

Diaspora Connected through Development Aims: Remittances and Community Development in Rural Gujrat, Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

In its 50th edition of key indicators for Asia and the Pacific 2019, the Asian Development Bank reports that Pakistan with \$21 billion remittance ranks 5th in the top 10 remittance sending countries of the world. The inflow of remittances helps the families of migrants and community in the broader context to improve their conditions and lives at many levels; (a) family's wellbeing and (b) community relationship and development. The migrants normally send remittances for families in the first instance to accommodate their daily essential needs and additionally to spend paying back loans, make savings and finally make safe investments in order to receive continuous income in future. But in many cases these remittances remained focused and consumed in non-productive activities, a pattern that has been observed in case of many developing countries around the globe. This is

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probably due to the fact the families suddenly find themselves in a situation where they have liberty to move from poverty stricken conditions to a more benevolent change. In the case of community development, the remittances of the migrant workers are allocated in the shape of funding to a number of planned activities such as health, education, roads, sanitation, water supply etc. This research was conducted in Karrianwala village in Gujrat district of Pakistan with an aim to investigate the impact of foreign remittances on the community development that comprises of small or large enterprises for the overall wellbeing of the people. In this particular village the foreign remittances were evidently effective in improving the community situation, especially in installation of water supply, pavement of streets and sanitation during 1990s. Although, these projects were planned out and started out by a development committee comprising of conscientious and responsible members chosen by consensus from all major biradary [Urdu: Community] groups, financial support of Gujrati diaspora living across the world provided the much needed impetus for development. The researchers conducted an ethnographic fieldwork to collect data by using In-Depth Interviews (IDIs) technique from a set of respondents including: (a) members of the village development committee, and (b) the heads and elders of left behind families having at least one active migrant member who contributed financially to these developmental activities. In addition, two Key Informants (KIs) were also taken on board to get their detailed perspectives on the issues at hand and additionally they also validated the information collected through IDIs. The results showed a positive correlation between the inflow of foreign remittances and community development.

Introduction

The role of foreign remittances sent by the migrant workers has widely been studied by the researchers,¹ who found that there existed positive impacts of such money transfers on the developmental activities in the communities at origin.² Normally, the diaspora constitutes some Home Town Associations (HTAs) to look after social, economic and cultural matters at origin and at destinations as well. Such HTAs not only facilitate the newcomers in finding them a suitable job but also channelize remittances for the charitable³ and community development⁴ related activities on regular basis. This process strengthens the bond between diaspora and the people at origin and remove the animosity that may surface due to varied reasons. Stressing on the role of diaspora HTAs in charitable and development activities, Faist⁵ mentioned that these associations can play a pivotal role in providing resources to the left behind communities of their village. These noticeable investments have been made in a number of endeavours such as; sanitation, roads, schools, religious institutions such as

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- 1 S. Kektar, and D. Ratha "Development Finance via Diaspora Bonds Track Record and Potential," paper presented at *Migration and Development Conference*, Washington, D.C., World Bank, May 23, 2007.
 - 2 Sarfraz Khan, "The Impact of Migration on Education and Health: A Case Study of Karrianwala Village, District Gujrat, Pakistan" (PhD diss. Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2017).
 - 3 Khan, "The Impact of Migration on Education and Health," 90.
 - 4 T. Faist, "Migrants as Transnational Development Agents: An Inquiry into the Newest Round of the Migration-Development Nexus," *Population Space and Place* 14, no. 1 (2008) 28; S. Kektar, and D. Ratha "Development Finance via Diaspora Bonds Track Record and Potential," paper presented at the *Migration and Development Conference* at the World Bank, Washington D.C.; D. Ratha, and S. Plaza, "Harnessing Diasporas: Africa Can Tap Some of its Millions of Emigrants to Help Development Efforts," *Finance & Development* (September, 2011): 48-51.; K. M. K. Lubambu, *The Impacts of Remittances on Developing Countries* (Brussels: European Parliament's Committee on Development, 2014). Retrieved from: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2014/433786/E_XPO-DEVE_ET\(2014\)433786_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2014/433786/E_XPO-DEVE_ET(2014)433786_EN.pdf)
 - 5 Faist, "Migrants as Transnational Development Agents:" 28.

church, mosques etc. and for measures aiming at relief from natural disasters.

Foreign remittances are the most cherished resource that not only benefit the left behind families but at the same time these could be helpful in activities that could upgrade the communities by improving their living conditions on one hand and helping recipient states in recuperating their economic situation. Pakistan has received about \$22.3 billion remittances during 2017.⁶ The size of Pakistanis travelling overseas for finding work opportunities has exhibited an upward graph over the time and recent statistics showed that about 10 million Pakistanis are currently registered with Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment (BE&OE, 2020) as migrant workers.⁷ The size of non-registered and irregular/undocumented migrants is not included in this figure. The reports of UNODC⁸ and ICMPD⁹ indicate that between 300,000 to 500,000 irregular/undocumented migrants move abroad from Pakistan annually and their main targeted destinations are European countries and the Middle-East.

The focus of the current study centres around the unique migratory trends from the region of research and subsequent inflow of remittances which have brought a healthy change and generally restored the lives of the dependents to their convenience. Further, we also looked at the pivotal role played by the foreign remittances channelled for development amenities like; (a) pavement of streets, (b)

6 World Bank, *Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook* (Washington, DC: The World Bank Group, 2017), 3.

7 Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment, "Workers Registered for Overseas Employment by Bureau of Emigration & Overseas Employment during the Period 1981-2020 (Upto January): Province Wise," Islamabad: BE & OE, 2020, <https://beoe.gov.pk/files/statistics/2020/province.pdf>

8 UNODC, *Drugs Smuggling in Asia: A Thematic Review of Literature* (Bangkok: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime UNODC, 2012).

9 International Centre for Migration Policy Development, *Pakistan: Migration Country Report. Budapest Process, A Silk Routes Partnership for Migration* (Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2013).

sanitation and (c) water supply in the village Karrianwala in District Gujrat, Pakistan.

International Migration from the Region

Since ages, people have been moving from this region initially within the country to search for suitable employment as labour. With the passage of time, the urge to find new avenues of opportunities in foreign lands surged upward and selective international destinations were identified. During 1960s, Gujratis migrated to the southern parts of Punjab and rural Sindh – where they were able to find opportunities in the agricultural fields as labourers.¹⁰ Being in the neighbourhood of Jhelum and Mirpur (Azad Jammu & Kashmir) districts, the people of Gujrat were well aware of the opportunities international migration presented. Mirpuri people are considered as pioneers in international migration especially in the case of migratory channel to England which was utilized around 1900.¹¹ This process of migration intensified during 1930s when they started pursuing jobs like peddlers on the ships and later on the looms as stokers¹². The inhabitants of Gujrat remained proactive in seeking international migration and explored many destinations to settle and earn livelihoods for their families at origin through agent, friends and relatives. One thing which made them distinct from others was the chain migration which they practiced with the active support of kinship and friends' networks. Since 1950s, they had acquainted themselves with global migratory trends and as a result they chose to

10 Khan, "The Impact of Migration on Education and Health," 64.

11 A. N. Ahmad, *Masculinity, Sexuality, and Illegal Migration: Human Smuggling from Pakistan to Europe* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 28.

12 B. Dahya, "Pakistani Ethnicity in Industrial Cities in Britain," In *Urban Ethnicity*, ed. A. Cohen (London: Tavistock, 1974); R. Ballard, "The Political Economy of Migration: Pakistan, Britain, and the Middle East," In *Migrants, Workers, and the Social Order*, ed., J. Eades (London: Tavistock, 1987), 17-41; A. Hasan, and M. Raza, *Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

move to European countries especially Germany, Spain, Italy, Greece, and Norway in addition to Great Britain.¹³

The culture of migration is very significant in the process of chain migration.¹⁴ This culture was also evident in the case of Gujrat where people generally decided to move abroad while observing others' vertical mobility which they mainly accomplished through the process of international migration. In this district, emulation (commonly known as *rees* or *dekhadikhi* – following others) could be considered as one major factor in alleviating poverty by persuading people for international migration.¹⁵

Kharian (a Tehsil/sub-district of Gujrat) became very famous as a large immigration of natives to Norway, one of the Scandinavian countries in the extreme northern Europe took place when this channel commenced during 1960s. Pakistani and Norwegian researchers have discussed this specific migratory link between these two regions. Among others, Laenen¹⁶, Brunborg, Østby and Henriksen¹⁷,

13 Khan, "The Impact of Migration on Education and Health," 66.

14 W. Kandel, and D. S. Massey, "The Culture of Mexican Migration: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis," *Social Forces*, 80, no. 3 (2002): 982; J. E. Taylor *et al*, "International Migration and Community Development," *Population Index* 62, no. 3 (Autumn, 1996): 397-418; R. Ballard, "Remittances and Economic Development," paper submitted for consideration by the House of Commons Select Committee on International Development in the course of the inquiry into Migration and Development, 2003 ; R. Ballard, "Remittances and Economic Development," paper submitted for consideration by the House of Commons Select Committee on International Development in the course of the inquiry into Migration and Development, 2003; I. U. Leghari, "Pakistani Immigrants in Greece: From Changing Pattern of Migration to Diaspora Politics and Transnationalism," paper presented at 4th *London School of Economics (LSE) PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece*, London: London School of Economics, Hellenic Observatory, June 25-26, 2009, 5.

15 Khan, "The Impact of Migration on Education and Health," 98; Leghari, "Pakistani Immigrants in Greece," 5.

16 F.V. Laenen, "Norwegian Left Court Pakistani Vote," *The Brussels Journal*, (August 08, 2005), <http://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/143>.

17 H. Brunborg, L. Østby, and K. Henriksen, "Statistical Patterns and Demographic Change in Norway," paper presented at *Workshop Globalization and Intercultural Linkages: The Case of Migration and Intercultural Linkages between Pakistan and Norway* during Conference on

Hetland¹⁸, Khan¹⁹ identified this link which created abundant opportunity for the migrants from Kharian facilitating them to settle, learned the local language, found work in various industries on permanent basis in Norway. Hetland²⁰ found that it was quite surprising for the Norwegians to find migrants from Pakistan as latter's geographical location was quite far and indistinct. They thought that these expatriates were the temporary immigrants, like many others, and will surely return to their homeland soon but they were quite astonished much to their surprise that these diehard workers, acclimatized to the foreign climate and settled down permanently in Norway. The saga did not end here. Later on, they called upon their close relatives from the same origin Kharian to immigrate to Norway. Although the host nation tightened the immigration policies and introduced stringent immigration laws to control the influx of immigrants, yet the migratory channel remained active and kept accommodating number of new settlers from Pakistan, mainly through family reunification clause. According to Government of Norway Statistics, the total number of Pakistanis residing in their country was 45,191. Ten years before in 2008 this number was about 28,000 and 90 percent of them belonged to Kharian.²¹ Because of this migrants' concentration, sometime people called them Kharian and *Kharway*²² and has become a commonly used term in everyday discussions among migrants at origin and at destination.

The Social Science-Policy Nexus, Buenos Aires, Argentine, February, 20-24, 2006.

18 A. Hetland, *The Know Norway Book* (Islamabad: Mr. Books, 2010).

19 Khan, "The Impact of Migration on Education and Health," 66.

20 A. Hetland, *The know Norway Book*, 13.

21 Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Mini Facts about Norway, 2008*; Sarfraz Khan, "The Impact of Migration on Education and Health (A Case Study of Karrianwala Village, District Gujrat, Pakistan)."

22 S. Khan, M. R. Sajid, M. A. Gondal, and Hafeez-ur-Rehman, "Why Do People Migrate: An Investigation of the Major Factors behind International Migration from Kharian to Norway," In *Revisiting Migration Issues in Pakistan: A Collection of Research Articles*, eds. Sarfraz Khan and Hafeez-ur-Rehman (Deutschland: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012), 16-31.

Besides Norway, the Gujrati people moved to other parts of Europe too, especially Spain, Greece, Italy, Germany, and France. Ballesteros²³ had written a blog in the daily *Dawn*, about historical account of Pakistani diaspora in Spain, explaining that about 300 Gujrati-men (mostly aged between twenties to thirties) moved to Spain in particular to Barcelona situated in the autonomous community of Catalonia and from other parts of Europe and Africa (especially from Libya) to find fresh livelihoods. They started finding jobs in small industries and mines and only those were hired who had previous working experience in mines in UK or in Pakistan, others opened shops and few started business of boarding houses in Barcelona. The overall size of Pakistanis in Spain swelled to 68,000 in 2012 and Gujratis constituted about 44 percent of total the immigrants. The proportion of Gujratis was about 11 percent of Pakistani immigrants in whole Europe as per the recent estimates.²⁴ Majority of the newcomers entering Spain during 1970s were belonged to a small village called Puran in Sarai Alamgir (a Tehsil/sub-district of Gujrat).

Greece remained as a very attractive destination for Gujratis where they arrived as regular and irregular/undocumented migrants.²⁵ There are number of migrant smugglers operating in the region clandestinely who facilitate those aspiring to immigrate to Europe especially to Greece.²⁶ These human smugglers over a certain period of time gained

23 Ana Ballesteros, "How the Pakistani Diaspora in Barcelona Established itself in the Heart of the City," *Dawn*, December 13, 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1376378>.

24 Ballesteros, "How the Pakistani Diaspora in Barcelona Established itself in the Heart of the City,"

25 Leghari, "Pakistani Immigrants in Greece,"; M. W. Tahir, R. Kauser, R. Yousaf, M. A. Tahir, and M.A. Nazeer, "Pakistan to Greece: Mapping of Illegal Migration among Dwellers of Gurjat, Pakistan," In *Revisiting Migration Issues in Pakistan: A Collection of Research Articles*, eds. Sarfraz Khan and Hafeez-ur-Rehman (Deutschland: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012), 16-31. M.W. Tahir, R. Kauser, and M. Bury, "Irregular Migration toward Greece: Narratives of Irregular Migrants," *International Migration*, 56, no. 1 (2018): 78-94.

26 Tahir, Kauser, Yousaf, Tahir, and Nazeer, "Pakistan to Greece," 78.

access to illicit methods, connection with the illegal groups that work in connivance with the likeminded mafias in other countries and thus their business thrives on luring the not so knowledgeable aspirants into their traps. Researchers like Salvanou, Kambouri and Dermetzopoulos²⁷, Triandafyllidou²⁸ Tahir *et al.*²⁹, Yousef³⁰ and Tahir, Kauser, and Bury³¹ have focused on the influx of Pakistanis to Greece. They identified that it was actually a bilateral agreement between two states that prompted the migratory links. Skilled Pakistani workers were exported to Greece to meet the needs of their textile industries.³² During the early phase of immigration, the transfer of many skilled Pakistani workers to Greece was legal and could enter Greece through the bilateral agreement known as “*metaklisi*”.³³

One can find the contrasting perspective of different institutions on the size of Pakistanis in Greece. According to the Greece Census 2001, there were about 11,000 Pakistani immigrants in Greece but Tonchev³⁴ mentioned that the Pakistanis were one of the leading diasporas from Asia in Greece during 2006 with total size between 40,000 to

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- 27 A. Salvanou, H. Kambouri, and C. Dermentzopoulos, “Culture, Identity and Movement: A Study in the Social Anthropology of the everyday Life and Popular Representations of Migrants from Pakistan in Nea Ionia,” (Postdoc Research, John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation, 2009), <http://www.latsis-foundation.org/files/Programmes2008-2009/Dermentzopoulos%20FINAL%20REPORT.pdf>
- 28 A. Triandafyllidou, “Irregular Migration in 21st Century Europe,” in *Irregular Migration in Europe: Myths and Realities*, ed., A. Triandafyllidou (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 1-22.
- 29 Tahir, Kauser, Yousaf, Tahir, and Nazeer, “Pakistan to Greece,” 78.
- 30 K. Yousef, *The Vicious Circle of Irregular Migration from Pakistan to Greece and back to Pakistan*, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) (Athens, Greece: IRMA, 2013).
- 31 Tahir, Kauser, and Bury, “Irregular Migration toward Greece,”.
- 32 Yousef, *The Vicious Circle of Irregular Migration from Pakistan to Greece and back to Pakistan*, 13.
- 33 P. Tonchev, *Asian Migrants in Greece: Origins, Status and Prospects* (Athens: Institute of International Economic Relations. *Department of Asian Studies*, 2007), 7. http://www.idec.gr/iier/new/asian_migrants_en.pdf
- 34 Tonchev, *Asian Migrants in Greece*.

50,000, which is contrary to the official statistics – as they showed only 15,478 Pakistani immigrants in Greece during this time. The Police records showed that about 36,000 Pakistanis applied for asylum from 2006-12.³⁵

Among others, Italy is one of the famous destinations for Gujratis as their number in comparison to other immigrants is much higher. According to Farooq and Di Benedetto,³⁶ the overall size of Pakistanis in Italy was over 80,000 in 2010. Brescia an Italian city is commonly known as *Brescia-stan* because it houses a huge number of Pakistani origin immigrants. Majority of these immigrants' hail from Gujrat in Pakistan. One of the respondents, 28 years old Ahmed Butt mentioned that, "*Italian people in Brescia normally ask us in a provocative way that whether Gujrat is a country and Pakistan is its district or other way around.*" According to the official statistics of Italy there were 122,884 Pakistanis living in Italy during 2016.³⁷

In addition to the above mentioned migratory links between Gujrat and European regions, these people have been settled in some other countries too like, France, Germany, USA, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Middle-East, and in Asian countries. But there were no such records available to highlight the size and historical accounts of Gujrati people at such destinations. Tanoli mentioned in an article appearing in the daily *Express Tribune* that about 2.43 million Pakistanis were working in Europe by the end of 2017. He

35 Yousef, *The Vicious Circle of Irregular Migration from Pakistan to Greece and back to Pakistan*, 16.

36 A. Farooq, and E. Di Benedetto, "Distance, Not Differences, at Root of Pakistani Integration in Italy," *Manchester Evening News*, April 28, 2010, <https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/local-news/distance-not-differences-at-root-of-pakistani-640877>.

37 Statistiche Report Italy, Cittadini non comunitari: presenza, nuovi ingressi e acquisizioni di cittadinanza, 2006, https://www.istat.it/it/files//2017/10/Cittadini_non_comunitari_Anno2016.pdf, 3; Ministry of Labour and Social Policies Italy, "The Pakistan Community: Annual Report on the Presence of Migrants in Italy," 2016, http://www.libertaciviliimmigrazione.dlci.interno.gov.it/sites/default/files/allegati/rapporto_accoglienza_eng_isbn_appendice_rev3b.pdf.

further added that Ministry of Overseas Pakistani and Human Resource Development while responding to a question in the Senate (Upper House of Parliament in Pakistan) mentioned that there were currently 104,000 Pakistanis working in France, 90,556 in Germany and about 35,000 in Netherlands. There was a critical need to work on such migratory links not only to present the accurate size of Pakistanis working at these destinations in Europe but at the same to trace the historical accounts of such migration patterns.³⁸

Foreign Remittances and Community Development

Recently attention has been paid to the conjunction of remittances and community development. Faist³⁹ is one of the pioneers who studied this phenomenon at length. In addition to Faist's contribution, there are some other researchers like, Kektar and Ratha⁴⁰, Agunias and Newland⁴¹, Ratha and Plaza⁴² and Taylor *et al.*⁴³ who focused on international migration and subsequent transfers of remittances for the development activities at origin. Majority of these studies have noted the positive effect, except Taylor *et al.*⁴⁴ who actually addressed the obstacles at origin in the process of development. The report of European Parliament produced by Lubambu⁴⁵ maintained that there are strong diaspora bonds which connect people

38 Q. Tanoli, "2.43 million Pakistanis Working in Europe," *The Express Tribune*, April 24, 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1391730/overseas-workforce-2-43-million-pakistanis-working-europe>.

39 Faist, "Migrants as Transnational Development Agents," 25.

40 Kektar and Ratha "Development Finance via Diaspora Bonds Track Record and Potential,".

41 D. R. Agunias, and K. Newland, *Developing a Road Map for Engaging Diasporas in Development: A Handbook for Policymakers and Practitioners in Home and Host Countries* (Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Migration Policy Institute (MPI), 2012).

42 Ratha and Plaza, "Harnessing Diasporas,"

43 J. E. Taylor *et al.*, "International Migration and Community Development," *Population Index* 62, no. 3 (Autumn, 1996): 397-418.

44 Taylor *et al.*, "International Migration and Community Development,".

45 Lubambu, *The Impacts of Remittances on Developing Countries*, 25.

with their origin through “the mobilization of money for community’s development related activities.”

Kektar and Ratha⁴⁶ have further explained the gravity of the nature of resource allocation through that diaspora bond. In their perspective, funds are raised from diaspora initiatives by using various ways. It is very common among most of the diasporas and the left behind scenarios, that people at origin keep asking for assistance beginning from petty needs to communal works. In some cases, diaspora remained very active in small and large scale investments at origin.⁴⁷ The investments made by the diaspora, when utilized properly helped in economic development and in creation of new jobs. Such investments are highly desirable for developing states where economies are already instable and direct foreign investments are highly encouraged to stabilize them.

Ratha and Plaza⁴⁸ have also authenticated the arguments of Agunias and Newland⁴⁹ and asserted that, the role of diaspora members is very crucial for the investments at their origins. They can help in pooling financial resources through direct investments and diversified financial products. In most of the cases the funding is pouring indirectly from the diaspora. There are some countries (like Ghana and Cape Verde in Africa) which used the counsellors’ services to improve the bond with diaspora. Such efforts paid them off as the investments by the diaspora increased substantially in these regions.⁵⁰ The development of community at origin had

46 Kektar and Ratha, “Development Finance via Diaspora Bonds Track Record and Potential,”.

47 D. R. Agunias, and K. Newland, *Developing a Road Map for Engaging Diasporas in Development: A Handbook for Policymakers and Practitioners in Home and Host Countries* (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2012)

48 Ratha and Plaza, “Harnessing Diasporas,” 49.

49 Agunias, and Newland, *Developing a Road Map for Engaging Diasporas in Development*.

50 S. P. Alvarez-Tinajera, *Enquête sur l’approche des banques et des institutions financières pour favoriser les transferts de fonds et les investissements des femmes migrantes: Cap Vert*. (Geneva: OIM, Cooperazione Italiana allo Sviluppo, 2009).

never been that much easier, Taylor *et al.*⁵¹ have identified two sets of obstacles for the community development at origin. In their perspective, first the state under the law of the land should cater to basic amenities for the community, but in some cases the states lack the funding and development mechanism to provide such services to remote regions where basic facilities are minimal. Majority of the international migrants belong to such remote areas where one finds lower living standards and unavailability of basic amenities. Georges⁵² asserted in line with the concerns raised by Taylor *et al.*⁵³ that people from these less developed regions migrate due to unavailability of the basic necessities for life for them at origin. Their basic objective is to earn and remit home enough money that can help to overcome the existing deficiencies and scarceness. There are no such political solutions for the migrants to spend their earnings through migration for productive investments as they have to depend upon a group of trustworthy comrades who can carry out the implementation of works for the welfare of the community. So, in such circumstances we should not blame migrants for not investing properly in productive activities at origin, which is off course the major case in most of the migrant sending regions.

Durand and Massey⁵⁴, and Grindle⁵⁵ asserted that we cannot expect diaspora to devise a viable strategy for boosting the economic situations by investing remittances in a situation where basic necessities, favourable ecological conditions, and infrastructure are missing at the origin. It is the foremost duty of the state that should come forward through utilizing

51 Taylor *et al.*, "International Migration and Community Development," 402.

52 E. Georges, *The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development, and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1990), 170.

53 Taylor *et al.*, "International Migration and Community Development," 402.

54 J. Durand, and D. S. Massey, "Mexican Migration to the United States: A Critical Review," *Latin American Research Review* 27, (1992): 3-42.

55 M. S. Grindle, *Searching for Rural Development: Labor Migration and Employment in Mexico* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).

systematic network of their offices at grassroots to spend public money in the interest of the deprived communities by providing basic facilities of life. Once this initiative is firmly grounded we can expect the diaspora to come forward and make suitable investments for the social and economic upgradation of their regions. It is also authenticated by Taylor *et al.*⁵⁶ that in situations where basic facilities in the communities either through government scheme or local organization's funding are present there are more chances for migrant dependents to contribute their savings for the development plans.

Development Projects

The first project was about the pavement of streets and provision of sanitation through covered drainage system in various town quarters (*mohallas*) of the village. For the said purpose, the committee of elders (comprising one member from each of the major group from the village) devised a subsidiary development committee of six members having good reputation of public welfare activities on their credit. The development committee decided to collect funds from all inhabitants on equal footings in addition to that funds were also generated through influential migrants of this village. It was the committee's responsibility to contact the migrants and convince them for the donations to execute the developmental activities in a better way. Most of the migrants felt it as a pride in giving donation for these activities as they believed it was a privilege to assist in the wellbeing of others and this was the time to prove their loyalties, links and association not only to their own families but to the community as well.

Mohammad, one of the committee members, said that this strategy to seek help from the migrants worked tremendously well for them and helped in completion of their projects in time. He further added that;

56 Taylor *et al.*, "International Migration and Community Development," 403.

In our first meeting we were bit nervous about the launching of the project as we were not expecting such overwhelming responses from our migrant members. Later on, we asked our committee members representing various groups to seek help from their respective migrant relatives. They did the same and we received a healthy response and then we were in a better position to raise funds for pavement of streets and sanitation project.

The development committee in the current village did the job in the same way to channelize remittances for this purpose. Gujratis and especially migrants from this village remain connected with the families and friends at origin. Such hometown networking made it further possible for the current scenario to channelize these connections to collect donations within the given timeframe. On the other side, the contributors felt proud to be a part of collective assistance and project implementation process that aimed at renewing community services. They felt honoured to have their contributions praised through announcements on the loud speakers of central mosque of the village. So, such practices also motivated and incentivized others to take part in this donation drive.

Ali, another respondent, mentioned about the pivotal role played by migrants in pavement of street project in the village in these words:

When we told our elder brother, who is currently settled in Greece, about this project he was very happy and praised the efforts of the community members for doing an excellent job. So, he contributed financially and guided us on how to raise more funds from other migrant members from Greece. Majority of the migrants were owning this developmental drive and were happily contributing to it too.

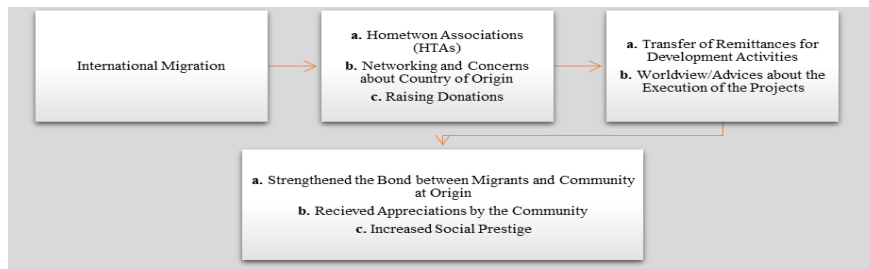


Fig. 1. The Role of Hometown Associations in Community Development at Origin

The closed networking of Gujrati diaspora made this developmental drive more successful as they not only shared these donations with their relatives and friends as acts of generosity, but also motivated them to contribute for human cause to develop their hometown. Such hometown networks had been established already in the case of Italy, Greece and Spain where the migrants were working for the welfare of diaspora. In addition, the current developmental objective was also achieved by using the same network channel. Muhammad Ayyub (an overseas Pakistani living in Brescia, Italy) shared:

We normally collect funds ranging from few euros to sometimes hundred euros each month from the members of the network to cater to the diaspora needs. But such funds were not enough to be sent for the developmental cause. So, we decided to collect additional funds for such purpose. We were very happy when we started receiving positive responses from our diaspora for donations to address the developmental activities back home. We also coordinated this funds collection drive with the friends and relatives across the Europe. The overall outcome was beyond our expectation as within few months' time we collected a reasonable amount of money.

One of the doctors working in a private hospital in the village mentioned about the need of dire sanitation in this village as:

Open drain and bad sewage system were very dangerous for residents especially for the children who are comparatively more prone to the diseases. Bad sanitation was the major source of diseases such as diarrhoea. We must appreciate the efforts put forward by the committee members through the help of migrants-who generously supported this cause and helped in addressing the issue.

WHO report found that diarrheal deaths were very common in majority of the low and middle income countries and the major reason behind such diseases was poor sanitation.⁵⁷ This developmental project was well-directed in improving

57 WHO "Sanitation." 2015, <http://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/sanitation>

the sanitation and consequently reduced the health hazard for residents.

Water Supply Facility

The second initiative was the installation of water supply in the village. It was an unhealthy practice for the people to drink the saline water as they had no other option. In this connection, Khan mentioned about the saline nature of water in the Karrianwala that needed to be overcome and he further added that it was migrants' generous help that made it possible for the community to install the water supply system in the village.⁵⁸ Zaheer, one of the members of development committee, mentioned about this positive role as:

It was necessary for the villagers to have a water supply facility as the ground water in most parts of the village was saline. When our elders devised a commission, I was included in it. Initially, I was reluctant being part of it as I was envisaging that it might not be that much easier for us to execute project smoothly. We were overjoyed when all households made their contributions on equal basis. But it was surprising for us when we got overwhelming responses of migrant workers. They were very happy about this initiative and generously contributed to it as they did for the pavement of streets and sanitation projects.

Ballard, in the case of Pakistani immigrants in UK, mentioned that tendency among second and third generation immigrants was much higher to contribute generously to the welfare/charitable projects such as water supply, sanitation, and improvement of roads rather than giving to their elders for the purchase of land.⁵⁹ Watanabe⁶⁰ also mentioned about the remittances channelled to the community projects. The researcher further added that: "There are strong incentives for immigrants to contribute to such projects as these

58 Khan, "The Impact of Migration on Education and Health," 90.

59 R. Ballard, "Remittances and Economic Development,".

60 E. Watanabe, "International Migration: A Development Practitioner's Perspective," In *Migration, Regional Integration and Human Security: The Formation and Maintenance of Transnational Spaces*, Harald Kleinschmidt (Hampshire, England: Ashgate. 2006).

contributions are visible in maintaining their ties to home community and brings to them greater prestige as generous benefactors.” Same has been narrated a number of times by the migrants in the current scenarios as their affiliation towards their hometown motivated them to donate generously.

Results and Discussion

Due to emigration and the inflow of remittances by the migrants the village in recent times has gone through a major infrastructural transformation. It has emerged as a small urbanized well-established town with majority of big/well-constructed houses, paved streets, erection of shopping plazas, private schools and hospitals extending safe health delivery. The part of the earnings is also reserved as savings and investments. The available capital has gone into establishing new flourishing businesses, insurance and assets accumulation. The outlets for regulating and managing the business interests of the migrants hard earned savings have also sprouted. These include insurance companies that have opened new franchises, new branches of the recognized banks have come up with objectives to generate more businesses, sanitation is restored, streets are paved, and water supply is working properly. The effects of foreign remittances are tangibly seen in this village as real estate business is booming and commercial and residential property is as costly as it is in Islamabad, the capital city of the country. New housing colonies are opening up for the migrants, especially the “model town,” for short and long-term investments and recently multi-storied houses have been constructed. The trend of construction of palatial houses is quite common among the left behind families in Gujrat,⁶¹ as

61 T. H. Shah, D. S. Malik, and A. Perveen, Use of Remittances on Non-Productive Activities: A Case Study of District Gujrat, Pakistan, in *Revisiting Migration Issues in Pakistan*, 42-54.; S. Khan, M. R. Sajid, M. A. Gondal, and N. Ahmad, “Impacts of Remittances on the Living Standards on Emigrants’ Family in Gujrat-Pakistan,” *European Journal of Social Sciences* 12 no. 2 (2009): 205-215.; Khan, “The Impact of Migration on Education and Health”, 93.

they try to show off wealth by perceived vertical mobility achieved with the help of inflow of remittances by migrants. These houses are named after the migrant members' country or city of destination. They normally call: (a) "*Dubai walay ki kothi*" [Udru: the house of the migrant who lives in Dubai], (b) "*Spain walay ki kothi*" [Udru: the house of the migrant who lives in Spain] (c) "*Italy walay ki kothi*" [Udru: the house of the migrant who lives in Italy] and so on. From a distance, while entering the village, one can easily differentiate between the migrant and non-migrant houses as the structure style and size vary tremendously. When somebody introduces you to village migration pattern, he/she normally points out to these sizable houses as an achievement of migrants working abroad. On the other hand, in some cases, one cannot find regular inhabitants in these large houses as these huge structures are constructed with a sole aim to impress their relatives in the village and to maintain their social status. The social status also compliments the migration status, the specific destination of migrants, and the construction style of the big houses. In some cases, the migrants living in Europe, USA and other advanced countries are considered more prestigious and wealthier in comparison to those settled in Arab regions and other Asian destinations.

Migrants normally keep regular contact with their families on consistent basis through the use of social media applications. The social media has connected the world, countries and the cities, their inhabitants and all the new developments effecting the migrants' families, relatives and friends. The effects of social and economic remittances are tangible in this case as the migrants continually guide their families on various life aspects including, health, education and other activities. They normally advise them about the need of good education of their children in reputed schools and consultation with the specialized doctors in the case of any serious ailment. The young boys and girls enjoyed more social liberties by having more convenient access to education in private schools. The new schools were opening

to cater the needs of children especially from the families of migrants.

During the last two-to-three decades, the inhabitants have witnessed that migrants' remittances, that are a result of hard earned money had created massive opportunities for initiation of civic amenities for the convenience and benefit of the local community. In this process of development, the role of government was totally absent. This vacuum was filled by the residents of the village relied on their own financial and development strength and started many small and large projects on their own. Two major facilities, (a) pavement of streets and sanitation, and (b) water supply were launched during 1990s and 2001 respectively for the improvement of living standards of the inhabitants, and are still in working condition.

Conclusion

The migrants in the case of the current locale were sharing the expenses of developmental projects initiated by and for the benefit of the community. There were apparently two major reasons behind financial contributions made by migrants; (a) they wanted to remain in contact with their community and these affiliations contributed to the development projects, and (b) they wanted to be visible by donating some money as they considered it major source of appreciation by becoming one of the donors. The execution of the projects in the case of current village was made possible with the generous financial support by the migrants. In short, it spurred employment, improved the economic marketability, alleviated poorness, promoted peace and harmony in the village and finally it developed workable system based on guidelines for future development of the said community.