

Association between Economic Prosperity and Anti-social Tendencies among Youth in Pakistan: A Study of District Buner, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

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Abstract

This work explains the relationship between economic Prosperity as a result of overseas remittance and the disintegration of the Traditional Pukhtun Social Organization leading to Juvenile delinquency and litigations. The changes are numerous ranging from disintegration of the traditional class structure to a conducive atmosphere for juvenile delinquency, spoiled behaviour of the youth, drug addiction and exposure to abuse of the young boys in particular, involvement in crimes, school drop outs and many other negative consequences of affluence and absence of the patriarch from the family

Key Words: Labour Export, Remittance, Social Disorganization, Litigations, Change in Class Structure, Drug Addiction, School Dropouts.

Introduction

Since the early seventies, Pakistan has a history of labour migration and overseas employment for those who could not find a reasonably good job or earning at home. Gulf countries have been the traditional absorbents of Pakistani workers. By 2017 a total of 97, 97, 211 workers had migrated overseas (GOP; 2018). The outflow of the surplus labourers from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was recorded as 2,337,579. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the second largest province of the country in terms of labour export to different regions (Ibid). Nearly each and every district has its share in the overseas labour migration.

For the years 1981-2017 the outflow of international migrants from District Buner was recorded as 67,309 persons and held 15th position out of twenty-six districts in labour export but mostly to Malaysia unlike other districts of the province. In terms of geographical area, it is one of the smallest districts of the province having an area of 1,865 Sq. Kilometres but in terms of population it is the medium size district with a population of 937,000 having a density of 271 per Square Kilometres but exported 67,309 workers by mid-2017 constituting about 07% of the population (GO KPK: 2016).

Overseas labour remittances have remarkable socio-economic impacts on the migrants, their families and the local culture in particular. According to State Bank of Pakistan, during the fiscal year 2016-17 the flow of foreign remittance reached to US dollars 19,303 million and has been a catalyst in the national economy and boosted the development process (IOM: 2008).

Overseas labour has been beneficial by increasing the consumption of local commodities and supplies which created demands-supply process in the local market and created employment opportunities within the community (GOP: 2017). It is also

noted that remittances are invested in construction of houses, by creation of opportunities of employment for the local labour and is having a positive impact on poverty alleviation (Adam; 1998).

Khan (2007) investigated the socioeconomic impacts of migration on the families in Pakistan and the study revealed that overseas labour migration has improved the various aspect of the family life including housing, income, education, status and living standards etc. The remittances are used to cater different needs of families including children education, health facilities, construction of houses, communications facilities, debt payments, real estate, business, ceremonies, vehicles purchase etc (Khan; 2010).

Statement of the Problem

As elsewhere, the labour export has resulted in bringing up significant changes in social and economic structures of the district at large with remarkable impacts that can be observed on the whole structure of the society. Buner, a very conservative and typical Pukhtun society of Yousafzai tribe of Pukhtuns, has been famous for its unique and rigid social organization where the society is highly stratified and is still run by an un-written code of life known as *Pukhtunwali* (Wilber, 1964) the ideal culture, which is disintegrating and a fast cultural and social change has occurred not only in the outlook of the people but in the actual culture.

The salient features of the social structure and organization were Hospitality (Barth ; 1953) or *Melmastia* (the use of material goods to earn honour and respect), *Hujra* (a Guest house for the community and guests of the community people from outside and entertainment place for the young and a place of gathering at the time of social occasions), As there have been no bazaars or concept of hoteling in the area, guest houses and mosques have been places of stay and getting food from the locals.

Tarboorwali (patrilineal cousins who have power block to compete with each other), keeping a power balance between opponents.

The fourth feature was the *Jargah* (grand assembly to decide disputes. The members can be the elders of the community or clan or tribe depending on the nature of the dispute), *Jarga* was the source of peace and tranquillity maintenance in the area.

Another feature was *Badal* (vendetta or revenge of a bad done to someone by an enemy or opponent). It has two aspects; taking revenge and reciprocating goodness and help. Good ness and help extended to a person in the time of need, is also reciprocated and this is the positive aspect of the term and practice.

The most rigid of these features was the stratification of the people in various groups. Pashtuns, like Punjabis and Siddhis, have been highly stratified in different groups like the different castes among Hindus. The Highest class or group is that of the *Khans* and *Maliks* who own most of the lands in the area and have other sources of wealth and richness and control the politics. The lowest class or group was that of the *Kasabgars* or menials meant for hard jobs. This group included the barbers *Nai*, the *Dam musician*, *Shakhel Sieve and thong makers*, *Jola* weaver, *Ahingar*

Blacksmith, Cobbler *Chamyar*, *tarkan* Carpenter etc. They are paid at the time of harvest for their services and mostly they are used as messengers to other villages and to inform people of the same village about marriages, death or other important matters.

Another group in this organization was of sacred people like Sayyed, Mullahs, Sahibzadas, and Akhunzadas. Sayyeds are the decedents of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (S AW) through his daughter Fatima (RA) and enjoy a high prestige. At hardest times their services are sought to solve the communal problem between clans and tribes. Mullahs are religious scholars and mostly lead the prayers in the Mosque but can also interpret religious matters. It is not necessary that every Mullah be an Imam or person to lead prayers or interpret religious matters but it is a class even today (Ibid). They are always respected. They are given lands by the tribe for their services and these properties are called *Serai*.

The other classes, Sahibzadas and Akhunzadas are descendants of pious persons of recent past after the Holy Prophet and they also enjoy high status.

Bunerries are patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal. They prefer arranged, endogamous type of marriages within the clan or joint family and between cousins. Patriarchal cousins are highly preferred but matriarchal cousins are also valued. This may have many political implications like non-division of landed property among sons and daughters and transfer of property in the name of a daughter or daughter-in-law. Whatever the bad aspects of this mode of marriage may be, the positive aspects are that divorce is nearly non-existent in the area and in many cases this affinal relationship ends animosities among families. As most marriages are of exchange mode, divorce of one girl may bring divorce to another as revenge and this aspect has a check of the divorce phenomenon.

Hypergamy and hypo-gamy was discouraged. As Pukhtuns have been highly stratified into different classes, hypo gamy (marrying out daughter or sister to a man of low status/ class known as *Kasabgar* was never practiced. Hypergamy by males of high class with low class girls was seldom practiced depending upon the beauty and good character of the girls from the *lower* class. This type of organization discourages the practice of free mixing of the sexes and thus any perversion like distracting from norms by the youth called Juvenile delinquency.

In the traditional social organization there had always been peace and tranquillity. NO body could transgress the honour, wealth and property of other person or family. And if there occurred such a situation, the entire system of *Jarga* was there. Sayyed, and other religious classes were there to sort out the situation peacefully without penalizing or downgrading any of the party involved. The Khans and Malikis were mandated to enforce the decision of the *Jarga* and arbitration. *Zan* (Woman), *Zar* (wealth) and *Zameen* (Landed property) have been the symbols of honour and status. Very seldom this code of conduct was violated. There has been an internal peace and tranquillity. Lands are properly marked and each and every tribe/ clan gets the assigned and marked area and is known to everybody. Any person on the genealogical chart of the tribe and clan, has a known share in the property.

This organization was in practice for centuries but now there are changes to this. Labour export has tremendous socio-economic impacts.

Instead of *Jarga* system, there are courts and *Katcheries* where all kind of civil and criminal matters are dealt with. The hold of the religious classes is dwindling. The outlook is more westernized and every person works. The tribal system is declining and there seems a total disorganization in the society.

There are crimes against persons and properties. Respect of the elders and affection towards the younger is declining. Now any person with money can acquire lands and properties. Hypergamy is there. In many cases elopement and direct communication between girls and boys are observed leading to Honour Killing like cases. Material culture is everything for many people at the cost of social values and ethics. These like situations have converted the community into a total disarray and disorganization causing mental and physical stress and dissatisfaction. Peace and tranquillity seem disappeared and kidnapping, killing, transgressing the limits of other is common.

This economic and cultural change has far reaching consequences for the Buner society in the years to come. Crimes rate has gone up. Juvenile delinquency is on rise. Economic disputes have erupted and taking a long toll of time in the courts. Family disputes have disintegrated the kinship system. Exogamy is practiced which is a cause of divorce and separation etc.

This article will quantitatively analyse the situation of the cultural change happened in the area in terms of disintegration of the old system.

Material and Methods

This article is based on the quantitative data collected for a PhD study entitled “The Socio-Economic Impacts of Overseas Labour Migration: A Case study of Buner Distt.”

90 respondents (overseas labour returnees) were interviewed in a period of about six months on a Semi- Structured Interview Schedule. The schedule consisted of questions like the present economic and social status of the overseas workers, the impacts of the remittance, the changes happened in their social and cultural status and their previous hierarchical position in the social organization of the Buner. They were asked questions about the way they acquired lands, properties, married into previously elite class families, etc.

Results and Discussion

Table1
Age and Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital Status	Age of the respondents (years)				Total
	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	
Married	26	27	16	11	80
Unmarried	09	----	01	----	10

Total	35 (38,9%)	27 (30,0%)	17 (18.9%)	11 (12.2%)	90 (100%)
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Average age of the respondent = 35.4 years

The table shows the marital status and age distribution of the returnee overseas workers. The table shows that 89 % (80/90) of the overseas workers were married and 11 % (10/90) were unmarried.

38.8% (35/90) belonged to age group of 20-30 years and among them 26 overseas workers were married while 09 overseas workers were unmarried, 27/90 (30.0%) of the overseas workers were in age group of 31-40 years and all were married. 17/90 (18.9%) of the overseas workers belonged to age group of 31-40 years and among them 16 were married while 01 was unmarried. 11/90 (12.2%) of the overseas workers belonged to 41-50 years of age group and all were married.

Table 2
Age and level of education of the respondents

Education Status	Freq.	Age of the respondents (years)				Total
		20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	
Primary	10 (11.1%)	06	02	02	---	10
Middle	22 (24.4%)	10	06	03	03	22
Matric	27 (30%)	15	09	02	01	27
FA/FSc	06 (6.7%)	03	02	----	01	06
BA/BSc	02 (2.2%)	01	01	-----	---	02
Illiterate	23 (25.5%)	-----	07	10	06	23
Total	90 (100%)	35 (38.9%)	27 (30.0%)	17 (18.9%)	23 (12.2%)	90 (100%)

The education of the respondents shows that 10/90 (11%) respondents were primary level educated, 22/90 (24.4%) were middle level, 27/90 (30%) were matric level educated, 06/90 (6.6%) were F. A/ F. Sc. level educated, 02/90 (2.2%) were B. A/B.Sc. level educated and nearly 1/4th or 23/90 (25.6%) of the overseas workers were illiterate.

The table shows that greater number of illiterates was among the age groups 40 years and above. If we count the primary and middle standard education as illiterate, the total ratio of illiterates comes to be 61% as primary and middle standard education in Pakistan can neither help get a white-collar job nor is the standard high enough to write a simple paragraph in any of the national languages.

Table 3
Pre and Post Migration annual Income of the respondents

Pre- or Post Migration Income	Annual Income				Total
	Up to 500,000	500,000-10,00,000	10,00,000-15,00,000	15,00,000-20,00,000	
Pre-Migration Income	73	17	---	---	90
Post Migration Income	07	28	43	12	90

The table shows the pre and post migration income of the respondents. In the pre-migration scenario majority 73/90 (81.1%) families earned below half a million rupees annually while a small number 17/90 (18.9%) families earned up to a million rupees annually at home country making average income as 547,222.00 which comes to be a monthly amount of 45,601 rupees.

In case of the post migration earning a small amount of 7/90 (7.8%) made up to half a million rupees. 28/90 (31%) respondents reported an income of rupees up to a million annually. Majority of the respondents 43/90 (47.8%) earned up one and half a million rupees annually 12/90 (13.3%) overseas workers earned up to two million rupees income annually. This gave an average annual income of rupees 11,02,777.80. This give a monthly income of 91

Table 4
Possession of moveable and immoveable property

Movable and Immovable property	Pre-migration		Post-Migration		Total
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Vehicle	04 (4.4%)	86 (95.6%)	35 (38.9%)	55 (61.1%)	90 (100%)
Irrigated land	13 (14.4%)	77 (85.6%)	13 (14.4%)	77 (85.6%)	90 (100%)
Barani land	15 (16.7%)	75 (83.3%)	15 (16.7%)	75 (83.3%)	90 (100%)
Commercial land	---	90 (100%)	01 (01.1%)	89 (98.9%)	90 (100%)
Livestock	50 (55.5%)	40 (44.5%)	27 (30.0%)	63 (70.0%)	90 (100%)

The table shows pre-and post-migration possession of vehicles, land, commercial land and livestock by the families of overseas workers. Before overseas work 04/90 (04.4%) of the families possessed vehicle while 86/90 (95.6) did not. After overseas migration this number increased from 04 (04.4%) to 35/90 (38.9%) of the families who owned vehicle. An increase of 34.5%.

As for as land possession was concerned, the number of respondents (13/77 and 15/75) who possessed land before and after the immigration, remained the same for both qualities of land i.e. irrigated and rain dependent.

It is worth to mention that among Pukhtuns like elsewhere in Pakistan, land possession is a symbol of honour and Pukhtuns hood. Particularly if a *tarboor* has land and his other *tarboor* does not, such a Pukhtuns is looked down upon by the rival cousins.

I have said in the ethnography that Pukhtuns are highly stratified among different classes of land holders and those who do not possess or who are not entitled to hold any lands like the *Kasabgars*, the *non-Pukhtun class of barbers*, *Nai*, *shakhels Thorn* and sieve makers, *Dam* (musicians) etc. Obviously, the immigrants also include these classes and who have earned handsome amounts and have equal or better economically but socially they are not equal to Pukhtuns or land holders.

Selling landed property is considered as a dishonour of the family. This is why none of 90 respondents had ever sold land. Only in one case, a person had acquired commercial land for construction of market after immigration.

As for as livestock possession was concerned, the number decreased from 55.5% (50/90) to 30% (27/90) after immigration. It is possible as before immigration the elders used to tend the cattle. and after migration only the younger or women cannot tend the cattle.

Most people keep cows and goats as they can be left or taken into a grazing area and the cows return home by evening themselves. Buffalos are kept by rich people who can afford and arrange fodder for them on the stall. Landed gentry keep buffalos as they have plenty of fodder in the shape of wheat hey (Buss) and Maize dried stalk *Tanty*

The number of immigrants keeping cows, goats and buffalos reduced as after immigration the families could afford to buy milk from the bazaar directly instead of having the hassle of keeping animals.

**Table 5
Major Utilization of Remittances**

Utilization of Remittances	Responses	
	Frequency	Percent
Saved Money	30	33.3%
Constructed House	61	67.7%
Started Business	05	05.5%
Bought Jewellery	42	46.6%
Children Education	84	93.3%
Improved Health	88	97.7%
Purchased Vehicle	30	33.3%
Purchased Home Appliances	90	100%
Any Other	13	14.4%

The respondents were asked about what they did with their earnings from abroad? 30/90 (33.3%) respondents were of the opinion that they saved money and then they had enough money in their family kitty. 61/90 (67.7%) responses were happy with construction of a good house for them with the money they earned. A very less number of 05/90 (05.5%) responses reported that they had started their own business. 42/90 (46.6%) responses were of the opinion that in addition to meet other life requirements, they bought jewellery for their females. 84/90 (93.3%) responses were of the view that they could then spend more money on children education. 88/90 (97.7) respondent said that they could spend more on health problem. 30/90 (33.3%) respondents acquired vehicle. 13/90 (14.4%) respondents reported that they spend their income on miscellaneous facilities including benefits such as payments for settlement of disputes, performing of pilgrimage to *Haj* and *Umrah* and expenses on the occasions of Eid ul Azha and Eid ul Fitar and other social gatherings.

Table 6

Negative Impacts of Father's Overseas Work on Children

Negative Impacts	Frequency	Incidences reported	percentage
Drop Out	90	11	13.0
Spoiled Behaviour	90	8	09.0
Drug Addiction	90	8	09.0
Involvement in Crimes	90	1	02.2
Exposure to Abuse	90	0	00
Lavish Expenditure	90	36	44.0
Poor Academics	90	22	25.0
Bad Company	90	8	09.0
Psychological Problems	90	6	07.0
Low Confidence	90	8	09.0
Loneliness/Deprivation	90	6	07.0
Any Other	90	0	0

Besides many positive impacts, prosperities, achieving high status, good education and health for each member of the family and many other good impacts of overseas labour, it has certainly some negative impacts on the children at least.

The negative impacts upon children (here by children I mean only male children/ sons) varied from weak performance in school to drop out from school, truancy, smoking and drug abuse (*chars* only), spend thriftiness (loafer in local terminology), cheekiness, contacts with juvenile delinquents, feeling alone among agnates etc.

It was reported by 11/90 (13%) respondents that some youth has left schooling and were doing nothing. Rather they were pressurizing parent to get them visas and be sent abroad for earning.

8/90 (09%) respondents believed the youth have become cheeky and spoiled. They do not behave in accordance with the norms of the area nor do they respect the elders and parents and relatives.

8/90 (09%) elders or heads of the house hold reported that they had heard about the *chars* habit of their grandsons. Heroin powder is not common but present everywhere in KP, but *chars* is everywhere available and abused. One (2.2%) respondent reported that his younger has been reported by the community as involved in crimes.

36/90 (44%) respondents reported that their sons are 'loafers' and spend money on irrelevant activities. They go to the cities and stay in hotels.

22/90 (25%) complaints about the youth were of their poor performance in schools and colleges. As mostly they stay out of schools, their academic performance was poor.

09% respondents reported that in absence of the fathers, their children sit in bad companies. By bad companies they probably meant the group of Chars addicts, and loafers, watching films etc.

06 % reports were about the psychological problems of the children in absence of their fathers as they had become aggressive '*lewani*' or loony.

08/90 (09%) elders responded that in absence of their fathers, the children have become courage-less and depend upon others for the duties they are supposed to do. Similarly, 16/90 (07.0%) reports were about the feelings of loneliness or aloneness and avoid their agnate cousins *tarboors* instead of competing with them.

Conclusion

Social Organization is always meant for a compact pattern of relationships between social institutions and among social groups leading to qualities such as sexual composition, social cohesion in communities, leadership structure, division of labor, law and order etc. but there are forces like socio-economic changes which condition organization into a disorganization and disrupts the peace and tranquillity of a society. The opposite is social disorganization as a state of disequilibrium and a lack of social solidarity or consensus (agreement or compromise) among the members of a society and their the relationships are shaken”

The above study is an example of the result of economic changes. We have discussed the traditional Social organization of the Buner Yousafzai tribe in detail. This organization has now changed as a result of the economic changes. Change in social organization refers here to a change in the social and cultural patterns and behaviour of the people and this has happened. Politically, those who were dependents, are now contesting elections and lead the public. Hypergamy and hypogamy has increased the risk of divorces and the inflow of affluence has caused juvenile delinquency and crimes. Drug addiction among youth is now there and the end of *Jarga* institution has led to cumbersome litigation and law and order situation. There is no more formal *Jarga* system. It is informal now and cannot enforce its decision if a party defy it.

Then positive aspects are also there. The lower-class people or *Kasabgars* are no more there. They work for cash wages and are no more economically and politically dependent upon the elite class. There is an egalitarianist tendency all around. The traditional sacred class is no more there and their role has dwindled down. As a result, the hold of religion is weak upon the new generation.

Tarboorwali, kinship and all blood relations have lost their hold and there is a sense of insecurity all around as at time of need there is none to provide physical and social support.

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