and purchased heavy earth-work-related machinery and bid for earth-work contracts in NWFP, Punjab and Sindh. The Afghan labour force, some of it bonded, is used by them and is far cheaper than the Pakistani workers. This labour force is housed in camps wherever the earth-work takes place. As a result, the Afghans now dominate as earth-work contractors.

Destitute Afghan boys and a small percentage of adults have taken to picking garbage at dumps in all the major cities of Pakistan. In Karachi, there are over 20,000 boys doing this work.⁴⁷ They are employed by contractors who sell recyclable material to the garbage-recycling industry. Some of these boys have started to go back to Afghanistan, creating problems for the recycling-industry contractors.⁴⁸

There has also been considerable resentment of the fact that water schemes, schools, clinics and skill-development institutions were set up for the Afghan refugees by Western NGOs and governments whereas the locals did not have a similar level of service in these sectors. However, after the withdrawal of Western aid to the refugee camps, most of these services have collapsed. Where the refugee population has left the camps, most of these facilities have been bulldozed, and the land is in theory reverting back to agriculture. In reality, it is being taken over for informal residential development.⁴⁹

2.5 Bangladeshi and Burmese migrants

The 1971 war in Bangladesh for independence from Pakistan resulted in the migration of non-Bengalis from Bangladesh (previously East Pakistan) to West Pakistan. However, this migration was comparatively small and limited to Karachi. Most of the migrants settled in Orangi Town, one of the 18 towns that constitute the Karachi City District. Here, they constitute about 30 per cent of the population. They come from the urban areas of Bangladesh, unlike the Pushto- and Hindko-speaking residents of Orangi who have migrated from the NWFP or from Afghanistan. As a result, they have been able to set up schools

⁴⁵ http://www.pff.org.pk/article.php3?id_article=100.

⁴⁶ For details see: Arif Hasan (1987), “The Sohrab Goth Massacre”, *Herald*, Karachi, February.

⁴⁷ Figures of the Urban Resource Centre, Karachi, 2002.

⁴⁸ Saleem Alimuddin et al. (2000), *The Work of the Anjuman Samaji Behbood and the Larger Faisalabad Context*, IIED (UK).

⁴⁹ Arif Hasan’s observations and dialogues at sites of demolished camps in NWFP and Balochistan in 1998.

through self-help, improve their settlements and have no problems with their women working. Their union councillors are also from their community and their union councils have a higher level of accountability and efficiency.

Bangladesh and Pakistan were one until 1971 and so Pakistan is a major attraction for Bangladeshi migrants. In addition, the conflict between the Muslim tribes in Burma and the Burmese government has resulted in a large migration of Burmese Muslims to Karachi as they feel more comfortable and welcome in a Muslim state such as Pakistan.

The Burmese and Bangladeshi migrants work in the fishing industries as crew members on trawlers and large deep-sea-going vessels. They also work in other fishing-related activities such as sorting, cleaning and packaging fish. Local fishing communities are extremely resentful of the presence of these migrants, since they are willing to work at much cheaper rates and in violation of all established labour laws and regulations.⁵⁰ It is estimated that there are over 300,000 Bangladeshi and Burmese migrants in Karachi. Almost all of them live in exclusive informal settlements from where their work sites are easily accessible, and they are protected by middlemen in the fishing industry.

Apart from the resentment of locals against migrant labour, a number of other issues have also surfaced. It is claimed that illegal immigrants have acquired Pakistani National Identity Cards and vote in the local elections, which distorts the electoral process.⁵¹ Investigations into the electoral results show that 14 “illegal” migrants from Bangladesh and Burma were elected as councillors in the 2005 local government elections in Karachi.⁵² The other serious issue is that Bangladeshi and Burmese women are trafficked to Karachi for prostitution. It is estimated that 200,000 Bangladeshi women were trafficked to Pakistan in the last 10 years. Many of them have been sold in the slave trade for US\$1,500 to US\$2,500 each. At present, there are more than 2,000 Bangladeshi and Burmese women in prisons and shelters as illegal migrants in Karachi.⁵³

3 Rural–urban migration

Tables 5 to 9 in Appendix 3 give an overview of the scale and causes of migration in Pakistan. They also indicate the scale of migration to and from different provinces, providing the basis for an analysis of the sociological and economic reasons for migration, and its locations.

3.1 Scale of migration

The census definition of a migrant is someone who has resided somewhere else previously, other than the district or *tehsil* in which he or she is residing at the time of the census. This definition refers to internal migrants and does not cover international migration. According to Table 5, 10.8 million Pakistanis (8 per cent of the total population) are migrants. Some 64 per cent of all migrants have migrated to urban areas, and 25 per cent of all migrants have gone to Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi, which are all large cities where job opportunities are available. Of all migrants, 13 per cent have migrated to Karachi alone, which is the only port and mega-city in Pakistan, and is the centre of trade and commerce in addition to being the capital of Sindh Province. The main destinations for migrants have been the larger cities

⁵⁰ Arif Hasan (1993), *Evaluation of the Community Development Work at Rehri*, IUCN Karachi, July.

⁵¹ *Daily News* (2007), “Removal of NIC requirement will allow bogus votes”, 7 August, Karachi.

⁵² *Daily Times* (2007), “14 illegal immigrants made it to CDGK elections”, 5 August.

⁵³ CATW, *Asia Pacific-Trafficking in Women and Prostitution*.

of Punjab and Sindh.⁵⁴ Migration to other countries was considerable, accounting for 24 per cent of total migrants.

Migrants from the Punjab were only 15 per cent of total migrants, although Punjab accounts for 56 per cent of the total population of Pakistan. Migrants from NWFP were 12 per cent of total migrants, and NWFP accounts for 13 per cent of the total population of Pakistan. Migrants from Sindh were only 3 per cent of total migrants although Sindh contains 23 per cent of Pakistan's population. The migrant population in Punjab from other provinces was 1.6 per cent; in Sindh, 7.4 per cent; in NWFP, 3 per cent; and in Balochistan, 5.1 per cent.

These figures clearly establish that migration has taken place from the deprived areas where there is immense pressure on land and resources, and where industrialization has not taken place and communication systems are poor. The largest migration has been from the NWFP to Sindh, mainly to Karachi. The tables show that the migration patterns of 1981 are similar to those of 1998. Interviews carried out for this study support the census findings. Table 9, Sources of urban growth (Appendix 3), shows that between 1951 and 1961 45 per cent of urban growth was due to natural increase and 40 per cent (4 per cent per year) to internal migration. This has declined in the 1981–1998 period, where natural increase accounts for 74 per cent of urban growth and internal migration for 20 per cent (1.8 per cent per year).

3.2 Causes of migration

According to the 1998 census, 43 per cent of all lifetime migrants said that they had moved with the household head, 17 per cent because of marriage, 12 per cent for employment and 9 per cent for business. On this basis, researchers conclude that most people migrate for family-related reasons. However, the people who have moved for family-related reasons are women and children and the underlying reason for their movement is related to the reasons why the family “head” has moved. These reasons are discussed below.

In the interviews carried out for this study and the previous work done by the authors, the main reason for migrating is the changes that have taken place in the socioeconomic environment of the village.⁵⁵ Previously, cash was not a requirement in the barter-based village economy. The villages were divided into castes, with the agriculturalists and the artisans being the two main castes. The artisans were considered “lower” castes and served the agriculturalists against a payment of grain. These artisans were crucial for the village economy and social life. They were barbers, water carriers, weavers, tailors, blacksmiths, porters, masons, carpenters, performers (musicians, buffoons, puppeteers), tanners and scavengers who collected and disposed of solid waste and excreta. These professions were hereditary and change from one profession to another was not possible, and nor was inter-marriage tolerated between castes. Each caste had its own *punchayat* or council of five, which decided on property and personal issues of the caste. Major decisions involving inter-caste or environmental issues were decided by the *punchayat* of the agriculturalists or the leading agriculturalist clan. This system made the village self-sufficient.⁵⁶

First the canal colonies in the Punjab, then the migration from India in 1947, followed by green revolution technologies in the 1960s, along with the mechanization of transport from village to market, changed the barter economy to a cash economy. It also completely changed caste relations and made social and economic mobility possible for the artisans who were freed from a form of serfdom.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ For details see Haris Gazdar, *A Review of Migration Issues in Pakistan*, Collective for Social Science Resource, Karachi.

⁵⁵ All interviews undertaken for this study point to this as the initial reason.

⁵⁶ Arif Hasan (2002), *The Unplanned Revolution*, City Press, Karachi.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

All these changes together changed subsistence agriculture to a capital-intensive system, and generated a demand for cash which the village economy simply could not generate for the poorer sections of the population. Industrialization in the urban areas also created a demand for unskilled labour and for the skills that the artisan castes possessed. This was the beginning of the migration process. Other reasons given for migration by agriculturalists is that agricultural production has become far too expensive and small land-owners are forced to do manual labour on a daily-wage basis to generate enough cash. Urban areas offer better working conditions and more money on a daily-wage basis. Another reason given is increased pressure on land due to population growth.

Following the initial migration, other reasons for migration also emerged. Interviews suggest that migrants experienced the freedom of the urban areas and wanted to free their children from the oppression of feudal controls in the rural areas. Some have even gone back to their villages and purchased land and property (from their former oppressors) with money earned in the urban areas (Box 3). Still later, they wanted their children educated. It is interesting to note that one of the main reasons given for migration to the urban areas, and from smaller towns to larger towns, has been for the education of children, especially girls, even among peasants and the working classes. Hostels for girls from the rural areas are not available in small towns, and in many villages even middle and high schools do not exist. Migration has also taken place as a result of competition between families, clan members and neighbours. They saw the benefits that migration provided and did not want to be left behind.

Box 3: Migration back from Mazharabad to Khunda village

Hameedullah is a social activist and coordinator of the Urban Resource Centre in Rawalpindi. He has worked since 1998 in promoting the OPP-RTI sanitation programme in the *katchi abadis* of Mazharabad and its neighbouring low-income settlements in Rawalpindi. His observations and knowledge inform us that the residents of Mazharabad consist of about 350 households who have migrated from the Khunda village of the Fatehganj *tehsil* in Punjab. The earliest migration took place in 1974 when about 20 families moved together to Rawalpindi. They were peasants and the reason for the migration was to escape from the oppression of the local feudal landlords. Mazharabad was a garbage dump at that time and the migrants settled here. Over time other families joined them. Most of the residents work as day-wage labour but many of them also work in government agencies or in small businesses.

The residents of Mazharabad have built their homes and have used their collective vote for getting water supply, road paving, electricity and social-sector facilities for their area, through government, UN and NGO programmes. Mazharabad has now become a part of the urban sprawl and its land has become very valuable for real estate development. The market price of a house is about Rs1.5 million (US\$25,000). Meanwhile, the feudal landlords in Khunda village are selling their lands since there are disputes between the heirs of the old landlords and because the younger generation is not interested in agricultural activity and is in the process of investing in the urban areas. With Rs1.5 million from the sale of property, it is possible to purchase about 10 to 15 acres of good agricultural land around Khunda village. Hameedullah personally knows at least six families who have gone ahead and done this and have moved back to the Khunda village where social and class relations have undergone a major change. According to his information the idea has caught on and a very large number of households in Mazharabad are planning to sell their properties and collectively purchase land in the village of their origin. Those who are in government service are thinking of cashing in their provident and pension funds to purchase land in Khunda or other areas of the Fatehganj *tehsil*.

Source: Interview carried out by Arif Hasan in Rawalpindi, 29 November 2007.

In the case of the northern areas (NAs) of Pakistan, where the Ismaili sect dominates, the Aga Khan Development Network has promoted education and development. As a result, a large number of students have come to Karachi for higher education and many of them have stayed behind and married Karachi girls of their own community. Also, in the case of the NAs, the Aga Khan, the spiritual leader of the Ismailis, issued a directive in 1960 that his followers should join the Pakistan Army. As a result, people of the area joined the army, were stationed in various urban areas of Pakistan, and received payments in cash. This completely changed the sociology and economy of the NAs and promoted more migration to Karachi.⁵⁸

3.3 The process of migration

All interviews for this study and the previous work of the authors suggest that the vast majority of migrants are helped by their relatives and friends in establishing themselves in urban areas. These friends and relatives put them up, help them in getting a job through their contacts or with the help of their employers and make them a part of the migrant community of their area. Initially, they live with their family members in the *katchi abadis* but once they have a proper job they try and get rented accommodation near their family members.

Most of the migrants from the NWFP and Azad Kashmir do not bring their families over until they are properly settled, which means having a permanent job and a house in an informal settlement. Many of these migrants work as transporters and day-wage labourers who live at the transport terminals or at building sites and camps for male-only workers. Therefore, it is difficult for them to accommodate their families. Others work as cooks and full-time drivers for the elite or for business enterprises. The elite provide accommodation but do not like families living on their premises. This again is a disincentive to bringing families over (Box 4). However, mass migration of entire clans and extended families also takes place, for people seeking an end to feudal oppression or for a better socioeconomic environment.⁵⁹

Box 4: Interview with Abdul Ghafoor: migration without family

Abdul Ghafoor belongs to a small village near Kari Samuzai in the NWFP, an arid area where the family carried out subsistence agriculture and limited pastoral activity. Abdul Ghafoor came to Karachi in 1976 at the age of 16. His uncle was a driver in private service in Karachi. At that time, few people worked in Karachi from his village. Those families that had people working in Karachi lived better lives. Their family members brought presents for everyone in the extended family, in the beginning, but later brought presents only for their direct relations. This created jealousies and a desire for everyone to migrate. Also, his uncle recounted beautiful descriptions of Karachi, which made Abdul want to go there. His mother thought he was too young to go, so he ran away from home to his uncle. His uncle got him a job cleaning buses and wagons. He lived with other people in *katchi abadis* who were doing the same job or on pavement hotels where the buses and wagons park for the night. Through this process, he developed connections and slowly progressed to working as a conductor on a wagon owned by someone from the NWFP. Life in Karachi at that time was not difficult. Food and accommodation was cheap and there was no crime or insecurity. Things started to change when the Afghan War began.

In 1982, Abdul was married, spent some time with his wife and then came back to Karachi. He used to visit the family once or twice a year for a month or so. He missed them and his children but there was no other option as he and his brother were the only source of income for the family. The land was let out to others and met the family's need for wheat and vegetable for a few months of the year. With age and experience, Abdul's salary increased. See over

⁵⁸ Reza Ali et al. (1993), *Karimabad Hunza: Planning for Community Managed Development*, AKTC.

⁵⁹ See Interview 07 (Interview with Bhagat Gevraj) and Box 3.

In 1996 he became responsible for looking after the oil tankers of a private individual from his area. This is what he does now and it has for the first time given him surplus income. He has invested in a plot and house in a *katchi abadi* in Karachi. His two sons are now living in the city and have both gone to high school. They are also in the transport business and have negotiated informal loans for buying rickshaws which they rent out to people from their own area in the NWFP, while they work as drivers for private companies. All this is the result of the connections Abdul developed while working in Karachi.

From 1976 until the time that he got a job that earned him a surplus – 1996 – Abdul could never have even thought of bringing his family to Karachi. He did not earn enough to rent accommodation and the type of jobs that he did required odd working hours. Most of the time he lived in make-shift accommodation near transport and cargo terminals or with co-workers, sometimes seven to eight men in a room, and even more sharing a toilet. He feels that staying away from his family and living the way he did was tough and that nobody should be subjected to such conditions. However, these sacrifices have opened a new world of opportunities for his immediate family and saved them from a life similar to Abdul's.

Source: Interview taken by Arif Hasan in Karachi on 13 December 2007

Employers in Karachi prefer labour, both skilled and unskilled, from the NWFP and the NAs, since it is difficult for them to visit their homes. Migrants from these areas usually go home only once a year, for a month – normally during the wheat-harvesting season so that the migrant can claim his share of grain for his family. Migrants from Sindh are not preferred in Karachi, as they frequently visit their villages which are easily accessible.

Earlier studies indicated that there were ethnic organizations that welcomed migrants from their areas to Karachi, helped them in getting a job and provided them with food and accommodation until such time as their incomes stabilized.⁶⁰ The beneficiary paid a certain sum of money to the organization for this service from his daily wage. However, these organizations which had been interviewed in 1990 were contacted again for this study, but they had ceased to exist. The people who ran them have now become important “businessmen” and political leaders who migrants from their place of origin now contact whenever they need help or assistance.

Political leaders, especially when they are in power, have helped people from their areas to get jobs in Karachi. For instance, in the 1960s the martial-law rulers of Pakistan were from the NWFP. Major building contracts were given to them, for which they imported labour from the NWFP. They also gave migrants from NWFP almost exclusive rights for acquiring licences for transport vehicles and routes, due to which they now dominate the transport sector in the city.⁶¹

Ethnicity and professions have also been interlinked for other reasons. Certain clans of the Mianwali district of the Punjab were traditionally transporters. They owned and operated camel caravans. In the 1960s, they migrated to Karachi with their camels, since they heard there was a demand for their service in the city, and took over the movement of goods from the Karachi Port Trust warehousing. They first used camels, then camel carts and eventually purchased trucks and now transport containers from Karachi Port to all areas of Pakistan.⁶²

⁶⁰ Arif Hasan (1991), *Improving Karachi's Metropolitan Living Environment through Strengthening Housing Sector Activities*, paper prepared for the UNCRD Third International Training Seminar, Nagoya.

⁶¹ Arif Hasan's conversations with residents of Mianwali Colony, Karachi, whose homes were marked for bulldozing for the building of the Lyari Expressway in 2002.

⁶² Arif Hasan (1993), *Evaluation of the Community Development Work at Rehri*, IUCN, Karachi, July.

In addition, with the failure of government institutions to deliver housing, employment and justice, migrant ethnic organizations have become stronger in the last decade and people increasingly turn to them for solving their socioeconomic and settlement-related problems (Box 5). It is important to note however that the migrants from the less developed regions such as the NWFP are better organized in Karachi and have strong political affiliations with the nationalist parties of their region of origin. The vast majority of these migrants are working class and from under-developed regions where clan and tribal loyalties are strong. Migrants from the plains, where such loyalties are weaker, and from regions with better social indicators and infrastructure, do not create such strong organizations and do not vote as a block for any political party.⁶³

Box 5: Ethnic organizations and the Lyari Expressway evictions

The Lyari Expressway is being built on either side of the Lyari River in Karachi. Construction began in 2002 despite protests from civil society organizations and communities. The project is in the process of displacing about 32,000 households, businesses and social-sector facilities. In the beginning the Lyari communities came together to launch a struggle against the Expressway, and they were supported by civil society organizations and the media. However, the government was able to drive a wedge between the communities through a process of bribes and coercion. As a result, the politically weaker and less organized communities accepted the very inadequate compensation package offered by the state. When this happened, some communities turned to their ethnic organizations for help and the community alliance against the Expressway collapsed.

The Baloch communities contacted the Baloch Ittehad (unity) and asked its all-Pakistan leadership to intervene. At that time the Prime Minister of Pakistan was from Balochistan and he ordered that the service road along the Expressway that was affecting the Baloch communities should be cancelled. When he was removed from power, the service road was reinstated. However, the organizations of the Baloch, backed by support from all-Pakistan Baloch ethnic organizations, has so far prevented the eviction of the Baloch settlements. It now seems that a very attractive relocation package, more than the market values of their homes, will be offered to them.

Similarly, the Mianwali Colony, consisting of transporters from the Mianwali district of the Punjab, contacted the powerful Members of the National Assembly and Members of the Provincial Assembly of their native district who in turn put pressure on the federal and Sindh governments. In addition, since the Mianwali community consists of transporters, they had considerable clout with both the local and provincial governments. Due to a combination of these two factors, the Expressway design was changed to save the Mianwali Colony from demolition. In the original plan of the Expressway, certain areas where the Ismaili community live were also to be cleared. However, rumour has it that the Aga Khan, the spiritual leader of the Ismailis, intervened on their behalf, as a result of which the plan was changed to prevent the demolition.

Source: Unpublished monitoring reports of the Urban Resource Centre, Karachi.

Another phenomenon that has emerged is related to a daily migration of people from villages around industrial towns in the Punjab. People from up to 50–60 kilometres away from these towns travel daily by bus, train, motorbike or bicycle to work here. Their home villages have become “dormitories”. Because agricultural labour is no longer available there, mechanization has taken place in a big way, consolidating the changes that the green revolution initiated.⁶⁴

⁶³ Authors’ observations based on personal knowledge and media reports.

⁶⁴ Reza Ali (2000), in a presentation at an URC Forum in Karachi, May.

3.4 The physical impact

The physical impact of migration is visible in both urban and rural areas. In the urban areas, where migration has taken place, informal settlements have been created. These settlements are increasing in number, and plans for their regularization and improvement are unable to keep up with the increasing housing demand.⁶⁵ In the case of NWFP and the Punjab, public land is not available, and so these settlements are being created by the informal subdivision of valuable agricultural land. Since accessibility to these settlements is important, the majority of them are being created along the transport corridors entering the city from different directions. The resultant corridor development along the main arteries poses serious problems for infrastructure development.⁶⁶

Wastewater and often sewage from informal settlements is discharged into the water bodies, forming a major health hazard. In addition, soak-pits are often constructed in these settlements for excreta disposal, and shallow aquifers are tapped for water. These aquifers are often heavily polluted. In the absence of proper water management, and given the increasing demand, partially due to migration, aquifers are being depleted and there is serious concern regarding their future. The loss of agricultural land to ad-hoc development is also a matter of considerable concern.⁶⁷

Most of the wholesale markets of the larger cities are located in the inner cities where Pakistan's beautiful urban built heritage is located. The elite areas were also located in these inner cities. With the expansion of these markets and the migration of the working class to them, the elite households have moved out and the old residential areas have been converted into warehousing and sweatshops. Old buildings have been pulled down and replaced by poorly built warehousing on the ground floor, with rooms for labour on the floors above. Most of these areas have degenerated into male-only areas whose entertainment needs are increasingly met by prostitution, drugs and gambling dens, all supported by corrupt police forces.⁶⁸

With the increasing demand for land for middle-income housing, informal settlements are increasingly far away from their residents' places of work, recreation, entertainment and social-sector infrastructure. As a result, transport has become a major issue in terms of both cost and time taken to commute.⁶⁹

Migration has also had a physical impact on the villages from where migration has taken place. Again, this has been highlighted in the interviews carried out for this study. Migrant families have improved their homes or have built new ones in the style of the urban areas. They have lobbied for piped water and schools and in many cases successfully acquired them under government programmes. Cultural values and urban lifestyles in an increasing number of locations have resulted in the creation of new types of eating places and shops on the urban model.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ City (District) Government Karachi (2007), *Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020 (Draft)*, Karachi.

⁶⁶ See: Reza Ali (2002), "How urban is Pakistan?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Volume XXXVII, Nos. 44, 45, Delhi.

⁶⁷ See IUCN reports on environment and development for the Pakistan provinces.

⁶⁸ Arif Hasan (1991), *Improving Karachi's Metropolitan Living Environment through Strengthening Housing Sector Activities*, paper prepared for the UNCRD Third International Training Seminar, Nagoya.

⁶⁹ Government of Pakistan figures.

⁷⁰ Author's observations over time.

The demise of the old caste system and the resulting ineffectiveness of the old feudal institutions have also meant that problems related to the maintenance of agricultural infrastructure and natural resources such as forests and water have arisen. This is especially true of areas where environmental conditions were fragile. This has made these areas more vulnerable to natural disasters such as droughts, famines and floods.⁷¹

3.5 The social impact

The most important social impact of migration in Pakistan has been on rural society. The old caste system has broken down, leading to greater social and economic mobility. Many of the functions that were performed by the old artisanal castes are no longer easily available in the rural areas. Many of their products have been replaced by industrially produced goods from the cities. For example, potters are a vanishing breed because of the availability of plastic and metal utensils. Water carriers are no longer required because of piped water schemes and hand pumps. Scavengers have migrated to the city because of a demand for them, and so the management of solid waste in rural areas has suffered. Tanners and weavers have all migrated since industrially manufactured leather goods and textiles have replaced their produce. Traditional singing and dancing at festivities, folk festivals and marriages by local performers has been replaced by pop groups from the city, and the tradition of “buffoons” and puppeteering for entertainment no longer exist. Thus, village society is in a state of flux. These trends have been reflected in the interviews carried out for this study, as well as in previous studies.⁷²

Interestingly, agriculture has also declined, especially where there are smallholdings and where remittances are received. In the NAs for instance, it has been observed that people who were previously farmers and got an education, a formal job or migrated, have let out their lands on contract or on a share-cropping basis to the area’s landless labour, thus creating a new class of serfs.⁷³ Research also shows that where children have started going to school, the animal population has declined (and in some cases ceased to exist), as it is children who are responsible for taking them to the pasture lands for grazing.⁷⁴ Also, educated women do not wish to look after or milk animals.

At the household level, earthenware utensils are being replaced by crockery and metal bought with remittances from the urban areas. Clothes have also become urbanized, and it is now impossible to distinguish a rural man from an urban one by the way he dresses. Women’s clothing is also in the process of undergoing a change, and in the rural areas of the Indus plains the change has already happened. Dowry, which previously used to consist of clothes made by the village artisans, now usually consists of industrially manufactured textiles.⁷⁵

The emergence of the cash economy, and increased social mobility, has resulted in an immense desire of rural and small-town residents to educate their children. However, once the children are educated, they migrate to the larger towns, thus adversely affecting the political power of the town and its social well-being. It is undeniably true that the chances of making it good are far greater in the larger cities, especially for those with talent, perseverance and ambition. Many well-known Pakistani professionals, especially journalists and artists, who now live in the large cities, migrated from the small towns (Box 6). The elite also migrate from the small towns to the larger ones for better opportunities. As a result, the

⁷¹ Arif Hasan (2002), *The Unplanned Revolution*, City Press, Karachi.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Arif Hasan (2003), *Evaluation of NORAD Funded Education Programme in the NAs of Pakistan*, AKDN.

⁷⁴ Reza Ali et al. (1993), *Karimabad Hunza: Planning for Community Managed Development*, AKTC.

⁷⁵ Interviews at Goth Lunya near Mithi, taken for this study.

small town becomes an “orphan”. This is a complaint heard constantly in the small towns and rural areas, and has been highlighted in a number of studies.⁷⁶ Many of the physical and environmental problems facing the small towns are due to the absence of an informed and interested power group.

Box 6: Local migration: artist makes good

Ali Kazim comes from the small Punjab village of Pattoki, famous for its export-quality roses. Since childhood, he was drawn to illustration, art and cinema. He found work as a billboard painter, and then a woodcarver. He read stories of Lahore, and moved there to meet other artists and experience city life. But the Lahore he experienced was different from the one he had read about. “It was disappointing,” he said. “There were no artists, no intellectuals sipping tea by the roadside.”

Ali worked in a hospital pharmacy by day, and took drawing classes in the evening. He met a doctor whose son was studying at the National College of Arts (NCA), and eventually won a scholarship to the college. He sold his drawings and woodcarvings to support himself. In 2002, he graduated from the NCA with a distinction. Work in film and television followed. In the next two years, he took part in an artists’ residency in Colombo, Sri Lanka, and exhibited and lectured at the NCA.

Source: Shoaib Ahmed (2004), ‘From Kasur to Colombo: small town boy makes good’, *The Daily Times*, 18 April, Lahore.

Another major change has been the education of girls, which the migrants have promoted. Educated girls have become role models for others, and educated rural women have taken to working as teachers and in the health sector. Another reason for the emphasis of women’s education is that educated men do not wish to marry uneducated women.⁷⁷ This change is resulting in the emergence of nuclear families and a rapid decline of the extended-family systems.⁷⁸ Interviews and conversations held as part of this study confirm the significant difference in the lifestyles, aspirations and mindset of those families with members who have migrated to the larger cities.⁷⁹ The authors have also noted that, during their many years of work, NGO activists in the rural areas and especially in the small towns are people who have worked in the larger cities or who have been educated there.

Apart from the Sindh towns and the urban areas where the Afghan refugees have settled, almost all migration is from within the province. As such, most towns receiving migrants have not become multi-ethnic or multi-lingual, as have Karachi and other Sindh towns. Migration to Karachi has resulted in Urdu becoming the predominant language there, but local languages dominate as mother tongues in other towns. Where migrants are in large numbers, there is a variety of food and different types of folklore-related entertainment. Local radio, TV stations and the print media cater to this variety.

3.6 The political impact

Historically, the merchant classes in the urban centres, especially in the smaller towns, were financially powerful and were the money-lenders for various businesses and production-related activities. However, the political power rested with big feudal families created by the British, or with pre-British families related to shrines and religious functions. Although the

⁷⁶ Dr Pervaiz Vandal (2004), *The Lesser Cities of the Punjab: Forgotten or Neglected?*, paper read at the Urban and Regional Planning Conference, NED University Karachi, 5 June.

⁷⁷ Arif Hasan (2003), *Evaluation of NORAD Funded Education Programme in the NAs of Pakistan*, AKDN.

⁷⁸ Arif Hasan (2007), “Changes in values, lifestyles”, *Daily Dawn*, Karachi 24 September.

⁷⁹ See: Box 2, Mushtaq Ahmed’s interview.

financial power of the merchant classes has increased substantially, the political power still rests firmly with the feudal and religious families except where peasant proprietorship dominates or in the newer urban settlements in the irrigated areas. As a result, the merchant classes in the changed socioeconomic environment feel discriminated against and prefer to make investments in the larger towns where there is a more democratic and egalitarian culture. Again, these issues surfaced during the interviews held for this study.

In Karachi, there is a large population of Pushto speakers from the NWFP and Afghanistan. Their leaders support people from their region in getting jobs and also provide them with loans for businesses. This group dominates Karachi's intra-city transport and also has an overwhelming share in inter-city cargo and passenger transport. The members act together as a powerful group and as such are able to negotiate with local government for the benefit of their constituency.⁸⁰

4 Emigration

4.1 History

People from Azad Kashmir, especially from the Mirpur district, started to work as industrial labour in Bradford and Birmingham in the UK well before Independence. However, this emigration was very small and was limited to a few hundred people. In the 1950s and 1960s this number increased substantially, partly because some of Mirpur town and its surrounding areas were converted into a huge storage zone as a result of a mega-irrigation project. The UK government awarded those affected by this project emigrant status as part of a compensation package, as the UK government was one of the international guarantors for the irrigation project.⁸¹ Professionals, especially doctors, also emigrated in small numbers to the UK and the USA during this period. A few enterprising young men from the Gujrat district of Punjab also went and settled in Norway at this time, and have since been helping their friends and relatives to migrate to Norway. This was the beginning of emigration to the European continent. There are over 27,000 Pakistanis, almost all from Gujrat, residing in Norway today.⁸²

Large-scale migration from Pakistan, however, began only in the 1970s as a result of the building boom in the Middle East, first in the Gulf and then in Saudi Arabia and Libya. Details of the scale of this emigration are given in the sub-sections below. This emigration has had its ups and downs related to the changing geopolitical situation in the Middle East, oil glut and reduction in oil prices, all of which had an adverse affect on emigration. For example, in the 1990 Iraq War, official figures record that 44,500 Pakistani emigrants were forced to leave Iraq.⁸³ Unofficially, this figure is well over 100,000.⁸⁴ Similarly, after sanctions were applied on Libya, emigration to that country also declined and in 2002 only 0.52 per cent of Pakistani emigrants made Libya their destination. The events of 9/11 caused a decline in emigration to the USA; remittances to Pakistan through informal means decreased and the government made efforts to make remittances through formal means easier and more attractive. While emigration of Pakistani workers to the Europe and the USA became more

⁸⁰ Irfan Ali (2007), 'MQM's rival parties protest government job quota', *Daily Times*, August 18. Also, author's observations based on personal experience and newspaper reports.

⁸¹ Haris Gazdar, *A Review of Migration Issues in Pakistan*, Collective for Social Science Research, Karachi.

⁸² Arif Hasan's conversations with Pakistani emigrants in Norway, 1998, and Wikipedia.

⁸³ Farooq Azam (2005), *Public Policies to Support International Migration in Pakistan and the Philippines*, Arnsha Conference, New Frontiers of Social Policy, December.

⁸⁴ Zafar Iqbal and Abdus Sattar (2005), *The Contribution of Workers' Remittances to Economic Growth in Pakistan*, Research Report No. 187, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad.

difficult, the demands for Pakistani workers in Korea and Malaysia increased, and in 2006 formal agreements were made between the government of Pakistan and these countries to promote this emigration.⁸⁵

4.2 Causes of emigration

The causes of emigration are the same as those of internal migration, and the areas with the highest emigration rates are also the same. However, there is considerable evidence to suggest that working-class people emigrating are not the poorest of the poor but those who have skills and a higher level of education. This is because emigration requires considerable funds, information about employment opportunities abroad, knowledge of recruiting agencies and emigration networks.⁸⁶ Another study also establishes that in high-emigration districts, such as Rawalpindi, emigrants belong to families who own small substance-agricultural farms and are heavily dependent on non-farm employment for their livelihood. Households from low-emigration districts, such as Sahiwal, on the other hand were found to own large farms depending mostly on agricultural labour.⁸⁷

Young, educated Pakistanis also wish to emigrate for social and economic reasons. Interviews of 100 young, poor and lower-middle-class couples in Karachi (married and unmarried) have yielded a list of reasons. Results of this survey are given in Box 7, and similar reasons have been given by interviewees in the present study.

Box 7: Why emigrate?

Changes in the social values and lifestyles of the elite and middle classes in Karachi are all too visible: new cars, designer boutiques, fast-food outlets, malls, expensive cafes, posh schools and universities in the private sector and advertisements promoting consumerism. However, the changes in the social values and lifestyles of the lower and lower-middle classes are hidden from view. The most visible expression of the change that has taken place in these classes is the emergence of young couples sitting with their arms around each other on the benches of parks in the city – sometimes even lying in each other's laps. This behaviour is surprisingly tolerated by the other visitors (even bearded ones) to the parks, and has led in some cases to the segregation of spaces between families, male visitors and couples. As one waiter at Hill Park put it, "there is nothing you can do about this. You cannot quarrel with the *zamana*."

In an attempt to understand this phenomenon, I have over the last five years interviewed or had a questionnaire completed by 100 young couples in parks and at Sea View. They all belong to the lower and lower-middle classes. Of this group, 28 couples were married. Of the 100 women, 32 wore the *hijab* and 68 wore a black or grey *aba*. Only 18 couples were interested in politics and/or read political news in the newspapers. Interest in migrating to another country was expressed by 83 of the couples, and 7 married couples and 16 unmarried men had taken some steps towards this.

See over

⁸⁵ Razi Syed (2007), "Private agencies allowed to send manpower to Korea", *Daily Times*, Karachi, 18 August.

⁸⁶ Farooq Azam (2005), *Public Policies to Support International Migration in Pakistan and the Philippines*, Arnsha Conference, New Frontiers of Social Policy, December.

⁸⁷ Farooq Azam (1998), "International migration dynamics in high and low migration districts of Pakistan", in R. Appleyard (ed.), *Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries*, Vermont, Ashgate.

The reasons for wanting to emigrate were, in order of importance:

1. there was no justice in Pakistan
2. they would never be able to own a place to live or to rent a proper home
3. concern (among married couples) that they would not be able to educate their children properly
4. the lack of affordable entertainment and recreation
5. family disputes, often related to behaviour of the young, which the young people considered hypocritical
6. they lived, worked and travelled in terrible environmental conditions.

The parents of five unmarried couples knew of their relationship, but due to social considerations they could not spend time together where they lived. In 14 couples, the partners were of different ethnic backgrounds. These couples certainly do not constitute the majority of young people in lower- and lower-middle-income settlements in Karachi but their numbers are rapidly increasing.

What has brought about this very visible change, apart from TV and the “trickle down” of the lifestyles of the more affluent sections of society? I feel that the most important reason is that for the first time in our history we have a very large number of unmarried female adolescents. In the 1981 census, 38 per cent of women and 13 per cent of men aged 15–24 were married.

If we project the 1998 census figures ahead by a decade, under 20 per cent of women and 6 per cent of men in this age group are married today. Also, the low-income settlements that I knew in the 1970s and 1980s have changed. Then they were purely working-class settlements and women did not work. Today, there are doctors, engineers, formal-sector entrepreneurs, employees in the corporate and IT sectors, bank managers and college and school teachers (the majority of them women) living in these settlements. This is a dramatic change.

Source: Arif Hasan (2007), “Changes in Values, Lifestyles”, *Daily Dawn*, Karachi, 24 September.

There has been considerable demand for Pakistani doctors and paramedics in the UK and the USA. The governments of the UK and USA have encouraged this emigration and jobs can easily be secured in these countries; 5 per cent (4,359) of all physicians trained in 2001 in Pakistan migrated in 2002.⁸⁸ More recently, IT professionals have been accommodated in the same manner.

Members of minority communities have also emigrated during the rise of political Islam in Pakistan, which was the result of the Afghan conflict. Many of the emigrants were given political asylum in European countries. These emigrants belong almost entirely to unorthodox Muslim sects. For example, Ismailis from Chitral in the NWFP have migrated because of the attempted “Talibaanization” of the province by the mullahs. They were opposed to Sharia Law and the Hijab, and believed in a more liberal interpretation of Islam.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Farooq Azam (2005), *Public Policies to Support International Migration in Pakistan and the Philippines*, Arnsha Conference, New Frontiers of Social Policy, December.

⁸⁹ Based on author’s conversations over time with friends and acquaintances who had migrated, and on interviews carried out for this study.

4.3 Scale and destination

The scale of emigration from Pakistan is shown in Table 10, and the destinations of emigrants are shown in Table 11 (both in Appendix 3). Table 10 shows that the number of Pakistani emigrants is about 3.83 million. However, these are official figures, and it is generally believed that officially recorded emigration is about 50 per cent of the real figure. For instance, the official figure for Pakistanis in the USA is 200,000. However, unofficial estimates put this figure at 700,000.⁹⁰ The highest rate of emigration is from the rainfed agricultural or arid areas of the NWFP,⁹¹ and emigration declined significantly in years of Middle East conflict and recession.

The majority of Pakistanis have emigrated to Saudi Arabia (61 per cent) and the next-largest share has gone to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) (28 per cent); 9 per cent went to other Islamic countries and only 1.5 per cent went to Europe and non-Muslim countries of Asia. There is a demand for labour, skills and professionals in the Middle East, and the people of Pakistan have strong bonds with those of the Middle East due to religion and culture. Pakistanis feel comfortable there, are comparatively well received and often develop personal and family friendships with the locals, although these Middle East destinations do not have laws and procedures that protect the rights of emigrants.

Saudi Arabia and UAE have welcomed Pakistani migrants, and developed facilitation processes for them. Because of the significant industrial activity in these countries, and expanding exploration of gas and oil, and the Asian games to be held in Qatar, there is in the Middle East a demand for Pakistani engineers, nurses, welders, masons, carpenters, plumbers, steel-fixers, mechanics, drivers and cooks. As a result of this demand, emigration from Pakistan has increased considerably, from 78,093 in 1991 to 184,274 in 2006.

Emigration to Europe has also increased, but the mostly illegal routes through North Africa and Turkey mean that estimating its scale accurately is not possible. However, official figures for emigration to Korea and Malaysia are available, and it is estimated that 28,000 Pakistanis are working in these countries. A memorandum of understanding was signed in 2007 between the Korean Labour Ministry and the Pakistan Ministry of Labour for sending 5,500 skilled workers to South Korea.⁹² Unofficial recruiting agents claim that there is a big demand for Pakistani labour in Japan, Korea and Malaysia, for unskilled work which residents of these countries are no longer willing to do (Box 8).

Box 8: "Suleman Shah", informal recruiting agent

"Suleman Shah" (not his real name) is an informal "travel agent" and operates from his house in Karachi. He sends people abroad, mainly to Korea and Malaysia, and, through his connections there, to Japan. He graduated from Karachi University and comes from a family of small shopkeepers who in previous generations had no education. He began this work in 2004 after returning from Korea. Before going to Korea, he worked as a ticketing assistant in a travel agency.

He went to Korea illegally in 1996. He first went to Cambodia when there was a visa on arrival for Pakistanis, and worked for an NGO as a translator. The pay was reasonable and he loved Cambodia because of its social freedoms, and became less religious. His reasons for migrating were related to family disputes, and ambitions and aspirations that his family values and his limited income could not fulfil. See over

⁹⁰ Pakistani Diaspora, Wikipedia.

⁹¹ Arbab Mohammad Azhar (2007), *Reducing or Inducing Risk*, Presentation at SDPI seminar on Migration, Islamabad, September.

⁹² Razi Syed (2007), "Private agencies allowed to send manpower to Korea", *Daily Times*, Karachi, 18 August.

After working in Cambodia for eight months, he was approached by Thais who were looking for people to send to Korea. He agreed to pay 25 per cent of all his earnings in Korea to the contacts of the recruiting agents in Seoul. They said that if he did not keep this agreement, they would inform on him and he would be arrested. They arranged his visa, for which he paid US\$2,500. At the airport he was received by an airport worker who recognized him by his photograph. This worker identified the line he was to take for emigration purposes.

In Korea, he worked as a caretaker in a factory and lived there with six people in a room. He saved about US\$600 per month which he sent to Pakistan. He cultivated contacts with the agent who collected 25 per cent of his salary from him every month. They became friends and he got to know the people behind the scenes. They suggested that he went back to Pakistan to send people from there to Korea. The same people have agents in Malaysia as well.

He has been doing this work since then. An arrangement to go to Malaysia costs about Rs150,000 and to Korea between Rs200,000 and Rs300,000. The demand is so big that he cannot meet it. The reason for the demand, he says, is that for “lowly” jobs there are no takers in these countries. He is successful because he treats his clients well and acts as a channel of communication between them and their families in Pakistan. Through his contacts with Pakistanis in Korea, he also arranges money transfers with a service charge of 0.5 per cent.

The money Suleman earned in Korea improved the lifestyle of his family. According to him, “they became spoilt and arrogant”. Since he has been doing this work, he has been able to save enough money to purchase a flat.

He says that his profits are not much because payments have to be made to forgers, immigration-department employees at the airport, connections at the embassies and passport officials. Suleman says that his work is hard because it is essential to ensure that nothing goes wrong, and there is a risk of a long prison sentence if things do not work out for a client who complains to the authorities. In addition, the business is dependent on a good reputation, and his clients multiply through praise from former clients.

Source: Arif Hasan’s interview with Suleman Shah, Karachi, 18 December 2007.

4.4 Remittances and the national economy

Table 12 presents the relationship between real GDP growth and workers’ remittances as part of real GDP growth. It also shows that workers’ remittances have played an important role in Pakistan’s real GDP growth. In years when remittances were low, such as 1999 (1.7 per cent of GDP), real GDP growth was also low (3.9 per cent). When remittances were high such as in 2002/03 (6.7 per cent of GDP), real GDP growth was also high (5.1 per cent). Quantitative evidence thus shows that real GDP growth is positively related to workers’ remittances, which are the third most important source of capital for economic growth in Pakistan. In the absence of workers’ remittances, therefore, the exchange rate, monetary and fiscal policies would come under great pressure.⁹³

In 10 months (July–April) of the fiscal year 2006/07, Pakistani workers remitted US\$4.45 billion. The US was the single largest source (26.4 per cent) of these remittances, followed by Saudi Arabia (18.6 per cent), UAE (15.1 per cent) and the UK (8 per cent). There has been a sharp increase in remittances from the US since 9/11. In 1999/2000, remittances from the US amounted to only 8.1 per cent of total remittances. This increased to 12.4 per

⁹³ Zafar Iqbal and Abdus Sattar (2005), *The Contribution of Workers’ Remittances to Economic Growth in Pakistan*, Research Report No. 187, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad.

cent in 2000/01 and 32.6 per cent in 2001/02.⁹⁴ This was because of the US crackdown on informal processes, the easing of formal transfer processes by the Pakistan government, and because Pakistanis in the US were afraid that as a result of American paranoia their money was unsafe in the US.

4.5 The socioeconomic impact of remittances

People interviewed for this study have indicated that they have not really benefited economically from emigration. However, the experience has changed their manner of thinking, so that they have become either more liberal or more religious. The majority of those who have become more religious emigrated to Saudi Arabia, where the holy cities of Islam are situated and where, unlike in Pakistan, Sharia law is in place. However, there is also evidence to show that many Pakistani emigrants did not like the strict nature of the Saudi state. In all cases emigrants indicated a major change in their attitude towards education and a desire for improvement in their physical environment. This change, through them, has affected their families and some of their community members. The migrants are seen as role models back home and, because of them, other people from their families and communities wish to emigrate.⁹⁵



WOMEN AT THE TOMB OF SURKH BUKHARI AT UCH

Although there are no studies on the overall socioeconomic impact of emigration, micro-level studies of various communities do provide snapshots. The rural areas of the NWFP have the highest dependence on foreign remittances. A study of two villages in Dir and Swat districts of the NWFP⁹⁶ found that 55 per cent of the households in the study area had sent an average of four migrants. They were all male and the majority of them were younger than 30 years, with primary-school education. Of these migrants, 60 per cent also emigrated, 76 per cent to Saudi Arabia, 17 per cent to UAE and only 3 per cent to Europe and Southeast/East Asian countries.

⁹⁴ Finance Division of Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Economic Survey 2006–07*, www.finance.gov.pk.

⁹⁵ Mani's interview, Rehman Ali's interview.

⁹⁶ Pakistani Diaspora, Wikipedia.

Remittances from these migrants were the third most important source of livelihood for their families, and were accessed and controlled mainly by the migrants' wife and mother. They were used for food, health, clothing and education. The study concluded that there was no significant difference in food intake, health status and education between households with and without migrants. However, the houses of families with emigrants were far more likely to have washing machines, refrigerators, piped water and flush toilets, than those of other families. The findings of the NWFP study are different from those of the authors, especially regarding expenses on education. This is perhaps because in the rural areas of the NWFP, and in the neighbouring towns, private-sector education facilities are not available and so even the families of emigrants send their children to the government schools.



REMITTANCE FUNDED HOUSES (IN WHITE) IN A VILLAGE IN THARPARKAR NEAR MITHI

A finding from the interviews carried out for the present study is that extended families tend to break up as a result of emigration and/or migration of family members. One of the reasons for this has been that money was sent to an elder brother or an uncle who dishonestly appropriated it. That is why money is increasingly now sent to the wife or the mother. This again adversely affects the structure of the extended family and creates jealousies and gossip.⁹⁷

Emigration of family members has a major impact on the lives of women in both rural and urban areas. In the absence of her husband, the wife assumes responsibility for many day-to-day business transactions that are generally considered the work of men. This changes the woman's social life and, in the more conservative societies in the NWFP, she is often censured for breaking social and cultural taboos. It is important to note here that an estimated 95 per cent of all emigrants from Pakistan are men.⁹⁸ This is because of the conservative nature of the districts from which emigration takes place, and also because the government of Pakistan does not encourage the emigration of women.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Based on interviews taken for this study.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Arbab Mohammad Azhar (2007), *Reducing or Inducing Risk*, presentation at SDPI seminar on migration, Islamabad, September.

Psychologists point out that emigrant workers often become depressed by difficult working conditions and suffer from a sense of disorientation because of the guilt associated with leaving their families.¹⁰⁰ Families of workers who have emigrated illegally are constantly worried about their safety, especially during the migrant's voyages to the US, Europe or the Far East, when for months the family receives no news.¹⁰¹ However, remittances play an important role in times of crisis (Box 9).

Box 9: The 2005 earthquake and the role of remittances

A large number of people from the earthquake-affected areas live abroad, and one in ten households in the NWFP receives remittances. Remittances represent up to a quarter of all monthly income in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). In the villages in districts Bagh and Muzaffarabad (AJK) and Batagram and Manshera (NWFP), 15 to 100 per cent of households were dependent on remittances. The earthquake of 2005 led to widespread damage and destruction, killing over 73,000 and affecting more than three million people. An estimated 600,000 homes, 6,000 schools and 500 health facilities were destroyed. However, households whose livelihoods included remittances appeared to have been less vulnerable to the effects of the earthquake. Most of them had used the cash remitted by household members to stabilize their houses. Whereas the earthquake turned their neighbours' mud and stone houses into rubble, a larger proportion of the cement-mortar houses of migrant-sending families withstood the quake.

Although remittance flows were severely disrupted by the earthquake, they recovered relatively quickly. These external sources of income played a vital role in recovery after the disaster. In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, most of those affected were in need of food, warm clothing and shelter to protect themselves against the upcoming Himalayan winter, regardless of whether they had formerly received remittances or not. Money sent by household members outside the affected area enabled households to repair and reconstruct their homes much more easily than families without migrant members. It also meant that they had cash to pay for private health care in order to treat injuries caused by falling walls or roofs. By contrast, many households without access to remittances were compelled to rely on the much poorer public health care. In some cases, they had to sell their meagre remaining assets to pay for treatment. In addition, remittance money made it easier for families to reach distribution points for relief aid as they could afford the travel from remote rural areas. The revival of the remittance system after the earthquake also helped to restore local markets, and the spending of remittances on housing repairs has provided crucial wages for local labourers.

Source: Hajira Hamid and Karin Astrid Siegmann (2007), "Migration – addressing or importing risk?", *SDPI's Research and News Bulletin*, January–March.

Reports suggest that human smuggling is a significant issue in Pakistan and that officials do not distinguish between trafficked and smuggled persons. An anti-trafficking law has been passed but its implementation is weak.¹⁰² Thousands of young boys from the poorer districts of southern Punjab, where the UAE rulers come to hunt every winter, have been trafficked to the UAE to become camel jockeys. In the camel races common in the UAE, the jockeys are young boys of 5 to 10 years old. They sit on the camels and scream with fear, which makes the camels run faster. This has been reported constantly in the Pakistani press and it is only through the efforts of Pakistani civil society organizations and law courts that this has now been stopped. Women are also trafficked to the Middle East for use as prostitutes. The

¹⁰⁰ YesPakistan.com. staff writer, website http://www.yespakistan.com/people/migration_pak.asp.

¹⁰¹ See Box 8 in this paper.

¹⁰² Farooq Azam (2005), *Public Policies to Support International Migration in Pakistan and the Philippines*, Arnsha Conference, New Frontiers of Social Policy, December.

misery of families whose children and women have been trafficked as camel jockeys and for prostitution has been featured regularly in the Pakistani press.

One area of Pakistan where emigration has had a major impact is Makran in Balochistan. This is a coastal area and for centuries has been linked to ports in the Gulf, the Red Sea and on the east African coast. For the last two centuries, this area has had close links with the Muscati maritime empire and people from here served in the Muscati police and army. One of the results of this emigration has been the end of the feudal system in Makran and the emergence of a middle class. At the same time, this process has increased the gap between the rich and the poor, as described in Box 10.

Box 10: The effect of remittances on the Makran coast

“We had a long talk with Mehrab Khan Gitchki who complained that since all the young men of the area had gone to the Gulf, agriculture had suffered. No labour was available. The result was that the villages were empty and Tombe, which sent wheat, *jawar* and corn to the coast, now imports all these items. Affluence from the Gulf makes it possible for people to buy these things at a high cost but the poor become poorer. The other problem is that Pathans and Brohis have started to come from the north as labourers. This is resented and at the same time, due to shortage of labour, tolerated.

“A shopkeeper in Tombe says that twenty-five years ago only a few houses were made of *katcha*. The rest were of straw and mat. The *katcha* houses are the result of the Gulf affluence. Artisanal professions were hereditary but now through the *shagirdi* (apprenticeship) system they are available to everyone. The Luri were the blacksmiths and singers but now they have taken to other professions.

“We then spoke to Levy Dost Mohammad who says that he cannot live within the salary he receives. He lives in a shack in Turbat. He cannot build a *katcha* house because he has no savings and for the same reason no one would give him credit either. He says that none but those who have relations in Muscat can afford such houses. He complains that he gets no medical assistance when his family falls ill, his child’s education is not looked after and he has no fixed working hours. He says the bigger officers get a host of benefits. Things were different before. Education for children was not considered necessary for people of his class. Health issues were God’s will. But now he says that even a levy like himself needs education or he cannot get a job. People want doctors, and prayers are not sufficient for them. Also, land holdings have become so small that one cannot live off them. ‘What is the solution?’, I asked him. He replied, ‘A good government that is interested in the welfare of the poor.’”

Source: Extract from Arif Hasan (2002), *The Unplanned Revolution*, City Press, Karachi.

4.6 Emigrant organizations and socioeconomic development

Research for this study, and evidence from existing literature, suggests that there is very little investment in social-sector facilities or productive economic activity (except for construction) by emigrants and their families in their places of origin. In their work and travels for this study, the authors came across only one example of a Pakistani emigrant in the UK trying to link UK local government with a Pakistani counterpart. Through the efforts of Dr Bashir, a Pakistani-origin UK citizen and retired medical practitioner, a health programme has been initiated linking Gateshead Council in the UK, where Dr Bashir lives, and the Sahiwal Town Municipal Administration (TMA). Sahiwal is Dr Bashir’s town of origin, and the programme is known as the Gateshead–Sahiwal Initiative.¹⁰³ Although, these types of initiatives are rare, Pakistani emigrants form associations wherever they are settled. The best-organized associations are in the developed countries. These organizations maintain

¹⁰³ For details, Dr Bashir can be contacted on telephone +00 44 191 454 5211.

links with Pakistan, and their help is often sought in times of crisis for the families in Pakistan.¹⁰⁴

There are also professional and ethnic organizations of Pakistani emigrants in the countries in which they have settled, which continue to establish welfare projects there. These organizations include the Association of Pakistani Physicians of North America (APPNA), the World Sindhi Congress and many Baloch organizations. APPNA's contribution are significant, and the details of this organization are given in Box 11. Pakistani doctors have been the most active in making investments. One example is the setting up of the Al-Shifa International Hospital and Foundation (Box 12). A group of alumnae of the oldest medical college in Karachi, now working in the USA, have funded the setting-up of intensive care and surgical units at the Civil Hospital in Karachi, where they were students, at a cost of US\$2.5 million.¹⁰⁵

Box 11: Association of Pakistani Physicians of North America (APPNA)

The Association of Pakistani Physicians of North America (APPNA) is a not-for-profit organization which aims to:

- support medical education and research
- advance the interests of medicine and medical organizations
- foster scientific development and education in the field of medicine for the purpose of improving the quality of medicine and delivery of better health care, without regard to race, colour, creed, sex or age
- facilitate better understanding and relations among Pakistani physicians and between them and the people of North America
- support the efforts of those who would preserve, protect and enhance the reputation and services of the medical profession in general and Pakistani physicians in particular
- assist newly arriving Pakistani physicians in orientation and adjustment
- cooperate with other medical organizations in North America
- encourage medical education and delivery of better health care in Pakistan, specifically by arranging for donation of medical literature, medical supplies, and by arranging lecture tours, medical conferences and seminars in Pakistan.
- participate in medical relief and other charitable activities in Pakistan and in North America.

Following the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan, APPNA collected over \$1.7 million for relief work, and collected and distributed medical and surgical supplies, tents and tin roofs. Over 200 APPNA doctors travelled at their own expense and worked without pay in clinics and hospitals.

In a joint venture between APPNA, the Child Aid Association NGO and the Pakistan National Institute of Child Health (NICH), APPNA members donated time, expertise and money for a genetic diagnostic laboratory at the NICH In Karachi. Genetic diagnosis is an essential element for treating childhood leukaemia, and most patients at NICH are investigated and treated free of charge. APPNA has also raised funds for a charitable cancer hospital in Lahore, which treats most patients free of charge.

Source: <http://www.appna.org> and Arif Hasan's conversations with doctors at the Civil Hospital, Karachi

¹⁰⁴ Pakistani Diaspora, Wikipedia.

¹⁰⁵ Arif Hasan's personal knowledge.

Box 12: A novel investment initiative by emigrants

A group of five doctors of Pakistani origin working and living in the USA conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in 1985, to provide a state-of-the-art treatment facility in Pakistan, and to train younger doctors and medical students there in the use of modern technology. The five doctors thought that this was the best way to repay their homeland. They mustered support from other doctors and health care professionals of Pakistani origin in the USA. Over the next few years, they bought land in Islamabad and coordinated the planning and design of the hospital.

The Shifa International Hospital opened in June 1993, with only eight consultants in seven specialities. It now has more than 70 highly qualified consultants covering most specialities. It has 150 beds, 7 operating rooms, an intensive care unit with an additional 50 beds, 37 specialist clinics and a physiotherapy centre. The medical team involves a number of expatriate physicians, surgeons and other health professionals who spend a fixed period of the year working at the hospital. Young local doctors and medical professionals work with them, receiving on-the-job training.

The non-profit Shifa Foundation was also established in 1993, to collect donations for subsidizing the treatment of poor patients. Work started in 1998 to establish the Shifa College of Medicine in modern clinical methods and technology, and there are plans for a programme to offer quality education to poor students. These initiatives will be funded through contributions from Pakistani migrants settled overseas, as well as from local sources.

Source: Farooq Azam (2005), *Public Policies to Support International Migration in Pakistan and the Philippines*, paper presented at the Arnshu Conference on New Frontiers of Social Policy, December.

The World Sindhi Congress is another important organization. The Sindhis consider themselves to be a persecuted ethnic minority in Pakistan, although they are the majority group in the Sindh province. After Independence the Hindu Sindhis migrated to India and the Sindhi language suffered as a result, especially after Urdu was declared the national language of Pakistan. The World Sindhi Congress works for the unity of the Sindhi-speaking people in India and Pakistan, the protection of the Sindhi language, equity and justice and the protection of the natural environment in Sindh. Its publications and conferences both in Pakistan and abroad have had a significant impact on the politics of Sindh, as they have provided Sindhi intellectuals with a platform for expressing their views.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, there are a number of Baloch organizations abroad that support the Baloch National Movement in Pakistan, and also the Baloch National Army which claims to be fighting for the independence of that province.¹⁰⁷ In the view of the authors, the emigrant inputs in both intellectual and financial terms are very important to the effectiveness of these organizations and the local movements they support.

The most important organization with which emigrants are involved, however, is the Overseas Pakistani Foundation (OPF). The Foundation works under the administrative control of the Ministry of Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis, Government of Pakistan. Its mandate covers its registered members overseas and their families in Pakistan and Kashmir. It operates and raises funds for a welfare fund which was established under the Emigration Ordinance in 1979. It has established housing facilities and colonies in which overseas Pakistanis can invest, and schools for the families of overseas Pakistanis. It

¹⁰⁶ See: World Sindhi Congress website: www.worldsindhi.org.

¹⁰⁷ Author's observations and media reports.

provides welfare, insurance and pension services, and assists the families of emigrants to process their claims.¹⁰⁸

4.7 Emigration and remittance processes

Legal processes

Legal emigration from Pakistan can take place only through the Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment (BEOE) (which is a department of the federal Ministry of Labour), the Overseas Employment Corporation, which is a company limited by shares, and through individuals' own connections.

The BEOE was set up in the early 1970s to control and regulate emigration and employment abroad. It is the licensing authority for Overseas Employees Promoters (OEPs), whose activities it facilitates and monitors. These OEPs are either individuals or firms given the right to process demand from foreign employers and assist them to recruit and select workers. The OEPs have to get clearance from intelligence and security agencies in Pakistan. Before proceeding abroad, the OEPs are supposed to brief the emigrants regarding terms and conditions of service, climate, social customs and traditions, and labour laws of the host country. The BEOE has fixed charges that OEPs can charge applicants for emigration. However, studies show that recruiting agents charge migrants at least 8 to 10 times more than the officially prescribed charges.¹⁰⁹ The BEOE has seldom cancelled licenses for over-charging, although it is supposed to do so.

The Overseas Employment Corporation (OEC) has a similar mandate to the BEOE. The OEC also assists employers in conducting tests and interviews of candidates. Those selected for employment abroad are assisted with travel arrangements, and can choose to buy a ticket through OEC Travels, an agency operating as the general sales agent of Pakistan International Airlines. The OEC holds CVs of more than 192,000 candidates including professionals and highly skilled Pakistanis, which can be accessed by organizations and individuals worldwide.¹¹⁰ The selection procedure of the OEC is fairly comprehensive, at least on paper, and its entire working is computerized. An element of training people before they proceed abroad is also part of that procedure. At present, OEC is imparting training in their specific fields to around 3,000 workers due to emigrate to Korea.¹¹¹

Individual businesspeople, firms and corporations abroad have jobs sanctioned for emigrants by their government agencies. These can be accessed by Pakistanis through personal contacts or through friends and relatives or agents. Here again, it is usually necessary to pay informally to get the required formalities completed. Research shows that migration through informal trans-national networks has lower costs and higher employment salaries than emigration through recruiting agents. Substantial differences between salaries for the same job have been found. Satisfaction with employment conditions was also higher among the emigrants using informal networks compared to emigrants using recruitment agents. The later also complained of employment conditions inferior to those specified in their employment contracts.¹¹² Of all Pakistani emigrants in 2004, 46 per cent went abroad on a direct visa, and this figure was 31 per cent between 1977 and 2004.¹¹³ This indicates a

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.opf.org.pk/>.

¹⁰⁹ Farooq Azam (2005), *Public Policies to Support International Migration in Pakistan and the Philippines*, Arnsha Conference, New Frontiers of Social Policy, December.

¹¹⁰ <http://www.oec.gov.pk/aboutus.html>.

¹¹¹ Razi Syed (2007), "Private agencies allowed to send manpower to Korea", *Daily Times*, Karachi, 18 August.

¹¹² Farooq Azam (2005), *Public Policies to Support International Migration in Pakistan and the Philippines*, Arnsha Conference, New Frontiers of Social Policy, December.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

high level of corruption and inefficiency in the formal system. Costs through formal means can be anything between Rs50,000 and Rs150,000.

Individuals also go abroad on temporary visas arranged by friends, get a job and then regularize themselves. This is quite common with emigrants to the UAE and Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia this is facilitated by making pilgrimages to Mecca. A visa for pilgrimage is easy to obtain, after which the pilgrim overstays, gets a job and tries to negotiate regularization. There are often problems with these types of emigration, as friends often make promises to help which are not followed up once the migrant arrives in the destination country.¹¹⁴

Illegal emigration

Box 13: Deportees return from Spain

Information on illegal emigration processes has been gathered from some deported migrants. In 2007, Spanish immigration authorities brought 127 deportees back from Spain to Pakistan. The majority of these deportees revealed that they went to Spain via Guinea, Mali and other neighbouring countries. According to those who had returned, hundreds of young Pakistanis who went to Conakry, the capital of Republic of Guinea, are still living a miserable life being detained by human traffickers, as the government of Guinea has refused to take any action against human traffickers.

Nadeem, one of the deportees, said agents charged around Rs0.7 to Rs0.8 million per person for taking them to Spain. He said traffickers took him and five of his friends to Guinea to send them to Spain, but after landing in Guinea, they were detained at a house. He said that more people were brought to the house until their number reached around 200.

The traffickers then rented two ships and all the migrants were taken to Spain. When the ships reached Spain's marine limits, the traffickers shifted everyone to a single ship and returned to Guinea on the other ship. Nadeem reported that the Spanish naval force encircled the ship and kept them at sea for almost seven days. He said food ran out after five days and they passed two days in starvation. After seven days, the Spanish authorities took them to port and then to a prison.

Source: Ali Raza (2007), "127 Deportees Return from Spain on Special Aircraft", *The News International*, 14 December, Lahore.

An increasing number of Pakistanis are emigrating to Europe through North Africa and Turkey (Box 13). The scale of this emigration is difficult to estimate although the process is fairly well established. Informal recruitment agents arrange for fake visas to Turkey, after which the process is completely illegal. Since 9/11, visas to Turkey are less easily available, and so a pilgrimage visa to Muslim shrines in Iran may be acquired, and from there the emigrants link up with the agent's contacts in Turkey and Greece who arrange the informal crossing of frontiers.

According to press reports, Pakistanis regularly die trying to reach European destinations. In one infamous incident in 2003, about 20 people drowned while trying to cross the border between Greece and Turkey. Their bodies were discovered on the banks of the Evros River.¹¹⁵ A 1999 report describes 35,000 illegal Pakistani emigrants working in Greece who were regularized. Also at that time, there were 3,319 illegal Pakistani emigrants in jail in Saudi Arabia and 5,500 Pakistanis had applied for asylum in the UK.¹¹⁶ The death of Pakistani illegal emigrants is a source of great anger and anguish for civil society

¹¹⁴ See interview 12 (Kaleem Ullah and Hussain).

¹¹⁵ <http://www.news.bbc.uk/2/hi/europe/3098268.htm>.

¹¹⁶ <http://www.scalabrini.asn.au/atlas/pakistan.htm>.

organizations and the media in Pakistan, but very little has resulted from their protests. Emigration to the Far East and its process is described in Box 8 above. The process for emigration to Europe through North Africa, and its problems, is illustrated in Box 14.

Box 14: Migration to Europe via North Africa

Haider Ali works as a motor mechanic in Karachi. He comes from a small village in the Potohar Plateau where his family carries out subsistence agriculture. He migrated to Karachi in 1995 when he was 14 years old. Since then, his family in the village has depended on his income and that of his older brother who is also a mechanic and who trained him at the workshop. During training, his brother fed him and gave him “pocket” money.

Two of Haider’s friends migrated to Spain, and sent their families a lot of money, with which they improved their houses and sent their children to study in Karachi. Haider wanted to do the same, and gain education for his younger siblings. The friends also wrote of the wonderful lifestyles they had in Spain. So Haider decided to emigrate, and contacted an informal agent who took Rs300,000 from him. His family raised this money by selling some land and borrowing from friends and relatives.

The agent arranged a passport and visa for Egypt. On arrival in Cairo, Haider met the agent’s contacts there, who put him up with other Pakistanis, Sri Lankans and Africans in a run-down house in a slum outside the city. He waited there along with other Pakistanis to be transferred overland to a port (he did not know the details) and from there by boat to Spain. Delays kept happening, money ran out and he met some returning migrants who had not reached Spain and reported rumours of rough seas causing sinking boats and deaths.

So Haider Ali decided not to continue to Spain. He and three other Pakistanis put their resources together and travelled overland and by boat to Saudi Arabia where one of the companions had connections. Once in Saudi Arabia, Haider was able to contact his family who sent him funds to come back. However, since he was an illegal emigrant, he was afraid that he would be arrested. He was advised to surrender to the Saudi authorities, which he did, and with the help of the Pakistan Embassy he was repatriated to Pakistan.

His family is poorer now than before, and in debt. Haider feels that he has let them down, and also disgraced himself. So, he plans to try again, but this time to the Far East. He has made enquiries and emigration to the Far East is easier, safer and cheaper.

Source: Arif Hasan’s interview with Haider Ali, Karachi, 19 December 2007.

Formal and informal remittance processes

Informal remittance processes are preferred by most Pakistani emigrants. The easiest of these is the carrying of cash by friends or relatives to the families back home, as there are no formalities involved. This method does not require a bank account, which suits families in the less-developed regions of Pakistan. Another method is the traditional *hundi* system whereby payment is made to a person in the host country who issues a note against which the family can get money from the agent of the person who has issued the note. It invariably works. A third system is known as *hawala*, using a money changer and with an associated commission. The family representative in Pakistan goes to the money changer’s agent and recovers the sum in cash. These informal processes were faster and cheaper than transactions through the formal banking systems. However, after 9/11 the curbs put on the *hundi* and *hawala* processes by the government of Pakistan and the host countries, especially the UK and USA, have forced Pakistanis to use the formal systems. The government of Pakistan has taken a number of steps to encourage the formal systems, as discussed in Section 5.8.

4.8 The response of the state

The government of Pakistan has introduced a number of laws to facilitate emigration and overseas employment. These include the creation of the BEOE, as discussed in the previous section. More recently, the government of Pakistan has introduced the National Identity Cards for Overseas Pakistani (NICOP). Those possessing NICOP are entitled to visa-free entry to Pakistan if they hold dual nationality. The government recognizes and ensures full protection to NICOP holders as citizens of Pakistan under law.

A number of steps have also been taken to facilitate transfer of funds through legal processes. Overseas Pakistanis can now acquire a foreign-exchange remittance card. Individuals holding this card and sending US\$2,500–10,000 per annum are entitled to exemption in custom duties on their personal baggage up to US\$1,000–2,000 per annum. At the airports, special counters have been created for emigration purposes for them, and for quick handling of their baggage. Their passports can also be issued and renewed without a fee on an urgent basis. Attractive investments have been provided in the form of foreign-exchange bearer certificates and foreign-exchange currency certificates. These have a higher rate of return than normal government investment schemes. The banking network has also been expanded both in Pakistan and in some of the countries of employment. The government has discontinued the policy of the official exchange rate, and has floated the rupee. Bank charges for remittances from emigrants have been eliminated.

5 Small towns in Pakistan

5.1 The history of small towns in the Indus Valley

The nature, sociology, culture and governance systems of small towns in the Indus Valley, and in the other areas that form Pakistan today, have been recorded since 600BC.¹¹⁷ Before colonization, there were three types of small town.

1. Market towns were sited on the rivers or on mounds in their floodplains, as agriculture was carried out in the floodplains. They were dominated by merchants trading in agricultural produce and crafts (mainly textiles) produced in the villages in their catchment areas. Much of the transport of agricultural produce was by river, and so transport contractors were important. A nexus of government bureaucrats, tribal and clan heads and traders were involved in the governance of these towns.
2. Other towns were sited on regional trade routes. These routes linked the Indus Valley to the Middle East (by sea and camel caravans) and to Central Asia (by camel caravans and the seasonal migration of *kochees*, a Central Asian nomadic clan), and to the Indo-gangetic plains in India. Most of these towns also included small artisan-based industries such as steel, textiles, leather and jewellery. They were dominated and/or governed by a formal relationship between bureaucrats and merchants, and the majority of them were located where trade routes and water bodies intersected, especially on the fords of rivers.
3. Some towns fulfilled both of these functions. They were usually the larger towns, and all had beautiful architecture, most of which is in ruins today.

Professions in these towns were related to caste and/or ethnicity. Each caste and/or clan had its own *punchayat* that dealt with personal and property issues of its members and their relations with the state agencies or other castes and clans. Unlike in the villages, social and economic mobility was possible, but difficult as marriage between castes was looked down upon. Towns were divided into caste or clan neighbourhoods, each with its own utilities and institutions complete with “lower”-caste families who were responsible for maintenance and

¹¹⁷ A list of the more important literature in English can be provided by the authors.

repair of the neighbourhoods. The function of the state was to collect revenue, build and maintain (again through caste relations) the infrastructure necessary for the promotion of trade, and to support merchant organizations in developing and maintaining the infrastructure they needed, and in maintaining law and order and a system of justice that dealt with non-*panchayat*-related issues. It was a sort of “public–private partnership”.

Changes due to colonization

Europe’s industrial revolution required two things for its expansion and consolidation: cheap and ready availability of raw materials, and markets for its manufactured goods. The tremendous growth in population in 19th-century Europe, mainly as a result of improved water supply and sanitation, also produced new demands which Europe’s limited land and other resources could not meet. Colonization was thus an imperative to fulfil these requirements through access to other countries’ human and natural resources. The area that is Pakistan today, and was once part of British India, was included in this process, and experienced the social and economic change that accompanied it.

Development brought about by the colonial regime in India had four main objectives: to exploit existing natural resources to serve the needs of industrialization in Britain; to increase agricultural production in response to the demands of industry and domestic consumers in Britain; to prevent the development of an indigenous industrial sector in India, and limit or destroy existing industrial activity; and to increase the revenues of the empire. The British enacted a number of laws in support of these development objectives. As a result, a large proportion of natural resources, such as forests, lakes and mines, were taken over from the old feudal order and local communities and became the property of the colonial state, thus enabling their large-scale commercial exploitation. Laws also limited industrial activity and even artisan-manufactured consumer items. In addition, laws were framed which aimed at preventing the expansion of the merchant and entrepreneurial classes.¹¹⁸

Due to colonial rule the trade between South/Central Asia and the Middle East came to an end, and locally manufactured goods were replaced by European products. The creation of perennial irrigation systems (canals) led to the death of agriculture in the floodplains and the production of enormous surpluses of wheat and cotton which were exported to Europe, while the railway built as an alternative to river navigation economically ruined a number of river-port cities. Exploitation of forests and mining for commercial purposes by the state ended the control of communities over these resources. The most important change however, was that the colonial administration created a hereditary, land-owning class through which it controlled the working classes and subjugated the middle classes.

As a result of colonial policies, many trade and market towns in the floodplains died, and initially there was massive de-urbanization.¹¹⁹ With perennial irrigation, new market towns developed on the railway links, and port cities became important and more developed due to trade with Britain. Forest and mining contractors also became important job providers and players in the economy of many small towns. Migration from the rural areas, coupled with the breakdown of the governance system of the pre-colonization period, led to the development of a more cash-based economy and the weakening of the caste system. This led to greater social and economic mobility. The new land-owning elite became the most powerful non-government player in the politics and administration of small towns. It replaced many of the functions of the merchant guilds and the clan and caste *punchayats*. It had a close relationship with the colonial bureaucracy and helped it manage law and order,

¹¹⁸ For instance, the Punjab Alienation of Land Act 1902.

¹¹⁹ For details, see: Jawaharlal Nehru, first published 1946, *The Discovery of India*, various publishers.

maintenance of agricultural infrastructure and political relations with other less important power groups.

Changes since Independence

Pakistan inherited from Britain the small market towns whose main function was to be a point of interaction between the rural areas and larger urban-based commercial interests. These towns were politically dominated by the property-owning elite and the colonial (later national) bureaucracy. In the late 1950s and 1960s green revolution technologies were introduced in agriculture and a policy of industrialization was promoted. As a result, the population of the small towns grew due to in-migration from rural areas. Also, new players were introduced into the small-town economy. These were agencies for the sale of fertilizer, pesticide and new seeds; banks; tractor dealers, spare-part salesmen and mechanics; and new government agencies (such as agricultural extension services) dealing with green-revolution inputs and monitoring. Middlemen financing agricultural inputs through loans, and the markets for agricultural produce and its export to the larger cities increased in importance.

From the 1970s onwards a revolution in transport and communications has eroded the importance of many of the small towns, as agents in rural areas can now be in direct touch with their counterparts in big cities. In addition, due to the larger outreach of mechanized transport, distances between market towns have increased considerably. As a result, the foot print of the big city has become much larger and it has taken over many of the functions of the smaller towns. The imposition of the WTO regime is further changing the relationship of the small towns with rural areas. This is because of the incentives for corporate farming, the increased ease of exporting anything from Pakistan, the closure of a number of light engineering industries located in the small towns, and the emergence of cooperatives of producers trying to challenge the market economy. Some of these issues emerge in the narrative in Section 7 of this paper.

5.2 Demographic change and small towns

Major demographic changes have taken place in Pakistan since Independence, with major impact on the political and economic power of small towns. The nature of these changes is detailed in Tables 13–15 in Appendix 3, and also reflected in Maps 4–6. The tables show that an increasing number of Pakistanis now live in the larger cities, of a million or more people. In 1951, 45 per cent of Pakistanis lived in 198 cities of less than 50,000 people, while 18 per cent lived in cities of above one million (of which there was only one). In 1998, 50 per cent of Pakistanis lived in million-plus cities (of which there were then six), and only 28 per cent lived in the 418 cities of 50,000 or under. This shows that the political and economic power of the smaller cities has declined.

However, there are major provincial variations. For instance, in the Punjab, the number of cities of under 25,000 people declined between 1951 and 1998, whereas in Sindh this increased from 23 to 107, and in Balochistan from 15 to 27. These differences are explained by the higher level of industrial spread around the larger towns in the Punjab, as compared to the other provinces.

6 Three small towns

6.1 Selection and overview

For this study, four towns were chosen to illustrate the nature of the social and demographic changes affecting small towns in Pakistan: Mithi in the Tharparkar district of southern Sindh, Uch in the Bahawalpur district of southern Punjab, Chiniot in the Jhang district of central Punjab, and Mingora in the Swat district of NWFP. These towns were chosen to represent the maximum diversity of small towns in Pakistan. Unfortunately, it was not possible to visit Mingora because of the ongoing insurgency against the government in the Swat district. However, studies from the NWFP have been included in the previous sections of this paper. Map 5 shows the locations of Mithi, Uch and Chiniot, which the authors visited in November 2007 to carry out observations and interviews.

The three towns are located in highly contrasting districts.

1. Mithi is a desert town in one of the least developed districts of Pakistan, which is only now being linked to the rest of the country by a modern road network.
2. Uch is a town that has been literally bypassed by the communication revolution, as it is no longer on the main road links between the north of the country and the port city of Karachi.
3. Chiniot is a fast-growing town with affluent merchant and artisanal classes.

The differences between the urban areas of the sub-districts in which these towns are located are detailed in Tables 16–18 in Appendix 3. Statistics for the sub-districts have been quoted because those for the towns are not easily available. The population of Mithi in 1998 was 19,524, or 7.8 per cent of the district population. Uch's population was 20,350, or 0.8 per cent of the district population, as there are much larger cities in the district. Chiniot's population was 169,282, or 7.8 per cent of the district population, since it is an important town in an urbanized district.

Tharparkar district, containing Mithi, has no institutions of higher learning, and very few improvements have taken place there in health and education facilities (Tables 19 and 20). The population of the Mithi sub-district (which includes the rural area) in 1998 was 26.4 per cent of the population of the district. Female literacy in rural areas was only 4.8 per cent (up from 1.0 per cent in 1981). Total literacy in the 1998 census was 21.5 per cent overall (up from 11.0 per cent in 1981): 16.1 per cent in rural areas, and 57.4 per cent in urban areas. This is well below the Pakistan average in 1998, except for urban literacy which is higher because of the very small urban population.

Of the three districts, Bahawalpur, containing Uch, comes next on most indicators. Here too, female literacy is well below the Pakistan average, and so is total literacy. However, urban literacy is higher and there has been improvement in health and education facilities although these have not kept pace with population growth.

Chiniot sub-district, within the Jhang district, contains a much higher 35.1 per cent of the district population. Its literacy figures are nearer to the national average, and the numbers of persons per health and education facility are lower than for the Bahawalpur and Jhang districts overall (Table 21).

The proportions of lifetime migrants in the urban areas of the three sub-districts in which the three towns are located, and the unemployment figures, reflect the relative socioeconomic, administrative and demographic conditions.

- In the urban areas of Mithi sub-district, migrants in 1981 were almost 14 per cent of the population. In Ahmedpur sub-district, containing Uch, they were over 20 per cent, whereas in Chiniot sub-district, they were only 3 per cent. This was because of better conditions in the rural areas of Chiniot sub-district, where irrigated agriculture was and still is productive.
- In 1998, the proportion of migrants in Ahmedpur sub-district fell to almost 9 per cent, and increased to over 12 per cent in Chiniot sub-district. The main reason for this is the industrialization that took place in the 1990s in the Chiniot sub-district. This did not happen in Ahmedpur or Mithi sub-districts.
- Unemployment figures in the urban areas of Ahmedpur and Chiniot sub-districts increased considerably (as elsewhere in Pakistan and with about the same ratio), whereas in Mithi sub-district they decreased due to the opening up of the Tharparkar region. (For details, see Tables 16–18).

6.2 Mithi

Mithi is located in the desert region of Thar in Sindh province. It has been the headquarters of the Tharparkar district since 1992. According to folklore, some 500 years ago a woman dug a well where the town is today. The water of the well was *mithi* (sweet or drinkable), which became the name of the resulting settlement. The Thar desert, from which the name Tharparkar derives, is also known as the Great Indian desert, and the major part of it lies in the Indian state of Rajasthan. After the rains, the desert supports grasses and shrubs and transforms into excellent grazing land. Agriculture also becomes possible, and millet was formerly the main crop. The sociology and demography of Thar is the result of its ecology and physical environment.



A NEW HIGH RISE HOUSE IN AN OLD MITHI NEIGHBOURHOOD

Social structure

Tharparkar has a heterogeneous population. It was a Hindu majority area long after Partition and there are still very large Hindu minorities in the district today. The upper castes are Hindu and Muslim land-owning Raiputs and descendants of Baloch tribes who settled there in the 18th century. The middle class consists of Hindu and Muslim businessmen, traders and money-lenders. The artisan castes of tanners, known as *meghwars*, who also perform functions related to the building trade, *kumars* (potters) and *lohars* (blacksmiths) are

considered low caste in accordance with the Hindu tradition. The *bheels* and the *kohlis* are the “aborigines” and work as agricultural labour. In this caste-bound society no inter-caste marriage was possible, the upper castes did not eat with the lower castes and the Hindu upper castes did not eat with anyone outside their own caste.

After the land settlement carried out by the British in the 1850s, the Rajputs and the Baloch notables became the land-owners. They organized the maintenance of the fragile agricultural infrastructure through *baigar* or forced labour. Thus, embankments and water-storage infrastructure were maintained. They also protected the community pasturelands from encroachment and over-grazing, and organized the system of crop rotation and protection of trees. They did this through their village headmen and with the support of the local administration, and thus the desert remained productive.

Seasonal migration

Rains in Tharparkar are erratic and take place in August, charging the shallow rainwater aquifer. By February the dry season sets in and the wells in bad years become saline. So from time immemorial the Tharis have migrated to the floodplains in the beginning of the dry season, which coincided with the wheat-harvesting season in the plains in March and April. Here, the Tharis provided labour for harvesting in exchange for food and water for their animals. The Thari artisans, such as blacksmiths and potters, were able to serve the needs of the floodplain farmers. Thari products such as blankets, rugs and embroidery are exceptionally beautiful and these too were bartered for fodder and industrially produced goods. In bad years, when the monsoons failed, the Tharis stayed on in the floodplains. However, all that has now changed.

Processes of change

The creation of Pakistan in 1947 weakened the hold of the Hindu upper castes on the economy and politics of Tharparkar. The construction of irrigation systems in the floodplains then led to the colonization of the lands to which the Tharis used to migrate, and industrially produced goods replaced Thari products in the newly irrigated areas. The 1965 and 1971 wars with India resulted in a large-scale migration of the Hindu upper castes from Thar and the mass migration to Tharparkar from India of poor Muslim families. These migrations completely destroyed the old social structure of Tharparkar and made social and economic mobility possible for the artisan castes who started to migrate to the cities where their skills were required and many of them became doctors and engineers. These changes also led to the collapse of feudal institutions which had looked after environment- and production-related infrastructure, and organized agriculture.

Due to all these changes, the Tharis became incapable of withstanding long droughts, and in 1987 drought conditions led to famine. As a result, the government and international relief agencies mounted a massive relief and rehabilitation effort. This led to the creation of the Thar Rural Development Project (TRDP) now known as Thardeep. This has had a major effect on Thari society. The project has tried to introduce programmes and societal values that accommodate the changes that have taken place. The creation of the desert district in 1992 created government jobs in the district and more recently the building of roads is helping to consolidate the social changes that are taking place.

Reasons for migration to Mithi

Discussions with people in the rural areas around Mithi show that during the 1987 crisis, they were forced to borrow money for survival. TRDP surveys show that 82 per cent of all rural families in the project area were in debt as a result of the drought.¹²⁰ To repay these debts and for survival after the drought, cash was required and this was available only in the cities. So, families migrated to Mithi. Another reason given is the high cost of agriculture, as labourers also required cash payment, unlike before. The collapse of the old system also led to greater freedom, mobility and new aspirations. People wanted their children to be educated, and education was available in Mithi, with the possibility of higher education in Hyderabad and Karachi. This was a major incentive to migrate. Education was also seen as a way to break free of oppressive systems.¹²¹

People have migrated also because of seeing the benefits that migration has brought to their neighbours and friends. The TRDP's emphasis on health, hygiene and education has also promoted migratory tendencies, and people now want urban facilities which are not always available in the rural areas. The opening up of Tharparkar as a result of the 1987 drought also increased the demand for Thari handicrafts in Karachi, Hyderabad, Lahore and Islamabad. A number of middlemen set up workshops of Thari artisans and outlets for Thari goods in urban areas.



THE NEW MITHI TRANSPORT TERMINAL

Repercussions of migration in the rural areas

As a result of migration out of rural areas, lifestyles have changed and interest in agriculture has declined. Families whose members have migrated to the cities use steel and china crockery instead of earthenware. The traditional dress, even in the case of women, has or is being replaced by the urban *shalwar-kameez*. Before, the upper castes did not allow lower castes, especially women, to dress well. Money from the cities has built better houses, and festivities are strongly influenced by urban culture and music. Dowries, which were all made by village artisans, now invariably consist of industrially manufactured items. Almost every family, except for the *bheels* and *kohlis*, has mobile phones, and wherever roads are being

¹²⁰ TRDP Baseline Survey (1989).

¹²¹ Interviews 04 and 07.

built motorcycles are replacing donkeys and camels.¹²² The poor can now be defined as those who have not acquired these assets and culture through remittance money or urban-based trade.

Reasons for migrating away from Mithi

The reasons for migrating from Mithi have been given as better working conditions and more money in the larger cities. Migration from Mithi has also catered to the demand created by the building of roads, petrol and natural gas stations and small tea shops, eating places and utility stores that have grown to serve the newly created transport sector. Tharis are now replacing Pathans in these jobs along the highways. Many Tharis are also working as tailors in the garment industry in Karachi, and an increasing number are seeking employment as domestic servants in the larger Sindh cities, especially Karachi and Hyderabad.

Another reason given for migration is for higher education, especially for girls. It is also felt that the future of educated girls is not in Mithi but in the larger cities. This is an incentive to migrate and for this Hyderabad is preferred, as Karachi is no longer considered a Sindhi city. A demand for Thari handicrafts has also led to the opening of outlets in the major cities of Sindh and in Islamabad and Lahore. This has provided an incentive to migration to these cities, and linked the Tharis with the job markets in other urban areas. It is estimated that over 4,000 families from Tharparkar have migrated to India through Khokrapar in the last three to four years. This migration is of Hindu families who no longer feel secure.¹²³ Similarly, Muslim families from Rajasthan keep migrating to Tharparkar. Recently, a colony of a 100 such families, visited by the authors, has been set up on the outskirts of Mithi.

The out-migration of the Hindu upper caste, the government's response to the 1987 drought and the building of roads has brought considerable financial benefits to the middle classes of Tharparkar. They are increasingly going into education and, because of the TRDP, their women, and those of the artisanal castes, have also taken to education and to jobs in offices. However, the Rajputs and the Baloch still dominate Tharparkar politically, causing the newly educated and affluent classes to feel oppressed. In numerous conversations, this was given as a reason for migration.

Impact of migration on Tharparkar

Migration, and the values and culture it has promoted, has led to a declining interest in agriculture and an increase in desertification due to the collapse of the old system. New lifestyles are reflected in urban-style clothes, eating habits and food, mass-produced fizzy drinks rather than traditional drinks, and the use of industrially produced goods. People are selling their assets to purchase gadgetry, and almost every household now has one or more cell phones.¹²⁴

The caste system is on its way out. People of different castes now eat together. *Kohli* girls, previously considered untouchables, now work in the homes of the upper castes.¹²⁵ The *meghwars* (originally tanners) have become the best-educated community in Tharparkar and the majority of Thari professionals belong to this caste. The building of roads, and Mithi becoming the district headquarters, has led to a revolution in transport. There are now 275 jeep taxis, 50 *qinquis* and 50 car taxis in Mithi alone. This has led to the creation of

¹²² Interview 10.

¹²³ Interview 04.

¹²⁴ Interview 08.

¹²⁵ Interview 06.

terminals, guest houses and eating places. In addition more than 300 government jobs have been created as a result of these changes, and property prices have increased.¹²⁶

The culture of shopping has also undergone a change. Previously located in residential neighbourhoods, shops are now being built in officially and informally designated “commercial areas”. The products of multinational companies and mineral water are available at all shops and eating places, and those who have migrated are looked up to as role models for other young people. Young women with jobs at the TRDP are also regarded as role models by other young women,¹²⁷ and Thari products have acquired countrywide markets.

The large-scale migration to Mithi has resulted in the creation of informal settlements, sometimes at a small distance from the town where land values are lower. These settlements have problems of water and sewage disposal. They are growing fast since there are no formal housing schemes for low-income groups. Meanwhile, remittance money is being invested in building houses on the pattern of Hyderabad and Karachi, expressing an increasing rich–poor divide.



A NEW REMITTANCE FUNDED HOUSE IN UCH

The road network has also made it cheaper to import fodder for animals. Therefore, migration to the irrigated areas during the dry seasons is being replaced by migration to areas along the road, where transport and hence fodder is available. Also, there is considerable evidence to suggest that *Kohlis* who used to migrate seasonally to the irrigated areas are no longer coming back to Tharparkar.¹²⁸ The centre of the change in Tharparkar is Mithi, and a new society and class structure is being created. The intellectuals of Mithi feel that they live in a state of social anarchy, and doctors claim that depression and mental illnesses have increased as a result.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Interview 09.

¹²⁷ Interview 04.

¹²⁸ Interview 06.

¹²⁹ Interview 04.

Processes of migration

People migrate to the cities of Sindh with the help of their friends, relatives and family members who are already there. The two main destinations are Karachi and Hyderabad, and since they are not too far away the link of the migrant with his family remains intact. Remittances therefore need no bank accounts and are made directly by the migrant when he visits or through other migrants from his neighbourhood or village.

A large number of families also migrate collectively to Mithi. Through their links with middlemen they negotiate with the *patwari*¹³⁰ who allows them to settle on government land. They know that they are not owners of the land but they hope that once they build their houses they will be able to negotiate some sort of regularization with the government.¹³¹ Although they claim that they have made no payments for this land, there is evidence to suggest that informal payments are sometimes made to government officials and the police. The main reasons given for these collective migrations are education of children (especially girls), freedom from an oppressive society and better facilities in the urban areas.

Governance and migration

The TRDP has played an important role in governance-related issues in Mithi. It has acted as a conduit between the problems of the people and government agencies. Many of the officials and staff of the TRDP were educated in Hyderabad or Karachi. The families of some of them live in Hyderabad, where their children are being educated. Thus, the influence of the larger cities dominates the emerging governance culture in Mithi.

Despite significant social change, the power of the traditional elite still holds. This is because the merchant classes do not have a tradition of contesting elections, which are invariably contested and won by the traditional elite. Before devolution in 2001, the bureaucracy was a major player in the governance and development of Tharparkar. After devolution, the elected *nazims* and *naib nazims* are the dominant power, and at the district level they belong to elite families. This is resented by the residents of Mithi, as indicated in a number of interviews carried out for this study.

An example of the change that has taken place was given by Abid Channa, an engineer with the TRDP, during a tour of Mithi and its suburbs. He pointed out a number of plots which the bureaucracy in pre-devolution days had identified for public utilities and amenities. After devolution, their land use was changed by the elected *nazims*. The plots have been converted for commercial use, and bought at ultra-low prices by relatives of the political representatives.

6.3 Uch

Uch is a small town in southern Punjab in Bahawalpur district. According to tradition and some scholars, the town existed at the time of Alexander's invasion of the Punjab. Alexander is supposed to have stayed in Uch for two weeks and is said to have renamed it Sikandara or Alexandria.¹³² By the 12th century, the town had become one of the most important cultural and religious centres of the Islamic world and attracted Sufi scholars and thinkers to its seminaries and other educational institutions. Uch was an important trading town, for goods including timber, grain and vegetables, and the trade between Multan and the

¹³⁰ A Patwari is a lower level revenue officer who is in-charge of collecting land revenue and maintaining land records.

¹³¹ Interview 07.

¹³² H.M. Elliot (1985), *The History of Sindh as Told by its Own Historians*: Allied Book Company, Karachi (reprint of an 1849 manuscript).

Gangetic Plain trade passed through it. Uch was also an important river port, with links to Sindh and the NWFP.

Uch is divided into three different quarters, the oldest of which is Uch Bokhari, named after Hazrat Syed Jalaluddin Bokhari, a Sufi saint of the 13th century. His shrine is located in the quarter and his descendants are its keepers. The second quarter is known as Uch Jilani after another important Sufi saint who taught in Uch in the 15th century. His descendants are the keepers of his shrine. The third quarter is known as Uch Mughlian and was established by the Mughal rulers in the 17th century. In all three quarters there are several tombs of famous mystics. The Suharwardia mystical order originated in Uch, and spread from here to the rest of South Asia, Indonesia and Malaysia. The town is still revered by Sufis, and is visited by pilgrims and for festivities related to the birthdays of the saints by people from all over Pakistan and also from India.



THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE MONUMENTS AT UCH

The old social structure

The descendants of the two saints, Bokhari and Jilani, have dominated the political and spiritual life of the Uch and adjoining areas. The shrines bring considerable income and are associated with large agricultural estates on the outskirts of the town. Before the land settlement carried out by the British in 1850s, all land in and around Uch belonged to the state, and the important religious and political families were given the right to the farm revenues of state lands, with the help of the state bureaucracy. However, the right to farm revenues could be revoked at any time by the state and was subject to constant review.

The British land settlement and colonization did away with this system and created hereditary land-owners. Land was not given to the artisanal and lower castes or to castes that were traditionally “hired” by the peasants to work in agricultural production. This was because the British wanted to maintain the social order, and prevent the possibility of upward mobility in the lower castes. However, the important religious and political families were granted large estates, and the Bokhari and Jilani families were the beneficiaries of these grants. As a result of the settlement, land acquired a value as it became a saleable commodity. The traditional division of Uch into Bokhari and Jilani Uch was also formalized, and considerable lands and properties within the town became owned by these two families. Uch was therefore been governed by an understanding between these two powerful families

and the British bureaucracy represented by the District Commissioner. After Independence, the system remained the same until the decentralization plan of 2003.

Business, trade and money-lending in Uch and its neighbouring villages was controlled by the Hindu *baniyas* and the Muslim *shaikhs* (converts from Hinduism). These were traditional business communities, looked down upon by the elite but also indispensable to them. In addition, there were the traditional artisanal castes who served the town neighbourhoods and the villages. Especially important was the caste of musicians and singers who performed (and still perform) at the weekly and yearly festivities at the shrines. These artisans were paid in kind and were subservient to the different clans and agricultural communities they served. Then, there were the untouchables who were tanners, scavengers and those who collected and disposed of excreta.

Processes of change

At the time of Partition, the Hindu *baniyas* and artisanal castes migrated to India. From a tolerant multi-religious society steeped in Sufic values of love and tolerance, Uch became a uni-religious society, although it maintained its value structure, at least within its boundaries. Partition also ended trade with India, and the new road networks that developed to link Karachi to Punjab bypassed the town. The Indus Basin treaty in 1960 gave the Sutlej River to India, which it diverted into the Rajasthan Canal. As a result, Uch ceased to be a riverine port. All these developments affected Uch adversely, and decreased its importance.

In the 1960s, green revolution technologies were introduced in Punjab. As a result, middlemen selling loans, fertilizer and pesticide agencies, tractors, mechanized transport and tube wells came into existence. The *shaikhs* benefited by becoming the agents and financiers to the smaller producers in the rural areas. They established offices in Uch, and so an increasing number of people from the rural areas migrated to Uch. The increasing affluence of the *shaikhs* encouraged them to send their children to school and for higher education.

The 1960s and 1970s also saw the development of new road networks and the establishment of industry in Multan. This created a demand for skilled and unskilled labour, and a number of artisans migrated from Uch. They invested their earnings in improving their homes in Uch and in the process destroyed some of the most beautiful residential architecture in the town. In 2001, a Lahore-based architect, Yasmin Cheema, established the Conservation and Rehabilitation Centre (CRC) which was the culmination of her 12-year research on the history and monuments of Uch. The objective of the CRC was to restore the Uch monuments and improve the infrastructure of the town. For the latter objective, help was sought from the Orangi Pilot Project in Karachi. The CRC's work has had a major physical, social and political impact on Uch and its surrounding areas.

Reasons for migration to Uch

Mechanization of agriculture and expensive inputs required for the green revolution technologies have been cited as the main reason for migration to Uch from the neighbouring villages. The increase in agricultural production as a result of the green revolution also resulted in increased export of grain and other produce, which in turn resulted in a demand for labour in transport- and cargo-related services that developed in Uch. In the 1970s, industrially produced goods flooded the rural areas and many artisans became redundant. They migrated to the urban centres where industry and infrastructure projects were being carried out. The increase in wealth in the *shaikh* community resulted in migration for

education purposes, and for establishing businesses in demand due to new technologies in the agricultural sector.¹³³

Effect on the rural areas

With the out-migration of the artisanal castes, the nature of rural society underwent a change. Cash replaced barter, and social and economic mobility became possible. With the introduction of fertilizers, pesticides, hybrid seeds and mechanization, and the funds required for all these inputs, links with the urban areas, especially Uch, increased. This again changed class relationships and hindered the functioning of old feudal institutions and their justice systems. As a result, people had to rely more on state institutions which were not very effective. With the weakening of feudal institutions, community lands were taken over by whoever was powerful enough. With the disappearance of community lands, the weaker sections of rural society could no longer access land for a house or resources such as timber and earth for building homes or for firewood.¹³⁴

More recently, the introduction of the WTO regime has led to the creation of a few corporate farms in the area, with the objective of producing for export. This process is being supported by the Export Promotion Bureau which has liberalized its rules and regulations, and is displacing tenants and small producers from the rural areas.¹³⁵ However, despite these changes, which are increasing the wealth of the business community, the area including Uch continues to be dominated by the old, high-caste families.

Reasons for migration/emigration from Uch

During their visit to Uch, the authors of this paper met people whose family members have migrated to France, Australia, UK, Saudia, UAE and other cities of Pakistan. The narrative below is derived from conversations with these people and from the contents of interviews 11–24.

The main reason given by people for migrating from Uch is for the education of their children. This is because “good” educational institutions are not available in the town, and for higher education there are no institutions at all. Also, once children have studied in Bahawalpur or Lahore, they do not wish to come back and live in Uch. Girls’ education has been responsible for a lot of migration, since until recently there were no institutions of higher or even intermediate learning for women. The other problem has been that once girls receive higher or intermediate education, suitable husbands are not available for them in Uch. Before, girls used to be sent to study in *madrasahs* (religious seminaries) but now “only orphans study there”.¹³⁶

People from well-to-do families who have acquired education often join the civil service or get jobs in government departments. They are posted in different parts of the Punjab and so get their children educated in Lahore or Multan. The children grow up there and the parents acquire property in the major towns of the Punjab and settle there.

There has been a big out-migration of *sunhars* (goldsmiths) from Uch. This is because investing in jewellery for savings is no longer the norm. As a result, the jewellery business is now for the elite and the demand for *sunhars* has shifted to the larger cities where there is a larger wealthy population.¹³⁷ Similarly, *lohars* (blacksmiths) are no longer required as

¹³³ Arif Hasan’s conversations with the Anjuman-e-Tajraan in 2002.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Interview 18.

¹³⁶ Shakeela, Interview 11.

¹³⁷ Interview 20.

agricultural implements are now industrially produced. There is not enough construction in Uch to compensate for the scale of the displacement of *lohars*. They come to Uch first and then migrate to the large towns where they work on building sites cutting and laying steel bars for reinforced-concrete construction, or in workshops that produce steel doors and grilles. Labourers migrate because they cannot beat inflation while living in Uch.¹³⁸

Business families have migrated abroad, and so have artisans and skilled workers. The expansion of the textile industry in Pakistan, especially in the 1980s, led to intensive cotton production around Uch. Families who serviced the needs of this production and who set up cotton-ginning mills in the region, sent their children abroad and invested in businesses outside Pakistan. Artisans also went abroad as a result of the building boom in the Middle East, and continue to do so. For example, in the 1980s there was a great demand in Saudi Arabia for electricians. As a result of this, all the electricians of Uch migrated and a number of young people went to the technical college in Bahawalpur to train as electricians.¹³⁹ The business community continues to migrate from Uch, and it is unlikely that the newer generation will continue to live there. They might keep their business here and a family member, but the family overall will establish roots in other cities where social, economic and infrastructure conditions are better. In the process, businesspeople also seek freedom from the feudal domination of Uch which denies them political power.

However, it is generally agreed that the most important reason for migration has been the desire of those who have not migrated to copy the lifestyles of the neighbours and family members who have sent people abroad or to cities. The migrants and their families have become role models for others in Uch.¹⁴⁰

Impact of migration and emigration

Various estimates have been given for the scale of migration from Uch. Some claim that only 5 per cent of the population receives remittance money. Others claim that over 50 per cent receives remittances. However, it is generally agreed that families receiving remittances have better lifestyles. They have gadgetry at home, they dress better, eat better, send their children to schools and colleges in Bahawalpur, get their sisters and daughters married in style and more easily, and they build palatial homes. Those who have migrated say that they have nothing left to invest after these expenses, and also that their children get spoilt in the process.¹⁴¹

Those who have studied in Lahore claim that their value systems have changed as a result. They have become more liberal, long for intellectual discourse and a different physical environment, which are not available in Uch. It is also said that returning migrants are more hygienic, less religious, keep themselves to themselves, and are more honest in business. They also give greater emphasis to girls' education. It is felt that society in Uch has become more liberal because of the returned migrants. However, it is also felt that migration and remittances break up the extended family and create jealousies and aspirations that lead to frustration and conflict.¹⁴²

There is an important gender aspect to migration and emigration. Society has become more liberal and tolerant regarding women's education and employment. Previously, women were supposed to be only teachers and doctors. However, they are now working in offices in Uch. The two women working in the CRC office have become role models, and educated girls

¹³⁸ Interview 13.

¹³⁹ Interview 14.

¹⁴⁰ Interviews 11, 12, 16.

¹⁴¹ Interview 14.

¹⁴² Interviews 10, 14, 18.

want to be like them. The CRC staff, which is promoting new societal values in Uch, is all drawn from the town itself, but was educated and/or worked in the larger cities of the Punjab and in Karachi. They say that had it not been for their having studied and worked in the larger cities they would not be doing the work that they are doing at present. Difficulties in achieving the marriages of educated girls in Uch, however, persist.¹⁴³

Remittances are invariably invested in real estate. In the housing colonies being established around Uch, 30 per cent of the purchases are made by people living abroad or in cities in Pakistan. The new compressed natural gas (CNG) stations being established are also owned by people who have sent money from abroad or from the larger cities.¹⁴⁴ Investments in the social sectors are very few. The Jilani family has given land for educational institutions, grid stations and a health facility. These are presented by the family as a “gift” to the town, but people feel that there are political reasons for this. A *shaikh* family has given land for a degree college for girls, which was opposed by the more conservative elements in the town but supported by young people in the business community. Three private schools have been funded and are partially supported by funds from emigrants. However, their fee structure is such that the poorer sections of society cannot benefit from them. The Aga Khan Development Network has set up a health centre in Uch, along with a state-of-the-art laboratory and staff.¹⁴⁵

Uch is expanding in the direction of the Jilani family’s land, and a number of housing projects are being established there. The cost of lots in these projects is unaffordable for the poorer sections of Uch society. As a result, low-income housing settlements are being created one to two kilometres from the town, where land is cheaper.



A NEW HOUSE IN UCH FUNDED BY REMITTANCE MONEY

Apart from the CRC, there are a number of associations and voluntary organizations in Uch: the Anjuman-e-Tajraan (trader’s association), the Ismaili Cooperative Society, which gives loans for business and trade, and the Association of Goldsmiths. Officials in these organizations have described the important role these organizations play in the lives of their

¹⁴³ Interviews 11, 19.

¹⁴⁴ Interview 15.

¹⁴⁵ Interview 24.

members. However, members say that the associations are useless and dominated by ambitious individuals.¹⁴⁶

The situation in Uch is summed up by Khwaja Zakir, the owner of a medical store in Uch. He says:

“before one dug wells, now you have piped water. Before you ate what you produced, now you buy what you eat. Before you needed no education to get a job, now you cannot a job without it. So, before you needed no money, now you need money and you cannot get it in the village or even in Uch so you go to the urban areas. There is chaos and people spend more and more on drugs, especially sedatives, everyone is depressed.”

Migration processes

Within Pakistan, migration takes place through friends and relatives or by applying for advertised government jobs. For education, it takes place through savings and also through the sale of assets. There is a well-known couplet in Urdu which is very popular in the small towns of the Punjab:

*Those who have gone to the towns to study have forgotten
Whose mother sold how much of her jewellery to make it possible.*

For emigration, friends and relatives aboard are normally contacted, but may not be able to provide reliable information. Arranging migration through government-approved agents is safer but costs about Rs150,000 for the passport, visa, travel arrangements and job guarantee in the UAE or Saudi Arabia. Interviewees reported that they have paid five times the official cost for emigration to agents. The authors met with a number of people who had been misled by friends and cheated by informal agents.¹⁴⁷



THE SHRINE OF SURKH BUHKARI AT UCH

¹⁴⁶ Interviews 20, 24, and other conversations.

¹⁴⁷ Interviews 12, 14, 23.

Governance

The land in and around Uch belongs to the two most powerful families (*pirs*). The area adjacent to Uch Jilani is nearer to the main road; the town is growing there, and the old bazaar is relocating there from Uch Bokhari. Consequently, the historic core of the town is being abandoned. The CRC proposals for Uch can be implemented only if the *pirs* agree to donate or sell their lands for the purposes of the CRC plan. The *pirs*, according to the conversations the authors had with residents and businessmen, wish to extract a political price for any donations that they make. It was also pointed out that the mayor and key officials in Uch are all from the Jilani family, and that all of them and their immediate families live in Lahore and have their main financial interests in that city. However, they can only be elected from Uch.¹⁴⁸

The devolution plan has strengthened feudal power, since it has curtailed the power of the bureaucracy and increased the power of the elected representatives. The business community on the other hand does not have a tradition of participating in the political process. So, in Uch, as in Mithi, the feudal system still dominates politically, despite the social revolution that has taken place.

6.4 Chiniot

Chiniot is one of the oldest towns of the Punjab. It is located on the banks of the Chenab, the second largest river of Pakistan, and is famous for the folk romances of Sohni-Mahiwal and Heer-Ranjha. According to a local legend, the town is named after Chandan, a King's daughter who was very fond of hunting. One day she came to the banks of the Chenab and was so impressed by the beauty of the spot that she ordered a town to be built there. The town was called Chandniot in her honour.¹⁴⁹ The town features in the ancient Sanskrit epic, the *Mahabharata*. It was part of the Achaemenian Empire in the 6th century BC and was an important town in the time of Alexander (325BC), Ashoka (185BC), Baber (1526), Akbar (1556) and Ahmed Shah Abdali (1748). In 1856 it became a part of the Jhang district established by the British after their conquest of the Punjab in 1848.

Because of its location, Chiniot has always been an important trading town. Much of the timber from Kashmir was floated down to the town and distributed throughout the Punjab and northern India. The town is famous for its wood-carving, ornate masonry and brass work. The artisans of Chiniot were employed in the building of the Taj Mahal and of the Wazir Khan Mosque in Lahore.¹⁵⁰ These skills were passed down from father to son. Today, Chiniot is the second-largest town of the Jhang district.

Social structure

Most of the agricultural area around Chiniot was developed as a result of the canal colonies established by the British, and now consists of peasant proprietorships and small farms. Due to this, there are fewer caste barriers and much more social mobility than in Uch and its surroundings. However, there are powerful families such as the Syeds (descendants of the Prophet) and the Qazis (descendants of the doctors of Islamic law), and others who were loyal to the British and became hereditary landlords as a result of the British land settlement in the 19th century.

¹⁴⁸ Interviews 11, 17, 18, 21, 24.

¹⁴⁹ Irshad Ahmed Theam (2007), *Tareekh-e-Chiniot* (Urdu publication), Chiniot.

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.globosapiens.net/travel-information/Chiniot-2074.html>.

Because of the history and location of Chiniot, the town has always had a very affluent merchant class of Muslim *shaikhs* and Hindu *baniyas*, born out of centuries of trade and commerce, especially related to the timber business. Today, the *shaikhs* dominate the textile industry in Pakistan but their mills are in Karachi and Faisalabad where better infrastructure and investment policies were available and where they could be free of the domination of the Syeds and Qazis. In these cities, they dominate the chambers of commerce and industry. The *shaikhs* of Chiniot are among the richest families in Pakistan.



THE MUSEUM AT CHINIOT

The masons and carpenters belong to the traditional artisanal castes, and over the years have formed guilds. These professions were hereditary but today through an apprentice system people of other castes are also becoming carpenters and masons. However, the businesses and investments related to these trades are controlled by the *shaikhs*. It is estimated that there are more than 100 workshops producing furniture and carved doors in Chiniot.¹⁵¹

Chiniot is linked to the major cities of Pakistan and to the rest of the world because of its timber-related skills and trade. The Chinioti workshops and investors produce furniture for the elite of Pakistan and receive orders from Europe, the Middle East, Japan and the USA, and participate in international exhibitions. As a result of this, there are a number of foreign banks and insurance companies in the town.

The affluence of the *shaikhs* has led to the education of that community and the emergence of a powerful middle class in Chiniot, but it is said that whoever gets educated goes away.¹⁵² Much of the new generation of *shaikhs* settled in Karachi and Lahore, and has been educated abroad. However, the community is still a very conservative one, especially on gender-related issues.

The green revolution, as in the Uch area, also took place in the Jhang district where Chiniot is located. However, it did not have the same affect on Chiniot as on Uch because the service sector to the green-revolution technologies and mechanization was established in

¹⁵¹ Interview 28.

¹⁵² Interview 27.

the smaller towns of the district, and not in Chiniot. Similarly, migration from the rural areas was evenly distributed to the smaller towns of the district.

Industries are being established on the outskirts of Chiniot – mostly agro-industries of small or medium size. The large industries are being established by the *shaikhs* in the larger cities of Pakistan. The labour for the new industries in Chiniot is being imported from the northern districts of Punjab or from the NWFP. The reason for this is that the industrialists fear that local labour will organize trade unionism and will press for the minimum-wage law to be imposed. This is resented by the local communities.¹⁵³

Processes of change

The creation of the canal colonies by the British increased agricultural production, as a result of which market towns became important and people migrated to them. The British also brought peasants from eastern Punjab for managing agriculture. Thus, peasant proprietorship emerged in the area. However, the British supported the old power structure and linked it to a powerful colonial administrative structure consisting of departments of irrigation, revenue collection and police. Thus, the creation of the peasant proprietorship did not bring about any major social revolution.



OLD CHINIOT

With the out-migration of the Hindu merchant classes after the creation of Pakistan, the power of the *shaikhs* increased and they took advantage of the government's industrialization policy of the 1960s and have since then invested in the textile industry in Karachi and Faisalabad, thus becoming important players in the economic life of Pakistan.

The Middle East construction boom in the 1970s led to a big demand for carpenters and masons in the UAE and later in Saudi Arabia. Chiniot artisans migrated to these countries in large numbers, and as a result lifestyles changed and an affluent class of artisans was created, leading to the setting up of shops and workshops in Karachi, Islamabad and Lahore.

¹⁵³ Interview 25.

Reasons for migration to Chiniot

The major reason given by those interviewed is that people from the rural areas and the small towns came to Chiniot to learn carpentry and masonry skills, or to labour in the building industry. Those trained in Chiniot work all over Pakistan today. The other reason is for the education of children, as seen in Uch. The biggest problem people face in migrating to Chiniot is the lack of government land, making it difficult to form *katchi abadis* where they can live.

Reasons for migration and emigration from Chiniot

The major reason given for migration and emigration from Chiniot is the demand for carpenters in the Middle East, Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad.¹⁵⁴ Also, since large orders are being received from these larger cities of Pakistan, Chiniot entrepreneurs have established workshops and showrooms in these larger cities. Chiniot artisans are employed in the workshops, and many of them have taken their families with them. Another reason for shifting businesses to the larger Pakistani cities is that it is easier to service orders from abroad from there. This trend is therefore increasing.

With money coming in, children's education has become important for both the *shaikhs* and the artisans. Higher education is increasingly being accessed in Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad and abroad. The new generation of richer entrepreneurs is being educated in specialized fields in the USA or at the elite private universities in Pakistan, but they do not come back and settle in Chiniot. Chinioti engineers, doctors, business managers and other professionals are important in the professional and social life of Karachi, Faisalabad and Lahore.¹⁵⁵

Another reason given for migration is the lack of political power of the *shaikhs* and artisans. A desire for political change was expressed in most conversations, but the business community does not seem to be interested in participating in elections, which is outside the tradition of this group.¹⁵⁶

Impact of migration/emigration on Chiniot

The biggest impact of migration and emigration on Chiniot has been the development of connections in the major cities of Pakistan and in the Middle East. This has led to the establishment of businesses outside Chiniot, and this process continues, leading to a culture of contemporary entrepreneurship. However, it has also led to difficulties for the smaller producers who are being elbowed out of the furniture and carpentry business.¹⁵⁷

Artisans who migrated have invested their savings in the purchase of mechanized tools for their workshops. This has improved their production capacity and capability, but has created problems for those artisans without mechanized tools. The 100 or more workshops in Chiniot employ more than 2,000 artisans, not including unskilled labour or those working in transport-related activities. It is generally agreed that the demand for furniture and wood-carving is still not being adequately met.¹⁵⁸ Because of the expansion of the carpentry business, entire neighbourhoods have been turned into workshops. Work is carried out on the streets and in public spaces in these neighbourhoods, which are also used for storing

¹⁵⁴ Interviews 25, 26, 27.

¹⁵⁵ Arif Hasan's observations.

¹⁵⁶ Interviews 28, 29.

¹⁵⁷ Interview 28.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

timber and finished goods. Banks have opened to service the industry, showrooms have been created and associations of furniture producers and shopkeepers have been formed.

Very little of the money generated in Chiniot has been invested in social services, although the *shaikhs* have helped in establishing a girls' college, four schools, mosques and seminaries. However, there is a view that these investments by the *shaikhs* have been made to protect their properties from sale and bifurcation by their heirs, and not for any altruistic purposes.¹⁵⁹ A mobile dispensary has also been established by an important member of the *shaikh* family. However, the *shaikhs* in the textile business have invested significantly through the All Pakistan Textile Mills Association (APTMA) for the establishment and/or operation of academic institutions related to the textile industry in Karachi and Faisalabad.

Remittances from abroad have been invested by both businesspeople and artisans in improving their homes in the old city. In many cases, the older homes have been replaced by new ones, thus destroying much of Chiniot's historic architecture. In other cases, old homes have been turned into workshops and warehousing for timber and finished goods. This has environmentally degraded parts of old neighbourhoods with once-exquisite domestic architecture.

A number of housing schemes are being built on the outskirts of Chiniot as joint ventures between developers and the owners of agricultural land. The developers for the most part are from the old merchant or artisanal castes and have the skills of measuring land, entrepreneurship and "public dealing", in contrast to the agriculturalists who do not have these skills. Many of these housing schemes are informal, in that they have not been approved by local government.¹⁶⁰ The middle classes and the wealthier artisans are investing in them. Real estate agents claim that a sizeable number of plots in these schemes are being purchased by remittance money.

In contrast to the old neighbourhoods of Chiniot, the new schemes are not homogenous in terms of clan, caste or ethnicity, as their allocation is primarily commercial. Interviewees have said that the expansion of the timber business in Chiniot, and to other cities of Pakistan, has put small businesses under pressure and that there is no future for a person without skills. Therefore, poverty is increasing and the new money is driving low-income groups to acquire land and property illegally, especially in the old town.¹⁶¹

Process of migration

The process of migration in Chiniot is through family, friends and agents. It is all well-organized since the process and systems related to it are understood and the links with the Middle East and with the larger cities of Pakistan are well established through long association. A common way of emigrating to Saudi Arabia is by going on pilgrimage, and once there getting in touch with family members or friends and getting a job. The same process is followed for migration to the UAE, except that the initial visit is with a temporary visa sent by a relative or friend.

Many artisans who have been trained through the apprenticeship system live in the villages around Chiniot. Every day they either cycle to work or take public transport in to the town. Others stay in Chiniot and go to their villages at weekends.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Interview 29.

¹⁶⁰ For details, see: Salim Aleemuddin et al. (1999), *The Work of the Anjuman Samaji Behbood and the Larger Faisalabad Context*, IIED, 15 December.

¹⁶¹ All interviewees expressed these views in one way or another.

¹⁶² Interview 26.

Governance

The political leaders of Chiniot come from the powerful traditional elite. All of them, however, along with their families, live in Lahore. They are landlords opposed to the business community,¹⁶³ and are in power with the support of the establishment. Here again, it was said that the old system of governance before devolution was better because, through the bureaucracy, the power of the traditional elite was kept in check. This is no longer possible and so people in Chiniot are becoming increasingly alienated from the political process.

The timber business too gets no support from the government. The cost of sheesham (local mahogany) has increased from Rs300 per cubic foot in 1995 to Rs950 today. This again is adversely affecting the business of the small producer, who is forced to employ his children as workmen thus detracting from their education.¹⁶⁴ The small producers feel that the timber business should be supported by a tax holiday and other incentives.

7 Broad conclusions

The following seven broad conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this study.

1 Remittances from abroad have had a positive impact on Pakistan's economy.

Without these remittances, the exchange rate and monetary and fiscal policies would come under great pressure. However, remittances have not had much of an impact on the local economy and have been used mainly for building property, improving lifestyles, purchasing gadgetry and for better education. In locations such as Chiniot, where skills and entrepreneurship already existed, remittance income has been used for tools for business purposes. In the less developed areas of Pakistan, from where most emigration has taken place, this is not the case. Pakistanis from abroad have invested in the social sectors but this has not made any substantial difference to the provision of social-sector facilities in the areas from where people have emigrated. Newspaper reports and articles have often mentioned that because macro-economic indicators are improved by remittances from abroad, the government promotes emigration rather than improving social services and job opportunities for lower-income groups.

2 Remittances from within Pakistan have been used mainly for improving lifestyles and houses of the migrants. There have been no investments in the social sectors as a result of these remittances. However, remittances and migrants' connections in the urban areas have been used to help areas of out-migration in times of crises such as floods, earthquakes and droughts. Remittances have also reduced the importance of and interest in agriculture, and created a new underclass of agricultural landless labourers who now work as tenants on the farms of the migrants.

3 Emigration and migration have promoted education, more liberal values, emancipation of women and NGO activity. At the same time, they have led to the break-up of the extended family and clan institutions, promoted a rich/poor divide at the local level and also an immense desire in the population to go abroad, since migrants and their families have become role models for the rest of society. There are also indications that migrants feel that their children can become "spoilt and arrogant". It is generally agreed that remittance money is not saved, and is seldom invested in any productive enterprise, with the result that when migrants return the living standards of the family often go down. In addition, emigration is more often than not accompanied by loneliness and depression, both of the emigrant and

¹⁶³ Interviews 26, 28, 29.

¹⁶⁴ Interview 28.

of his wife left behind in Pakistan. Also, where emigration is undertaken illegally, there are additional worries about the danger, and risks of fraud or arrest and imprisonment.

4 Under-serviced informal settlements are developing in small towns, due to in-migration from the rural areas. Where these settlements are on state land, there is hope for their regularization. In towns where state land does not exist, increasing density of occupation of *katchi abadis* and the inner cities is taking place and causing environmental degradation and social fragmentation. Informal settlements on private land are also developing in these towns but there is no likelihood of their regularization. The residents are therefore not interested in improving their homes and services. Local governments of towns with state land can plan their development and expansion, while towns without state land have to go through the long process of land acquisition unsupported by the powerful land-owning political families.

5 The younger generations of migrant families want to live in larger cities. Given the experience of education and better lifestyles, the younger generation of families whose members have migrated or emigrated prefer the physical and social environment of the city. As a result, the small-town areas of origin lose political power, future civil society leadership and professional workers.

6 Political power remains firmly with the traditional land-owning elites in small towns, despite social and economic changes and the emergence of a wealthier business community. The maintenance of this power has been considerably helped by decentralization and devolution of governance systems. This is because the elected local government representatives now have complete control over the bureaucracy, and a majority of the *nazims* (mayors) of the small towns belong to powerful land-owning families. Devolution has also created more unequal development, since the elected leaders, unlike the bureaucrats they replaced, give preference to those areas that supported them in the election process or are associated with people of their clan or political party.

7 The process of migration should be much improved but, even if this were done, is migration worth it? A number of issues need to be addressed regarding the processes and repercussions of migration. Corruption by agents needs to be controlled and the costs of migration should be reduced. Trafficking and the processes leading to bonded labour should be controlled. The problems associated with illegal migration, which results in deaths and exploitation, require efforts by both origin and destination countries. Much more effort is needed to open avenues for productive investment of remittances, and for the protection of the human rights of migrants in their destination countries. However, the most important question remains: "Is migration, and especially emigration, worth it?" There is no definitive answer to this question. Most unmarried young men interviewed for this study, who have been abroad, even illegally, feel that it was worth it. Most married men feel that if opportunities were available in Pakistan and if there was justice and equity in society, there would be no need to go abroad. "Nobody wants to leave their home and family", is a phrase that recurs again and again.

Appendix 1 - Excerpts from Interviews

Interview No. 01

Muhammad Jamil

(November 02, 2007, 1:10 p.m. While travelling from Karachi to Mithi)

Driver by profession, resident of Mithi and migrated to Karachi for employment, following are the important points of Jamil's interview:

- I spent 11 years in Karachi, It was back in 1993.
- My father was an agricultural daily wage labour in the barrage area and also did some masonry work
- I was referred to first employer by one of my relatives
- The pressing reason for migration was the requirement of the house hold
- The money though meagre, was invested on land, taxi and purchase of property
- Salary was not enough and the captain (the employer) helped me a lot; to an extent that I got my sisters married with his help.
- Lot of my neighbours also migrated from Mithi.
- Arab hunters took many Tharis with them to Gulf states (gives examples and details)
- Many of the migrated ones are employed in Mill Area in Karachi
- Because of remittance money, the following changes are observed in Mithi: Now sweet water in available in Mithi; sewerage system has improved; road network developed; more taxi (rental cars) are owned by Tharis; and good houses
- Because of this agriculture produce are transferred through pickups and trucks. Earlier these were transferred through *Kekra*. Now *kekra* goes only to those areas that are inaccessible through roads. Now one can travel by motorcycles, which was not possible earlier
- After the availability of road net works, people are thinking of initiating new business ventures.
- Due to transport net work Nagar is only one to one and a half hour drive from Mithi. Before it was six
- Due to ease in transportation vegetables are now available from barrage areas, therefore there is a change in dietary patterns. *Lassi* is no longer in vogue, *Gawar kee phalee* (translation from Arif Sahib) and *Bajare kee roti* (translation from Arif Sahib) is also no longer a staple food.
- Air conditioned coaches are available from Mithi to Karachi, another change
- Number of people migrated from rural areas of Mithi to Mithi city, as well.
- Memons of Mithi preferred to migrate to Hyderabad city (reason given).
- More govt. job opportunities are available to people of Thar, therefore less movement for employment of educated people.
- In Mithi besides government jobs, people stick to farming as well; a means of diversifying livelihoods
- Bheels and Kohlis are still very backward, while Meghwars are moving up because of increasing education in the community
- For marriages and other functions traditional music and dance is still used but on more and more occasions there is an increasing trend of bringing pop troops from Hyderabad and Karachi
- Earlier people were served in local crockery made by Kumhars but now a lot of catering services are available. So now there is less/no discrimination in terms of eating.

Interview No. 2

Shahbaz Ali

(November 02, 2007, 6:15 p.m. TRDP's guest house-Mithi)

Born in Chak No. 418 of Toba Tek Singh of District Jhang he graduated from Government College Faisalabad and earned his B.Com from there. Earlier his parents had some land in Mithi and he came to Mithi for job. Following are excerpts of his interview:

- My two paternal uncles are in Rahim Yar Khan
- People from Toba migrated to Gulf states and Saudi Arabia
- Back home, the remittance money is spent to
 - Buy land
 - Purchase cars, and
 - Marriages
- The real estate price has increased in the native area.
- Remittance money has increased the purchasing power of people in native area.
- I know a family in which first a brother migrated, then call another brother and then another one and then one member from each family of his clan.
- In my opinion marriage is the easiest way to go abroad. (gives examples of friends)
- People migrate through family links and with the help of go-between as well. I know people of my village who migrated to South Africa with the help of middle-men but were not able to settle there.
- My village is a VIP village as every facility is there.
- Facilities in cities are the reason for migration of people. The migrant population creates an aura of competition in the native area, hence people do not migrate only because of compulsion but because of competition
- He also said that educated people do not go into politics and in his village vote for personalities not party.
- He is here to learn more and then will go to another place
- In his opinion, people want to return back to their villages, as cities are becoming more and more filthy, and polluted.
- One should have enough money so that s/he can enjoy the village life. This is rare.
- Migrants maintain their relationship with the village as they visit it on Eid and other ceremonies such as births, marriages and deaths.

Interview No. 03

Ali Nawaz Nizamani

(November 02, 2007, 7:00 pm. TRDP's guest house, Mithi)

Nawaz was born and raised in Goth Baqar Nizamani of Shahdad Pur in Sanghar He is now-a-days working in NRSP. He is a graduate of Sindh University and was an activist of Sindhi Shagird Tehrik. Before coming to Mithi he had job in Shahdadpur. According to him

- As the land is water logged, the fertility of the soil has gone down and the profit declined.
- Banana farming is prevalent in the area. Its giving more profit but damaging the land as well
- Animals have been replaced by tractors, hence more mechanisation and less jobs
- In my area farmers are increasingly replaced by the daily wage workers because of the emergence of commercial farms
- Tractors and threshers have caused unemployment for haris as they don't have alternatives. Therefore the crime rate has increased
- People's needs have been augmented, expenses been increased and income declined. Hence people migrated towards cities.
- We concentrate more on jobs as we realized that land when distributed in off-springs and over generations results in decreased per capita share, hence less income. Middle class in rural areas owns 50/60 acres of land per family
- Earlier even Matric pass use to get jobs in government but now a days, people are applying in army as there are no local jobs available
- There are no jobs in Sindh as private sector has moved towards Punjab while government jobs providing capacity has been exhausted
- Lot of migration has been taken place from Dadu. Sanghar has relatively better agricultural facilities, so less migration took place
- People do migrate to Karachi and Hyderabad but mostly to Hyderabad as Karachi now does not belong to us any more (gives explanation)
- Those migrated, want to settle in Hyderabad but do not want to break relationship with village and do come back on occasions

Interview No. 04

Dr. Sono Khanghrani

(November 03. 2007, 9:30 am. TRDP's Office, Mithi)

Dr. Sono Kangrani CEO of Thardeep Rural Development Programme) while sitting in his office aired the following views:

- Approximate population of Mithi city is 50,000
- Lot of people in Mithi city came from nearby villages, in the hope of better quality of life. They get some facilities that are not available to them in villages but they have to pay for each of them. That is quite a contrast, as they are getting few facilities in the village but free of cost. (explains)
- There is a gender dimension to migration. Lot of households migrated from Mithi because they want their girls to be educated in Hyderabad. There is an increasing demand of educated brides for grooms (why?). Moreover there are more job opportunities for the educated girls in the villages as LHVs, teachers and social workers (explains at length)
- There are more opportunities for education as well in villages as various education promotion schemes like of Government sponsored schemes (in which every student is entitled for Rs. 200) or by WFP exists. Waderas are also interested as they could use the infrastructure for their purposes.
- When poor people migrate, they move in large groups and clans
- Hindus are a dominant political group in Mithi. The Muslim political leaders and their supporters maintain dual residence (in city as well as in villages) so that they can get the desired political results
- Majority of Thakurs migrated to India. They are involved in agriculture, transportation business, carpet weaving, school jobs and are in small business as well.
- The additional income is invested in making houses in Mithi
- In Rajputs young girls are educated
- Artisan community has diversified the livelihoods, by obtaining jobs as well.
- After 1993, people rely more on regular incomes as obtained from jobs, as a cushion for difficult times.
- In Mithi now cash economy is prevalent. There are couple of banks operating in Mithi like National, Khushal and Tameer-e-Watan
- So poor are redefined as those who have no regular income (gives reasoning on why)
- Livestock upkeep demands money, therefore people rely less on livestock now
- Agricultural output been decreased (gives details)
- Diet patterns of people been changed as now people eat three times.
- Since last 10 years, most of Tharparker people are involved in private sector jobs which was not the case earlier. Now they are employed in petrol pumps in Karachi, Dadhaboy cement factory, hotels on National Highway and are replacing Pathans.
- They are in increasing numbers in transportation business as well, particularly trucking business
- People who have no assets (land, livestock) are the victims. This category comprises of day wage and bonded labourers. As the time will pass there will be an increase in their numbers. Though they have no land, but they are provided with a certain type of protection from their landlord, and when they migrates its not available to them (gives explanation)
- Life style back home has changed; from crockery to clothes but those who didn't migrate are not exhibiting any sign of change. As a result social relationships have changed and urban concepts are penetrating into the native areas for migration. The concept of neighbourhood is diluting
- The status of *nai* (barber) has also changed. Earlier he was responsible for cooking at ceremonies and also acted as messenger. Now because advanced telecommunication means this role has been eroded. Also, there is an increasing trend of contracting out to

caterers so the cooking by *nais* is also fading away. They are jobless and hence migrating towards cities

- There is a transformation in Kumhar community as well. Since other type of crockery is available in the market therefore these are getting jobless. It was supposed to be a liberal community but now becoming more religious. They are now concentrating more on education therefore this skill is also dying
- The use of commercial crockery in marriages has also helped in more egalitarian atmosphere and the concept of non-touchability is also dying
- After the migration of *seth* (landlord) towards city, the system of *otaq* (drawing room) is also diminishing. The concept of individual charity has also changed and its now more institutionalised through religious institutions and other modes (gives explanation)
- The drought of year 2000 provided the opportunity to change Mithi. (gives explanation)
- Mithi is developed because of expanded road network and because of enhanced bureaucracy. Even the peon in bureaucracy has the influence to make civic facilities available to his area.
- There is an effect on market as well. Earlier people used to have shops as part of their house or very near to their house. Now most of the shops are on the roadside. Moreover markets/bazaars are also production centres now. The out put is sold in local market now
- There is an increasing trend in youth to migrate to other places and also to join army (gives details)
- Migrants from Mithi usually come back on lunar festivals and are investing money on Mandirs
- The bananas are being exported to gulf. Earlier they were sent to India
- Its is a common wisdom that people are migrating to India, through Khokhrapar. Among those, who went to visit to India, 4000 families stayed there and never came back.
- The market has encroached so much that one can find Nestle milk in Mithi, which is expensive. While the milk from Mithi is purchased by Pakola company at the rate of Rs. 15 per Kilogram.
- Mechanisation is also proving detrimental to the local environment (no facilities to dock and service it)
- Usually entrepreneurs here have no share in political power, therefore they migrates to other cities.
- Bureaucracy has its links with contractor, a non-skilled, non-entrepreneur group, so they are benefiting most from the development. In Tharparkar 650 new contractors came up and they promote present political setup. (gives details)

Interview No. 05

Daulat Ram

(November 03. 2007, 12:05 pm. Mithi City Market)

He was born in Hemasar village (17 km away from Mithi) of Jahapio Goth, union council Malauhanoreveno of Taluka Mithi. He is a post-graduate from Tandojam University in agriculture. Father was a health inspector in Mithi's Health Department. One of his two younger brothers is a teacher while other in MA in English. His two sisters did Matric and one is illiterate. He is now the owner of a handicraft shop. He expressed himself in following manner:

- When I was studying my father was earning only Rs, 2000, a meagre income, Therefore I decide to diversify the livelihoods and started selling pesticides
- My extended family is in the village but our nuclear family is in Mithi
- I took loan of 15 salaries form National Bank and established this carpet shop. Had bank not been there I would have applied for loan to some NGO. (gives details)
- I have employed 50 people for manufacturing in my village. Business is fine but due to competition the profit margins are low. We usually operate at 5 per cent profit
- There are now eight handicrafts shops in Mithi
- I am finding the life in Mithi much easier than my village, as I can enjoy lot more facilities here
- *Bajare kee rooti* (translation required) is still prevalent in villages but my son who lives here with me does not like it
- I have asked the political group here to make link road to my village
- I feel that since I live in a developed town I have more negotiation power and links with political groups
- My village people are in trucking business in Karachi
- Due to remittance money back home, people now are loosing interest in agriculture
- I opted for shop because purchasing a taxi is a risky business so I decided to invest in carpet business. My business is expanding and is equally beneficial for artisans out there in my native village
- I will provide good education to my children, whether they will continue this business or not, it will be their prerogative.
- They go to village twice/thrice a month and enjoy the life there.

Interview No. 06

Dr. Khatau Mall

(November 03, 2007, 4:15 pm. TRDP's Guest House)

A very short and informative interview goes as follows:

- My grand parents are from Kandri. The maternal grandfather was a *patwari* and was a transporter as well. Guru Mal was the first transporter of the area.
- I have 4 daughters and one son. One daughter is married, two will get married and one daughter is in intermediate.
- After Babri mosque and other incidents of the type, lot of people migrates to other places.
- I think that Mithi's original population is replaced by people from rural, so enormous is the migration from rural
- Village to village migration is possible for following two reasons
 - Either maternal family in the host place encourages; and
 - One can settle to in-laws village
- Village to Village migration, hence, is minimal
- Village growth in Tharparker, therefore, is only because of natural increase in number due to births.
- It is also interesting to observe that those who migrates from Parker to barrage areas do not come back (gives explanation and reasons)
- Similarly Kohli going to cane fields do not return anymore
- Although Kohli is an agricultural caste by profession, they are also not returning form cities
- Kohi girls are working in Banya's houses. Earlier because of caste system they were not allowed to work in privileged or high casts. The media, other telecommunications means and market is creating such acceptance.

Interview No. 07

Jevraj along with Lakshman and Chandi Ram

(November 03. 2007, 5:00 pm. Jhangi Nagar)

The interview is held in the living room of a Doctor of Dharmani Colony of Jhangi Nagar in Mithi city. Jevraj, Lakshman and Chandi Ram participated in the interview, while Jevraj, in his 80s, occupied the major chunk of conversation. Jevraj said:

- I was born in Ronia, a village 8 to 10 kilometres away from Mithi.
- I saw the English government and also saw lot of changes in my life span
- About 120 or 125 years ago my grandparents lived in Mithi, migrated out for business reasons, came back to Mithi in 1972, again migrated and finally settled in Mithi.
- We here are 60 families, some of them are doing jobs, some do masonry work and some own shops
- 25 to 30 people are employed in garment factories in Karachi
- There is no road in our villages and when people travelled to village back they face problems. So we are happy in Mithi, as we have facilities here
- In villages we were involved in agriculture, while here we are more involved in business
- We have more opportunities for education of girls here in Mithi
- Originally this land was government property. For ownership we took a "number form" from Mukhtar-e-kar and that's how we purchased that from government. That happened in 1983
- More and more people are landing here and they just occupy the land
- The major changes that took place in Thar are:
 - Increase in hunger;
 - Unemployment;
 - Increased network of roads
- In 1935 there was only one school in Mithi and the influential were not allowing to make schools in Mithi Taluka or let us get educated
- When people get educated, they migrate and the native area suffers. For example, doctors in Mithi works in Karachi and area people don not have qualified doctor for their cure
- On the other hand remittance money is bringing happiness to the area
- The families of migrant, here, are a little better. Those emigrants who choose to have job in garment industry in Karachi are earning more
- We got educated in villages and our children are getting education here so we cannot move back. Also, we have to support our families
- 30 people form this community are in government jobs
- Some of our village members were not bale to migrate because of the pressure of *bradari*
- We have some income from our lands in villages
- Marriage and other customs do not change much except that earlier only potential groom's family approaches the about to be brides family. Now increasingly it is going both ways
- More and more girls are doing job an our society is now becoming tolerant to this fact
- Education creates awareness and awareness brings change
- Comparatively the contemporary youth is less respectful towards elders.
- Earlier one dress was used for the wedding of seven grooms. Now one groom needs seven dresses, so there is a change
- The new generation do not know about the Kabir Das

دکھلیاں س پڑا ہے، موج اڑایا تو کیا اڑایا

Interview No. 08

Dr. Shankar

(November 03. 2007, 6:00 pm. Mithi City)

The interview was held in the clinic of Dr. Shankar. He expressed that:

- As a doctor I was employed in Karachi and afterwards in Diplo. Later due to the mother's illness I get myself transferred in Mithi
- People live in Mithi because of their compulsions
- The greatest disadvantage is that doctors cannot do post graduation in Mithi
- LHVs of village think that they should migrate to Mithi, while Mithi people think that they should live in Karachi
- I have observed that with the passage of time my patients have become more assertive
- I have also observed that purchasing power of people has decreased as in now they demand more medicines from government subsidized medicines rather from open market. Earlier that was not the case (gives explanations)
- I have also noticed that now they are more rowdy, and are less respectful towards doctors as compared to earlier times. They doubt doctors very much now
- Doctors are also becoming more ambitious and hence the relationship between doctors and patients is deteriorating
- The society is also becoming more unequal. People are becoming more show-offs
- I think that media is responsible for promoting new trends in women
- Tradition, culture and discipline is at its lowest ebb these days
- It's a consumerist culture as there are fifteen to twenty thousand mobile phones in Mithi
- There are selling assets and purchasing gadgetry
- I have also observed that *lassi* is replaced by Pepsi and *rooti* is replaced by market bread.
- Hence encapsulated life is now more open
- People are now fond of more travelling

Interview No. 09

Bhagwandas

(November 03, 2007, 9:00 pm. TRDP's guest house)

Bhagwandas now owns a hotel in Mithi. Earlier he was doing a job in Mirpurkhas for 15 years and then he came back for small business in Mithi. He said:

- I came from Mirpurkhas and opened a shop in cold rinks in Mithi but there was not much savings form that venture
- Then opted for hotel, as an experiment in 1998. There was a lot of opposition form my friends but I decided to take a risk. Had I not migrated I would not have been able to take that risk (gives explanation)
- The business flourished because by then Mithi became the tehsil headquarter
- The hotel is housed in a rented building.
- No advance was demanded to the landlord. Had he demanded the advance I would probably would have not been able to establish the hotel
- Most of the clients are pharmaceutical company representatives. TRDP also provides a good business
- The room rent varies form Rs 150 to Rs 300 per night. Air-conditioned rooms have higher charges
- In press club of Mithi they are establishing a guest house. I am asked to look after them as contractor but I will think about it (gives explanation)
- Hotel provides valima reception services as well
- Ten years before the hotel provided exclusive service to certain communities, now its for all castes
- Earlier there was reserved crockery for various castes, now that phenomenon is passing away
- In 1996 the daily wages for waiters, dish washers and other staff was Rs. 70 and now it ranges from Rs. 110 to Rs. 300. I want to pay high so that my employees should work more and with satisfaction
- All of my employees are from Mithi area – rural and urban
- I serve chicken and mutton to my customers and interesting thing is that Hindus also eat mutton. Banya also eats meat as they like it. This has changed due to Karachi and Hyderabad links.
- As Mithi has become the tehsil headquarter, more people are visiting this place. They want to have good facilities and my hotel is providing those. Road infrastructure has also played its role in increasing the number of visitors to Mithi
- I operates taxi as well but due to competition the profit margins are going down so I am thinking of selling taxis
- There are 275 plus jeep taxis, 50 Quinqi (correct spelling needed) and 50 car taxi in Mithi.
- These are owned by local villagers. While coming to the city in morning these carry passengers from villages. In the day time they are at their respective stands and while going back in the night they again carry passengers. In case of accidents of snake bite to other emergencies, they can swiftly carry people form the villages to the nearby hospitals
- Bahramin community is more in dairy business. There are 100 buffaloes in the city and for them fodder comes from other areas. Milk and plastic bags are now prevalent in the city. Nestle branded milk is very common in city
- Nowadays, wood comes from barrage areas. In 1996 there were only two wood sellers in Mithi, now there are 20. Wood is coming form jungle and form barrage areas. The price is Rs 150 per maund
- Most of the wood sellers are from Mithi
- Earlier the wood was transported on camels back, Now it is transported on trucks
- LPG is also available in Mithi and its price is Rs. 650 for 11 kilogram
- There are no kilns in Mithi and the price of brick is Rs. 6 per brick. Meghawars and Bheels are employed in brick kilns but outside Mithi.

Interview No. 10

Madhudas, Kamji, Dheerao and Dost Ali

(November 04, 2007, 11:00 am. Goth Lunyar)

Kamji is 70 plus years of age and Dost Ali is a teacher. They expressed themselves as follows:

- Those who have land and are well stayed, and those aspired for jobs migrated from the village
- Here we have 20 Hindu families and 200 Muslim families in the areas. .
- Muslim families didn't migrate as they have livestock and land
- There is no sweet water available in the village. There is no electricity and also village has no roads. We bring water from a distance of 1 kilo meter
- The people of this village migrated to Mithi but none of them went to Karachi
- 20 per cent of people in Mithi are government employees and rest are daily wage labourers and they have their neighbourhoods out there and they all purchased their land from a tailor who has gone into business of setting people
- Earlier there were artisans in the village. They got education and then they migrated and they in all probabilities will not return
- We have a school till eighth grade. Its completely free
- If children get education they will not work in the field. So, children either look for jobs or look forward for business
- If they do not get jobs, they will be back to the fields
- Some of the village youngsters are on job in Karachi. They sent Rs 3,000 per month but that is not sufficient as these are sent sometimes after a gap.
- Life style has changed in village. Earlier we have only one dress to wear and now we have ten at our disposal
- Life is more expensive and the entire structure is changing
- Those who have *pucca* houses must have greater resources at their disposal. People are making *pucca* houses by drawing 12 salary advance from National bank and from some savings from their jobs in the towns
- As compared to 70's there are more livestock in the village
- Since people have migrated to cities, there is a little bit more prosperity in the village
- Earlier there was no awareness in the village. Now because of interaction with the city we have awareness and we go to city for education and medical treatment
- If all facilities are made available to us as in the city we would prefer not to go the city
- Because of other modes of transportation there is a decrease in the number of transport animals
- There is only one village of Kumhars nearby. They sell their products to the cities
- Masons are available for digging well but bandharis are not available
- *Nai* is available in the village doing all traditional jobs
- Earlier in marriage parties there were only one dish and now we have three or more dishes
- We are following the footsteps of the cities. Women are wearing Shalwar Kameez which is not our traditional dress
- Vegetables and fruits are brought from Karachi. We never had them before
- When youngsters come from Karachi they not only bring money but also other things like crockery
- There is enhancement in the prestige of such boys, as they are money makers
- They become role model for other young children
- The skills of artisans are suffocating as they do not have any further outlets. Hence the artisan women are now idle
- Earlier the hand made things are large part of dowry now ready made things are making a large part of it. Hence money is going back to cities and village is further deprived
- So villages don't have any future as all this process is making villages more vulnerable
- We sell our livestock in Karachi around Eid

- One can have an idea of over consumption from the fact that every household has a mobile phone and in some cases one household has five sets as well.
- After the road been laid to this village we will purchase motorcycles as mode of conveyance. We have already paid advance for that.
- Camels are slowly being replaced by tractor for ploughing the fields as the earlier demands more care. 40 to 50 per cent of the ploughing is now done by tractors. We pay Rs. 400 per tractor per hour, while fuel is our expenditure
- We purchase 60 chickens per month from city for eating purposes
- We have to pay Rs 350 as taxi fare from Mithi to this village. If we wish to bring flour for Mithi to the village, it automatically raises the price of it.
- I am not in a favour of my brother migrating to Mithi as he can talk to outsiders and he resolves conflicts here. He is good in conflict resolution (explains)
- Before 1971 Rajput (Muslims) were not allowing our female to wear good dresses but now this control of theirs is lost
- We are richer than Rajputs, as we are united and we can express ourselves
- Tekan Das, who maintained the marriage registration register, an instrument of unity migrated to city (interesting explanation given)
- In Hindu community most of the brides are from outside so they bring waves of changes with them. In Muslim community that's not happening, as it is a closed society

Interview No. 11

Tahir, Tauseef, Aamir, Asad and Shakeela (CRC staff)

(November 11, 2007, 12:15 pm in CRC Office Uch)

(CRC stands for Conservation and Rehabilitation Centre. It is an NGO run by architects who are working on the conservation of the Uch Monuments and the rehabilitation of the city. Recently, their work was awarded a UNESCO distinction and Uch has been put on the World Heritage list)

The group of five participated in the discussion, but Tahir's input was often frequent. Following are the important points of the group's interview:

- Tahir mentioned that the counsellors are residents of Uch, involved in pesticide business. Some of them are meat sellers, few of them are also involved in cotton business as well. So, counsellors here are entrepreneurs as well.
- Their families also live here and their children are getting education here.
- Central market (mandi) is Ali Pur which is one hour drive from here, so economical activity/interest is less in Uch.
- There is only one pesticide shop in Uch.
- Counselors are politically aligned with PML(Q).
- 50 percent of them own agricultural land as well.
- Most of the business is on credit and creditors are local people (Uchvis). Most of the credit is for agricultural activities.
- Also jewellers (mostly Ismailis) in Uch provide credit. They usually take gold from the needy and provide them money; half the worth of gold
- The graduate studies are available only in arts in Uch. Rough estimates show that there are approximately 20 arts graduates per year. Approximately 2 percent of the educated youth leaves, find government jobs in other cities and rest join the local traders community here.
- Asad is a graduate in mass communication, he is thinking of finding employment. He is involved in pesticide business and fertilizer business.
- Creditors from Uch lend money to rural areas, through guarantor-who charges a percentage for guarantee, to the loaned. The guarantor thus accumulates money and over a span of time comes to Uch.
- As cotton goes directly to ginning factories so there is no main market (mandi)
- One rice husking mill is owned by Khwajgans. So the business community is Khawjagan but they are not risk takers as they don't have any political patronage.
- In coming migration in Uch is for two reasons: a) Because of guarantors and b) of cotton business.
- There is not much out-migration from Uch. Yes people do own lands in Lahore and Bahawalpur.
- Political importance of city has increased as there is an investment of Rs. 30 million and also because the development budget of Uch being increased
- The neighbouring areas are owned by zamindars but they too are not into business.
- Political importance is not much as: a) its not on the main road; b) zamindars are not interested in development; c) The river trading connection is lost.
- The changes that are observed are that a) girls (90 per cent) are getting education, b) girls are into employment now, and c) More lady doctors are available in Bahawalpur now.
- One lady doctor got married to an Uchavi so she may probably establish a clinic in Uch,
- (Shakeela) said that she have 55 girls in FA. These girls belong to business class as well as to labour class.
- She also mentioned that her father, an Uchavi, is a skilled labour and works in a coating factory, while her mother is a Rind Baloch
- She also said that her father supported her for employment, otherwise there is a substantial opposition from the rest of the family. On the contrary nobody opposed for education. She said that she wants to be economically independent, therefore she prefers to have some job. Her teacher in college was from Bahawalpur
- The girls college was established in year 2000.

- The land for the college was donated by Wahid Ullah Sheikh, though there was an opposition for girls college in Uch.
- People are shifting from Uch Bukhari to Uch Gilani. (reasons given)
- 4/5 buses daily leave for Karachi and majority of them carries labourers. Many of them now lives in Akhtar Colony and Manzoor Colony in Karachi. Those who migrate usually do not come back.
- The remittance money is invested in a) purchase of land b) in agriculture, and c) in education of dependents.
- The changes that we have observed are that pottery utensils been replaced by steel ones. The wooden oven been replaced by gas and the oil lamp been taken over by electric bulb.
- The kumhars are no more while the chamars have survived. Weavers (jolahey) are replaced by machine looms.
- There is an improvement in hygiene practices.
- Other changes that have been observed that now more and more girls are getting education while, because of the availability of ready made dresses the handicraft workmanship is dying fast in women, More women are interested in plantation in their houses. People now sit more on chairs and drinks Pepsi. The tradition of story telling has gone and there is TV in every house. Nai has been replaced by professional cooks and now waiters serve to the guests. There are few Bhands and Mirasis left in rural areas but no more in Uch. Because of pressure of Maulvis, the dancing of women in marriages has gone.
- Khajwagans were maulvis and now they are in business. Maulvis opposed feudal order and business man support Maulvis, as enemy of enemy is friend.
- More and more diseases like blood pressure and blood sugar becoming prevalent.
- Earlier girls were restricted only to madressas and now are opting more for western education. The deeni madressas are now meant only for orphans.
- Girls are getting married now outside the families as well.
- Tehsil nazims interest is outside Uch since they do not live here.
- Tahir mentioned that had he not been lived in Karachi and worked in sugar mill he would not been that developed or got a chance to work for CRC.

Interview No. 12

Kaleem Ullah and Hussain

(November 11, 2007, 1:30 pm in CRC Office Uch)

Kaleem Ullah and Hussain, former being Gopang Baloch and the later being Awan went for Dubai in search of job. The venture didn't last long and they both are of the opinion that they will not go back. Following are the excerpts of Kaleem Ullah's interview:

- My forefather migrated from Sailaba, I am a PGD in IT from Bahawalpur and developed myself as a web designer.
- I was working in TMA and was drawing a salary of Rs. 4000 per month. There was not much work and I usually got some composing job.
- I decided to search for some job because expenses were high and I want to have better education for my children.
- The official cost of visit visa is Rs. 4000 but that visa cost us Rs. 20,000. There are invisible costs of travel agents who guarantees that the person applying will come back to Pakistan. They charge for that. Such type of travel agents are found in Bahawalpur as well.
- A friend of my friend advised us to look for a job in Dubai. He said that he has enough connections and we will not be facing any problem for job in Dubai, as he is well connected out there.
- We three friends applied and he sent the visa for two. We thought that we two should go first and will make room for the third one.
- So we landed in Dubai. That guy picked us from the Airport and then took us to his friends place. He then took us to a night club of Sharjah. We spent some time there and later found that he had no proper accommodation for us. After some struggle he managed to have some place for us in a very underdeveloped area of Sharjah. He didn't turn up for a week. (details are interesting)
- After a week he showed his face, took us to Dubai and again made our boarding in some very backward area of Dubai. He promised that we will be on job in no time.
- A day later, he took us to one of the travel agents, who apparently was from Faisalabad. Before that our acquaintance asked us not to mention his name to that travel agent.
- I then realized that our contact person is a complete fraud and in my desperation I contacted with one of my relatives in Dubai (also from Uch), He helped us out.
- In that new place we had a facility of e-mail and hence we searched online for jobs and started sending applications.
- We had to spend lot of money for travelling to the interview venues. During the course of interviews I realized that I am out of my field (web development) for last 4 months. It happened because I was busy in preparation for Dubai. I tried to make up for my weakness. (gives explanation)
- All these events are quite disheartening. I decided to go back to the country. Disadvantage of living in Dubai is that living expenses are quite high. Travel expenses are also high. You cannot purchase a car without a valid driving license and driving license cannot be obtained on visit visa
- The conclusion is that we should live in this country and struggle here as it would be more rewarding.
- People often portrays a very good picture of Dubai but that is a mere bunch of lies.
- I will migrate to Karachi and will call my family out there later.
- As we are bonded by our relations, I never dreamt to live permanently in Dubai. On the other hand people who got settled there will not come back

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- My brother-in-law is in Germany and he took his family with him.
- Most of the migrants from Uch are unskilled.
- Investment back home is in palatial house, acts as a motivator for potential migrants, in donor areas.
- People who return to home after spending a long time in foreign countries cannot run a successful business, as a lot of water flows under the bridge in their business, nevertheless they can run small ventures.

Hussain, a watch maker by profession, said that:

- My father was a Hakim. My education is till FA. Afterwards I learned to repair watches and I use to repair 8 to 10 watches daily. The income is sufficient enough to feed myself and to lead a hand to mouth life. So, I decided to leave for Dubai.
- I got the residential visa.
- Lot of people migrates from Uch and most of them are labourers. They usually purchase visa. Dubai establishment charges Dirham 5000, while they usually get visa in Dirham 15,000.
- My lessons learned form the venture could be summarized as follows: One should have complete information; one should not rely on others; and one has to do more hard work.
- We can do all the hard work here but the point is that we don't get enough opportunities in this country; opportunities according to our credentials.
- My approach towards life has been changed; more family-centric and more for small happiness.
- I can earn Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000 per month here, so I will live here.
- Earlier there was only one bread earner in a family and may mouths to feed, now there are so many but still the life is unaffordable.
- When we were in Dubai, on daily basis we received call from our friends in Uch, saying that if we can obtain Dubai visa for them as well.

Interview No. 13

Haji Muhammad Ibrahim

(November 11, 2007, 4:00 pm. Shop near CRC Office Uch)

50 years old Haji Muhammad Ibrahim migrated to Saudi Arabia at the age of twenty/twenty one. The following are the excerpts of his interview:

- Visa is granted for another person and was asked by my relative to come to Saudi Arabia. (gives details)
- Due to procedural requirements I went to Egypt and then came back to Saudi Arabia. (gives details)
- I lived in Madina for quite long for 10 years.
- Then I got married and called my wife afterwards. My children were born and raised there.
- I used to perform one Haj and two to three Umrah's per year.
- Unlike the pre-Kuwait war period, technical people were getting higher salaries as compared to the post war period. So I decided to come back to Pakistan.
- I did not have much savings from my 10 year's job and whatever saved was utilized in furnishing the house, for better education of the children and for establishing this small shop. One of my children is MA English from Bahawalpur, the other girl did her Matric and the other girl is in first year.
- People from Uch migrate because of inflation. (gives details)
- I have a TV, one refrigerator and one tape recorder in my house that I brought from Saudi Arabia.
- The items in this grocery shop are purchased from Multan and the soft drinks are supplied by the agents of the respective agencies.
- Asli ghee is available but its very expensive; Rs. 300/kilogram and hence not affordable.
- Big companies are purchasing milk from the local market, butter is not available now and there are no livestock in the cities.
- People are consuming more and more. (explains)
- I figure out that after coming back to Pakistan I prefer, now, more clean environment and better hygiene practices.

Interview No. 14

Arshad Ali

(November 11, 2007, 4:20 p.m. in CRC Office Uch)

He is a carpenter by profession and is involved in the trade since 1992. The following are the excerpts of his interview:

- My ancestors were from Uch, and my father was a school teacher. We belong to the cast of ironsmiths, so rest of the family is in iron casting business.
- We own two/three houses here.
- One of my relatives had a carpentry business in Arifwala, so I went there. He taught me the basic skills in a span of 4/5 years. Then I came back and established my own shop here. Capital was provided by my father.
- I have no ara machine and majority of the work related to construction of houses like making windows, closets etc. is done manually
- I think that only 5 percent of the people are getting remittance money and most of the people earn their livelihoods through agriculture.
- Around fifty to sixty people in Uch are involved in the same trade as me and 50 percent of them are from nearby villages. They have moved here for work. They were without jobs there.
- Iron smiths have more opportunities in villages but not carpenters. (explains)
- My maternal uncle cum teacher went to Saudi Arabia in 1995 and therefore I am also planning to go out there. (gives details of his uncle)
- My uncle has invested the remittance money in land and education of children.
- The remittance money usually creates difference in extended family. The family of migrant worker being better off and equipped with enhanced purchasing power tends to purchase better (perceived) quality goods.
- With the advent of remittance money use of gadgetry enhanced, but only individual lives are improved. It lacks community/collective improvement.
- Lot of electricians also went abroad as there was a demand. No good electricians left in Uch.
- The migrant worker family back home usually raise their standards, this causing more expenses. Hence when the migrant worker after spending his productive age he does not have much left with him. (explains)
- No body in Uch spends remittance money for welfare work.
- Yes I wish to go abroad and the venture will cost me Rs. 150,000 approximately.
- The agents do the turn-key job and will arrange my passport, ticket, visa etc. There is one such type of agent in Bahawalpur.
- The mode of payment varies, as some takes 50 per cent advance and rest on instalments. Other demands 100 per cent advance, so it differs. But all this process is not documented.
- There are some registered agent and some unregistered. Most of the fraud occurs because of those unregistered agents.
- Migrants get education of children in other cities not in Uch. More money one has, the possibility is more of settling in developed towns.

Interview No. 15

Muhammad Ehsanullah

(November 11, 2007, 5:30 pm in CRC Office Uch)

He is a patwari in Uch Gilani, FA pass and is on this job since last seventeen years. Following are the excerpts of his interview:

- There are eleven patwaris in sub-tehsils.
- There are not much government lands in near/around Uch.
- The land allocation is with patwari.
- Buying an selling of land is on-going. Outsiders also purchase land here in Uch.
- Twenty five percent of the buyers are from nearby villages about same line abroad.
- The registry of land is for credit, business and ownership.
- The rates of the land are as follows:
 - Rs 25,000 per marla in Sami Town
 - Rs 30,000 to 35,000 per marla in Umer town
 - Rs 25,000 per marla flat rate by government
 - Rs 70,000 per marla for land in Ush Gilani; and
 - Rs 35,000 fro Uch Bukhari per marla.
- Tehsil Nazim is responsible to grant permission for CNG station. They are mostly funded by money from abroad or from outside Uch business.
- There is no planning of city from TMO.
- As compared to Uch Bukhari, the area of Uch Gilani has more facilities because the Gilanis are better educated and live in Lahore. They are liberal..
- Streets are narrow in Uch Bukhari.
- There are five to six banks in Uch Gilani and the college in Uch Bukhari will be shifted in Uch Gilani.
- Remittance money is also use to purchase land. 30 percent of all deals falls in that category.
- Khawjagan, saudgan (jewellers) and sheikh families are involved in business and real estate. They lack political power. (gives explanations)
- No shamlaat in cities but must be outside city area.
- There is an increase in the land price created because more and more people are going out of Uch and sending money back. The increase is big.

Interview No. 16

Ahmad Raza

(November 11, 2007, 8:20 pm in CRC Office Uch)

He studied law from Punjab Law College, Lahore. He stayed 15 years in Lahore and following are the excerpts of his interview:

- There are no courts in Uch therefore I have to practice in tehsil Ahmed Pur East which is 15 kilometres away from Uch.
- My parents are in Uch and father owns a ginning factory since last 25 years. He took loan from the bank and mortgaged his property to set up factory.
- We are Rajputs and we don't have any loan in rural areas. Yes we do have property.
- One of my sister holds a Masters degree from Government Degree College Uch.
- One of my brother is a business man. He is a cotton broker.
- I live in Uch happily. Only if I prove to be a good lawyer I will move to other cities.
- Local governance is no good here and leaders do not have any interest in development. They are devoid of political acumen and since last twenty years same faces are in power.
- I studied law in Lahore. Before I studied in Lahore at a seminary.
- My Lahore experience changed me a lot. I enjoyed the company of Tahir-ul-Qadri. In Punjab University education is not up to the mark but the company of lecturers is worth it.
- I was taught English language in madressa, developed disciplined thinking, developed interest in literature and got training in oratory.
- I was an activist of Islami Jamiat-e-Taliba in Punjab University.
- The standard of living in Lahore is high and I got accustomed to good clothes, good food and of good environment.
- On the contrary I do not mind shabby dressing in Uch, unlike Lahore, as there is a lot of dust here in Uch.
- I miss Lahore too much.
- I become a role model for the rest of the family members because of my Lahore culture and I encouraged my graduate sister to do MA. Rest of my cousins want to study in Lahore now.
- We are counted in educated families and we can play a big role in Uch
- I thought of going abroad for LLM, but it is very expensive and at the moment it is not possible

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Interview No. 17

Khawaja Zakir

(November 11, 2007, 9:40 pm in CRC Office Uch)

Owner of a pharmaceutical shop in Uch he is a Ismaili Khawaja. Following are the excerpts of his interview:

- Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a Ismaili Khawaja.
- Khawaja community is a business community and no link with agriculture.
- From our community labour class migrated in the past but they came back. They do not have any business mindset.
- Migration to other cities is nominal.
- Before, I was in Saudi, in the same trade, for the six years.
- With the remittance money, I furnished my home, tried to settle children and settle my business
- For higher education, children of remote areas do not get access. Entry test is designed to encourage only certain type of applicants that's why I sent my children abroad (explains)
- We as parents try to adjust ourselves with our children
- My immediate family was with me since beginning abroad and we visited our family every year back home
- Here in this country we don't have any justice, we don't have any rights.

ہمارے لئے تو وہ قید خانہ تھا۔ ہمیں وطن ہی مٹی سمجھ کر لاتی ہے

- Same faces are ruling us and these feudal lords do not allow others to come forward
- To bring change the entire society needs to be changed
- Misuse of drugs is prevalent in Uch. There is an increase in psychological disorders. More sedatives are in use. Law and order situation is not good therefore people are suffering from depression
- There are 35 registered shops in Uch. I am of the view that registered should not be established back to back rather where there is a need. (gives explanations)
- I have a general store, as well as pharmaceutical shop but both housed in one premises
- Credit business is at peak. People take loan for agricultural purposes and the interest rate is approximately ten to fifteen percent
- Yes there is a difference
- Before one dug well, now you have piped water. Before you ate what you produced, now you buy what you eat. Before you needed no education, now cannot get a job without it – so before you needed no money. Now you need money and you cannot get it in the village – so you go to the urban areas (gives details)

فرق آ گیا ہے۔ پہلے آپ کواں کھودتے تھے۔ اب پانی ٹونٹی کے ذریعے آپ کے من میں خود آتا تھا۔

Interview No. 18

Khawaja Tahir; Businessman

(November 12, 2007, 10:00 am in CRC Office Uch)

He earned B.Sc. degree and is involved in the business of fertilizer and pesticides. Following are the important points of the interview:

- I buy the above-mentioned commodities from the agencies. This business is a continuity of what my father used to do.
- Before 1960 our forefathers had clothing business and cement business in Uch.
- My grandfather used to trade commodities between Uch and Delhi.
- My brother is a doctor and is settled in Australia. He used to visit us frequently along children and is in regular contact with our family in Uch.
- With the remittance money my brother bought land in Lahore and invests in shares.
- We have a monopoly in business here in Uch and can make more money than jobs.
- My other brother lives in Iran and has a share's business in Karachi.
- Yes, I have observed an attitudinal change in my Australian migrant brother. Now he is more honest, minds his own business and is more reasonable. So it has effects.
- It also appeared that those people who migrate out of Uch become more hygiene conscious and role model for others
- Since last two years one of my cousin is in France. From the remittance money he invested in plots and he has a business of fertiliser.
- Now a days the political figures are at the helm of the affairs. Earlier the magistrate was the deciding factor. He was able to make his decision without any pressure on him. Now these political figures cannot move against the tide, as otherwise they would loose their vote bank. (gives explanation)
- No school, no community health centre being opened by the *asna ashri* community.
- We proposed to Nazim a lot of things and he listened to all of those but not acted on those. (gives details)
- Nazims do not live here in Uch, but in Bahawalpur so what do they care.
- Law and order situation is not good here in Uch. (explains)
- My business is expanding. I have established a new shop.
- The community is establishing a Haider Town here. Most transactions are from persons living in the big cities or abroad.
- We cannot save Uch Bukhari as the direction of Pirs is different than ours. If the Pirs children gets education and broaden their vision, only then Uch Bukhari could be saved.
- I provide credit to the zamindars, and provide shops with equipment to three/four needy people. The profit is distributed equally.
- I provide fertiliser and pesticide (as loan) through suppliers to the small land owners in rural areas. They are becoming poor. With WTO costs of production have gone up so they have to send family members to towns.
- Tractors and trolley gets maintained and repaired in Uch. That is good business but they have finished off the animals and reduced jobs. So too people go away.
- My annual credit turnover is Rs. 2.5 million plus and there are at least 50 to 60 creditors of my type in Uch serving catchments areas within radius of 30 Kilometre.
- Russian tractors are not used in Uch because they are suitable for heavy loads. We use Ferguson tractors.

Interview No. 19

Shagufta Mujeeb-ur-Rehman Rajput

(November 12, 2007, 10:45 am in CRC Office Uch)

She is employed in CRC and is trying to accomplish BBA degree Following are the important points of her interview:

- My father has a grocery store and forefathers were involved in trading business.
- My maternal uncle is in Saudi Arabia and is an engineer by profession and my brother also lives in Saudi Arabia.
- The remittance money is utilized in purchasing land in Multan.
- As there are less opportunities in Uch therefore my family is considering Bahawalpur as another option.
- In case we migrate either to Multan or Bahawalpur, we will sell our property in Uch
- With the remittance money, we furnished the house, buy some gadgetry and raised our living standard.
- There was no opposition on my education but some eye brows were raised when I got employment, but due to absence of facilities education for girls remains a problem.
- I have become a role model for those girls who are educated, in my acquaintances. They all want to work
- Society has become more liberal regarding women. It is because I think of people coming back from Bahawalpur, Lahore and Multan.

Interview No. 20

Mujahid Hussian; Jeweller

(November 12, 2007, 12:00 pm at Mazar, Uch)

His forefathers migrated from Jatoi to Uch for religious reasons. They were also jewellers. He aired his views as follows:

- Most of the jewellers are Ismailis here.
- We also have one association. Its name is Sarrafa (jewellers) Association.
- The Association is a useless entity.
- Artisans live hand to mouth, so they migrate to Saudi Arab. Those who migrate are definitely better off and have more education.
- The remittance money is affecting the unity of the family as well. (gives details)
- My forefathers migrated to Uch to avoid religious persecution. The perpetrators were Hanafi Muslims.
- My children are getting education. Boys are in private school while girls are enrolled in government school.
- Now I favour MMA, though earlier I supported PPP.
- There are lot of gold smiths in Ahmedpur.
- Jeweller business is for rich people as rich are getting richer. (gives details)
- The interest business should be finished. It adversely effects our trade (explanation of this is important)
- Now people deposit their jewellery for cash. If people pays back then they get the ornament back, otherwise the ornament is not returned. In both cases, artisans do not get much work.
- Over consumption is forcing people to have more cash. More cash means one needs more credit and more credit means more mortgages to jewellers and which means more unemployment for artisans and which means migration.
- The artisans who migrate out do not get the job in same profession. The gold business demands security and employer is not ready to take risk with unknown artisan.
- Artisans do not come back to Uch if they go to Karachi or Lahore. From Saudi Arabia they come to lead retired lives. Their children if in business prefer to go away.

Interview No. 21

Sheikh Saeed Ahmed, Hafiz Jameel and others

(November 12, 2007, 2:20 pm in Counsellor's Office Uch)

The group interview could be summarized as follows:

- There is no planning for the city.
- Because of increasing population the water shortage is increasing day by day. What ever whatever is available is saline and gives foul smell.
- When asked by AH, regarding solution, the group mentioned that there should be planning for the city, there should be a political will and also funding should be available. (they gave details)
- The need to invest in infrastructure was also mentioned.
- Group felt that lot of cities have made progress but Uch is left behind. (they reasons why)
- As there is no government land available therefore the group thinks that they are dependent on Gilanis for their development.
- This gives Gilanis power over the city. It is bad for business and good living environment so people go.
- One of the group members owns a bus stand and told that five to six buses daily leave for Karachi. Another two to three for Lahore.
- The main market for Uch is Ahmendpur.
- Group also felt that if the trunk road gets constructed, the distance to Multan will only be two hours drive and the future of Uch will change for the better.
- One of the group members mentioned that he owned a cinema in city that was established by his grand father. Due to video business and cable the cinema is not a good proposition.

Interview No. 22

Tehsil Naib Nazim

(November 12, 2007, 3:21 pm in Counsellor's Office Uch)

Excerpts from Tehsil Naib Nazim's (name?) interview are as follows:

- After 1973 floods, there were only two to three places that were saved in the city. The city was rehabilitated by the people.
- The floods actually threw them twenty to thirty years back.
- Old values, the very reason for our existence are evaporating fast.
- People depend on agriculture business.
- People are getting job but we have to uplift the poor class.
- Education system is not capable to harness the actual potential of children
- We have 30 registered private schools while 20 are unregistered.
- Annual development budget is Rs. 300,000 to Rs. 400,000.
- The devolution plan has tarnished the small towns. (gives the reasons)
- Earlier the taxes were collected by Uch and were spent here, now they are pooled into tehsil and the disbursement depends on the discretion. The per annum income from Uch is Rs. 7 millions. (gives details)
- Sine the urban/rural boundary been eroded, therefore the city is going into loss
- We need Rs. 50 to 70 million to develop Uch.
- Uch has religious significance, therefore it should be given due importance. (gives proposals)

Interview No. 23

Syed Hatim Ali Sulemani

(November 12, 2007, 5:45 pm in (place ?))

Excerpts from a very brief interview in an adjoining village of Uch goes as follows:

- We are Sulemani Bohras and came from Yemen.
- We are small farmers. A few acres per family.
- We have approximately 8,000 people here.
- We are living in this place since hundreds of years.
- I went to Karachi in 1997. I had seven family members to feed and it was difficult for me to make both ends meet. Therefore I decided to leave. (give details)
- I got the job as one of my relatives was already there. I lived in Pakistan Chowk
- Afterwards my maternal uncle arranged my job in Saudi Arabia and I spent five years there. (gives details of process)
- With the earning I offset the loan of Rs 500,000, repaired the house and got married my sisters.
- I established a grocery store and ended up with a loss of Rs 25,000. I am not a business man type of person. I cannot behave badly with people.
- Now I am running a school with five teachers. Salaries are very low; as low as Rs. 1000 in few cases.
- Outside our mother country it is difficult to face adverse circumstances. (gives details)
- The advantage of registration of school with government is that the government provided Rs. 300 per children. Otherwise people cannot afford even Rs. 100.
- My Saudi experience changed my life. Financially the sustainable manner I got not much at all. Socially, good house, well married sisters, no loan, so much respect.
- My thinking also changed. Confidence came and to much understanding of hypocrisy in our value systems and relationships.

Interview No. 24

Sajjad Hussain Sheikh; Trader

(November 12, 2007, 8:13 pm in CRC Office Uch)

Trader by profession and a follower of Ismaili sect of Islam, he gave his opinion in the following manner:

- I am Ameer-e-Jamat here in Uch.
- We are follower of Prince Karim Aga Khan and he is a great leader with a great vision.
- Our children get education in England as well other high school or graduation.
- My younger boy applied for his children's education but we cannot leave Uch as we have property, land and business as well.
- Sheikh Villayat farms are the best farms around. He studied abroad and came back
- Sheikh is a business community and do not prefer jobs.
- Our community is far ahead than other communities because the leadership is quite capable. If the leader is sincere, it can take the community forward.
- Our community has the advantage that its Imam is present to guide us. With his guidance we are able to prosper monetarily as well.
- There are no plans to make school here.
- We wanted to open AKERS school here, but the proposal was rejected by the council on the pretext of shortage of man power in Uch. The idea behind is that every body should benefit from that school.
- We have an Ismaili Cooperative Society and we provide loans to our community members. The outreach of our loan program is till Ahmedpur Sharaq
- The Platinum Jubilee and the Aga Khan Silver Jubilee provided the capital
- We provide loans for agriculture and business. (gives details)
- We started with Rs. 5,000 and now we give loans up to the tune of Rs. 100,000 Fourteen percent is the interest rate.
- We have share capital as well.
- Dividends are paid to the members according to the share value.
- We have the best society in Bhawalpur division.
- The Aga Khan Family Health Centre was established through a request to AKHS. Initially it was a small set up and now it runs 24 hours a day
- AKHS is providing the salary of the doctor.
- Then I made recommendation for a mini-lab that is now operational. The staff of the lab is not from Uch.
- The community is highly business oriented. It is involved in jewellery, auto parts and hard ware businesses.
- My fore fathers were jewellers and I myself is in hard ware business since 1974.
- My elder son owns pesticide franchise while the younger has joined hands with me. Funds for all this have come from our land.
- There is more money in this – lands do not give much so we are here in Uch.
- The land for the health service is donated by the community.
- We don't take part in politics, planning and archaeology of the city.
- Most of our community is educated and girls from our community are also getting education. Once educated they go to Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad or the bigger towns. They cannot do much here. Who will they marry?
- I established library for my community and provided relief goods in floods as well
- Cooperative society is successful as it has minimum overheads. It is doing only credit business and it can accomplish a lot in the field of education, health etc.

Interview No. 25

Dr. Ashraf: A social and political activist

(November 14, 2007, 11:00 pm, Link Road, Chiniot)

Excerpts from a very brief interview are as follows:

- I am a resident of Chiniot since last forty years, while I belong to Mandi Bahanuddin.
- Because of economic reasons lot of people wish to migrate to other cities.
- Business class has already left Chiniot and they are residing in Faisalabad
- A lot of factories are established on Faisalabad Road but not in Chiniot (gives reasons).
- In these factories you will find fewer labourers from Chiniot. Most of them are from outside. The phenomenon suits owners very well, as these outsiders due to their particular circumstances are least inclined to form unions and to act as CBAs. I(gives other reasons as well)
- Minister for Overseas Foundation is from Chiniot. He does not stay here nor does his family.
- There is no investment of remittance money in industries. People usually construct houses from the remittance money. Carpenters invest in tools.
- The timber and carpentry business is on rise. Shops as well as artisans have increased and because of a demand in Karachi and Islamabad and abroad, they migrate.

Interview No. 26

Fayyaz Ahemd Farooqi

(November 14, 2007, 11:45 am in TMA office, Chiniot)

Excerpts from a brief interview are as follows:

- I lived in a nearby village.
- Timber business and wood work is booming.
- The carpenters and craftsmen are going abroad like Dubai and Saudi Arabia
- The development plans are devoid of business promotion plan. TMA is responsible for civic amenities.
- City is expanding fast. Various plots are occupied by Industry and residential schemes.
- Since there is no government land around city therefore the onus of expansion is on agrarian land.
- Labourers are from adjoining villages. In timber industry Friday is a holiday therefore labourers leave the city on Thursday evening and come back to work on Saturday.
- People are coming to cities because of work and education for children.
- Sheiks from Chiniot are spread all over the country.
- Political leadership says that when you select me only then I will invest, the process should be other way round.
- Industrialists have invested in Girls College and also there is some investment in madressas and Masjids by these industrialists. (give details)
- Our policies are not pro poor and there is a increasing divide between rich and poor.
- There are many private schools coming up in Chiniot. As they are expensive therefore poor people are sending their kids to government schools.
- In Chiniot more and more banks are operative but no insurance companies or multinational.
- Free market is not fully operative in Chiniot, so the job market has not expanded in Chiniot. Therefore major chunk of jobs are provided by local industrial sector.
- There are no housing schemes by government in Chiniot.
- The political leadership lives outside Chiniot.
- Sheikhs are enterprising and have no hangs for the type of work.

شہر میں آکر پڑھنے والے بھول گئے
کس کی ماں نے کتنا زور بیچا تھا

Interview No. 27

Mushatq Ahmed Glotar

(November 14, 2007, 2:00, Noor Mehal, Chiniot)

Excerpts from a very brief interview of librarian of Noor Mehal Museum is as follows:

- My grandfather was from Bhadariwala and was in agriculture business. He came to Chiniot in 1901.
- Those who get education, want to go out from Chiniot.
- Artisans are also moving out of Chiniot.
- Chiniot is becoming a seat of learning for carpenters.
- Pir Jahs, Alvis and Sheikhs are three big communities of Chiniot.
- In historical times Chiniot became a hub for wood business because upstream wooden planks were transported down country through river and river changes it direction here.
- Construction of Shahi Masjid, enhanced the skills of carpenters living here.
- Sheikh biradari and Hindus promote the wood works.
- Those who migrate from here come only on Eid.
- The old architecture is being destroyed by building workshops and godowns as the carpentry business is located in the historic town. The rich are moving to the new housing estates where foreign earned money is being invested.

Interview No. 28

Amjad and Shahid Hussain

(November 14, 2007, 2:30 pm. Furniture Shop Chiniot)

Amjad and Shahid are two brothers and they have their business in two separate rented shops. The held interview could be summarized as follows:

- We belong to Kahn family.
- We don't have factory and we order to various artisans.
- There are lot of workshops in Chiniot, approximately 100 plus.
- There is a carpenters' neighbourhood and they have their own showrooms as well. Havelis are converted into workshops.
- Sheesham was earlier (1996) Rs 300 per foot and now it is Rs 900 per foot. So small shop owners are leaving the job.
- The market for furniture exists in Lahore, Peshawar, Karachi and in other foreign countries. So people shift.
- The saw machine holder gives wood on credit to the furniture manufacturers. It is settled weekly or fortnightly.
- The manufacturers from here participate in the international exhibitions as well
- Local nazims have also their wooden business.
- I went o Karachi for business but returned because of law and order situation.
- Artisans are paid on piece basis. Monthly income of a good carpenter is Rs 12,000 per month.
- People from nearby villages are coming to Chiniot and learning the skill.
- Those who have earnings from foreign countries invest in property and business by buying tools and machines.
- We have a union as well, Furniture Association. Our president is also Nazim of Ali Mohallah but we do not get any support from association.
- Those who are already established don't need anything and those who are financially weak needs financial support which is not available on good terms (gives details).
- Those who have money are expanding their business, those who don't have are forced to quit.
- One of my cousins has moved abroad and has a job in Sharjah.
- There is a lot of demand of furniture business and we are not able to fulfil it
- In the days to come, rich will be defined as those who have good furniture as the cost of wood is going high and high.
- Because of inflation, people prefer to have their children working.
- The small businessman is in trouble because of absence of credit.
- No welfare work is done from the remittance money though Sheikh biradari has opened university, hospitals and schools.
- Qaiser Sheikh has a mobile dispensary that operates only on Sundays and provided free medicine to the nearby villages.
- Syed and Qadris are dominant political figures of Chiniot and therefore they do not allow Qaiser Sheikh to come forward. The government supports them.

Interview No. 29

Muhammad Yousuf Alias Colonel

(November 14, 2007, 3:45 pm, Property dealer's office, Chiniot)

Resident of Chiniot he is involved in real estate business since long. The interview could be summarized as follows:

- The divide between rich and poor is widening.
- Criminals acquired illegal ways to become rich.
- Our clients are rich people. I do not know from where they get money but they are continuously involved in buying and selling. But there is surely money from outside and from skilled workers who had nothing before.
- I am involved in housing schemes outside the city.
- Townships have their own records and own dealers.
- In extended families the land is captured by the one who has power and he then develops townships and distribute the money to rest of his relatives.
- Property business is not expanding with the city except on the outskirts and the old town.
- I spent most of my time in Iraq. I used to work as crane operator. Spent time in Libya. I am an ex-army man.
- From the earnings I married my sisters, purchased land and sent my parents to Haj.
- Rich people of Chiniot migrated out and stays in Karachi and other places.
- Furniture economy has built Chiniot.
- Sheiks have not taken part in the development of Chiniot. They developed orphanage and hospitals primarily to protect their property. (gives explanation)
- City is not progressing economically. (gives details)
- People migrate to places where they can earn their livelihoods.
- Chiniot should be granted as Business Market. It would boom.
- As our Nazim is a zamindar he is not interested in the development of Chiniot.

Interview No. 30

Asghar Arain

(November 22, 2007, 4:00 pm in Arif Hasan's Office)

Asghar these days is trying to set up a confectionary factory. He comes from Badin. Following are the important points of the interview:

- I was born in Goth Qutubuddin in Badin. Passed my matriculation and degree from there. Obtained a postgraduate technical diploma from Hyderabad.
- Though nowadays, there is lot of water in Badin, but I left the place because there was no irrigation water available at that time.
- We have 112 acres of agricultural land available in Badin.
- Big land lords have monopoly over water courses and distribution and that's how the small land owner suffers.
- The new generation is not interested in agriculture as they don't get enough from land.
- I still want to go back to village as there is peace. My desire to go back is so strong that if I can get there even fifty percent of what I am getting here, I will go back
- If you observe Punjabis migrate mostly to foreign countries, while Sindhis migrate mostly to Karachi. This is because of the fact that Punjabis have their relatives already settled outside.
- I came in search of job and got job in Nayadaur motors. The factory then closed and we got a handshake. The amount we got was Rs. 150,000.
- I bought a flat with that money. Meanwhile I got married in my community.
- When I got unemployed I faced a lot of criticism from my in laws. They thought that I am a failure and to help me they decided to establish a tyre puncture and wheel alignment shop for me. That was not successful and the criticism got sharper.
- I was thinking of going away from them. I was in crisis and it all started then.
- I met one of my friends Amjad (an employee of Civil Aviation Authority) whose father Ghulam Mustafa Khan was a DSP. The DSP had four sons and one of the sons, Ashraf, was living in Thailand.
- The DSP died and soon after his death the son got back to Pakistan.
- One day Ashraf came to my shop and said that I am Amjad's brother and my mother wants to see you.
- The mother, on meeting, mentioned that Ashraf could help me to go abroad.
- She said I am like her son and I don't need to worry about the expenses much.
- To meet some of the expenses she suggested that I should give them the car and I did the same. The total expenses as mentioned by them were Rs. 600,000
- Afterwards they made letterheads a fake company in America, obtained a letter of invitation from that company – we believed them.
- Then they said that we have to go to Islamabad for an interview. I found that including Amjad and Ashraf, there were six of us
- We appeared for interview in American Embassy, all were rejected and so we came to know that Ashraf had never been to America. He proved to be a big cheat and a liar. (details of the interview are interesting)
- One of the group members who came from Hari Pur and sold his livestock to pay the expenses had a brawl with Ashraf.
- I got the chance to grab the passport of Ashraf and took those with me to Karachi. I thought that Ashraf could not go any where as I have his passports and he would negotiate.
- I went to see them in Karachi and his mother promised to return the money, but later procrastinated.
- Meanwhile Amjad made a new passport of Ashraf and sent him back to Thailand.
- When I came to know about that I filed an application with the higher authorities of Civil Aviation Authority. The big bosses called me up.
- After hearing my story they suspended Amjad.
- Afterwards a case was lodged against him.

- As his father was a DSP, he managed to get out on bail.
- Afterwards I got a new job and I was not able to spare much time for the follow up so I do not know what happened to the case.

Interview No. 31

Hameed Ullah, Urban Resource Centre, Rawalpindi

Migration Back from Mazharabad to Khunda Village

Hameedullah is a social activist and coordinator of the Urban Resource Centre in Rawalpindi. He has worked since 1998 in promoting the OPP-RTI sanitation programme in the *katchi abadis* of Mazharabad and its neighbouring low income settlements in Rawalpindi. His observations and knowledge inform us that the residents of Mazharabad consist of about 350 households who have migrated from the Khunda village of the Fatehganj tehsil in Punjab. The earliest migration took place in 1974 when about 20 families moved together to Rawalpindi. They were peasants and the reason for the migration was to escape from the oppression of the local feudal landlords. Mazharabad was a garbage dump at that time and the migrants settled here. Over time other families joined them. Most of the residents work as day-wage labour but many of them also work in government agencies or in small businesses.

The residents of Mazharabad have built their homes and have used their collective vote for getting water supply, road paving, electricity and social sector facilities for their area, through government, UN and NGO programmes. Mazharabad has now become a part of the urban sprawl and its land has become very valuable for real estate development. The market price of a house is about Rs 1.5 million (US\$ 25,000). Meanwhile, the feudal landlords in Khunda village are selling their lands since there are disputes between the heirs of the old landlords and because the younger generation of feudals is not interested in agricultural activity and is in the process of investing in the urban areas. With Rs 1.5 million from the sale of property one can purchase about 10 to 15 acres of good agricultural land around Khuda village. Hameedullah personally knows at least six families who have gone ahead and done this and have moved back to the Khunda village where social and class relations have undergone a major change. According to his information the idea has caught on and a very large number of households in Mazharabad are planning to sell their properties and collectively purchase land in the village of their origin. Those who are in government service are thinking of cashing in their provident and pension funds for purchasing land in Khunda or other areas of the Fatehganj tehsil.

Source: Hameedullah's interview taken by Arif Hasan in Rawalpindi on 29 November 2007

Interview No. 32

Imran Rafiq (Mani)

(December 03, 2007, 3:40 pm in Talat Aslam's Flat, Karachi)

He is 33 years old and is running a boutique shop with the name of Maya. Born in Bhurewala (Sahiwal district of the Punjab), he went to Japan through Korea in 1996. The major difference in his life after coming back home in 2002 is that now he faces difficulty while crossing the roads in Pakistan. The excerpts of 45 minutes interview go as follows:

- My parents lived in Arifwala and my mother's family belongs to Bhurewala
- I did matriculation from Arifwala and further studies in Arifwala
- Got diploma (3 year course) in textile technology from Failsalabad
- I first went to Korea and then to Japan
- In 1996 I went to Korea through legal means. Actually it was easy to go at that time. In 1996 there was debate about the venue of the world cup should it be held in Korea or Japan. So Korean government just to enhance its image, made the visa procedures lax. One can get the visa on arrival as well at that time.
- I spent six months in Korea. I was employed for one and a half month in a non-formal sector. I used to live in a container in Korea with three more people. We used to share a common toilet.
- My brother was already living there. He was in turn called by my cousin who was there since 1989.
- My brother was employed in a factory there and in the last two years he developed some contacts with agents who used to smuggle people into Japan but in a very organized fashion. (details given – very interesting)
- My brother got into Japan via sea and through vessel. Getting into Japan illegally through a vessel is painful. So he asked me to wait till I had a photo change (PC) passport. My new name was Roop Singh. For documentation, all done by an agent, I spent US\$ 5,000.
- I faced no problem in Seoul and not in Japan as it was highly systematic. I was directed to the right till at the migration by an airport employee.
- After landing in Tokyo I went to my brother's place.
- After a month I got the job.
- Since I was illegal, I got less pay as compared to those who had a valid visa. The migrants in Japan were stratified in legal and non-legal. The former are a bit arrogant. The pays are usually USD 100 per day for legal immigrants and usually USD 60 for illegal immigrants
- Got the job through reference, I learned to make Tofu out there in my job.
- I lived in a house on the top of the factory.
- I lived for 5 years in Japan. (gives details of his life and entertainments)
- I used to give US\$ 1,000 every month for my mother to my brother and the rest were mine.
- My brother became legal by marrying a Japanese girl. Since the laws are strict there therefore there is no other means of obtaining a legal visa there. Actually he lost money in the venture, as well. Earlier one Japanese girls fleece US\$ 10,000 from him on the pretext of paper marriage.
- I used to go to discos as well.
- I was arrested and deported by police. What happened was that I went see a movie titled "Beautiful Eyes". When I went there the Japanese version was on the show. I thought that I should wait for the English version; therefore I waited outside on a footpath. I was eating burger and drinking when the police mobile picked me up.
- Before moving me to the particular (immigration) jail I spent two months in a lock up. The court passed the verdict of deportation, I decided not to pursue the case further though I could have, I came back in 2002. (gives details of the case and its procedures)
- Though this experience had changed my life, but it not was a lucrative venture.
- It changed my thoughts but took a toll on my career as I am still struggling to decide about what career I have to pursue in the rest of my life.

- I heard much about Japan in my student life, particularly the sex issue, but those were all fallacies. It is better in Pakistan (explains this)
- Koreans as compared to Japanese are more sensitive towards poverty and poor
- Beating is a big no-no in Japan but that is not the case with Korea
- Due to this venture of my brother and mine's the joint family system is longer there in our family. Money disputes break-up families.
- My cousins of my age who did not get the exposure of foreign country are more religious as compared to me.
- When I came back, I got a very special treatment from my relative and everybody wanted to seek my help to go abroad, but then it came to normal.
- After returning back I am more comfortable in Karachi than anywhere else as it's an impersonalised city.

Interview No. 33

Abdul Ghafoor

Abdul Ghafoor belongs to a small village near Kari Samuzai in the NWFP. It is an arid area and the family carried out subsistence agriculture and limited pastoral activity. He came to Karachi in 1976 at the age of 16. His uncle was a driver in private service in Karachi. At that time, few people worked in Karachi from his village. Those families that had people working in Karachi lived better lives. Their family members brought presents for everyone in the extended family when they came in the beginning but overtime they brought presents only for their direct relations. This created jealousies and a desire for everyone to migrate. Also, his uncle gave beautiful descriptions of Karachi which wanted Abdul Ghafoor to go there. However, his mother thought he was too young to go. So, he ran away from home to his uncle. His uncle got him a job of cleaning buses and wagons. He lived with other people in *katchi abadis* who were doing the same job or on pavement hotels where the buses and wagons park for the night. Through this process, he developed connections and slowly progressed to working as a conductor on a wagon owned by a person from the NWFP. Life in Karachi at that time was not difficult. Food and accommodation was cheap and there was no crime or insecurity. Things started to change when the Afghan War began.

In 1982, he was married, spent sometime with his wife and came back to Karachi. He used to visit the family once or twice a year for a month or so. He missed them and his children but there was no other option as he and his brother were the only source of income for the family. The land was let out to others and through it the wheat and vegetable needs of the family for a few months a year were taken care off. With age and experience his salary increased. In 1996 he became in-charge of looking after oil tankers of a private individual from his area. This is what he does now and it has for the first time given him surplus income. He has collected this and invested it in a plot and house in a *katchi abadi* in Karachi. His two sons are now living in the city and have both done high school. They are also in the transport business and have negotiated informal loans for buying rickshaws which they rent out to people from their own area in the NWFP while they work as drivers for private business companies. All this is the result of the connection he developed while working in Karachi.

From 1976 till the time he got a job that earned him a surplus, he could never have even thought of bringing his family to Karachi. He did not earn enough to rent accommodation and the type of jobs that he did required odd working hours. Most of the time he lived in make shift accommodation near transport and cargo terminals or with co-workers, sometimes seven to eight persons in a room and even more sharing a toilet. He feels that staying away from his family and living the way he did was tough and that nobody should be subjected to such conditions. However, these sacrifices have opened a new world of opportunities for his immediate family and saved them from a fate that is worse than that of "beasts of burden". It has also made him an aware man because of which he can now understand the world, reflect on his experiences and give him inward peace. This understanding has been transferred to his family.

Source: Interview taken by Arif Hasan in Karachi on 13 December 2007

Interview No. 34

Mushtaq Ahmed

Mushtaq Ahmed comes from a small village in Azad Kashmir. His father was a *numbardar* (government appointed village revenue collector). As such, the family was not poor. But then his father died when he was seven years old and the family simply could not live off the land they possessed. So, in 1984, when he was 11 years old, Mushtaq was sent to Karachi where his uncle was working. His uncle got him a job with a family where he worked as a domestic servant at a very small pay. He developed connections with neighbourhood servants and they arranged a better job for him. At this job the employers were very kind and taught him how to cook and improved his reading and writing skills. He has remained a cook but as his experience and expertise grew he was able to better jobs all through his own PR.

His family has lived well because of the money he has sent them. However, he has not been able to save. He says that families who have members in Karachi eat better, dress better and think differently, especially in political and social terms. They relate politics to political parties and not to individuals unlike others in the village. They are also able to think in terms of their children getting college and professional education, including their girls, which the others cannot. Their help is often sought in arranging reconciliation in village disputes and they are considered wise. Local business opportunities are also more easily accessed by their families. A lot of shops have been funded by money from Karachi. Mushtaq's family has kept their land but it gives them nothing more than two to three months of "ration" per year. They have let it out on contract to landless labour in their village. Today, there are 50 to 60 persons from his village of about 65 households, working in Karachi.

The earthquake of October 2005 devastated his village. Families with members working in Karachi were able to seek relief and rehabilitation from their connections in Karachi. Their employers helped them with money and with connecting them to NGOs and relief organisations working in the effected area. Also, for the rehabilitation process there were complex procedures involving banks, government regulations and political dealings. The families who have migrant members were able to understand and fulfil these requirements easily unlike the others. Mushtaq feels that he, like many others would still be destitute today, without the Karachi connection.

Source: Interview taken by Arif Hasan Karachi on 17 December 2007

Interview No. 35

“Suleman Shah”: An Informal Recruiting Agent

“Suleman Shah” (fake name chosen by him) is an informal “travel agent” and operates from his house in Karachi. He sends persons abroad mainly to Korea and Malaysia and through his connections there, to Japan. He did his graduation from Karachi University and comes from a family of small shopkeepers who in previous generations had no education. He began this work in 2004 after returning from Korea. Before going to Korea, he worked as a ticketing assistant in a travel agency.

He went to Korea illegally in 1996. He first went to Cambodia when there was a visa on arrival for Pakistanis. There he worked for an NGO translating very bad English into good. The pay was reasonable and he loved Cambodia because of its social freedoms and because of that he became less religious. The reasons for his migrating were related to family disputes and ambitions and aspirations that his family values and his limited income could not fulfil. (gives interesting details)

After working in Cambodia for eight months, he was approached by Thais who were looking for persons to send to Korea. He agreed to pay 25 per cent of all his earnings in Korea to the contacts of these recruiting agents in Seoul. They said that if he did not they would squeal on him and he would be arrested. They arranged his visa for which he paid US\$ 2,500. At the airport he was received by an airport worker who recognised him through his photograph. This worker identified the line he was to take for emigration purposes. It went off like clock-work.

In Korea, he worked as a caretaker in a factory and lived there with six persons in a room. He saved about US\$ 600 per month which he sent to Pakistan by *hawala* through a Pakistani money changer. He cultivated contacts with the agent who collected 25 per cent of his salary from him every month. They became friends and through him he got to know the people behind the scenes. They suggested that he went back to Pakistan to send people from there to Korea. The same persons have agents in Malaysia as well. He has been doing this work since then. An arrangement to go to Malaysia costs about Rs 150,000 and to Korea between Rs 200,000 to Rs 300,000. The demand is so big that he cannot meet it. The reason for the demand, he says, is that for “lowly” jobs there are no takers in these countries. He is successful because he treats his clients well and acts as a channel of communications between them and their families in Pakistan. Through his contacts with Pakistanis in Korea he also arranges transfer of money with a service charge of 0.5 per cent.

The money he earned in Korea simply improved the lifestyle of his family. According to him, “they became spoilt and arrogant”. It improved his house as well but not his source of income. Since he has been doing this business, he has been able to save enough money to purchase a flat. The earnings are not much because payments have to be made to forgers, immigration department employees at the airport, connections at the embassies and passport officials. It is a hard job because it also involves a lot of public relationing and one has to see that nothing goes wrong because if things do not work out for a client and he complains to the authorities, one can be arrested and locked up for a long time. In addition, this business is all about having a good reputation and his clients multiply through the praise they give him to prospective clients.

Source: Arif Hasan interviewed of Suleman Shah in Karachi on 18 December 2007.

Interview No. 36

Haider Ali

Haider Ali works as a motor mechanic for his boss who owns a workshop in Karachi. He comes from a small village in the Potohar Plateau where his family carries out subsistence agriculture. He migrated to Karachi in 1995 when he was 14 years old. Since then his family in his village has depended on his income and that of his older brother who is also a mechanic and who trained him at the workshop in which he worked. During training, his brother fed him and gave him "pocket" money.

Two of his friends migrated to Spain and their families received a lot of money from them. As a result of which, they improved their houses and sent their children to study in Karachi. He wanted to do the same and to make his younger siblings educated. They also wrote back to explain the wonderful lifestyles they had in Spain. So he decided to emigrate and contacted an informal agent who took Rs 300,000 from him. His family raised this money by selling some land and borrowing from friends and relatives.

The agent arranged a passport and visa for Egypt for him and gave names of people who he should contact when in Cairo which he did. They were Pakistanis and they put him up with other Pakistanis, Sri Lankans and black Africans in a run down house in a slum outside the city. He waited there along with other Pakistanis to be transferred overland to some port (he does not know the details) and from there by boat to Spain. Delays kept happening, money ran out and he met some returning people who could not make it to Spain who said that rumour had it that the seas were rough due to which boats were sinking and people were dying. (details of all this are interesting)

So Haider Ali decided not to make this journey. He and three other Pakistanis put their resources together and travelled overland and by boat to Saudi Arabia where one of the companions had connections. Once in Saudi Arabia, he was able to contact his family who sent him funds to come back. However, since he was an illegal emigrant he was afraid that he would be arrested. He was advised to surrender to the Saudi authorities, which he did, and with the help of the Pakistan Embassy he was repatriated to Pakistan.

His family is poorer now than before and indebt. He feels he has let them down and also disgraced himself. So, he has to go back but this time to the Far East. He has made enquiries and emigration to the Far East is easier, safer and cheaper.

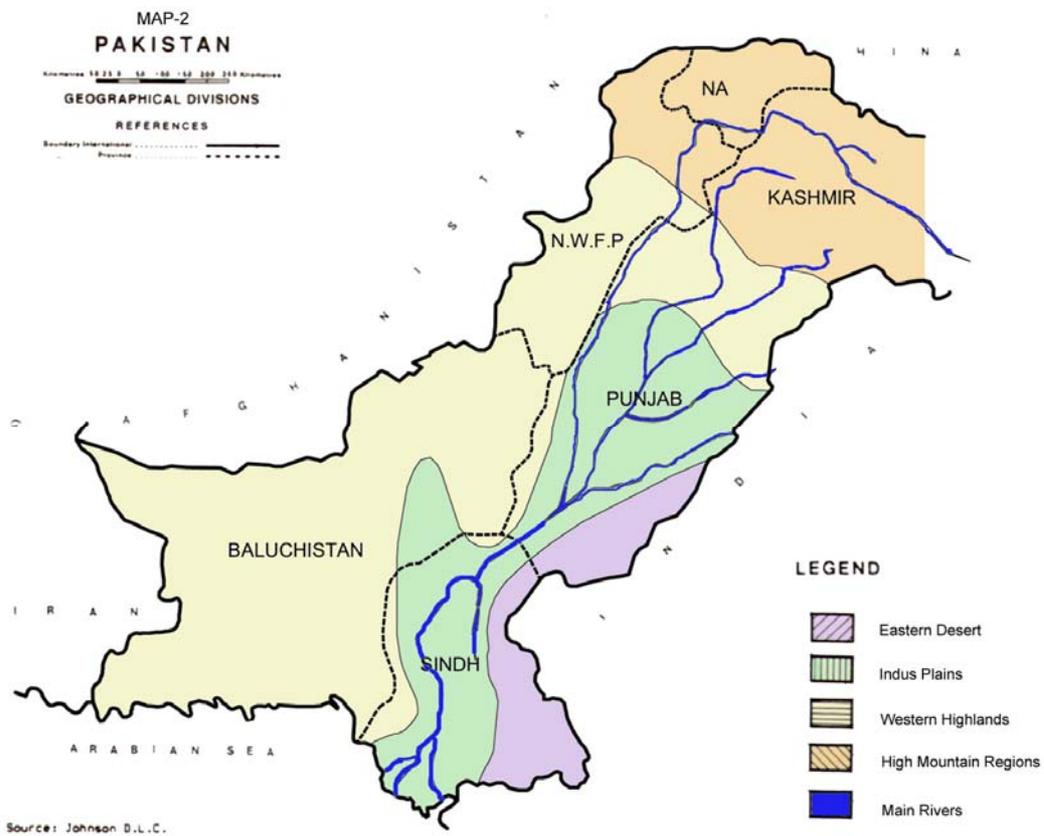
Source: Arif Hasan interviewed Haider Ali in Karachi on 19 December 2007

Appendix 2 - Maps

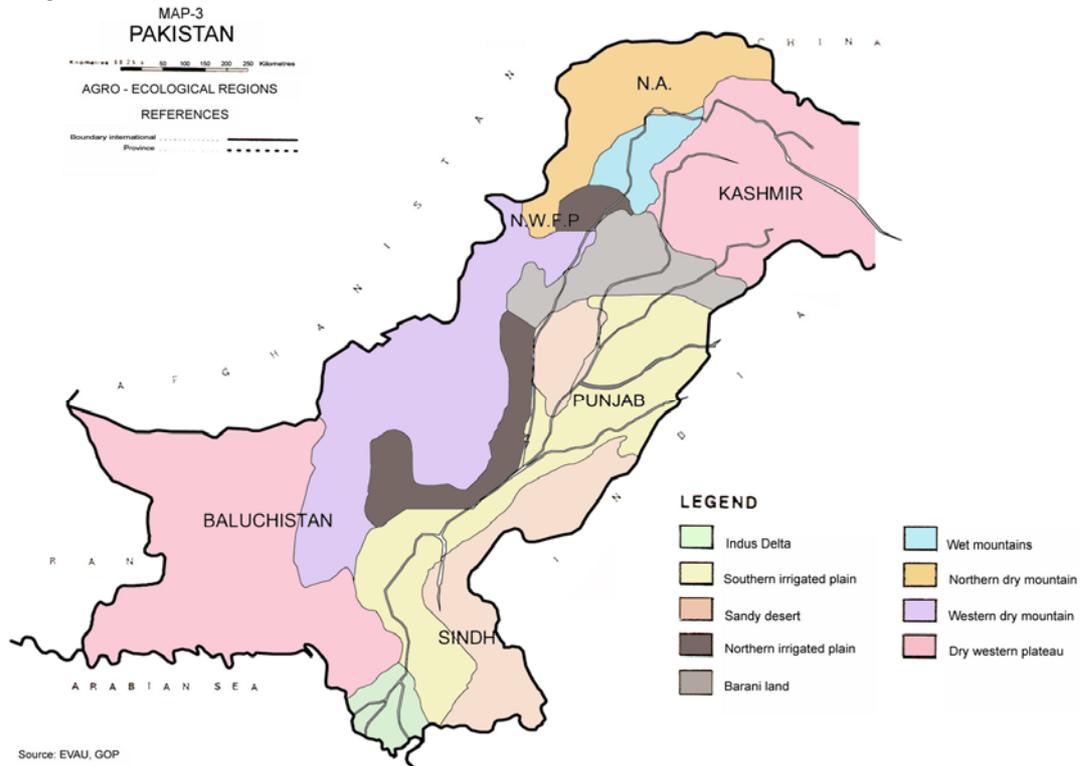
Map 1



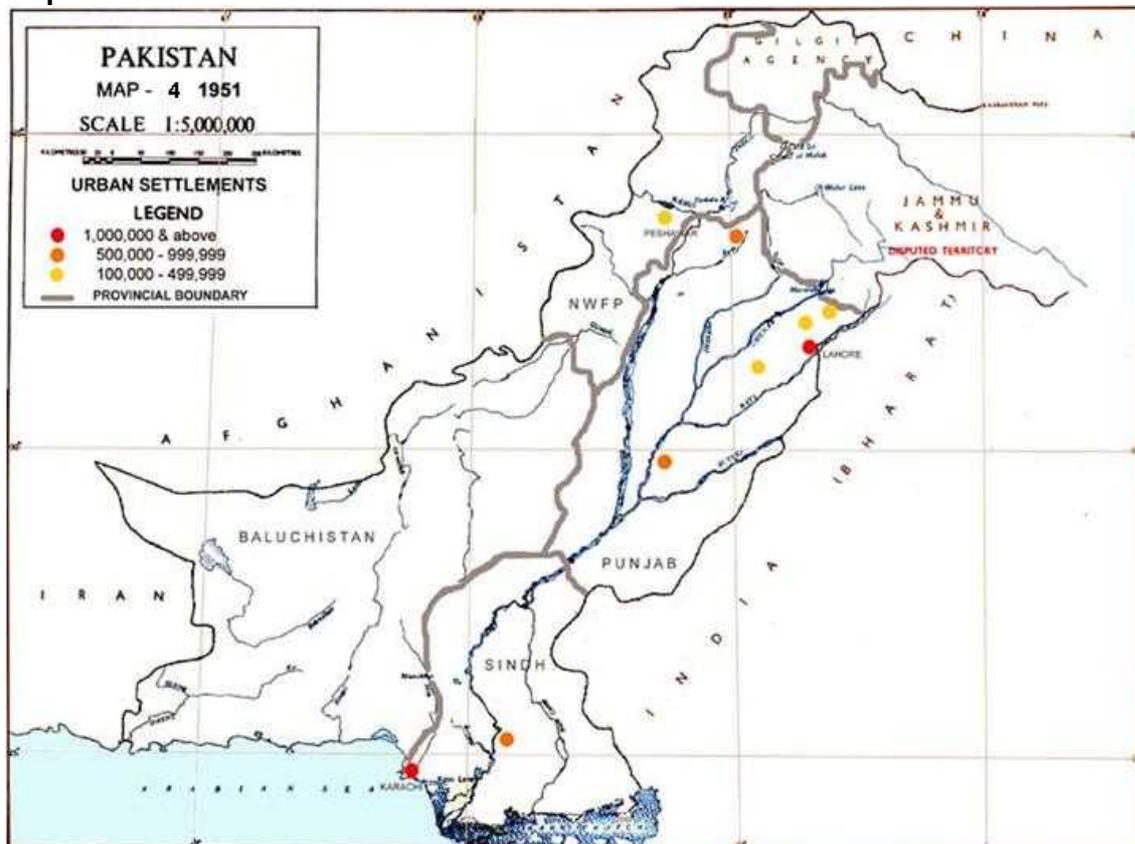
Map 2



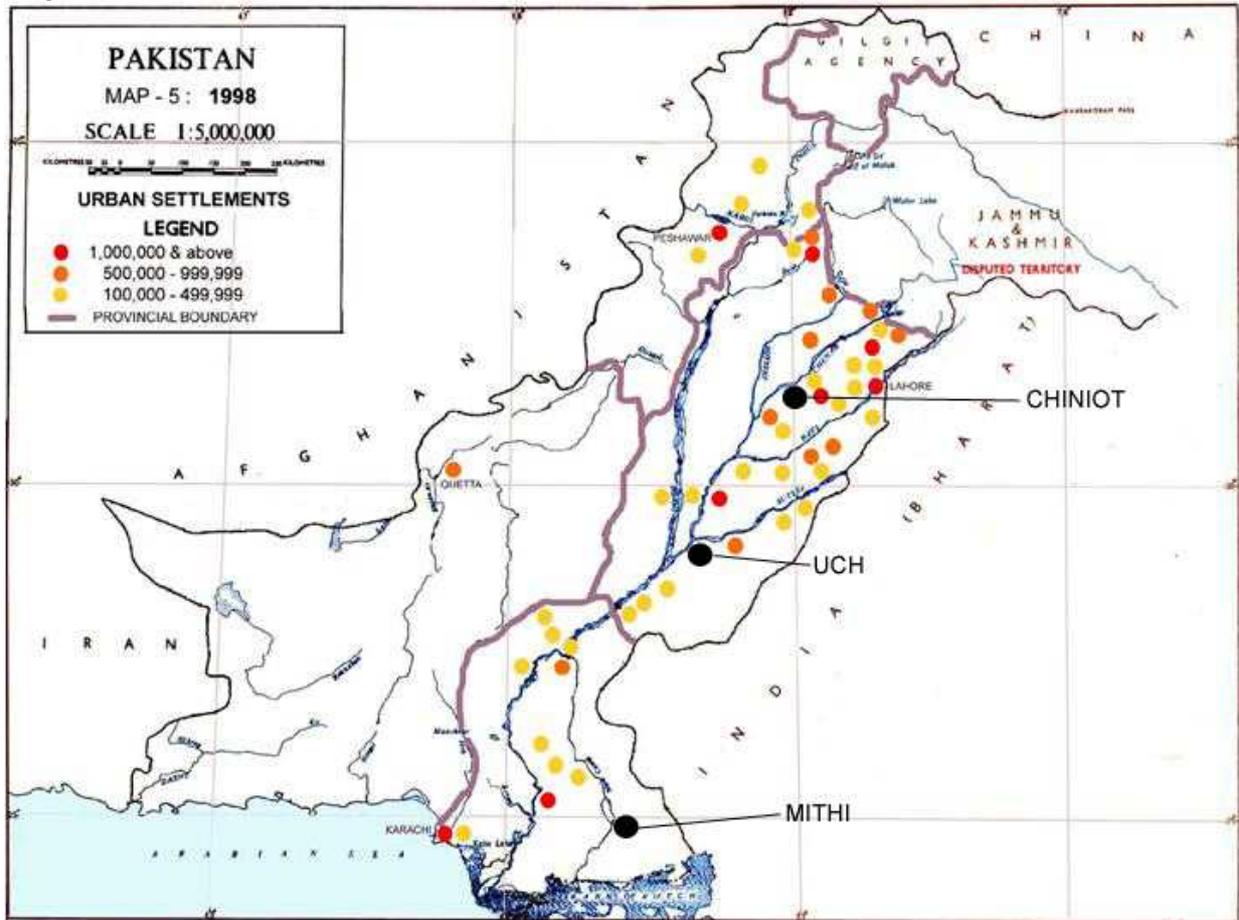
Map 3



Map 4



Map 5



Map 6

**URBAN PLACES
PAKISTAN
1998 CENSUS
MAP - 6**

REFERENCES

POPULATION

- LESS THAN 10,000
- 10,000 TO 24,999
- ▲ 25,000 TO 49,999
- ◆ 50,000 TO 99,999
- 100,000 TO 499,999
- 500,000 TO 999,999
- 1,000,000 AND ABOVE

COMMUNICATIONS

- MAIN HIGHWAYS
- ROADS
- TRACKS
- RAILWAY TRACKS

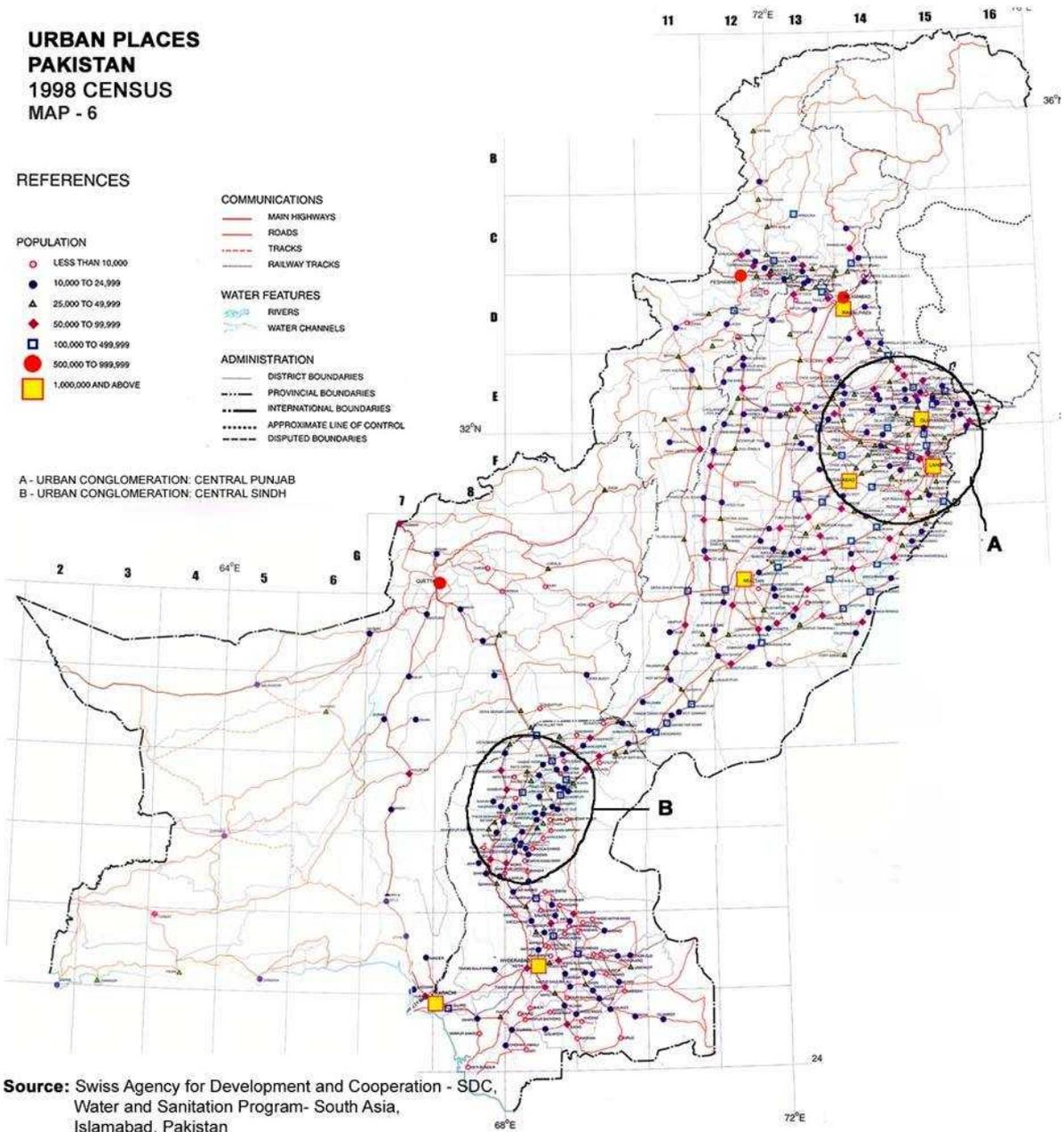
WATER FEATURES

- RIVERS
- WATER CHANNELS

ADMINISTRATION

- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES
- INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
- APPROXIMATE LINE OF CONTROL
- DISPUTED BOUNDARIES

A - URBAN CONGLOMERATION: CENTRAL PUNJAB
B - URBAN CONGLOMERATION: CENTRAL SINDH



Source: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation - SDC,
Water and Sanitation Program- South Asia,
Islamabad, Pakistan

Appendix 3 - Tables

Table 1: Pakistan: population size, rural – urban ratio and growth rate, 1901-1998

Year	Population (in '000)			Proportion		Annual growth rate		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1901	16,577	14,958	1,619	90.2	9.8	-	-	-
1911	18,805	17,116	1,689	91.0	9.0	1.27	1.36	0.42
1921	20,243	18,184	2,058	89.8	10.2	0.74	0.61	2.00
1931	22,640	19,871	2,769	87.8	12.2	1.13	0.89	3.01
1941	28,244	24,229	4,015	85.8	14.2	2.24	2.00	3.79
1951	33,740	27,721	6,019	82.2	17.8	1.79	1.36	4.13
1961	42,880	33,240	9,640	77.5	22.5	2.43	1.80	4.84
1971	65,309	48,715	16,594	74.6	25.4	3.67	3.33	4.76
1981	84,253	61,270	23,583	71.7	28.3	3.10	2.58	4.38
1998	130,580	87,544	43,036	68.5	32.5	2.61	2.2	3.5

Source: Prepared from Population Census Reports, Government of Pakistan

Table 2: Physical conditions: Pakistan

Pakistan	Total		Rural		Urban	
	1980	1998	1980	1998	1980	1998
No. of housing units	12,587,650	19,211,740	9,033,475	13,181,175	3,554,173	6,030,565
Rental housing (%)	7.73	8.64	2.16	2.22	21.87	22.66
Owned housing (%)	78.38	81.19	82.60	86.80	67.68	68.92
One room houses (%)	51.54	38.11	55.06	41.65	42.58	30.38
2-4 room houses (%)	10.78	15.97	9.63	14.54	13.68	19.11
Persons/ housing unit	6.7	6.8	6.6	6.8	7.0	7.0
Persons/ room	3.5	3.1	3.6	3.2	3.2	2.9
Electric connections (%)	30.58	70.46	14.66	60.07	71.04	93.14
Piped water in house (%)	12.62	28.08	2.53	13.37	38.26	60.22
Piped water outside house (%)	7.72	4.18	2.88	3.89	20.04	4.81
Water: rest from hand pumps, ponds, canals etc. (%)	79.65	67.74	94.59	82.74	41.70	34.97
Separate latrine	-	28.58	-	18.46	63.53	50.68
Shared latrine with other housing unit	-	20.44	-	12.29	9.37	38.26
No latrine	-	50.98	-	69.25	27.10	11.06
RCC roofs (%)	8.55	21.39	1.50	10.43	26.49	45.35

Source: Prepared from Housing Census Reports, Government of Pakistan

Table 3: Karachi: demographic change due to partition

	1941	1951
Population	450,000	1,137,000
Sindhi spoken as mother tongue (%)	61.2	8.6
Urdu spoken as mother tongue (%)	6.3	50
Hindu population (%)	51	2
Muslim population (%)	42	96

Source: Prepared from Population Census Reports, Government of Pakistan

Table 4: Languages spoken: Pakistan/ Provinces

Language spoken	Total		Rural		Urban		1998 Karachi
	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	
Pakistan							
Urdu	7.60	7.57	1.33	1.48	24.40	20.22	48.52
Punjabi	48.17	44.15	47.52	42.51	49.92	47.56	13.94
Pushto	13.15	15.42	15.05	18.06	8.04	9.94	11.42
Sindhi	11.77	14.10	13.77	16.46	6.43	9.20	7.22
Baluchi	3.02	3.57	3.50	3.99	1.74	2.69	4.34
Brahvi	1.21	-	1.49	-	0.45	-	-
Hindko	2.43	-	2.77	-	1.53	-	-
Siraiki	9.84	10.53	11.97	12.97	4.12	5.46	2.11
Others	2.81	4.66	2.60	4.53	3.37	4.93	12.44
Punjab							
Urdu	4.27	4.5	1.55	2.0	12.08	10.1	
Punjabi	78.68	75.2	78.18	73.6	80.12	78.7	
Pushto	0.76	1.2	0.64	0.9	1.08	1.8	
Sindhi	0.08	0.1	0.11	0.2	0.02	0.1	
Baluchi	0.57	0.7	0.74	0.9	0.08	0.1	
Brahvi	0.01	-	0.01	-	0.01	-	
Hindko	0.04	-	0.04	-	0.04	-	
Siraiki	14.90	17.4	17.90	21.4	6.28	8.4	
Others	0.70	0.9	0.83	1.0	0.30	0.8	
Sindh							
Urdu	22.64	21.05	2.17	1.62	49.68	41.48	
Punjabi	7.69	6.99	4.38	2.68	12.05	11.52	
Pushto	3.06	4.19	0.46	0.61	6.48	7.96	
Sindhi	52.40	59.73	78.23	92.02	18.28	25.79	
Baluchi	4.51	2.11	5.63	1.50	3.03	2.74	
Brahvi	1.08	-	1.67	-	0.30	-	
Hindko	0.35	-	0.06	-	0.74	-	
Siraiki	2.29	1.00	3.44	0.32	0.77	1.70	
Others	5.97	4.93	3.94	1.25	8.65	8.80	
N.W.F.P.							
Urdu	0.83	0.8	0.16	0.3	4.81	3.5	
Punjabi	1.10	1.0	0.29	0.2	5.84	4.6	
Pushto	68.30	73.9	68.64	74.0	66.27	73.5	
Sindhi	0.05	-	0.06	-	0.03	-	
Baluchi	0.04	-	0.05	-	0.01	-	
Brahvi	0.01	-	0.01	-	0.03	-	
Hindko	18.13	-	18.14	-	18.02	-	
Siraiki	3.95	3.9	3.88	4.0	4.37	3.2	
Others	7.59	20.4	8.77	21.5	0.60	15.1	

Balochistan							
Urdu	1.37	0.98	0.30	0.21	7.42	3.42	
Punjabi	2.24	2.52	0.39	0.43	12.67	9.16	
Pushto	25.07	29.64	25.15	32.16	24.64	21.61	
Sindhi	8.29	5.58	8.74	5.27	5.73	6.57	
Baluchi	36.31	54.76	38.28	57.56	25.20	45.84	
Brahvi	20.68	-	22.02	-	13.05	-	
Hindko	0.13	-	0.01	-	0.84	-	
Siraiki	3.08	2.42	3.03	1.87	3.34	4.16	
Others	2.82	4.12	2.07	2.51	7.10	9.24	

Prepared by Masooma Mohib

Table 5: Migrant population by place of previous residence: Pakistan: 1981 and 1998
Total in country migration 1998

Present residence	Total migrant population	Place of previous residence								
		NWFP	FATA	Pun-jab	Sindh	Balo-chistan	Islam-abad	AK/NA	Other Countries	Not Reported
All Areas	10,829,264	1,207,920 11.15%	114,197 9.45%	4,263,301 39.37%	834,200 7.70%	215,656 1.99%	22,025 0.20%	230,258 2.13%	2,597,528 23.99%	1,344,179 12.41%
NWFP	647,725	357,761 55.23%	75,952 11.73%	64,249 9.92%	12,393 1.91%	1,308 0.20%	4,035 0.62%	5,266 0.81%	24,659 3.81%	102,102 15.76%
Punjab	6,701,256	324,070 4.84%	14,730 0.22%	3,302,164 49.28%	161,803 2.41%	30,317 0.45%	14,433 0.22%	150,664 2.25%	1,831,509 27.33%	871,566 13.01%
Sindh	2,833,227	430,848 15.21%	20,696 0.73%	635,765 22.44%	615,769 21.73%	76,599 2.70%	3,292 0.12%	46,310 1.63%	684,457 24.16%	319,491 11.28%
Baloc-histan	249,615	27,337 10.95%	524 0.21%	51,158 20.49%	22,901 9.17%	104,067 41.69%	265 0.11%	5,426 21.17%	10,165 4.07%	27,772 11.13%
Islam-abad	397,731	67,904 17.07%	2,295 0.58%	209,965 52.79%	21,424 5.39%	3,565 0.09%	0.00%	22,592 5.68%	46,738 11.75%	23,248 5.85%

Total in country migration 1981

Present residence	Total migrant population	Place of previous residence								
		NWFP	FATA	Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan	Islamabad	AKNA	Other Countries	Not Reported
All Areas	9,959,251	793,980 7.97%	83,362 0.84%	3,516,239 35.31%	527,219 5.29%	230,732 2.32%	8,211 0.08%	106,410 1.07%	4,041,121 40.58%	651,977 6.55%
NWFP	491,365	179,376 36.51%	67,965 13.83%	99,058 20.16%	16,135 3.28%	1,780 0.36%	955 0.19%	6,979 1.42%	78,410 15.96%	40,707 8.28%
Punjab	6,315,775	196,850 3.12%	7,759 0.12%	2,667,196 42.23%	92,067 1.46%	54,298 0.86%	4,997 0.08%	74,639 1.18%	2,756,298 43.64%	461,671 7.31%
Sindh	2,774,516	369,676 13.32%	6,998 0.25%	631,578 22.76%	405,277 14.61%	56,988 2.05%	2,157 0.08%	19,211 0.69%	1,173,008 42.28%	109,623 3.95%
Balochistan	264,451	29,490 11.15%	452 0.17%	56,424 21.34%	10,579 4.00%	117,257 44.34%	102 0.04%	1,466 0.55%	26,737 10.11%	21,944 9.30%
Islamabad	113,144	18,588 16.43%	188 0.17%	61,983 54.78%	3,161 2.79%	409 0.36%	0.00%	4,115 3.64%	6,668 5.89%	18,032 15.94%

Source: Pakistan Census Organisation, 1998

Table 6: Migrant population by place of birth: 1998 census

Place of enumeration	Migrant population	Same prov. but different district	Place of birth									
			NWFP	FATA	Punjab	Sindh	Balo-chistan	Islamabad	Azad Kashmir	Northern Areas	Other Country	Not Reported
Punjab	10,829,264	5,705,447	943,944	126,577	1,136,386	280,668	131,529	27,379	236,371	16,793	2,219,225	4,945
Rural	3,920,429	2,463,090	137,487	66,564	119,162	96,739	41,445	4,604	62,917	1,997	922,447	3,977
Urban	6,908,835	3,242,357	806,457	60,013	1,017,224	183,929	90,084	22,775	173,454	14,796	1,296,778	968
N.W.F.P.	647,725	444,006	-	82,785	75,341	14,512	3,330	3,405	3,758	1,489	19,099	-
Rural	265,635	185,806	-	56,198	12,795	3,416	612	472	1,561	206	4,569	-
Urban	382,090	258,200	-	26,587	62,546	11,096	2,718	2,933	2,197	1,283	14,530	-
Punjab	6,701,256	4,341,896	346,607	15,783	-	213,235	36,092	20,352	156,907	5,363	1,560,790	4,231
Rural	3,202,624	2,045,309	91,318	8,863	-	86,521	16,817	3,958	49,929	1,399	894,591	3,919
Urban	3,498,632	2,296,587	255,289	6,920	-	126,714	19,275	16,394	106,978	3,964	666,199	312
Sindh	2,832,937	805,382	487,441	24,693	759,887	-	89,138	3,412	45,093	8,124	609,608	159
Rural	280,837	181,110	13,150	633	41,207	-	23,761	174	1,573	91	19,112	26
Urban	2,552,100	624,272	474,291	24,060	718,680	-	65,377	3,238	43,520	8,033	590,496	133
Balochistan	249,615	114,163	33,282	782	59,181	26,778	-	210	6,175	133	8,356	555
Rural	86,242	50,865	13,136	132	13,793	4,967	-	-	235	10	3,072	32
Urban	163,373	63,298	20,146	650	45,388	21,811	-	210	5,940	123	5,284	532
Islamabad	397,731	-	76,614	2,534	241,977	26,143	2,969	-	24,438	1,684	21,372	-
Rural	85,091	-	19,883	738	51,367	1,835	255	-	9,619	291	1,103	-
Urban	312,640	-	56,731	1,796	190,610	24,308	2,714	-	14,819	1,393	20,269	-

Source: Pakistan Census Organisation, 1998

Table 7: Migrant population by reason of migration: 1998 census (%)

Administrative unit	Study	Marriage	Move with head	Business	Employment / transfer	Returning home	Health	Others
Pakistan	1.17	17.10	42.78	8.75	12.08	1.09	0.09	16.94
Rural	0.86	24.54	38.39	9.84	3.95	1.06	0.07	21.29
Urban	1.34	12.88	45.28	8.13	16.70	1.10	1.10	14.47
N.W.F.P.	2.02	8.87	57.51	7.14	16.53	0.76	0.05	7.12
Rural	1.42	9.58	61.8	10.19	5.03	0.85	0.06	11.07
Urban	2.43	8.37	54.53	5.02	24.53	0.70	0.04	4.38
Punjab	1.05	22.64	38.00	8.72	9.06	1.17	0.07	19.29
Rural	0.79	28.35	34.27	9.46	2.86	1.16	0.05	23.06
Urban	1.29	17.41	41.41	8.04	14.75	1.18	0.09	15.83
Sindh	0.97	8.67	49.13	9.12	15.78	1.01	0.12	15.21
Rural	0.63	7.05	58.53	10.95	7.80	0.28	0.11	14.65
Urban	1.00	8.85	48.09	8.91	16.66	1.09	0.13	15.27
Balochistan	1.47	5.33	43.85	12.34	24.15	0.57	0.03	12.25
Rural	1.16	4.55	37.07	17.41	23.02	0.20	*	16.58
Urban	1.64	5.75	47.43	9.67	24.75	0.76	0.04	9.96
Islamabad	3.06	4.71	53.42	7.06	21.8	1.12	0.19	8.65
Rural	2.57	5.86	54.94	11.82	9.93	1.25	0.43	13.2
Urban	3.19	4.4	52.99	5.76	25.03	1.08	0.13	7.42

Refers to a very small proportion. Source: Pakistan Census Organisation, 1998

Table 8: Migrants status of population in the urban areas of Pakistan and provinces: 1981 – 98 (in thousands)

Movements of Immigrants	Total	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Islamabad
Total urban population	42,898 (100.0)	23,019 (100.0)	14,480 (100.0)	2,994 (100.0)	1,516 (100.0)	529 (100.0)
Non-migrants	35,990 (83.9)	19,520 (84.8)	12,288 (82.8)	2,612 (87.2)	1,353 (89.2)	217 (40.9)
Total migrants	6,909 (16.1)	3,499 (15.2)	2,552 (17.2)	382 (12.8)	163 (10.8)	313 (59.1)
Migrants within Pakistan	4,496 (10.5)	1,747 (9.6)	1,603 (10.8)	285 (9.5)	141 (9.3)	250 (47.3)
Migrants within the province	2,456 (5.7)	1,747 (7.6)	459 (3.1)	192 (6.4)	58 (3.8)	-
Migrants from other provinces	1,869 (4.4)	365 (1.6)	1,099 (7.4)	90 (3.0)	78 (5.1)	237 (44.8)
Migrants from AJK and NA	172 (0.4)	105 (0.5)	45 (0.3)	3 (0.1)	5 (8.4)	13 (2.5)
Migrants from other countries	1,530 (3.6)	798 (3.5)	661 (4.5)	20 (0.7)	7 (0.4)	44 (8.4)
Migrants who did not report	882 (2.1)	484 (2.1)	288 (1.9)	77 (2.6)	16 (1.1)	18 (3.4)

Source: Government of Pakistan, 1998 Provincial Census Reports, Population Census Organisation, Islamabad, Government of Pakistan, 1998 District Census Report of Islamabad, Population Census Organisation, Islamabad, as reproduced in: Iffat Ara and Arshad Zaman *Asian Urbanization in the New Millennium*, Country Chapter, Unpublished work, August 2002.

Table 9: Sources of urban growth (%)

Period	Region	Natural Increase	Re-classification	Internal Migration	Total Increase
1951 – 61	Pakistan	44.8	15.1	40.1	100.0
1961 – 72	Pakistan	72.4	8.1	19.5	100.0
1972 – 81	Pakistan	78.4	2.6	19.1	100.0
1981 – 98	Pakistan	70.3	9.7	20.1	100.0
1981 – 98	Punjab	74.2	11.3	14.5	100.0
1981 – 98	Sindh	70.6	4.5	24.8	100.0
1981 – 98	NWFP	70.0	20.9	9.1	100.0
1981 – 98	Balochistan	43.7	18.4	37.9	100.0
1981 – 98	Islamabad	35.1	-	64.9	100.0

Source: Iffat Ara and Arshad Zaman, *Asian Urbanization in the New Millennium*, Country Chapter, Unpublished work, August 2002

**Table 10: Number of Pakistani emigrants: 1971 – January 2007
(Registered by Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment)**

Year	Number of Persons
1971	3,534
1972	4,530
1973	12,300
1974	16,328
1975	23,077
1976	41,690
1977	140,445
1978	129,533
1979	118,259
1980	118,397
1981	153,081
1982	137,535
1983	120,031
1984	93,540
1985	82,333
1986	58,002
1987	66,186
1988	81,545
1989	95,863
1990	113,781
1991	142,818
1992	191,506
1993	154,529
1994	110,936
1995	117,048
1996	119,629
1997	149,029
1998	100,706
1999	78,093
2000	107,733
2001	127,929
2002	147,422
2003	214,039
2004	173,824
2005	151,320
2006	184,274
2007 (till February)	38,184
Total	3,829,180

Source: Abid Qaiyum Sulheri and Keven Savage; *Remittances in Crisis: A Case Study from Pakistan*; An HPS Background paper, November 2006

Table 11: Countries of destination

Country	1999	%	2000	%	2001	%	2002	%	2003	%
Saudi Arabia	2723534		8867425	62.59	97262	76.02	104783	71.08	112319	60.96
UAE	3564945		6526551	24.59	18421	14.4	34113	23.14	51809	28.12
Bahrain	1648	2.11	901	0.84	1173	0.92	1022	0.69	667	0.36
Qatar	2446	3.13	3227	3.00	1633	1.27	480	0.33	285	0.15
Kuwait	6272	8.03	122	0.11	440	0.34	3204	2.17	9831	5.34
Oman	2904	3.72	4380	4.06	3802	2.97	95	0.06	5290	2.87
Libya	366	0.46	1789	1.66	713	2.55	781	0.52	1354	0.73
Others	1573	2.02	3338	3.09	4485	1.51	2944	2.01	2716	1.47
Total	78093100		107733	100	127929	100	147422	100	184271	100

Source: Arbab Mohammad Azhar; *Reducing or Inducing Risk*; paper prepared for the SDPI seminar of migration, September 2007

Table 12: Development in economic growth and worker's remittances

	1970s	1980s	1990s	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03
Real GDP growth (% average per annum)	5.2	6.4	4.5	3.9	2.2	3.4	5.0
Worker's remittances (million US\$, average per annum)	565	2,294	1,555	984	1,087	2,389	4,237
Worker's remittances (% of GDP, average per annum)	34.2	60.5	18.2	9.9	10.3	21.6	30.1
Country-wise worker's remittances (million US\$, average per annum)i							
United States	29 5.2	129 5.6	151 9.7	80 8.1	135 12.4	779 32.6	1,238 29.2
United Kingdom	72 12.7	171 7.5	120 7.7	73 7.4	81 7.5	152 6.4	274 6.5
United Arab Emirates	88 15.6	266 11.6	149 9.6	148 15.0	190 17.5	469 19.7	838 19.8
Saudi Arabia	186 32.8	1,079 47.1	580 37.3	310 31.5	304 28.0	376 15.8	581 13.7
Kuwait	28 5.0	185 8.1	64 4.1	135 13.7	123 11.4	90 3.8	221 5.2
Others	163 28.8	463 20.2	492 31.6	238 24.2	253 23.2	523 21.9	1,086 25.6
Memo Items:							
Flow of migrant workers (000 in numbers per annum)ii	79	107	109	108	128	147	214
Reference years	1973-79	1980-89	1997-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03
Stock of overseas Pakistanis (million numbers)iii	0.5	1.84	-	-	3.8	-	-
Reference years	1979	1985			2001		

Source: Zafar Iqbal and Abdus Sattar; *The Contribution of Workers' Remittances to Economic Growth in Pakistan*; Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad 2005

i) Figures in parenthesis are percentage shares of total average annual inflow of worker's remittances

ii) Data for 1979 to 1989 are taken from Stahl and Azam (1990) and for 1997 to 2003 from Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment, Islamabad

iii) Data for 1979 are taken from Ministry of Labour and Manpower, Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment (1980), for 1985 from Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis Division (1987), and for 2001 from Ministry of Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis (2001)

Table 13: Urban population distribution 1951 – 1998 (by size of urban places)

	1951	1961	1972	1981	1998	1951-1998
Million and above						
Number	1	2	2	3	7	6
%	17.70	33.20	33.70	38.80	49.70	
500,000 to 999,999						
Number	1	0	3	5	3	2
%	14.30	0.00	15.70	14.50	4.90	
200,000 to 499,999						
Number	2	2	4	4	13	11
%	8.00	18.50	6.00	4.50	9.10	
100,000 to 199,999						
Number	6	5	9	17	27	21
%	14.90	7.30	6.70	9.90	8.60	
50,000 and below						
Number	198	287	368	359	418	220
%	45.10	41.00	37.90	32.30	27.70	
A. Total						
Number	208	296	386	388	468	260
%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
B. Population in thousands						
Increase in numbers	6,019	9,654	16,591	23,827	42,458	
Intercensal growth rate		3,635	6,937	7,236	18,631	
		50.39	71.86	43.61	78.19	

Source: Government of Pakistan Census reports

Table14: Pakistan: urban localities – population and growth 1951 - 1998

Province/ Year	Urban localities by population size					Urban population	Average annual urban growth rate
	Total	Under 25,000	25,000 to 49,999	50,000 to 99,999	100,000 and over		
Pakistan							
1951	238	196	23	9	10	6,018,975	4.9
1961	337	280	31	14	12	9,654,572	4.7
1972	433	335	52	22	24	16,593,651	4.3
1981	415	276	73	35	31	23,841,471	3.5
1998	501	259	118	70	54	43,036,400	
NWFP							
1951	29	23	5	-	1	506,540	4.2
1961	43	37	4	1	1	758,516	4.0
1972	54	42	9	1	2	1,195,655	4.0
1981	43	26	10	5	2	1,665,653	3.4
1998	54	24	18	9	3	2,973,047	
Punjab							
1951	160	135	13	6	6	3,598,775	4.3
1961	189	153	21	8	7	5,475,922	4.5
1972	215	157	31	12	15	9,182,695	4.2
1981	215	126	45	24	20	13,051,646	3.3
1998	245	101	66	42	36	22,699,490	
Sindh							
1951	32	23	4	2	3	1,768,494	6.0
1961	68	55	5	4	4	3,167,018	5.2
1972	121	96	11	8	6	5,725,776	4.4
1981	124	99	14	5	7	8,243,036	3.4
1998	159	107	25	14	13	14,661,832	

Balochistan							
1951	17	15	1	1	-	145,256	4.7
1961	35	33	1	1	-	228,468	4.9
1972	39	37	1	-	1	399,584	6.4
1981	32	26	4	1	1	676,772	4.8
1998	42	27	9	5	1	1,516,339	
Islamabad							
1972	1	-	-	1	-	76,641	12.3
1981	1	-	-	-	1	204,364	5.7
1998	1	-	-	-	1	524,500	

Table 15: Cities of different sizes (numbers)

Region	Size of cities						Total
	Under 10,000	10,000-100,000	100,000-500,000	500,000 – 1 million	1 million - 5 million	Over 5 million	
Pakistan							
1951	107	82	7	1	1	-	198
1961	150	114	10	0	2	-	276
1972	114	195	15	3	2	-	329
1981	96	259	21	5	2	1	384
1998	64	356	42	3	5	2	472
Punjab							
1951	70	57	5	1	-	-	133
1961	78	74	6	-	1	-	159
1972	38	125	11	2	1	-	177
1981	28	153	15	3	2	-	201
1998	6	193	28	1	4	1	233
Sindh							
1951	15	14	1	-	1	-	31
1961	40	21	2	-	1	-	64
1972	53	39	1	1	1	-	95
1981	50	62	4	1	-	1	118
1998	44	94	10	-	1	1	150
NWFP							
1951	11	9	1	-	-	-	21
1961	14	17	1	-	-	-	32
1972	9	22	2	-	-	-	33
1981	5	29	1	1	-	-	36
1998	4	35	4	1	-	-	44
Balochistan							
1951	11	2	-	-	-	-	13
1961	18	2	1	-	-	-	21
1972	14	9	1	-	-	-	24
1981	13	15	1	-	-	-	29
1998	10	34	-	1	-	-	45

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *50 Years of Pakistan in Statistics*, Vol. II, (1947-1997), Government of Pakistan, 1998 Provincial Census Reports, Population Census Organisation, Islamabad as reproduced in: Iffat Ara and Arshad Zaman *Asian Urbanization in the New Millennium*, Country Chapter, Unpublished work, August 2002.

Table 16: Mitthi Taluka (sub-district): Selected socio-economic indicators 1981 and 1998

	1981					1998													
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female								
1	Population of Tharparkar District					Population of Tharparkar District					Population of Tharparkar District								
Number	1,501,882	793,863	708,019	1,244,524	651,838	586,686	257,358	136,025	121,333	919,291	499,859	414,432	874,464	478,826	395,638	39,827	21,033	18,794	
Population of Mitthi Taluka	154,431	83,230	71,201	136,204	73,636	62,588	18,227	9,994	8,633	241,548	129,143	112,405	211,424	113,303	98,121	30,124	15,840	14,284	
Percentage of Mitthi Taluka wrt Tharparkar District Population	10.28%	10.48%	10.06%	10.94%	11.19%	10.66%	7.08%	7.05%	7.12%	26.42%	25.84%	27.12%	24.18%	23.66%	24.80%	75.64%	75.31%	76.00%	
2	Literacy (Mitthi Taluka)					Literacy (Mitthi Taluka)					Literacy (Mitthi Taluka)								
Total Population 10 years and above	109,471	59,879	49,592	97,169	53,319	43,850	12,302	6,560	5,742	160,919	84,738	76,181	139,831	73,620	66,211	21,088	11,118	9,970	
Literate Numbers	12,027	10,133	1,894	6,733	6,387	416	5,294	3,716	1,478	34,888	27,303	7,285	22,487	19,340	3,147	12,107	7,963	4,188	
Percentage	10.99%	16.92%	3.82%	6.97%	11.92%	0.95%	42.71%	57.56%	25.74%	21.49%	32.22%	9.56%	16.08%	26.27%	4.75%	57.38%	71.62%	41.50%	
3	Marriage (Mitthi Taluka)					Marriage (Mitthi Taluka)					Marriage (Mitthi Taluka)								
Total Population 15 and above	88,344	48,801	39,543	78,530	43,546	34,884	9,834	5,255	4,579	128,136	67,042	61,094	111,093	58,054	53,039	17,043	8,988	8,055	
Number (Married)	59,713	30,484	29,229	52,139	28,575	25,844	7,154	3,909	3,665	89,382	44,427	41,955	77,626	38,531	39,095	11,756	5,896	5,860	
Percentage	67.58%	62.47%	73.88%	66.39%	65.03%	73.07%	77.02%	74.39%	80.04%	69.76%	62.27%	73.88%	69.87%	66.37%	73.71%	68.89%	65.60%	72.75%	
4	Migration (Tharparkar District)					Migration (Tharparkar District)					Migration (Tharparkar District)								
Within Country																			
Number	99,896	53,389	46,507	64,123	34,386	29,737	35,773	19,003	16,770	1,042	655	387	866	571	295	176	84	92	
Percentage	6.65%	6.73%	6.57%	5.15%	5.23%	5.07%	13.90%	13.97%	13.82%	0.13%	0.13%	0.09%	0.10%	0.12%	0.07%	0.44%	0.40%	0.49%	
Out of Country																			
Number	15,499			13,306			2,193												
Percentage	1.03%			1.03%			0.85%												
5	Graduates (Mitthi Taluka)					Graduates (Mitthi Taluka)					Graduates (Mitthi Taluka)								
Number	163	157	6	31	31	0	132	126	6	1,274	1,155	119	508	491	17	766	664	102	
Percentage wrt population 10 and above	0.15%	0.26%	0.01%	0.03%	0.06%	0.00%	1.07%	1.92%	0.10%	0.79%	1.36%	0.16%	0.36%	0.67%	0.03%	3.63%	5.97%	1.02%	
6	Intermediate (Mitthi Taluka)					Intermediate (Mitthi Taluka)					Intermediate (Mitthi Taluka)								
Number	338	330	8	117	117	0	221	213	8	2,887	2,592	295	1,714	1,652	62	1,173	940	233	
Percentage wrt population 10 and above	0.31%	0.55%	0.02%	0.12%	0.22%	0.00%	1.80%	3.25%	0.14%	1.79%	3.06%	0.39%	1.23%	2.24%	0.09%	5.56%	8.45%	2.34%	
7	Unemployed (Tharparkar)					Unemployed (Tharparkar)					Unemployed (Tharparkar)								
Population 10 and above Tharparkar District	1,020,671	550,879	469,792	846,320	457,240	389,080	174,351	93,639	80,712	581,455	309,720	271,715	553,412	294,889	258,523	28,023	14,831	13,192	
Number	16,331	8,814	18,732	13,541			3,487			9,445	9,353	92	2,167	8,922	87	436	431	5	
Percentage wrt population 10 and above	1.60%	1.60%	4.00%	1.60%			2.00%			1.62%	3.02%	0.03%	0.39%	3.03%	0.03%	1.56%	2.91%	0.04%	

Notes
1. Migration figures for Mitthi Taluka are not available therefore Tharparkar District Figures are used. Same is true for Unemployment figures. Rest of the indicators are for Mitthi Taluka
2. For 1998 figures for Out of Country migration are not available
3. The percentage for migration is wrt total Population of Tharparkar District
4. Unemployed Population is computed with Population of 10 and above of Tharparkar District
5. In 1981, the out of country migration figures are for Tharparkar District
6. Unemployment in 1981 is calculated in reverse mode
7. Taluka means sub-district
8. Migration means presence of life time migrants in the area

Table 18: Chhinniot Tehsil (Sub-District), Selected socio-economic indicators 1981 and 1998

	Total	1981				1998			
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Population of Jhang District	1,978,263	1,044,811	933,452	1,534,665	809,971	724,714	443,578	234,840	208,738
Population of Chhinniot Tehsil	694,080	367,190	326,890	534,971	283,354	251,137	159,599	83,836	75,753
Percentage of Chhinniot Tehsil wrt Jhang District Population	35.09%	35.14%	35.02%	120.50%	120.66%	120.31%	35.98%	35.70%	36.29%
2	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Literacy (Chhinniot Tehsil)	505,391	269,549	235,842	393,715	210,503	183,212	111,676	59,046	52,630
Total Population 10 years and above	96,195	72,836	22,359	47,527	41,549	5,978	47,668	31,287	16,381
Percentage	18.84%	27.02%	9.48%	12.07%	19.74%	3.26%	42.68%	52.99%	31.12%
3	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
B/w 15 and 24	114,250	59,511	54,739	64,608	44,063	40,545	29,642	15,448	14,194
Total Population b/w 15 and 24	29,960	22,093	7,867	13,955	12,161	1,794	16,005	9,932	6,073
Percentage	26.22%	37.12%	14.37%	16.49%	27.60%	4.42%	53.99%	64.29%	42.79%
4	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Marriage (Chhinniot Tehsil)	420,503	223,994	196,509	330,305	176,284	154,021	90,198	47,710	42,488
Total Population 15 and above	279,884	142,887	136,997	220,801	112,872	107,929	59,083	30,015	29,068
Percentage (Married)	66.56%	63.79%	69.72%	66.85%	64.03%	70.07%	65.50%	62.91%	68.41%
B/w 15 and 24	114,250	59,511	54,739	64,608	44,063	40,545	29,642	15,448	14,194
Total Population b/w 15 and 24	36,033	11,258	23,775	26,461	8,600	17,861	8,572	2,658	5,914
Percentage (Married)	30.66%	18.92%	43.43%	31.27%	19.52%	44.05%	28.92%	17.21%	41.67%
5	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Migration (Jhang District)	279,884	142,887	136,997	220,801	40,223	40,216	92,396	47,809	44,587
Within Country	14,15%	13.68%	14.68%	49.78%	17.13%	19.27%	3.26%	3.24%	3.28%
Percentage									
Out of Country	9088			5015			4053		
Percentage	0.46%			1.13%			0.14%		
6	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Graduates (Chhinniot Tehsil)	2,032	1,503	529	532	493	39	1,500	1,010	490
Percentage wrt population 10 and above	0.40%	0.56%	0.22%	0.14%	0.23%	0.02%	1.34%	1.71%	0.93%
Intermediate (Chhinniot Tehsil)	4,216	3,289	927	1,473	1,371	102	2,743	1,918	825
Percentage wrt population 10 and above	0.83%	1.22%	0.39%	0.37%	0.65%	0.06%	2.46%	3.25%	1.57%
7	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Unemployed (Jhang District)	1,405,583	748,742	656,841	1,094,180	582,271	511,909	311,403	166,471	144,932
Population of Jhang District 10 and above	2,951,243	1,497,484	1,453,759	1,750,688	871,917	878,771	1,432,454	717,926	714,528
Percentage wrt population 10 and above	2.10%	2.00%	7.60%	1.60%	4.60%	4.35%	8.22%	0.13%	3.73%

Notes

1. Migration figures for Chhinniot Tehsil are not available therefore Jhang District Figures are used. Same is true for Unemployment figures. Rest of the indicators are for Chhinniot.
2. For 1998 figures for out of migration are not available.
3. The percentage for migration is wrt Total Population of Jhang District.
4. Unemployed Population is computed with Population of 10 and above for Jhang District.
5. In 1981 the out of country migration figures are for Jhang district.
6. Unemployment in 1981 is calculated in reverse mode.
7. Tehsil means sub district.
8. Migration means presence of life time migrants in the area.

Table 19: Number of television licences by district

		Year									
		1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
1	Bahawalpur	17,933	15,303	16,061	17,458	18,489	20,001	20,891	22,026	23,868	33,457
2	Jhang	19,434	17,861	19,675	20,959	22,886	24,688	26,198	29,871	31,401	38,767
3	Tharparkar	DNA	52	120							

DNA Data Not Available

Table 20: Health facilities Bahawalpur, Jhang and Tharparkar districts

	Hospitals		Dispensaries		Rural Health Centers		TB Clinics		Basic Health Units		Secondary Health Centers	Mother and Child Health Centers
	No.	Beds	No.	Beds	No.	Beds	No.	Beds	No.	Beds		
1 Bahawalpur												
1990	9	1,374	50	16	11	147	3	0	56	102	26	12
1991	9	1,394	61	16	11	162	3	0	60	114	21	12
1992	9	1,396	60	12	11	162	3	0	62	120	21	12
1993	9	1,376	68	16	12	182	3	0	64	128	21	12
1994	10	1,384	65	16	12	182	3	0	64	128	21	12
1995	10	1,422	67	16	12	182	3	0	65	130	21	12
1996	10	1,422	69	16	12	182	3	0	67	134	21	12
1997	10	1,395	67	16	12	182	3	0	67	134	21	12
1998	9	1,412	68	16	12	182	3	0	67	134	21	12
1999	9	1,554	68	16	12	182	3	0	67	134	21	12
Growth rate												
1991-1998	0.00	1.38	3.48	0.00	0.97	2.40	0.00	0.00	2.01	3.08	-2.35	0.00
2 Jhang												
1990	10	416	53	182	13	106	2	36	93	0	45	14
1991	10	416	57	186	13	260	2	36	94	0	43	14
1992	10	408	60	186	14	280	2	36	94	0	43	14
1993	10	416	63	186	14	280	2	36	93	186	43	14
1994	10	416	58	180	14	280	2	36	93	186	43	14
1995	10	416	59	176	14	280	2	36	93	186	44	14
1996	10	452	60	176	14	280	2	36	93	186	44	14
1997	10	452	59	176	14	280	2	36	93	186	44	14
1998	11	456	58	172	14	280	2	36	93	186	44	14
1999	11	456	54	172	14	280	2	36	93	186	44	14
Growth rate												
1991-1998	1.06	1.03	0.21	-0.63	0.83	11.40	0.00	0.00	0.00		-0.25	0.00
3 Tharparkar												
1990												
1991	3	70			1	10			9	22		1
1992	3	70			1	10			21	46		1
1993	3	70	3		1	10	3		40	82		1
1994	3	70	3		1	10	4		28	60		1
1995	3	70	5		1	10	4		30	64		1
1996	3	70	11		1	10	4		30	64		1
1997	3	70	17		1	10	5		30	64		1
1998	3	70	18		1	10	5		30	64		1
1999	3	70	23		1	10	5		30	64		1
Growth rate												
1991-1998	-8.98	-15.27	21.45		-19.44	-18.92	19.58		-4.41	-5.05		-16.37

Table 21 : 1998 Person per facility in the three districts

	Crimes	Police Stations	Post Offices	Cinemas	Hospitals		Dispensaries		R.H. Centers		T.B. Clinics		B.H. Units		S.H.C. No	M.C.H. No
					No	Beds	No	Beds	No	Beds	No	Beds	No	Beds		
Bahawalpur	250	115,861	12,873	221,190	270,343	1,723	35,781	152,068	202,758	13,969	811,030	0	36,315	18,157	115,861	202,758
Jhang	325	149,187	12,711	354,318	257,686	6,216	48,871	16,480	202,468	10,123	1,417,273	78,737	30,479	15,239	64,421	202,468
Tharparkar	DNA	65,307	31,527	114,286	304,764	13,061	50,794	DNA	914,291	91,429	182,858	DNA	30,476	14,286	DNA	914,291

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