

**MIDDLE EAST
INTERLUDE:**

**ASIAN
WORKERS
ABROAD**

A Comparative Study of Four Countries

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UNESCO REGIONAL OFFICE, Bangkok, 1986

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Part 3
Pakistan

Ijaz S. Gilani

CHAPTER

9

INTRODUCTION

Approximately one hundred thousand Pakistanis have been leaving the country each year since 1973 to work in the Middle East. Although some of them have since returned to Pakistan, many have continued to stay and they, joined by the fresh arrivals, constitute a stock of approximately one and a half million Pakistanis in the oil rich countries of the Gulf and North Africa. Another approximately half a million Pakistanis work in different parts of the world. Considering that this stock amounts to more than one in every ten households in Pakistan, the impact of overseas migration on the Pakistani society is both extensive and deeply felt.

Overseas migration of this magnitude affects the country at two levels: Firstly, the *macro level* or the level of the national economy, a concern of agencies such as the national planning agencies and the Finance Ministry; secondly, the *micro level* or the level of families and communities directly affected by the migration process, a major concern of agencies such as the Overseas Pakistanis Foundation.

The present study deals with both aspects of international migration and offers recommendations concerning macro as well as micro level policies.

The study begins with some basic profile information on Pakistan. In the following sections it deals with the impact of migration on high migration communities, the left behind families, the returnees, and finally policy implications of the research findings.

It would be appropriate at the outset to briefly introduce the state of knowledge concerning international migration from Pakistan.

The Current State of Knowledge

Considering the immense importance of overseas migration for Pakistan, it is natural that it should take the lead in both keenly and carefully studying the phenomenon of overseas migration. As such, several extensive studies on over-seas migration have been carried out in the country. The lead was taken by a study produced at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE).^{*} This study was based on a nationally representative survey of approximately three hundred villages and towns. While no other labour exporting country has, to date, been successful in conducting a study of similar thoroughness and representative character, several among them are trying to develop studies along these lines and have benefitted from the Pakistan experience.

^{*} Ijaz Gilani, Fahim Khan and Munawar Iqbal, *Labour Migration from Pakistan to the Middle East*. Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1981.

The PIDE study had focussed on the consequences of labour migration for the national economy. The task of looking more carefully at the social impact of the problems related to the economic as well as social readjustment of the returnee migrants had been left for a later study. This task was performed by the same group of researchers through a study conducted at the Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion.¹ The continuity in the direction of the two studies has given a complementary character.

This paper draws heavily on the findings of the two studies mentioned above, both of which were carried out under the directorship of the present author.

The PIPO studies were done in 1982-1983; in carrying them out this author extensively benefitted from the Unesco Research Design for the present MIME project. The studies are therefore extremely helpful in writing this paper since it deals with identical issues. A note on the PIDE and PIPO studies mentioned above is given in appendix to this paper.

In addition to these two studies which provided primary data and hence became the key source for most of the other literature in the field, other reliable studies are the following.

The first survey of migration and remittances was taken by Shahid Perwaiz, under the sponsorship of USAID Pakistan. The author has relied mainly on the secondary data obtained from the Ministry of Labour. The Ministry had issued several bulletins reporting the numbers and the skills of emigrating workers. However, it registered only those workers which left the country through official channels and the duly recognized recruiting agents. It did not report workers going through a so-called "private visa". Accordingly, it strongly underestimates the number of Pakistanis abroad. As subsequent research revealed, the Ministry figures reported a barely one quarter of the cases until 1978 when there was a change in procedures. The study was, therefore, handicapped by gross underestimation of the volume of migration. On remittances, the same study relied on the figures provided by the Central Bank. It used a heuristic estimate for adding the remittances which entered the country through non-banking channels. Finally, the study had no systematically collected information on the pattern of use of remittances. It relied on intelligent guesses and newspaper stories. Despite these weaknesses, however,

¹ * Left Behind or Left Out: A study of the left behind families of overseas Pakistanis, PIPO Migration Report No. 1, 1983.

Returnee Migrants: A case study of Pakistani workers returning from overseas, PIPO Migration Report No. 2, 1983.

Overseas Pakistanis: Profile, problems plans and proposals, PIPO Migration Report No. 3, 1983.

* High Migration Districts: Statistical profile of five districts with high overseas migration, PIPO Migration Report No. 4, 1983.

* The Affluent Villages: A study of five villages with high overseas migration, PIPO Migration Report No. 5, 1983.

* A Technical Note on the Research Project on Overseas Pakistanis, PIPO Migration Report No. 6, 1983.

* A Strategy for the Overseas Pakistanis: Summary of findings and policy implication of the Research Project on Overseas Pakistanis, PIPO Migration Report No. 7, 1983.

it was the first effort to put together the existing state of knowledge on the migration question.

The *Pakistan Economist*, a weekly specializing in economic affairs, arranged a national seminar on the remittances in 1978 and published its papers in its special number. The papers included statements by senior government officials and carried both useful information and the interpretation as well as their opinion. But, again the study was limited by the lack of primary information on the number of workers, volume of remittances, and the consumption pattern of remittances.

During this period the *World Bank* sponsored a study in the labour importing countries whose aim was to project the manpower requirements in the 1980s and to identify the possible sources of meeting these requirements. This study was subsequently published by Serageldin *et al.*, (1983) and its accompanying volumes published by Birks and Sinclair made certain estimates about emigration from Pakistan, but were no more than intelligent guesses. These estimates were subsequently shown to be incorrect.

In this background the PIDE and the PIPO studies stand as the only authoritative statements on the subject. They provided a systematic survey based study. Since 1980 these studies have been widely used by scholars and policy makers, although for drawing conflicting inferences and recommendations.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to present a consolidated and comprehensive picture of international migration from Pakistan, particularly the recent migration to the Middle East. Such a picture must include a detailed profile of the migrants, their families, the returnees and the communities of migration. It must also analyze the impact of migration on the social and economic life of the above mentioned groups. In describing the history of migration from the country as a whole and the specific communities selected for in-depth analysis, we must trace the links between internal and international migration.

Data Sources and Method of Study

A combination of several methods was employed in order to prepare the study. These included secondary as well as primary data gathering methods. Census records, labour statistics and existing studies were carefully examined to provide the general framework of the paper. The data files of several large scale surveys were obtained and analyzed in the light of the specific objectives of this paper. We thus identified the unexamined areas where fresh information was needed. This was collected through the techniques of surveys, observation, interviews and the study of documents; the selection of method depended on the nature of the issue.

Sampling and Field Survey

The field survey for this study was a complement to a larger study being conducted by this author (Gilani, 1983). This was supplemented by personal observations and in-depth interviews in two communities.

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The field survey comprised of four questionnaires: the *first* conducted with the overseas Pakistanis, the *second* conducted with the returnees, the *third* conducted with the left behind families and the *fourth* conducted with the general population. The sampling procedure for each is explained below:

1) Overseas Pakistanis (OPs). In the absence of the possibility of interviewing the OPs in their country of employment, which would be administratively cumbersome and financially exorbitant, we devised a method to interview them at the major international airports in Pakistan. Approximately 800 of them were interviewed at the Karachi and Islamabad departure lounges.

Our respondents were those OPs who had spent at least eleven months in a country of the Middle East and were now returning to their place of work after spending their home vacations.

The airport departure lounge surveys have been used as a technique for the study of international migration in Britain and Pakistan (Gilani, 1980).

2) Returnee Migrants. A sample of 250 returnee migrants was interviewed in nearly 70 villages across the country. The villages had been statistically selected in five high migration districts of the country. Within the village, every household beginning from a random point was interviewed searching for returnee migrants until the desired number had been completed (Returnees were defined as those who had worked for at least 11 months abroad and had now permanently returned to Pakistan).

3) Left Behind Families. Approximately 750 left behind families were interviewed in nearly 70 villages across the country, the same as for the returnees. The villages, as explained earlier, were statistically selected from five high migration districts.

The left behind families were defined as those who had at least one person presently working abroad and sending remittances to the family. The identification procedure was the same as for the returnees; every household beginning from a randomly selected household in the village was interviewed seeking qualified households for this survey, until the desired number had been completed.

4) General Population Survey. The purpose of this survey was to obtain information on the non-migrant families.

A set of questions relating to international migration and its impact were included in a nationally representative survey. The survey was conducted in 175 randomly selected locations in the country (100 rural and 75 urban). Ten interviews beginning from a randomly selected household were conducted in each location, thus obtaining approximately 1,700 completed interviews. The responses were subsequently classified by migration and non-migration status.

A selected number of questions on migration in this survey had been previously replicated in periodic nation-wide surveys. The total picture emerging from these replicated surveys became the basis for determining the proportion of migrant and returnee households in the total population.

CHAPTER

10

COUNTRY PROFILE

Geography

Pakistan is located in South and West Asia and extends from the Arabian sea to the Hindo Kush mountain ranges. The total land area is approximately one million sq. km.

Pakistan shares its international boundaries with four neighbours: Iran, Afghanistan, China, and India.

The country is divided into four provinces: Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan. Punjab is the most populous province accounting for nearly sixty per cent of the total population.

Economy

Pakistan is predominantly an agricultural country. Agriculture accounts for 30 per cent share in its GDP. Pakistan is one of the leading exporters of cotton and rice. Manufacturing sector accounts for 18 per cent of GDP, while the service sector which comprises wholesale and retail trade, transport and communication, public administration and defence constitute 44 per cent of GDP.

The per capita income of Pakistan amounted to Rupees 4176 in 1982-1983 (approximately \$ 320).

Income distribution is skewed with the poorest ten per cent receiving only 5.5 per cent, while the top ten per cent receives approximately 25 per cent of total income.

Demographic Pattern

According to official sources the population estimates for Pakistan in 1983 are 88 million. Population growth has been around 3.0 per cent per year. Life expectancy is currently estimated at 55 years.

A large portion of the population is in the younger age group, due to a fast growing population. According to the 1981 census, children below 15 years, constituted 45 per cent of the total population.

During the past thirty years, Pakistan has witnessed sizeable urbanization. The urban population now comprises 28 per cent of total population, while it was only 18 per cent thirty years ago.

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The labour force (10 years age and above) is estimated at 26 million out of a total population of 88 million. The labour force participation rate is approximately 31 per cent. It is lower compared to other countries in the region.

The unemployment estimates are quite low. According to the latest labour force survey (1978-1979), the unemployment rate was estimated at 3.5 per cent. The low rate is explained by factors such as emigrating labour force, low rate of female participation and underemployment in agriculture. It must, however, be mentioned that while open unemployment is low, underemployment is much higher. According to a recent survey, 30 per cent of the households indicated unemployment or underemployment of at least one member (PIPO, 1984).

Migration History

In its brief history, Pakistan has experienced a wide variety of migratory movements, both national and international. The birth of the country was marked by an inflow of the Muslim population and outflow of non-Muslim population involving millions of people.

Voluntary migratory movements within the country and outside have been a significant phenomenon. As industrialization and development schemes progressed in the 1950s and 1960s, large number of workers moved from rural areas to the small towns and from smaller towns to the big cities. Urbanization had made a steady headway, and today nearly thirty per cent of the population lives in the urban areas, compared to less than twenty per cent in 1950. These migratory movements have fed not only the large metropolitan centres like Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi/Islamabad but also led to the emergence of a fairly large number of regional cities like Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Hyderabad, Multan, Wall Cantt. and Nowshera. According to the 1981 census, twenty five cities in the country have (each) a population of more than 100,000.

International migration is no less significant. According to our estimate, nearly every tenth household in the country has one or more members of the family working abroad. International migration began with emigration to the United Kingdom in later half of the 1950s. It continued at a fairly rapid pace until the end of the decade of the 1960s. Precisely at that juncture migration to Middle East began.

Migration to the Middle East rapidly accelerated after the dramatic increase in the price of oil in 1973. According to estimates, more than a hundred thousand Pakistanis have since left each year for work to go to the Middle East. Today, the number of Pakistanis working in the Middle East exceeds one million.

Estimates show that there are approximately two million Pakistanis working in more than thirty countries across the globe. The largest concentration is in the Middle East which accounts for two thirds of the total. Other centres include UK, USA, Canada and a number of Northern European countries, particularly Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Federal Republic of Germany.

Pockets of Migration

While one can identify certain pockets of migration, it must be recognised that in Pakistan migration has been widespread in all regions of the country. Interestingly, the various provinces were shown to be almost proportionately represented to their populations. Within the provinces, however, one finds that the rain-fed (*barani*) areas were the first ones to respond to foreign demand for labour and are more heavily represented. The cause is quite obvious: they were poorer, under-employed and had a long standing tradition of migration within the country or across borders to find work. The Gulf was simply a new and more attractive destination.

According to the PIDE and PIPO studies, the heavy emigration districts appeared to be the following: In *Punjab*, Gujrat and Rawalpindi, in *Sind*, Larkana and Karachi, in *NWFP*, Kohat and Mardan, and in *Baluchistan*, Turbat and Quetta.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

The typical migrants in the light of the various surveys conducted on the subject appear to be young males in their twenties and thirties, married but unaccompanied by their wives. They come from rural background and humble economic and social origins. They are only modestly educated and many of them are illiterate.

Occupational Background

Forty three per cent of Pakistani migrant workers in the Middle East are unskilled, 41 per cent are professionals and 12 per cent are clerical, business, sales and other miscellaneous workers. Amongst skilled workers, the highest number comes from the construction sector (masons, carpenters, electricians, plumbers etc.) followed by workers from the manufacturing sector (machine operators, mechanics etc.) Amongst professionals, the overwhelming number (60 per cent) is that of engineers.

There are certain regional variations in skill composition. The majority of worker from the Frontier province (60 per cent) are unskilled, whereas only one-third of workers (34 per cent) from the Punjab and Sind are unskilled. Skill composition appears to have changed overtime. The data show that since 1973 the share of unskilled workers compared with skilled workers is constantly increasing.

Marital Status and Family Situation

A large majority (70 per cent) of migrant workers are married, but only 4 per cent are accompanied abroad by their families. The families of the remaining 66 per cent stay behind, thus leaving approximately 3 million women and children separated from their husbands and fathers.

Age and Employment Status

The data show that 75 per cent of the migrants are less than 30 years of age. **Only** 7 per cent were reported as unemployed when they migrated. Another 10 per cent were reported as students at the time of migration.

Income and Education

The overseas Pakistani by and large comes from a humble income and educational background. His average income before departure is reported as less than one thousand rupees and the total household income as less than 1,500 rupees. Only 4 per cent are reported to have more than ten years of education.

However, since he went abroad to work, there have been many dramatic changes in his life. His income has increased several folds to *an* average of approximately five thousand rupees a month. He has also been exposed to many new experiences: air-travel, learning new languages, and meeting people of different nationalities. A large majority of the OPs claim they have learnt enough Arabic to understand and can make basic conversation in it. A smaller number claims to have learnt some European languages like English, German, and French, because they were employed by companies where the managerial staff spoke these languages.

IMPACT OF MIGRATION

Large scale migration has several areas of impact, most notably its economic impact on the labour market, saving and consumption behaviour and income distribution. Besides its economic impact labour migration has important social consequences on the families and communities directly affected by it. Below we take a cursory view of the economic and social impact in the case of Pakistan.

Impact on the Labour Market

The PIDE study data show that 83 per cent of all migrant workers are production workers. Their loss to the economy has resulted in declining output.

In the long run, the shortages created by migrant workers can be overcome by providing training to the unskilled or less skilled workers. This study provides an estimate of what it would cost to replace migrant workers. The costs are not very high in terms of both monetary outlay and the training time, except for professional whose training requires substantial investment of money and time.

It also appears that output has declined not because the required workers are not available but because the quality of their work is below acceptable standards. There is some evidence in the data to show that as skilled workers departed, their jobs were replaced by hurriedly trained unskilled workers. The shortage of suitably qualified workers is most pronounced in the manufacturing sector, followed by the construction sector.

The data show that the large scale emigration of both skilled and unskilled workers has resulted in a general increase of wages.

The Impact on the Money Market

The period of migration from Pakistan coincides with the period of very high inflation rates, particularly the initial five years between 1973-1978. The coincidence of the two leads one to infer a causal relationship between the two. The common sense argument which contains an element of truth in it is straightforward and convincing: "Large sums of money are being pumped into the economy and it pushes the prices of commodities." This is particularly valid when the new money goes to the traditionally poor with high propensity to consume and seek urgently desired goods to meet the basic needs.

Argued in this fashion, inflation has been almost exclusively blamed on migration. Such exaggeration is not true and stands to be corrected for the following reasons.

Alongwith the increasing remittance money, the import bill of Pakistan has also been rising very sharply. This has meant that the increased purchasing power has been to that extent matched by increased number of goods. The inflationary impact has been most notable in sectors where the increased demand could not be met by increased imports or increased production at home. This was particularly true of real estate. Real estate was the most favourite investment among remittance recipients and it is an item whose supply, particularly in the short run, is severely constrained.

The inflationary impact of migration has been felt through the rising prices of real estate and higher wage rates, the two areas on whom we have given more precise figures in the previous section. It would be wrong however to apportion the blame of inflation on migration. Inflation rates in other countries either not influenced or much less influenced per capita, such as India, are not drastically different. The structural character of a modern economy and world wide inflation during the period under study ought not to be ignored.

Saving and Consumption Behaviour

Almost two-thirds of the remittances go into consumption. The remaining one third is primarily accounted for by investment in real estate. This has caused the impression that remittances are responsible for higher consumption propensity, not only among migrants but through their demonstration effect on the rest of the population as well. Since there is a certain degree of truth, as observed in the data, the impression about a spendthrift migrant has become deeply entrenched, to the complete neglect of many qualifications which must be added to this image of the migrant. Such corrective qualifications are the following.

Firstly, in judging the consumption behaviour of the migrant families, it is only logical to consider consumption as a proportion of their current income and

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not the past income. Calculated in this manner, the PIDE study, which compared consumption patterns of approximately 1,200 migrant and 600 non-migrant families, showed that within the same income groups the consumption ratio among migrant families was not higher than non-migrant families.

Since the migrant families coexist with the non-migrants in all communities and do not live in their own enclaves, it is difficult to expect them to vary very much in their consumption habits from others in equivalent income groups. They might, however, if they were wise enough to be particularly farsighted realise that the incomes of non-migrants were more stable and perhaps longer lasting in that state than their own, and hence pro-rated on a longer period the income of migrant families would drop. Thus conceived, the migrant family should be more inclined to save for harder times in the future. The policy implication section of this paper suggests that this point should be specially communicated to the migrant families.

Another aspect of migrant savings and consumption habits is the available investment options. It has been shown in the PIDE and PIPO studies that investment ratios are higher in irrigated areas where fruitful investment options are available for the migrants. Given the volume of investment income, educational and business skills of the migrants, they are not likely to venture far beyond their own residential areas. Therefore, unless investment opportunities are available in close proximity, remittance will continue to be attracted towards the easiest and universally available option: real estate, which our studies show account for one quarter of remittance and two-thirds of all investment.

Income Distribution

Despite the fact that two-thirds of migrant workers originate from rural areas and approximately half of all migrants are unskilled labour, they still seem to come disproportionately from above average income groups.

As a result migration has made the income distribution in the country worse. Nevertheless, it appears that within the group of approximately one million migrant households income is more equally distributed, showing the relatively equitable distribution of the benefits of emigration. Furthermore, the increased income from remittances does have an egalitarian dimension, which is, that no other net inflow of resources to the public at large has historically been as equally distributed over the national population as remittances.

Social Consequences

Two aspects of social consequences of migration are of special importance: its impact on the family, and on the immediate community of residence. Both of these subjects can only be partially probed through statistical survey. They relate to certain qualitative considerations and can best be understood through qualitative analysis techniques. Such an attempt has been made in our village studies, which appear later in this paper. There are, however, certain quantitative aspects which

can be probed on a representative national scale and were included in our surveys. Their findings are given below.

The surveys on migrant population have revealed the interesting influence of extended family. More than 80 per cent of the migrant families live in an extended family pattern. The wife and children therefore do not shift residence; they simply continue to live in their old environment. The duties of the husband and father are not taken over by the wife, but by another male member of the household. These duties relate to financial matters as well as education and other matters relating to children.

Perhaps the wife begins to feel more responsible mentally but the physical burden rests with a male member of the household. This is, however, different in cases where migration occurs from a nuclear family, in which case the wife assumes financial and other responsibilities.

Since in the majority of the cases the household pattern does not undergo a qualitative change, the impact of migration, on family patterns cannot be considered very significant.

As for the community, migration has proved to be a great social equalizer. The traditional social hierarchy in rural and, with a modest difference, in the urban Pakistan is based on a congruence between tradition based social prestige and economic resources. Migration provided an opportunity for the socio-economically underprivileged to enhance their economic position and through it revise the socio-economic hierarchy. The revised socio-economic hierarchy expresses itself most graphically, when the migrant family having improved its economic status, moves on to change its caste (Gilani et. al., 1981).

RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES AND POLICIES

Pakistan's emigration policy has gone through several phases and accordingly migration and recruitment procedures have also developed over the years.

The first phase of migration was caused by the partition of India. In order to regulate the migration at a time when the administrative structure was still in a rudimentary stage, the government imposed very stringent measures against movement across borders. These rules affected all categories of people and for all destinations. The principal focus of attention was migration between India and Pakistan. The rest of the world was treated as an exception, where the volume of movement was only marginal to the volume of people moving between India and Pakistan.

In the 1960s when substantial number of Pakistanis began to move as workers to various European and North American destinations, the government adopted selective attitude towards emigration; it was broadly neutral to the emigration of unskilled and skilled workers, but held negative attitude towards the emigration of professionals. It was a period when 'brain-drain' was the major worry. Although the government adopted certain measures to prevent the trend, brain-drain

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continued mainly through the students who went to various western destinations for education and stayed back after completing higher studies.

A new situation arose in the 1970s when unparalleled opportunities for foreign labour opened up in the Gulf countries. This occurred at a time when Pakistan was passing through a severe political crisis, resulting in the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country. There were severe concerns about the economic health of the remaining half of the country. In a situation of this nature, opportunities for foreign employment was seized by individual workers as well as the government. The talk about 'exporting manpower' to earn foreign exchange and relieve local unemployment began early in the 1970s. The government relaxed the restrictions on foreign travel. Thus began a period of very rapid, and largely unregulated, emigration which continued for at least five years until the Emigration Ordinance of 1979 was promulgated.

The new Ordinance requires of all departing Pakistanis for employment abroad to obtain a clearance from the Bureau of Emigration, controlled by the Ministry of Labour and Manpower. The Bureau, in turn, seeks a clearance granted by the Protector of emigrants. It is the latter's task to verify that the foreign employment falls within the requirements of legal employment and minimum wages as well as other laid down conditions of work.

The law also requires that every departing worker should become member of the Overseas Pakistanis Foundation by paying a fee of rupees five hundred and fifty (approximately US\$ 40).

It is not mandatory for a departing worker to go through a licensed recruiting agent — there are more than five hundred such agents registered with the Ministry who are required to work within the framework laid down by the Emigration Ordinance. But those who do go through such an agency are required to pay fee of rupees 1,450 (around US\$ 100) to the agency.

The data from our survey (1983) show that in recent years almost half of the workers went through a recruiting agent. This figure has gone up from an earlier figure of only one quarter (25 per cent) when a similar survey was carried out in 1980.

There has been severe criticism of the private recruiting agents. The charges against them relate to fraud and overcharging. The fraudulent practices involve the arrangement of illegal entry into host countries through forged papers, with or without the connivance of similar groups in the host countries. These practices also include false promises of sending their clients overseas or even boarding on boats in the ocean with unknown destinations or uninhabited islands. Severe public uproar was created when such practices led to the death of many unfortunate adventurers on the high seas.

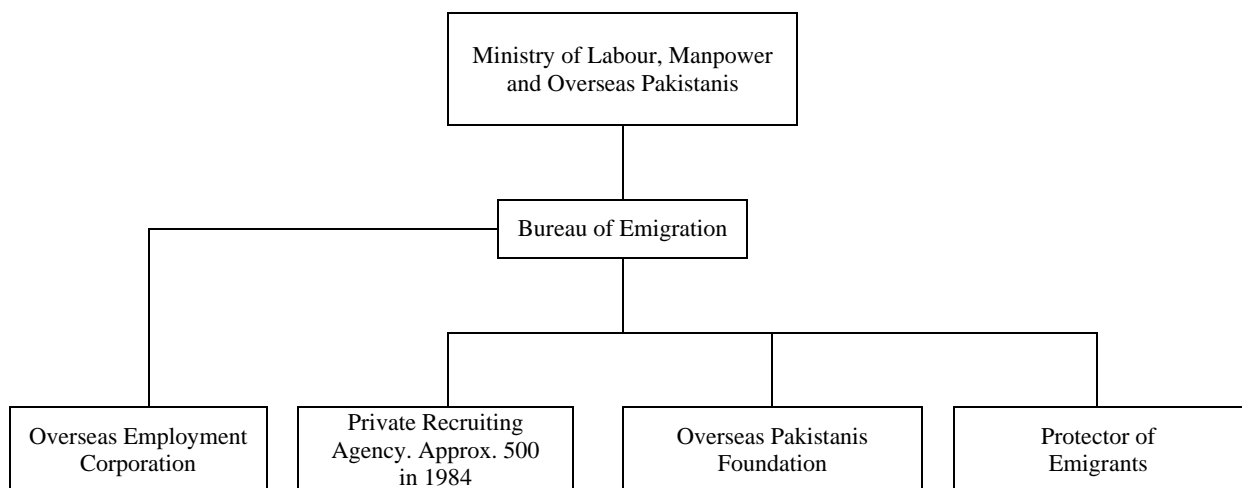
In addition to outright fraud the recruiting agents have also been blamed for overcharging. The official fees of rupees 1,450 was fixed as a result of that charge.

The human misery caused by the malpractices of the recruiting agents has been immense. They have also become the new rich class of local communities, and

many among them became millionaires overnight by arranging and selling hundreds of job visas at exorbitant prices.

Nevertheless recruiting agents were an important intermediary in the entire emigration process. Almost viciously thirsty for their profits, they sought jobs or other avenues for bringing manpower in the Gulf countries and they recruited people from the remote corners of Pakistan to board them on planes and herd them into the unknown territories in the Gulf. In doing so, they were not different from their predecessors on the Indian subcontinent in the 18th and 19th century who were called passage brokers and who managed to send millions of Indians to the British plantations in Africa, Carribean, and the Malacca straits. There was, however, one difference that the places of work in the Gulf turned out to be more lucrative than the British plantations and despite the miseries caused by emigration and the callousness of the intermediating agencies, the emigrant worker was able to win, barring exceptions, a reasonable degree of fortune for himself. Such was not the case for his predecessors, who remained paupers if they did not perish on the ships which promised to take them to their dreamlands.

The official structure of the emigration process looks as below:



In reflecting on the policies and procedures concerning migration to the Gulf one comes to the following conclusion.

The migration to the Gulf emerged as a very unexpected development. It was unexpected for the labour receiving as well as for the labour sending countries. They were unprepared to accept this development both psychologically and administratively. Psychologically, it was difficult to accept that the sending countries were unable to provide job, sustenance and opportunities to its citizens, millions of whom were looking abroad for work and opportunity. It was even interpreted as voting with feet. It was no less of a psychological dilemma for the labour importing countries, who were only confronted with the charge of impotence to do their job themselves and to have to rely on foreign labour in a major way. Administratively, neither the sending nor the receiving countries were equipped to handle the

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registration or subsequent tracking down of hundreds of thousands of workers. Consequently, we find tremendous confusion in the sending and receiving countries on the question of migration during the first five years of large scale migration to the Gulf, that is 1973-1978. During the next five years, **we observe** that the psychological barriers are being overcome by developing a coherent view on the issue and an administrative structure is constructed to regulate the workers movement. It is in this second half that researchers also responded to this dramatic development in International economic relations. We begin to be more informed on how many people are involved in migration, their profiles, and behaviour. We also begin to be more specific on the impact of migration on the economy and society of the involved countries. Despite this improvement in recognizing the issue, and becoming administratively equipped to handle it, there is yet very little by way of ongoing research on the migrant worker population, as there is on other sections of the population through census and other social surveys. But in countries where migration is either the predominant source of manpower (Gulf) or the provider of foreign exchange (sending countries), it is an issue which deserves to be regularly monitored by carefully designed periodic surveys.

CHAPTER

11

COMMUNITIES OF OUT-MIGRATION

Two communities in the Northern part of Pakistan were selected for in-depth study: one in the district of *Gujrat* and the other in the district of *Mirpur*. *Gujrat* is located in the province of Punjab and *Mirpur* is in Azad Kashmir.

The socio-economic profile and a brief introduction to the migration history of each district is followed by an in-depth study of migration impact on village *Jaura* in *Gujrat* and *Ratta* in *Mirpur*.

Community Number 1: Village Jaura in District Gujrat

The district of *Gujrat* is a little over two thousand square miles in area and its population is approximately two million persons.

The district is typical in being largely rural. It has some 1,500 villages and ten cities.

The main languages of this district are Punjabi and Urdu, and it is mainly inhabited by Gujjars, Jats, Arians, Bloch, Mughals, Pathans, Rajputs and Syeds.

The major economic activity is agriculture. The district is on the borderline of rain-fed (*barani*) and irrigated (*nahri*) areas, and is, therefore, divided into both types of agriculture. Besides agricultural activities the district is also known for small industries and is rich in producing electric fans, furniture, footwear, and pottery. Its main crops are wheat, barley, cotton, sugarcane, and tobacco.

The district is located along the two banks of the principal national highway known as the Grand Trunk road, built during the Mughal period in the sixteenth century. It has, therefore, witnessed caravans and conquerors passing through its land for centuries. Some people ascribe the pragmatic character and openness of their culture to the historical fact of being exposed to a variety of travellers.

VILLAGE JAURA

We selected for our in-depth study a fairly large size village in the district of *Gujrat*, named, *Jaura*. It is located ten kilometers off the Grand Trunk highway and is administratively a part of the sub-district *Kharian*. This village with nearly 1,200 households has an approximate population of seven thousand persons. The local residents trace its history to the last three hundred years.

Socio-economic Structure

The village is inhabited by people belonging to a variety of castes and tribes: Gujjars, Mirza (mostly known for the trade of carpentry), migrated groups from Kashmir and India, Syeds (descendents of the Prophet) and other artisan castes.

It is a fairly fertile piece of land, irrigated by canal water from river *Jhelum*. Unfortunately, however, a sizeable tract of land has fallen victim to water logging caused by the canal water. Wheat is their principal crop. In recent years, agriculture is becoming increasingly mechanized. Tractors, tubewells, thrashers and other equipment is to be seen everywhere in the village. Our research team counted 22 tractors, 4 thrashers, 5 tubewells and 3 drill machines.

The Jaura village is now equipped with most of the amenities provided in Pakistani cities. It is electrified; there is a public call office, a commercial bank, two agricultural banks, a post office, a dispensary, a veterinary hospital; schooling upto high school for boys and middle level for girls, schools for religious instructions etc.

The village does not have public supply of water, but most houses have hand operated water pumps.

Jaura is connected to the nearby city of *Lalamusa* on the banks of the Grand Trunk highway. The connecting road is in poor shape, particularly during the rainy season. Public buses and wagons run quite frequently, thus establishing a constant link between Jaura and the nearby cities. Private transport is also available to many people who own bicycles and motorcycles. Some even have cars.

For major shopping, people go to the nearby towns, otherwise the village itself has a sizeable bazar with approximately fifty shops.

Extensive migration has markedly influenced socio-economic profiles of families in Jaura. Barring a few exceptions, all households receive remittances from abroad; this has produced a levelling effect on economic status, which, in turn, has expressed itself in reducing differences in social status.

The village Jaura is today, by and large, a prosperous community, and exhibits even a touch of affluence by local standards. One can see visible signs of prosperity in well-dressed, well-fed people, expensive brick houses, and neatly dressed children attending local schools.

Migration History

The three hundred year old village of Jaura experienced its first major migratory movement in 1947 when the sub-continent was divided into India and Pakistan causing Muslims from India to migrate to Pakistan and Hindus from this part migrating to India. At the time Jaura had nearly two hundred Hindu households in a total of not more than seven hundred households. There was a broad

occupational division with Muslims owning land and agriculture, while Hindus controlled trade and commerce including wholesale trade for which Jaura was well-known in the area.

In 1947, the two hundred Hindu families left Jaura to migrate to India. They were replaced by roughly the same number of families who moved to Jaura from Kashmir and certain parts of India. These families are recognised in the village as migrant families. They were given the houses left by the emigrating Hindus, as also small pieces of land known as the evacuee property. Over the years, the migrant households have become quite prosperous and are recognised in the village as the most hard working group.

The history of out-migration for work began in Jaura in the 1930s. The pioneer migrant, generally recognised in the village as such, is still living. His name is Ghulam Baba, and we had the opportunity of interviewing him. Ghulam Baba worked on a British vessel as seaman. In 1936, when the ship harboured in England it was declared unfit for further duty. The crew became redundant and Ghulam Baba who was the only Indian on the ship was given permission to stay in England. Thus began the Jaura contact with England.

Ghulam Baba, now in his seventies, spent most of his life in England where he married an English woman and raised a family. Having spent nearly forty years abroad, he returned to Jaura some years ago leaving behind his family in England.

Ghulam Baba's brother had joined him in England soon after he had settled. This remained to be the pattern of migration to England from Jaura until 1958. Between 1958 and 1965, the process was accelerated taking larger number of Jaura residents to England. Typically, a male member would take the lead followed by other members of the family who would join him abroad. This process slowed down in late sixties and then came to a halt. The remnants of this pattern of migration still exist in the form of the so-called fiance scheme, which permits immigration for the fiance of a woman who has British citizenship. Thus potential fiance-migrants are seen anxiously awaiting outside the local post office longing to hear the result of their immigration/wedding application.

The local post office and the public call office have become important social centres. Phone calls, letters, remittances and recorded messages on cassettes give a special colour to this village which owes its prosperity so heavily to work abroad. When the British door closed early in the 1970s, a new pattern of migration emerged.

The new destination was the Gulf countries. At the time we interviewed in 1983, the largest migration was in Saudi Arabia. Britain came next from where most of the pioneers have now returned after retirement, but have left behind their families in Britain, thus giving a new dimension to the migration related 'left behind families'. Next came migrants to the UAE and Kuwait. There has been great attraction for migration to Kuwait, which most people said offered better conditions of work.

Impact on the Community

The most dramatic impact of migration is on the economic life of the village. Prior to the migration phenomenon, it was a poor village. Half a dozen families owned financially viable pieces of land, and were considered the only respectable families. Next came a second layer of some three hundred households who owned three to four acres of land each. The remaining were landless. The village, it was described to us by old residents, presented a scene of poverty and squalor. The local residents took pride in describing to us how the situation has now completely transformed. "We owe the prosperity", they said, "to our overseas workers".

The economic transformation has expressed itself in improving the quality of the basic necessities and providing some of the higher refinements. The basic necessities include housing, which has been transformed from mud houses to brick houses almost without exception in the entire village. Other visible signs include clothing; people were well clothed and neatly dressed. Their contented faces showed signs of being properly fed.

The local bazar established in the early 1960s is another indicator of prosperity. It flourished in the nineteen seventies and expanded to its present size of nearly sixty shops. The old bazar has now been abandoned. Today, the local bazar has 8 tea shops, 10 grocery stores, 5 general merchants, besides a couple of shops for meat, vegetables, cloth, hardware, furniture and medicines.

Agriculture and Other Business Activity .

Migration is the cause of both positive and negative impact on agricultural output; curiously enough in the case of Jaura they seem to have neutralized each other, thus keeping the agricultural output largely unchanged.

The positive impact is caused by the availability of agricultural machinery, either brought by overseas workers or purchased with their remittances.

The negative impact is the result of shortage of labour and reduced interest in agriculture because profitability in the profession of agriculture is dwarfed by profitability in the profession of "overseas work".

It was reported to us that in Jaura agricultural activities were being overtaken by women, who hired labour and maintained agricultural machinery. But, since the land in Jaura is rain-fed and not very fertile, the profit margin is very low. Lands are not opened for sale because of the prestige attached to owning land. Consequently, land holding is small and often agricultural machinery becomes a prestige symbol rather than an active economic investment. As a result, it appeared that remittances were subsidizing agricultural activity. Once that subsidy was removed, agricultural produce would be liable to decline, before it restructured itself on a more cost-effective fashion.

There are, however, certain cases of success even in agriculture. One returnee family was maintaining a dairy farm alongside the agricultural activity. All

members of the family worked on this business, including women in the house. The family was visibly prosperous and wealthy.

The business activity in the village has been **on the rise**, and was demonstrated by the growing size of the local bazar. Large sums of remittance money were being pumped into this village and were the obvious cause of creating an active shopping centre.

Society and Culture

As is characteristic of all major developments, migration impact has both its laudable and a seamier aspect.

On the positive side is the impact on social stratification, resulting in drastic reduction of strata. This village was socially stratified into various castes linked with professions and was hierarchically ordered. The principal source of this hierarchy was economic differentiation; it lacked other sources of support such as religious or cultural sanction. Once the economic differentiation was blurred, the hierarchical pattern largely collapsed. The Jaura of today appears to be socially and economically more egalitarian.

The equalizing process has been, by and large, peaceful, but there are exceptions. These exceptions seemed related to instances when economic and social transformation began to translate themselves in the political arena. A few months prior to our survey in Jaura, a young man had been murdered. He came from a humble background but had become rich as a result of several years of work in Dubai. A sociable person and well regarded for his moral courage and strength he became very popular in the local community, and was elected to the local council. He was such a success that he became a likely choice for being elected the Chairman of the council, which would be, the highest office in the local body. At this point the traditional leaders who had been enjoying this position until then could bear it no longer and successfully conspired to murder the emerging new leader of the community.

On the positive side, however, it was reported that besides the murder case reported above, there has been a decline in the incidence of crime, particularly small thefts. It was ascribed to improved financial situation of the villagers.

Community Number 2: Village Ratta in District Mirpur

The district is approximately 1,500 square miles in area and its population is little less than three quarters of a million.

It is similar to the Gujrat district in being largely rural. It has 561 villages and 12 towns.

The main languages spoken in this district are: Kashmiri, Punjabi and Urdu. It is inhabited by Jats, Rajputs, Gujjars, Kashmiris, Ghakkars, and Syeds.

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The major economic activity is agriculture. But the land is not very fertile. It is rocky and depends on rain water for irrigation. Its main crops are wheat, barley, maize, pulses, rice, and oilseeds. There are a few industrial plants producing textiles, soaps etc.

There is a metalled road from Mirpur city to one of its tehsil Headquarters: Kotli. Another katcha road connects Mirpur with Bhimbar. Mirpur is also connected with the Grand Trunk Road, one near Dina and other near Sare-e-Alamgir.

VILLAGE RATTA

Ratta is located approximately seventy kilometers north of Mirpur city, the capital of Mirpur district. It is situated in the sub-district of Dadial.

The population of Ratta is approximately four thousand persons in nearly seven hundred households.

The eight kilometer road which connects Ratta to the sub-district town of Dadial is partly dirt road, for the first half, and metalled for the remaining. We travelled this distance during our research trip on a horse driven coach, the *Tonga*, and enjoyed a pleasant conversation with the coach driver concerning migration and its impact on the neighbourhood. The dirt road was built by the residents of the village on self-help basis.

Socio-economic Structure

Ratta is constituted of some seventeen neighbourhoods or precincts. People from a variety of castes live here including Rajputs, Jats, Mirza, Khwaja, Sheikh, Kumhar, Nai, Mashki, Musalli etc. The first two of them, that is, *Rajputs and Jats* are the most numerous and are looked upon with special respect.

The terrain in Ratta is dry and rocky. Rains are uncertain and hence agriculture is quite difficult. It has no attraction for the well-to-do, but the poor and the middle class toil very hard on the land to produce meagre amounts of grain and barley which are their principal crops.

By Pakistanis standards Ratta is a wealthy village. It enjoys most of the basic civic amenities: schools for boys and girls, medical dispensary, post office, public telephone and telegraph. Most significantly it has five banks, a branch of each of the five major national banks. Eighteen houses in the village have private telephones. Until recently, however, it was handicapped by not having electric supply, which was provided only three years ago. As a result it is still quite expensive to get an electric connection. The wealthier households have paid substantial sums for the erection of electric poles to bring electricity to their houses. Those who cannot afford are still waiting.

Drinking water is another problem. A large number of houses have a private well. Presently, a public water supply scheme is under consideration. The local government has proposed to contribute fifteen, thousand rupees and the balance

which may be several times this amount is to be collected on self-help basis. Since similar schemes have been successful in the area, there are good chances of its success in Ratta.

Proper drainage is another problem. Even though most of the streets are brick laid, the lack of suitable drainage causes problems during the rainy season.

Public transportation facilities to the sub-district town of Dadial and to the district town of Mirpur are fairly good. Buses and pick-ups run quite frequently. Many own motorcycles, some have cars and the remaining would usually own a bicycle.

The quality of houses in Ratta is extremely good. Almost all houses are brick or cemented houses comparable to that in the major towns in Pakistan. The local market is also well-built. Besides the quality of housing, the fat bank accounts are a vivid indication of the affluence of Ratta. According to the local reports the half per cent deduction from the savings accounts in the form of *Zakat* which is used for the welfare of the poor, amounted to one million rupees in the previous year. Projecting on this basis, the village Ratta of less than one thousand households had forty million rupee worth of saving accounts. The cause of all this prosperity is overseas migration.

Migration History

In the beginning of this century Ratta was a poor village. Its agricultural output was meagre and there was little else available for sustenance in either the village or the nearby area. Migration to distant and more prosperous lands was one outlet. In those days, Bombay was well known as a port city and centre of trade and commerce. The residents of Ratta, it is so described, ventured on their first trip to Bombay in 1910 on foot because they did not have enough money to pay for their transportation. In Bombay, they first worked on the port as dock workers and later joined the crew to go abroad. But seamen were paid poorly and although it was a source of livelihood, prosperity was still afar. The work was very hard; they were mostly involved in feeding the ship furnaces. As the story goes, some of them tired of mental and physical strain jumped to death on the high seas. Others in their desperation deserted their ships in Australia and began to seek work in the new world. It is reported that they became successful hawkers carrying clothing material on their shoulders and selling it from home to home. Thus began a new cycle of prosperity in the lives of the Ratta residents. When the story reached home, it inspired more people to migrate to Australia. They followed a pattern similar to that of the pioneers: they would leave home to go to Bombay and find a job on the dock, then move on to a job on a ship, which they would abandon once it sailed into Australia. Many among them married Australian women and settled there permanently.

A second wave of migration from Ratta began in the nineteen forties, when Ratta residents found some connection in England and began to disembark from their ships to look for jobs in England, to which they were entitled as English

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subjects. They proved **to be** hard workers besides being desperate seekers of jobs and soon earned for themselves the reputation of good workers. They called for more of their family members to England. Gradually many among the Ratta residents in Australia also moved to England. This phenomenon continued even after the independence of the Indian sub-continent from the British colonial rule.

A third phase in the history of Ratta migration to England began in the sixties, when they started to call their families who were mostly living behind in the village to join them in England. Among other reasons behind this new move was the attraction of social welfare benefits for accompanying children. Gradually, very few households in Ratta were left which did not have a member in England. At the time of our survey 40 per cent of the population of Ratta lived abroad; this amounted to more than ninety per cent of households. The large majority is in England, but more recently there is also the trend of migrating to the Middle East.

The flow of migration to England has not dried up completely, although it is now in a halting stage. British laws are very stringent now and allow immigration to only those who are engaged to a British citizen, under the so-called fiance-scheme.

The return flow of migration to Ratta is also significant. The returnees are mostly older people who have retired from work and are living in Ratta on the pension money which they receive from England. They are interesting characters and a great source of information. Some among them have opened a small business usually a shop, a restaurant, or a hotel.

Impact on the Community

The economic transformation of Ratta, as a result of migration, is immense and favourable. But the affluence of remittance money has also caused unwelcome social consequences. The most widely complained negative impact is on the young population which has become, it is reported, disinterested in education and throws around the easy money received from abroad. Gambling and pet fighting are described to be the most common social diseases. The youth gives very little importance to education, which it considers does not pay any dividends. When abroad in England with their parents, the youth have problems adjusting to the educational as well as its social environment. But those who return or stay back in Ratta are equally troubled. Drug usage is quite prevalent among their youth. Unfortunately, the older people, including the retired returnees frequently join them in the unsocial activities which are mostly related to affluence or lack of any meaningful occupation. Some people in the village complained that the gambling practices were actually imported into this village through the returnee migrants from England. There are many restaurants in the village where young and old sit around to sip a cup of tea or smoke cigarettes and *hukkah* (traditional pipe). Two of the restaurants are open late night and serve as centres of gambling and pet fighting.

It must, however, be noted that certain other kinds of anti-social activities have waned with the new affluence. As was true of our first village Jaura, thefts,

robberies and related financial crimes have declined. The general law and order condition is very good. People in the village ascribe it to better economic conditions. The new affluence has had its impact on the socio-economic hierarchy, which has come under severe strain. Once they acquire wealth, the traditionally low caste people change names to higher castes. The practice is by and large accepted in the neighbourhood. With the inflow of cash money into the village, the traditional barter system is also out of fashion. Cash wages are charged for various services, thus bringing about a qualitative change in the pattern of community relations.

Despite their extravagance and a flare of gambling, the residents of Ratta have not given up their religious obligations. But even here there is more emphasis on the outward expression through donations for mosques and shrines and little by way of participation in prayers. "There are many and growing mosques, but only a few devout ones to pray", was the general comment.

The elders in the village have formed a committee to mobilize funds for establishing a hospital in the village. The committee has collected substantial donations from overseas workers. A religious school is also being expanded by an expense of nearly half a million rupees paid through a donation. But, the villagers said, the students in the religious school, which would be residential, are more likely to come from neighbouring villages than Ratta itself. In Ratta, there is a feeling that money and affluence has corrupted them.

Agriculture and Other Business Activity

The condition of agriculture in Ratta is quite poor. It is reported to have declined over the years because of lack of interest on the part of the local population. The land is not very suited for agriculture and only a high degree of interest could sustain agricultural activity in this area. There are three tractors in Ratta, but they were mostly used as transportation vehicles to move building materials, and less on the fields.

The residents of Ratta are quite concerned about their economic future. With its growing unemployment, declining economic condition and restrictive immigration policies, England does not appear to be a hopeful prospect. And yet, it was the money earned in England which had, to date, been the principal source of affluence in Ratta. It was not infrequent for the local government official to receive papers from the local residents which when describing their economic activity and source of livelihood would very simply and spontaneously note down: "England".

Unlike village Jaura, the population is more pessimistic about its future. There are some who have invested in real estate in major towns including Islamabad and Karachi. One has invested money in a textile mill. But most of them are unable to find a profitable avenue for investment.

Society and Culture

Ratta is known in its vicinity as the little Manchester, because of its immigration links there. The culture of Ratta is one of a mobile society. In a village where

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once the whole community would crowd to bid farewell to a resident going to a distant town, travelling overseas is so common that no one takes notice of it. The high mobility has caused an environment of instability. Half the local council members were abroad when our research team visited Ratta. This was one reason, the residents complained, that the council could not do its job properly. When our research team discussed the subject of sports, they were told that volleyball was a favourite sport until a leading player immigrated to England, and the game lost its charm.

Apart from the impact of affluence, Ratta's culture is also influenced by its frequent contact with an alien culture in England. It was in that respect different from our first village majority of whose workers were in the Gulf and for whom the cultural problems were not as severe. Ratta, it appeared to us in split between two cultures and is bearing some of the natural pains in this process.

CHAPTER

12

THE LEFT BEHIND FAMILIES

The left behind family of the overseas Pakistani (OP) typically lives in an extended family environment (96 per cent). The average family size is more than nine persons to a family. The parents of the OP serve as the guardians of his wife and children.

It appears that migration breeds on itself; that is, once a family has succeeded in sending one person abroad, there is high likelihood of the same family sending another person. There is an average of approximately 1.5 persons abroad from each overseas Pakistani household.

A survey of high migration communities dispels the theory that such communities become short of young males and consist largely of elder people, women and children. The OP families typically appear to manage some rotation among young adults to go abroad. The returnee migrants then take up their turn to look after older people, women and children of the entire extended family. This also keeps a degree of stability in the number of younger males in the community.

The left behind family receives substantial sums of remittances from abroad averaging approximately thirty thousand rupees a year. Two thirds of the savings go into consumption and of the remaining one third, a major share is claimed by housing. Very few of the left behind families have invested their savings in business or industry (7 per cent). Nevertheless, they are very keen to do so and when asked to give a preference list among business, real estate and liquid savings, they place business on top. One of the problems which deserves attention is the provision of feasible and profitable outlets for business. Having had little previous experience in business, the overseas Pakistani families are cautious and wary of going into co-operative business because they are afraid of being cheated by others. They would, however, go into small business if the profitability of such a business was clearly demonstrated. They look for examples of success. But, unfortunately the publicized failure of several co-operative ventures has blemished the ability of co-operatives to attract the clients.

While the income of the OP household has considerably increased, its lifestyle has remained the same in many ways. There are environmental constraints in the provision of certain important services. Among these are: medical facilities, sewerage, drinking water and good schooling for their children. These are the services for which the OP family is willing to pay.

Medical facilities are particularly strongly desired. This become apparent in a free medical camp which was set up by us as part of the research project in a village Mohammad Khoja (District Kohat). Within a matter of few hours of notice

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more than two hundred women flocked to the medical camp either for a medical problem of their own or their infants and young children.

Existing medical facilities are stringent and of low quality. On the average, the nearest medical facility is at a distance five miles or more.

The OP family has a favourable image about itself and feels confident and proud of the upward social and economic mobility which it has achieved. On a set of image questions about migrant families, they responded by saying that those who have been successful in going abroad are more intelligent and hard working compared to those who have not gone abroad. They disagree with such statements that the OPs do not love their country or neglect their families. They only partially agree that the OPs are materialistic and demonstrate their wealth immodestly.

Among the concerns of the left behind family, the foremost is the economic well-being of the OP himself. They are distressed to hear that the economic conditions in the Gulf have deteriorated. They expect that the government can help the OPs in getting more employment opportunities and higher salaries. In a few cases they also want that the fraudulent recruiting agents should be strongly punished.

The social and economic profile of the families of migrants is given in greater detail below.

These details are based on a survey of approximately 750 families interviewed in five districts in the country: Kohat, Gujrat, Larkana, Turbat, and Mirpur. The study was sponsored by the Overseas Pakistanis Foundation and supplemented by qualitative observations and interviews for the present paper.

Income and Education

The large majority of migrant workers come from low educational background. The average income of the migrant before he went abroad was less than four hundred rupees a month (around US\$ 30). This is particularly low for migrants originating from Mirpur, possibly because they had left earlier. This is also true for the migrants who have gone to U.K., again for the same reason.

Only 4 per cent of the migrant workers in our survey were reported to have education above matric. More than 50 per cent had either no education or less than primary level. The education level among migrant workers who have gone from Larkana and Turbat is particularly low; in each case just one per cent have education above matric. Recent migrants are less educated compared to the earlier migrants. It may be an indication of greater opportunities for the less educated to go abroad.

Tablet. Migrant demographics
(Average Income, Age & Marital Status)

	<i>Pre-migration income (Rs. Per month)</i>	<i>Age years</i>	<i>Married (percent)</i>
Total	373	33.8	76
Home District			
Gujrat	583	31.6	67
Mirpur	260	37.3	90
Kohat	337	32.6	81
Laikana	376	30.6	74
Turbat	201	39.6	61
Host Country			
Saudi Arabia	443	31.3	69
U.A.E.	449	32.7	79
U.K.	171	40.8	97
Length of stay abroad			
Less than 2 years	445	30.6	62
2-4 years	441	31.5	74
4-6 years	364	32.3	80
More than 6 years	263	39.1	84

Table 2. Educational background of the OP
(in percentages)

	<i>Below Primary</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Below Matric</i>	<i>Above Matric</i>
Total	57	10	29	4
Home District				
Gujrat	41	10	44	5
Mirpur	46	15	33	6
Kohat	64	4	28	5
Larkana	77	14	8	1
Turbat	82	10	7	1
Host Country				
Saudi Arabia	62	12	22	4
U.A.E.	57	5	34	4
U.K.	37	18	38	7
Length of stay abroad				
Less than two years	63	12	25	1
2-4 years	59	9	28	4
4-6 years	42	12	38	8
More than 6 years	53	13	31	4

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The left behind family of the overseas Pakistani is typically a large family which lives in an extended family situation. It was a low income family before the migrant came to its rescue.

Table 3. Household structure, average size and household income

	<i>Extended</i>	<i>Nuclear</i>	<i>Average number of members per household</i>	<i>Monthly Income in Rupees Before migration Current</i>	
Total	83	14	9.5	860	6390
Home District					
Gujrat	79	17	8.0	1190	9807
Mirpur	90	9	10.3	630	2836
Kohat	78	16	9.8	640	5991
Larkana	91	9	9.2	1240	10557
Turbat	79	20	10.8	530	1431
Host Country					
Saudi Arabia	86	12	8.5	1030	9057
U.A.E.	80	17	9.7	740	5976
U.K.	88	10	9.8	570	4832
Length of stay abroad					
Less than 2 years	82	16	8.5	1080	7959
2-4 years	83	15	8.9	920	6189
4-6 years	82	16	9.3	820	9550
More than 6 years	86	11	11.0	740	4653

The average monthly income of the migrant households before migration was less than nine hundred rupees. The current income of the same households is substantially higher, about seven times as much: approximately Rs. 6,400 per month (US\$ 965). Prosperity among left behind families is most noticeable in the districts of Gujrat and Larkana. In each case the average monthly income is exceeding ten thousand rupees (US\$ 730). This is perhaps because in both these districts left-behind families are putting migration money into productive uses. Besides the fact that they were better off than the other districts even before migration, migrant workers from Gujrat and Larkana have gone into skilled and professional work more than the migrants from other districts.

Social-psychological Attitudes

In order to study the psychology of the left behind families we have used a number of attitudinal questions developed for study on modernization conducted a few years ago in many countries across the globe. This study was led by the well known sociologist Alex Inkle (1974). His study is titled "Becoming Modern". We have picked up certain items from his study dealing with such issues as attitude towards change, attitude towards fatalism, attitude towards family life, and more generally the level of information among our respondents about current events.

A set of seven questions were given in tabular form. In addition, the answers to these questions were processed according to the modernity scale developed for this purpose.

Table 4. Cumulative score on modernity scale

(Minimum = 0)

(Maximum = 6)

Total	3.6
Home District	
Gujrat	4.2
Mirpui	4.0
Kohat	3.4
Larkana	2.2
Turbat	3.3
Host Country	
Saudi Arabia	3.3
U.A.E.	3.6
U.K.	4.0
Length of stay abroad	
Less than 2 years	3.5
2-4 years	3.4
4-6 years	3.8
More than 6 years	3.8

The migrant families score quite high on the modernity scale. On a scale of zero to six (zero being the least modern and six being the most modern in social attitudes) the migrant families score on an average 3.6. The score on modernity scale is particularly high in the districts of Gujrat and Mirpur, each one of them scoring 4 points. On the other hand, it is considerably lower in Larkana which scored 2.2. The score is also higher than average in case of the families of **U.K.** based OPs.

The respondents were asked to suppose a scenario in which two young boys are discussing new methods of cultivation. The father of one of them says that they should adopt new methods of cultivation, while the father of the other says in this scenario "no", they should stick to their traditional methods of cultivation. The respondents were then asked as to which of the two persons they thought was correct. This was an indicator of the attitudes of the respondent towards favoured change. Among the families of OP, only one-fourth opposed change. In Larkana, respondents were equally divided.

Table 5. Attitude towards change and development*

	<i>Favourable</i>	<i>Unfavourable</i>
Total	74	22
Home District		
Gujrat	78	19
Mirpui	85	12
Kohat	78	16
Larkana	48	51
Turbat	61	34
Host Country		
Saudi Arabia	69	26
U.A.E.	79	18
U.K.	80	19
Length of stay abroad		
Less than 2 years	70	27
2-4 years	74	24
4-6 years	73	22
More than 6 years	75	22

* The data reported in this table are based on the responses to the following question:

Two twelve-years old boys were working a wheat farm. During lunch break they started discussing the possibility of growing as much wheat with lesser input. The father of one boy commended such thinking on their part, and invited their suggestions for new methods of raising the wheat crop. The father of the other boy said the effect method of raising the wheat crop was the one followed by them for ages. According to him it was no use thinking of new methods. Which of the two men is right?

First. _____ Second _____.

The respondents were asked another question about the reasons for road accidents: was it because of fate or as a result of carelessness of the driver? This was meant to be an indicator of the respondent support for fatalism or a sense of control over their activities. On an average, two-thirds of the respondents associated accidents with personal carelessness and one-third with fatalism. The respondents from Larkana district appeared to be much more fatalistic as compared to others. Our third item on the scale of modernity was a question concerning the choice of profession. Respondents were asked whether the choice of profession should rest on their parents. The deference to parents' desire is highest in Larkana followed by Kohat. It was least among respondents in Gujrat district and among those who had gone to U.K. (32 per cent in each case).

Table 6. Attitude towards fatalism*

	<i>Fatalism</i>	<i>Personal Carelessness</i>
Total	37	56
Home District		
Gujrat	22	75
Mirpur	35	61
Kohat	48	41
Larkana	61	30
Turbat	17	62
Host Country		
Saudi Arabia	38	54
U.A.E.	39	55
U.K.	38	60
Length of stay abroad		
Less than 2 years	33	59
2-4 years	43	53
4-6 years	34	59
More than 6 years	35	58

* The data in this table are based on the responses to the following question:

Some people are of the opinion that accidents are usually the result of bad luck; others say that precautionary measures can help prevent accidents. Which of the two opinions is correct?

- a) Accidents are generally the result of bad luck
- b) Accidents are generally caused by carelessness

Table 7. Choice of profession*

	<i>Parents' Choice</i>	<i>Personal Choice</i>
Total	41	55
Home		
District		
Gujrat	32	65
Mirpur	36	62
Kohat	47	48
Larkana	63	35
Turbat	36	62
Host		
Country		
Saudi Arabia	41	54
U.A.E.	45	51
U.K.	32	68
Length of stay abroad		
Less than 2 years	33	60
2-4 years	50	48
4-6 years	41	54
More than 6 years	37	61

* The data in this table are based on the responses to the following question:

Should one adopt a career/occupation of his own choice or the choice of his parents?

Own choice _____

Parents' choice _____

Another indicator on the modernity scale was attitude regarding employment of women. The respondents were asked whether they approved or disapproved employment of women in mixed settings and in segregated settings. While an overwhelming majority opposed women's employment for work in mixed settings, a large majority of the respondents did not oppose the idea of women working in segregated settings.

The district of Larkana, however, appeared to be strongly opposed to the employment of women even in segregated settings; 50 per cent of them opposed it. Opposition to women working in segregated settings was the least in Turbat (1 per cent) and Mirpur (7 per cent).

Respondents from the left-behind families of overseas Pakistanis have considerable knowledge of international leaders and important cities of the world. In order to make any judgement on this issue, however, the level of knowledge among migrant families should be compared with a representative sample of non-migrant families.

About one-third of the respondents had knowledge about Arafat and Brezhnev, while 6 per cent were knowledgeable about Walesa, the leader of Polish

solidarity. About one-fourth of the respondents had knowledge about New York, 16 per cent about Berlin and 9 per cent about Rabat.

Interestingly enough, the level of knowledge, both about leaders and cities was considerably higher in the district of Kohat, as compared to other districts.

Table 8. Knowledge of world leaders and important cities

	<i>Arafat</i>	<i>Brezhnev</i>	<i>Walesa</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Berlin</i>	<i>Rabat</i>
Total	34	31	6	25	16	9
Home District						
Gujrat	37	32	7	28	21	12
Mirpur	31	24	6	19	8	4
Kohat	45	48	10	41	31	19
Larkana	17	14	—	6	1	1
Turbat	27	26	3	17	1	-
Host Country						
Saudi Arabia	29	21	3	15	10	5
U.A.E.	38	37	8	32	21	16
U.K.	43	41	13	29	18	9
Length of stay abroad						
Less than 2 years	30	26	4	17	13	7
2-4 years	33	28	5	26	17	9
4-6 years	35	35	5	23	19	9
More than 6 years	38	2	10	26	13	9

Family Pattern

Very few of the OPs have taken their families with them abroad. OPs from Mirpur district are an exception in this case. Almost 40 per cent of those whom we interviewed in Mirpur told us that the wives and children of the overseas Pakistani resided with them abroad. Sixty-two per cent of the OPs in the United Kingdom are accompanied by their families. But outside Mirpur, most of the OPs have left behind their families in Pakistan. The incidence of accompanied families is almost nil in Turbat. It is 10 per cent in Larkana, 5 per cent in Kohat and 7 per cent in Gujrat district.

Table 9. Residence of the OP's wife and children

	<i>With OP (abroad)</i>	<i>With OP's parents</i>	<i>With wife's parents</i>	<i>Independent</i>
Total	12	60	5	9
Home				
District				
Gujrat	7	52	6	11
Mirpur	37	38	2	15
Kohat	5	75	5	4
Larkana	1	60	7	6
Turbat	-	91	4	4
Host				
Country				
Saudi Arabia	3	58	5	10
U.A.E.	3	72	7	6
U.K.	62	22	3	10
Length of stay abroad				
Upto 2 years	—	57	9	11
2-4 years	4	64	5	8
4-6 years	11	60	4	9
Above 6 years	29	54	4	9

In about 10 per cent of the cases, the left behind wives and children live independently in a nuclear family situation. In the remaining cases, they reside with the OP's parents. The extended family system appeared to be the major source of strength for the wife and children of the OP. It was the major check against disintegration of the family and delinquency among children.

It appeared in our interviews that the communities which have a high emigration rate have developed a system of rotation whereby some male members stay home and take care of the entire family.

On the average, an OP visits home once in three years. The frequency of his visits is much higher in some districts. In Turbat district, for example, on an average the migrant visits home once in one-and-a-half year. In Kohat the frequency of visit is approximately once in two years. In the district of Mirpur and Larkana the frequency of visits is much lower: on an average once in five years.

Table 10. Frequency of OP's visit to family

	<i>Average number of years after which OP visits his family</i>
Total	2.78
Home	
District	
Gujrat	2.56
Mirpui	4.76
Kohat	2.22
Larkana	5.00
Turbat	1.59
Host	
Country	
Saudi Arabia	3.45
U.A.E.	2.38
U.K.	4.35
Length of stay abroad	
Upto 2 years	4.17
2-4 years	2.63
4-6 years	2.22
Above 6 years	2.86

The Role of Wife

Does the wife of the OP assume new roles when the husband is away? To our surprise we discovered that there was no indication that the wife had taken up any new role. We asked specific questions as to who took care of the dealings with the bank, children's education, buying groceries, shopping for durables and making purchases of real estate, etc. The data show that barely 5 per cent of the wives performed any of these function. This was especially the case in Kohat, Larkana and Turbat, where only a negligible number of wives were reported to perform any of these activities. It would be worthwhile to look into more details in the 5 per cent of the cases where the wife has assumed some functions otherwise considered to be the exclusive domain of men.

Children and their Education

In the survey of left behind families we asked our respondents if, and why, any of their children were not going to school. About 25 per cent of the respondents said that their children were not going to school, but these were mostly the cases where the children were still below school going age. This was despite the fact that many villages, as we have seen above, do not have a local school. Thus, at least at present, the absence of a local school has not deterred the OP families from sending their children to another village/town for schooling.

We can, however, predict that as the children who are presently below school going age, reach the school going age, the present facilities would be inadequate.

Middle East interlude : Asian workers abroad

Less than 20 per cent of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of schooling available for their children. The data show that dissatisfaction is higher in those localities where the educational facilities are most easily available. It is, for example, highest in Gujrat district which otherwise does fairly well as far as the availability of schooling is concerned. This may mean that the sense of dissatisfaction with quality of schooling is an indicator of the respondents interest and concern about education.

We asked our respondents about the type of schooling which they would prefer for their children. We asked them about their choice between general and technical education, and also if they would prefer English as the medium of instruction. The data show that a little more than 50 per cent of the respondents favoured general over technical education, while 16 per cent expressed preference for English as medium of instruction.

Table 11. Perception of good education

	<i>Preference for</i>	
	<i>general over technical education</i>	<i>English over Urdu medium of instruction</i>
Total	56	16
Home District		
Gujrat	48	15
Mirpur	52	38
Kohat	61	8
Larkans	44	1
Turbat	84	10
Host Country		
Saudi Arabia	50	9
U.A.E.	47	11
U.K.	50	52
Length of stay abroad		
Upto 2 years	48	6
2-4 years	52	8
4-6 years	53	16
Above 6 years	64	33

The preference for English as medium of instruction is particularly, and understandable, higher in Mirpur district and among those families who have someone working in the United Kingdom. It is particularly low in Larkana and Kohat districts. The preference for English as a medium of instruction is higher among those migrants who have been overseas for a longer period of time; only 6 per cent of the recent migrants prefer English over Urdu while almost one-third of those families who have a migration history of six years or more favour English as a medium of instruction.

Discipline amongst Children

There is a common belief that due to the absence of father the children of overseas workers become spoiled and in some cases delinquent. In order to see the validity of this hypothesis we asked a number of questions separately about male and female children. We asked our respondents whether they felt that since their fathers were away, the children's keenness for education had increased or decreased, had they become more responsible towards their parents, had they become more extravagant, spoiled and disobedient and had they been staying away from school without reason. The respondents were divided on these issues and the data show that they did not visualize a strong association between overseas migration and the characteristics mentioned above.

Table 12. Impact of migration on discipline among male children

	Marked or mild effect regarding						Cumulative score* on scale of 7-21
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Total	77	80	71	61	59	57	15
Home District							
Gujrat	80	81	74	66	54	51	15
Mirpur	77	80	64	22	59	61	15
Kohat	74	81	67	62	62	55	14
Laikana	60	76	68	59	48	53	15
Turbat	95	83	88	64	77	81	14
Host Country							
Saudi Arabia	74	80	69	59	57	55	15
U.A.E.	77	81	72	61	59	57	15
U.K.	69	73	74	69	62	65	14
Length of stay abroad							
Upto 2 years	74	83	63	56	51	56	16
2-4 years	77	81	64	63	59	55	15
4-6 years	77	82	80	55	59	58	15
Above 6 years	77	78	79	64	63	61	14

A: Keen to get education

B: More responsible towards parents

C: Spendthrift

D: Spoiled

E: Disobedient

F: Absent from school

* The respondents were given three choices on each dimension: strong effect, mild effect, no effect. In order to obtain a cumulative score, statements which were positively related with discipline were given a score of 3 (strong effect), 2 (mild effect), and 1 (no effect), while those statements which were negatively related with discipline were scored in the reverse directions: 1 (strong effect), 2 (mild effect) and 3 (no effect). Cumulatively 7 indicates very negative impact, while 21 indicates positive impact.

Table 13. Impact of migration on discipline among female children

	Marked or mild effect regarding						Cumulative score* on scale of 6-18
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Total	72	83	47	43	41	29	14
Home District							
Gujrat	88	86	51	58	45	38	14
Mirpur	94	96	31	26	35	27	16
Kohat	72	87	53	55	54	36	14
Larkana	42	80	51	45	44	23	14
Turbat	16	36	12	12	9	3	15
Host Country							
Saudi Arabia	71	84	44	47	44	33	14
U.A.E.	74	86	48	49	42	32	14
U.K.	96	96	46	36	47	32	15
Length of stay abroad							
Upto 2 years	71	88	38	44	45	35	15
2-4 years	75	84	43	50	47	33	14
4-6 years	67	83	56	51	38	22	14
Above 6 years	68	80	36	31	34	25	15

A: Keenness to get education

B: More responsible towards parents

C: Spendthrift

D: Spoiled

E: Disobedient

F: Absent from school

* The procedure for obtaining the cumulative score is same as for Table 12.

Economic Behaviour

The data show that not more than ten per cent of the OPs' families have invested their savings in productive ventures. The bulk of remittances have either been used for household expenditures or for building houses. This is so despite the fact that the OPs' families are keen to enter into business.

We have tried to study the details of investments by the OPs' families. The areas where some of the OPs have invested may serve as examples for others to follow.

Business Investments:

Seven per cent of the families said they had invested in some form of business, a small store, workshop, factory, etc.

Six per cent claimed to be participating in some savings scheme/having fixed deposits in the banks.

Only one per cent of the respondents said they had started business in collaboration with others.

Agricultural Investments:

Investment in some agricultural activity seems to have fared better than business investments. Land and livestock are favourite purchases: 25 per cent of the respondents said they had purchased cattle from the remittance money, while 10 per cent had purchased agricultural land.

Agricultural machinery and automobiles (usually vans) were purchased by 3 per cent each.

One per cent of the respondents claimed they had spent part of the remittances on buying industrial machinery.

Real Estate:

Real estate has been by far the most popular form of investment. Approximately eighty per cent of the OP families have spent a part of their remittances on buying or building a house. The average cost of building/purchase was one hundred thousand rupees.

Household Expenditure:

The household expenditure in the OP households is approximately two thousand rupees a month, roughly broken down in the following manner:

		Percent
Food	1,334 rupees	63.0
Education	256 rupees	12.0
Durables	168 rupees	7.9
Clothing	119 rupees	5.6
Utilities	84 rupees	4.0
Others	157 rupees	7.5
Total	2,118 rupees	100.0

Desire for Investments:

A study of the investment behaviour of OPs shows that 80 per cent among them invested in houses, but only 10 per cent in business. However, there is a difference between their actual and desired behaviour. When asked how would they *like* to spend their savings, the OPs gave a response contrary to their actual behaviour.

Middle East interlude : Asian workers abroad

Table 14. Preferences among alternative channels for investment

	<i>Business/ industry</i>	<i>Real estate</i>	<i>Liquid savings</i>
Total	39	37	19
Home			
District			
Gujrat	30	47	19
Milpur	51	22	24
Kohat	40	28	18
Larkana	12	77	10
Tuibat	70	14	22
Host			
Country			
Saudi Arabia	28	55	14
U.A.E.	44	30	21
U.K.	42	22	26
Length of stay abroad			
Upto 2 years	32	50	15
2-4 years	40	44	15
4-6 years	39	37	22
Above 6 years	45	28	27

Forty per cent among the OP families wish to invest their savings in business. About the same number wants to invest it in real estate and the remaining 20 per cent prefer to keep their savings in liquid form. This raises for us the question: Why is this gap between desires and behaviour?

Our explanations are as follows:

1. In many areas opportunities for investment are lacking. Land is not fertile to be an economic proposition and other businesses are not available.

We found that large sums of money **in the** Larkana district were being spent on buying land and cultivating it along scientific lines. Since land in the other four districts is not fertile, a similar pattern does not exist elsewhere.

2. Each district follows a different sequence in the satisfaction of needs. In Mirpur real estate was a very popular investment, but now only 22 per cent are desirous of investing in real estate (compared to the average figure of 37 per cent for all districts combined). On the other end of the spectrum is Larkana where considerable sums of money went into buying land for agricultural purposes and in buying machinery. Now they are keen to buy non-agricultural land and other landed property. Seventy-seven per cent of the respondents in Larkana showed this preference (compared to the average figure of 37 per cent for all districts combined).

3. It is difficult for people to join hands together and start a collective venture. There is distrust about going into business with others. As a result the OP families adopt what they consider to be the safe course of investing in real estate.

In the survey we asked our respondents to rate four different investment options from the standpoint of risk: joint business, personal business, liquid savings and real estate. The respondents were to answer on a scale of zero to sixteen, zero indicating no risk and sixteen high risk.

It is interesting to note that on this scale, real estate was rated as 1.5 while joint business was rated as 8.5.

The high degree of insecurity and suspicion about collective activities prevents OP families from investing in business.

CHAPTER

13

RETURNEES

Returnee migrants are perhaps the least known segment of the overseas Pakistanis community. It is also a group which evokes the greatest amount of concern among the population. One of the bleakest comment on overseas migration is quite frequently expressed saying: "What will happen when the migration boom ends and the workers come home?"

The concern about the dreaded fate of the returnee migrant was beautifully expressed to us by a man with great native wisdom quoting a Pashto proverb: "men sleeping on a borrowed cot, which they might have to leave in the middle of the night."

It appears that a deeper knowledge about the returnee may quell some of our exaggerated concern about the 'return of the overseas worker'. The return is in fact, our studies show, taking place since the last many years. And while the returnees face many problems, there is not much wisdom in imagining a doomsday scenario about them. A balanced understanding about the problems of the returnees may help in rationally and realistically planning about their welfare. Three issues are of key importance in the study of returnee migrants: their *profiles*, their *readjustment* problems on return and the nature and impact of *migration experience*.

Profile

There are approximately half a million returnee migrants in Pakistan. Approximately 80 per cent of them have worked in the Middle East, the remaining elsewhere in the world, principally Europe and North America.

In their profile they are not very different from the current group of migrants abroad. They come, largely, from low income backgrounds, and were earning an average of rupees six hundred before they went abroad. While abroad they earned approximately five thousand rupees a month. Upon returning their income has once again dropped to an average of rupees 1,400 a month.

They had initially gone abroad with an intention to spend two or three years (an average of 2.7 years). As it turned out they ended up staying about five years (an average of 5.2 years).

Most of them did not return fully willingly, in the sense that half of them returned because their job tenures had been completed, or they were facing visa problems. Health problems (15 per cent) and family problems (11 per cent) also figured as prominent reasons for return.

Table 15. Difference between intended and actual period of stay abroad

	<i>Intended Stay</i>	<i>Actual stay</i>
Total	2.82	5.50
District		
Gujrat	2.62	2.95
Mirpur	1.91	6.81
Kohat	3.74	5.42
Larkana	3.15	2.97
Turbat	2.33	10.17
Host country		
Saudi Arabia	2.66	2.88
U.A.E.	3.14	4.85
U.K.	2.00	19.06
Return Period		
Less than one year	2.87	4.71
1-2 years	3.08	6.34
2-3 years	2.69	5.96
More than 3 years	2.03	4.65

Approximately 250 returnee migrants were surveyed by us in five districts in the country: Kohat, Gujrat, Larkana, Turbat and Mirpur. The detailed profile of the returnee migrants is given below:

Income

The pre-migration income of the returnee migrants was an average of six hundred rupees per month. The total household income was approximately eleven hundred rupees. Those belonging to Gujrat and Larkana were relatively better off compared to those from other districts. Also those who went to Saudi Arabia were relatively better off. The level of premigration income also seems to be related with the length of stay abroad. It is understandable that those who left earlier had smaller amount of nominal income. While abroad the returnee was earning more than four thousand six hundred rupees per month.

Since he has returned to Pakistan, the average income of a returnee is about one thousand four hundred rupees a month.

Table 16. Personal income of the returnee migrant before and after migration

	<i>Income in rupees per month</i>		
	<i>Before migration</i>	<i>During migration</i>	<i>Current</i>
Total	613	4657	1395
District			
Gujrat	842	5144	1034
Mirpur	609	3665	855
Kohat	404	5068	700
Larkana	817	5281	2903
Tuibat	350	4215	1809
Host Country			
Saudi Arabia	773	4720	1556
U.A.E.	474	3904	1256
U.K.	338	5407	1350
Return Period			
Less than one year	744	4743	726
1-2 years	574	5677	1665
2-3 years	695	4526	1398
More than 3 years	500	3489	1652

Skill

Forty four per cent among the returning migrants are skilled workers, an equal number (44 per cent) are unskilled workers, three per cent are professionals and the remaining nine per cent belong to the miscellaneous category. It is interesting to note that in their skill composition, the returnee migrants are **not** very different from the stock of migrants currently abroad.

Age

Average age of the returnee migrant is 38 years. There is some variation across districts. The returnees in the Gujrat district are relatively younger; their average age is 32 years. The average age of returnees in Larkana and Turbat is 43 years.

Marital Status

Eighty-nine per cent of the returnees are married. This varies from as low as 70 per cent in Larkana to as high as 91 per cent in Mirpur. The returnees from the U.K. are all married. Sixty per cent of them were married before they went abroad. Another 25 per cent married during their stay abroad and 4 per cent of them married on return.

Table 17. Marital status of the returnee migrant

	<i>Unmarried</i>	<i>Married before emigration</i>	<i>Married after emigration</i>	<i>Married after returning</i>	<i>Average age</i>
Total	11	60	25	4	37.98
District					
Gujrat	24	53	17	5	31.64
Mirpur	6	65	22	8	37.41
Kohat	11	55	30	2	38.72
Larkana	5	78	13	-	42.90
Turbat	6	45	49	-	42.81
Host country					
Saudi Arabia	13	65	19	2	36.99
U.A.E.	8	66	21	3	37.10
U.K.	—	63	38	—	50.91
Return Period					
Less than one year	20	53	24	3	34.38
1-2 years	5	72	20	1	40.32
2-3 years	10	52	33	4	36.78
More than 3 years	11	53	28	8	39.51

In case of Turbat, about one-half of returnees married after they went abroad. It seems that either they were too young when they went abroad or they needed money for their weddings which they could afford only after they had worked overseas.

Household Size and Family Structure

The household size is slightly smaller in case of returnees as compared to left behind families. This is because some returnees set up a nuclear household after returning from abroad.

The average household size among returnees is 8.15.

The average size is smaller in the district of Gujrat (6.86), while it is larger in Mirpur (9.55).

Table 18. Household size and household structure

	<i>Average number of members per household</i>	<i>Nuclear</i>	<i>Extended</i>
Total	8.15	29	56
District			
Gujrat	6.86	29	64
Mirpur	9.55	26	57
Kohat	8.17	32	54
Larkana	7.67	18	58
Turbat	8.06	43	46
Host country			
Saudi Arabia	7.24	29	55
U.A.E.	9.22	26	57
U.K.	7.69	19	50
Return Period			
Less than one year	7.13	29	59
1-2 years	9.24	24	59
2-3 years	8.17	27	65
More than 3 years	7.89	38	53

There are more nuclear households among returnees as compared to those who are currently abroad. Almost 30 per cent of the returnees live in nuclear families, compared to 10 per cent among those left-behind.

Modernity Scale

To measure modernity, a scale of zero to six was used; zero showing the least and six the most modern attitudes.*

On an average, the returnees scored 3.9 points on this scale. This is substantially lower as compared to the left behind families, who scored an average of five points.

The differences among districts are, however, in the same direction as in the case of left behind families. Larkana scored the least (2.7) while Mirpur and Gujrat scored higher (4.5 and 4.3 respectively). The returnees from the U.K. scored higher than those who have returned from the U.A.E. and Saudi Arabia.

* The details of this scale are provided in Ijaz Gilani, *Left Behind or Left Out: A Study of the left behind families of overseas Pakistanis*, PIPO, Migration Report No. 1, 1983.

Table 19. Cumulative score on modernity scale*(Minimum = 0)**(Maximum = 6)*

Total	3.9
District	
Gujrat	4.3
Mirpui	4.5
Kohat	3.6
Larkana	2.7
Turbat	3.7
Host country	
Saudi Arabia	3.6
U.A.E.	3.7
U.K.	4.6
Return Period	
Less than one year	3.9
1-2 years	3.7
2-3 years	4.0
More than 3 years	3.9

Contentment with Life

We asked a set of questions concerning contentment with life. The responses from the returnee migrants were then compared with the responses from a representative sample of the entire country. The comparison gives us some very interesting results.

Despite the high degree of unemployment among returnee migrants, they turn out to be a much happier group compared to the general population. More than half among them say that satisfaction with the life on the whole is high (52 per cent). The equivalent figures for the general population is only 13 per cent.

While there is a big difference among the returnees and general population on contentment with life on the whole, there is no difference in the evaluation given by two groups when we break down satisfaction by certain specific characteristics: income, social relations, health, profession, family relations, law and order.

Table 20. Contentment with life: Life in general

<i>L</i> Very high	<i>Level of satisfaction, i</i>				
	<i>High</i>	<i>Modest</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Very low</i>	
	<i>Level of satisfaction</i>				
	<i>Very high</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Modest</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Very low</i>
Total	24	28	33	8	4
District					
Gujrat	29	21	40	3	5
Mirpur	14	32	39	6	8
Kohat	20	25	32	11	2
Larkana	25	48	20	3	—
Turbat	37	14	29	17	-
Host country					
Saudi Arabia	20	38	30	7	2
U.A.E.	23	28	33	5	8
U.K.	6	19	56	6	13
Return Period					
Less than one year	25	31	29	3	6
1-2 years	21	30	32	11	1
2-3 years	21	27	37	8	2
More than 3 years	30	21	36	9	4
All Pakistan Figures	4	9	30	34	5

Contentment of the returnee migrants with their current income levels is lower than their contentment with life in general. Almost 20 per cent say satisfaction with current income is low, while 37 per cent say it is only modest. When asked about the desirable income level the returnees quoted over rupees seven thousand per month. This was at least four times higher than their current actual incomes.

The returnees were hopeful about the future of the next generation. When asked whether it was possible for a child born in a poor family to become rich, more than 50 per cent replied in the affirmative; only 22 per cent thought that such chances were very low or none. Perhaps this was so because they themselves had experienced that it was possible to make a steep rise on the income ladder.

Rehabilitation of the Returnee Migrant

When the returnee comes home after having spent a number of years abroad, he is faced with two kinds of readjustment problems: economic and social. The economic readjustment is related to his gainful employment, whereas social readjustment concerns his re-entry into the family and community as well as his personal satisfaction. Considering this, we are looking into three issues: first, dealing with re-employment, the second dealing with the returnee's entry in his family and community, and the third dealing with personal satisfaction, particularly mental health of the migrant.

Re-employment

Only about half of the returnee migrants are able to find gainful employment immediately. Some find employment after a year or so, but a significant number of the returnees remain unemployed for much longer period of time. Almost 30 per cent among them are unable to find employment even after two years of their having returned to Pakistan.

The problem of persistent unemployment seems to be more acute in Mirpur and Kohat districts.

Table 21. Post-return employment

	<i>Re-employed immediately</i>	<i>Re-employed after some time</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>
Total	47	24	29
District			
Gajrat	55	17	28
Mirpur	34	28	38
Kohat	38	27	35
Laikana	64	15	21
Turbat	54	34	12
Host country			
Saudi Arabia	52	25	23
U.A.E.	43	30	27
U.K.	19	31	50
Return Period			
Less than one year	41	3	56
1-2 years	49	32	19
2-3 years	45	26	29
More than 3 years	59	34	7

Most of the unemployed returnees are willing to go out of town in search of a job. However, 20 per cent among them are interested in finding a job only in their own vicinities. This ratio is particularly high in Mirpur district. Perhaps the returnees are now too old, and they have stayed out of home for too long to be willing to do the same again.

It appears that more than half of those who remained temporarily unemployed did not actively seek a job during that period. The most frequent reasons given by them for remaining unemployed were: "Just did not feel like working" (45 per cent) and "physical or mental illness" (30 per cent).

The most frequently mentioned problems which the returnee migrant faces in seeking employment are: Short of capital to start self-employment business (15 per cent), lack of capabilities and training to start a new business (11 per cent), disorientation from work (8 per cent), find it hard to make a living through *halal* means (8 per cent), and inflation (6 per cent). Half of those who had remained unem-

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ployed (53 per cent), however, said their unemployment was not related to any specific problems.

Those who are skilled unemployed mention shortage of capital (22 per cent), lack of education (9 per cent), ill health (12 per cent) and being short of proper (*Sifarish*) references (4 per cent). Again half of the respondents attribute their unemployment to lack of effort on their part or other miscellaneous reasons.

As the above statements show we tried to determine, through several questions, the problems faced by the unemployed returnee. Shortage of capital and ill health are mentioned as the principal problems. At the same time their responses do not indicate a situation of helplessness. Half of them feel they have not still made a genuine effort and do not blame anyone else for their present state. Nor do we trace a sense of cynicism shown by the fact that only four per cent attribute their unemployment to their inability in having the proper *sifarish* or reference.

Those returnees who are employed, wish to continue with their present jobs, except a few (12 per cent) who plan to change their economic activity over the next one year. This group is possibly a dynamic one which wants to improve its economic position by going into business or enlarging their current enterprises.

Even though the returnees were not very explicit in expressing their disappointment at the steep decline in their earnings after their returning from abroad, it is indeed true that they wish for much higher incomes than they are enjoying today. When asked to mention the desired income, they gave a figure which was at least four times their current incomes. This was almost the same as what they had earned when they were abroad. Here is a group that is keen to change its current position.

The difference between actual and desired income given by the general population was much smaller than the one given by the returnee migrants*. This shows the latter's dissatisfaction with their current incomes.

Re-entry in Family and Community

We have not observed much of a dislocation due to overseas migration. The migrant left his wife and children with the extended family when he went abroad. Only 6 per cent of the returnees reported that their families had to change residence as a result of their migration.

When the migrant was away, in most cases his parents acted as guardians of his family. In some cases, however, this responsibility fell on the older children who, in the absence of their fathers became the heads of their families. This trend was noticeable in the district of Larkana where 35 per cent of the returnees reported such an arrangement. In Turbat, the incidence of such cases was 20 per cent, no such case was reported from Gujrat.

* PIPO nation-wide survey, 1982.

In very few cases (4 per cent) it was the left-behind wife who acted as head of the household. The district-wise breakdown shows that it is much lower in all the districts except Mirpur (9 per cent). When asked whether they had faced any serious family problems when they were abroad, 18 per cent of the returnees replied in the affirmative. In fact, this was one of the reasons for returning to Pakistan.

Table 22. Guardianship during absence of the migrant

	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Child</i>	<i>Parent</i>	<i>Others</i>
Total	4	11	51	9
District				
Gujrat	2	-	52	3
Mirpur	9	6	57	5
Kohat	2	4	48	21
Larkana	—	35	38	8
Turbat	3	20	57	6
Host country				
Saudi Arabia	6	13	49	7
U.A.E.	2	13	49	10
U.K.	13	6	63	19
Return Period				
Less than one year	2	2	46	10
1-2 years	3	20	50	12
2-3 years	8	4	65	2
More than 3 years	2	13	42	9

We did not find any indication that the family problems of the returnee migrant referred to indiscipline or delinquency among children or any problems with the behaviour of wife. The returnees did not give a negative rating on the set of questions concerning discipline among male and female children and on the question dealing with the norms and behaviour of their wives. Based on the experience of veterans returning home after many years, one could conceive that a problem among returnees would be that when they return the wives would have become used to acting as independent. They may be frustrated to find that these roles would be denied to them after the husband had returned.

In order to test the above mentioned hypothesis we included a number of questions dealing with the duties which the wife performed when the husband was abroad and after his return.

Table 23. Impact on decision-making role of wives

	<i>Percentage of households where wife performs duties related to</i>						
	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>
Total	1	2	3	1	1	1	3
District							
Gujrat	3	2	3	3	2	2	2
Mirpur	2	3	5	2	2	2	3
Kohat	-	-	2	-	—	—	5
Larkana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Turbat	4	3	6	-	3	3	6
Host country							
Saudi Arabia	-	1	2	-	-	—	1
U.A.E.	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
U.K.	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Return Period							
Less than one year	2	—	—	2	-	-	-
1-2 years	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
2-3 years	4	4	8	2	4	4	4
More than 3 years	-	-	2	-	-	-	4

A: Banking

B: Children's education

C: Grocery shopping

D: Buying durables

E: Real estate/house building

F: Match-making/weddings of children

G: Taking care of agriculture/livestock

It appeared that this issue had not been problematic, simply because, except in a very few cases, the wife had never assumed the traditional responsibilities of males. Only three per cent of the returnee households reported that duties such as dealing with banks, children's education and buying durables or even groceries were performed by the wife.

Personal Satisfaction

In order to find out if the drastic decline in their earnings and widespread unemployment had any depressing effects on the returnees, we included a set of questions dealing with the general as well as mental health. We asked them whether compared to the previous years their health was better **or** worse during the last one year. Ten other items dealing with depression were also included.

About 30 per cent of the respondents said that their general health was worse than before. However, about the same number said that their health had been better than before, and another 33 per cent said that their health had remained

the same as before. On the mental health issues, twenty to thirty per cent of the respondents showed some sign of depression.

The state of depression was measured by a set of questions: whether the respondent had suffered, over the last year, from sleeplessness, anxiety, suffocation, extraordinary heart beating, headaches, frequent nightmares, feeling of being victim of an evil spirit, feeling of being tired and eructation.

How do the returnees perceive their own problems? Two third among them did not interpret their problems of readjustment as serious or grave. Twenty five per cent thought that they did face modest degree of problems, while seventeen per cent thought that the nature of problems which they had faced was severe. The complaint about the severity of problems was particularly high in the district of Turbat.

Table 24. General health status

	<i>Per cent of returnees feeling</i>		
	<i>Better than</i>	<i>Worse than before</i>	<i>No difference before</i>
Total	33	29	33
District			
Gujrat	35	40	24
Mirpui	26	35	37
Kohat	27	25	38
Larkana	40	13	43
Turbat	43	23	34
Host country			
Saudi Arabia	35	24	37
U.A.E.	36	16	43
U.K.	6	63	31
Return Period			
Less than one year	24	37	32
1-2 years	43	24	30
2-3 years	37	21	39
More than 3 years	32	36	30

Table 25. Perceived social adjustment problems for returnee migrants

	<i>Percent perceiving the problems as</i>		
	<i>Severe</i>	<i>Modest</i>	<i>None</i>
Total	7	25	65
District			
Gujrat	9	59	31
Mirpur	3	72	23
Kohat	7	50	34
Larkana	3	83	13
Turbat	17	66	17
Host country			
Saudi Arabia	1	76	21
U.A.E.	15	61	12
U.K.	6	38	56
Return Period			
Less than one year	7	64	22
1-2 years	7	62	29
2-3 years	4	65	29
More than 3 years	13	70	17

Future Plans of the Returnee Migrant

The picture of the returnee migrant which emerges from our data is something like this: He is in his late thirties. He is neither highly educated nor highly skilled, but he is an experienced person. He has been abroad, has learnt one or more foreign languages, and has also learnt some skills during his stay abroad. During his years spent abroad he has earned considerable sums of money, with which he satisfies his basic needs, such as housing. He had to return home either because his job ended or there were some problems at home.

Since returning he is unemployed. He is keen to go into business or trading. This, he says, was one of the goals which took him abroad. But for a number of reasons including lack of skill and enough capital, he has not been successful in starting any business activity.

On the whole, he is an ambitious person. He is not satisfied with what he accomplished during his first opportunity to work overseas. He wants to earn much more than what he has earned at present. If possible, he also wants to go abroad once again. Given a second opportunity, he says he will do his best to make savings to start his own business.

The above picture shows the returnee migrant to be a person who is experienced; some of his basic needs have already been satisfied and he is keen to do business. But he is suspicious of working with others because he feels that he will be cheated by them. These characteristics make the returnee migrants the most appropriate people to become the target group for self-employment schemes.

CHAPTER

14

FINAL COMMENT

International migration has been both a source of satisfaction and of concern for policy makers. The fact that it has eased their foreign exchange problems and has brought prosperity to many including the underprivileged in their societies, has been a source of satisfaction. However international migration has also been a source of concern, because the large scale exodus from certain skills and professions has caused manpower shortages, and the separation of families caused by single and predominantly young male migrants bears within it the potential of disintegrating the social fabric of the society. Consequently, there has been an urge among the policy circle to look for ways in which the benefits of international migration could be maximized, while keeping its costs to a minimum. The recommendations given in the following pages are an attempt to serve this purpose.

Our recommendations fall into two categories: those which concern macro issues and can be effectively implemented by national planning agencies, and others which concern micro issues and can be implemented directly or indirectly by welfare agencies, specifically concerned with the welfare of migrants and their families. Even though these recommendations have been formulated for the Pakistani case, several among them may have a general applicability to other labour exporting countries in the region.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NATIONAL PLANNING AGENCIES

1. Manpower Training

Our analysis shows that the Pakistani economy is facing shortages of suitably trained workers in the manufacturing and to a lesser extent in the construction sector. The shortage does not refer to the shortage of working hands, but to the absence of appropriate training amongst unskilled or the less skilled, who pass for skilled workers. Their period of training, the data show, has been extremely minimal. Extensive arrangements should therefore be made to upgrade the quality of workers through in-service apprenticeship or formal training for skills such as mechanics, machine operators, electricians, masons and carpenters. Crash programmes for training have become particularly imminent in view of the following:

- a. The **relative** demand for construction labour is declining in the Middle East. This has been indicated by the projections of a World Bank study. It would mean that a smaller portion of the unskilled workers will be absorbed abroad in the future.

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- b. The World Bank study also indicates increasing demand for labour for manufacturing sector abroad. If training is not provided to increase the supply of skills in the manufacturing sector, it will be facing continued setbacks.

It is recommended that extensive training arrangements should be made to ensure that future manpower requirement in the Middle East is fulfilled without jeopardizing local production and for amicable absorption of unskilled returning migrants when they wish to be absorbed in the domestic market.

We also recommend that further research should be done regarding institutional framework for training. Studies show that there is a high premium for skill acquisition and its cost is low. This should create a substantial supply of training institutions in the private sector. The proposed research should investigate the extent to which private sector is responding to this need, and look into the nature of the privately managed training centres. If it appears that the private sector is not sufficiently responding the study should look for its causes. The study should also look into the functioning of the publicly managed training centres.

It is recommended that measures should be taken to increase the productivity of labour either by raising their human capital or by improving management so that the industrial development and particularly the export industries are not adversely affected by the rising real wages.

Regarding proposals on framing a policy towards permission to migrate, it is recommended that some groups may be restricted to remain below a certain migration level, others may be left to choose their own migration level and still others may be positively aided to migrate.

The professionals, particularly engineers and doctors, would fall in the first category.

Occupations like teachers, business, and sales workers, clerical workers and workers with no skills are not in short supply and therefore their emigration is not likely to have any sizeable effect on the output of the economy. They would fall in the second category.

It is recommended that unskilled workers may be positively aided by providing them training and even small financial support for seeking jobs abroad. Such positive support to the unskilled will mean that the very bottom income groups, who our studies show have not benefitted from emigration will be able to do so.

Finally, in order to calibrate migration policy according to the supply and demand situation of various occupations, the government must carefully monitor and analyze the occupational background of emigrating workers.

2. Remittances

Policy makers generally refer to two goals in this area: increasing the total volume of remittances and channeling remittances into socially productive uses.

With regard to the first objective regarding the volume of remittances, our studies show that almost all of the savings of unskilled, skilled and service workers are already being remitted. Only professionals withhold part of their savings abroad.

The implication of this analysis is that the total volume of remittances per migrant are not likely to increase dramatically. On the other hand, migrants can be persuaded to minimise their remittances through other than banking channels, which account for approximately one fifth of all remittances. To the extent that this diversion can be achieved, the foreign exchange earnings will increase from the point of view of the national economy. If suitable arrangements are made, it may be possible to redirect a major part of the money which migrants bring with them on home visits from non-banking to banking channels.

There are three possible reasons for the use of non-banking channels: *credibility*, *convenience* and *premium*. A small difference between official and black market exchange rate will not be a sufficient reason for the use of non-banking channels. Perhaps convenience is the dominant factor. A future study should determine the reasons why the users of unofficial channels prefer them to official channels, for both the money which they send from abroad and that which they bring with them on home visits.

If, as is likely, convenience turns out to be the major motive for using non-banking channels, it would be advisable that banks or investment agencies should develop a readily cashable instrument by which the migrants can bring their money on home visits. The migrant visits to home are generally brief and they need cash for expense during their stay. They cannot afford the delays of any financial instrument which is either not readily cashable or cannot be cashed in the geographical vicinity of their residence.

The volume of remittances can also be increased by raising the skill level of emigrant workers, through training, and thus enable them to increase their average earnings abroad, which will lead to higher remittances.

With regard to the second objective, that is use of remittances, the study offers the following general proposals on how to channel remittances into socially productive uses. More specific proposals are given in the following section dealing with the economic rehabilitation of returnee migrants.

1. Investment incentives need to be provided to the emigrants. For example, some incentives were provided in the 1979-1980 budget pertaining to importing certain equipment without import duty. These incentives are general, whereas to attract the foreign savings of professionals in the Middle East, specific investment programme is needed. A study is needed to investigate the investment opportunities/incentives that these professionals would like to avail.
2. Majority of the emigrants are from rural areas. These areas lack banks/post offices, where they could deposit their savings. The high migration areas should be provided necessary facilities for savings.
3. The financial intermediation network needs to be made more efficient and broad based. There is need for policy intervention aimed at encouraging such

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efficiency and sophistication. Migrant workers' Investment Houses/Companies should be established which would invest workers' savings.

Special care should be taken that such schemes are established in geographical vicinity of the migrants and are designed keeping in view that they should be easily communicated to the migrants and their families whose education level is generally quite low.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WELFARE AGENCIES

In the following pages a strategy is recommended for agencies which are concerned with the welfare of the migrant workers and their families.

A Strategy for Welfare Agencies

It is felt that as a matter of strategy the emphasis of welfare agencies should be on the future and not on the present problems of the migrants.

The rationale for this is the following: Our studies have shown that at present the overseas workers are fairly prosperous and happy. This is perhaps not the time when they would be keen to receive welfare support. In fact many among them are suspicious of any governmental encroachments on their affairs which they feel have taken a good turn, for a change.

Despite their relatively happy present, the future does not augur very well for the migrant workers. There is a strong possibility that they may slide back on the socio-economic scale, which they have climbed with much pain on the one hand, and exuberance on the other.

The unhappy eventuality of their sliding back on the socio-economic scale can be prevented in two ways: *Firstly*, by educating and training their children in such a fashion that they are able to perform well in their future economic lives, and *secondly*, by ensuring that the remaining approximately twenty years of their productive life after they return are engaged in an economically paying activity. The two activities of children's education and economic rehabilitation of the returnees are related to bringing about a *happy future* for the migrant workers.

The Roles of a Welfare Agency

A welfare agency of the migrant is unlikely to be a very prosperous one. Even when it collects a mandatory contribution as in the case of Pakistan, where every departing worker pays a contribution of 550 rupees the total endowments are rather small to support any on-going welfare programme. There have been suggestions that a fund established from worker contributions should be used for making productive investments, whose income can become an on-going source of income. But the feasibility of such investment income should be judged realistically in the context of the past history of profitability in public sector ventures. Moreover, one must also take into consideration the fact that the overseas workers do

not enjoy any leverage to seek privileges or niches in state regulations, which similar foundations for certain other groups, such as the services and the police, might enjoy.

Under the circumstances it is unlikely that a welfare agency of migrant workers can support any major ongoing welfare activities. The financial limitations mean that the primary role of a welfare agency would be as a catalyst for the benefit of the migrant workers; the role of their advocate and adviser. Only secondarily, they can play the role of a benefactor.

The three roles of *advocate*, *adviser* and *benefactor* are elaborated in some detail below:

Advocate of Migrant Workers

One of the basic pillars of modern industrial and labour relations is the principle of group action by workers. Group education taps for the workers one of their inherent advantages: the advantage of large numbers. Once mobilized the group power of the workers plays a countervailing weight to the financial and other managerial strengths of the employer.

Despite their large number and their common experience of working abroad, the migrant workers do not have their union or association. And yet, they need **it** in order to effectively participate in the bargaining processes which are central to our present day economics.

Considering the weak educational, economic and organizational capabilities of the migrant workers, who are spread over many countries, it would be logical that their welfare agency should perform this role on their behalf.

The advocacy of the migrant workers' cause is certainly a partisan activity. But an interplay of partisan interests is precisely the principle on which the contemporary economics rest. The advocacy of the migrant workers can deal with issues such as customs and duties on the goods which he brings, other taxes, seeking privileges in matters such as the education system, business licenses and related benefits, housing, etc.

The advocacy of the migrant workers can be done both at home and abroad.

At home, the advocacy of the OPs is primarily concerned with minimizing any burdens imposed by the Government on them, and to seek special privileges for them. It would be perfectly plausible that other governmental agencies or advocates of other groups do exactly the reverse, that is, try to increase the governmental burden on the OPs and to block any special privileges for them. But considering that we are operating in an economy which operates through the interplay of partisan interests, the Overseas Pakistanis Foundation (OFF) can legitimately perform a partisan role for its clientele.

Abroad, the cause of the migrant worker **is to be** advocated to the host government, the host employer and the host population. The content of the advocacy may deal with designing or altering governmental regulations concerning

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foreign workers. It may deal with obtaining a fair deal and higher recruitment quotas from the host employer. Above all, advocacy abroad should deal with the issue of creating, as far as possible, a non-prejudicial attitude toward the foreign workers. The history of overseas employment is full of examples where nativist sentiments turn against the foreign workers. Perhaps such an eventuality can be controlled or minimized by careful planning ahead of time.

A sophisticated public relations campaign in the host countries is necessary in order to ensure a secure future for the migrant workers.

The public relations activities of the embassies are, and should be, geared to promoting the image of Pakistan in its totality. It would be myopic on their part to focus their attention on the migrant workers who form only one, though an important dimension of foreign relations. Indeed, in addition to the normal public relations carried out by embassies, there is the need for more specialized public relating which would focus on building a favourable image for the benefit of the overseas workers. This task may be appropriately performed by a carefully selected professional organization in this area.

Advisor of Migrant Workers

In a modern economy which is riddled with complex organization, regulations and laws, "information" is of tremendous value. Thus, the possession of appropriate information and the ability to muster it to bring benefits, assumes a key importance in socio-economic bargaining processes. It is not surprising then that labour unions, industry groups and such other special interest agencies place a high priority on keeping their members informed.

As a special interest group of the migrant workers and considering their relatively underprivileged background, their welfare agency should organise itself to gather and disseminate information on issues of relevance to their cause. It would be desirable that the migrant workers look up to their welfare agency as a trusted adviser.

The advice may be related to procedural matters such as rules about leaving the country, the rights to which the migrant worker is entitled abroad, the rights about remittances in cash and kind.

The advice may also be related to the opportunities which the families of the migrant workers should make use of in Pakistan, and to seek benefits from any privileges special to the migrant community.

The advice may deal with disseminating information on *success and failure* stories among the migrant workers. This information may play a crucial role in influencing the behaviour of the migrant workers.

The advice may deal with the *new activities* into which the migrant workers are entering: to build a house, to seek education and medical care for their children and to set up a business. All these experiences are new to them.

It would be helpful if the migrant workers are prevented from learning about the above mentioned activities by burning their hands because they can hardly afford to make a mistake. A one time chance in their life, which has brought them some prosperity, may never come to repeat itself.

Benefactor of Migrant Workers

The benefactor role can serve two broad target groups identified in the recommended strategy: Children/families of migrant workers.

The welfare activities for the children/families may be in the area of: education, health and recreation. The details on this issue are discussed below: The welfare activities for the returnee may concentrate on setting up turn-key business projects. Small businesses of an individual proprietorship may be introduced to the returnee migrants, initially as an apprentice but to be converted into ownership, if and when the initiation proves to be successful.

Education:

1. While basic education facilities for the children of the migrants are available, there are two shortcomings: the quality of education is low and appropriate technical training in the skills required locally or abroad is not available.

The welfare agency may therefore concentrate on providing additional funding/equipment/instructors for upgrading the quality of education, and to introduce technical training in the village and town schools.

2. Education of the wives of migrant workers may be another area for action. The study shows that since the income available to the wives has suddenly increased, they may not be particularly interested in participating in cottage industry or such other economic activities. While their interest is expected to be low in economic activities, which are primarily geared to cater to their subsistence needs, the wives would be more interested in refinements of life. It may be possible to induce them to seek the refinements of life in education rather than unnecessary shopping and ostentation and, what is true only in rare cases, permissiveness and immoral behaviour.

It should be noted that there is still some resistance to giving formal education to women. But while formal education is considered to have undesirable effects, education in reading the Koran and the ability to write letters is considered desirable. Keeping this in mind, a proposal has emerged to arrange literacy groups for women organised around the popular traditional religious almanac '*Banhishti Zaiwar*'. This very basic but classic writing begins by elementary training in the alphabet and goes on to instruction in the writing of letters, proper address for husbands, first aid help and cure of ordinary ailments, cooking lessons etc. These instructions are carefully interspersed with religious texts.

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The attraction of being personally able to write letters to their husbands who are abroad, may become a basic promotional device for this education programme for the wives of migrant workers.

Health:

There is increasing awareness about medical care among the families of migrant workers. Since proper medical care is not available in their close vicinity, we are witnessing the proliferation of 'quack' doctors who liberally use prescription drugs.

The migrant workers welfare agency can organise mobile medical units combined with a base facility in the nearest sub-district hospital. Furthermore it can collaborate with other agencies such as the UNICEF in training the local 'quacks' to become para medical, if not fully, trained doctors.

On the issue of psychological problems and mental health, it is felt that counselling facility through specially sponsored newspaper and radio programmes for the families of migrant workers is advisable. This may be combined with personal counselling facility in selected areas.

Recreation:

Adolescent delinquency is a problem in certain communities with concentration of families of migrant workers. It expresses itself in gambling and wasteful activities such as pet-fighting. Occasionally it also means addiction to drugs.

It is advisable to seek healthy outlets for adolescent energies and anxieties. Healthy sports are one possibility. We feel that welfare agencies should take particular interest in organising sports programmes and should patronise sports clubs and other related facilities.

The recreation related activities of the welfare agency would be compatible with its role as a union or association of migrant workers. A personalised grass-root involvement of welfare agency with **the** community will make its advice credible even in areas other than recreation, **such** as the promotion of self employment and investment schemes.

Small-scale Business Projects for the Returnees

Three critical findings concerning the investment behaviour of migrant workers and the returnees emerge from this study.

Firstly, the migrant worker is unlikely to invest in large co-operative schemes. There is suspicion about co-operative action and a fear about giving away one's wealth in the custody of faceless and remote investment organizations. This leaves the possibility of single owner self employment style ventures, for which the migrant workers and the returnees are extremely keen.

Secondly, despite their desire the migrant workers and the returnees are unable to start a business because they find themselves lacking in the required technical and managerial skills, and often also lack sufficient capital to start a business.

Thirdly, about half of the returnees remain unemployed for as long as a year after they return to Pakistan. While they are unwilling to accept a low paid job during this period, they may be attracted to join an apprenticeship on a small business venture, with the option of eventually buying up the same venture.

Based on the three findings mentioned above, it seems advisable that migrant welfare agencies should organise with their own finances, small scale turn-key business projects. The returnee migrants should be employed on these projects as trainees for a year. At the end of the year, they should be given the option to buy out the project. Credit facilities, if necessary, may form an integral part of this service.

Our studies have shown that there is a tremendous attraction among our population to go into ventures which have demonstrated successful results. Being inexperienced in business, the returnees are not likely to tread on a risky path and would instead follow a successfully trodden road. It is, therefore, incumbent that the turn-key projects initiated by welfare agencies must begin by visible signs of success.

APPENDIX I

A NOTE ON PIDE STUDY ON LABOUR MIGRATION FROM PAKISTAN TO THE MIDDLE EAST*

The study bases itself on primary data generated by five different surveys during which 1500 migrants and their households were interviewed. The migrants were interviewed at the three international airports of Pakistan and a sub-sample of their families was traced to approximately 250 villages and 50 towns and cities. The five surveys were carefully designed as part of a sampling plan whose details are available as a separate volume of the study. Two surveys were conducted directly with the migrant, one with permanently returned migrants, one with left behind household members of the migrant worker, and the last with households from where **no one** had migrated abroad which served as a control group for purposes of comparison between the behaviour of migrant and non-migrant households.

The information collected by the five surveys was supplemented by in-depth observations and data from secondary sources.

* *Source:* Ijaz Gilani et. al, Pakistani emigration to the Middle East: A Cost-Benefit Analysis (Summary of findings), PIDE, 1981.

APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON PIPO STUDY ON MIGRANT WORKERS*

The objective of the study was to provide information which would be necessary to plan welfare activities for the benefit of the overseas Pakistanis community.

In the light of the objective, the first issue was to give an operational definition to the overseas Pakistanis community. This was done by categorising the overseas Pakistanis into three distinct groups: *Overseas Pakistani Workers*, the *left behind families* of the overseas Pakistanis and the *returnee migrants*.

Once we had identified the above mentioned three distinct groups for study, it was necessary to design an appropriate sample and a research instrument to obtain the desired information from each group.

It was decided that the left behind families and the returnee migrants will be interviewed in their households, while the overseas Pakistani workers will be interviewed at the international airports in Karachi and Islamabad. Keeping in view the objective of the study that is, providing an information base to organise the welfare activities of the Overseas Pakistanis Foundation, it was decided to conduct the study in five high migration districts, one in each of the four provinces and the fifth in Azad Kashmir. Based on this decision the research design for the study provided for conducting representative sample surveys of all households in each district. A given number of migrant households and returnee households were selected for interviewing through a random search process from randomly selected villages and towns in each district.

Regarding interviews with the overseas Pakistani workers a period of two weeks with normal air-traffic was selected. Interviewers were posted inside the departing lounge, where they interviewed a given number of departing passengers waiting to board their planes after having spent their vacations in Pakistan.

In addition to the structured interviews conducted with the above mentioned three groups, unstructured interviews were conducted in five selected villages, one in each of the districts included in this study. The purpose of the unstructured interviews was defined by us as 'quasi participant observation'. Research Assistants were posted in the selected villages for approximately one month. They were provided with written guidelines in the light of which they prepared their observations about the impact of international migration on the village under their observation.

* *Source*: Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion, A Technical Note on the Research Project on Overseas Pakistanis PIPO Migration Report Number 6, 1983. The above publication provides more details on sampling procedures and includes survey questionnaires.

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The researchers assigned to work in the five villages also prepared a detailed profile of their respective village, which included information on the physical characteristics, economic resources, social customs, village hierarchy and a brief history of both the village and the migratory flow from it. A few days each were also spent in the five villages by the study Director and two other researchers of the research team for this project.

The purpose of introducing the notion of 'quasi participant observation' was to draw on the merits of the anthropological method, while still remaining within the financial resources of the project and its time schedule.

The primary function collected through our surveys was supplemented by the published census information on the five selected districts. Detailed statistical profiles of each of the five districts were prepared which gave their population, area, geography and the various public services presently available in the district.