



*Economic and Social Change in Khairpur (1947-1980)*



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**Declaration of Work**

I, Shuja Ahmed hereby, declare that the work presented in this thesis for examination of the PhD degree is solely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated in the thesis.

Signed -----

Date -----

**Abstract of Thesis**

This study is mainly focussed on the analysis of social and economic changes as an outcome of technological change introduced in twentieth century agriculture in Khairpur. These changes led to the emergence of a middle class in Khairpur. Chapter 1 introduces Sind and summarises the conditions of Khairpur state in the mid-twentieth century and concludes the key points regarding the socio-economic and administrative status of the state. Chapter 2 deals with Green Revolution debate. The next three chapters describe the main sources of agricultural revolution which created social, cultural and political changes in Khairpur. These sources included the improvement of irrigation, the introduction of mechanisation in agriculture and the adoption of new high-yielding varieties technology.

Chapter 6 examines the process of commercialisation of agriculture and growth of urban culture as an impact of agricultural change. It analyses consumer culture as a new middle class life was created by technological change. The chapter demonstrates how the cultural way of life underwent a remarkable transformation in Khairpur through the consumption of new products. This argument at one level examines the tools of marketing used by advertisers and it indicates at another level the thrust of consumers for their desired identities in a society where they were marginalised by the way that the economic and social order had developed in colonial times.

Chapter 7 demonstrates that shopping and leisure became increasingly important for the middle class. It was by such means that they expressed their new identities and new social positions. They also came to express themselves politically. Thus, they were able to assert themselves against the attempts of the landlords and bureaucrats to keep them down. But they were not able to do so to the extent that they took power. Nevertheless, there were changes in the economic and social structure which portended future political change. Chapter 8 deals with conclusion of the study.

## Economic and Social Change in Khairpur (1947-80)

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## Glossary

Aala: High quality

Abulwah: Canal

Ajrak: A printed cloth used as cultural identity of Sindis.

Alwahid: Sindi Newspaper

Ameens: Trustworthy men

Autaq: Reception room or a place owned by landlord where villagers meet and serve their guests.

Awami: Name of company

Bagwah: Canal

Bajhri: Food Crop

Baloch Sardars: Leaders of Baloch community

Balochi: People of Baloch origin

Banaspati: Name of cooking oil

Banias: Hindu money lenders

Barshi: It is used to protect crops from birds.

Batai: Distribution of crop produce

Begar: Free labour used by landlords or rulers.

Bejaro: Nursery of plants used for rice transplantation.

Beldar: Lower employee of Irrigation Department

Beldars: Lower officials working at canals

Benarsy Sari: A special type of dress named after Benaras India

Bhaichara: Partnership

Bhanda: An additional room for storing grains and other inputs

Bharo: Rent or fare charged by transporters

Bharo: This habit was associated with buffalos which did not give milk without offering them their most liked food i.e. wheat or rice grains.

Bidi: Smoking stuff in which tobacco covered with the leaf of *pepur*

Bosi: land irrigated by floods

Boski: Expensive cloth which indicates good financial conditions of person in Sind.

Bunds: Embankments, usually earthen walls

Buraq: Electricity

Chacho: Uncle

Chaddar: Bed Sheet

Chapatti: It is kind of bread made up of wheat flour.

Chapri: Traditional musical instrument

Charkhi: Wheel

Cheechro: Machine which extracts juice from sugar cane

Cherr: Free labour

Darbar: Meeting

Daro: Mound

Darogas: Lower officials working at canals

Deh: Basic unit of revenue collection, revenue estate. The group of these revenue units constitute revenue administration.

Desi: Indigenous

Dhan: Wealth

Dhandhora: Weekly Sindi newspaper published in Khairpur

Dhull: Rent or land tax charged by Revenue officials.

Dilshad Park: Public Park situated in Khairpur

Dupata: A piece of cloth used to cover head in a Muslim culture

Eid Barad: Day of festivity. The celebration of this day indicates good financial conditions.

Eid: The two main days of Muslim festivals. One day of Eid is celebrated at the end of Ramadan which is called as Eid ul-Fitr and other day is observed by Muslims to celebrate the end of the pilgrimage to Mecca and Abraham's sacrifice.

Eman: Belief

Fakirs: Followers, Devotees

Farashies: Carpets

Ferozwah: Canal

Gadi-nasheen: Heir of religious legacy

Geeh: (Also ghee) Artificial butter used in cooking foods.

Gosha-e-Nasheen: A picnic point in Khairpur

Goth Sudhar: Village Development

Gulful: Sindi magazine for children

Gur: Jaggery

Haars: Necklaces

Hal ahwal: Greeting guests and exchange of information between people regarding their living conditions.

Hari: Farmer

Hingorja: A place in Khairpur

Hojamalo: Sindi folk song

Huka: English Hookah is a long pipe used for smoking.

Ibrat: A daily Sindi newspaper

Iftari: The time one's fast ends

Jabroo: Name of movie

Jadu: Magical trick

Jagirdars: The jagir holders

Jagirs: Landed property given by rulers to their loyal supporters

Jamabandi: Collection of land taxes

Jowar: Sorgham

Kabadi: Sindi style wrestling

Kachaheri: Meeting and enjoying exchange of feelings

Kalabagh: A place in the Punjab where controversial dam was being built

Kamdar: A person who works as caretaker of lands, for landlord

Kan Kan: Crow's crying

Kapra: (New word used for clothing)

Kardars: Revenue officials

Karo-kari: Honour-killing

Katcha: Name of those areas in Khairpur which are susceptible to floods. They are also called as active flood plain.

Kati: The rise and disappearance of this star indicated beginning and ending of summer crop season.

Kelashan: Sindi name of Russian-made rifle Kalashnikov that can fire bullets very quickly.

Khabardar Hoshiar: Beware and wake up

Khajoor: Dates, a kind of fruit grown in Khairpur.

Khalifas: Devotees

Khalis: Pure

Khan Bahadur: Title of colonial times

Kharif: Summer cropping season (May- October)

Khatedar: Landowner

Khes: Bed sheet

Khuhra: Town in Khairpur

Khurpi: Kind of Iron-made tool used to eradicate weeds for healthy growth of plants.

Khustori: Erasmic herbal soap

Kismet: Luck

Kotwals: state officials responsible for law and order

Kulfi: Cone-shaped ice cream

Kushadi: Big and comfortable

Lajawab: Unique

Lakh: A hundred thousand

Lata: Old word used for clothing

Lawns: Printed clothes specially designed for summer dressing

Lok ji laj: Community criticism

Mahboob: Beloved

Mahlo: Wheat disease

Malakhra: Traditional sport

Malkano: Ownership

Marvi: Sindi Drama

Mastar: Primary Teacher

Mazboot: Strong, heavy-duty

Mazo: Taste

Mehfil-e-Qawali: Mystical songs

Mehran: Sindi Literary magazine

Melas: Fairs, Festivals

Meena Bazaar: Occasional stalls for shopping

Minar: Minaret

Mirwah: Canal

Motor-war: The owner of a motor car

Mubaraks: Wishing success and happiness

Muhammadan: Muslim jurisprudence

Mungs: Cereals

Murad: Biweekly Urdu newspaper published in Khairpur

Mushaira: Poetry competition

Naeen Zindagi: New life, Title of Sindi magazine

Naib Vazir: Deputy Minister

Nara: Canal

Naram: Soft

Natak Rang: Sindi television programme

Nawabs: Titles of colonial times

Naz: Name of High School established by Mirs in Khairpur

Nikah: Marriage in Islam comes into existence through this institution.

Nurwah: Canal

Nusratwah: Canal

Pakka: Area in Khairpur protected from floods or old flood plain

Panchayat Raj: Hindu community

Panchayat: Community

Panj-hari: Kind of cultivator with five spikes (pointed pieces of iron) used for ploughing land.

Pari: Fairy

Pepur: (Also Peepul), The name of the tree with heart shaped leaves.

Peshkash: Kind of tax

Phool Bagh: Public Park situated in Khairpur

Pirs: Religious leaders

Pseudo-Pirs: False religious leaders who looted their followers

Pulao: Pakistani dish of rice with mutton, beef or Potato or chickpeas

Qadis: Magistrates

Qiladars: Jail officials

Quran: The holy book of Islam

Rabi: Winter cropping season (October-May)

Ramadan: The holy month of Islamic Calender

Rees: Jealousy or social competition

Rishwat: Bribe

Rohri: A town near Sukkur

Russi tractor: Russian-made tractor

Sacho Buro: A wild grass which is used to make roofs for houses.

Sadabahar: Looking graceful

Sagyoon: Name of a place in Khairpur

Sahib: Title used for officers

Salams: Regards

Sardars: Leaders of communities

Sarfarazwah: Canal

Sarshumari: Kind of tax

Sat-hari: Kind of cultivator with seven spikes

Sathiyowah

Sazawalker: The official incharge of administration and law and order

Shah ji kur: Canal

Shalwar Qamees: National dress of Pakistan

Sharakati: Partnership

Shawl: A piece of cloth worn by women

Shena: The dried pieces of organic manure commonly made by women for domestic fuel purpose.

Shia: Religious sect

Shori Ja Angal: Wishes of a girl

Sindianise: Process of labelling in Sindi language

Sohni mae: a beautiful woman

Sufarish: Favourtism or giving favour someone for some personal gains

Sugdasi: Indigenous rice variety

Sugar zaal: Wise and obedient wife

Sukhio: Name of farmer

Sukhri: A gift

Sunni: Religious sect

Surkhi powder: Cosmetics

Suro: Crop disease

Sussis: Cloth locally produced in Khairpur

Takavi: Subsidy

Tapa: Unit of revenue collection

Tapedar: Lower revenue official responsible for revenue collection

Taweez: Talisman, Piece of paper given by Syed [Sayyid], Ulama, Maulavi, Mufti, Pir and Mullah to their devotees. This piece of paper is normally covered with leather and worn by people for a variety of purposes for instance success in business, love marriage, good health and protection from diseases, fears and other evil forces.

Thanas: Police stations

Thano: Police station

Tijori: A place where money was kept safe.

Tonga: Buggy

Topi: Sindi styled cap

Tv waro: Owner of television set

Urdu: National language of Pakitan

Vazir: Minister

Vilayati: Products of foreign origin

Waderiki Zindagi: The life of landlords

Wadero: Feudal lord

Wah wah: Fine show, well done

Wah: Canal

Wangar: Provision of free labour

Wanjhwati: An outdoor sport

Wanyo: Sindi name of Hindu trader

Yaktaro: Traditional musical instrument

Zamindar: Landlord or Landowner

Zarda: Sweet rice dish with yellow colour

Zats: Castes

**Abbreviations**

AC: Assistant Commissioner

ADB: Agricultural Development Bank

ADC: Agriculture Development Corporation

ADFC: Agricultural Development Finance Corporation

AES: Agriculture Extension Services

AMA: Agricultural Mechanisation in Asia, Africa And Latin America

AMRC: Agricultural Mechanisation Research Cell

APWA: All Pakistan Women Association

BHU: Basic Health Unit

CENTO: Central Treaty Organisation

CIF: Cost, Insurance and Freight

CSA: Civil Service Academy

CSP: Central Superior Service of Pakistan

DAP: Di-ammonium Phosphate

DC: Deputy Commissioner

DDT: Dichlorodiphenyl trichloroethane

DM: District Magistrate

EDB: Economic Development Board

GDP: Gross Domestic Production

HYV: High Yielding Varieties

IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

ICS: Indian Civil Service

IFMRS: The International Farm Mechanisation Research Service

IRRI: International Rice Research Institute

LDC: Less Developed Countries

LP: Long Playing (discs)

LRC: Land Reforms Commission

PCO: Public Call Office

PSP: Pursuit of Social Position

SCARP: Salinity Control and Reclamation Project

SDM: Sub-Divisional Magistrate

SDO: Sub-Divisional Officer

SHO: Station House Officer

SPC: Style, Proud and Comfort

SPSC: Sind Public Service Commission

UP: Utter Pradesh

VAID: Village Agricultural and Industrial Development

VCR: Video Cassette Recorder

VIP: Very Important Person

WAPDA: Water and Power Development Authority

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## **Dedication**

To my mother Mrs Janul Mahesar

‘Who taught me first lesson about how to bring a real change in my life through education.’

& to my wife Paras Mahesar

‘She continuously supported me in my pursuit of study of change.’

*‘The history of the world is none other than the progress of the, consciousness of freedom.’ (Hegel)*

## *Chapter 1*

### **Introduction to Sind and Khairpur in the Mid-twentieth Century**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter gives a brief introduction to the history of Sind and analyses the political and economic conditions which differentiated Khairpur from Sind.<sup>1</sup> The chapter also considers agricultural improvement as major source of change in Khairpur. Agriculture in the mid-twentieth century was occupation of majority of people in rural areas of Khairpur where the power structure was dominated by rural elites. This chapter explains the major factors behind urbanisation including industrial undertakings by the state which attracted migrants from villages to the urban townships. The chapter also analyses the impact of Partition on Khairpur's urban development. These changes were responsible for the emergence of middle classes in the 1960s.

#### **Brief history of Sind**

In the 1940s the authors of the idea of Pakistan said that it would be a union of geographical units with full autonomy and sovereignty. It signalled that the balance of power was supposed to be in the favour of constituent units of proposed federation. Sind joined the federation of Pakistan on August 14, 1947. It was this province where the assembly passed for the first time the resolution to form a new country.

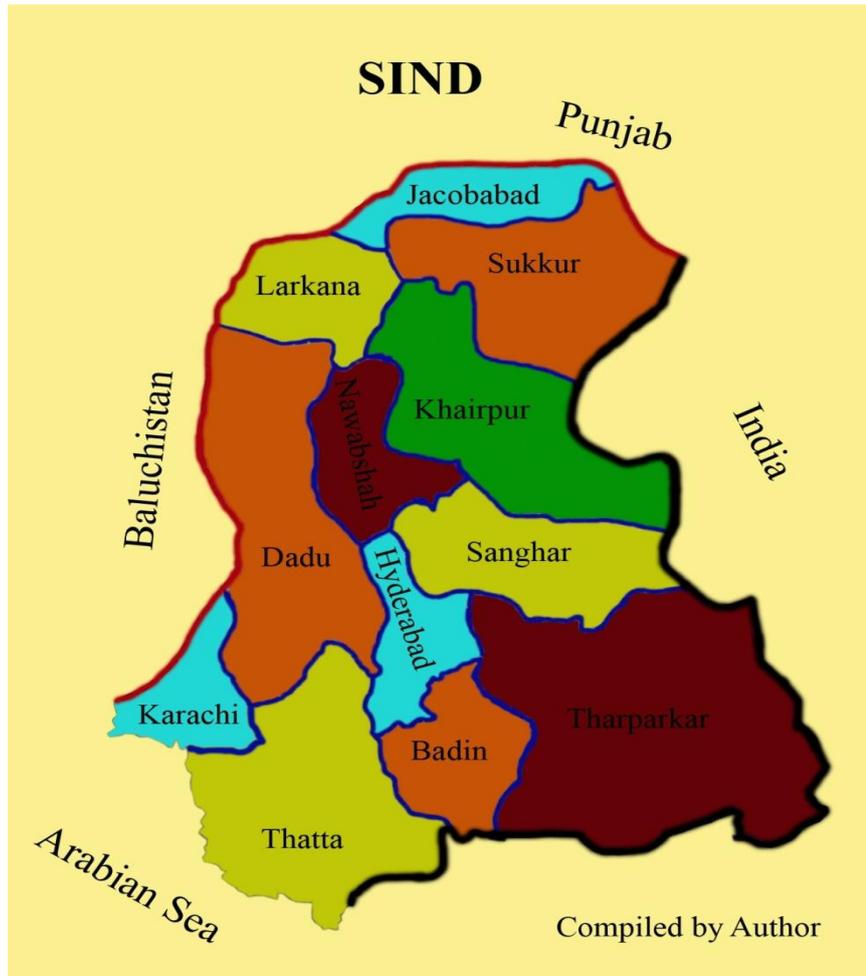
Geographically, Sind is situated in the south of Pakistan. It borders India in the East, Baluchistan in the North West and the Punjab in the North. In the South Sind is bounded by the Arabian Sea. Its capital, Karachi, located near the sea is the largest city and economic hub of Pakistan. Karachi has occupied great importance not only for trade and commercial facilities it provides to the country, but it also gives Pakistan an access to the Middle East and other parts of Asia via the sea. In addition, it offers an

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<sup>1</sup>The name of province appears in the sources used for this study with three different spellings—Scinde, Sindh and Sind. However, 'Sind' has been used in this thesis for consistency reasons.

opportunity for landlocked Central Asian Republics (CARS) to promote continental trade with Middle East via Pakistan. The sea is considered vital for the defence of the region. Therefore, the sea in the South and the desert as a natural barrier between Sind and India largely contribute to the geo-strategic importance of the country.

**Sind in the 1980s, Map.<sup>2</sup>**



The geographical factor has played very important role in shaping politics before and after Partition. The geography of Sind has remained a source of both the strength and the weakness of the province throughout centuries. The geographical route via the Bolan Pass which connects Sind with Baluchistan had been used by early invaders from Central Asia and Iran.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The map has been adapted from *Atlas for Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1981).

<sup>3</sup>Shah, Mehtab Ali, *The Foreign policy of Pakistan: Ethnic impacts on Diplomacy, 1971-1994*, (London: I.B Tauris, 1997), p.45.

Historically, Sind is one of the ancient regions of the world. The ancient archaeological site of Moen-jo-Daro provides evidence that the Indus Civilisation was a sister of Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilisations. Agriculture and trade were two main sources of its wealth.<sup>4</sup> The name Sind is derived from the river Indus which made life possible in the region where considerable portion of land comprised of deserts and hills. This river is the aorta of Sind irrigation. It starts from the Northern areas of Pakistan and goes in the middle of the province and empties into the sea where it forms large delta. This river provides both drinking and irrigation water for agriculture – the main occupation of people. It has always been in the service of the people throughout the centuries. However, before the twentieth century, the river was also used as a major trade route for local and foreign traders. This attracted foreign expeditions including the British. When the British came along the river, the local people sagaciously predicted that ‘Sind is now gone. The English have seen the river which is the road to its conquest.’<sup>5</sup>

However, in the early nineteenth century the physical features of Sind and failure on the part of its past rulers to utilise the river Indus adequately for the benefit of agriculture stalled agricultural progress. The canals of the river did not guarantee enough water for crops. There was no mechanism to control the mighty river at the time of the rains, when huge quantities of water passed through the canals. It caused floods and destroyed crops and entire human settlements. These uncertain conditions of life dependent on the river disappointed some historians who described Sind with an unsmiling face. The Indus valley was described by Burton as ‘Unhappy Valley’. This purported title became the cause of notoriety for some observers of Sind’s scene. ‘To

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<sup>4</sup>Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, *The Cambridge History of India: The Indus Civilization*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p.52.

<sup>5</sup>Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.120. The data for this Gazetteer was originally collected and arranged by Benjamin Adams Brendon who worked in Sind as Assistant collector and magistrate. In addition to his revenue and legal duties, he was appointed in 1904 to take charge of compilation work. However, the work was finally completed by Aitkin who was employed in Bombay Salt Department owing to illness of Brendon.

the overwhelming impression of decay and departed glory that Pottinger, Postans, Kennedy and Burnes in total succeeded in conveying, Burton added the light and shade of chiaroscuro.’<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, most problems arose because Sind was as yet largely unmapped. Most records were based on fictional accounts rather than scientific investigation. These records of Sind largely came from travellers. They lacked careful examination of its deserts, hills, climate, fertile soil and agricultural wealth and mineral resources. However, historical accounts presented by Arab historians and European historians give incomplete picture of Sind. Their writings lacked analysis of social, economic and political conditions. Their views were coloured by political motives. ‘Travellers’ tales were like the sayings of blind men who attempted to describe an elephant.’<sup>7</sup> Thus, it was argued that Sind, ‘even more than India, suffered from the blindness of travel.’<sup>8</sup>

The story of Sind required thorough academic investigation to unlock the doors of historical mysteries which surround its geography, society and resources. The first generation of mysteries was created with the Arab conquest of Sind in 712AD. The second generation of mysteries was produced by foreign rulers including Mongols, Arguns, Tarkhans and the British. The third generation of mysteries was created by indigenous rulers.

The fictional routes<sup>9</sup> of historical expedition to the discovery of ancient Sind did not sufficiently satisfy many truth-seeker historians. Thus, it was maintained that Sind was unfortunate in its record because it was argued that her written records buried ‘the truths

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<sup>6</sup>Abbott, J., *Sind: A Re-interpretation of the Unhappy Valley*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p.3.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p.6.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>See Ahmed, Makhdoom Ameer, (trans.), *Fateh Nama*, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1954). [This source of history was originally written in Arabic and it was translated into Sindi for the first time by Mirza Qaleech Baig in 1923. It was translated second time by Makhdoom Ameer Ahmed. Nevertheless, the original author of this book is not known.]

Bakhri, Mir Muhammad Masoom, *Tarikh Mausumi*, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1953). [This book was originally written in Persian and it was translated into Sindi by Makdoom Ameer Ahmed.]

Thatevi, Mir Ali Sher, *Tuhfat-ul- Karam*, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1975). [This book was originally written in Persian and it was translated into Sindi by Makdoom Ameer Ahmed.]

of other centuries in fiction.’<sup>10</sup> However, pictures of Sind at the time of the first English attempts to connect with Sind in the seventeenth century suggest that Sind was economically prosperous region. In 1607 the desire of East India Company to extend trade activities to Sind is evidence for commercial importance of Sind for the British. In 1613 captain Paynton arrived at Thatta and described the city as ‘one of the most celebrated marts of India.’<sup>11</sup> In addition, Abbott quotes Terry, the Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, who described the valley as ‘very fruitful and pleasant... rich and fertile almost as covetousness could wish.’<sup>12</sup>

The historiography of Sind also indicates that Sind is neglected field of research. Attempts were made to please the rulers rather than to unravel history. It was because of this that historiography rarely acknowledged the abilities of the conquered. Further, the social and political resistance to despotic rulers was again neglected by historians as an irrelevant aspect of social history. For example the heroic struggle by Sindis against the cruel treatment by foreign rulers received attention of historians less than it deserved. Moreover, the preference of the Sindis for peace and harmony was largely unacknowledged by the British, although they were grateful for their failure to join the mutiny uprising.<sup>13</sup>

Sometimes, their desire for peace was interpreted as the deficiency of martial spirit. Some historians argued that Sind had not been a source of army-building in the past. Hence, they labelled Sindis as non-martial race.<sup>14</sup> Although this view was unfair, it

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<sup>10</sup>Abbott, J., *Sind: A Re-interpretation of the Unhappy Valley*, (London: Oxford, University Press, 1924), p.1.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p.68.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>See Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.150.

<sup>14</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.801. [H.T. Sorley started his career in the Indian Civil Service (ICS) in Sind during the British rule over India. He held position of Collector in various districts of Sind including Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Tharparkar, Sukkur and Jacobabad. From 1950 to 1952 he served as a member of Central Board of Revenue. He visited Khairpur in 1956 and noted several changes there. In addition to his well-known work ‘Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit’ he wrote the gazetteer of West Pakistan, the former province of Sind including Khairpur state.]

resurfaced whenever it was needed to justify injustice in post-Partition politics around the distribution of military jobs.<sup>15</sup>

Historically, Sindis have remained defenders rather than invaders. However, there is enough evidence to show that they possessed high levels of fighting spirit. They fought against Arabs, Arguns, Tarkhans and the British. In addition, during the Hur resistance movement started by disciples of Pir Sabghatullah Shah in the late 1930s they displayed unprecedented military valour in the fight ‘against the Government of usurpers.’<sup>16</sup> If we go back into early history of Sind, it is easy to establish that on many occasions, Sindis have proved militarily a very strong nation. They were able to resist the Mongol troops of Shah Beg across the Bolan Pass and retained their military power for one and half centuries.<sup>17</sup> In 1351 AD they chased the imperial army of Muhammad Tughlaq the then Emperor of Delhi, who was unable to conquer them. Similarly, in 1365AD Feroz Shah Tughlaq, another emperor was defeated by the Sindis near Thatta.<sup>18</sup> ‘Since then Sindi troops had faced no defeat at a battle front.’<sup>19</sup>

However, the downfall of Sind’s Sama dynasty and success of Shah Beg resulted in a political chaos. The foreign rulers looted the main city of Thatta<sup>20</sup> and destroyed its remarkable icons. The inhabitants were humiliated by the rulers. Nevertheless, these

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<sup>15</sup>According to Sindi nationalists this view was welcomed and exploited by post-Partition political opponents of Sindis. They used it as a tool to justify the no-entry of Sindis in Punjabi-dominated armed forces of Pakistan. Thus they mirrored the non-military character of Sindis as an excuse. The nationalists also believe that this idea was further changed to inefficiency during the more than two decades of military rule by General Ayub (1958-1969) and General Zia (1977-1988), which was used as synonymous to Sindis in order to keep doors of bureaucracy and judiciary close for Sindis. In this way the system unfavourable to Sindis not only kept them away from the real power of the State from 1947-1980, but also pleased the feudal lords who believed the conscription of men from rural areas into civil and military bureaucracies as a threat to their power. The drivers of state vehicle during this period did not bother to check if any of the four wheels was unable to move at same pace with other wheels on the road to the human resource development.

<sup>16</sup>See Khan Wisal Muhammad, ‘Hur Operation in Sind’, *Sind Quarterly*, Vol.8, No.1, (Karachi: Pakistan Herald Press, 1980), p.9.

<sup>17</sup>Panhwar, M.H., ‘Heroic struggle of Sind against Feudalism’, *Sindological Studies*, (Jamshoro: University of Sind, Summer 1979), p.28.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>Captain Payton described the city of Thatta as ‘an eye of Sind and emporium of East.’ According to the East India Company servants including Thevenot, Thomas Kerridge the city was ‘commodious in India and as large as London was embellished with public buildings, beautiful gardens and aqueducts.’ See Hanif. S. M., ‘A chapter of Forgotten History: The British Connection with Sind’, *Alwahid*, Special Edition Sind Azad Number, (Karachi: June 15, 1936), p.66.

atrocities against them did not succeed in weakening the power of indigenous population. The foreign rulers faced serious resistance from Sindi tribes including Sodhas, Sahitas backed by Makhdoom Bilawal. Therefore, there were many tribes who fought against Arghuns and Tarkhans for several years. The local resistance infuriated the rulers and this resulted in persecution of local Sindis and destruction of towns and economic assets.

The rulers destroyed the buildings, crops, gardens and turned green lands into deserts. There were two motives for their embracing hate and destruction. First, they attempted to exterminate their political opponents and to compel them to submit themselves to the rulers. Second, they attempted to destroy the beauty and agricultural wealth of Sind to make it less attractive for other invaders. They also created psychological deterrence against any possibility of invasion by Mughals including Humayun. Nevertheless, this political chaos had a negative impact on society. Many Sindis compelled by circumstances migrated to neighbouring areas of Gujarat, Arabia, and Katch. Eventually foreign rule was overthrown by Kalhora--the indigenous rulers who ruled from 1701-1787. The Kalhora rule ended as an outcome of civil war between the rulers and their military commanders. Consequently, the Talpurs came in power in 1787 and continued to rule over Sind until the conquest of Sind in 1843 by the British.

After the conquest of Sind, General Charles Napier showed a sympathetic attitude to people and rulers of Sind. Nevertheless, it can be argued that he sympathised with rulers and their supporters more than the common people. The restoration of *jagirs* for *zamindars* signalled that he was not in favour of social and economic change in Sind. His decision strengthened further the roots of feudalism and blocked the way for change. Although it was clear that the abolition of *jagirs* would increase agricultural productivity and revenue for the government, he did not wish to lose the political support and loyalty of landlords needed by his rule just for these economic interests

through the land reforms. Nevertheless, taking into account his sympathetic attitude to the rulers toppled by him, one asks why did Napier then go for conquest? According to one explanation provided by Shaidai, the immediate cause of battle between Mirs and the British troops was the refusal of the former to sign a new treaty. The unexpected attack on the residency on February 15, 1843 infuriated Napier and his followers. These circumstances compelled him to show his power and strength. He was sure of success for his war strategy<sup>21</sup> which was now in the final stage. It already achieved marvellous success in weakening the power of Mirs by dividing them into three conflicting groups residing in three geographical locations. Thus, according to the British plan it was easy to defeat rulers one by one without risking success by challenging the combined forces of Mirs. In addition, technological superiority and military skills and intelligence gave Napier more confidence and power. 'I am for war,' he said. 'Let us see how the swords of the Baluchis resist volleys of muskets and guns.'<sup>22</sup>

Another explanation for the conquest of Sind indicates that the driving force behind the idea was Lord Ellenborough's desire for personal aggrandisement.<sup>23</sup> The Governor-General was determined to conquer Sind because of commercial and strategic reasons. He was convinced by the enthusiastic reports of Dr James Burnes and his brother Alexander Burnes who was sent to navigate the river Sind and to explore future possibilities of trade with Central Asia. He showed the capability of the Indus to be developed as route of commercial value. In addition, the geostrategic value of Sind was even greater than its commercial value. In the 1830s, there was growing concern about

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<sup>21</sup>The circumstances prevailing shortly before the conquest, suggest that Sir Charles Napier was determined to conquer Sind. He first deprived Mir Nasir Khan of his territories and marched towards the Lower Sind to overthrow Mirs of Hyderabad and Mirpukhas even though he knew that the rulers were ready to come to terms with him and already signed the new treaty which was supposed to be main cause of war. This view is also corroborated with view of Robert A. Huttenback. See Khera P.N, *British Policy towards Sind up to its Annexation---1843*, (Delhi: Ranjit Printers and Publishers, 1963), Review by Huttenback, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.24, No.2, (Association for Asian Studies: February 1965), pp.350-351.

<sup>22</sup>Hanif, S. M., 'A chapter of Forgotten History: The British Connection with Sind', *Alwahid*, Special Edition Sind Azad Number, (Karachi: June 15, 1936), p.74.

<sup>23</sup>Panhwar, M.H., 'Heroic struggle of Sind against Feudalism', *Sindological Studies*, (Jamshoro: University of Sind, Summer 1979), p.63.

the Russian threat to British India. There was also concern about troubles on the immediate Sind-Baluchistan border. Nevertheless, the acquisition of Sind could enable the British to thwart the Russians' growing southward movement towards Afghanistan and India. The conquest of Sind became inevitable for the British to accomplish their strategic goals in the region. Thus, the Governor General came to be a staunch supporter of conquest and supported Napier's action.<sup>24</sup>

That was the reason why Napier came to Sind with supreme power and authority over Sind affairs. After the conquest, unlike Muhammad Bin Qasim, Napier was rewarded as the chief architect of the idea. He was appointed the first Governor of Sind. In governing Napier preferred military to civil rule.

However, Napier's military rule exposed his administrative inefficiency and inability to improve the work of irrigation, revenue, agriculture and various other departments run by military personnel who lacked the professional qualifications suitable for these jobs. During his rule there were no schools, hospitals, roads, markets, police stations and lock-ups and other government buildings. John Jaccob declared: 'With exception of the mole at Kurrachee [Karachi] no public works of real utility were executed during the whole administration of Sir Charles Napier.'<sup>25</sup>

It is not difficult to see that Napier believed that army officers were more competent than their civilian counterparts. He also abhorred politicals, described old Indians as 'a set of old bitches whose God was Mammon' and young civilians as 'very good fellows, who smoke, hunt hogs, race, drink beer and issue their orders in bad Hindustani to a subservient set of native clerks.'<sup>26</sup> His love for military officers can be judged from his demand for a military officer to fill in the position of Judge-Advocate-General. In the interest of Napier rather than the interest of justice this demand was accepted promptly

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<sup>24</sup>Khuhro, Hamida, *The Making of Modern Sind: British policy and Social change in the Nineteenth century*, (Karachi: Oxford, University Press, 1999), p.xxiv.

<sup>25</sup>The Napier mole bridge was constructed to connect Karachi with Kiamari. See Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.140.

<sup>26</sup>Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.140.

and Ellenborough gifted a young officer by name and age to General Napier to perform judicial duties. Thus, on 24 September 1843, Captain Young-Keith was appointed who himself was afraid that he would be ‘hardly qualified to perform the duties required’ in Sind.<sup>27</sup>

In his memoirs Young-Keith gives the following account of how justice prevailed under military administration of Sir Charles Napier. He described one of trials in murder case in the court of magistrate. He observed that:

The prisoner was probably guilty, but there is [was] not a little of evidence against him. The sentence was hanging, and the poor wretch was executed. The rope broke, and he asked for a drink of water and to be hung again immediately. Poor devil, my blood ran cold when I read his trial and saw the evidence that convicted him. Far better have no trials at all. It is [was] a mere mockery of justice.<sup>28</sup>

Napier’s actions in Sind received mixed response in Sind and England. Napier’s action was largely criticised on humanitarian, moral and financial grounds. The policies of Ellenborough and Sir Charles came under attack in England and India. Sir James Outram and John Jacob were leading critics of Napier’s rule. They argued that there was no reason to impose war on the Mirs who were true to their treaties. They had been compelled by situation created by Napier to take up arms against aggression.<sup>29</sup>

Napier’s eccentric rule ended in 1847. Pringle was appointed the new head of civil administration from 1847-1851. In that year Lord Falkland appointed a relatively young civil servant, who came with great success to Sind as Commissioner. The appointment of a 35 year old officer, Bartle Frere, was regarded as the wisest act of the Bombay Government. Keith Young one of three potential candidates for position of commissioner (Rathborne, Goldney and Young) described Frere, ‘a more amiable, intelligent, and non-apathetic man, I never met, and his whole energies and intelligence

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<sup>27</sup>Scott, Arthur F. (ed.), *Scinde in the Forties*, (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1912), p.3.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>29</sup>Khuhro, Hamida, *The Making of Modern Sind: British policy and Social change in the Nineteenth century*, (Karcahi: Oxford, University Press, 1999), p.xxiv.

are (were) directed to the good of the province.’<sup>30</sup> Frere introduced a number of projects to improve the conditions of Sind. He revolutionised the system of communication in the province.

In order to benefit from the port at Karachi, he initiated a scheme aimed at linking Karachi with Kotri by rail. Thus, in 1858, the Sind Railway Company was formed in London to achieve this objective. The network of roads and postal system was established in the province, which enabled social mobility and brought about change in the behaviour of people. The most neglected field of education received much attention. As a result, several schools of learning were opened in Sind. His remarkable contribution to the preservation of culture and identity of Sindis, was the development of the Sindi language. He was the first ruler who realised the linguistic value of Sindi and tried to make the language of people the official language. During his five year administration, 25 European officers were able to use Sindi language in their courts.<sup>31</sup>

From the Sind point of view the British conquest provided political stability in a fragile region. The northern borders of Sind always remained vulnerable to threats from the North-West and East. In order to deal with the problem of defence, the British conquest averted the threat of invaders from the North-West who had ravaged the cities of Sind and looted the wealth in the past. These looters included Mahmud of Gazna, Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali who plundered Sind before invading India.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the British conquest also checked the movement of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Sind’s geographical partner, the Punjab, who also wished to take control of Sind in order to increase the trade of landlocked Punjab. Thus, if British had missed the opportunity Sind would have come under Sikh occupation. ‘For the Sindis, the British

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<sup>30</sup>See Letter form Keith Young to RJH Birch in Scott, Arthur F. (ed.), *Scinde in the Forties*, (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1912), p.152.

<sup>31</sup>Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.148.

<sup>32</sup>Shah, Mehtab Ali, *The Foreign policy of Pakistan: Ethnic impacts on Diplomacy, 1971-1994*, (London: I.B Tauris, 1997), p. 45.

occupation can thus be seen as a blessing in disguise, for it checked the progress of Punjabisation that had been unleashed by the forces of geography.’<sup>33</sup>

However, it can be argued that Sind could be made impregnable region without waging war with the Mirs. British could achieve both commercial and defence objectives through remote-controlled rule over Sind through the Mirs. This could raise the image of the British in the eyes of Sindi people in this part of South Asia. Nevertheless, the contribution of the British in remaking of Sind marked them out from the previous rulers who were not very anxious for development. Development activities distinguished the Imperial rulers from the post-Partition rulers who have been unable to maintain the works such as the railway system and irrigation works. These were two main fields which needed attention of rulers. Thus, the British focussed on development of communication and improvement of irrigation. Thus, in the first half of the twentieth century Sind was able to integrate with the outside world and benefit from the services including postal, telegraph, telephone and railway connections to the rest of India.<sup>34</sup>

The opportunities for progress were even greater in Sind than in other parts of India but the exploitation of resources was hampered by lack of funds because of being neglected by the Bombay Presidency. With the establishment of Commissioner’s rule, geographically separate Sind was annexed to Bombay in 1847. This resulted in the loss of status of Sind as an independent province. This affected the overall ability of Sind to make progress in the development of infrastructure. Sind did not receive fair treatment in prioritisation of development policies. This put Sind in a disadvantageous position. Keith Young once wrote: ‘I do not, however, despair of seeing Kurachee become the seaport of the Punjab and N. India, and the Indus like the Ganges. We labour under one

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<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>Ansari, Sarah, *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sind: 1947-1962*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.23.

great disadvantage in not being under the Supreme Government instead of that of Bombay.<sup>35</sup>

However, the struggle was started to regain the independence of Sind. This struggle played a significant role in the political awareness in Sind. The positive impact of this movement was the active participation of Sindis which enabled them to train themselves in politics and it proved to be the primary institution of political training. In the beginning voices were raised in favour of the separation of Sind from Bombay through the medium of Sindi press. Sindi newspaper *Alwahid* became the mouthpiece of the movement. Three Hindu newspapers and the English newspapers such as *New Time* and *Sind Observer* favoured the separation of Sind from Bombay.

The idea of separation was supported by both the Hindu and Muslim population of Sind despite their separate religious identification. This idea was first expressed by Harchand Rai Vishandas in his address to the delegates at the annual session of Indian National Congress in 1913 held at Karachi.<sup>36</sup> His notion of separation was based on the geographical and cultural importance of Sind. The issue remained dormant until the arrival of Montagu-Chelmsford Commission in 1917. The aim of this Commission was to discuss with leaders of major communities of India and prepare constitutional reforms. This commission provided an opportunity for separatists to explain the Sindi case. The leaders of the Hindu Sindi community and the Muslim Sindi community, H Vishandas and G. M Bhurgri, now attacked the autocratic rule of the Commissioner. The Indian National Congress formed a committee consisting of 7 members including 6 Hindu leaders and one Parsi who stressed the need for separation of Sind. The aim of the report presented by leaders was to explain the position of Sind before the Commission. This was first attempt to include the political demand of the people of

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<sup>35</sup>See letter from Keith Young to Sir Charles Napier in Scott, Arthur F. (ed.), *Scinde in the Forties*, (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1912), p.136.

<sup>36</sup>Jones, Allen Keith, *Politics in Sind, 1907-1940: Muslim Identity and the demand for Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.16.

Sind in the future legal framework being reformed and reorganised by the British Government. The Montagu-Chelmsford report formed the basis of Government of India Act 1919. This act did not clearly declare Sind to be separated but indirectly accepted the righteousness of the demand for separation. It enabled the representatives from sub-province to demand constitution into an independent province.<sup>37</sup>

This act worked for the next sixteen years. During this period, the support for the demand was rapidly increasing. But, at the same time the demand was also opposed by some Hindu leaders belonging to Hindu Mahasaba. These Hindu leaders criticised the demand on the basis of their fears about being dominated and controlled by Muslim majority in the supposed independent province. The issue however needed to be incorporated into the mainstream politics of India. It needed to be considered on the basis of its characteristics and not on the basis of communal grounds. Abdul Majeed Sindi realised the need to bring this issue into the centre of Indian politics. A year after wrote a pamphlet on the separation of Sind in 1924, he tried to get support of the All India Congress and the Muslim League. He was able to move a resolution on the separation question in 1925 which was passed in the session of All India Muslim League at Aligarh. This event was believed to be a turning point in the history of movement for separation.<sup>38</sup>

The separatist movement became an important issue in the politics of undivided India. Hindu leaders were divided on the question of separation. The small group of Hindu Sindi leaders' opposition of the separation was accentuated by the communal riots which took place in Larkana in 1927. However, it was difficult for the opponents to oppose the idea without a solid reasoning except the communal issue. They argued that Sind would not be able to support itself without the aid of Bombay Government. Sir

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<sup>37</sup>Irfan\*, M. M. 'A Brief History of the Movement of the Separation of Sind', *Alwahid*, Special Edition Sind Azad Number, (Karachi: June 15, 1936), p.53.

\*The author Maulana Muhammad Irfan was a secretary of Central Khilafat Committee in the 1930s.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p.54.

Abdullah Haroon and some other prominent Hindu leaders including JR Mehta and Swami Govindanand and many other leaders believed that Sind could be able to support itself financially. The financial controversy did not end even after the Nehru Report which conceded the demand of Sind for its separation in 1927.

The conference of All Parties was organised in 1928 to examine the points of the report. This conference under the influence of economic argument presented by Dr Chablani altered the point of the report regarding independence of Sind in line with the views of anti-separatists.<sup>39</sup> However, the separation issue became one of the key objectives of Muslim politics in India; Jinnah's ninth point among his 14-points recommended the separation of Sind from Bombay in 1929. This time all Sindi Muslims excluding Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, unanimously agreed to achieve the objective of Sind's separation. Shah Nawaz, a prominent national level politician and minister in the Cabinet of Governor preferred to remain to be loyal to the British Government. Thus, he continued to oppose the separation until shortly before the British began to support the idea in London Round Table Conference (LRTC) in 1931.<sup>40</sup>

Therefore, this issue was referred to the sub committee of the LRTC under the chairmanship of Earl Russell. The delegates from Sind included Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah. Both the Sindi leaders fought the case of Sind in very effective manner. Besides, two other Sindis, H. H the Agha Khan, and M. A Jinnah represented India at the conference.<sup>41</sup> The most prominent Hindu leaders included Dr Moonje, C.Y Chintamani, Raja Narandranath, Sirdar Sampuransing and R Jayakar. This committee eventually concluded that Sind should be separated from Bombay but at the same time recommended a financial inquiry.<sup>42</sup> Despite the Russell

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<sup>39</sup>Jones, Allen Keith, *Politics in Sind, 1907-1940: Muslim Identity and the demand for Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.20.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, p.22.

<sup>41</sup>Irfan, M. M. 'A Brief History of the Movement of the Separation of Sind', *Alwahid*, Special Edition Sind Azad Number, (Karachi: June 15, 1936), p.59.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*

Committee' s support for the separation of Sind based mainly on the 'geographical isolation' between Bombay and Sind the situation remained unchanged until the 'favourable financial picture of an autonomous Sind province' was made clear by the Brayne Committee.<sup>43</sup>

The year 1932 brought many fortunes for the people of Sind. That year the decision was made to separate Sind from the Bombay Presidency and the Sukkur Barrage, a major project of social and economic transformation was opened. Thus, the link between the extension of irrigation and substantial improvement in cultivation began to depict the favourable financial position of Sind which was doubted by opponents of the separation in order to use the financial argument as a tool of propaganda. However, under the Government of India Act 1935, Sind was constituted as an independent province on April 1, 1936. The experience political workers gained from the movement of separation enabled them to play an active role in the politics of India. This movement greatly contributed to the emergence of Sindi leadership and created political awareness among masses. The movement for separation showed the long-term commitment to the cause of Sind and marked an uncompromising and firm stand on the issue unanimously taken by the sons of soil. Thus, the separation movement brought a great victory for Sindi Muslims who 'waged a long and bitter struggle to secure the goal of an independent and autonomous Sind province.'<sup>44</sup>

The people of Sind enjoyed a form of independence for more than a decade in undivided India. By the 1947 they expected to continue freedom, identity and provincial autonomy.<sup>45</sup> They believed that they would be able to live a life according to their own wishes and aspirations. They aspired to get opportunity in new country to progress in social, economic and political aspects of Sindi Muslim life. They expected to promote

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<sup>43</sup>Jones, Allen Keith, *Politics in Sind, 1907-1940: Muslim Identity and the demand for Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.26.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p.27.

<sup>45</sup>Ansari, Sarah, *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sind: 1947-1962*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.12.

their cultural values including tolerance, simplicity, humbleness, hospitality, and love for peace and respect for other communities in a dignified manner. Sindis also aspired to promote their language and literature and mystic experiences of the valley. However, the creation of Pakistan and the response of the government towards the Sindi Muslim community began to be exposed by the settlement of Partition refugees. From a Sindi point of view the refugee issue was mis-handled. The economic interests of the indigenous population were deliberately ignored.

The settling of huge number of refugees in the main urban centres of Sind meant that native Sindis were pushed once again into backward rural areas. This hampered the economic progress of Sindi community in post-Partition Pakistan. This was also a first attempt to divide old Sindis and new supposed Sindis between cities and villages. This was first great failure in integrating Pakistani society which accentuated social and economic disparities as an outcome of economic policies of the 1950s which focussed industrialisation in urban areas and ignored agricultural development. The expression of fears and anxieties was the natural outcome these policies and suggested how the new state might interact with Sind. According to the Sindi point of view 'the central authorities were perceived to be overly supportive of migrant needs, and so issues concerning refugee rehabilitation melted with the centre-province strains that characterised the 1950s'<sup>46</sup>

The grievances of Sind were further increased when its provincial status and power was emasculated by so-called One Unit scheme in 1955. The era of political and historical legacies of Sind came to an end when it was made merely a division of centralised administration of Lahore in a discourteous manner. Therefore, provincial status was lost after it had been gained in a 'long and bitter' struggle. However, by this time Sind was colonised under the new project with same objective of domination and

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<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

this time it was not blamed for its financial capability to support itself but instead, the creators of One Unit solution chose to wrap their domination plan with the beautiful cover of national integration.

According to Sindi nationalists, Sind made a significant contribution to the creation and development of Pakistan, but the treatment it received after Partition was manifestly unfair. There is a need to undertake comparative study of Sind under the Bombay Government and Sind under the One Unit Government to see what was lost in relation to what was gained. The calendar of next 15 years of One Unit rule indicates that the time passed in Sind in fear of being controlled by Lahore—‘the centre of power and policy-making.’<sup>47</sup>

In the 1960s the politics of Sind and Khairpur revolved around the issue of political identity. Voices were raised by the people of Sind that Sindi language – the language of majority should be declared national language; the historical, cultural and political status of Sind should be restored. Sindis demanded full provincial autonomy as enshrined in the Lahore resolution of the 1940s and the break-up of the One Unit scheme which they believed imprisoned the soul of Sind. As a consequence of the One Unit scheme, the feeling developed in Sind that Sind merited fairer treatment than the one she was getting so far at the hands of the power holders.<sup>48</sup>

In the 1970s, following the dismemberment of East Pakistan as an outcome of Bengali nationalism, other communities were encouraged to politicise the demand for their rights and used language as a fuel to promote nationalism. The situation in Sind provided fertile ground for the rise of Sindi and Mohajir nationalism. Thus, the political competition between the old and new Sindis began to develop so-called political polarisation. The language clashes in 1972 were a *raison d'être* for the formation of

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<sup>47</sup>Jatoi, Hyder Bakhsh, ‘Break Up One Unit, Restore Full Provincial Autonomy—1953’, *Sind Quarterly*, Vol.5, No.2, (Karachi: Pakistan Herald Press, 1977), p.53.

<sup>48</sup>Syed, G. M., ‘Sind has a case’, *Sind Quarterly*, Vol.5, No.2, (Karachi: Pakistan Herald Press, 1977), p.51.

nationalist political parties for old and new Sindis. According to the prevalent public view the existence of distrust between the two communities was largely a result of misperceptions created by their common enemies. From the Mohajir point of view the language riots were a conspiracy against Sindis and Mohajirs who ‘inhabit the same land, share the crops that grow on that land, share the water that flows in that river, and after death, are buried on that land.’<sup>49</sup> These realities of life have put these communities in an inescapable relationship. Thus, some observers believed that Mohajir politics have some times shared points of view of Sindi nationalists regarding political issues of Sind. This could offer possibilities for ending the era of confrontation. For example, political leaders of both communities shared the common fear of being dominated by Punjabis and share the same suspicions about the rise of fundamentalism in the country.<sup>50</sup>

### **Khairpur in the mid-twentieth Century**

Geographically, in the mid twentieth century Khairpur state<sup>51</sup> at 6,050 square miles was a little larger than Northern Ireland (5,345 square miles) and about the size of Hawaii (6,471 square miles). The state shared borders with India to the East and the rest of its territory was bounded by British Sind. (See Map on p.40.)

According to the 1951 Census of Pakistan, the total population of Khairpur was 319,408. The state’s population had increased significantly following the construction of the Sukkur Barrage on the Indus in 1932, as the population of Khairpur the year before was 227,183. In the 1960s, the urban population increased from 22,029 to 46,410. This was attributed to improved economic conditions, including employment opportunities for non-agricultural workers. In contrast, an overwhelming majority of the rural population was engaged in agriculture.

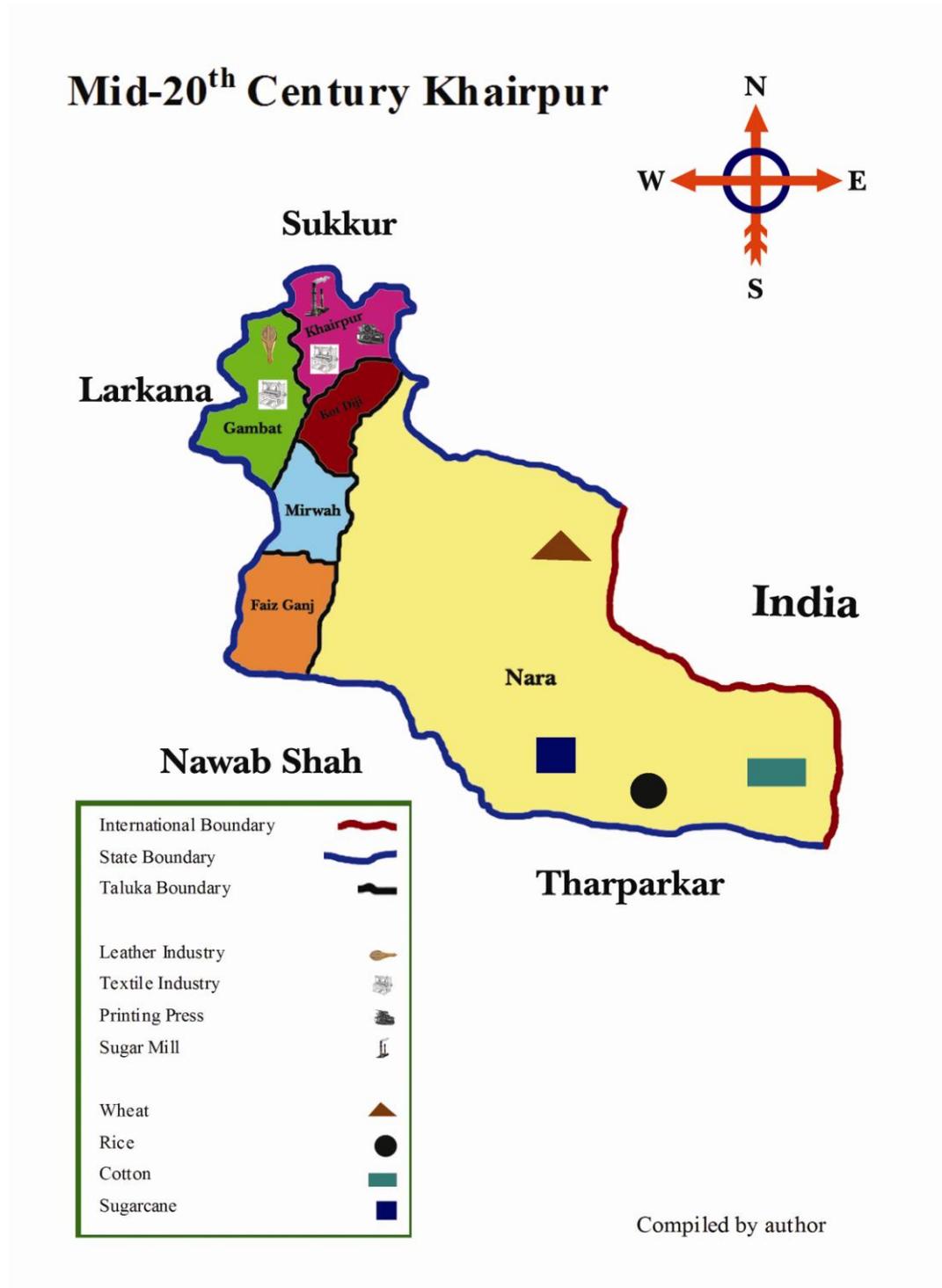
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<sup>49</sup>See Hussain, Altaf, *My Life’s Journey: The Early years (1966-1988) translation of Safar-E-Zindagi* compiled by Athar Khalid, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.35.

<sup>50</sup>See Foreword by Matthew A Cook in Hussain, Altaf, *My Life’s Journey: The Early years (1966-1988) translation of Safar-E-Zindagi* compiled by Athar Khalid, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.xxi.

<sup>51</sup>The term state refers to Khairpur state (1783-1955). The use of this term in the post 1955 period refers to state of Pakistan.

## Khairpur in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century Map 1<sup>52</sup>



The soils of Khairpur were fertile apart from the desert area of the Nara taluka. Cultivation of the land was largely dependent on irrigation water supplied through the perennial canals of the Barrage. Indeed, since its creation, cultivation of the land had

<sup>52</sup>Map adapted from Government of Pakistan, *District Census Report Khairpur*, 1961.

increased tremendously in the region, and the consequently higher productivity resulted in the establishment of agro-based industry, which led the state to embark on a journey towards economic progress.

At the time of the Partition of India, there were about six hundred princely states in India. The legal position of these states was that they could join either Pakistan or India or remain independent. However, it was also made clear that no state would be recognised as an independent state by the British.<sup>53</sup> Hence, these states had no choice other than to join one of these dominions.

Khairpur was one of these princely states and was originally founded by Mir Sohrab Khan in 1783. Sorley explains that in that year Talpur rule over Sind was established by Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur. Subsequently his nephew, Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur, became the ruler of Khairpur.<sup>54</sup> Khairpur retained its position as a state until the mid twentieth century.

According to Sorley, during colonial rule, the ‘individuality’ of Khairpur was recognised by the British Government in 1882. This indicates that before that year Khairpur was unrecognised. However, contrary to this view, Hughes argues that the ‘political individuality’ of the state, was recognised by the British on 4 April 1832 in a Treaty concluded with that state, providing for the use of the river Indus and the roads of Sind.<sup>55</sup> Subsequently, the treaty of 1838 further acknowledged the dependence of Khyrpoor [Khairpur] upon British protection.<sup>56</sup> After that the British Government maintained political relations with the state. A small change was made in 1932 when a separate department was established for overall supervision of Khairpur state. But, after the end of colonial rule in the Indian subcontinent, India was partitioned in 1947, which

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<sup>53</sup>Burke, S.M., et al., *Foreign policy of Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford, University Press, 1991), p.16.

<sup>54</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore, Government of West Pakistan, 1959), pp.786-787.

<sup>55</sup>Thomas, R. Hughes (ed.), *Memoirs on Shikarpoor; the Syuds of Roree and Bukkur; the Khyrpoor state*, Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. 17, New Series, (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1855), p.109.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*

resulted in the creation of two sovereign states India and Pakistan. Since the creation of Pakistan, the department of foreign affairs was made responsible for maintaining relations with Khairpur state<sup>57</sup> until the state was merged into the administrative unit of West Pakistan on 14 August 1955.<sup>58</sup>

Sorley maintains that Khairpur was able to maintain its independence until its merger with West Pakistan.<sup>59</sup> This cannot, however, be true since the administration of the state was under the influence of the British Government, which appointed the minister who administered the state. Thus, the state was not so independent that it could appoint a minister. The position of the minister was highly prestigious. He enjoyed executive powers comparable to the powers exercised by the Collector in British Sind. In running state affairs he was directly responsible to the ruler and he was not accountable to the subjects of the state. The conduct of the minister and his exercise of power generated an image of him as a ruler and not as a servant. There were two deputy ministers under him, who were in charge of the administration of their respective sub-divisions. The minister was not only empowered to control internal affairs, but also to maintain cordial relations with British Sind. In matters relating to the state, the British consulted with him and gave much weight to his advice.<sup>60</sup>

The British interacted with the state through the political department headed by a political agent, established at Sukkur. The British offered the state protection against external threats. Owing to British guarantees of defence, state boundaries became less vulnerable. The British took responsibility for its defence for the following reasons. First, the British were committed to a policy of co-existence. Second, they accepted the semi-autonomous status of Khairpur and allowed the Mirs to continue their rule mainly

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<sup>57</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.787.

<sup>58</sup>See McLeod Papers, India Office Library, London Record, Mss. Eur C365: *The Princely Houses of India and Pakistan: Historical and Genealogical Notes*, p.29.

<sup>59</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.786.

<sup>60</sup>Rashdi, Ali Muhammad, *Uhay Deenh Uhay Sheenh*, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1987), p.46.

because they remained loyal to the British. Third, the state was indirectly ruled by the British through a minister. Lastly, maintaining the stability of the state was of interest to the British Sind because of its geo-strategic importance. Friendly relations between the state and the British proved a stabilizing factor in the region. Hence, the state relied on the British to run its administration and maintain its defence and territorial integrity. In Sorley's words, 'Khairpur came then directly under the supervision of the political department of the Government of India.'<sup>61</sup> How could one consider a state independent when its administration was controlled by another authority, on which its defence was completely dependent?

Thus, its status was that of a subordinate political entity and it was changed to that of an administrative division by the merger of the state with Pakistan in 1955 when the country was divided into two units, East and West Pakistan, which were further divided into divisions. This brief period (1955-1970) brought a new change in the administration, with a commissioner put in charge of the division. However, this system again changed with the abolition of 'One Unit' scheme in 1970. Since then, Khairpur has been an administrative district of Sind.

### **Political and Economic conditions**

In order to restructure the political system, reforms were introduced in the 1950s. The state had an assembly of fifteen members, fourteen of whom were elected by the people of the state in the elections of 1950 based on the principle of adult franchise. 'Khairpur had a distinction in holding elections', said Pakistan's first Prime Minister on the occasion of the inauguration of the assembly.<sup>62</sup> As a result the cabinet of elected ministers was formed to assist the Chief Minister of the state. After a long journey, the state thus attained the age of maturity in terms of political and economic stability. In the

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<sup>61</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.787.

<sup>62</sup>Amrohi, Naseem, *Tareekh Khairpur*, (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1955), p.118.

1950s, the political system was reformed to some extent. Elections were conducted in 1950 to elect fourteen members of Assembly. It is surprising that the fifteenth member was not elected. Nevertheless, he became a Chief Minister of state. Thus, the mandate of people was not accepted in principle to choose a chief minister from among the elected members democratically rather than to subordinate elected people under undemocratically appointed chief minister. The Chief Minister was basically nominated by the Government of Pakistan in the exactly same manner as the British had during colonial times. The Chief Minister also represented the state in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.<sup>63</sup>

The minister functioned as an autocrat and was not accountable to the elected assembly. It is even more surprising to note that the incumbent was not a native resident of Khairpur state; he entered Khairpur state as a civil servant in 1948. However, he managed to get a domicile certificate from his subordinate officer and thus falsely claimed to be a native citizen of the state.<sup>64</sup> Thus, autocracy was introduced under the guise of democracy. It is safe to conclude that Khairpur state did not remain a sovereign state even under the Mirs. It enjoyed subordinate status during British rule and under their successors. However, Khairpur was able to reform its political institutions and organise a democratic system of governance. Sind and other parts of Pakistan were not yet fully prepared for these reforms. Thus, the state progressed in democracy more rapidly than Sind and other provinces of country.

In the early 1950s, society was divided into three classes. The two among them were recognised as main classes, rich and poor. Between these two classes, an emerging class was a Muslim middle class. Nevertheless, its size and power was small. The rich class consisted of *jagirdars*, *zamindars* and traders and the lower class included agricultural communities. It was believed that 90 percent of agricultural communities were living in

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<sup>63</sup>*Khairpur: An Introduction*, (Karachi: Muslim Printing Press, n.d.), p. 3.

<sup>64</sup>*Alwahid*, February 7, 1954.

rural areas, thus, social and economic development of villages was considered an important objective of state's economic policy. The state established an Economic Development Board (EDB) in 1953 to undertake economic development. It was disposed to believe that industrialisation in urban Khairpur and mechanisation in rural areas, were keys to economic development. At the same time the rulers understood the social cost of economic activities in state.<sup>65</sup> However, the most important thing was the response of state towards future change as an outcome of agricultural and industrial productivity. Rather, it was question of state intervention in economy or state's level of belief in conception of *laissez-faire*. In order to prevent one group from reaping the benefits of economic and physical development at the cost of other groups, the economic board was expected to be based on the principle of equitable distribution of benefits among all groups.<sup>66</sup>

Before, undertaking economic development, it was required to set out the broader goal to be achieved. Without a clear goal, economic and social policy could not be fruitful for people of the state. The goal of the economic development as indicated from the policy was not to build a state within state, but a state where all people could enjoy social and economic justice. The policy was not supposed to make the rich richer and the poor poorer but to reduce the gap between social and economic disparities. All these intentions of the managers of economic policy confirmed their desire to make a welfare state. Economic development was not just the construction of industries, building roads and agricultural development. Economic development without welfare was considered by the state as a ship without a captain. Thus, economic development was made synonymous with the welfare of people in Khairpur.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *Khairpur: An Introduction*, (Karachi: Muslim Printing Press, n .d.), p. 28.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p.30.

The policy of economic development, however, needed capital to invest in projects. The state was required to increase its sources of revenue generation and to plan the development activities under its budget. The following budget figures indicate the potential of the state for economic development.

Table 1 Budget of the state

Year	Income (Millions)	Expenditure (Millions)	Expenditure (percent)
1947-48	5.472	4.321	78 percent
1948-49	5.726	5.119	89 percent
1949-50	6.021	5.761	95 percent
1950-1951	6.163	5.957	96 percent
1951-52	8.279	7.953	96 percent
1952-53	8.569	8.164	95 percent
1953-54	10.553	10.512 (Estimated)	99 percent

Source: Report Khairpur: An Introduction

The table indicates that the revenue of state had substantially increased in the 1950s. There was no single year in which the budget faced problem of financial deficit. These figures rather indicate the economic stability of state and its potential for the undertaking of economic progress. Moreover, state revenue continued to grow with the development of the industrial sector, which helped the state to deal adequately with the problem of unemployment. Both sectors of the economy thus contributed greatly to the state's revenue. 'Khairpur had a post-Partition (1947-1955) revenue growth of 310 percent' said Prince Mehdi; which was highest in Pakistan compared to 40 percent in Punjab and 13 percent in Sind.<sup>68</sup> It is important to understand the working of both the

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<sup>68</sup>Talpur, Mir Mahdi Raza, 'Khairpur state: A Brief History', *The Reporter*, Vol. 2, Issue 20, (Karachi: 2006), p.07.

main sectors of economy and their contribution to the emergence of the middle class in Khairpur.

### **Land and Life in Khairpur**

In the early 1950s, society in the state was based on cultivation, requiring both landowners and land farmers to cooperate with one another in farming. Although the *zamindars* and *jagirdars* were few in number they had considerable influence over the vast majority of people who shared the agrarian way of life in Khairpur. The way they lived, the language they spoke, the religion they believed in, the food they ate, the dress they wore and the work they did, were common among them. In the early twentieth century farmers lived largely on agriculture, in huts and tents in small villages and forests and in mud-houses with flat roofs in towns.<sup>69</sup>

The land was controlled by the *jagirdars* and landlords, who enjoyed the privileges of the state, including the ownership of land. On the other hand, the majority of tenants did not have a right of ownership. Therefore, they could continue crop growing only at the pleasure of *zamindars*. This injected an element of uncertainty about the availability of land, with farmers remaining powerless and dependent on landowners. In addition, there was a big gap between the incomes of landlords and tenants, which affected the relationship between them. In order to understand the issue of land distribution, it is essential to examine the land tenure system prevalent in Khairpur.

### **Land Tenure**

At the time of independence, the cultivable lands were mainly divided into revenue lands and non-revenue lands. The distribution of the former lands was based on revenue liability which divided landowners into two categories. The first category included those land owners who cultivated lands on the terms of *patidari* and *bhaichara*. Nevertheless, they were jointly liable to pay revenue charges. The second category of

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<sup>69</sup>Pithawalla, M.B., *A Geographical Analysis including Physiography of Khairpur state: A Post Barrage Investigation*, (Karachi: 1935), p.48.

cultivators was divided into two groups: the tenants at will and self-cultivators. Both of them were responsible for paying their revenue charges individually. The big land owners were divided into mainly three categories. The first category included those land owners who cultivated their land through tenants at will. The second category of landowners employed occupancy tenants. The third category of landowners was lease holders who employed tenants at will to cultivate their lands.

In Khairpur large portions of land were given in the form of gift which is called as *jagir*. Mirs gave *jagirs* to the tribal leaders for their loyalty to their rule. The system remained largely unchanged until the state joined Pakistan in the 1950s. The *jagir* holders were not supposed to pay state tax and they exercised considerable influence in the state. Nevertheless, in Sind after the British conquest the *jagirs* granted by Mirs were retained by the new rulers. Only terms and conditions for renewal of grants of lands were changed. The *jagir* holders of Mirs family were to pay one-fourth which was only applicable for succession. The *jagirs* gifted by Mirs from 1810-1833 were re-granted on the payment of one-fourth. The *jagir* holders of the Mirs' rule were also supposed to pay the same charges. However, their cases were to be settled according to various factors: social and economic status and political influence. The softer attitude of the British towards the institution of *jagir* strengthened loyalty and support for the government.

Nevertheless, this system was unjust, immoral and socially unacceptable to the people of Sind. It was a major source of raw material for construction of rural bondage and slavery in Sind. It destroyed the social and moral values of society. The *jagirs* contained the germs which caused so many endemic diseases including illiteracy, bonded labour, *begar*, *cherr*, and the bullying and humiliation of the lower classes.

In 1949 Sidney Ridley, the then Revenue Commissioner in Sind diagnosed the menace of the *jagirdari* system as root cause of all social sickness. He strongly argued

that after independence ‘the *jagirdars* were no longer rendering the services in consideration and on account of which they had been given the *jagirs*, as instead of a foreign government, Sind had now a national government, every citizen whereof was expected to be loyal without receiving a price for that loyalty.’<sup>70</sup>

There was no political ground and legal obligation to continue this despotic system of controlling land for unproductive purpose of maintaining political influence. The citizens of the state were supposed to be loyal to the nation state without any claim for loyalty. On moral grounds too, this system could not be excused since it was the creator of fat-cat land owners. Their *jagirs* became ‘sources of distress, and impoverishment of the people and as continuance of this system caused losses to the public exchequer and damage to the overall economy’ therefore, it was recommended that the ‘privileges of *jagir* should be withdrawn.’<sup>71</sup>

The issue of *jagirs* became a matter of public importance. Efforts were made to abolish the *jagir* system which was undermining the freedom, patriotism and dignity of nation. The Government of Sind cancelled the *sanads* of Jagir lands on February 8, 1955. However, the *jagirs* were finally abolished by the Land Reforms Commission in 1959.<sup>72</sup> This decision was also applied to the *jagirdars* of Khairpur and it resulted in the redistribution of lands. It helped not only to expand the land under cultivation but also increased farm efficiency. Table 2 (See p.50.) shows the distribution of land by tenure and size in the 1960s. The total number of farms in Khairpur was 49985. The medium and small size farms were 58 percent and more than 33 percent respectively. The large size farms were only 8 percent. However, they covered 38 percent of farm land. The small farms covered nearly 8 percent of land. The rest of area was covered by the medium size farms in Khairpur.

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<sup>70</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.385.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup>See Government of West Pakistan, *Report of the Land Reforms Commission for West Pakistan*, (Karachi: 1959), p.56.

Table 2 Farms by Tenure and Size in Khairpur

Farm Size	Total number of farms	Owner farms	Owner-cum tenant	Tenant farms	Total area of farms	Owner farms	Owner cum tenant	Tenant farms
Small	16706	6994	865	8847	47408	18863	3076	25469
Medium	29078	9796	6402	12880	331866	112486	77448	141932
Large	4201	1879	1125	1197	234904	153156	40100	41648
Total	49985	18669	8392	22924	614178	284505	120624	209049

Source: Pakistan Census of Agriculture 1960

### ***Modes of cultivation***

It is an undisputed fact that Sind, including Khairpur state, possessed a good system of irrigation. Nevertheless, the advantage Khairpur had over other parts of Sind was its proximity to the Sukkur Barrage. Secondly, the development of its canal and watercourses distinguished it from the rest of Sind. There were several canals in the state, which were excavated by the Mirs to extend cultivation. They also cleared many forest lands and brought these new lands under cultivation. Before the establishment of the Barrage at Sukkur, the water in the canals was not guaranteed. The flood water was not controlled, nor was it possible to divert water to the fields properly. The availability of irrigation water was affected by the rise and fall of the Indus. Further, the floods caused enormous damage to the crops. Traditional methods of irrigation were employed in the state. The *charkhi* (wheel) method was most common in Sind, including Khairpur. The water was derived from the canals by moving the *charkhi* using bullocks or camels. The water was then passed to the land via water courses. Similarly, wells were used for the purpose of irrigation in water-deficient areas.

Another method used in the state was irrigation through drains which supplied water to the crops grown on lower ground. These drains worked as supply lines. In addition, the areas in *Katcha* were irrigated by flood water, which was their only source of

irrigation. The floods were so dangerous that they endangered the lives of farmers and other living things, but with the construction of the barrage losses of men and materials were reduced. The barrage was capable of controlling the mighty river Indus and assured water for the seasons of *rabi* and *kharif* in Khairpur. The perennial canal system made the farmers masters of their own destiny, allowing them to depend more on hard work and less on luck as they had done in the past.

The state had also developed its own irrigation system under the Khairpur Lloyd Barrage scheme to provide water for its major parts of irrigated lands. The areas under the command of the Barrage were served through the perennial canal system. This new system restored the confidence of farmers, which had been deteriorating due to the unavailability of water. The irrigation water was assured for all seasonal crops enabling *haris* to irrigate their crops on time. They were therefore able not only to bring more virgin lands under cultivation but also to improve crop productivity. Further, they made plans to raise production targets, to undertake different agricultural tasks and manage time during crop seasons by following a calendar and crop schedule. This led to far-reaching changes in their attitudes towards effective use of resources in the course of time. Calendars and wrist watches made it easy for farmers to finish one activity before starting another. Thus, improvement in irrigation not only encouraged farmers to cultivate irrigated lands but also opened new opportunity for them to bring more lands under cultivation.

The irrigation project had the capacity to irrigate 640000 acres out of 700000 acres cultivable land. Nevertheless, the state was not able to fully utilise the potential of the scheme. There were several constraints to agricultural improvement including shortage of agricultural labour, shortage of farm power and other agricultural inputs. The immediate issue faced by the state was water-logging and salinity which caused increase

in subsoil water level. However, the barrage scheme only cultivated 380000 acres of land and thus provided room for substantial improvement in agriculture.<sup>73</sup>

The better facilities of irrigation canals required mutual cooperation between *haris* and *zamindars* in order to maintain them. To reduce the shortage of water, clearing was essential. There were no proper arrangements for the clearing of the state canals but this work was shared between the *haris* and the state. First, the *haris* were responsible for clearing the water courses that took water from the branch canals to their fields. A large number of farmers participated in clearing, which was supervised by the landowner or his *kamdar*. Second, the *haris*, in collaboration with the state, cleared the canals in a *sharakati* (partnership) system. Third, the *haris* cleared some canals and they were given compensation in kind at the time of *batai* (distribution of crop produce).<sup>74</sup> However, the longest canals were cleared at the expense of the state. The canal clearing not only reduced the wastage of water but also lessened seepage that caused water-logging and salinity.

The state took various measures from time to time to upgrade the irrigation system and maintain the canals for better irrigation facilities. Sometimes, farmers were ordered by their landlords to provide free labour for state works. The practice, in which the free labour was employed by the state, was locally called *begar* or *cherr*. This was also prevalent in British Sind, where, the labour of agriculturists was used by government officials. Farmers were reluctant to accept the demand for free labour which was ‘utilised for sundry purposes in connections with official touring, such as making roads, preparing camping grounds, pitching tents, fetching water, fuel, and generally running

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<sup>73</sup> *Khairpur: An Introduction*, (Karachi: Muslim Printing Press, n.d.), p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> The Talpurs’ system of revenue collection was similar to that of the Mughals, which required land tenants to pay a share of the crop in kind. Nevertheless, the land revenue rates varied on the basis of the different types of irrigation. The land revenue under the Talpur rulers was collected at the time of *batai*. Also see Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.361.

errands of all sorts.<sup>75</sup> *jagir* holders and *zamindars* were compelled to contribute men for these activities. At the time it was reported that ‘the taking away of the cultivators from the ordinary labours has the most disastrous effect on their subsistence, and their withdrawal from cultivation, sometimes at very necessary and critical periods, inflicts severe damage on the *zamindars* in the shape of a poor out-turn and consequent financial loss.’<sup>76</sup>

Nevertheless, the agricultural labour, if paid, was used at times of flooding, canal breaches and other natural calamities. Although the practice of forced labour was abolished it did not seem to disappear altogether even in the mid-twentieth century. The *zamindars* still used farmers without giving them full compensation. The *zamindar* could use *cherr* labour on his own lands as it served the cause of both *hari* and *zamindar*. For instance at the time of making improvements in land *zamindar* was expected to feed the labour engaged in the activity.<sup>77</sup> Free labour was thus used by *zamindars* and government officials and the report recommended that *begar* labour should be legally prohibited.<sup>78</sup>

In the 1950s, agriculture was the single most dominant profession among the residents of Khairpur. *Haris* were engaged in farming the fields of *zamindars* and *jagirdars*, cultivating their lands, using the traditional method with the help of a pair of bullocks. Possession of these animals was emblematic of the farming community in the state. Although mechanisation of agriculture was not widespread, there were a few tractors which could be used for various agricultural activities viz., ploughing, sowing, and threshing. Manually done, these activities required hard work and were time consuming whereas a tractor could do the same job in a shorter time and with greater precision.

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<sup>75</sup>Doulatram, Jairamdas, *Some Features of Bureaucratic Administration in Sind*, (Karachi: Sindica Academy, 2007), p. 40. [This is the second edition of book. It includes prologue by Ashfaq Ahmed Memon. The first edition of the book was published in 1917.]

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup>Government of Sind, *Report of The Government Hari Enquiry Committee, 1947-48*, (Karachi: 1948), p.9.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*

The *haris* were thereby relieved of the heaviest labour and their families were occupied only part-time in cultivation.<sup>79</sup> Tractors not only increased the crop yield per acre but also reduced expenses incurred on crops. In 1947, there were approximately 500 tractors in the country, but the number rose quickly to about 5,000 in the period between 1950-55.<sup>80</sup> The introduction of machinery into agriculture affected farmers' ways of life in a number of ways. Yet land cultivators were reluctant to change their traditional outlook, living patterns and food habits.<sup>81</sup>

Khairpur's main crops included wheat, rice, *jowar*, gram, *saranh* (Mustard oil seeds), cotton and sugar cane. The agriculture of Khairpur in mid-twentieth century was dominated by food crops i.e. wheat and *jowar*. They together accounted for 60 percent of the total cultivated area in the year 1952-53. Cash crops were also cultivated in Khairpur because they were responsible for higher incomes. The cotton crop was a principal cash crop in the state, but it was heavily dependent on the climate. Variation in cotton crops due to climatic change could affect agricultural output and the income levels of growers. In Khairpur, cotton production was raised from 14 thousand bales in 1948-49 to 16 thousand bales in 1949-1950.<sup>82</sup> The importance of cotton crop further increased due to the increase in demand for cotton in the market. The change in the cash value of cotton encouraged landowners and farmers to consider this opportunity of earning easy money. Thus, the cash crop cotton became the second largest crop in terms of cultivation which was cultivated on more than 21 percent of the total land under cultivation.

Since income was directly linked to output it could be expected that per capita income in the state was higher. Subsequently, the quality of life improved as per capita income increased significantly. Due to increasing per capita income, the purchasing power of

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<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, p.59.

<sup>80</sup>Hafeez, Saeed (ed.), *10 Years of Agriculture Development in Pakistan (1958-68)*, (Karachi: Shakeel Printing Press, n.d.), p.151.

<sup>81</sup>See Chapter 4 Sources of Greater Productivity: Mechanisation, pp.155-164.

<sup>82</sup>*Khairpur: An Introduction*, (Karachi: Muslim Printing Press, n.d.), p.70.

land cultivators increased significantly. They began to purchase bicycles, radio sets, leather products and other household articles viz. china cups and saucers, and glazed pottery. In the beginning, buggies were normally used by landlord families, but, bit by bit this became a common source of transportation between remote villages and towns. A few landlords were able to purchase tractors and other agricultural implements. Thus, economic conditions in Khairpur were favourable for modernisation of agriculture. This was indicated by the state's resources and individual position of people. The state's 'budget income' in the year 1954-55 was Rs 16.9 million and per capita income was nearly Rs 53. It was higher than per head income of any provincial government in Pakistan.<sup>83</sup>

Land cultivation was a major source of state revenue. The charges on land cultivation payable by land cultivators were collected by revenue officials. According to the government report that state entitled to take a certain share of the *zamindar's* net income from cultivation in the form of revenue for the combined use of land and irrigation water.<sup>84</sup> However, land cultivation was not only source of state income. There were a number of taxes and excise duties which were fixed on the trade of commodities and on other economic activities.<sup>85</sup>

The land revenue was collected by state officials who worked in collaboration with the *zamindars*. In the beginning, the revenue administration of the state was divided into small administrative units known as districts and tapas. The officer in charge of the administration and law and order functions was called the *sazawalkar*. He was assisted

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<sup>83</sup>See 'Abstract of Memorandum, (submitted to the Chairman and Members of the Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on behalf of the Government and people of the Khairpur state on 25<sup>th</sup> day of May 1954)', *The Reporter*, Vol. 2, Issue 20, (Karachi, 2006), p.12.

<sup>84</sup>Government of Sind, *Report of The Government Hari Enquiry Committee, 1947-48*, (Karachi: 1948), p.16.

<sup>85</sup>Although the land cultivation was main source of state revenue yet, it was not only source of state's income. Some taxes were collected on annual basis. For instance, the non-Muslim residents of the state were required to pay 5-10 rupees a year as *peshkash* (tax). All the professional workers paid 3 rupees annually as *sarshumari* (tax). The other sources of revenue included fisheries, salts, hide licences and land customs.

in his duties by *kardars*, who exercised the administrative and judicial powers in tapas. In the larger towns there were *kotwals*,<sup>86</sup> who worked as police officers. *Kotwals* were responsible for the enforcement of law and control over crime. Similarly, the defence of the forts was the responsibility of *qiladars*.

Owing to the British influence, the character of revenue administration gradually changed. Revenue administration under Mir Faiz Muhammad (1894-1909) was headed by the *vazir* (minister). The state was divided into two subdivisions, each headed by the *naib vazir* (deputy minister), whereas the mukhtiarkar was made responsible for taluka administration. The deputy ministers performed duties as sub-divisional magistrates and the mukhtiarkars exercised criminal and civil powers.<sup>87</sup> The mukhtiarkar also supervised the functions of the *tapedars* who exercised revenue functions at village level. They had considerable influence in their areas, called tapas. The primary function of *tapedars* was to collect land revenue from the cultivators and *zamindars*. They also maintained revenue records at the taluka office. It was said that the annual accounts (*jamabandi*) showing the Land Revenue assessment leviable on any survey number was prepared by the *tapedar* and verified by the Collector or Assistant/Deputy collector who was known as the *jamabandi* officer.<sup>88</sup> The recordkeeping of births and deaths in the area was maintained by this revenue officer and he was also made responsible for the enforcement of law and order.

The legacy of the political influence of revenue officers continued even in mid-twentieth century Khairpur. The *tapedar* was lowest in the hierarchy and in accordance with the rules he was controlled by the mukhtiarkar. However, the *tapedar* exercised considerable influence at local level. He could alter revenue records and transfer

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<sup>86</sup>Thomas, R. Hughes (ed.), *Memoirs on Shikarpoor; The Syuds of Roree and Bukkur; The Khyrpoor state*, Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No.17, New Series, (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1855), p.741.

<sup>87</sup>Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.517.

<sup>88</sup>Government of Sind, *Report of The Government Hari Enquiry Committee, 1947-48*, (Karachi: 1948), p.15.

landholdings from one landholder to another. He issued a copy of land records and maintained the book showing irrigated and un-irrigated land in his *tapa*. In the collection of *dhull*<sup>89</sup> this officer made his own assessment of the crops, in order to meet recovery targets. *Tapedars* also worked as key informants of the government on matters of public importance. Superior officers could not overlook their reports on important matters, including law and order.

During the field survey, the *tapedar* employed a field book in which he was required to note the name of *deh* and its location. Further, he conducted crop surveys in order to note the types of crops grown by farmers in his *tapa*. He also mentioned in his field book the areas under cultivation. The field book contained the instructions, discussed below, to the *tapedar* for the performance of his duties.<sup>90</sup>

According to the Land Revenue Rules 1968, the *tapedar* was bound to submit the field book to the taluka office within seven days of completing a survey. A copy was sent to the Mukhtiarkar and Assistant engineer of irrigation and *jamabandi* officer (Assistant commissioner) or Deputy Commissioner. The *tapedar* was not authorised to make any changes in this book. It was the duty of the checking officer to check the record and this had to be attested. He had to register the name of the landowner on the form 8. Moreover, the *tapedar* entered all the required information in the field book. In case of the death of the *hari*, the name of his heir was entered. If the *khatedar* (landowner) was involved himself in cultivation, the field book noted this as self cultivation. The taluka wise figures of *jamabandi* for the year 1967-68 indicate that the *dhull* was one of the key sources of revenue in Khairpur. The total revenue generated during the year was 8, 001, 006 or 8 million rupees.

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<sup>89</sup>With the advent of the British in the Sub-continent, the system of revenue collection or *dhull* witnessed a little change. In 1930 a change was made in revenue collection whereby cash crops were to be assessed for the recovery of revenue in the form of cash. The rates varied from time to time according to the market value of the agricultural products. This policy was adopted in all talukas except Nara, where no proper irrigation system was in existence. The rate of revenue was thus lower compared to those in other talukas.

<sup>90</sup>See Field Book for *Tapedars*, n.p. & n.d.

Table 3 The land revenue generation figures for the year 1967-68

Taluka	Land Revenue	Taluka	Land Revenue
Khairpur	1962672	Faizganj	1303271
Gambat	1953777	Kotdiji	1301826
Mirwah	1377457	Nara	102004

Source: Decade of Progress 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur, 1968

### **Rural power structure**

In the nineteenth century, ‘power in the rural areas of Sind was exercised by Muslim *jagirdars* and big *zamindars*, and by Hindu *banias*.’<sup>91</sup> Similar conditions existed in Khairpur. In Sind and Khairpur, the *jagirdars* were rewarded by the rulers for their loyalty, landlords headed the *zamindari* system and *banias* were Hindu money lenders. ‘Between them, they shared the profits of agriculture and dominated the social and economic life’ of the cultivator.<sup>92</sup> Poor farmers were dependent on the landholder for the allocation of land. Most wealthy landlords gave them advance amounts for the purchase of seeds and other crop needs. But, some *zamindars* offered nothing in advance except dry lands for cultivation. Thus, they were obliged to look to the moneylenders.

The *banias* were a group of Hindu traders, who were engaged in lending money to farmers for a variety of purposes, but mostly tenants borrowed from them to purchase seeds, agricultural implements and fertilisers. The *banias* gave them an advance loan at an agreed interest rate. With the migration of Hindus in 1947, the duties of *banias* were shifted to the cooperative societies, banks and Muslim traders along with a few Hindu businessmen, who stayed in the country.

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<sup>91</sup>Cheesman, David, *Landlord Power and Rural indebtedness in Colonial Sind 1865-1901*, (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997), p.53.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*

The *jagirdars* were the most privileged people of the state. Lands were gifted to them by the rulers from time to time. During the Mirs' rule the *jagirdars* were divided into two categories. First, some *jagirdars* were given lands before the start of the Mirs' rule, which they retained even when a new ruler came to power. Second, the *jagirdars* were awarded with *jagirs* by the Mirs for their loyalty. According to Aitken, when Mirs came to power they gifted a huge portion of the Khairpur lands in *jagir* to the chiefs of the Baloch community in recognition of their services. These Baloch Sardars were made responsible for providing men to constitute state army at the time of necessity.<sup>93</sup> *Jagir* holders were also exempted from paying state taxes. As a matter of fact *jagirdars* exercised the powers of state by appropriation of state's share of the produce. This increased their authority and they began to enjoy power and prestige in society.<sup>94</sup>

In rural society the farmers were dependent on *zamindars* for most of their social and economic needs. The *zamindars* also depended on the farmers owing to the fact that they stayed away from their lands, employing *kamdars* (agents) who administered their lands. Lack of interest among landowners sometimes created absentee *zamindars* and as a result, large amounts of land could not come under cultivation. The big *zamindars* were largely dependent on their agents as compared to small landowners who actually looked after their land. This was later confirmed by a government report on Land Reforms Commission (LRC) that the landlord was supposed to look after his land and spend some time on his land but he performed little or no productive role.<sup>95</sup>

The big *zamindars* controlled large tracts of land while small *zamindars* possessed a few acres and some of them engaged themselves in cultivation. The big *zamindars* thus influenced the village life of Khairpur. At village level landowners were widely honoured by the village community. The government report on the LRC states that the

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<sup>93</sup>Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.134.

<sup>94</sup>Government of West Pakistan, *Report of the Land Reforms Commission for West Pakistan*, (Karachi: 1959), p.6.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, p.15.

ownership of land has accordingly come to be regarded as an instrument of power and its possession as a security against want.<sup>96</sup>

Being a *wadero* (village headman), the *zamindar* heard the complaints of farmers regarding various matters, including water disputes, family feuds and other social conflicts. His judgement was final and it was not challenged in any court of justice. In serious cases, the *zamindar* was sometimes assisted by two *ameens* (trustworthy men), who worked as advocates for their respective parties. However, the resolution of tribal conflicts required more than one village headman. More often, two or more *zamindars* representing their *zats*, tribes or villages sat together to discuss the matter thoroughly before giving their joint verdict. The decision was announced openly in the *autaq* of *wadero* which served as a courtroom at the time of the meeting.

The judgement tendered by the panel of *sardars* (leaders of *zats*) was final and binding on both parties involved. This power of the *wadero* was an important check on the people of the village. However, this traditional role of the *wadero* did not remain within the bounds of traditional society; the power and privileges landlords enjoyed in the mid-twentieth century were institutionalised during the previous century giving them full control over villages and making them responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The state empowered local landlords to dominate the political and social life of cultivators in order to ensure revenue generation for the state by making arrangements of *batai*. Hence, the *zamindar* was solely dependent for crop growing and *Batai* on the farmers and vice versa. The *zamindars* also enjoyed good relations with state officials, giving them every kind of support in times of peace and war. During the excavation of canals and wells, and construction of embankments, bridges and roads, labourers were provided to the state, mainly by *zamindars*. This practice of supplying free labour was common during the Mirs' rule.

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<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, p.14.

However, by the mid-twentieth century, they did not enjoy the same powers. Both *jagirdars* and *zamindars* became more conscious of their deteriorating influence in rural society. The position of *jagirdars* was endangered when the abolition of *jagirs* was demanded in Sind in 1947. The decision to abolish *jagirs* was taken by the Sind cabinet in 1955 but the same was declared null and void by the West Pakistan High Court. Hence, the then provincial government did not succeed in getting rid of this old institution. However, the question of *jagirs* was finally taken up by the Land Reforms Commission (LRC) and it was decided that ‘*jagirs* of whatever kind and by whatever name described shall be abolished’ without payment of any compensation.<sup>97</sup>

The land reforms weakened the feudal structure of society and the *zamindars* lost further power and prestige in society when the middle class began to appear on the scene. LRC’s members maintained that one of the objectives of the reforms was to encourage an emerging strong middle class and to create holdings of economically viable size.<sup>98</sup> According to the reforms introduced by the LRC there were two types of holdings: (a) Subsistence holdings and (b) Economic holdings. The members of the commission believed that 16 acres of land in the Khairpur formed a subsistence holding whereas 64 acres was an economically viable holding.<sup>99</sup>

### **Towards Industrialisation**

The dominant feature of the economy of Khairpur state was agriculture. The major portion of the population consisted of cultivators. However, Sorley believed that states were not able to achieve economic stability unless they progressed in industry in addition to agriculture.<sup>100</sup> In the beginning, little attention was paid to the development of the industrial base in the state due to the fact that the majority of people were engaged in agriculture. Hence, only cottage industry was able to flourish in the towns of

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<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, p.56.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, p.66.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.357.

Khairpur. However, unprecedented progress in agriculture resulted in the development of an industrial sector. For instance cotton and sugar cane crops led to the introduction of cotton and sugar cane based industries which were easily supplied with raw material and cheap non-agricultural labour.

Pithawalla stated the old cottage industries in Khairpur were cotton and silk fabrics, coloured cloth, lacquered work, pottery and sword making.<sup>101</sup> The state's towns i.e. Gambat, Ranipur and Khuhra were centres of the weaving industry. Famous products in the state included *khes* (bed sheet), *chandnis*, *farashies* (carpets) and *sussis*. It would not be an overstatement to argue that cottage industries provided the rationale for industrial undertakings by the state in the latter part of the twentieth century. Indeed the state achieved remarkable success in establishing various industries, which increased revenue and contributed to the creation of jobs.

Lukman silk weaving located in Khairpur was India's leading silk factory. The silk cloth was described as 'fine and durable' and the silk yarn was imported from Mysore.<sup>102</sup> In addition, the Banarsi colony produced silk of high quality. Tanneries were established in 1937, which were developed into an industrial base in Khairpur. There were also three big textile mills: Khairpur Textile Mill, the largest mill in West Pakistan, and Modern Textile Mill and Ismail Textile mill. These mills produced grey cloth and malatia and their export quota was fixed at 560,000 square yards.<sup>103</sup>

In Gambat town, near the Railway station, Fakir Spinning Mill was established to produce grey cloth and silk. It also produced printed cloth of the best quality, and was famous all over the country. Furthermore, there were five cotton-based industries. Among the weaving factories, Lukman weaving factory and Gulshan weaving factory

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<sup>101</sup>Pithawalla, M.B., *A Geographical Analysis including Physiography of Khairpur state: A Post Barrage Investigation*, (Karachi: 1935), p.35.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup>Government of Pakistan, *District Census Report Khairpur*, 1961, p.13.

were notable. In addition, the state possessed sugar mills, a match factory, an oil factory, a soap factory, an ice factory, leather factories and a printing press.

The introduction of these industries began to influence life of people in Khairpur. With the manufacture of printed cloth in the state, people began to purchase homemade cloth at cheap rates. This led to a change in the way people in general and women in particular dressed, and clothes formed an important part of dowry in Khairpur. The clothes were available in the local shops in the towns of Khairpur. In addition, the availability of wool and silk created an opportunity for women to work at home and use spare time productively. In villages women also engaged in producing various products such as sweaters, and other products of women fashions. Some women also earned some money by selling these fashionable items in the villages and towns. These hand-made products were also used as dowry at the time of marriage of girls.

The introduction of a printing press had a profoundly positive impact on people's activities, producing printed material such as newspapers and magazines. Print media and literature contributed to education and awareness in society that modified and influenced people's opinions and ideas as news stories and poetry proved useful in their lives. Furthermore, advertisements about various products persuaded them to live a better life by consuming new products that could change their lifestyle. In Khairpur alone, *Murad Biweekly* (Urdu) and *Dhandhora Weekly* (Sindi) newspapers were published.<sup>104</sup> Besides print media, the electronic media began to be popularised in the state. Radio sets were not common in the early fifties but, soon they became a necessity for people who could have access not only to print but also to electronic information and entertainment. In order to encourage recreation facilities the Fakir Film unit was established in Gambat. One movie *Jabroo*\* was shot here.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>105</sup>Anwar, Abdul Aziz, *Film Industry in West Pakistan*, (Lahore: Board of Economic Inquiry Punjab, 1957), p.12. \*This movie was filmed in the 1950s. It was produced and directed by F.S.Salah ud din and Muzaffar Tahir respectively.

People also benefitted from electricity, which introduced further changes to the social structure of the state as the electrification of towns enabled people to extend their working hours into the night with industries starting to introduce night shifts. The electricity also became a major source of power to run small industries in towns. These industries created various opportunities for business because of market facilities available in these towns. However, the major impact of electricity and industry was social mobility which began to undermine the joint family system as non-agricultural labour in rural areas of the state moved to the industrial towns. Rural-urban migration increased the population in the towns and put pressure on the available facilities. More hospitals, schools and houses were needed and the state was capable of meeting the growing needs of the people. Nevertheless, in the 1960s and 1970s rural electrification enabled small business men to establish small units of flour mills and oil pressing units which served many villages in the vicinity.

**Determinants of urbanisation: *Migration***

Before Partition, the middle classes in urban towns of Khairpur were composed of Sindi Muslims and Sindi Hindus. These classes consisted of traders, small businessmen, merchants, government employees and traditional artisans. The Hindu Sindis were more dominant in urban areas than the Sindi Muslims who were largely based in the rural areas. These middle classes of Khairpur contributed to the social and economic growth of urban towns through economic activities. Nevertheless, in the field of politics they were identified with their respective communities. The concept of community was defined by religious identity long before Partition.<sup>106</sup> This community affiliation exerted political influence over populations of middle classes. The reins of Muslim community politics were in the hands of landed elites. Thus, the community relations in urban

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<sup>106</sup>Ansari, Sarah, *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sind: 1947-1962*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.2.

towns were determined by the wishes of leaders belonging to the respective communities. Thus, people were known by religious identity rather than their class affiliation. This definition of community was fully exploited by the leaders of communal politics before the Partition of India. In case of Muslims who shared religion, occupation and common ethnic origin, they formed an 'interest community.'<sup>107</sup>

However, it can be argued that the factors which constituted the definition of an interest community were largely changed after the Partition. Language emerged as a key element of defining the new interest community. Religion was replaced by language as a binding force of post-Partition communities. The only thing the migrants had in common with the Sindis was religion. They had to share territory with indigenous populations who already possessed the territorial aspect of identity. Nevertheless, the concentration of migrants in big cities of Sind gave them an opportunity to develop their new identity rather than to assimilate with indigenous population. The possibility of social integration could increase if migrants were settled in both rural and urban areas of Sind and Khairpur. The major cities of Sind were handed over to migrants and consequently Sind was divided into two blocks with differing political needs and views; urban and rural Sind. However, unlike settlers in the two big cities of Sind, the newcomers to Khairpur had greater opportunities for interaction with local communities. Most of them were able to speak the Sindi language and contributed to the growth of economic activities in Khairpur. In any case, the majority of immigrants settled in the towns and thus they did not come into contact with landed elites. This situation prevented any possibility of social and political tensions between newcomers and landlords in Khairpur.

Urbanisation in Sind and Khairpur increased in the 1950s. The immediate change in the population of major urban centres was a result of international migration. The post –

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<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*, p.3.

Partition migrants to Sind came from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. These migrants could be distributed in various big and small cities and rural areas in order to integrate them with indigenous populations. Nevertheless, government policy directed refugees to concentrate in the major cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. This rapid population change brought demographic change to Karachi. According to the Evacuee Property Act 1947 immigrants received all the properties left by Hindus who migrated to India. The majority of immigrants were literate and possessed entrepreneurial skills which gave them advantage over the indigenous population. In addition, the economic policies adopted by General Ayub Khan (1958-1969) favoured immigrants concentrated in Karachi where economic development was initiated by the military government.<sup>108</sup>

Khairpur did not remain unaffected by these migration changes. The migrants in Khairpur came from the West India and Rajasthan. In the 1950s they formed 3.1 percent of total population of Khairpur.<sup>109</sup> The total number of these migrants was 10,013. Among them the number of literate migrants was 4223. However, only 20 migrants possessed higher degrees and only 171 had obtained matriculation qualifications. The number of migrants engaged in agriculture was 1062 and 1841 migrants became non-agricultural labourers. The dependent population was 6897. The non –agricultural work force found work in industrial units of Khairpur.

Table 4 Variation in Population of Khairpur

Year	1909	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Population	199313	223788	1993131	227183	305787	319543
Percentage Increase/Decrease		12.3	-8.8	17.6	34.6	4.5

Source: Census of Pakistan, 1951

<sup>108</sup>See Kennedy, Charles, H., 'The Politics of Ethnicity in Sind', *Asian Survey*, Vol.31, No. 10, (University of California Press: October 1991), pp.938-955.

<sup>109</sup>Slade, E.H., *Census of Pakistan, 1951: Report and tables*, (Karachi: Manager Press, 1955), p.31.

The first source of population change through internal migration in Khairpur was an improvement of irrigation and agricultural development. The improved agricultural conditions gave boost to the growth in population. These conditions attracted people from the Punjab and Sind. People came to settle in Khairpur to benefit from the improved water facilities. Improvement in agricultural conditions and subsequent rise in agricultural related incomes encouraged early marriages and contributed to an uncontrolled rise in the birth rate. Thus, according to the above table, the population increased by 17.6 percent in 1931 over the previous decade and by 34.6 percent in the year 1941 over the previous decade. This clearly demonstrates that the demographic change in the 1940s was an outcome of irrigation and agricultural improvements.

Table 5 Variation in Population of Khairpur

Year	1951	1961	Percentage
Urban	22029	46410	9.83
Rural	297514	425727	90.17
Total	319543	472137	100

Source: Government of Pakistan, District Census Report Khairpur, 1961

According to the table 5, population in Khairpur increased from 305787 in 1941 to 319543, which meant an increase of 13756 in the year 1951. Out of this number the migrants were 10013 and remaining 3752 population increase was result of natural causes including the increase in birth rate and decrease in the death rate. However, the figures of 1961 suggest that the urban population increased more than double. This can be ascribed to the migration from rural areas of Khairpur and from some other districts of Sind. These streams of migrants were attracted to the growth in the industrial jobs and educational opportunities in the towns of Khairpur. The movement of people from the rural areas was fuelled by the income generated through agricultural revolution that occurred in the late 1960s. In respect of urbanisation the district registered an increase

of 110.67 percent over the 1951 urban population, which indicates the extent of population movements.<sup>110</sup> The main language spoken in Khairpur was Sindi at 83.98 percent. Nevertheless, the rest of population consisted of Urdu, Punjabi, and Baluchi speakers.<sup>111</sup>

### **Determinants of urbanisation: *Industry***

The rapid industrialisation in the mid-twentieth century attracted people living in the rural areas of Khairpur to migrate to the urban centres. The drive for social mobility in Khairpur was the availability of new jobs created by the process of industrialisation and growth of small businesses in these urban centres. The internal migration of people became a crucial factor for the rapid growth in the townships. This change began in the 1950s and further intensified with the agricultural revolution. This enabled farmers to send their children to get education and jobs in the urban towns of Khairpur and Sind. The areas classified as urban in Khairpur included Khairpur Municipality, Khuhra, Gambat and Ranipur. These were the main urban centres which offered comparatively good opportunities for education. There were hospitals, banks, revenue offices, post offices, markets, police stations in these townships. Nevertheless, these facilities were inadequate for the growing population. In order to overcome the problem of overcrowding in the urban areas, satellite town schemes were planned in Khairpur. These schemes were also aimed at resettlement of people squatting in the towns.<sup>112</sup>

The principal reasons for growth in internal migration included the desire of rural people to get access to the education and lifestyles offered by the process of gentrification of urban centres. The objective of migration was economic. Firstly, in towns there were more opportunities than were available in villages. Secondly, there was income difference between the town and village. The minimum wage rate for

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<sup>110</sup>Government of Pakistan, *District Census Report Khairpur*, 1961, pp.1-6.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.1-16.

<sup>112</sup>Aquil, Syed Mansur (ed.), *Decade of Reforms in Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: West Pakistan Government Press, 1968), p.192.

labourers was higher in the urban areas as compared to income earned from agricultural sources in rural areas. Therefore, landless labourers and additional workforce preferred to move to the urban areas of Khairpur. Education and new possibilities for higher income and consequent new life style in urban areas were key factors in addition to natural inclination to benefit from urban way of living. Thus, the town planners of Khairpur considered the sites for new township schemes with regard to the industrial and commercial centres of the towns in order to provide employment to the shifted families.<sup>113</sup>

### **Determinants of urbanisation: *Education***

Education was one of the key determinants of social mobility. Khairpur established educational institutions which were superior to the institutions existing in other parts of Sind. In Khairpur the right of citizens to quality education was fully recognised. Furthermore, education was made free in the state. All sections of society had access to education and the doors of educational institutions were open to all the communities. Students were given books and study material free of cost, and the scholarships were awarded to poor but meritorious students. An Anglo-vernacular school which was later called Naz high school was a great seat of learning. The Naz development report states that no tuition fees were charged from any one of the thirteen-hundred students of the school up to the level of Matriculation.<sup>114</sup> The report further suggests that free lodging and free meals were supplied to the boarders of this school.<sup>115</sup>

Thus, the state was differentiated from the other areas of the Sind on the basis of educational improvement. The state-run schools played important role in literacy, which subsequently contributed to the formation of educated middle classes in Khairpur. This was the outcome of the consistent policy of state on education since its creation. Table 6

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<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup>Shakoor, Abdul, *Naz Development Report, 1963-64*, (Khairpur, 1964), p.3.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*

demonstrates that there was a great number of schools where enrolment of students grew substantially. It was the result of educational policy that the state followed with aim to increase levels of literacy.

Table 6 Literacy in Khairpur (1929-30 – 1939-40)

Year	1929-1930	1932-1933	1933-1935	1935-1936	1936-1937	1937-1938	1938-1939	1939-1940
Schools	134	129	133	128	131	153	202	209
Enrolment	5430	6863	6600	6776	6616	7801	9123	9496

Source: Administration Reports for Khairpur state

Literacy in Khairpur further increased in the 1950s. The total number of literates was 36125 out of which 29773 were without the formal attainments. However, 4149 attended primary school and only 1349 were able to attend middle schools.<sup>116</sup> During this time matriculation was considered good qualification for getting government employment. There were 632 people who passed this examination. In addition, there were 222 people who attained degrees higher than matriculation.

Table 7 Educational Levels in Khairpur

Category	Male	Female	Total
Post Graduation (16 years of education)	216	8	224
Graduation( 14 years of education)	138	3	141
Under Graduation(12 years of education)	522	14	536
Matriculation(10years of education)	2244	119	2363
Middle class(8years of education)	3866	314	4180
Primary(5years of education)	10730	1037	11767
Below Primary(Less than 5years of education)	20453	2827	23280

Source: Government of Pakistan, District Census Report Khairpur, 1961

<sup>116</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Census of Pakistan*, 1951.

Table 7 shows educational levels in the 1960s. However, Table 8 indicates the progress in professional education in Khairpur.

Table 8 Professional education in Khairpur

Field of Study	Male	Female	Total
Education	322	09	331
Medicine	76	04	80
Engineering	54	00	54
Agriculture	32	00	32
Commerce	06	01	07
Law	22	02	24
Other fields of study	03	00	03

Source: Government of Pakistan, District Census Report Khairpur, 1961

Both education and health gained considerable attention from the rulers. Living conditions were greatly improved and life expectancy increased due to the fact that the state provided high quality free health care for its citizens, far superior than that provided in the rest of Pakistan.<sup>117</sup>

#### **Determinants of urbanisation: *Health***

The policy of providing health facility was also a reflection of the state's measures to promote welfare of its citizens. The state had 15 hospitals which included 2 hospitals and 2 maternity homes managed by the Red Cross. The largest hospital located in Khairpur was known as Civil Hospital which was fully equipped with latest equipment including the X-ray machines and the electrical instruments. The state had also several

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<sup>117</sup>Talpur, Mir Mahdi Raza, 'Khairpur state: A Brief History', *The Reporter*, Vol. 2, Issue 20, (Karachi: 2006), p.07.

dispensaries and one Eye clinic where a surgeon came from England to perform hundreds of eye operations.<sup>118</sup>

Both the provision of education and health were indicators of the state's welfare policy which enabled the state to provide better conditions of life for its citizens than the conditions existed in Sind. The availability of medical facilities was considered a major source of attraction in the urban townships of Khairpur. These basic facilities distinguished the towns from rural areas where medical facilities were not widespread. The unavailability of advanced medical treatment centres in rural Khairpur also contributed to people's decision to migrate to urban areas.

### **Determinants of urbanisation: *System of Justice***

The state also left behind the other areas of Pakistan in the administration of justice in the mid-twentieth century. The development of justice however started in the nineteenth century. The early Mirs' system of justice was cruel and despotic. However, it had a saving grace in that people had access to the judiciary at grassroots level, and at village level the state had officials such as *kardars* and *qadis* who could settle problems. Although criminals and offenders were treated in accordance with the *Muhammadan* law, Hindus were supposed to be treated according to their own law. Hindus thus organised the *panchayat* system to look into the matters relating to them. This system was capable of resolving disputes and other social problems faced by the Hindu minority. By virtue of belonging to the same community, all Hindus were under the purview of this system.

During the Mirs' regime, the rulers also heard cases involving heinous crimes, and gave judgements. In essence, there was no separation of the judiciary from the executive in the state. Thus, the judicial system was not independent and it was incapable of providing justice for the people. It discriminated between people according to their caste

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<sup>118</sup>*Khairpur: An Introduction*, (Karachi: Muslim Printing Press, n.d.), p. 19.

and creed and was not free of the ruler's biases. The judicial system under the Mirs did not, therefore, live up to the ideal of what a judicial system should be, i.e. objective and impartial. It was unable to protect basic rights, including freedom of speech. The accused were defenceless in the face of inhuman treatment by state authorities. Further, the system was powerless in checking the administrative ineffectiveness in the state.

The rulers of the state were known for their inhuman treatment of the accused. 'Mutilation was the penalty for the worst crimes, and this was commuted to prolonged imprisonment in the case of the privileged classes.'<sup>119</sup> Common punishments included shaving criminals' beards and blackening their faces. Sometimes, offenders with blackened faces were forced to ride on donkeys in the streets of the city, so as to create deterrence for other would-be criminals. If there was no proof of involvement, the accused had to prove his innocence before the rulers.

One method was for the accused to be placed under water, whilst a man shot an arrow from a bow as far as he could: another man was sent to pick it up; and if the prisoner could remain under water until the arrow was brought back to the spot, he was declared innocent; but if he lifted his head out before that time, he was presumed guilty.<sup>120</sup>

Another method was for accused to be asked to go by foot through a trench which was filled with fire. Escaping injury meant the case would be decided in his favour, otherwise he would be declared a criminal and be severely punished. The state could detect crime with the help of tribal lords and village headmen. Perhaps the rulers were aware of the fact that criminals were at their beck and call. For instance 'the liability for all the stolen property rested on the village or estate in which the theft occurred until the footprints of the thief were traced to another, in which case the liability was transferred to that village or estate.'<sup>121</sup> If a *zamindar* caught a thief, 'the latter was deprived of the whole of his property, and the surplus, over what was claimed by the person who had

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<sup>119</sup>Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.136.

<sup>120</sup>Thomas, R. Hughes (ed.), *Memoirs on Shikarpoor; The Syuds of Roree and Bukkur; The Khyrpoor state*, Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No.17, New Series, (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1855), p.742.

<sup>121</sup>Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.136.

been robbed, was carried to the credit of government.’<sup>122</sup> This prevented criminals and their accomplices from committing robberies and the theft of valuables. Although these practices belonged to the nineteenth century, they did not disappear altogether in the twentieth century. However, during this time, the state’s judicial apparatus went through a remarkable change.

With the establishment of the High Court in the mid-twentieth century Khairpur the judicial system improved, mainly because change was implemented in the administration of justice. More or less, it was a replica of the system introduced in British India. Nevertheless, the state was proud of the administration of justice. It is reported that despite there having been widespread complaint in all the administrative units of Pakistan about the delay in delivery of justice and the disposal of civil suits, criminal cases and appeals, ‘their expeditious disposal in the state’ and the little time spent on litigation were glaring features of Khairpur Judiciary.<sup>123</sup>

#### **Determinants of urbanisation: *Religious Tolerance***

In the religious sphere, the state was free from religious intolerance. Mirs belonged to the Shia sect and their subjects were Sunni Muslims, who were in the majority. During the Mirs’ rule both Hindus and Muslims lived together in peace. Most Sindi Hindus were traders and a few worked in top positions in the state administration. Both communities were peace-loving and they respected each other. There was some ground for believing that rulers did not intervene in religious affairs. Perhaps the Mirs were following the example of the Mughal emperor Akbar, as the state persisted with a policy of non-intervention in religious matters. However, they were not keen in building mosques or helping these communities to progress in their respective religions. It was

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<sup>122</sup>Thomas, R. Hughes (ed.), *Memoirs on Shikarpoor; The Syuds of Roree and Bukkur; The Khyrpoor state*, Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No.17, New Series, (Bombay: Education Society’s Press, 1855), p.741.

<sup>123</sup>See ‘Abstract of Memorandum ( submitted to the Chairman and Members of the Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on behalf of the Government and people of the Khairpur state on 25<sup>th</sup> day of May 1954)’, *The Reporter*, Vol. 2, Issue 20, (Karachi: 2006), p.13.

further noted that the majority of the Muslim population prayed in mud-built mosques.<sup>124</sup> In contrast to this attitude of rulers towards religious communities, Sehwanī has gone so far as to give a hagiographic account of the Mirs. He stated that at the time of *darbar* Hindus and Muslims scholars were invited to attend the meetings and share ideas. In addition, there was no discrimination on the basis of religion in every aspect of life. There were also good relations between working classes of Hindus and Muslims under the Mirs. Therefore, both communities lived in peace and they progressed in their respective cultures.<sup>125</sup>

Sehwanī further maintains that the rulers of Khairpur were also famous for their hospitality. Guests were warmly welcomed in the state. Both Muslims and Hindus were served with food of their choice and cooked by special chefs.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, the foreign guests were received with very warm welcome. They were not only served with high quality food and drinks but also were honoured with the gifts such as daggers, beautiful swords, and clothes. They were very pleased to serve their state guests. Among the well-known state guests, Sir Alexander Burnes was impressed by the hospitality provided by the founders of Khairpur. However, he also noted that the chiefs of Khairpur wallowed in wealth, and their subjects were wretched. His observation suggests that their subjects were not happy with the way they were ruled.<sup>127</sup>

The Mirs' tradition of religious tolerance continued after the departure of Hindus at the time of Partition. The migration of Hindu traders and professionals to India weakened the process of middle class formation in Khairpur. Nevertheless, with the migration of Hindus the population gap was filled in partly by Muslim migrants and largely by internal Muslim migrants. The post-Partition population of Muslim

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<sup>124</sup>Burnes, Alexander, *A Voyage on the Indus: Being the third volume of Travels into Bokhara*, Historical Reprints, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.70-71.

<sup>125</sup>Sehwanī, H. Fateh Muhammad, *Meeran ji Sahibi*, Second edition, (Hyderabad: Sind Research Board, 1989), pp. 25-26.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>127</sup>Burnes, Alexander, *A Voyage on the Indus: Being the third volume of Travels into Bokhara*, Historical Reprints, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.70-71.

communities of Khairpur were divided into two sectarian groups. Both Shia and Sunni Muslims maintained friendly relations. There was religious tolerance in the 1950 and the 1960s. Thus, the peaceful conditions of urban areas also promoted growth of urban townships of Khairpur.

### **Rationale for case study**

The study of Khairpur covers the period from the 1947-1980s and offers an intensive analysis of complex social and political discourses. This case study of Khairpur is an analysis of the social and economic changes that took place as a result of agricultural improvements during the Green Revolution.<sup>128</sup> It also explores the changes in agriculture that prepared the ground for the introduction of high-yielding varieties of seeds. Thus, the study has considered these changes as forerunners of the Green Revolution. For instance it considers irrigation change as a precondition for the occurrence of the Green Revolution. Chapter 2 provides the debate on the impact of Green Revolution and develops theoretical framework for the case study of Khairpur region. Chapter 3 examines, in the context of British rule and administration, how artificial irrigation was developed in Sind. It also describes the agricultural conditions before the completion of the Sukkur Barrage and describes the impact of the barrage and its canals on agricultural productivity. Chapter 4 examines one of the main Green Revolution inputs: mechanisation. It considers the process of mechanisation in Khairpur and the factors involved and the effectiveness of these machines. It also considers the following aspects of mechanisation: (1) the displacement of agricultural labour and (2) the number of tractors made available to farms and (3) the constraints on mechanisation.

Chapter 5 investigates the role of other farm-inputs including high-yielding varieties, chemical fertilisers and pesticides which helped to achieve the targets of the drive for 'grow more'. It also considers high-yielding patterns in Khairpur and analyses their

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<sup>128</sup>See Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework: Green Revolution Debate, pp.82-84.

impact. Chapter 6 focuses on the social and cultural formation of a middle class in Khairpur, which it posits as an outcome of the higher productivity created under the Green Revolution and the process of commercialisation and the growth of urban culture. It examines the language of consumption and social change from the 1930s to the 1960s and from the 1960s and onwards. In addition, the chapter delivers an introduction to middle class life through the emergence of new forms of recreation and the formation of new social attitudes. Chapter 7 deals with the political formation of the middle class. It is divided into two parts. Part one is mainly concerned with the middle class expression of consciousness in terms of shopping, leisure and education for self-improvement. The second half analyses the process of the conversion of middle class consciousness into action through middle class principles and self-interest, middle class values and elite service, middle class and rural elite and public sphere and middle class political issues. Chapter 8 deals with conclusions.

### **Range of sources**

The sources used for this study were scattered across many territories and archival holdings. For example, archival sources were collected from the India Office Records in the British Library which has maintained an excellent record of administrative reports on Khairpur state. In addition, field trips to Pakistan enabled the collection of archival material from Sind Archives, and the Old Deputy Commissioner's office located in Sukkur where huge stores of archival material were treated so badly by district and provincial bureaucracies that they indicated nothing except their apathetic attitude towards this invaluable source of history. Nevertheless, official statistics have been collected from a variety of sources available in Pakistan. Sindi sources have been collected from the Institute of Sindology, University of Sind, which is a rich depository of Sindi literature. The complete list of sources has been given at the end of this thesis. Meetings and interviews have been used as a source of oral history to co-opt the diverse

views of people from all sections of society and to fill the gaps in arguments where other material evidence was not available.

### **Methodology**

I have used Khairpur as case study. In doing so, I have tried to use a variety of methods of data collection in order to get unbiased information. The present study is primarily focussed on economic and social changes as an impact of technological change. This study has investigated economic and social changes rather than ethnic or religious changes. Therefore, the possibility of ethnic or religious bias is rare. The possibility of influences has been further reduced by the use of range of library sources, archives generated by government and different forms of literature which represented the views of middle class communities. These literary forms, such as novels, short stories and dramas began to flourish during the colonial period and they became an influential way of communicating social changes in the decades following the Partition. These literary forms are considered as individual points of view about society which were not necessarily supported by others. However, considering it to be a significant source of social history, the Sindi short story can be used to indicate the direction of social change in society. The range of social and cultural issues highlighted by short stories can be verified by the way print media responded to these issues and by the means of oral history. Thus, short stories have been used as a medium of expression in the middle class perspective. The use of these sources can be justified on the following grounds.

In traditional societies it could be difficult to express views freely on some issues because of cultural, social, political and religious barriers to freedom which could prevent people from transmitting exactly the same thing they thought. Thus, some writers took refuge in short stories and novels to criticise the ills of society in satirical manner. Some writers also chose to use these forms as a philosophical means for

creating social awareness. Short stories expressed stresses and strains in the middle classes. Life histories have also been used to illuminate these stresses and strains. The short stories used in this study were published in Sindi magazines which represented middle classes of Khairpur as an integral part of Sindi middle classes.

In addition, advertisements have been used as a method of inquiry into middle class culture of consumption. The importance of advertisement for marketing increased globally with the rise of consumption in the wake of the Second World War. The post-war period witnessed a significant increase in affluence which increased the desire of consumers for material possessions.<sup>129</sup> Thus, in order to understand the social and economic needs of consumers the importance of advertisement as a method of inquiry can not be overemphasised. Data on the consumption and earnings of the middle classes is not available. We were forced to rely on advertisements although they can do no more than indicate new patterns of consumption.

The advertisement carried considerable value in the analysis of economic, social and cultural aspects of middle class life which can not be sufficiently addressed with numerical data alone. In addition, the advertisements represented the change in the consumption patterns of middle classes which indicates the urban way of middle class life. As a symbolic way of communication advertisements also demonstrated that consumption became an important channel for identity formation in Khairpur. The advertisements not only provided deep insights into consumer culture but also contributed to social change through their innovative way of presenting new products, which changed perceptions and attitudes. For these reasons the advertisements in this study have emerged as a dominant source material for the study of middle class culture of consumption. One of the major sources of advertisements was the Sindi Daily *Ibrat* newspaper which covered Khairpur as one of three major divisions of Sind (1955-

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<sup>129</sup>See Yeshin, Toni, *Advertising*, (London: Thomson, 2006), p.2.

1970). Another source of advertisements was the *Herald* magazine which provided evidence for elite class patterns of consumption in Sind including Khairpur.

In addition, oral history has also been used. In conducting interviews I tried to make the experiences as neutral as possible, reducing tension created by class, ethnicity and culture. These interviews were important way of flushing out the realities of economic and social change.

*Chapter 2***Theoretical Framework: Green Revolution Debate**

The new high yielding varieties of seeds were developed by Norman Borlaug in the early part of twentieth century. These varieties originated in Mexico where agriculture experienced high increase in production. Following the impressive performance of Mexico in the 1960s, the technology was adopted in Asia, Latin America and Africa and led to progress in producing food crops. In South Asia, this new agricultural technology led the Green Revolution in the late 1960s. The Green Revolution took place in some regions of India which included Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. In Pakistan, agriculture progressed in the Punjab and Sind including Khairpur.

Khairpur is located in the upper part of Sind. Khairpur's improved irrigation, favoured the Green Revolution and enabled farmers to participate in development of agriculture through use of mechanisation, high yielding varieties, chemical fertilisers and pesticides. The Green Revolution greatly contributed to the increased agricultural productivity which led to the economic and social changes in Khairpur.

The creation of high-yielding varieties (HYVs) of seeds was one of several inputs introduced in agriculture, which created the Green Revolution, a revolutionary change in agriculture, that inspired much debate. Indeed, the level and intensity of the debate is evidence for the importance of the Green Revolution. In fact, the Green Revolution encouraged scholars belonging to diverse but interrelated disciplines of social sciences to interact, often for the first time, and to globalise the agricultural experiences of different geographical and cultural regions. Thus, new visions of agricultural improvement for the world came to be developed.

Nevertheless, the role of the Green Revolution in agriculture has remained as a source of controversy between its critics and admirers. Some researchers have portrayed it as a great triumph in agricultural history and others have painted a gloomy image and have

blamed the Green Revolution for social inequality and poverty, not to speak of ecological damage. The former have argued that the Green Revolution increased food production and solved the problem of food scarcity in developing countries and enabled the poor to benefit from cheaper prices of food. The studies of the latter listed a number of undesirable consequences of the technological change: social-economic inequality, poverty, unemployment, conflict and deprivation, to name a few. However, one thing missing from most of these studies which blame the Green Revolution for these ills is an analysis of the policy and institutional frameworks in which specific workings of the Green Revolution took place. If these are taken into account we can see that the supposed failings of the Green Revolution were actually the consequences of inappropriate policy and institutional environments.<sup>1</sup>

A great deal of literature on the Green Revolution appears to focus on the consequences of increased agricultural production rather than two major socio-economic and socio-cultural outcomes that the Green Revolution engendered: first, the emergence of consumer classes and second, the interaction between social, economic and political changes in a geo-cultural context. This study fills in this gap created by previous works in order to understand the interaction of these changes through space and time. It does so by explaining the formation of a middle class and its political consciousness in the Khairpur district of Sind, Pakistan. The approach is historical. In contrast to previous studies, which depended on official records and some survey research methods, this study of the Green Revolution has also benefited from Sindi literature to reflect social and cultural changes through the prism of the middle class way of life. Arguably, it is not possible to examine the social and cultural changes created by the Green Revolution in any geographical location without exploiting

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<sup>1</sup>Hence, the Anderson and Hazell argument emphasised the need to draw a demarcation line between the impact of the Green Revolution and the effects of institutional and policy environments. Most previous studies have mixed the impacts of the two. See Anderson, Per Pinstrup, et al., 'The impact of the Green Revolution and Prospects for the Future', *Food Reviews International*, Vol.1 No.1, (Washington D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute, 1985), p.2.

literature as a source of evidence, given that a people's evolving ideas and thoughts are always expressed through songs, plays and narratives.

Literature has been virtually ignored by sociologists and cultural anthropologists in the study of technological change and its contribution to the introduction of cultural innovations in society. Nevertheless, this limitation was not shared by Miller who argued that anthropologists needed to take account of literature if they were to understand how new cultural ideas emerged in developing countries following the transfer of agricultural technology from developed countries.<sup>2</sup> This study brings literary evidence in the framework and does so in the context of the Khairpur region of Sind, which was not yet studied as one of the major regions of the Green Revolution in South Asia.

This research has used archival sources and government records collected from Britain and Pakistan in addition to Sindi literary sources, the latter largely unexploited by researchers and social scientists, until the start of this research. One of these sources used in this study is Sindi advertisements which provide ample evidence for the social formation of a Sindi middle class. Nevertheless, the idea of using advertisements as a source of evidence was inspired by the works of Baudrillard followed by Markus Daechsel in his study of the Urdu speaking middle classes of Lahore.<sup>3</sup> Using advertising, as evidence of consumption, provides a measure for the social and cultural formation of the middle classes. The value of this approach has increased as consumption has become a major feature of modern existence and the study of consumption has come to have a major place in a modern social theory.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Miller, Frank C., 'Knowledge and Power: Anthropology, Policy Research and the Green Revolution', *American Ethnologist*, Vol.4, No.1, (Blackwell Publishing: February 1977), p.196.

<sup>3</sup>See Baudrillard, Jean, *The Mirror of Production*, (trans.), (United States of America: Telos Press, 1975) and Daechsel Markus, *Politics of Self-Expression: The Urdu Middle Class Milieu in Mid-twentieth Century India and Pakistan*, (London: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>4</sup>Gabriel, Yiannis, et al., *The Unmanageable Consumer*, (London: Sage Publication, 2006), p.1.

Therefore, this study formulates new ideas about the social and political formation of the middle classes. It argues that the political outcome of technological change in agriculture was actually a transformation of the social, cultural and political foundations of society in twentieth century Khairpur. Moreover, this study has also identified new aspects of social and economic history which should enable future researchers and historians to undertake research and benefit from a huge number of Sindi sources. For instance, the future students of change have yet to examine the process of the commercialisation of leisure as an outcome of the Green Revolution.

### **Current academic debate on issues involving the introduction of the Green Revolution**

Academic debate over the issues in the introduction of the Green Revolution has consumed much attention of researchers and students of the political economy of agriculture. There were three sets of issues associated with the Green Revolution which were debated by scholars. The first set of issues is concerned with water-related problems. The second set is comprised of problems associated with mechanisation. The third set includes social and economic issues related to the use of other inputs such as high-yielding varieties of seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides. One of these was the financial ability to invest capital in a new kind of business, which often was a constraint.

#### ***First set of issues***

Water was one of the most important inputs of the Green Revolution. The Green Revolution occurred only in those areas where water was made available by means of canals or tube wells. Those areas with limited irrigation facilities and infrastructure were seriously handicapped. However, the most problematic aspect of irrigation was the negative impact of irrigation projects on the soil. There were two main arguments regarding the impact of irrigation development in South Asia which were considered by scholars. Whitecombe indicated that the introduction of a canal system created the

problems of water-logging and salinity, which caused loss of irrigated land. She also argued that increased incidences of malaria, which exacted a heavy toll on the local populace, were a consequence of canal irrigation.<sup>5</sup> However, Stone put forth the counter argument that in many (though not all) circumstances canals were a more appropriate technology than traditional methods of irrigation.<sup>6</sup> He also believed that the effects of the canal system varied from time to time. Although there was a positive correlation between canal irrigation and the occurrence of malaria, yet, these effects were exaggerated by some experts.<sup>7</sup>

In the case of mechanised irrigation, a group of World Bank experts conducted a comparative study of post-Green Revolution Indian and Pakistani Punjab. They asserted that there were two causes of water-logging and salinity in Pakistan Punjab, the decline of tube well water quality and degradation of soil in wheat-rice zones. In Indian Punjab rise in water levels in wheat-cotton zones caused water-logging.<sup>8</sup> Thus, water-logging and salinity were not only caused by seepage of canal water but also caused by deterioration of ground water quality. However, in a study of Sind irrigation, a viewpoint presented by Jayantha Perera was closer to the first argument. His analysis indicated that irrigation projects caused water-logging and salinity in Sind where both landowners and farmers were severely affected by these problems.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, he recognised the major contribution of irrigation in agricultural development in Sind. Irrigation water was the lifeline of the Green Revolution.

Some scholars have argued that the Green Revolution further increased water-logging and salinity. They have justified their argument on the grounds that the new varieties of

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<sup>5</sup>Whitcombe, Elizabeth, 'Irrigation', in Kumar, Dharma (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India volume 2:C.1757-C. 1970*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.735.

<sup>6</sup>Stone Ian, *Canal Irrigation in British India: Perspective on technological change in a peasant economy*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 6.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>8</sup>Murgai, Rinku, et al., 'Productivity Growth and Sustainability in Post-Green Revolution Agriculture: The Case of the Indian and Pakistan Punjab', *The World Bank Research Observer*, Vol.16, No.2, (Oxford University Press: Autumn 2001), pp. 204-205.

<sup>9</sup>Perera, Jayantha, *Irrigation Development and Agrarian Change: A Study in Sind, Pakistan*, (New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2003), p.11.

seeds fostered by the Green Revolution were water-intensive. They required higher amounts of water as compared to indigenous varieties. Thus, new seeds responded to fertilisers better than the traditional seeds, only if timely and adequate water was available.<sup>10</sup> The increased consumption of water by new varieties caused water-logging in soils and also created a water shortage problem in most agricultural regions. In addition, it was also argued that the excessive supply of water to high-yielding varieties could increase soil degradation and affect environmental health.

### *Second set of issues*

The second set of issues is concerned with the problems related to the second main input of the Green Revolution, mechanisation. The most dominant issue, among the other issues, was whether labour was likely to be displaced by mechanisation under the Green Revolution. Nevertheless, the example of the Indian Punjab suggested that there was an increase in both employment opportunities and wage rates, mainly due to double-cropping and associated opportunities for work.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, with the introduction of mechanisation, new workshops, repairing centres, welding shops and small agro-based industrial units, such as flour-mills, were established in rural areas which offered new jobs even to non-agricultural workers. Meerut district (UP) experience also suggested that the Green Revolution began to offer non-farm employment opportunities during its second phase from the mid-1970s in the district.<sup>12</sup> However, mechanisation was also criticised for its excessive costs of maintenance. There were several reasons for inappropriate maintenance of tractors. In developing countries the most common problems included higher costs of machinery,

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<sup>10</sup>Chakravarti, A .K., 'Green Revolution in India', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.63, No. 3, (Taylor & Francis: September 1973), p.324.

<sup>11</sup>Randhawa, M.S., 'Green Revolution in Punjab', *Agricultural History*, Vol.51, No.1, (Agricultural History Society: October 1977), p.658.

<sup>12</sup>Sharma, Rita, et al., *The New Economics of India's Green Revolution*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1994), p. 239.

acquisition of spare parts and difficulties with maintenance, inadequate training of tractor operators.<sup>13</sup>

Tractors were imported into developing countries from a variety of sources. These machines were differentiated on the basis of their model, size, capacity and energy consumption. Thus, the lack of uniformity in the import of tractors was a major cause of scarcity of spare parts. For instance the spare part used in big horse power tractor was unsuitable for the small horse power tractor. Similarly, spare parts used in Russian-made tractors could not be used for other tractors. This was a common situation in most of the developing countries where tractors failed due to the lack of spare parts.<sup>14</sup>

In addition, fuel consumption was an additional constraint on mechanisation. The higher costs of non renewable sources of energy required by tractors to perform various land development and agricultural functions became a serious obstacle in the way of technological progress in developing countries. Most developing countries were lacking in foreign reserves to pay for the cost of fuels, which, additionally, could be affected by fluctuations in the world market, or factors beyond the control of the country.<sup>15</sup>

### ***Third set of issues***

The third set of issues is related to the adoption of high-yielding varieties and the use of crop-inputs. A major constraint on the Green Revolution was the unavailability of farm-inputs and the farmers' lack of access to these inputs. Thus, an important constraint, as mentioned by Falcon on the adoption of new technology in Asia, was the 'inadequacy of pesticides in most countries'.<sup>16</sup> Fertilisers and pesticides were important inputs and it was thus a major challenge for the less developed countries (LDCs) to

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<sup>13</sup>Arnon, I., *Modernisation of Agriculture in Developing Countries: Resources, Potentials and Problems*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1981), p.371.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p.387.

<sup>16</sup>Falcon, Walter P., 'The Green Revolution: Generations of Problems', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol.52, No.5, (Oxford University Press: December 1970), pp.699-700.

make these inputs available to farmers. The high-cost fertiliser and pesticides problem could not be solved even by subsidies.

Another constraint was the motivation needed by farmers to use chemical fertilisers. In the beginning farmers believed that artificial fertilisers, required by the new varieties, had degrading effects on the land and life of rural communities. These chemical fertilisers gave the land temporary strength but its environmental effects were long lasting. Nevertheless, the use of chemical fertilisers in the intensive cultivation of wheat taught them lessons about how important fertilisers were for increasing productivity. The Indian Punjab experience suggested that farmers, after learning through experiences with technology, applied fertilisers in other cash crops such as sugar cane, cotton, oil seeds and vegetables.<sup>17</sup>

However, it was basically the financial resources of the farmer which determined the spread of agricultural technology. Farmers could often not access the relatively higher priced agricultural inputs that the HYV seeds required. The lack of credit facilities was yet another problem associated with Green Revolution technology. It has been argued that credit-providing institutions preferred large farmers and gave them credit to buy crop inputs. Klatt's review of *'Changes in Rice Farming in Selected areas of Asia'* mentions Mysore's example where large farmers were able to acquire loans and borrow money from cooperatives more easily than small farmers who were dependent on local village money lenders when it came to raising finance.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, some experts also include farm size and land tenure in the list of constraints on the spread of new varieties. However, Deva does not consider it a constraint. The question he then addresses is whether there was any relationship between productivity and farm size. He mentions the findings of a survey of Indian

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<sup>17</sup>Randhawa, M.S., 'Green Revolution in Punjab', *Agricultural History*, Vol.51, No.1, (Agricultural History Society: October 1977), p.658.

<sup>18</sup>See Sen, Bandhudas, *The Green Revolution in India: A Perspective*, (New York & Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), Review by Klatt, W., 'How Green A Revolution?', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol.49, No.3, (University of British Columbia: Autumn 1976), p.520.

Punjab conducted by Bhalla and Chadha in 1975-76. They found that in a 'sample of 1663 households, there were 140 (8.4 percent) marginal farms of average size of 1.6 acres, while there were 74 (4.4 percent) large farms of the average size of 32.8 acres.'<sup>19</sup> The results of the survey were interesting as Deva noted that the annual income 'from each acre of land was Rs 754.50 in the case of the smallest farms and Rs. 740.40 from the largest ones.'<sup>20</sup> Thus, it is evident from the study that the smaller farms were as productive as their large counterparts.

### **Current academic debate on the impact of Green Revolution technology:**

#### ***Theoretical debate on the technological impact***

The character of the technology has caused a serious debate among scholars on the Green Revolution. Some of them have portrayed it as neutral and others believe that it ceased to become neutral and was responsible for income inequalities that caused economic disparities among the regions and the cultivators of agricultural regions. Some scholars also believed that the Green Revolution played, essentially, a political role. The technological change discriminated against cultivators on the basis of region, availability of land and economic resources. The supporters of this argument also believe that the Green Revolution strengthened the roots of feudalism.

The Green Revolution was adopted in Asia, Latin America and Africa to progress in the production of food. In South Asia the Green Revolution started in the late 1960s. The application of inputs such as high-yielding seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides in the different agricultural regions which varied in physical geography and economic conditions, produced varied results. Thus, the role new agricultural technology played in these regions was greatly debated by the scholars of technological change. Most of

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<sup>19</sup>Deva Satya, 'Problems of Rural Development in Green Revolution Areas', *Social Scientist*, Vol.12, No.3, (Social Scientist: March 1984), p.54.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

them argued that the technology was not neutral in the sense that it tended to benefit already prosperous regions and prosperous landowners.<sup>21</sup>

Therefore, it is not possible to claim that technological change provided equal opportunities for everyone, everywhere. The most important problem faced by small farmers was to arrange for money to buy the HYVs package. This technological innovation was sold as a market product in order to encourage landed elites or other well-off farmers who held savings to buy it. The higher costs of cultivating the HYVs package created a discriminatory obstacle for small farmers.<sup>22</sup> This obstacle was difficult for them to overcome, especially in the absence of an equal opportunity policy on the part of agricultural credit-providing institutions. In addition, the risk involved in the investment in the cultivation of new varieties in place of indigenous varieties with which they were quite familiar was greater than the risk involved in the cultivation of traditional seeds. They were used to their indigenous varieties and knew much about the cultivation methods and cultural practices of plant protection. The risk associated with the investment in new varieties and the natural resistance to innovation was a result of their perceptions about new high-yielding varieties. For instance, the modern varieties were regarded as more susceptible to diseases and pests and environmental impacts than indigenous varieties.<sup>23</sup> This injected an ingredient of uncertainty into the considerations of small farmers. This often prevented them from embarking on a new adventure in which greater risk was involved than in their current agricultural activity.

However, this agricultural progress occurred in only a small number of countries as argued by some scholars of the Green Revolution. Those countries which largely depended on crops other than wheat and rice were simply excluded from the benefits of

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<sup>21</sup>Griffin, Keith, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: An Essay on the Green Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1974), p. xi.

<sup>22</sup>Pearse, Andrew, *Seeds of Plenty Seeds of Want: Social and Economic Implications of the Green Revolution*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p.180.

<sup>23</sup>Feder Gershon, et al., 'Farm Size and the Diffusion of Green Revolution Technology', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.30, No.1, (University of Chicago Press: October 1981), p.62.

Green Revolution technology.<sup>24</sup> The example of those countries included most of Sub-Saharan Africa where the population depended on millets, cassava and yams, and major parts of Central and South America where the major source of food depended on potatoes and maize.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, this generalisation can be irrelevant in the case of some countries where the Green Revolution contributed to provide relief to the consumers. For instance, consumers in the United States benefited from lower food prices due to the Green Revolution because the demand for United States wheat and rice from Green Revolution countries decreased significantly.<sup>26</sup>

Another view regarding the Green Revolution was that it created geographical inequality by favouring some regions and ignoring others. The Green Revolution was promoted in the regions where good quality land and irrigation systems existed. Moreover, the selective nature of the Green Revolution in terms of crops put a limit on the expansion of the Green Revolution across the world. Plant breeding enabled scientists to improve various food varieties, but the breakthrough in the creation of high-yielding varieties was confined to two food crops, namely, wheat and rice.<sup>27</sup>

### ***Social and Cultural impact***

Production and consumption are two major forces of the economy which influence the politics of the market. These forces need to work in complete harmony because the change in speed and volume of one could have enormous impact on the power of the other economic factor. The imbalances between these two market forces have sometimes created economic depressions and sometimes political crises followed by political revolutions. The history of political economy provides enough evidence to justify this point. However, the introduction of technological change in the political

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<sup>24</sup>Griffin, Keith, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: An Essay on the Green Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1974), p.10.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>Pray, Carl E., 'The Green Revolution as a Case Study in Transfer of Technology', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol.458, (Sage Publications: November 1981), p.78.

<sup>27</sup>Griffin, Keith, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: An Essay on the Green Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1974), p. 6.

economy has led to the growth in both production and consumers in developed societies. In the 1950s, as the world recovered from post war austerity, there was widespread consumption in the industrialised nations. Leading industries such as chemicals and domestic products including electronic appliances, created a ‘culture of consumerism.’<sup>28</sup> However, this change came late to developing societies. Technological innovations in agriculture-based economies largely contributed to the fostering of the culture of consumption. It was argued that consumption was not just to supply our needs but that it permeated our ‘relations, identities, perceptions and images.’<sup>29</sup>

The application of new technology in agrarian society always brings about social, cultural, economic, and political changes; because the use of new technology in agriculture means an introduction of changes in the culture of farming, around which, of course, the lives of the peasants revolve. The Green Revolution’s contribution to social and cultural change has been overlooked by most analysts. They have failed to acknowledge it as a vehicle of social and cultural change. The formation of the middle classes, changes in agrarian relations and the transformation of the social and cultural pursuits of these classes; all these were the result of agricultural modernisation by means of technology.

### ***Social and Political impact***

Economic disparity and income inequality were incontrovertible effects of the Green Revolution. This view is shared by many independent observers of the Green Revolution and has been the subject of much debate. A major theme of the debate revolves around whether or not the Green Revolution was a panacea for all the problems of poverty and hunger. Alavi has argued that the Green Revolution created income disparities and widened the gap between various regions.<sup>30</sup> In India only a few places

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<sup>28</sup>Gabriel, Yiannis, et al., *The Unmanageable Consumer*, (London: Sage Publication, 2006), pp.12-13.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>30</sup>Alavi, Hamza, ‘The rural Elite and Agricultural Development in Pakistan’, in Ali, Karamat (ed.), *Pakistan: The Political Economy of Rural Development*, (Lahore: Vanguard, 1986), p.37.

benefitted by the Green Revolution, for instance Punjab, Haryana and parts of Uttar Pradesh (UP). The Punjab province benefited more than any other area in Pakistan. As such, it was the region with well developed systems of artificial irrigation that benefitted from the Green Revolution.

It was not that technology, especially HYV technology, did not operate as an independent factor in determining the success or otherwise of the Green Revolution. But, the 'socio-economic structures' in the agricultural regions 'distributed most of the benefits to the larger farmers' as compared to small farmers.<sup>31</sup> This view was further corroborated by the historian Parayil who argued that it was not technology which 'dictated income distribution.'<sup>32</sup> In support of his conclusion regarding the Indian agricultural scene he mentioned Herring<sup>33</sup>, arguing that unequal distribution of income was the outcome of poor management of government subsidies, taxation systems, and credit and wage policies.<sup>34</sup>

However, some scholars believed that the Green Revolution was a major source of inter-regional disparities. It favoured selected regions and 'failed to touch some areas altogether.'<sup>35</sup> It was also acknowledged by scholars that new technologies created a problem of 'haves and have nots' in developing countries. Their operation served rural elites against poor farmers, who had no access to these crop-inputs, especially mechanised irrigation, and hence the strategy employed by the revolution favoured rural elites. Hussain is of the view that technology raised agricultural growth through an elite-

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<sup>31</sup>Pray, Carl E., 'The Green Revolution as a Case Study in Transfer of Technology', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol.458, (Sage Publications: November 1981), p.80.

<sup>32</sup>Parayil, Govindan, 'The Green Revolution in India: A Case Study of Technological Change', *Technology and Culture*, Vol.33, No.4, (John Hopkins University Press: October 1992), p.754.

<sup>33</sup>See Herring, Ronald J., 'Dilemmas of Agrarian Communism: Peasant Differentiation, Sectoral and Village Politics', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.11, No.1, (Taylor & Francis: Januaray 1989), pp. 89-115.

<sup>34</sup>Parayil, Govindan, 'The Green Revolution in India: A Case Study of Technological Change', *Technology and Culture*, Vol.33, No 4, (John Hopkins University Press: October 1992), pp.754-755.

<sup>35</sup>Farmer, B.H., 'Perspectives on the Green Revolution in South Asia', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.20, No.1, (Cambridge University Press: 1986), p.190.

farmer strategy.<sup>36</sup> Hence, the poor became poorer and the rich became richer, without a real change in the rural structure of political power; in fact traditional structures of power often ended up being reinforced.

So the Green Revolution further strengthened the forces of feudalism in Pakistani society by accentuating the traditional influence of landlords over farmers. It also encouraged political elites in the urban metropole to look to these now locally dominant landlords for support in the *mofussil*. This criticism of the Green Revolution was shared by radical political economists including Grabowski, who argued that the Green Revolution was appropriated by large farmers which resulted in the polarization of rural communities.<sup>37</sup> Griffin also argued that the technological change created inequality and ‘polarization’ of social classes.<sup>38</sup> Hayami did not find these arguments without reason, nevertheless he argued that there was little empirical evidence that the use of Green Revolution technology was ‘monopolised by large farmers.’ Empirical evidence was more consistent with the argument that the growth in rural inequality did not result from the Green Revolution but from inadequate and less developed Green Revolution technology in response to the rapidly increasing population pressure on the agriculture and land resources.<sup>39</sup>

In addition, the issue of economic disparities between rural and urban areas has also received more attention than previously.<sup>40</sup> Some experts argued that the application of the Green Revolution divided areas in terms of rural uplift. They blamed the Green Revolution for labour displacement and widening economic and social disparities between cities and villages. It was argued that in India the growth in rural-urban

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<sup>36</sup>Hussain, Akmal, *Strategic Issues in Pakistan's economic Policy*, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1988), p.178.

<sup>37</sup>Hayami, Yujiro, ‘Assessment of Green Revolution’, in Eicher, Carl K, et al., (ed.s), *Agricultural Development in the Third World*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), p. 390.

<sup>38</sup>Griffin, Keith, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: An Essay on the Green Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1974), p.xi.

<sup>39</sup>Hayami, Yujiro, ‘Assessment of Green Revolution’, in Eicher, Carl K, et al., (ed.s ), *Agricultural Development in the Third World*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), p. 395.

<sup>40</sup>Deva Satya, ‘Problems of Rural Development in Green Revolution Areas’, *Social Scientist*, Vol.12, No.3, (Social Scientist: March 1984), p.52.

disparities in economic prosperity was a result of unemployment of agricultural and non-agricultural labour.<sup>41</sup> This study however, does not support cause and effect relationship that some scholars tried to establish between Green Revolution and labour displacement. In addition, the growing gulf between rural and urban areas was an outcome of ineffective institutions of rural development. Local government institutions were unable to work for improvement of infrastructure, and community development.

Programmes concentrating on the development and empowerment of local communities were keys to uplifting the poor conditions of rural villages. These programmes were initiated by governments in most Asian countries, including India and Pakistan, but they often failed to attain their stated objectives of integrated rural development. 'Basic Democracies' introduced by the military Government of Ayub Khan in Pakistan did not convert themselves into the decentralisation of political power. The working of the scheme was distorted by the collusion of basic democrats and local power holders. The *panchayati raj* in India suffered a similar fate.

This was largely because the community development programmes in the late 1960s were formulated at the topmost levels of government in India and Pakistan and bureaucracy was made an agency for rural development in the absence of strong local government institutions. Further, bureaucrats were unwilling to give up powers in favour of local institutions, probably because they feared the loss of their traditional monopoly over local affairs. This was also reflected in their attitudes towards the middle and lower classes. However, the decision of the military government in Pakistan to transform bureaucracy from an agency of law and order to an agency of socio-economic change put these bureaucrats in a difficult situation. In fact if a bureaucracy was to be successful in implementing a programme of national development it had to strengthen the educational, commercial, and political institutions in the country. These

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<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

institutions were not strengthened because of fear that they could eventually challenge bureaucracy and its control over an administrative structure of country. However, they were also aware of the fact that the continuous destabilisation of these institutions could cause a revolution.<sup>42</sup>

In most developing countries, the reins of socio-economic development were in the hands of the bureaucracy but they were always ready to apply brakes to slow down the vehicle of social and economic change. In the absence of strong institutions for development, bureaucracy took over the development assignment in addition to its responsibilities of maintaining law and order and carrying out administration. The multiplicity of tasks enabled bureaucracy to justify the appropriation of huge administrative, judicial and financial powers without accountability. However, the monopoly over power had no positive impact on the healthy growth of other public and social institutions in these societies. There was a need to check the abuse of power in developing countries. The exercise of powers could be checked by other independent institutions using ‘countervailing power.’<sup>43</sup> The establishment of these institutions could undermine the growing power and privileges of bureaucracy. But in practice, most of the anti-corruption institutions were powerless to check bureaucratic abuses of power.

The higher judiciary was one of the powerful institutions which could oversee the functions of the bureaucracy. However, the immediate risk involved in this process was putting an excess burden on the judiciary. The other long-term risk could be encroachment of the judiciary into the administrative sphere.<sup>44</sup> This could create a conflict between the two institutions. Thus, the only option left to operate as a check was that of political institutions. For instance, these institutions could redefine the powers of bureaucracy and separate administrative powers from judicial powers through

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<sup>42</sup>Goodnow, Henry Frank, *The Civil Service of Pakistan: Bureaucracy in a New Nation*, (London: Yale University Press, 1964), p.242.

<sup>43</sup>Hill, Michael J., *The Sociology of Public Administration*, (New York: Crane Russak, 1972), p. 6.

<sup>44</sup>Braibanti, Ralph J.D. (ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1966), p.12.

a legislative process. Political institutions could also reorganise independent but credible local institutions to carry out community development and promote social and economic change. These initiatives, in addition to constraints on the conduct of administrative behaviour such as ‘countervailing elites’ and a ‘vigorous political process’, could be an effective source of checks and balances.<sup>45</sup> However, when the political elites acted from expediency, not from principle, the concept of counterbalance became null and void. For creating strong checks and balances, the political elites needed political will and belief in the rule of law. They also needed to surrender their power temptations in support of principles.

In addition, reformation of bureaucratic behaviour could be made a routine affair. This was an important exercise on the grounds that bureaucracies in developing countries revealed the ‘footprint of colonialism.’<sup>46</sup> The nature of bureaucratic institutions required them to bring a change in their culture because they had remained the same since their creation as monopolistic organisations during the colonial era. In developing states their bureaucracies became more powerful than the political systems because bureaucratisation occurred first and was accelerated by British rule.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, political institutions remained weak in the country, where elite classes were more dominant in the politics of the country.

However, some scholars also argued that the Green Revolution not only improved socio-economic conditions but also impacted the political system of India and Pakistan. This situation could be exploited by the formation of new political parties. For instance, the formation of a new political system in Uttar Pradesh in India and the establishment of the Pakistan People’s Party in 1967 were political outcomes of the Green Revolution. Moreover, the People’s Party’s electoral victory in the 1970s indicated that the

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Hague, Rod, et al, *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p.233.

<sup>47</sup> Braibanti, Ralph J. D. (ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1966), p.7.

‘influence of major landlords was no more a dominant factor’ in Punjab where the *biraderi* system of controlling votes had also broken down.<sup>48</sup> The landslide victory of the People’s Party was correlated with the PPP voters from the heartland of the Green Revolution. Zaidi quoted Sanderatne arguing that the People’s Party won in the constituencies where more than 56 percent of wheat area was under new high yielding wheat varieties.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, the analysis of the 1970 elections suggested that these elections were the first of their kind where economic conditions so directly influenced political events.<sup>50</sup>

### **Green Revolution in Khairpur**

Khairpur, located on the Indus in upper Sind, depends on supplies allocated by the river system. The availability of irrigation water supplied by Sukkur-barrage canals enabled Khairpur to become one of the important agricultural regions of Pakistan. In addition to canal irrigation, new mechanised source of irrigation water was made available in Khairpur in the 1960s. The highest number of tube wells in Sind was sunk in Khairpur division, where government tube wells and private tube wells were 4.8 percent and 1.7 percent\* respectively.<sup>51</sup> This shows that Khairpur not only had access to the improved irrigation provided by Sukkur Barrage but also to mechanised irrigation; in short, fertile ground for the Green Revolution. Khairpur benefited from the Green Revolution technology rather more than other parts of Sind did. It was able to increase production of food crops, including wheat and rice. Production of rice increased from 22.9 percent in 1967 to 26.7 percent in 1968 over the previous years. Similarly wheat production shot up 208.5 percent and acreage increased by 88.4 percent in the crop year

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<sup>48</sup>Baxter, Craig, ‘Pakistan Votes--- 1970’, *Asian Survey*, Vol.11, No.3, (University of California Press: March 1971), p. 213.

<sup>49</sup>Zaidi, S. Akbar, *Issues in Pakistan’s economy*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.27.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup>Bukhari, P., ‘A Preliminary Exploration of the Differential Effect of the Green Revolution in Punjab and in Sind’, *Grassroots*, Vol.1, (Jamshoro: University of Sind, 1977), p.79.

\*These figures were the percentages of the total number of government and private tube wells in the country.

1967-68.<sup>52</sup> During the same period sugar cane and cotton crops also showed higher productivity in Khairpur division.

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<sup>52</sup>Aquil, Syed Mansur (ed.), *Decade of Reforms in Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: West Pakistan Government Press, 1968), p.ii.

### Chapter 3

## Sources of Greater Productivity: Irrigation

### Introduction

The main argument of present study is that higher productivity triggered major change in Khairpur during twentieth century, particularly the period from 1947-1955 and from the late 1960s to 1980s. During the short period between the late 1950s to late 1960s economic and social progress was affected by One Unit scheme. However, this economic and social change began with the development of irrigation. It became first source of greater productivity in Khairpur. This chapter highlights the role of British Government in developing irrigation works in Sind including Khairpur in the first half of twentieth century, and analyses the impact of major irrigation schemes on the cultivation of land.

In Sind province rainfall was scant due to its geographic location which kept it away from the reach of south-west and the north-eastern monsoons.<sup>1</sup> Sind including Khairpur thus depended on the waters of the Indus for cultivation. In consequence, ‘Sind has always been a pioneer of irrigation in India and has had a system of canals and water-courses since the beginning of historical time, tended by people who knew very well how to use the bounty of nature.’<sup>2</sup> Throughout the centuries cultivators in Sind and Khairpur excavated canals to ensure water supply to their lands. Nevertheless, water supply for cultivation was dependent on the rise and fall in the flow of Indus River. In the case of high rise in water flow, farmers were unable to control huge water floods which caused crop as well human losses in Sind. In the later case farmers had to lift

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<sup>1</sup>Government of Bombay, *Sind and the Lloyd Barrage*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1929), p.1.

<sup>2</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.451.

water from canals with the help of Persian-wheels powered by animals. Babur on irrigation in Hindustan described the working of Persian-wheel in following words.

Two long pieces of rope are looped the size of the well. Wooden stakes are fastened across the two pieces of rope, and jars are fastened to the wooden stakes. The ropes to which the jars are fastened are thrown around a wheel that is over the well. Another wheel is put on the other end of the axle of this wheel. Next to this wheel yet another wheel like the first one is put. As an ox turns this wheel, the spokes enter the spokes of the second wheel and turn the wheel with the jars. A trough is put at the place where the water spills out, and by means of the through the water is taken wherever it is needed.<sup>3</sup>

However, this system of Lift irrigation was not only slow but an expensive.<sup>4</sup> The irrigation system introduced by Sukkur Barrage in 1932 enabled farmers substantially to increase their exploitation of the Indus river. The construction of the Barrage brought huge changes to the process of cultivation. It diverted water to the fields through its associated perennial canals according to the needs of the crops. These canals flowed in both seasons: winter and summer. The water was assured by these canals in the areas under the command of the Barrage. Consequently, improved irrigation facilities extended land cultivation in Khairpur and boosted the economic power of the growers. This paved the way for the emergence of middle class in Khairpur.

### **Brief History of Canal Irrigation**

Prior to the conquest of Sind, cultivation was largely dependent on artificial canals and wells, which in the past had been excavated under both indigenous and foreign rulers. During the Kalhoras (1737-1783) several irrigation works were undertaken. In addition to the construction of Nurwah, other canals built during the Kalhora rule were Shah-ji-Kur, Nasratwah, Muradwah, Bagwah, Ferozwah, and Sarfrazwah.<sup>5</sup> Thus, irrigation was improved. Thus, it was argued by Sorley that irrigation system of Sind under the Kalhoras (1737-1783) was more efficient than that of existing under the rule of the Talpurs, (1783-1843). Talpurs were not anxious for development of irrigation and

<sup>3</sup>See Wheeler M. Thackston, (trans.), *Baburnama*, Modern Library, (New York: 2002), p. 334.

<sup>4</sup>Musto, A. A., *The future of Sind Sukkur Barrage Scheme*, (Bombay: The Times Press, 1923), p.3.

<sup>5</sup>Khuhro, Hamida, *The Making of Modern Sind: British policy and Social change in the Nineteenth century*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.151-152.

they did not generously grant funds to clear silt from inundation canals and water courses.<sup>6</sup>

This might have been true for Sind under the Mirs [Talpuers] and about pre-barrage Khairpur under Mirs. As the Indus traversed Khairpur, the state was in position to benefit from the river. But because irrigation was dependent on inundation canals, no benefit was to be had. This irregular supply of water could only be supplemented by wells. These canals however, did not guarantee water to be available for *rabi* and *kharif* seasons: A major problem associated with these canals was the deposition of silt. The process of clearing silt was a great task for the rulers. The water courses also faced the inherent problem of silt, which was passed through the branches of canals.<sup>7</sup> The responsibility for clearing water courses belonged to *zamindars*. The *zamindars* forced their farmers to clear silt from branch canals and water courses. The labourers were not paid for their work. Thus, *begar* or forced labour was prevalent in Sind and Khairpur under the Mirs' rule.

However, Khairpur state had some inundation canals. Both the Mirwah and Sathiyowah were the largest canals of the state, which irrigated 'a narrow strip of land to the west of the railway line and the Rohri canal but east of the railway and the Rohri canal' they supplied all the irrigation water in Khairpur.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the north-western and south-western parts of Khairpur were supplied water by Abulwah along with a network of small branch canals.<sup>9</sup> For the further development of irrigation a full-fledged department was established during the rule of Mir Faiz Muhammad (1894-1909). The new department improved the Sathiyowah and constructed the following important

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<sup>6</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state, state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.451.

<sup>7</sup>Canal is used for carrying water from the river and empties into the watercourses. Whereas, the watercourse is an artificial channel cut for supplying water to fields.

<sup>8</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.491.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

branch canals:-Faizwah, Faiz Baksh, Faiz Ganj, Faiz Bahar and Faiz Man.<sup>10</sup> In addition, state also possessed some main canals and their branch canals. They included Mainwah, Garkinoowah, Jaldeewah, Sanhrowah, Ahmedpurwah, Mandhoowah, Hamar-ji-wah, Weejhowah and Pandhoowah. These canals were further divided into following tributaries or branches: Faiz Baharwah, Khabarwah, Bodlaywah, Lalanwah, Madhuwah, and Jadaywah.

After the British annexation of Sind in 1843, efforts were made to improve the irrigation system. Sir Charles Napier established a military-based administration. Noting the deteriorating conditions of the existing canals he opened a new department for the improvement of the canal system. It was decided to construct new canals and improve the capacity of the old ones. This department was unable to achieve its objectives mainly because of its structural weaknesses. Its head captain, Walter Scott, recruited its staff from military men who lacked the professional skills needed for the administration of irrigation engineering. It was unfortunate that Napier did not take advantage of the Governor-General's offer to provide him with all experts.<sup>11</sup> The foundation of this department was no more than a first step in a right direction.

Matters began to change when Bartle Frere was made Commissioner of Sind in 1851. In his eight year rule he was able to overcome administrative difficulties and maintain peace in the country. He realised the importance of water works for progress in agriculture. New bridges, canals and roads were constructed under his administration. With his efforts the Nurwah and Nara canal were improved and the water level in these canals was raised. It was during the British time in Sind the irrigation became the backbone of agriculture. The *zamindars* also took part in the reconstruction of canals and the government completed some schemes in collaboration with them. A notable

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<sup>10</sup>Aitken, E.H., *Gazetteer of the province of Sind*, (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), p.515.

<sup>11</sup>Khuhro, Hamida, *The Making of Modern Sind: British policy and Social change in the Nineteenth century*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.159.

example was the excavation of Ford canal. Nevertheless, in spite of the efforts of indigenous rulers and the British Government, Sind agricultural conditions remained poor.

### **Construction of Lloyd Barrage (Sukkur Barrage)<sup>12</sup>**

Before the construction of the Lloyd Barrage agricultural conditions were deteriorating. Because more water was being withdrawn from the Indus and its Punjab tributaries by the development of the canal colonies in that province, conditions were moving to the point where it was difficult to grow even one *kharif* crop in Sind. Before the establishment of the barrage, in comparison with the Punjab, Sind was far behind in the development of irrigation and agricultural improvement. In addition to Lower Chenab, and Lower Jhelum Canal cultivation, the Punjab had perennial canal system which provided water for both *kharif* and *rabi* seasons. Thus, the Punjab cultivated 30 percent more *kharif* crops and over 300 percent more *rabi* crops than Sind.<sup>13</sup>

Irrigated cultivation consisted only 30 percent of the total area under cultivation in Sind. Therefore, the need for a reliable system of irrigation was felt by farmers and friends of Sind agriculture. In fact, successful irrigation was dependent on the height of the Indus river, but growing uncertainty about the necessary level severely affected the spirit of cultivation among the farmers, who developed many superstitions in their minds about the water supply. Many begged their *pirs* and fakirs to pray for their better crops. 'Many of the *fakirs* are [were], without doubt, virtuous men, but the great bulk are [were] hypocritical fanatics.'<sup>14</sup> The false *pirs* therefore, exploited the situation and received plenty of *dan* (gifts) from the poor farmers for blessing them with *taweez*.

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<sup>12</sup>See Chapter 2 'Sukkur Barrage and Sind's Transformation' in Haines, T.D., *Building the Empire, Building the Nation: water, land, and the politics of river-development in Sind, 1898-1969*, Unpublished PhD thesis, (London: University of London, 2011), pp.78-118.

<sup>13</sup>The report does not give year. See Musto, A. A., *The future of Sind Sukkur Barrage Scheme*, (Bombay: The Times Press, 1923), p.7.

<sup>14</sup>Burnes, A., 'On Sind', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol.7. (Blackwell Publishing: 1837), p.16.

Cultivators remained staunch believers in *kismet* (luck) rather than in solid hard work required for success in crops. This belief gathered momentum under the circumstances in which ‘no cultivator could ever be certain as to whether he would get water in proper time to grow his seedlings or whether the water would maintain its level sufficiently high at the end of the inundation season to permit him to mature his crops.’<sup>15</sup>

Controlled by the conditions, the farmers spent their lives in absolute poverty. Because they believed that they could do nothing to bring a change in their living conditions, they were fatalists, ‘leaving everything to luck and chance.’<sup>16</sup> The Indus was a mighty river and it was beyond the control of farmers.<sup>17</sup> The canals flowed during the summer season and the water was available for not more than three or four months. But in some areas of lower Sind, water was available for only 75 days a year. Thus, in these areas farmers could cultivate rice because varieties of rice although water intensive could be grown in short period of time as compared to other crops.<sup>18</sup>

In Khairpur, *rabi* irrigation was not properly managed due to the water shortage. Water was lifted from the canals with a Persian wheel, whenever the beds of the canals were lower than the fields.<sup>19</sup> Wells were also used to meet irrigation needs, but the supplies were not large enough to enable the large tracts of lands to be irrigated. This source could nevertheless provide a small quantity of water for drinking and irrigation purposes. In contrast, those areas dependent on floodwaters suffered both from surfeit of water as well as its absence. In these areas, farmers were able to cultivate wheat in the lands flooded from canals. The wheat crops could grow on these lands without

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<sup>15</sup>Gazdar\*, M. H., ‘Sukkur Barrage and Canals Scheme: Financial Aspects’, *Alwahid*, Special Edition Sind Azad Number, (Karachi: June 15, 1936), p.44.

\*Muhammad Hashim Gazdar was a Karachi-based contractor and supporter of the Muslim League in the 1930s.

<sup>16</sup>Panhwar, M.H., *How to write a History of Sind? Some suggestions*, Internet edition, p.18. [For further details see [www.panhwar.com](http://www.panhwar.com)].

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>Pithawalla, M.B., *A Geographical Analysis including Physiography of Khairpur state: A Post Barrage Investigation*, (Karachi: 1935), p.21.

further watering in cold season. This cultivation was done annually and known as *bosi*.<sup>20</sup>

The *Katcha* areas of Khairpur were largely reliant on flood water. The excess of flooding not only damaged the crops but also destroyed entire villages of cultivators. There was no control over the water level which could rise and fall at any time without any warning. Furthermore, there was no apparatus to predict water levels. Nor was there a system to prevent the wastage of much needed water resources.

The idea of harnessing the Indus for the benefit of the cultivator began with Lieutenant J. G. Fife. In 1868 he proposed the construction of a barrage across the river at Sukkur. It took more than a half century to be converted into reality. The driving force was the Government of Bombay. The government prepared a scheme to comprise:-(1) A Barrage at Sukkur (2) A right bank canal (3) A Rohri – Hyderabad canal (4) An Eastern Nara Canal.<sup>21</sup> These proposals were partially approved by the Government of India in 1907. However, it modified the scheme and only recommended the construction of the barrage along with a Rohri canal, to the secretary of state for India for further action. But these proposals were not accepted by the secretary of state on the ground that the scheme would not lead to an increase in agricultural productivity.

However, the Bombay Government did not accept this conclusion, arguing that it was the Punjab's withdrawals of water that were the main cause of the variation in the Indus waters during the *kharif* season. Therefore, the Barrage would ensure the availability of water for the both seasons. As a result fresh investigations were undertaken and the conclusion was reached that, 'although it was difficult to prove any direct effect of the Punjab's withdrawals on the river at Sukkur, there was a reason to believe that these might have a prejudicial effect at the beginning and end of the *kharif* irrigation season,

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<sup>20</sup>Musto, A. A., *The future of Sind Sukkur Barrage Scheme*, (Bombay: The Times Press, 1923), p.6.

<sup>21</sup>Government of Bombay, *Sind and Lloyd Barrage*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1929), p. 1.

and that there was good ground for holding that Sind ought to be protected from such a contingency by the construction of a Barrage.<sup>22</sup>

The Bombay Government then prepared a draft of a revised plan which envisaged that the Barrage will be constructed ‘below the gorge.’ It also provided for the construction of seven canals on the banks of the river Indus. These proposals were finally approved by the secretary of state in 1922. The work started in July 1923 and was inaugurated by the then Governor of Bombay, Sir George Lloyd. The barrage was completed in 1932.

The establishment of the Barrage at Sukkur was a major milestone in the history of irrigation in Sind. It was one of the greatest boons that the British Government conferred on Sind.<sup>23</sup> This scheme turned the lands of Sind into a green valley where, the life and career of the cultivator became more secure, and cultivation was guaranteed by perennial irrigation. It encouraged farmers to rely more on hard work rather than on luck. Gazdar maintained that with the completion of the scheme, cultivators and landowners were not only able to use irrigation facilities for both crop seasons in a year ‘but it promised to convert the whole country into a Garden of Eden.’<sup>24</sup>

An official report on the Lloyd Barrage divided the irrigation of Sind into three parts. The first part relates to the areas of Sind including Khairpur, which fall under command of the Barrage. Thus, the main objective of the Barrage was to ascertain irrigation water to these areas. ‘The Lloyd Barrage,’ declared the report, ‘is situated about 3 miles downstream of the Sukkur gorge, will consist of 66 spans of 60 feet, each separated by 58 ordinary piers, each 10 feet wide, and 7 abutment piers, each 25 feet wide.’<sup>25</sup> It was five times longer than the London Bridge, constructed on the Thames River in England. The Barrage could regulate 15 hundred thousand cusecs of water. On the both sides of

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<sup>22</sup>Government of Bombay, *Sind and Lloyd Barrage*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1929), p.2.

<sup>23</sup> Gazdar, M. H., ‘Sukkur Barrage and Canals Scheme: Financial Aspects’, *Alwahid*, Special Edition Sind Azad Number, (Karachi: June 15, 1936), p.44.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>Government of Bombay, *Sind and Lloyd Barrage*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1929), p.4.

the river, following canals were designed to irrigate the entire area under the Sukkur Barrage scheme.

The first three canals (See Table 9), were constructed on the right bank and following four canals were built on the left bank of the river Indus. The largest canal as noted in the table was Nara canal see Map 3 (See p.109). The widest among the above, was the Rohri canal. The left bank canals were to cross the territories of the state. Brief description of these canals is given as under.

Table 9 The canals of the Lloyd Barrage

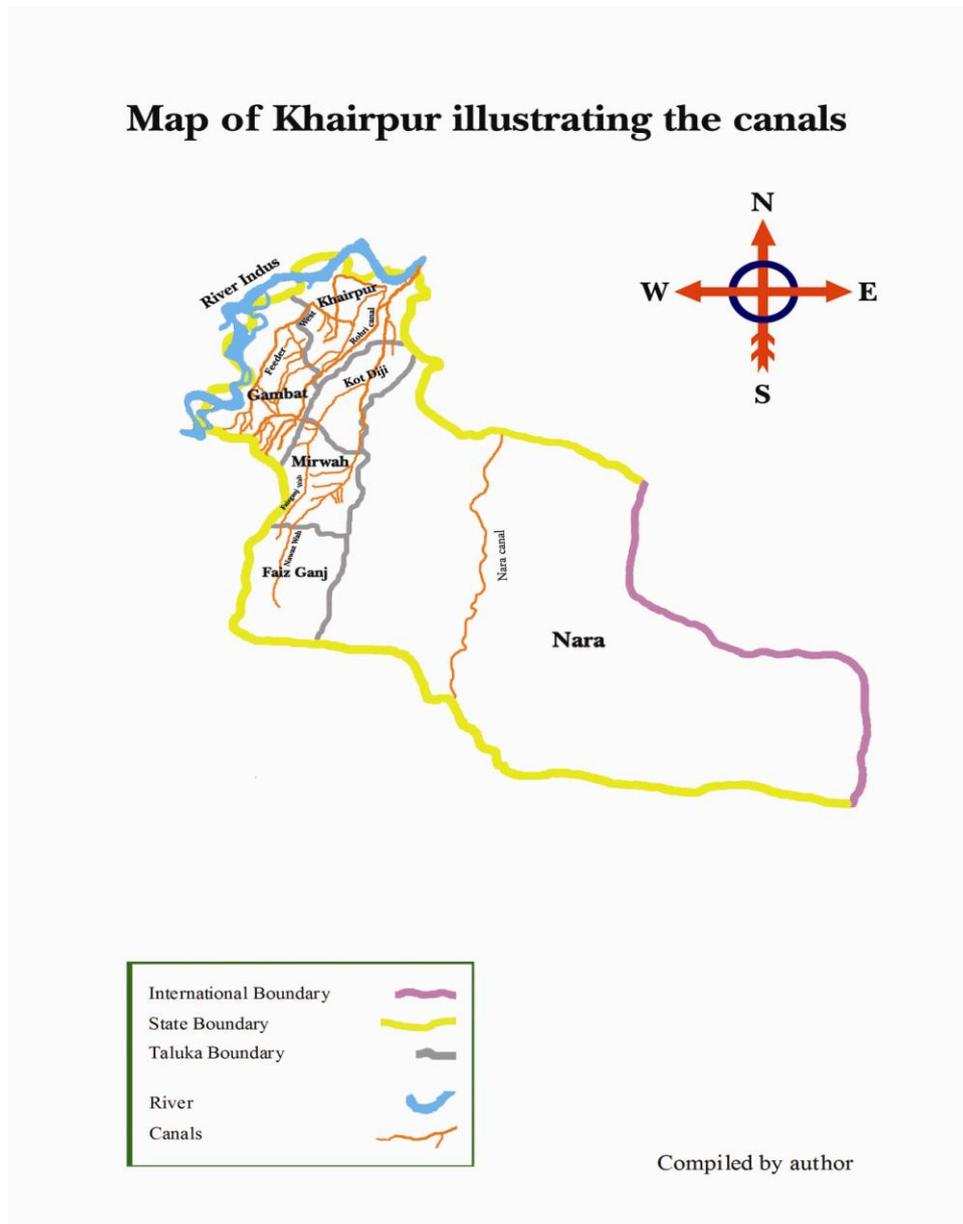
Canal	No. of Spans	Discharge Cusecs	Length Miles	Bed width Feet	F.S.Depth Feet
N.W.Perennial	6	5,099	34	165	10.2
Central Rice	13	10,215	82	243	11.75
Dadu	4	2,837	131	92.5	9.6
Eastern Nara	16	13,389	544	380	11.5
Khairpur Feeder, East	2	2,094	13	82	8.5
Rohri	12	10,191	208	250	12.0
Khairpur Feeder, West	2	1,936	1	79	8.8
Total	55	45,761	1,013		

Source: Government of Bombay, *Sind and Lloyd Barrage*, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1929.

The Eastern Nara Canal was the longest canal in the state. Its length was 875 Km. It was stated that the waters flowing now through the Nara are plentiful and are likely to fertilise the narrow valley situated in the Khairpur state.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Pithawalla, M.B., *A Geographical Analysis including Physiography of Khairpur state: A Post Barrage Investigation*, (Karachi: 1935), p.22.

**Map 3 Khairpur and its canals after the construction of the Lloyd Barrage<sup>27</sup>**



Nara canal was capable of discharging 13,389 cusecs. While the Rohri canal was about the size of Thames River. It was 334 Km long and 250 feet wide in the bottom, wider than the Suez Canal, and 12 feet deep. There were two feeder canals: Khairpur West Feeder and East Khairpur Feeder. The East Feeder discharged 2,094 cusecs. The length and width of its bed was more than 20 Km and 82 feet respectively. It was derived from the Sukkur Barrage to irrigate state lands jointly with the Mirwah. With the supply of former, the latter became a regular source of irrigation water. Mirwah (See

<sup>27</sup>Map adapted from Government of Pakistan, *District Census Report Khairpur*, 1961.

figure 1) was named after the founder of Khairpur state, Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur, who excavated the canal to irrigate the areas of Khairpur and Kot Digi. Mir Ali Murad Talpur excavated two canals (1) Sathiyowah and (2) Abulwah.<sup>28</sup>

Figure 1 Mirwah, Khairpur



Source: Photo by author

Khairpur state used the new system of irrigation which replaced the old inundation canals. Moreover, in order to improve the use of irrigation waters, the state directed its attention towards the remodelling of the old canals. The new system adopted in Khairpur, Pithawala declares, gave the 'state a new life.... there is now security of tenure and regularity, and control of water supply for all seasons during the year.'<sup>29</sup>

### **Hopes and Fears about the Project**

The financial aspect of the scheme gave a reason to pessimistic observers to believe that the Barrage would not be able to recover the cost spent on its construction. Before the launch of the project it was estimated to cost Rs 200.3 million, or £15,022,500

<sup>28</sup>Baig, Mirza Qaleech, *Riyasat Khairpur*, Third edition, (Hyderabad: 2007), p.123.

<sup>29</sup>Pithawalla, M.B., *A Geographical Analysis including Physiography of Khairpur state: A Post Barrage Investigation*, (Karachi: 1935), p.23.

sterling.<sup>30</sup> It was clear that with the increase in cultivation agriculture would generate enough revenue to enable the adjustment of its debt. But some observers painted a gloomy picture. ‘We shall never get sufficient revenue,’ Gazdar asserted, ‘to pay maintenance and working charges in addition to the interest charges and sinking fund for repayment of capital’.<sup>31</sup> At the time, when the Barrage work was completed and was ready to deliver, conditions were not favourable for agricultural productivity. It was unfortunate that this time was marked by political crises and economic instability. The world economy was affected severely by the depression of 1929 in the United States. A glut in agricultural markets caused prices to drop drastically.

Gazdar therefore, argued that the negative impact of the depression on the market caused the lower prices of agricultural products. He did not expect to recover normal rates of assessments of various crops.<sup>32</sup> This created insecurity and fear among farmers, all the more as they were unaware of the potential of the Barrage. People did not expect that Sind would be able to repay the expenses over the Barrage. The interest charges alone were estimated to be about Rupees 140 Lakhs [14 million] a year. This interest was charged on principal amount of 200 million rupees borrowed from the Government of India.<sup>33</sup> This period of fear and hopelessness continued until the outbreak of the Second World War ended global economic depression. It also proved favourable for the economy of Sind, including Khairpur. There was an immediate rise in the price of agricultural commodities. ‘The improvement in the financial condition of Sind was such that within a few years it was able, not only to pay off all the debts, but to use a surplus for the erection of some imposing public buildings in Karachi.’<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Government of Bombay, *Sind and Lloyd Barrage*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1929), p.5.

<sup>31</sup>Gazdar, M. H., ‘Sukkur Barrage and Canals Scheme: Financial Aspects’, *Alwahid*, Special Edition Sind Azad Number, (Karachi: June 15, 1936), p.44.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>Sorley, H.T., *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1969), p.790.

### **Impact of the Barrage**

The construction of the Barrage enabled people to appreciate how important water was for agricultural progress. This expression was clearly demonstrated to ensure fair distribution of water from the Indus among all shareholders and to protect the interests of Sindi agriculture. The issue of additional withdrawals by the Punjab was perceived as having a negative effect on the availability of water in Sind. Sind had faced shortage of water for its cultivable lands in the past. Thus, the Government of Sind complained that it had objections to additional withdrawals from the Indus by the Punjab. These additional waters were desired by the Punjab for its own irrigation schemes such as The *Haveli* Project and *Thal* project, which later was opposed by the then Bombay Government since the 1920s onwards. However, the Anderson Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1935 allocated monthly supplies for these projects.<sup>35</sup>

The water distribution issue became one of the major social and political inputs that shaped post-colonial politics and society in Pakistan. The post-barrage water issues emphasised the importance of water as a source of survival. Water supplies for the purpose of drinking in most of cities in Sind largely relied on the Indus. Thus, water became a common interest of people in Sind. It affected social, political and economic aspects of life in Sind and Khairpur. The construction of the Barrage was actually a harbinger of change in these aspects of life. It enabled farmers to increase cultivation, brought virgin lands under cultivation and extended productivity. In the command areas of the barrage, improvement in crop output resulted in higher income levels of growers. However, some parts of Khairpur were affected by water-logging and salinity, which retarded the further growth of agricultural production.

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<sup>35</sup>Government of the Punjab, *Sind-Punjab Dispute over the Indus waters: The Punjab Defence*, (Lahore: Superintendent Press, 1941), p.13.

Figure 2 Sukkur Barrage



Source: Photo by author

An overriding objective of the government policy was to extend the cultivated area by bringing new lands under cultivation. Cultivators were encouraged to settle in the areas which came under the command of the Barrage. With the start of the Barrage it was decided to dispose of the lands in the form of grants, sales, and leases. The government gave indigenous people the first claim to consideration in the development of the area and they made 350,000 acres of land available to land owners.<sup>36</sup> The *haris* were also granted lands to increase cultivation of the Barrage lands. The Barrage provided an opportunity to cultivators to receive the *malkano* (ownership) by paying the half of the payment made by the Punjab peasants. Farmers were granted lands by the Revenue Department on the condition that they will be tenants at will for the first five years, and they would pay Rs 3 per acre every year. In addition, they were expected to establish their homes near their land in order to ensure proper cultivation.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Government of Bombay, *Sind and Lloyd Barrage*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1929), p.14.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*

The construction of the Barrage gave a boost to agriculture and productivity increased manifold. Although the project had some demerits, which will be discussed later in this chapter, it is a fact that the barrage turned the ‘unhappy vale’ into a valley of happiness and prosperity. This was made possible with the extension of farming. The pre-Barrage statistics show that in the year 1931-32 the total cultivation was 1, 88, 278 acres. This could be compared with the following years of the Barrage. The table 10 shows subsequent increase in *rabi* and *kharif* crops.

Table 10 Increase of Acres under cultivation in Khairpur 1932-1939

Year	Kharif	Rabi	Total
1932-33	1,18,387	1,13,214	2,31,601
1933-34	1,36,582	1,36,527	2,73,109
1934-35	1,34,309	1,25,202	2,59,511
1935-36	1,60,046	1,44,824	3,04,870
1936-37	1,86,355	1,33,927	3,20,282
1937-38	2,14,215	1,55,102	3,69,317
1938-39	1,76,021	1,6,1551	3,45,572

Source: Administration Report of Khairpur state 1939.

With the start of the canals, irrigation water became available in the remote areas which had remained un-irrigated in the past mainly due to the absence of the perennial canal system. Hence, improvement in water use took place due to excavation of perennial canals which subsequently made possible the production of a variety of crops. The above table indicates that there was an increase of 43,323 acres of land under cultivation in only the first year of opening of the Barrage. Apart from the year 1934-35 the following years saw yet more increase in cultivation. In the year 1939 it reached 3, 45,572 acres. These figures clearly show the not insignificant impact of the Barrage on

cultivation. Moreover, the introduction of new type of crops was another effect of the Barrage. The most common crops included wheat, *jowar*, barley, grams, *bajhri*, peas, *mung*, rice, cotton and tobacco. Sugar cane was a relatively new crop. These crops were grown on irrigation water supplied by canals taking off from the Indus at the Lloyd Barrage at Sukkur.<sup>38</sup>

Table 11 shows the crop productivity in Khairpur during the year 1948-1949.

Table 11 Agricultural productivity in Khairpur state (1948-49)

Type of Crop	Acreage	Yield (Tones)
Rice	13,842	5,080
Wheat	1,30,042	40,573
Barley	1,705	438
Jowar	81,410	14,898
Bajra	6,810	1,750
Maize	46	14
Cereals and Pulses	95,440	20,997
Sugar cane	2,936	4313
Other Food Crops	11,863	2,610
Non-food Crops	41,240	9,073
Cotton	39,085(Bales)	14,930(Bales)
Total	4,24,419	

Source: An Introduction to Sind<sup>39</sup>

According to the table the acreage of rice in the state was 13,842, which was much less than the food crop *jowar* (81,410 acres). This reveals that after wheat, *jowar* was the

<sup>38</sup>Administration Report of the Khairpur state for the year ending 31<sup>st</sup> July 1939, p.8.

<sup>39</sup>The data used in the Table 11 has been derived from Pithawala, Maneck B., *An Introduction to Sind: Its Wealth and Welfare*, (Karachi: Sind Observer Press, 1951).

single most important food crop cultivated in the state. In terms of food, people of the state liked *jowar* and rice. Nevertheless, wheat was a dominant food crop. Its acreage during the year was 1, 30,042. Besides, cereals and pulses were largely cultivated in the state. Among the cash crops, cotton dominated the productivity in Khairpur. The total acreage of this crop was 39,085 bales.<sup>40</sup> The cotton production was however much dependent on the climate. Even a small variation in the climatic conditions could severely affect its yield per acre. Table 11 suggests that sugar cane was cultivated over a considerably lesser area than the other major crops. After the year 1949, however, sugar cane gained much popularity. Later, it became a major cash crop of *kharif* season. The productivity of sugar cane increased to 10,900<sup>41</sup> acres alone in Khairpur.

According to the District Census Report, there was increase in wheat crop productivity during the 1960s. In the same period *jowar* was cultivated on 61,100, acres, which showed greater reduction in its acreage from a high during 1948-49. The cultivation was further affected by the unchanged condition of water-logged soil.

Pithawala argued that if there was any part of the lower Indus plain (Sind) that has benefited most as well as suffered most on account of the Sukkur Barrage, it was Khairpur.<sup>42</sup> The problem was water-logging. Not long after the Barrage was opened, water-logging was observed in the 24 miles of the Rohri canal, on account of the level of water in the canal being several feet above the ground level in the surrounding country.<sup>43</sup> This affected the areas of Luqman where the soil used to yield excellent opium poppies.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Bale is a unit of weight for measuring cotton production. In Pakistan one bale is equivalent to 170 Kilograms.

<sup>41</sup>Government of Pakistan, *District Census Report Khairpur*, 1961, p.10.

<sup>42</sup>Pithawala, Maneck B., *An Introduction to Sind: Its Wealth and Welfare*, (Karachi: Sind Observer Press, 1951), p.55.

<sup>43</sup>Administration Report of the Khairpur state for the year ending 31<sup>st</sup> July 1939, p.19.

<sup>44</sup>Pithawalla, M.B., *A Geographical Analysis including Physiography of Khairpur state: A Post Barrage Investigation*, (Karachi: 1935), p.41.

The main source of water-logging was seepage of water, 'which resulted from the increased water supply and the passage of very large volumes of water through the state soils and sub soils.'<sup>45</sup> In addition, the other cause of the increased seepage as indicated by Pithawala was the sandy nature of the soil, due to which the water could easily spread through the soils. His geographical analysis of Khairpur state suggests that the main cause of seepage was that the Rohri canal was constructed at the height above the general level of the state soils. He suggested two solutions to the water-logging problem: reducing the 8foot fall at Tando Musti Khan or generating electricity at this point of the canal to power tube wells instead of using irrigation provided by the Barrage.<sup>46</sup>

During the colonial era nearly 7,000 acres of state lands were affected by water-logging in all talukas.<sup>47</sup> The most affected area among all talukas was Khairpur itself where, 6806 acres of previously good land became water-logged and unsuitable for cultivation in 1933-34.<sup>48</sup> However, during the post-colonial era, installation of tube wells was started in order to reduce ground water table. The tube wells performed mainly two functions (1) They reduced water table and removed salt from the soil and (2) provided fresh water for irrigation purpose. In fact, the quality of surface water was much better than that of the ground water. At the outset, the ground water contained large amounts of salts, which made it useless for purpose of irrigation.<sup>49</sup> However, the quantity of salt could be reduced, by passing the water through watercourse which takes off from the branch canal. The addition of silt could also make it more useful. But, it was not desirable to use this water for crops permanently. Despite a number of measures being taken from time to time, the problem has not yet been adequately solved even

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<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, p.42.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, p.41.

<sup>48</sup>Administration Report of the Khairpur state, for the year ending 1934, p.11.

<sup>49</sup>Rahman, Mushtaqur, *Land and Life in Sind*, (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1993), p.158.

after independence. It has severely affected the amount of land available for cultivation and affected agriculture in Khairpur.

By 1961, 34,742 acres of fertile land had been affected by water-logging and had been rendered unfit for cultivation.<sup>50</sup> The government realised that the problem of water logging and salinity could no longer be ignored. Therefore, the Salinity Control and Reclamation Project (SCARP) was launched by the government in the late 1960s to reduce the ground water table by the installation of tube wells. By the late 1960s there were 540 tube wells, 175 in the fresh water zone and 365 in the saline ground water zone of SCARP area.<sup>51</sup> These tube wells served those areas of Khairpur which were affected by the problem of water-logging and salinity. Government appointed operators who were put in charge of tube wells. It was the duty of the operator to look after tube well and operate it regularly. The water supplied by the tube well was taken to the fields through drains, which emptied into canal or watercourse. The salinity control project partially achieved its objective of land reclamation in Khairpur. Table 12 (See p.119) indicates the progress of the project. The total affected land in the year 1969-70 was 76461 acres out of which more than 17 percent land was reclaimed. Reclaimed acres of land were made available for cultivation. Moreover, in order to speed up the reclamation process, availability of sufficient good quality water<sup>52</sup> was required to 'drain down the excessive salts to a safe limit.'<sup>53</sup> In this way salinity in the soil was controlled and productivity further increased.

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<sup>50</sup>Government of Pakistan, *District Census Report Khairpur*, 1961, p.9.

<sup>51</sup>Government of Sind, *SCARP Khairpur Monitoring Studies: SCARP-Khairpur 1969-1970: Agriculture*, (Khairpur: Directorate of SCARP, 1972), p.iii-iv.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p.3.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*

Table 12 Land Reclamation during the period 1966-70 in Khairpur<sup>54</sup>

Year	Affected Acres	Percent	Reclaimed Acres	Percent
1966-67	92461	100	*	*
1967-68	91761	99.25	700	0.75
1968-69	85961	93.00	6500	7.00
1969-70	76461	82.61	16000	17.39

Source: Monitoring Studies-SCARP-Khairpur1969-1970

### Social impact

The pre-Barrage era was a period of unawareness, conventional practices and observance of old beliefs. Farmers developed many superstitions about various activities of life. They also believed that some birds, animals and plants could be useful with regard to knowing about future happenings. For instance, crow's *kan kan* (crying) was believed as an indicator of guest visit. It was also believed that snake charmer could tell about the gender of unborn baby. The dog and cock were best friends of farmers. The dog worked as a reliable security worker at the dark nights and protected the house and property of farmer. With the help of dogs, farmers were able to enjoy good sleep. Cocks crowed early in the morning and worked as alarm clock to wake farmers up. This way of life was shared by all farmers. However, at time of feeling unwell they preferred *pirs* to doctors and *taweez* to medicine for treatment.

Apart from the superstitious aspects of pre-barrage period, some agricultural practices indicate that cultivators developed a useful local knowledge regarding agriculture. They knew a number of cultural practices and methods in order to deal with difficulties and problems of cultivation. In the absence of calendars the start and end of agricultural seasons was decided by stars. Most agricultural activities were decided according to the

<sup>54</sup>\*The project was launched in 1966-67. Thus, the data for that year was unavailable.

movement and brightness of few stars which were considered as friends of farmers. Most important star was known as *kati*. The rise of *kati* in the sky was believed to be the beginning of summer. It was the season for summer crops. The star slowly went down in the following months until the 7 December when it completely disappeared. This was indication for the beginning of the winter season for the cultivation of crops such as wheat. This star determined the timings for sowing crops and harvesting them. It was easily recognisable by wise farmers. In addition, the new growth in the sugar cane like plant locally called *sacho buro* also indicated the beginning of winter. Thus, there was no concept of using wall clocks, watches and calendars in pre-barrage period.<sup>55</sup>

The irrigation revolution brought about by Sukkur Barrage created social and cultural changes in agrarian society. It helped in changing old beliefs and customs which were followed blindly by people. The Sukkur Barrage changed the attitude of farmers. They began to believe not only in hardworking but also began to follow calendars and wrist watches to manage time. The Sukkur Barrage accelerated the process of agricultural productivity, and gave a boost to the economy. It was made possible to cultivate a variety of crops in the areas under command of the barrage. Extended farming resulted in higher proceeds of crop selling and brought about a visible change in the social and economic structure of rural life.

Rise in income levels, mainly because of cash crops, enabled farmers to consume new products, which they purchased from the markets of nearby towns. The farmers, who lived in temporary houses made of mud and grass prior to the construction of the Barrage, were now looking for the permanent settlements. Their financial capacity built up by greater productivity created a sense of better living among them. The purchasing power of *haris* also improved and it enabled them to fulfil their economic and social needs of life. They began to spend on housing, better clothing, food and medicine.

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<sup>55</sup>Interview with Haleem Ullah Mahesar (Farmer), Khairpur: May 08, 2011.

Moreover, 'economic prosperity and imitation' enabled 'people to build brick-built houses.'<sup>56</sup>

The urge for new houses generated a demand for the production of bricks in entire Sind including Khairpur. The *pakka* houses were made up of the bricks which were produced locally. These bricks were made of clay and dried in the sunlight. Process was followed by baking the same in the kiln. The baked bricks were ready for use in the construction of houses, schools, mosques and other government buildings. The brick industry was thus a flourishing business. It had an access to cheap raw material and labour which consisted of surplus agricultural workforce.

Besides, villagers were also willing to use new household products such as glazed pottery, China cups and saucers, stainless steel jugs and glasses, which were uncommon in the pre-Barrage period. Most families were reluctant to change food habits, but now were in position to accept new things. Among the new foods, tea was dominant drink which eventually became a symbol of hospitality in the urban and the rural areas. Bit by bit, tea became so important that it began to symbolise respect and honour of a guest in the Sindi society. If a visitor was offered a cup of tea in *autaq*, office, shop or hotel, it was regarded as a gesture of goodwill and feeling of friendliness. In both towns and villages tea became a popular drink.

The *haris* could now spend some money on purchase of *bidis* or cigarettes, the demand for which greatly increased in the post-Barrage period. The growing needs of cultivators were met by those who were not engaged in agriculture, and in consequence opened tea stalls or cigarette shops.<sup>57</sup>

These habits and many others represented the material and non material ingredients of culture. In addition, there was a noticeable change in the dressing patterns of people.

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<sup>56</sup>Lashary, M.B.K., 'Sukkur Barrage: Its impact on the Social Life of the People of Sind', *Grassroots*, Vol.13 & 14, (Jamshoro: University of Sind, 1988), p.79.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p.82.

Every form of dress had a different cultural value according to its use on different occasions. *Ajrak*, and *topi*<sup>58</sup>, dominated the cultural way of life. These objects were signs of dignity and honour in the post-barrage society. These products were made locally and sold at the big shops in towns. Moreover, wearing of *shalwar qamees* also reflected the increasing economic prosperity of the *haris*. The villagers also purchased different products of daily use from fairs. They also enjoyed local games and folk music in these fairs. More popular fairs in Khairpur were held at Gambat, Ranipur, Daraza Sharif and Setharja.

The post-Barrage era also resulted in the creation of various forms of amusement and introduced new trends. A significant trend was opening of the tea shops, popularly known as hotels. These tea shops in the rural areas cannot be far behind the pubs and bars in England in terms of accommodating a large number of customers. Both pubs and hotels served their customers in the same way. Like the pubs, hotels also provided an opportunity to customers to be socialised and to share ideas, experiences and their feelings. The hotel culture produced a substitute for the *autaq* as a meeting place for the local farmers. The *autaq* was the place where *zamindar* settled disputes and influenced farmers. Besides, it was also one of the basic institutions of socialisation in the rural society. However, its importance reduced considerably after the establishment of these tea shops. The hotels enabled people to share feelings and discuss their ideas. They could also find an opportunity to settle their disputes and solve the problems they faced in daily life. Most of *haris* could easily afford to provide hospitality to their guests at the hotels where the common drink was tea. These tea stalls increased greatly after the introduction of modernisation in agriculture, which provided leisure time for those who otherwise worked for the entire day from dawn to dusk. The reduced work load on the

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<sup>58</sup>Ajrak is a printed piece of cloth and Topi is used for covering head. Both the products are made locally in Sind.

land enabled farmers to reserve some time for entertainment in the form of *kachaheri* (meeting and sharing feelings and opinions) at these hotels.

The post-Barrage era also witnessed food security by the introduction of new crops and vegetables including potatoes which soon became a major food in the villages and towns alike in Khairpur. The state had ‘a surplus of food grains’ and the main crops were wheat, cotton and sugar cane.<sup>59</sup> The introduction of sugar cane enabled farmers to earn large sums of money in cash. This crop was directly sold in the market and therefore, it significantly contributed to the general purchasing power and prosperity of the cultivator as well as that of the country.<sup>60</sup> Both cotton and sugar cane became cash crops in Khairpur and led to the establishment of cotton factories and sugar mills.

The post-Barrage period was marked by industrial growth in Khairpur which could potentially pose a threat to the existence of traditional joint family system. The industries in the towns attracted the rural people particularly the non-agricultural workers. Thus, they began to move to the towns in the search of work and better living. Growth in rural-urban migration increased population of towns. These trends grew more during mid twentieth century. There was a change in social structure of society. The institutions of family and marriage were directly affected by new trends in society. Notably, these trends included girls’ education, the popularity of nuclear family and the abandoning of early marriage.

The attitude of people towards life also underwent a change. As a result they looked positively on the growth of education and literacy in society. The farmers believed that the induction of their sons into a government service, particularly in civil service could elevate them to a respectable and powerful position in a society where normally they felt insecure and powerless. This motivation and the way farmers could think however

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<sup>59</sup>See *Five Years of Pakistan (August 1947-1952)*, (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.) p.297.

<sup>60</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Price Trends in Pakistan*, (Karachi: Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1951), p.112.

did not lead them towards a complete departure from the feudal structure of agrarian life.

In the late twentieth century Khairpur both electronic and print media were available. The media emerged as a source of education, social awareness and reformation. Thus, the media educated people in general and villagers in particular to live a healthy life, convinced them to send their children to schools, built consensus on the equal status of women, compelled them to become politically oriented and influenced them to raise their level of living. Furthermore, it prevented them from being superstitious. In fact, some of locals could give up their superstitions and other age old practices which existed even long before the Barrage came into being. People also received information through electronic media in the tea hotels and took keen interest in its various programmes. The programmes offered by media were the main source of entertainment, information and education. These programmes had a positive impact on society. The electronic media performed two functions: first, they disseminated information and created social awareness among people; second, they began to change attitudes, habits, ideas and mould opinions, for instance, attitudes to girls' education, early marriage, and violence against women.

The cultivators became aware of the new trends, and they began to show their willingness for their renunciation of old concepts. Their attitudes about the things around them went through a series of changes in social structure by education, growth of media, political orientation, and their participation in political process. Their conservative ideas about life were also changed to an extent that they could realise the importance of hard work and its material gains to live a better life physically, and mentally. Hence it was stated that with the availability of water assured by the barrage and use of new crop inputs, there was a significant change in the beliefs and attitudes of

people.<sup>61</sup> They were no more victims of the pseudo-*pirs* and so called *mullahs* who could destroy the social fabric of society by introducing innovations in religious institutions. It was further maintained that the common beliefs that *pirs* and *fakirs* could change their conditions and help in maintaining good health, bless with a male child and enable them to lead a prosperous life, were becoming unpopular.<sup>62</sup>

However, relations between *haris* and *zamindars* came to be considerably influenced by the changing mindset of farming community. The power to enjoy voting right in elections further raised farmers' status. It also reduced the overwhelming influence of the *zamindar* over his farmers. The changing relationship between *zamindars* and *haris* affected the relations of the *zamindars* with the local level administration. *Zamindars* were not in position to exercise absolute control over farmers as they had exercised, prior to the establishment of the Barrage. They could not expect them to be at their beck and call. This relationship went through a further change with the introduction of mechanisation in agriculture. The dominant position of *wadero* in society started declining. Under the changing conditions, political power came to be shared between the *wadero*, the civil administration and the leaders of the emerging middle class. Yet, although the traditional authority the *wadero* had enjoyed in the past was disappearing day by day, nevertheless he still influenced village life in Khairpur.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter gives an overview of the role played by the British and the indigenous rulers of Khairpur in the development of canals in Sind. It concludes that, despite the efforts of British and non-British rulers, Sind agricultural conditions remained poor in Sind until the construction of Sukkur Barrage in 1932. It is argued that before the establishment of the Barrage, agricultural conditions were deteriorating mainly because

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<sup>61</sup>Lashary, M.B.K., 'Sukkur Barrage: Its impact on the Social Life of the People of Sind', *Grassroots*, Vol.13 & 14, (Jamshoro: University of Sind, 1988), p.82.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*

more water was being withdrawn from the Indus and its Punjab tributaries by the development of canal colonies. This created a condition where it was not possible even to grow one *kharif* crop in Sind. Thus, these conditions compelled farmers to live in poverty. The argument in support of Barrage gained ground and it was accepted that the Punjab's withdrawals might have a prejudicial effect at the time of the *kharif* season.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the Barrage scheme was finally approved by the Secretary of State.<sup>64</sup>

The command area of the Khairpur Lloyd (Sukkur) Barrage project was 640,000 acres and the water was supplied for 80 percent of total cultivatable land.<sup>65</sup> The irrigation system of the state was maintained and controlled by the Chief Engineer of the state. This system significantly changed the social and economic features of Khairpur. The Barrage enabled the people to protect themselves from the heavy floods which caused heavy damage to the crops and to the people. It played a key role in the management of disasters and enabled growers to use these valuable water resources for their own benefit. Thus, it is argued that the Barrage successfully contributed to the economic prosperity and founded the process of change. It gave the direction to change and created a way to break the monopoly of feudalism.

This chapter further analyses the impact of the Barrage on the agrarian society of Khairpur. Farmers were able to bring more lands under cultivation and they grew new crops and began to increase their income. The Barrage also brought about a change in the social aspect of life. These changes included the construction of new houses from bricks, new food habits and the use of new kinds of household articles. For instance, farmers began to use china cups and saucers (made of porcelain) which were replacing old earthenware.<sup>66</sup> There was an introduction of new drinks such as tea which was served in the hotels, similar to the pubs in terms of leisure. They found a new way of

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<sup>63</sup>Government of Bombay, *Sind and Lloyd Barrage*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1929), p.2.

<sup>64</sup>The Secretary of state here means the Secretary of state for Colonial India.

<sup>65</sup>*Khairpur: An Introduction*, (Karachi: Muslim Printing Press, n. d.), p. 5.

<sup>66</sup>Sorley, H. T., *The Gazetteer of Pakistan: The Former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.543.

socialising and enjoying leisure by meeting and discussing the common problems at these hotels. It boosted the morale of rural communities and motivated them to work hard and increase productivity. In addition, the construction of the barrage removed the laziness, inactivity and superstitious attitudes which were developed by uncertain water conditions. The barrage became a saviour for the people as it improved the conditions of landowners and farmers.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Gazdar, M. H., 'Sukkur Barrage and Canals Scheme: Financial Aspects' *Alwahid*, Special Edition Sind Azad Number, (Karachi: June 15, 1936), p.44.

*Chapter 4***Sources of Greater Productivity: Mechanisation****Introduction: The decision to mechanise farms**

This chapter focuses on the process of mechanisation in agriculture and its impact on Khairpur's agricultural system. It is argued that the introduction of mechanisation further increased land under cultivation as well as agricultural productivity. The introduction of mechanisation brought about far-reaching changes in agriculture. It increased crop density by providing adequate farm power for efficient farm operations. The chapter further examines the impact of these operations on the employment situation in Khairpur.

There was serious debate on the introduction of mechanisation in West Pakistan. Therefore, the Government of West Pakistan considered issues that could be raised around this new method of increasing farm power in the country. The argument in favour of rapid mechanisation stated that tractors would increase per acre yield, increase intensity and enable farmers to grow more crops on time. The tractors would provide cheaper farm power by replacing animals, and thus the cost of production would decrease; the demand for agricultural workers was expected to increase considerably. In addition, farmers were thereby relieved of the heaviest labour and their families were employed only part of the time in cultivation.<sup>1</sup>

It was understandable that intensive cultivation created by tractors increased demand for more agricultural workers. On the other hand, the critics of mechanisation expressed an opposite view. They mainly criticised mechanisation because of the fear of labour displacement and consequent joblessness under the conditions that existed during its

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<sup>1</sup>Government of Sind, *Report of the Government Hari Enquiry Committee, 1947- 48*, (Karachi: 1948), p.59.

formative phase. More specifically, the most debated question was whether mechanisation at a large scale was feasible in the less developed countries such as Pakistan, where it could have negative effects on a large number of agricultural workers, both permanent and seasonal.

This question was first examined by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1928. The report of the commission recognised the need for replacing bullocks with tractors and argued that mechanisation of agriculture was only possible if it were based on the principle of cooperation.<sup>2</sup> The members of the commission also stressed the need for improvement in the design and quality of agricultural implements used by farmers. The Famine Inquiry Commission was appointed in 1945 to investigate the problem of food shortage. It was noted that the traditional method of cultivation did not meet the food requirements of a fast growing population and, therefore, the commission recommended that mechanical power be used instead of animal power.<sup>3</sup> Six years later, in 1951, the Government of Pakistan formed an inquiry committee on agriculture to investigate how to cultivate virgin land and wasteland.

This committee recommended two types of machinery, including water pumps on the land damaged by water-logging and salinity, and tractors for the clearing of wild grass and bushes so as to bring the land under cultivation. The members of the committee based their recommendations on their theory developed on observations that it was 50 percent more costly to use bullocks than tractors. According to them, a tractor of 25-35 horsepower could easily cultivate 300 acres.<sup>4</sup> However, the committee did not ignore two basic issues that were likely to become a limiting factor in the adoption of mechanisation: the higher cost of machinery and the displacement of labour due to

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<sup>2</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.39.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p.41.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

mechanisation. They recommended the establishment of industrial units to absorb the labour that would be displaced by mechanisation of all farm operations.

The first five-year plan (1955-60) did not approve large-scale mechanisation on the grounds that it would increase unemployment. The plan further stated that the maintenance cost of tractors would be unbearable; therefore, tractors could only be used for the purpose of reclamation work, development of waste lands in new irrigation projects, and flood control work.<sup>5</sup>

Some analysts, however, attempted to temper the debate. The views on mechanisation in Sind and Khairpur expressed by Sir Roger Thomas suggest that he was in favour of partial mechanisation.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, if we take into account economic progress, Khairpur had more potential than the other agricultural regions for introduction of large scale mechanisation, but this desire of people was already wounded by the spark of Khairpur's welding with the One Unit scheme. Thus, Khairpur was subject to a uniform policy because it was considered by the founders of the One Unit scheme as part of what they called the 'melting pot' of West Pakistan.

Moreover, Sind Agricultural Commission favoured mechanisation to develop large tracts of virgin lands in Barrage areas. In addition, the Commission concluded that 'on account of scarcity of agricultural labour, we apprehend it would not be possible to develop these tracts without the assistance of machinery.'<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the issue of labour displacement was examined from time to time in order to remove doubts of people.

In the 1960s, another commission was set up to deal with the problems of mechanisation as identified by the inquiry committee. The commission was of the view that machinery was helpful in sowing more than one crop per season, i.e. multiple

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<sup>5</sup>Government of Pakistan, *The First Five Year Plan 1955-60: Agriculture*, (Karach: Manager Press, 1956), p.39.

<sup>6</sup>Sorley, H. T., *The Gazetteer of Pakistan: The Former province of Sind including Khairpur state*, (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan, 1959), p.549.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p.548.

cropping. It could help farmers complete their work on time and increase land cultivation. They emphasised the need for the training of farmers and provision of facilities to maintain mechanical equipment in the country.

Eventually, in the 1960s, decision was made by the Government of West Pakistan to mechanise agricultural farms in addition to using tractors for bringing wasteland under cultivation. It was realised that without tractors, land would not be able to grow more food crops or even cash crops. Tractors were the only way to provide adequate farm power for additional land that came under cultivation. This is how objections were later removed by the introduction of mechanisation on a small scale. This perception towards technology was based merely on assumptions, which remained unsupported by evidence, instead of a policy based on research findings.

### **The need for mechanisation**

In the 1950s mechanisation was started on a very small scale. The purpose for the use of tractors and bulldozers was to develop wastelands. However, the tractors were not supposed to work on agricultural farms. But, the development of new lands and availability of water created increasing demand for farm mechanisation in the country. Though the conditions of agriculture improved with the introduction of irrigation projects, there was room for further improvement.

There was no doubt that agriculture was improved with the introduction of irrigation projects. These irrigation projects made the availability of water possible for cultivation. This further created a demand for further expansion in cultivation. Nevertheless, conditions of agriculture still did not allow farmers to cultivate more lands in addition to their existing lands cultivated by means of animal power. The shortage of farm power and efficiency of farm operation were described as two important factors which created need for farm mechanisation to cultivate those areas which remained uncultivated. However, inadequate planning gave bad impression of mechanisation. Major issues

such as suitability of tractor models and shortage of its spare-parts became a source of confusion rather than farmer's satisfaction.

Existing conditions did not allow farmers to bring jungle lands under cultivation due to the shortage of farm power, i.e tractors, animals and other inputs. They were also restricted to growing only two crops a year. In the absence of adequate farm power, they were unable to sow their crops on time and eventually crop production was affected heavily. Land development activities such as ploughing wastelands, levelling, making *bunds*, digging channels and ploughing hard soils needed heavy machines.<sup>8</sup> The post-harvest operations were also performed by animal power. For instance, the process of threshing required pairs of bullocks that crushed the harvest. A wooden pillar was erected in a way that bullocks were able to move around. The process of threshing was slow and there were often a lot of waste; in addition, it required a sufficient amount of wind in order to separate the grains from the chaff and other waste materials. These operations were necessary for wheat and *jowar* and were dependent on weather conditions for timely completion. After finishing work, the farmers transported surplus produce to nearby markets by bullock or camel-cart because of unavailability of storage facilities. These operations performed by bullocks were not effective. The bullocks were not able to plough deep under the soil and did not provide enough power. Draft animal power was unreliable, ineffective and expensive in terms of its agricultural use and maintenance. Farmers had to reserve a considerable portion of land to feed their bullocks. These deteriorating conditions of farm power required drastic changes to the provision of farm power.

During the developing phase of mechanisation in the early 1950s, cultivators had little or no choice but to purchase a suitable tractor according to their needs. The market

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<sup>8</sup>Central Treaty Organisation, 'Travelling Seminar on Farm tools and Implements, October 10- November 26, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey', (Ankara: Office of the United States Economic Coordinator for CENTO Affairs, 1968), p.20.

offered them a variety of models with a variety of horsepower. In the absence of agricultural planning, and due to their ignorance, they purchased what they were asked to. Consequently, most of the tractors using low horsepower became useless in the face of soil conditions in the country. The shortage of spare parts further aggravated the problem. This situation compelled many farmers to abandon mechanisation in favour of traditional farming and the country became more or less a graveyard of farm machinery.<sup>9</sup> Another confusing effect of unplanned mechanisation was inability of importers to supply tractor drawn equipment and other farm implements. This created confusion among farmers and provided a basis for misperceptions about mechanisation. It began to be felt that mechanisation, while not bad *per se*, was not suitable for the country. But, in Khairpur it could work better than in the other parts of country because of its better condition during the pre-mechanisation period. Khairpur had good soil quality except those lands affected by water-logging, irrigation facilities and climatic conditions. Farm mechanisation was thus a blessing in disguise for people of Khairpur. However, in Khairpur like other parts of country, problems were not created by mechanisation but the way it was practised.

In the 1960s the demand for machinery further increased due to the introduction of high yielding varieties that required tractors for improved land operations such as seed-bed preparation, sowing and post sowing operations. Therefore, machines were preferred over animals in order to face pressing needs, and, hence, they became a source of the abundant power it brought to farms and changed the way the agriculture worked. The basic objective of farm mechanisation in West Pakistan was to increase productivity, but in consequence higher productivity improved conditions of farmers, who constituted an over-whelming majority of the population. In Khairpur mechanisation created new opportunities for farmers to progress in agriculture.

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<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p.21.

### **The process of mechanisation in Khairpur**

In the 1960s a programme of planned mechanisation was introduced by the government in the country, where it experienced many problems. But the situation in Khairpur was relatively better than the rest of the country. Khairpur had more potential for the introduction of mechanisation than the other divisions. In Khairpur improved irrigation system increased the demand for bringing more land under cultivation. The chief source of water in this division was canal irrigation provided by Sukkur Barrage. Nevertheless, the availability of water further increased with the construction of Guddu Barrage in 1964 to irrigate upper parts of Sind. In addition, mechanised irrigation provided fresh water for crops. Therefore, farmers were able to cultivate more wasteland including the lands affected by water-logging and salinity with the help of mechanisation. Khairpur's economy progressed better than any other part of the country. It was understandable that conditions were ripe for the introduction of farm mechanisation. The agriculture Department established an agricultural workshop at Khairpur which was mainly responsible for development of waste land, ploughing of land, installation of tube wells, and maintenance of machines. It was reported that 65000 acres were levelled by the bulldozers and 15000 acres were ploughed by wheel type tractors.<sup>10</sup>

In Khairpur there were 679 farmers who owned 852 tractors, and the number of government tractors was 216.<sup>11</sup> The entire division had only 5 percent of the tractors available in West Pakistan. Multan had a large number of tractors at 30 percent, while the Karachi and Kalat divisions had a smaller number of tractors, at 61 and 119 respectively. Among the twelve divisions, Khairpur was sixth in position in terms of the

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<sup>10</sup>Aquil, Mansur Syed (ed.), *Decade of Reforms in Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: West Pakistan, Government Press, 1968), p.13.

<sup>11</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.58.

availability of tractors. These machines were used by farmers in every part of the division for farm operations.

The most important mechanical operation was to prepare an identified land for cultivation. The large tracts of wasteland could only be cleared with the aid of heavy machinery, including tractors, which eradicated weeds and destroyed wild bushes. The bullocks did not offer adequate power to perform such a heavy task. This mechanical operation was considered a prerequisite for the development of land and expansion in cultivation. The tractors were used for proper tillage of soils. Traditional implements were unable to plough deeply. On the contrary, modern mouldboard and the disc plough pulled by a tractor were efficient for seed-bed preparation.<sup>12</sup>

It was a four-step process done by mouldboard plough, disc harrow and spike tooth harrow. Firstly, there were two tools mainly concerned with a primary tillage. The mouldboard was an improved form of the traditional plough, which could be used for trashing and preparing soil for further pulverization, while a disc harrow broke up already ploughed soil. It was this stage where wild grass and weeds were eradicated so that the root-zone could be cleared and made softer for the germination of seeds. It was common belief among farmers that more *har* more *fur* (more ploughing, more productivity). It was also believed by farmers that after the harvest of crops land could be ploughed to retain its fertility and to remove weeds and grass.

The clearance of weeds was an important task performed by these implements and it was followed by the next stage where lands were levelled primarily for proper water supply for new seeds to grow. In Khairpur, the level of water courses was not higher than the level of lands, and hence, it was difficult to raise water level to the extent to which it could be possible to supply upper parts of land. Thus, land needed proper levelling before sowing crops. This activity saved much needed water, particularly in

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<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p.63.

the areas where water was already in short supply. In addition, a uniform supply of water ensured the efficient use of irrigation. Availability of these tools was imperative to growing more crops and increasing intensity. These modern implements and scientific techniques enabled farmers to improve farming.<sup>13</sup>

Mechanised operations were necessary, especially when the lands were kept under crop continuously for a considerable time. These lands required modern implements powered by tractors instead of conventional tools pulled by bullocks, because the plough carried by bullocks only scratched the surface of the soil and thus the seed bed prepared by traditional tools was not favourable for the germination of seeds and the growth of plants. On the other hand, tractors used cultivators and disc harrows for proper seedbed preparation. These tillage implements became popular in Khairpur, where sowing and fertilizing tools were still uncommon. These mechanised operations were more suitable for large holdings for speedy and proper work. The second to last operation performed by the tractor was to provide power for operating the thresher. It was the most important machine. It saved time and worked with high speed. Before the introduction of threshers, the work was done manually in every part of rural Khairpur. It was time consuming but the thresher saved time and enabled farmers to prepare land for the next crop. The threshers were quite busy during the wheat season. Farmers had to book them earlier and paid them at the time of threshing.

Tractors were also used for transportation and the popularity of trailers in Khairpur further increased when farmers began to transport sugar cane produce to sugar mills and transported chemical fertilisers from markets to farms where farmers also used the tractor and the machines run by it, i.e. juice extracting machine. Some growers of sugar cane crop opted for *gur-making* using raw sugar cane juice. The machine locally known

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<sup>13</sup>Ahmed, Nuruddin, 'Present Situation and Future Problems of Farm Mechanisation in Pakistan', Symposium on Farm mechanisation, (Tokyo: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, 1970), p.44.

as *cheechro* was run by bullocks or a tractor. That juice had to be heated to a certain degree and cooled in a wooden basket to produce small blocks or cakes.

Effectiveness and speed of work depended on how they were carried and how farm implements were designed. These implements were also locally produced in the country for the purpose of various farm works that varied from farm to farm and operation to operation. In different regions, the quality of soil and its fertility levels were different. The tractors and other farm tools discussed earlier prepared soils. For example, seed-bed preparation for germination was their primary function. However, growing plants also required protection machinery for better productivity per acre. There was plenty of protection equipment available in Khairpur during 1966.

Table 13 Plant Protection Equipment Available/ required in Khairpur District

Name of equipment	Available	Required	Stock will last
Hand Sprays	190	-	5 years
Compression Sprays	503	-	5 years
Solo Shoulder Power Sprays	12	40	10 years
Wheel Barrow Hand Sprays	20		10 years
Power Sprays	70	30	10 years
Power Seed Treaters	03	-	20 years
Hand Seed Treaters	324	-	10 years
Pesticide Pumps	17	-	5 years
Power Dusters	03	-	10 years
Cynogas Foot Pumps	341	-	10 years
Trolley Power Sprayers	01	-	-
Hand Dusters.	49	300	5 years

Source: Annual Development Programme of Khairpur Division for Kharif, 1966

The above data on plant protection measures indicates the extent of machinery available in the district. It provides ample evidence to support the idea that the government took measures for the provision of mechanical facilities in almost all agricultural areas. However, it could be argued that there was still a lot to do. For instance, the required number of hand dusters was 300 in the district, but availability was only 16 percent. It was a similar case with the solo shoulder power sprays. The availability of this equipment was only 30 percent. It was reasonably argued that a big gap still existed between supply and demand. In addition to these annual requirements, demand was growing more than the estimated levels of supply. The farmer could do nothing except abandon the use of a particular implement in case of shortage. This could heavily affect the output results. To meet the increasing demand for implements it was suggested that the equipment could be available at the union council level so that needy farmers could easily access it at cheap rates.<sup>14</sup>

The fair distribution of implements at union level was only possible if a sufficient amount of machinery was available in the first place. The danger of politicisation of agricultural extension services could not be overcome if insufficient equipment became a bone of contention between two or more opposite factions, ethnic groups, or villages in a union council. To help farmers, the government established 40 village cooperative centres in all divisions including Khairpur, covering 400 to 500 union councils.<sup>15</sup>

With the help of cooperative centres, villagers were able to fulfil their needs to some extent. It was also planned by the government to establish centres for the supply of farm inputs including chemical fertilisers. The main function of these centres was to provide fertilisers, seeds and agricultural implements to farmers. These centres were supposed to work in collaboration with cooperative centres established at union council level.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Rajper, K.G, *Agricultural Extension Services, Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: 1967), p.27.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibrat*, August 12, 1967.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

There was a need for increased production of agricultural implements for entire villages instead of giving favour to only a few land-owners. Efforts to boost agriculture could fall victim to local politics and eventually could harm cooperative relations among the farmers. An approach to local problems could only be successful if it took local information into consideration. Moreover, in order to satisfy the needs of farmers and for an increased production of farm equipment, small industries were to be encouraged to supply adequate mechanical tools.<sup>17</sup>

Farm equipment played a significant role in modernizing agriculture in Khairpur by increasing farm power, which was considered essential for the process of agricultural progress. There were three sources of farm power including farm machinery and implements, animals, and the human labour. These sources needed to provide the minimum power requirement of 2 hp per acre in Khairpur. It could be increased by importing more tractors on an annual basis.<sup>18</sup> The tractors and other farm implements were used in addition to animal and human sources of power in Khairpur. The table below presents the availability of animal and human sources of farm power in Khairpur.

Table 14 Availability of farm power in Khairpur

Farm size	Number of farms	Total work animals	Bullocks	Other	Permanent agricultural labour
Small Farms	16706	26868	23937	2931	12707
Medium farm	29078	69171	60495	8676	35220
Large farms	4201	15768	13257	2511	8267
Total	49985	111807	97689	14118	56194

Source: Pakistan Census of Agriculture 1960

<sup>17</sup>Rajper, K.G, *Agricultural Extension Services, Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: 1967), p.27.

<sup>18</sup>Giles, G.W., *Towards A More Powerful Agriculture: A report to the Government of West Pakistan on its Agricultural Power and Equipment Needs*, (Lahore: 1967), p.2.

Table 14 clearly shows that there were an adequate number of bullocks available for production. Nevertheless, mechanical power still occupied significant importance. It was mainly needed for the development of wastelands and for the efficient and timely operations including primary tillage. In addition, the bullocks were not a suitable source of power because they were incapable of performing important field operations needed by the new high yielding varieties coupled with chemical fertiliser, crop protection technologies and mechanised sources of water. However, it was neither feasible nor possible to replace traditional means of power in a short period of time. Thus, the process of mechanisation progressed gradually.

The farm power however, was considerably improved with the growing use of tractors in addition to animal and human labour. The basic issue with the use of tractors, nevertheless, was the unavailability of suitable large tractors. For instance, the statistical data showed that there were three categories of tractors small, medium and large tractors. The people in Khairpur had bitter experiences with small tractors. They were not as useful as the bigger tractors. The big horse-power tractors were more suitable for the peculiar conditions of Khairpur soil. In addition, these tractors were more successful in performing various agricultural functions than their counterparts.

It was generally believed that small farmers could use small tractors. Nevertheless, small tractors could not compete with the heavy tractors required by hard soil because, in terms of performance, they were less efficient and consumed the same quantities of fuel as the big tractors. In addition, the small tractors did not cost half the price of large tractors. Small tractors were not suitable for the different soil operations, especially for primary tillage of uncultivated land. Therefore, it was clear that uneconomical use of tractors was highly disadvantageous to small farmers. However, they could be used for small plots or gardens. On the other hand the bigger tractors were used in every cultivation activity from tillage to haulage. They performed better on all varieties of soil

because they were more powerful and economical in the sense that their fuel consumption was not much higher than that of the small or medium tractors. Thus, they could be maintained as much as small tractors.

There was no point using small tractors instead of bigger ones on the basis that they were cheaper. The number of small tractors in the Khairpur division was less than the number of big tractors. Initially neither farmers nor land owners were aware enough to analyse the cost of inputs and their performance at agricultural farms. It was advised to abandon the import of small tractors (5-15 hp) with the exception of the power tiller of 7-8 hp which could be used for rice cultivation.<sup>19</sup> It did not make any sense to spend money on unnecessarily importing small tractors instead of large tractors (30-100 hp). Large tractors had the ability to be adjustable. These tractors were useful for soil especially in *Katcha* areas. The small tractors were not so powerful that they could be moved easily on wetland.

Farmers had bitter experiences of small tractors. The farmer told a tale of a small horsepower tractor thus: once upon a time he hired a tractor to plough his three acre land, which was located four kilometres from his village. He spent three days preparing a passage for the tractor and removed weeds impeding the way to farm lands. The farmer was quite happy because it was his first time seeing the tractor coming to his land. He arranged meal for his friends who also came to see how tractor could work on the land. Hence, all were waiting for a moment and enjoyed imagination before they could see the tractor. 'Our hearts suddenly became full of joy and happiness when a boy shouted and drew attention to the tractor's sound which we did not hear before.'<sup>20</sup> Eventually, they saw a machine coming closer to their land. They could not stop themselves from welcoming tractor and reached to the entry point of the passage. The tractor driver wondered to see a huge number of farmers gathered on the point.

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<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>Interview with Haleem Ullah Mahesar (Farmer), Khairpur: May 08, 2011.

Suddenly the tractor's front wheel slipped into the water course. The driver asked them for help but they could do nothing except doing spade work and clearing the way. Fortunately a big horse-power tractor came to pullout the tractor and enabled it to get to work. Thus, the big-horse power tractors were quite useful for rural areas of Khairpur.

These row-crop type tractors were four-wheel tractors. Although their front wheels were comparatively smaller, they were adjustable and could be used for better spacing of crop rows. It was advised to import large tractors of 30-100 hp and to abandon further import of small tractors.<sup>21</sup> The practice of importing variety of model tractors was continued until the buyers abandoned the use of small tractors.

In the 1970s, the continuity in the distribution of tractors made agriculture more powerful with increased farm power. Tractors now began to replace animal power in Khairpur division, where 613 tractors were made available. These tractors were divided into three categories according to their size. The number of small tractors (10-35 hp) in Khairpur was 134 and the tractors of medium size (36-45 hp) were 147; 332 were large tractors of 46 hp+.<sup>22</sup> This indicates that Khairpur had 8 percent of all tractors. However, among the heavy tractors (46 hp and above) it had 11 percent of the total number of heavy tractors in the country.

These, tractors enabled farmers to develop wastelands and improve existing cultivation in shorter periods of time. They played a greater role in expanding areas under cultivation of various crops. According to the agriculture census 1960, the cultivated area in Khairpur was 506368 acres, which increased to 795000 acres in 1971-72.<sup>23</sup> This clearly indicates an impact of mechanisation on the land cultivation in Khairpur.

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<sup>21</sup>Giles, G.W., *Towards A More Powerful Agriculture: A report to the Government of West Pakistan on its Agricultural Power and Equipment Needs*, (Lahore: 1967), p.2.

<sup>22</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Agricultural statistics*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.120.

<sup>23</sup>Government of Sind, *Agricultural statistics of Sind*, (Karachi: Bureau of Statistics Planning and Development Department, 1975), p.10.

### **Mechanised irrigation in Khairpur**

Several other measures were also taken to ensure water facilities for intended intensive cultivation in the 1960s. The main principle of the policy on mechanised irrigation reported that tube wells were to be sunk in areas where holdings were small and the river was accessible through pumping.<sup>24</sup> It was an important policy decision to promote the mechanisation of irrigation.

Mechanised irrigation was also part and parcel of the overall process of agricultural mechanisation in Khairpur. The need for tube wells was felt when large tracts of wasteland began to be cultivated. In order to provide water for new lands and supplement existing supplies by canal irrigation it was decided by the government to utilise underground water resources. Efforts were already being made by farmers to use groundwater through traditional means, for instance Persian wheel techniques. Thus, the tube well technology began to replace the traditional way of harnessing underground water resources.

Water-logging and salinity jointly affected 20 percent of cultivable lands in Khairpur division. The water table rose in most of the areas, which could be used for farming. Thus, reduction in water table was vital for crop output. Therefore, the project aimed at combating salinity and water-logging, was started in Khairpur by the government in 1967 to reclaim the affected lands. Under this scheme, more than 500 tube wells were to be installed in the areas affected by water-logging and salinity. Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) was made responsible for installation of these tube wells. In addition, two 650 mile-long drains were to be excavated in the areas situated in the east and the west of Rohri canal. The aim of the Salinity Control and Reclamation Project (SCARP) was to launch a war against water-logging and salinity, which had left

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<sup>24</sup>*Dawn*, February 19, 1966.

barren thousands of acres of fertile lands. It was hoped that SCARP would help the areas to rebuild their fertility.

However, the unavailability of electric power supply caused unrest among the farmers who installed tube wells, but were unable to run them. They argued that they purchased machinery by using bank loans that they would not be able to repay if their tube wells failed owing to scarcity of power.<sup>25</sup> The farmers of villages with electricity could benefit more from technology. Such villages were controlled by big landowners who used their considerable influence to secure electric connections from the local authorities.

However, there was great scope for tube wells in Khairpur, especially the areas located between the protective *bund* (embankment)<sup>26</sup> on both sides. These areas were fertile and unaffected by water-logging and salinity. Transporting fuel to these areas was quite expensive; hence, electricity was the only motivating factor. However, big farmers installed private tube wells, whereas small farmers were much less interested because of various problems, including the inability to pay expenses of installation and maintenance. These barriers continued to discourage farmers from fully participating in a programme of mechanisation. Growers in these areas were also afraid of theft of tube well machinery and vandalization of property. Thus, the tube wells were normally installed at places near villages, where private and government tube wells served as swimming pools and became low-cost entertainment for adults as well as for children.

In the late 1960s, the WAPDA launched another scheme under which the villages were electrified on the basis of agriculture needs. Prior to the launch of this scheme WAPDA provided electric connections to the villages of their choice without taking into account the requirements of farming. Hence, WAPDA was persuaded to follow the

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<sup>25</sup>*Ibrat*, November 10, 1967.

<sup>26</sup>The aim of constructing this embankment was to protect the vulnerable areas from floods.

recommendations of the district council in this regard.<sup>27</sup> With the improvement in the power sector, the number of tube wells increased in Khairpur where SCARP provided three types of services in the canal areas affected by water logging and salinity. These services included engineering support, cooperative farming and agricultural services.<sup>28</sup>

Besides, drainage facilities were also provided with the help of machinery to enable saline soils to become fertile. The project enabled farmers to grow crops and increase productivity in these water-logged areas of Khairpur where Gambat taluka alone had an overall increase of about 6600 acres, mainly because of availability of fresh water provided by this scheme.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, this scheme was able to extend land cultivation and increase per acre production. It was declared that the rate of annual production in the SCARP area was 80 percent.<sup>30</sup>

In the 1970s there were 1,691 tube wells in Khairpur division. Among these tube wells, only 381 were installed by the government under the SCARP and the remaining were established and maintained by land owners and farmers. This indicated that land farmers took keen interest in mechanisation of agriculture. The number of diesel-run tube wells was 910, as compared to 360 powered by electricity.<sup>31</sup>

The major issue was the provision of electricity to encourage mechanised irrigation. Because tube wells powered by electricity were cheaper and easier to run than diesel-operated tube wells. These issues were not adequately solved by government and so it was unable to provide people of all regions and areas an equal access to resources and benefit from them. However, these tube wells irrigated 372,570 acres in Khairpur division<sup>32</sup> this meant each tube well was able to irrigate more than 200 acres of land.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibrat, July 14, 1967.

<sup>28</sup>Ibrat, August 22, 1968.

<sup>29</sup>Ahmed, Agha Rafique, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.146.

<sup>30</sup>Ibrat, August 22, 1968.

<sup>31</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Year Book of Agricultural statistics 1971-72*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Under Developed Areas, 1972), p.230.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p.229.

Mechanised irrigation was part of overall process of mechanisation of agriculture. Efforts were also made to provide new varieties of seeds, fertilisers and to establish stores of farm machinery in the project zone of Khairpur under a cooperative scheme especially for small farmers.

For this purpose, experiments were already being conducted in some areas, which served as models for mechanised farming on a cooperative-basis. Small farmers in other areas, needed to import tractors on a collective basis. The Agricultural Development Bank (ADB) was directed to facilitate the sale of tractors with payment in easy instalments so as to achieve an objective of boosting agricultural production. The Khairpur Branch of the ADB had two sub-branches at taluka Gambat and Kotdigi, which provided loans for the purchase of farm machinery, implements, fertilisers, seeds, pesticides and the installation of tube wells in the district. The ADB Khairpur provided short, medium, and long term based loans totalling Rs 10.7 million to farmers during the period of ten years ending in 1968.<sup>33</sup>

Therefore, it was rightly argued that small farmers could not be restricted from having ownership of tractors using different means, because this would create a monopoly of big landlords over small farmers and this situation would rejuvenate feudalism.<sup>34</sup> Hence, all farmers could have an equal opportunity to access mechanisation facilities without any discrimination. Cooperative farming was only solution to this problem, as long as it was correctly handled by the Agriculture Department. Farmers could jointly buy tractors or other farm implements on the basis of cooperative-farming. They were also jointly responsible for the payment of these farm machines and tube well equipment.

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<sup>33</sup>Ahmed, Agha Rafique, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.138.

<sup>34</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.92.

The cooperative farming scheme helped landowners and farmers to benefit from mechanisation. Thus, they were also able to extend mechanised irrigation facilities. It is interesting to note that the number of diesel operated tube wells was greater than that of the tube wells operated by electric power.<sup>35</sup> This showed that farmers took a keen interest in the use of machinery. These tube wells significantly increased the area under cultivation. Khairpur division had 67 percent tube well irrigated land compared to 15 percent and 18 percent for the Hyderabad and Karachi divisions respectively. Khairpur had better canal irrigation and mechanised irrigation facilities. Though the tube wells operated by diesel were more expensive than the electric tube wells, yet increased productivity by intensive cultivation enabled farmers to meet the cost of inputs.

### **Constraints on mechanisation**

In the 1950s, mechanisation faced problems in the country. There were some doubts about the role played by mechanisation in a country where economic resources were not developed to the extent that they could make mechanisation viable and practicable. There were limited financial and technical resources available and consequently it could not be expected to introduce complete mechanisation in Pakistan.<sup>36</sup>

In the 1950s, the variety of models of tractors caused a serious problem of a shortage of spare parts and repair of the tractors had become difficult in all the divisions including Khairpur. In the absence of legal restrictions, the import of tractors remained unchecked and thus the import of tractors of different models and horse power made the situation confusing. The farmers continued to face these problems until the government intervened and a new policy of standardisation was formulated in 1958 to import

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<sup>35</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Year Book of Agricultural statistics 1971-72*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Under Developed Areas, 1972), p.230.

<sup>36</sup>Central Treaty Organisation, 'Travelling Seminar on Farm tools and Implements, October 10-November 26, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey', (Ankara: Office of the United States Economic Coordinator for CENTO Affairs, 1968), p.19.

suitable models of tractors.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, in the 1960s the government recognised only ten models, which were not manufactured by a single company. Among these models, four were selected from the United Kingdom and one each from the USA, Germany and Czechoslovakia respectively. Subsequently the number was reduced to four models. However, three UK-produced models, of the four models chosen, appeared later on the shopping list. This again increased the number of models and eventually exposed the shortage of spare parts and the unavailability of specialist tractor mechanics, who could repair different kind of models at various places in the country. Therefore, the commission on the mechanisation appointed by the government in the 1960s recommended importing only those tractors which were already on the approved list for standardisation. At the same time it was decided to import the necessary spare parts and other tractor-drawn-implements to cater to the needs of tractor holders. These implements were normally made by other companies.

With regard to the import and local manufacture of tractors, the following guidelines were established by the commission. Pakistani soil did not require tractors of less than 40-65 hp except for work in gardens, orchards and small vegetable farms. Among all types of tractors, row crop tractors with ground clearance of 19-25 inches under the axle such as the Belarus, were desirable for systematic mechanisation.<sup>38</sup> In addition, the supply of adequate machinery including the combine harvester and other tractor-drawn implements was essential for farm mechanisation. The commission on farm mechanisation considered increasing demand for farm implements as a sign that farm mechanisation was fast progressing. It was not possible to meet all the requirements by import of implements. Therefore, there was a need to encourage local manufacturers to produce at least 50 percent of the total requirements for agricultural implements.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.14.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, p.19.

With regard to the shortage of spare parts, necessary decisions were taken to ensure easy repair and maintenance facilities and to satisfy growers. Previously, importers of tractors in the country merely sold tractors to the customers and were not responsible for the post-sale maintenance of tractors. Thus, there was a scarcity of spare parts and inadequate maintenance facilities, which caused serious damage to the image and practice of mechanisation. Considering these difficulties for growers, the government set conditions for the issue of licences for import. This licence was to be given only to those importers, who were able to establish mobile workshops, supply of spare parts and provide guarantee for maintenance.

Keeping in mind the importance of spare parts and adequate maintenance facilities, the Agricultural Department opened workshops at various places, including Khairpur, where new designs of implements were tried and the existing tools were modified in order to make them more effective and useful for farmers.<sup>40</sup> These workshops played a significant role in maintaining tractors and providing improved implements to the farmers. This availability of spare parts increased the life of tractors and thus made it economically viable for farmers to use them.

It could however be observed in Khairpur that, as in other areas of the country, farmers still faced a problem with the higher costs of available spare parts. The price varied from place to place and customer to customer. There was no uniform price system in the country. The farmers' levels of income had not yet reached a stage where they could afford expensive mechanical equipment. The Agriculture Department and its engineering branch dealt with machinery but were not successful in providing adequate credit facilities. It was reported that many farmers were interested in using tractors but they were unable to do so due to various constraints on mechanisation.<sup>41</sup> The engine

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<sup>40</sup>Central Treaty Organisation, 'Travelling Seminar on Farm tools and Implements, October 10- November 26, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey', (Ankara: Office of the United States Economic Coordinator for CENTO Affairs, 1968), p.24.

<sup>41</sup>Rajper, K.G., *Agricultural Extension Services, Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: 1967), p.28.

overhauls, tyres, batteries, pump repairs and oil change were the main items on the expenditure list. However, the maintenance cost was increased in the case of non-availability of genuine parts and unskilled mechanics, because of their inability to identify a fault and to fix an engine problem. Therefore, the field work in Khairpur was affected only in these areas where farmers complained about availability of substandard spare parts. However, private tractor-repairing shops in towns could be able to fix technical problems of standard model tractors.

However, tractor importers changed their policy as a result of the government's stringent measures and offered various spare parts at the time of sale. Russian models of tractor, for example, had a different kind of attraction for buyers. The sellers of 55 hp tractors attracted farmers to buying a tractor with an electric starter by offering them, 125 spare parts and other tools including a jack and pump, available at main cities in the country.<sup>42</sup> This was good news for landowners in Khairpur and motivated many, including a landowner of a village, situated closer to *Katcha* areas. He heard this from a primary school *mastar* who came to see him in a small tea shop nearby the village. 'We would not go hundreds of miles in search of genuine parts of our *russi*<sup>43</sup> tractor,' the *zamindar* told farmers who sat around him.<sup>44</sup> The company could offer them spare parts at their door-step. 'Hurry up let's go and book an order,' said *zamindar* to his *kamdar* but he was not sure of this offer. In order to confirm the truth he secretly approached *mastar* who had no evidence to support this news which he had read in a newspaper during his visit to an education office at the district headquarters Khairpur. However, this news was later confirmed by the *tapedar* on the inspection of cropped lands.

Once the revenue official was surprised to see two acres of empty fertile land surrounded by the cropped areas and thus asked for the reason. 'We could not prepare

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<sup>42</sup>*Dawn*, February 11, 1966.

<sup>43</sup>The word *russi* was used in Sindi for Russian made tractor

<sup>44</sup>Interview with Haleem Ullah Mahesar (Farmer), Khairpur: May 08, 2011.

this part of land because the tractor suddenly failed during the crucial sowing period so, we went everywhere but unable to find bloody engine parts of the model we had in use.<sup>45</sup> This farmer, who sold his bullocks to finance the marriage of his younger son on the pretext that they were of no use in the presence of tractor possessed by landowner, was consequently unable to plough these lands. However, they were further surprised to note that the local trading company had informed landowners and farmers through advertisement that Russian-made tractors, were available along with new cultivators. The local trade companies seemed to be aware of the problem of shortage of spare parts. Thus, they found it great opportunity to attract landowners by offering them tractors with spare parts thrown in as part of the deal. This advertisement was a great ray of hope which persuaded them to benefit from this opportunity to buy tractor along with spare parts.<sup>46</sup>

The big horse-power tractors were also made available on an easy loan provided by the Agricultural Development Bank. The advertisement regarding big horse power tractors further attracted the landowners and sent cultivators a clear message that they could only increase production if they would buy a Belarus tractor.<sup>47</sup> The real target of this advertisement seemed to be land-owners and not small farmers. The landless farmers were unable for making loan applications. However, small land-owners also went from pillar to post to acquire tractor loans. The real beneficiary of this credit policy was the big landlord for whom the loan was easy to get. In such cases it was in fact difficult for the bank to recover the money. These policies were systematically designed to strengthen feudal influence rather than to empower an impoverished community. The commission on farm mechanisation wisely noted the effects of the policy on small farmers. It was believed by the commission that it was unfair to make

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<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup>*Ibrat*, June 1, 1967.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*

small farmers ineligible for making loan applications to the Agricultural Development Bank and leave them completely dependent on big landowners. Thus, it was recommended by the commission to reduce the requirement of having ownership from 75 to 25 acres for buying a tractor under the ADB loan scheme.<sup>48</sup>

However, small farmers possessing land less than 25 acres were not able to benefit from these schemes. The farmers of Khairpur complained that they were discriminated against in the provision of loans from commercial banks. The banks provided loans to traders and shopkeepers and ignored farmers by attaching a long list of formalities. Most of the cooperative banks were already closed on account of their unsatisfactory performance. Only the Agriculture Development Bank could be credited with providing loans to the eligible landowners to a large extent thus keeping the cultivators out of the clutches of the local moneylenders. This bank was believed to save crops.<sup>49</sup> The bank greatly contributed to the purchase of tractors. The bank was aware that the demand for tractors had already gone up, judging by the amount of loans sanctioned for the sale of tractors.<sup>50</sup>

In addition, the cost of repair also depended on the frequency and type of use of the machines in Khairpur. However, the repair needs of tractors could be reduced by looking after the tractors properly, which was only possible if the tractor operator was trained enough to take care of its needs. For instance, it was observed that operators were mainly responsible for failures in tractors. Overloading the tractor and reckless driving caused machine-related as well as human disasters in the towns of Khairpur where the sugar mills and fertiliser stores were located. Use of a tractor for transportation was common in rural areas. It caused major accidents. Usually tractors

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<sup>48</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.26.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibrat*, August 21, 1967.

<sup>50</sup>*Dawn*, May 10, 1967.

collided with trucks and buses or fell into ravines. In later cases, tractors caused serious human losses.<sup>51</sup> Tractor drivers ignored traffic rules repeatedly.

The local manufacturing companies, which primarily making farm implements faced shortage of credit facilities. To deal with the problems faced by producers, several measures were taken to ensure production of farm materials but still they were reasonably inadequate to help farmers. Two major industries were established by the government with the intention of manufacturing tractor parts so that tractors could be assembled locally. Apparently this would save foreign currency. But, it was subject to mass production. The lower production would increase the cost of tractors made locally. Thus, in the pursuit of long-term advantages, the idea seemed to be workable.<sup>52</sup>

Furthermore, small industries were not fully equipped with modern heavy machinery. The high cost of fuel that ran these industries was an additional constraint to their regular output. Their dependence on adequate import of raw materials from abroad was also a limiting factor. Unnecessary delays in imports, which occurred too often, could result in the low productivity or even closure of these industries. Frequent breakdown of electric power was also an important constraint to excessive production. In addition, the higher cost of electric power supplied to local industries increased the cost of agricultural implements. There were alternative sources of cheaper energy including coal, wind and solar in the country but these remained unexplored for reasons not unknown to people.

Another constraint was the non-consolidation of small holdings in the parts of Khairpur where land was divided among small landowners but situation was totally different in the case of big *zamindars*. The big *zamindars* possessed hundreds of acres of lands and therefore, were able to make economic use of mechanisation compared to

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<sup>51</sup>*Ibrat*, April 19, 1967.

<sup>52</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.101.

the small landowners who possessed small pieces of lands which was a hindrance to economical mechanisation. Initially, only big landowners who owned 75 acres were eligible for loans. Thus, small landowners faced difficulties in applying for loans. Some farmers opted for buying a tractor on a cooperative basis, while most of them were able to use tractors on a rent-basis. It was argued that mechanisation was able to improve the social and economic conditions of farmers and broaden their vision of progress. Thus, they were expected to be eager to consolidate their holdings under co-operative farming.<sup>53</sup> In spite of difficulties, farmers could use tractors and implements on a collective basis.

In the 1970s, the local small scale workshops manufactured various tools used for farming. They also created openings for employment for skilled and semi skilled labour.<sup>54</sup> In Khairpur town these agricultural workshops were able to provide suitable farm tools required by soil. In addition, the production of tractor parts for standard models gradually solved the problem of spare parts to a considerable extent. In Khairpur these spare parts were needed in both tractors and tube wells. The performance of both kinds of machines relied on maintenance, which was a crucial factor for sustainable mechanisation.

Improper maintenance could lead to failure of tractors in crucial time of crops. There were many stories associated with tractors in Khairpur where tractors faced engine problems. The life expectancy of tractors depended on how they were maintained. Thus, tractor management could be based on the following. The tractor needed fresh air, clean fuel and other lubricants in the right quantities for its better health. The change of filters and oil on time could increase the life of machines. The older tractors needed more repairing compared to new ones because they had frequent breakdowns and hydraulic

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<sup>53</sup>Ahmed, Nuruddin, 'Present Situation and Future Problems of Farm Mechanisation in Pakistan', Symposium on Farm mechanisation, (Tokyo: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, 1970), p.46.

<sup>54</sup>Agricultural Mechanisation Research Cell, *Agriculture Mechanisation in Province of Sind Pakistan*, (Tandojam: 1983), p.10.

problems partly blamed on poor workmanship.<sup>55</sup> There was no compulsory training for tractor drivers in Khairpur. No qualification or skill was required to become a tractor driver. It was work which could be done by anyone including non-agricultural workers, a majority of whom were illiterate and completely ignorant of traffic rules and had no concept of safety measures, and hence this increased the risk of accidents.

Despite all this, in the 1980s the number of workshops, and private manufacturers of agricultural implements, grew considerably. According to one study, there were six manufacturers of *panj-hari & sat-haris*<sup>56</sup> nine manufactures produced cultivators in Khairpur district, where the number of trailer and tractor blade producers was 8 and 5 respectively.<sup>57</sup> They produced implements in order to meet growing needs for local machinery in the market. The small tools such as sickles, axes, spades, *khurpi* and *barshi*<sup>58</sup> were usually made by a blacksmith at the village level. To reach the stage where these units would be able to pass on benefits to farmers, they were required to train human resources by investing in people. The scarcity of a trained workforce attributed to the flight of labour to the Middle East, where pay and other incentives attracted skilled migrants from South Asia.<sup>59</sup>

### **Impact of mechanisation in Khairpur**

The process of mechanisation was more suitable in Khairpur than in the other parts of the country. The major reason for the use of tractors in Khairpur was availability of irrigation water as well as agricultural lands. The system of canals and water courses in Khairpur justified the need for farm mechanisation. The process of farm-mechanisation was a four-step process performed by tractors in combination with various agricultural

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<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>56</sup>This machine was equal to 5 or 7 ploughs, and was powered by tractor.

<sup>57</sup>Soomro, Muhammad Saleh, et al., 'Status of Agricultural Machinery in Sind, Pakistan', *Agricultural Mechanisation in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Vol.16, No.2, (Tokyo: Spring 1985), p.77.

<sup>58</sup>*Khurpi* was a small tool used by farmers to eradicate weeds. *Barshi* was metallised weapon used to protect crops from birds.

<sup>59</sup>Soomro, Muhammad Saleh, et al., 'Status of Agricultural Machinery in Sind, Pakistan', *Agricultural Mechanisation in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Vol.16, No.2, (Tokyo: Spring 1985), p.75.

implements required to complete the various stages of crop-production. These stages included ploughing, levelling, threshing and transporting crop produce from field to market. The first two activities are called as seed-bed preparation and its object is to improve land before sowing crops and the latter are crop-related activities. Nevertheless, the higher crop-productivity also depended on the crop-protection measures adopted by farmers at the time of crop-maturing. There were some protection-implements available in Khairpur but the gap between the requirement and availability was wide. The shortage of implements reduced the farm power in Khairpur.

In the 1960s, the mechanisation of agriculture consisted of land development operations, crop sowing, threshing and post-threshing works, as well as the use of spray machines for plant protection and better-mechanised irrigation facilities i.e. tube well technology. The mechanisation programme also covered the manufacture of implements drawn by tractors or bullocks, and their distribution among farmers.<sup>60</sup>

To begin with, in Khairpur, it was difficult, if not impossible, to mechanise all the operations, including land operations, such as land preparation, sowing, harvesting, threshing, and post-threshing works such as the disposal of crops. In terms of the labour-saving effects of mechanisation, these operations vary from crop to crop. In the case of wheat crop, the tractors displaced labour more in harvesting and threshing. The threshing, as compared to harvesting, needed threshers, which were cost-effective.

Before, mechanisation, threshing was done manually and required a considerable amount of agricultural labour. It was here in this activity that there was a possibility of labour displacement, but in Khairpur the labour was rarely displaced by mechanisation rather there was shortage of labour, which was met by *wangar*. It was a form of working together, wherein every farmer was helped by his other friends and relatives without compensation. Thus, they helped each other at the time of acute need for labour.

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<sup>60</sup>Government of Pakistan, *The Second Five Year Plan 1960-65*, (Karachi: Manager Press, 1960), p.144.

Mechanisation was equally suitable for cotton and sugar cane cash crops. Thus, it was feasible to encourage mechanisation in all aspects of agriculture mainly because of its positive effects on the agricultural production. On the other hand, in terms of its effects on the job situation that reduced the chances of full-scale mechanisation in other divisions of the West Pakistan, Khairpur had better conditions for the introduction of mechanisation to a large extent if the problems of small farmers could be solved by the government.

Some landowners possessing 20 to 50 acres, switched over to self-cultivation in Khairpur because of availability of tractors. They mechanised most operations except harvesting, which needed agricultural labour hired by the land owners. Some times they faced difficulty in finding agricultural workers at peak times of the season, when they were engaged in their own farming and live stock. However, Piryaloi was probably the only place in Khairpur taluka where agricultural workers gathered for some time at one place after the sunset and *zamindars* especially self-cultivators came there to book them for work.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, it was hard to find labour in Khaipur.

It was observed that after finishing sowing of new crops some farmers were free for some time and others were engaged in grazing live stock. Nevertheless, farmers used their free time sitting at tea hotels, where they entertained by music. They also visited *melas* arranged by Agricultural Department and individual *zamindars*, *gadi-nasheens* at the shrines of *pirs*. This was a great contribution of mechanisation towards socialisation of farmers and provision of opportunities for entertainment by reducing their hard work in their fields from dawn to dusk.

However, it was argued by the critics of mechanisation, that the use of mechanical technology could result in severe economic consequences. It would be hard enough to buy farm equipment. The small farmers were unable to use new methods of irrigation

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<sup>61</sup>Rajper, K.G., *Agricultural Extension Services, Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: 1967), p.17.

and farm power because of unavailability of financial resources and their disbelief in mechanisation for raising productivity. This argument indicated that, in comparison with traditional farming, mechanisation would not make a difference. Thus, the adoption of technology could be a futile exercise. However, farmers here were unaware of the issues discussed at government level. They did not show any kind of response to the argument that the process of mechanisation would displace labourers employed in agriculture and the displaced workers could not find more work and their movement from the rural sector to urban areas in search of jobs could simply ruin agriculture and disturb urban cities.

Farmers were only concerned with the question how to increase crop-productivity. Because these elite discussions were not representing agricultural community thus, it was believed by farmers of Khairpur that with the introduction of mechanisation small farmers could not be seriously affected if they were provided with farm equipment and credit facilities for the purchase of crop inputs.

The sharecroppers shared most of the inputs with landlords. The landowner provided seeds and the tenant provided human power. The tenant was also responsible for primary and secondary tillage and other field works done by himself and his family. Yet, the production decisions were usually taken by land owners in Khairpur, where landlords persuaded farmers to use tractors on the lands in order to achieve maximum intensity by sowing double or even triple crops during the crop season. The use of tractors saved time for the farmers. The tractors also provided farmers with cheaper farm power and prepared better seed-bed and other crop operations. Tractors were also used for the transportation of crop production to nearby markets. A considerable number of trailers were available in Khairpur. Besides, farmers also used these trailers for the non-agricultural activities.

The quick delivery of services by machines provided a new approach to solving agricultural problems and the effective management of farming economy by reducing the cost of productivity and increasing opportunities for farmers to expand production. The use of farm machines by farmers grew day by day in order to make land operations easier. They required tractors, threshers, spray machines and other tools. However, farmers knew little about the different features of the machinery. The information, which could enable farmers to choose better features of a variety of the imported tractors, was unavailable, and very often the sellers did not tell the farmers of the peculiarities of each product<sup>62</sup>

It was observed by many independent scholars that, with the exception of harvesting and threshing, all other operations performed by machines were not labour saving. For example, at primary tillage operation the tractor replaced bullocks rather than human labour. This only decreased the demand for some implements such as wooden ploughs and yokes. It also decreased the work of grass choppers used to prepare animal feed. Nevertheless, mechanisation created new opportunities for the unemployed agricultural workforce. For example, big landlords did not cultivate their entire lands mainly because of insufficient power requisites. With the help of modern machines they began to bring more lands under cultivation and consequently increased the demand for farm work. Hence, expansion in cultivation was a major role played by mechanisation. The commission found that mechanised farms had 15 percent to 30 percent higher acre yields and crop intensities were higher than non-mechanised farms.<sup>63</sup> The owners of small farms normally cultivated their lands by themselves so there was no question of displacement at these farms.

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<sup>62</sup>Rafi, Muhammad, *Comparative study of wheel-type tractors imported into West Pakistan*, (Lyallpur: Agricultural University, 1969), p. 5.

<sup>63</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.79.

In addition, mechanised farming saved valuable time and human effort, and gave farmers a sense of security by freeing them from the slavery of animal power. Farmers were now able to fully exploit the changes in weather by doing things at the right time. Prominent features of tractors such as permanence, readiness, easy mobilisation, lower costs became symbols of progress. Thus, in Khairpur, the use of tractors became popular mainly because they increased agricultural production. These tractors were of varying size and power. In Khairpur, the most common tractors owned by farmers were International Harvester, Belarus, Ford and Massy Ferguson. These tractors ranged from 45-65 hp. The distribution of farm power varied from taluka to taluka. Tractors were normally owned by land-owners who used them on their own farms for the purpose of self-cultivation, and hired out to sharecroppers who paid the cost of operations powered by tractors.<sup>64</sup>

In the 1970s, farmers also rejected the idea that agricultural workers would become unemployed on the ground that intensive farming would increase work and demand for additional workers.<sup>65</sup> Instead, their experience suggested that crop intensity created by mechanisation and multiple cropping, as well as the operation involved in their processes increased the thrust for employment. In practice there was no displacement of labour, rather a shortage of labour at certain peak periods.<sup>66</sup> The process of mechanisation broke the vicious circle of lower incomes and the consequent low investment in agriculture, and thus reduced wide-spread poverty in rural areas. Thus, new methods of farm power increased incomes and farmers would be able to improve their way of life.

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<sup>64</sup>Devrajani, Bherumal T., *Efficiency of Various machines towards increased agricultural production in Sind province of Pakistan*, (Tandojam: Sind University Agriculture College, 1977), p.68.

<sup>65</sup>Ahmed, Nuruddin, 'Present Situation and Future Problems of Farm Mechanisation in Pakistan', Symposium on Farm mechanisation, (Tokyo: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, 1970), p.45.

<sup>66</sup>Devrajani, Bherulal T., et al., 'Appraisal of Mechanisation in Sind province of Pakistan: A research approach', *Agricultural Mechanisation in Asia*, Vol.9, No.4, (Tokyo: Autumn 1978), p.29.

In the early 1980s comparative studies of tractor farming and traditional farming suggested that machines worked with precision, and no labour displacement was observed, although the shortage of labour was evident at peak times of threshing.<sup>67</sup> The application of mechanisation to major crops including wheat, cotton and sugar cane, produced better results in comparison with conventional farming. The cost of production was higher in the case of farming done by bullocks, while the use of tractors kept the cost low for wheat cultivation, but not for cotton and sugar cane. However, input and output ratio analysis came out in favour of farm mechanisation. Tractor farming earned 42.5 percent more with an input- output ratio of 1:2.19 against 1: 1.49 on bullock farms for wheat crop and the mechanised farms earned a better yield in cotton and sugar cane crops at 26 percent and 33.77 percent respectively.<sup>68</sup> It was evident that higher degree of mechanisation substantially improved agricultural outcomes. Tractors also released the land which was previously reserved for feeding bullocks and other domestic animals.

The mechanisation led to the opening of workshops, welding shops, spare parts shops, manufacturing of farm equipment, and diesel pumps, which absorbed a considerable number of workers. The conditions of farmers especially tractor owners were improved greatly. The professional drivers and tractor mechanics were able to earn a handsome amount of money and build their social status in rural society. Some mechanics were even able to own tractor-garages in the towns of Khairpur. A mechanic told how his life was changed when he opened a garage in a small town situated in Gambat, which linked *Katcha* and *Pakka* areas of the taluka. In his childhood, he lived in a small village near the town where his family was occupied in agriculture. When his father died, he left the village and began to work in a garage in the town. After few years he was able to open

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<sup>67</sup>Agricultural Mechanisation Research Cell, *Agriculture Mechanisation in Province of Sind Pakistan*, (Tandojam: 1983), p.12.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*

his own garage where he also engaged his two younger brothers. ‘This garage changed my life and I changed the life of my family and soon became one of wealthy families of middle class.’<sup>69</sup> The mechanic was not able to find a girl from his village who would marry him, due to his poor economic conditions, but in town he was able to marry a girl from a well-to-do trader family. Thus, the individual examples suggested that tractors played a significant role in raising status of farmers in Khairpur’s rural society where culture influenced the way tractors became localised.

Cultural objects however, were respected by all farmers. Thus, technological innovations in Sindi society with the cultural touches were more acceptable to farmers. The tractors were decorated with locally designed objects. The roof of tractor was decorated with lace embroidery and key chains were prepared by women-artisans. The drivers were entertained by folk music. They enjoyed work while listening to these songs. Thus, it would not be wrong to state that tractors played a significant role in promoting cassette culture in the 1970s and 1980s. The choice for singers was not different among all drivers in rural Khairpur, where the drivers also transported large number of people in trailers at social gatherings such as marriage ceremonies and political events. For instance during the elections, they transported voters from villages to the polling stations and the cost of fuel was borne by the candidate himself.

The tractor therefore also became a cheaper source of transport between isolated villages of remote areas of the district where no other means of transport were available except bullock-cart of an old age. Thus, it occasionally linked the remotest areas to the rest of the district. In one such village a family could see their relatives after many years in *Katcha*. ‘Tractor made possible for my mother to see her parents after a long time’ said the tractor driver who was employed by tractor owner on a fixed pay.<sup>70</sup> There is much evidence to state that tractor drivers led a prosperous life in Khairpur. They also

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<sup>69</sup>Interview with Rahib Ali (Tractor mechanic), Khairpur: October 15, 2008.

<sup>70</sup>Interview with Muhammad Pinyal (Tractor driver), Khairpur: October 29, 2008.

enjoyed respect in rural society. They were served nice foods and drinks at the time of their work in the field. The good tractor drivers were also admired by villagers for their hard work at the time of meetings in *autaq*.

An overall picture of mechanisation, suggests that the work done by machines was efficient, time-saving and cost-effective in comparison to work done by conventional methods. The operations performed by mechanisation had a significant impact on greater agricultural yield. There were several changes in the 1970s and 1980s in crop patterns of Khairpur including intensive cultivation through timely farming, brought about by mechanisation.<sup>71</sup>

In so far as the social impact of mechanisation was concerned, it created self-cultivation, and created demand for more workers, ended animal worship and introduced farmers to a new era of production where machines were replacing traditional farming for betterment of farmers. This was an important trend that had a greater impact on the way they responded to mechanisation. The assumptions that could create a fear among the agricultural community that the agricultural operations if mechanised, would subsequently exclude farmers, were removed by the application of mechanical methods. The most important social contribution of mechanisation in Khairpur was the confidence it gave the farmers that they were able to complete farm work on time. The process of the mechanised farming further empowered them to increase production through the introduction of more than two crops in a year. A limited time span between *rabi* and *kharif* compelled farmers to use tractors to cultivate three crops a year.<sup>72</sup> Better methods of cropping not only saved land but enabled farmers to use it intensively. It became possible to prepare seedbed properly for cultivation. It meant farmers were able to grow more in mechanised farms compared to traditional

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<sup>71</sup>Soomro, Muhammad Saleh, et al., 'Status of Agricultural Machinery in Sind, Pakistan', *Agricultural Mechanisation in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Vol.16, No.2, (Tokyo: Spring 1985), p.75.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*

farms. They also brought land under cash crops which they previously used for growing fodder for animals.

An overview of the social aspect of technological revolution in agriculture, suggested that mechanisation improved conditions of life and tractor workers and farmers could change their life style. Mechanisation not only improved agriculture but also innovatively contributed to cultural way of life. Infact, tractor became a vehicle for cultural and social progress. Farmers were able to celebrate a number of social events with the help of tractors. For instance, villagers were able to celebrate religious ceremonies at the shrines of saints and used tractor and trailer as a source of transportation. The tractors also made possible for villagers to exchange visits and organise meetings, which created new possibilities for communication.<sup>73</sup>

In addition, tube well technology introduced a new bathing culture in a rural society. Thus, technology provided new opportunities for leisure and entertainment enjoyed by adults and children. In some small villages of Khairpur where villagers shared common caste, tube well technology also became a source of women's entertainment. Women in these villages found tube well a common place for meeting and sharing their feelings. During the busy summer season they used to wash clothes for family at tube wells which provided them plenty of water required for washing and cleaning clothes in a huge quantity. Mechanisation thus not only improved agriculture but also created social and cultural waves in the resting river of agrarian society.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the issues of mechanisation, which were debated before the introduction of mechanisation in agriculture. For instance, the issue of potential labour displacement was considered to be major constraint on mechanisation. However, the chapter demonstrates that the process of mechanisation not only increased farm power

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<sup>73</sup>Interview with Pir Baksh Mangnejo (Agriculture expert), Khairpur: May 07, 2011.

but also led to the cultivation of virgin lands. It has been argued that mechanisation did not displace labour, but rather increased the need for employment of more labour. In spite of the various constraints under which it operated, mechanisation created far-reaching changes in agriculture.

In the 1960s, the process of mechanisation was more acceptable for Khairpur than the other parts of the country. The major reason for the use of tractors in Khairpur was due to the availability of irrigation water as well as agricultural lands. The system of canals and water courses in Khairpur were able to provide the infrastructure that successful mechanisation needed. Thus, thousands of acres of lands were developed with the help of technology.<sup>74</sup>

In fact, in addition to farm mechanisation, the irrigation system was also mechanised in the hope of reducing the water-logging and salinity and to provide water for the purpose of cultivation. This additional supply of water supplemented the water provided by the canals. Thus, the government launched the salinity control and reclamation project in the late 1960s to eradicate water-logging and salinity in Khairpur. The project was able to reclaim a considerable portion of the affected lands.<sup>75</sup>

Further, the mechanisation of agriculture introduced a new trend of self-cultivation. On the one hand, it motivated small landowners to switch over to self-cultivation and on the other hand, it encouraged big land owners to cultivate more land, which had previously remained uncultivated because of insufficient farm power. This activity in turn created a greater demand for agricultural labour. Because of mechanisation, farmers were able to exploit the weather conditions and finish their agricultural tasks on time. They were also relieved from the hard work they did manually in the fields for long hours. Consequently, they were able to spare some time for entertainment

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<sup>74</sup>Aquil, Mansur Syed (ed.), *Decade of Reforms in Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: West Pakistan, Government Press, 1968), p.13.

<sup>75</sup>See Chapter 3 Sources of Greater productivity: Irrigation, pp.116-119.

including going to tea hotels where they were able to exchange their views and were entertained by music.

*Chapter 5***Sources of Greater Productivity: High Yielding Varieties****Introduction**

This chapter discusses the drive to grow more crops which was of course made possible by the use of High Yielding Varieties of seeds. These varieties responded well in the districts where farmers also used other inputs such as chemical fertilisers in addition to pesticides. These inputs greatly helped to achieve the objective of the state-cum-farmers' campaign to increase agricultural productivity especially wheat production. This revolutionised food production in Khairpur and contributed significantly to the rise in food consumption in later decades. The production of cotton and sugar cane also significantly improved. There were three factors for the success of the drive in Khairpur including: use of high yielding varieties, coupled with chemical fertilisers and pesticides, and the motivation provided to farmers. The agricultural productivity improved the income of farmers and redefined their relations with landowners in Khairpur.

**Farm-inputs in Khairpur**

In the early 1950s agriculture did not make much progress, mainly because of hidebound agricultural thinking, which needed to be changed in the face of new challenges such as food production for a rapidly growing population. The policies of the government were pro-industry. Farmers were not encouraged to use advanced methods of production or to keep abreast of the latest techniques. Farmers did not use improved seeds and because of the substandard quality of the seeds they used, they could not cultivate good crops. Mostly, seeds were provided by landowners who did not care about the quality of seeds. There were no proper storage facilities that could be used to store and preserve seeds from attack by insects. At the time of sowing, farmers had no

choice except to sow what was given to them. The quality of the seeds purchased from shops was even worse. The seeds were a mixture of different varieties. For instance, wheat seed could be a mixture of different wheat varieties, *jowar*, and wild grass. Thus, these impure seeds, in the absence of chemical fertilisers and mechanised implements, were likely to give low production. Consequently the condition of farmers remained poor.

Farmers were unable to satisfy the needs of their families, including providing them with clothing. The story about a farmer published in *Goth Sudhar* Sindi magazine represented the pathetic conditions of farmers, in which Sukhio was in rags and he could not afford to wear proper dress, due to his poor financial condition. He was worried about his low productivity and consequent poverty and thus shared his problems with his friend. 'It has become difficult to live any more in this world, because I used all possible means to improve my financial position and remained unable to fulfil the needs of my family, even at the eve of *eid barad*.'<sup>1</sup>

These conditions of the farmers were a result of their ignorance of the new methods of increasing productivity and their adherence to conventional methods of cultivation. In addition, there was a monopoly by a few big landowners over the cultivation of the lands. These were absentee landlords and there were few independent farmers in Khairpur, the majority of them being controlled by the landowners. Farmers were the most depressed segment of feudal-society and were humiliated by big landowners and their officers, who were servants by law but rulers by local tradition. The *wadera*-administration alliance enabled *waderos* to exercise absolute power over the peasants. Thus, farmers were defenceless in this situation. Agricultural conditions were not favourable for increasing production due to the preference for industrialisation over agricultural development. This resulted in low productivity in agriculture. Thus, the

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<sup>1</sup>Halai, Saleem (ed.), *Goth Sudhar*, Azadi Number, (Hyderabad: August, 1956), p.13.



The poet expressed his feelings about a farmer who worked hard under rough weather conditions to produce grains, vegetables and fruits for his fellow countrymen and who made the environment a safer place to live in by growing trees and flowers and by beautifying the country. However, in return, he got very little with which to feed his own family. This was because farmers were compelled by the prevailing system to sell their production at a low rate to middle-men who benefited most from this kind of trade. Farmers were uneducated and unable to understand the tricks applied by traders, and thus they were victims of economic burglary by street smart traders who made huge profits at their cost.

Further, industrialists and factory owners were treated favourably by the government. There were huge investments in industries but an important sector such as agriculture was ignored by the government. Hence, the poet declared the industrialists and the wealthy class as the real enemy, constantly supported by the government.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the poet exhorted farmers to work very hard and boost agriculture in order to gain their due. The poet further urged farmers to increase productivity in order to save themselves and their families from their cruel treatment in this period in history. These were the conditions of agriculture in Sind, but unlike the rest of the province, agriculture experienced better conditions in Khairpur, before it was united with West Pakistan. Nevertheless, Khairpur's agricultural system also faced the serious problem of water-logging and salinity which heavily affected the overall the performance of agriculture. The productivity per acre also remained low in the absence of farm inputs in the affected areas.

The crop-inputs such as chemical fertilisers and pesticides were not widely used by farmers in Khairpur. It was mainly the responsibility of the Agriculture Department to provide chemical fertilisers and all anti-disease pesticides at village level so as to

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<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

minimise any loss of crops caused by pests. To deal with epidemic diseases, the central ministry of agriculture supported efforts at the divisional level by providing equipment involved in ground spraying and aerial spraying conducted by aeroplanes at the affected areas. However, the spread of diseases was likely to cover vast areas of crop land following the invasion of pests in any field. This could lead to the wide-spread destruction of crops and consequently result in famine.

During this period farmers became very conscious of the danger posed by insects. They did not sleep well at night even after a day's hard work, fearing locust attacks, which could occur at any time without warning. Many farmers lost their crops and became so poor that they could not afford the expenses of their families. One Khairpuri-farmer told his story of how his life was seriously affected by the loss of his crops. He lived in a small village with his family including his wife, three sons and one daughter. The farmer cultivated 10 acres and the rest was wasteland. In the hope of a good crop, he had already planned to marry off his daughter and the family were impatiently waiting the harvest season. However, this season never came up to their expectations, because that year the farmer's crops were severely attacked by locusts which caused heavy damage to the wheat crop. The farmer was only able to secure few bags of grains. 'These circumstances compelled me to do what I am ashamed of, borrowing money.'<sup>4</sup> To him it was a matter of dishonour to borrow money from his neighbouring farmers. The only option he was left with was to borrow money from the *wanyo*.<sup>5</sup> Thus, farmers suffered these problems mainly because they were not using new methods of increased production, including pesticides.

Besides, the other diseases such as dryness of plant leaves and *suro* also caused serious damage to crops. Farmers were on site in their fields for most of their time and they could detect the diseases easily. However, they were unable to protect their crops

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<sup>4</sup>Interview with Dost Ali (Farmer), Khairpur: October 24, 2008.

<sup>5</sup>Wanyo was Sindi name of Hindu trader.

without the use of pesticides, which were the only effective remedy. The basic issue with the plant protection measures was the unavailability of pesticides. Similarly, there was a shortage of chemical fertilisers, and farmers were still reluctant to adopt plant protection measures and to use new methods of increasing productivity including chemical fertilisers. Thus, artificial fertilisers were used in very limited amounts by farmers in all agricultural areas of country.<sup>6</sup>

In addition, the farmers were not fully convinced regarding the use of chemical fertilisers for greater productivity and believed that the only way to improve soil fertility was to use organic manure produced by animals. However, this organic manure, while a reasonably good source of raising soil fertility, was produced in insufficient quantities. The scarcity of organic fertiliser was one of the main reasons for low productivity. And farmers were not ready to abandon their traditional methods by using new fertilisers imported from the foreign countries. Nevertheless, some began to use chemical fertilisers on their lands, but only in small quantities. These farmers argued that chemical fertilisers created salinity and they developed in land an animal's habit of *bharo*.<sup>7</sup>

However, other farmers, who used advanced fertilisers, were quite satisfied with them and thus they argued that chemical fertiliser increased fertility very rapidly as compared to farmyard-fertiliser which increased the power of land slowly. The basic issue with the latter was the inadequate quantities available for the various crops of wheat, rice, cotton and sugar cane. However, farmers in Khairpur used manure in the fields to replenish soil fertility. Popular use of organic manure was in fruit orchards, especially *khajoor* and mangoes. A considerable amount of animal-dung was also used by farmers as a source of kitchen-fuel. They used dried cakes of dung along with dried branches of

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<sup>6</sup>Government of Pakistan, *The First Five Year Plan 1955-60: Agriculture*, (Karachi: Manager Press), 1956, p.33.

<sup>7</sup>This habit was associated with those buffalos which did not give milk without offering them their most favourite food i.e. grains.

trees, cotton stalks and wooden logs or fire wood. In winter these dried cakes of animal dung were also used in the houses and at *autags* to warm up the rooms. Besides this, it was also used for smoking purposes, such as the *huka*. The smoke produced by dried cakes, was also used by farmers to protect themselves and their livestock from mosquitoes, which caused malaria. Every house in a village had a considerable amount of dried cakes stored in a place called a *bhanda*.<sup>8</sup>

Its use was not uncommon in small towns of Khairpur where natural gas was not available for domestic fuel purposes. Therefore, the dried cakes were supplied to the towns by farmers and sold at cheaper rates. This could be one of the important reasons for the shortage of manure for application on the farmers' deficient soils and thus there was not sufficient available for use on their lands and crops. However, the quantity requirement for chemical fertiliser per acre was only two bags. The chemical fertiliser did not cost much because it was already subsidised. In return it gave five times more income against expenses.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the use of chemical fertiliser became indispensable due to the unavailability of farmyard-fertiliser in Khairpur.

Therefore, the government eagerly encouraged farmers to use chemical fertilisers. In order to do this effectively, the first five year plan proposed an average subsidy of approximately 50 percent over five years. At the same time it was recommended under the plan that subsidy could be reduced gradually on the basis of improvement in price of agricultural produce.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the demand for these fertilisers was increased as a result of the unavailability of animal-produced manure and due to the efforts taken by the government and farmers to increase food production.

In the late 1950s the idea of increasing food production was conceived under the first five-year plan, which attached much importance to increasing food grain production to

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<sup>8</sup>Bhanda was a room where grains and other crop inputs were stored.

<sup>9</sup>Rajper, Haji Karim Dino, 'Amonium Sulphate Aeen Wathan jay Bhan ji Mulaqat', *Goth Sudhar*, (Hyderabad: June 1956), p. 4.

<sup>10</sup>Government of Pakistan, *The First Five Year Plan 1955-60: Agriculture*, (Karachi: Manager Press, 1956), p.34.

meet growing food requirements. Thus, in all divisions, including Khairpur, a target oriented policy was introduced for the first time by the government. The plan suggested that food production would increase during the allocated time by not less than 1.7 million tons, or 13 percent.<sup>11</sup> The plan also put forward the directives and guidelines for improvement of agriculture through the development of new varieties for major crops and other crop-inputs.

It was suggested that new varieties would be developed according to the climatic and geographical conditions of the country. These varieties were expected to be disease-resistant and tolerant to extreme temperatures. It was proposed under the plan that in order to create these varieties, farms were to be established in every division including Khairpur. In Hyderabad and Khairpur eight farms of two thousand acres were to be established by the government for the multiplication of seeds. The Agricultural Department was made responsible for multiplication and distribution of seeds. However, there was still a need to reform the land system and to reorganise agriculture along scientific lines for greater productivity.

### **The drive to 'grow more' in Khairpur**

The drive to grow more food was envisioned by the Government of West Pakistan and was responded to by farmers. The main objective of this mass movement was to create food in abundance to make the country self-sufficient, at least in terms of food production. In Khairpur, the drive for agricultural expansion started in the 1960s. For the achievement of food production targets, the active participation of farmers and their orientation with modern methods of crop production was considered an important factor. Provision of services was believed to transfer responsibility from the Agriculture Department to farmers and enable them to undertake crop saving measures.<sup>12</sup> However,

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<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p.27.

<sup>12</sup>Government of Pakistan, *The Second Five Year Plan 1960-65*, (Karachi: Manager Press, 1960), p.139.

this did not imply that the Agriculture Department had abandoned its role of supervising the activities of farmers. It rather increased their duties by enabling them to learn more techniques from advanced research and feed this back to the cultivators in order to offer them new transferable skills. The farmers realised by these lessons that they were the ultimate beneficiaries of these programmes. Their participation was necessary to own these methods and to continue to use effective measures against crop diseases.

Therefore, farmers were persuaded to use mechanical, chemical and technological means to grow more crops. In order to respond to the drive to grow more food in Khairpur, it was considered extremely necessary to use the maximum number of modern inputs including good quality seeds, chemical fertilisers, and plant pesticides. The use of pesticides acquired immense importance after the adoption of agricultural technologies. It was believed that the use of other inputs including high yielding varieties, fertilisers, better irrigation and mechanisation facilities, did not guarantee success in the absence of pesticides, which protected crops from attack by harmful insects, because the onslaught of attack by insects affected the crop-output and damaged the cause of growing more. In spite of using advanced methods, per acre yield in cotton remained low until the adoptions of protective measures by farmers. For example, it was proposed to launch a fully-fledged 'grow more cotton' campaign in Khairpur during the *kharif*, and the area under the crop was 70000 acres.<sup>13</sup>

The area could not be increased further because growers of food crops were not ready to switch over to cotton. They were more interested in cultivating more food crops to overcome food shortages in Khairpur. Another reason was the problem of several diseases faced by the cotton crop in Khairpur. This crop was also unable to grow in salty areas. Thus, the real campaign areas were the 25 percent of the total land under cotton cultivation where fertilisers and pesticides could be ensured. Therefore, the

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<sup>13</sup>Agriculture Department, *Annual Development Programme of Khairpur Division for Kharif*, (Khairpur: 1966), p.21.

quantity of fertilisers required for 17500 acres was 1750 tons which could increase cotton production considerably.<sup>14</sup>

Cotton was a vulnerable crop of the *kharif* season. It was heavily affected by untimely rains and the sudden rise in temperature also destroyed cotton crops. Farmers were not sure about either sowing earlier or late because there were so many variations in weather conditions that it was hard to predict the changes. Thus, it was clear that the risks to the cotton crops were huge. In addition, protecting the crop from various kinds of insects was a perilous task. The following insects and pests were observed in Khairpur which caused 10-15 percent damage to the cotton crops.<sup>15</sup> These insects included: cotton boll worms, jassids (leafhoppers), white flies, weevils, black-headed crickets, white ants, rats, and anthracnose. During the sowing of cotton in April or May it was possible that it could be attacked by white ants and black-headed crickets which were controlled by the spray of Aldrian, Dieldrin or BHC on the land before sowing. The pesticides such as Metasystox or Gusathion or Diazinon were useful for the eradication of cotton bollworms, white flies, weevils and Jassids. In addition, the farmers of Khairpur were advised to use only seeds provided to them by the Agriculture Development Corporation (ADC) to protect crops from Boll-rot, Red-leaf and Anthracnose diseases.<sup>16</sup>

Khairpur division had a fair amount of pesticides in the 1960s. During the year 1966, for example, the stock available at the division showed 52 different types of pesticides. Khairpur district alone had 4120 lbs or 1868 kg more than its requirement of 2000 lbs or 907 kg. The following table shows the number of items required by the district of Khairpur and the number of available items. The data is derived from the Annual Report of the Agriculture Department of Khairpur.

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<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p.25.

Table 15 List of available/required pesticides in Khairpur

Pesticides	Required (lbs)	Available (lbs)
BHC	2000	4120
DDT	1000	930
Endrin	1000	820
Malathion	1000	820
Zinc Phosphide	700	30
Manzate	5000	100
Sevindust	1000	20120
Metasystox	1000	350
EDB	300	05
Dieldrin	1000	110

Source: Agriculture Department Khairpur, 1966

The table mentions that Zinc phosphide was available in very little quantity. The same was available in large quantities for Nawabshah district where it was not required. Therefore, it could be used at Khairpur district. Similarly, Manzate was available in the Nawabshah and Larkana districts in more than their required quantities. Thus, the redistribution of 52 pesticide items among all of the districts of the Khairpur division according to their actual needs could partly have solved the shortage of pesticides at peak seasons. In addition to the treatment of crop diseases through chemical pesticides, their care was better than cure. Farmers were not aware of many techniques which, if employed, could help to control the spread of insects. For instance, farmers were lazy in the post-harvest removal of insects. They needed to cut the cotton sticks and burn them. This practice was very useful for eradicating the multiplication of many insects including bollworms, Jassids, white flies and ants. This saved a lot of money spent on

the purchase of expensive pesticides and labour, which could be used for more productive purposes. Farmers however, were not keen on observing these cultural methods of eradication of insects. Instead, they used these sticks at home for kitchen fuel. This could allow these insects to survive and move on to other crops. It was also dangerous for their own health as the insects could also contaminate their food in their homes. The second cultural technique was easier and environment friendly. The neem leaves could be used to prepare spray for affected plants. Nevertheless, the use of leaves in storage of wheat seeds was common in Khairpur. The third method used by some farmers in Khairpur was drum-beating in the fields affected by black insects. The drum-beating caused the insects to come down from the grain part of plant and die.<sup>17</sup> The fourth important method was to use the good quality seeds which were treated by chemicals to prevent them from the harmful insects.

The Agriculture Department declared that they would provide 215 tons of these improved seeds for Khairpur and 6000 acres of land were to be sprayed during the *kharif* season.<sup>18</sup> But still there was a big gap between the availability of services and the demand in the areas where farmers were completely ignorant of these new methods of improving farming. However, it was not humanly possible to persuade all farmers to use these methods overnight, but the popularity of these methods needed to be shared among farmers.

Nevertheless, the need to mobilise farmers about the use of spray machines and other farm implements could not be overemphasised. There was not likely to be benefits from the use of farm equipment without educating farmers about the proper utilisation of the farm tools that were available to them. Therefore, to develop interest in agricultural production, farmers were kept informed about what was going on around them. They

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<sup>17</sup>Interview with Haleem Ullah Mahesar (Farmer), Khairpur: May 08, 2011.

<sup>18</sup>Agriculture Department, *Annual Development Programme of Khairpur Division for Kharif*, (Khairpur: 1966), p.25.

were asked to use new agricultural implements and leave behind the old methods to increase per acre yield. Growers were told that average per acre productivity was higher in developed countries, mainly because farmers in these countries maximised the use of new farming techniques including mechanised operations in fields to a great extent. Owing to this change, farmers were able to develop agriculture and raise their level of income by cultivating cash crops. Agriculture Extension Services (AES) informed farmers more about various inputs including irrigation, mechanisation and high yielding seed technology. However, the inadequate availability of farm equipment was a limiting factor for the performance of new varieties because the land was prepared with implements and it was unusual for a tenant to own a plough himself.<sup>19</sup> This situation resulted in defective seed-bed preparation and consequently seed-germination was affected. The problem of an acute shortage of farm equipment was not addressed adequately even by subsidising these tools. The small farmers were incapable of purchasing modern farm-tools and thus depended largely on traditional farming.

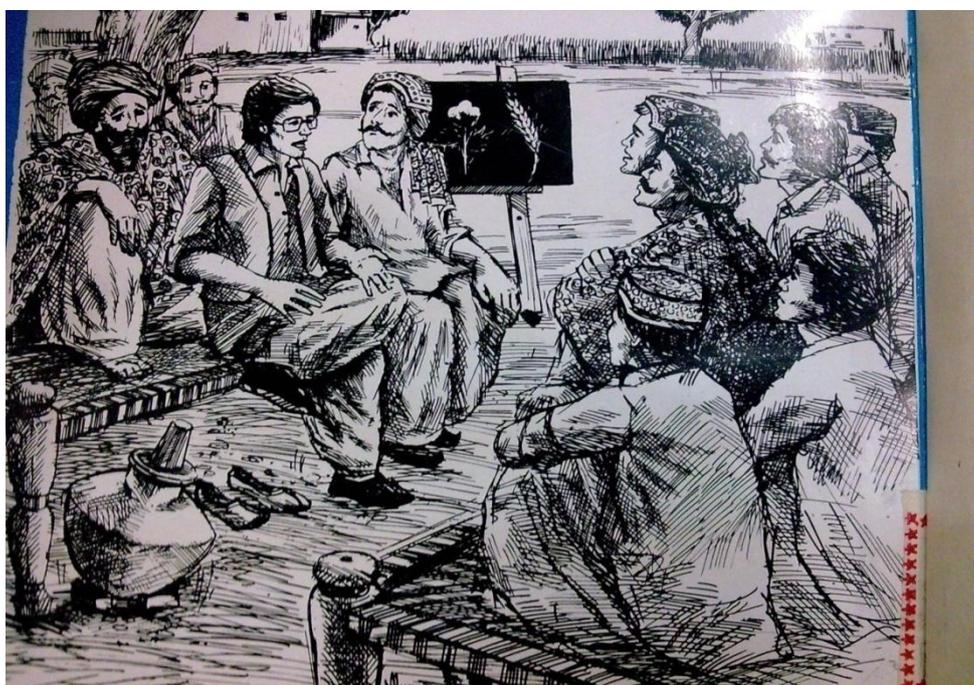
Despite this, the contribution of agricultural staff could not be ignored. They brought information and motivation to farmers and told them why they needed to use modern inputs on their farms. They also convinced the farmers of, the need for material progress, through logical arguments in the areas where farmers were misguided by old notions, according to which progress in agriculture was not humanly possible. In meetings with farmers, they were told the fascinating tales of these modern inputs and how their proper use could change their fate. Farmers took little interest in formal meetings but were more comfortable in village fairs. Perhaps a more useful technique used by the Agriculture Department was to show movies and documentary films. People were surprised to see moving pictures and came along to entertain not only their children but also themselves. This was quite a new technology in Khairpur and was

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<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p.21.

welcomed by rural people. Farmers did not move for a second while watching such an exciting programme, which they had never before experienced in their lives. It was for this reason that its chances of bringing change in the minds of farmers were brighter. In Khairpur division alone, more than 284 film shows were watched by farmers and a large amount of literature was distributed among them. However, visual techniques were useful in convincing uneducated farmers to adopt new methods.

Figure 3 Agricultural awareness among farmers



Source: Agriculture Department

The Agriculture Department claimed to have distributed 4000 leaflets in the Khairpur district alone. They met farmers about 160 times, visited 300 villages, organised four fairs and delivered 600 lectures during the *kharif* season in 1966.<sup>20</sup> These awareness-based programmes educated farmers on the methods of cultivation, including irrigation. Probably, farmers were aware of the benefits of better quality wells and they seemed convinced to put up installation expenses. They intended to get rid of water-logging and supply fresh water for their crops. Consequently, individual farmers showed interest in

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<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p.3.

operations mechanised by tractors and the installation of tube wells, and the owners of tractors seemed quite satisfied with new idea of mechanisation.<sup>21</sup> The farmers were made aware of the input and output relationship by the Agricultural Department. They were persuaded through demonstrations arranged by the Agriculture Extension and through the advertisements which appeared in newspapers. Programmes on agriculture-related information were broadcast on the radio, which was the most popular medium of communication in rural Khairpur.

The important feature of the ‘grow more’ campaign was to train farmers in the essential aspects of modern farming including: rotation of crops, use of high yielding varieties, chemical fertilisers, plant protection practices, mechanised irrigation, and soil reclamation methods.<sup>22</sup> This movement was to make farmers aware of modern crop-inputs in order to engage farmers in agriculture enthusiastically. The farmers responded to this cause positively and began to use agricultural machinery to meet the formidable challenge of increasing productivity. To institutionalise the awareness programme, training centres were established in the Khairpur division to impart knowledge and develop the skills of farmers.

Poets also played a significant role in promoting the grow more food campaign. The main objective of agricultural poetry was to create awareness among farmers and to promote agricultural development. In the poem ‘Oh *hari* oh the builder of the nation’ the poet beautifully communicated a message about growing more food to farmers. In the first three lines, the poet prayed to God to give the nation the courage, bravery, dignity and wealth of *eman* (belief), and the love of land. In the following verses he praised the farmer and called him ‘a centre of hopes, builder of the nation, artisan, hard worker, and trust-worthy person who could make the country self-sufficient and prevent

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<sup>21</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p. 91.

<sup>22</sup>*Dawn*, February 4, 1967.

it from begging for food.<sup>23</sup> The poet further suggested that farmers devote themselves to growing wheat and rice and making the country honourable. Thus, farmers were convinced to bring a change in their way of farming and to give rest to their tired pairs of bullocks because science could step in, providing new machines and countless agricultural implements for their help. The doors of the banks were also open for them to get credit facilities. In addition, the high yielding varieties were now seeing their way to singing the songs of success.<sup>24</sup>

Another important aspect of the 'grow more' campaign was to introduce farming on a cooperative-basis. For this purpose cooperative societies were established and villagers were made the members of these societies. In the Khairpur district this Department was headed by the Assistant Registrar of cooperative societies. The chief aim of the Department was to create enthusiasm among farmers to help one another. There were 99 cooperative societies. Out of these, 77 societies were established in the SCARP zone where 29 were agricultural societies. The number of cooperative societies was increasing due to its importance for investing in agriculture. Farmers were able to get loans and other agricultural equipment with the help of these societies. Farmers finished various kinds of works by cooperating with one another. For example, various villages were linked by tracks prepared on the self-help principle.

This movement socially organised farmers and promoted the spirit of working together in cooperation. Farmers learnt many techniques about how to work together to achieve the common goal of higher productivity. More importantly, they began to own things which could help them in growing more and increasing per acre yield. They realised that they could reduce the cost of inputs if they were able to double productivity. The use of inputs in one acre, gave more than what was produced in three acres without these inputs. In this way they could save the money spent on the other two

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<sup>23</sup>*Ibrat*, December 6, 1967.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibrat*, December 13, 1967.

acres. They also realised the importance of the proper use of loans provided under these societies. Farmers were educated to use credit for productive purposes in order to repay the loan after the harvest of their crops.

The institution of cooperative societies was revolutionary in the sense that it could strengthen the financial conditions of small farmers who faced difficulty in purchasing major crop inputs.<sup>25</sup> It brought great hope for them to participate in a programme of growing more in Khairpur. However, the number of societies was not keeping pace with the needs of farmers. It was decided to increase the number and each union council was to organise at least one cooperative society. These societies could play a significant role if they were provided with enough funds. Their efficiency could also be improved by adequate training facilities.

### **The response of high yielding varieties and other inputs**

The new seeds were introduced in the late 1960s to bring about a lasting change in agricultural production. These high yielding varieties were superior in quality to the local ones, which required a longer time to give production. On the other hand the modern varieties matured sooner than other indigenous seeds. However, the success of these varieties was closely related to the availability of water, chemical fertilisers and plant protection measures adopted by farmers in Khairpur, where new varieties were adopted by farmers mainly due to their ability to double productivity. These seeds were capable of increasing productivity two to three times greater than that of the conventional varieties; hence they were described as ‘the breakthrough seeds.’<sup>26</sup>

These seeds of change required better irrigation facilities as well as the other inputs. Khairpur had the advantage of better irrigation and thus the environment was conducive for the adoption of high yielding varieties. However, there were many stories about mismanagement of water resources at the local level. The farmers of Khairpur

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<sup>25</sup>Interview with Niaz Mangnejo (Revenue official), Khairpur: October 28, 2008.

<sup>26</sup>*Dawn*, June 18, 1967.

complained that they were compelled by circumstances to offer bribes to the *beldar* for removing disruptions in the modules<sup>27</sup> which severely affected the flow of water during the peak sowing season of rice. ‘My *bejaro* (nursery) was going very dry and thus I needed water free flowing to my lands at the tail of the water course to sow plants as quickly as possible.’<sup>28</sup> These complaints about the Irrigation Department were common, which increased the problems of farmers. One day the Commissioner of Khairpur directed the Sub-Divisional Magistrate (SDM) to initiate a surprise visit to the areas where modules were misused by *beldars* and *darogas* in order to provide water to all farmers. The team led by the revenue officer observed that in several modules one inch to two inches of water, which was not adequate for sowing and therefore, action was to be taken against those members of the Irrigation Department who were involved in tampering with modules for extracting money from farmers.<sup>29</sup>

These obstructions in the modules severely affected the flow of water. The habit of putting obstacles in modules became a custom in rural Khairpur. Sometimes, it became increasingly difficult to discover the hidden disruptions. ‘On our joint request the SDM directed Mukhtiarkar to hear our grievances about the obstructed flow of water.’<sup>30</sup> Were you sure that the flow of water was obstructed at modules...? (the revenue officer asked furiously). Yes, sahib... (the farmers replied meekly). However, none of them was ready to become a witness. The revenue officer pledged to visit a place within a week. But, after a few days they knew that the SDM had already been transferred from Gambat to Khairpur and thus the matter remained continually undecided. This situation developed because of two reasons. The farmers were afraid of the secret collusion of the members of staff of the Revenue and Irrigation Department. Thus, they hesitated to lay blame directly on any Irrigation Department employee. No one among the farmers was

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<sup>27</sup>The modules were connecting water courses with canal.

<sup>28</sup>Interview with Shah Muhammad (Farmer), Khairpur: October 24, 2008.

<sup>29</sup>*Dawn*, May 28, 1967.

<sup>30</sup>Interview with Shah Muhammad (Farmer), Khairpur: October 24, 2008.

in a position to jeopardise his relations with key persons within the Department who were as sharp as a knife in declaring a snake as a rope and a rope as a snake. More importantly, farmers and their landowners were unable to trust one another and their disunity was actually an opportunity for officials to exploit them.

There were a considerable number of farmers who irrigated their land by water course. Therefore, every land holder had developed separately their relations with these officials for securing an unobstructed flow of water, especially for high yielding varieties. However, in these areas, water was supplemented by mechanised irrigation. The tube wells helped farmers for sowing new varieties on time. In the Khairpur district 160 tube wells out of 568 had already started to meet the shortage of water in the *rabi* season.<sup>31</sup>

Farmers were now ready for growing more in the *rabi* season which began from the month of October. Thus, farmers needed new seeds before the season was going to start. In the Khairpur division therefore, 3315 tons of high yielding variety Mexican wheat was being distributed among *zamindars* and farmers.<sup>32</sup> They had to pay in cash, Rs 35 per 40 kg seeds, to change their fate. Thus, the use of new varieties, i.e. Mexican wheat, was growing in the late 1960s. These seeds were stored at the headquarters and distributed among farmers at lower rates. These varieties and chemical fertilisers needed assured water as a major input. In addition, the efforts, made by the AES took a couple of years to make the farmers fertiliser- and variety-minded in Khairpur.<sup>33</sup>

Growers needed four bags of chemical fertiliser per acre under the new varieties. But, use of chemical fertiliser varied from crop to crop. The fertiliser and pesticides were like the two wings of a bird. Without these inputs the new varieties were unable to touch the heights of productivity. In fact not every small farmer was able to buy fertilisers.

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<sup>31</sup>*Dawn*, August 21, 1967.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>Rajper, K.G, *Agricultural Extension Services, Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: 1967), p.23.

There were also some farmers who were not even able to purchase a single bag of fertiliser. Not all farmers were aware of the benefits of using new fertilisers. However, the majority of farmers decided to use chemical fertilisers because they realized that they were unable to increase productivity without them. Those farmers who used fertilisers increased their crop-output. And the others just followed them. These conditions of land and high productivity ambitions of the farmers gave a rationale for using chemical fertilisers. Farmers knew about the needs of their lands and thus began to use chemical fertilisers for healthy growth of plants, which depended on proper quantities of three elements: nitrogen, phosphorus and potash. In the absence of these nutrients land was unable to give maximum output even though the high yielding varieties could be tried on soils, because these varieties were highly responsive to fertilisers.

Therefore, the use of chemical fertilisers became increasingly important in Khairpur in order to benefit from the new changes in agriculture, including mechanisation and the introduction of high yielding varieties. With the introduction of mechanisation, more land came under cultivation and farmers needed to use fertilisers in order to increase production. The crop-intensity created by mechanised farming enabled farmers to grow more crops in a season and consequently land required nutrients to maintain its level of fertilisation. The consumption of fertilisers increased significantly in the late 1960s, when farmers used high yielding varieties and showed a willingness to use new methods of improved farming. In order to achieve the goal of self-sufficiency in food production, the government encouraged farmers to make use of chemical fertilisers. Thus, it ensured the availability of fertilisers and its proper distribution in every part of the district. In addition, the Khairpur fertiliser factory was started in order to produce chemical fertiliser.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>*Dawn*, June 4, 1967.

The urea fertiliser was thus conserved by farmers to meet the fertility needs of their soils. It was a low-cost fertiliser available to farmers. The price for a 55 kg bag of urea was available at Rs 26. The Di-ammonium Phosphate (DAP) fertiliser and Ammonium Sulphate were sold at Rs 28 and 11.50 per bag. A significant number of farmers in Khairpur could afford to buy chemical fertilisers on the subsidised rate provided by the government. The price of fertiliser could be a main limiting factor on the use of all chemical fertilisers by farmers but, consequently, the price of fertiliser was subsidised to bring down its consumer price. The price changes could have a great impact on the extent of fertiliser use in Khairpur. It was clear that without subsidy, the price was higher and farmers were unable to buy chemical fertiliser.

However, farmers could be willing to purchase fertilisers and other inputs such as pesticides, if they were able to sell their crops at a fair price. The price variability thus was also an important factor for consumption of fertilisers and pesticides which were also important for the protection of crops including: wheat, rice, cotton, and sugar cane. Thus, the AEC recommended the establishment of new industries to increase the demand for agricultural productivity and improve price structure.<sup>35</sup> Eventually, farmers created a huge production by means of high yielding varieties. They were surprised to see the miracle brought about by the seeds, which was never dreamt of by their forefathers who spent their lives in ploughing the land with bullocks, working day and night along with their families in the fields, unable to change their way of life.

### **High yielding farming patterns in Khairpur**

The progress in crops unfolded by technology was perceived as a great transformation in agriculture brought out in Khairpur. The emphasis was laid down on higher yields per unit of cultivation. The technological innovation and spread of scientific know-how contributed tremendously to the rapid growth of food grain. Wheat was an important

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<sup>35</sup>Rajper, K.G, *Agricultural Extension Services, Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: 1967), p.18.

food crop that dominated agriculture, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. It was a source of great hope for meeting food shortages and creating self-sufficiency in food resources. This modern variety of wheat was originally imported from Mexico and tried in the Khairpur to multiply food grain. The wheat variety was ‘dwarf’ and as susceptible to the diseases caused by insects, but sweet in taste and considered good for making *chapatti*. The Mexican variety performed better in sweet lands than in saline lands. The salts were to be solved to some extent by increasing the quantity of water in salty patches of land. It also required a mechanised seed-bed and four bags of chemical fertiliser per acre. This new wheat variety consumed more water than the indigenous wheat varieties and needed pesticides to protect the crop from the attack of insects, locally known as *mahlo*.<sup>36</sup> In order to increase its production farmers used new methods of modern farming in addition to irrigation facilities.

Consequently, crop-output of wheat, maize and rice touched new heights and enabled Khairpur to overcome its food problem and this raised an opportunity to export its surplus food. From 1958-59 the area under wheat crop was 736,035 acres, which was expected to increase to 1,138,000 acres during 1967-68, and the production was expected to reach 450,000 tons as compared to 197,335 in the former year for the entire division.<sup>37</sup> There were two kinds of wheat varieties sown in Khairpur. The local varieties covered a major portion of the lands at 88 percent, and Mexican varieties covered only 12 percent in the division. After Nawabshah, Khairpur district had the largest area under Mexican varieties and the total area under wheat was 195,000 acres from 1967-68, whereas the target was fixed at 93,000 tons.

The wheat crop was increased by 208.5 percent during that year but rice production was increased only slightly in the division. The cash crops such as cotton grew

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<sup>36</sup>*Ibrat*, October 18, 1967.

<sup>37</sup>Aquil, Syed Mansur (ed.), *Decade of Reforms in Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: West Pakistan Government Press, 1968), p.5.

considerably. However, sugar cane progressed by increasing its production by 1.62 percent in the year from 1967-68.<sup>38</sup> These figures clearly demonstrate that agriculture progressed more in food production. The highest achievement obtained in wheat was solely because of high yielding varieties and the associated inputs such as fertilisers, pesticides, mechanisation, and better methods of irrigation that created an environment conducive for the growth and development of these varieties. The availability of water and these other inputs ensured such a high level of productivity. (See Table 16 on p.195). It was officially declared that West Pakistan had become self-sufficient in food, and productivity in agriculture was increased by the use of high yielding varieties and chemical fertilisers.<sup>39</sup>

Wheat was a major food crop in Khairpur and fulfilled more than one-third of the nutrients of its residents. It was used as main meal with a variety of foods. The common use of meal in rural Khairpur was with milk and its other products. The wheat grains were believed to be a source of comfort in Sindi society. Wheat producers began to be called wise and wealthy men after the occurrence of this revolution. Therefore, farmers took keen interest in wheat and rice cultivation for food security.

In the 1960s, the discovery of the Irri rice variety, named after the International Rice Research Institute, was a real triumph developed from the crossing of two varieties. But in Khairpur this crop was not so encouraged that it could take the place of wheat. During this time farmers were allowed the cultivation of rice in the water-logging free areas of the district. But, rice cultivation was banned in the areas affected by water-logging and salinity, on the grounds that rice crops consumed more water. Therefore, rice was produced only in water-logging free areas. The cultivators were required to get permission from the concerned department. During the One Unit time, those farmers of Khairpur who wished to cultivate rice had to go a thousand kilometres to get

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<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p.ii.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibrat*, June 19, 1968.

permission. A well-known big land-owner of Khairpur developed his short story based upon his own experience of how difficult it was to cultivate rice during these days.<sup>40</sup>

This *zamindar* decided to cultivate rice, and thus began his journey by rail from Khairpur towards Lahore. He was accompanied by his *kamdar*. They reached Lahore after two days of continuous travel. They were quite new to this city and thus faced difficulties in finding a place close to the office they had to attend. They visited the reclamation office but they were asked to come back the next day because the clerk who dealt with the applications for the permission for rice cultivation refused to search for the *zamindar's* application. On the next morning before meeting with the clerk, the landowner approached the peon who agreed to speak with the clerk if he could offer a bribe for the approval of his request. The landowner happily accepted this demand and promised to pay any amount of money as a bribe. But, the peon told him that his application was rejected and sent back to Sukkur.

He however, on the advice of his *kamdar*, met the reclamation officer. *Zamindar* told the officer about the matter and requested that he consider his application filed by the Agriculture Department for further action. In reply the officer just reiterated only a few words, saying that 'your application was received a week ago and the same was sent back to Sukkur with 'some objections.' This was really frustrating for the landowner. The landowner argued that his neighbouring *zamindar*, Chaudhry Chanandin [ Punjabi settler ] and he applied on the same date; Chaudhry's application had been approved while his was refused. He had spent a lot of money on seeds and land development in the hope of cultivating rice. The officer became angry and asked him to leave his office. The behaviour of Punjabi bureaucrats infuriated the landowner and increased his hate of Punjabi dominance. Eventually they came back in a desperate condition. The farmers, who were already waiting for permission, felt deprived of growing rice during that year

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<sup>40</sup>KharaI, Naseem Ahmed, (compiled), *Suhni: Yadoon ji Zanjeer*, (Hyderabad: Jamali Printing Press, 1967), pp. 43-53.

and their hopes went up in smoke after hearing about this news. The rice farming could be banned in water-logged areas partly because it could increase water-logging and salinity, but, putting a ban on the entire area was beyond the understanding of the common man.

In Khairpur, the most popular high yielding variety of rice was Irri. In addition to local varieties farmers cultivated Irri-6 and Irri-8 and increased rice production. There was 650 acres under Irri-8 and it produced more than 1,392 tons of seeding plants in the Khairpur division.<sup>41</sup> This new variety plant was shorter in length and it required hot weather and sunny days for increased yield. It was desirable to plant the Irri crop in the first week of June because this was helpful in protecting it from various kinds of insects.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the seeds had to be prepared at least one month before. The seed nursery needed to be prepared with great care. Chemical and farmyard fertilisers could be used to produce deep green seed plants protected by pesticides. After 20 days farmers were required to remove wild grass, apply chemical fertiliser and increase water by at least 4 inches in depth. During this period the rice plant was developing its grains and thus the use of fertiliser was necessary. This variety matured in three and a half months after sowing its plants. Farmers believed that it produced better results to sow this variety as early as possible. The lateness in sowing caused more diseases in the rice crops. There were four kinds of insects in Khairpur which could damage crops heavily if sufficient amounts of pesticides were not sprayed properly.

Nevertheless, this crop was also dependent on the effective crop protection measures. The disease locally known as *suro* could cause widespread devastation in the rice fields. The Plant Protection Department sprayed 11,000 acres and thus losses were reduced by 50 percent and crop productivity increased significantly in the year 1968.<sup>43</sup> However,

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<sup>41</sup>*Ibrat*, August 22, 1968.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibrat*, May 21, 1968.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibrat*, August 22, 1968.

there was always the danger of locust attacks on the crops. In the first week of May in the same year, a sudden danger of locusts spread over 150 square miles was disclosed by the Khairpur Administration, which alerted the staff of the Revenue and Agriculture Department to take measures against the possible threat of ants to Khairpur.<sup>44</sup> As a result, farmers continued to worry about the threat posed by locusts until the attack of insects was averted by the joint efforts of the farmers and the Agriculture Department. In terms of diseases the indigenous varieties of rice were also liable to be affected by insects. In addition to the Irri variety, the other varieties were also cultivated but the size of cultivation was limited. Farmers were worried that native varieties were disappearing rapidly in the absence of government patronage. The typical example of a local variety was *sugdasi* rice. It was known for its fragrant smell and thus was liked by people in Khairpur.

The cotton crop was a more profitable crop as it was a purely cash crop of the *kharif* season. Farmers in Khairpur used improved cotton seeds and fertilisers. The requirement of seeds per acre was 13 kg, which were sown in rows. Each row was made at distance of 2.5 feet and each plant was supposed to be at distance of 9 inches. In addition, the selection of land for cotton was also important factor for greater productivity. The soil containing clay or mixture of clay and sand particles was most suitable for cotton crops. The crop also needed two bags of ammonium sulphate fertilisers. But, it was highly important to protect the cotton crop from various kinds of insects because it was vulnerable to diseases. The Agriculture Department also introduced a new improved variety, Desi-1, which was becoming more popular in Khairpur.<sup>45</sup> It was also desirable for farmers to avoid growing the same crop, such as cotton, on the same piece of land continuously. They could change crop after everyone or two seasons, on the same land. This could enable land to retain its fertility. Farmers

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<sup>44</sup>*Ibrat*, May 5, 1968.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibrat*, August 22, 1968.

were aware of the benefits of rotation of crops, thus cultivated crops one by one.<sup>46</sup> The rotation of crops was believed to be helpful in the eradication of diseases. In some areas of Khairpur, it was observed that some *haris* abandoned cultivation on the land for a considerable time in order to relax the land. However, this was not good for the land because this could turn cultivatable land into barren land and could create the problem of absentee farmers. However, the best way to relax the land and to maintain its fertility was to keep rotating the crops.

Cotton played a significant role in improving the economic conditions of farmers. But, the cotton crop remained mainly dependent on climatic conditions. Variations in the cotton crop were not very common in Khairpur as compared to the other areas of the country. The cotton also had additional export value and it could be increased by investing more and offering financial incentives. Export expansion needed to accelerate the diffusion of high yielding technology, which could be slower than that of rice due to the higher levels of skills needed for the increased yield of cotton.<sup>47</sup>

However, the growers of this crop in Khairpur were able to raise their incomes profoundly. For instance, in the village situated in Gambat the grower had a farm consisting of 15 acres. He had to look after his family of eight members including his father and mother who were dependent on the farmer. His two sons were studying, while his daughters worked at home. The farmer was a self-cultivator and thus needed to employ labour for various tasks, especially at the time of sowing and the picking of cotton. The cost of labour per worker was Rs 60.00. The water was supplied to his farm by the canal. Nevertheless, he needed to spend cash on the other inputs such as improved seeds, fertilisers and pesticides. In addition, an amount of Rs 350 was charged on his crop as land revenue. The farmer received a total income of more than five

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<sup>46</sup>*Ibrat*, August 12, 1968.

<sup>47</sup>Aresvik, Oddvar, *Comments on Outline of the Fourth Five year Plan (January 1970) on Matters Related to Agricultural Development, West Pakistan*, (Lahore: Agriculture Department, 1970), p.8.

thousand against the expenditure of less than two thousand.<sup>48</sup> The additional money could be used for the various needs of his family including: food, health, clothes and his children's education. The farmer was also able to consume electricity and other products.

The income of farmers was further augmented by another cash crop which emerged as a remarkable source of wealth-generation. Sugar cane was a more trusted friend of farmers in terms of weather conditions. It mainly contributed to the production of sugar and *gur*. Sugar was one of the main kitchen items in Khairpur. The popularity of tea as a common drink created an increase in the domestic consumption of sugar. Sugar was also used in making a variety of sweets and other foods. Therefore, sugar fulfilled not only domestic needs but, also served the food industries from bakery to biscuit factory.

The sugar cane seeds of good quality were prepared in indigenous soil to acclimatise the germination of new plants. The increase in quantity and better quality of production relied on the purity of seeds in terms of weeds and wild grass seeds. The land under sugar cane increased tremendously in Khairpur. The total cultivation of sugar cane was 77,933 acres in the entire division, which produced 1,160,000 tons of sugar cane. The sugar cane produced in Khairpur was sold directly to the sugar mill. The mill offered cash to farmers according to the rate fixed for sugar cane in the country. This crop also changed the financial conditions of farmers enabling them to meet the needs of their families. This crop was cultivated even on lands partly affected by water-logging and salinity. Khairpur lands were suitable for these crops and thus the success in growing more food became possible with the efforts of farmers who used new methods of farming and new varieties. However, they needed to show some enthusiasm for growing cash crops to change the rural scene by generating more incomes.

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<sup>48</sup>Interview with Shah Muhammad (Farmer), Khairpur: October 24, 2008.

Table 16 shows the area under major crops and productivity in the Khairpur District.

[Area in Acres and Production in tons]

Year	Wheat		Jowar*		Rice		Cotton		Sugar cane **	
	T. A	T. P	T. A	T. P	T.A	T. P	T. A	T. P	T. A	T. P
1968-69	192000	71000	-	-	23000	10400	91100	49800	11100	166400
1969-70	203000	107000	-	-	23000	12000	95200	48900	-	-
1970-71	178134	108969	85035	24992	12500	6942	96699	64013	13272	195033
1971-72	162727	106777	72361	21480	9182	5222	109586	94002	12763	175331
1972-73	186521	102454	78650	23404	10067	5752	10400	100069	12107	166794
1973-74	205355	125145	59966	17955	16136	9242	103077	93070	14594	201592
1974-75	175079	117689	67374	20049	12854	7149	105201	83845	14530	152133

Sources: Bureau of Statistics, Government of Sind & Year Books

The total area under the major crops was 385,640 acres in the Khairpur district in the year 1970-71. The area under these crops was increased during that year by 15 percent and decreased by 14 percent and 12 percent in the year 1971-72 and 1972-1973.<sup>49</sup> An overall picture of agriculture suggested that production declined during the fourth five year plan. The production of wheat was reduced considerably during the period. The gradual reduction in the areas under wheat crop caused reduced productivity. This could be a single factor for the overall reduction. For instance in 1970-71 the total area under wheat was 178,134, compared to 205,355 acres in 1973-74, but in terms of production the former year had greater productivity.

Despite, the efforts made to continue progressing in agriculture, political instability in the early 1970s interrupted agricultural development. This decreased the productivity in agriculture and prevented the fourth five year plan accomplishing what was envisioned

<sup>49</sup>See Government of Sind, Agricultural statistics Reports, & Year Books for the year from 1968-1969 to 1974-1975.

\*The data about *jowar* for the year 1968-1969 and 1969-70 was unavailable.

\*\*The data about sugar cane for the year 1969-70 was unavailable.

by agricultural planners in the next couple of years. Therefore, political instability was also an important factor for discontinuity in agricultural policies. Therefore, inconsistent agricultural policy did not solve many of the problems faced by landowners and farmers. Inadequate physical infrastructure was one of the main problems of Khairpur's agriculture. Farmers had various problems but the biggest was transportation. Hence farmers had long suffered from the huge cost of getting their produce to markets. This was especially frustrating for farmers to the *Katcha* areas. The construction of a bridge across the river Indus project could bring the prospect of a link to the district Larkana, where market opportunities were greater for them. The promise of a transport facility was what farmers had heard for several years, but no progress was being made to develop waterways or transport by road. Some projects were designed by the Khairpur Administration to tackle these problems.

Nevertheless, in addition to these logistical problems, crops also had to face some serious problems, which needed to be addressed adequately in the course of time. Therefore, new techniques and methods were to be developed from time to time to explore possibilities within their field. These problems added a new dimension in agricultural research. It provided new topics including soil fertility, plant breeding, entomology, agronomy, and plant pathology for the effective research to increase the use of high yielding varieties technology.<sup>50</sup> These new areas of research enabled scientists to face effectively daunting challenges, and to discover the possibilities of huge productivity. To benefit from the new techniques it became increasingly important to adopt advanced scientific facilities in Khairpur, but this change was not adequately responded to by the administration.

To continue progressing, it was a great opportunity to learn lessons from past strategies employed to achieve the targets. A similar kind of enthusiasm was needed to

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<sup>50</sup>Aresvik, Oddvar, *Comments on Outline of the Fourth Five year Plan (January 1970) on Matters Related to Agricultural Development, West Pakistan*, (Lahore: Agriculture Department, 1970), p.23.

secure the cash crops of cotton and sugar cane. The successful production was described as an outcome of not only technological and economic factors but also psychological factors such as campaigns for growing more food crops.<sup>51</sup> These demonstrations were used effectively in Khairpur, where the Department launched these movements. They mainly targeted farmers to grow food grains, especially wheat, to make it self-reliant in food production. These campaigns were also needed for increasing production of cash crops including cotton and sugar cane for raising the per capita income of farmers and enabling Khairpur to accelerate its exports. It was also important to improve the performance of the Agriculture and Irrigation Departments. Farmers faced problems of serious disruptions in the flow of water. The tube wells also became problematic in some areas including Hingorja, where farmers wrote many complaints to the Executive Engineer for Irrigation in Khairpur to let him know about the problems they faced. In these areas, tube well operators were not available to operate them during *rabi* season and the flow of water was also insufficient for crops.<sup>52</sup>

Many farmers in various parts of Khairpur spent a lot of money on installation of tube wells to increase their agricultural productivity but they had to go from pillar to post to secure electric connections. The policy on the provision of these connections was highly centralised by the West Pakistan Government which discouraged farmers from irrigating lands by the installation of tube wells. On the one hand the government was emphasising higher productivity and on the other hand farmers were not provided with electric connections which alone could enable them to achieve the same.<sup>53</sup> This exposed obvious flaws in the policy of the government and was indicative of the negative impact of the One Unit scheme on Khairpur's agriculture because it was not possible for farmers to afford the travel costs of visiting WAPDA House in Lahore. Instead the

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<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibrat*, February 1, 1970.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibrat*, August 9, 1970.

WAPDA needed to delegate powers to its Khairpur office to provide connections at the local level.

However, it was of course good news for rice growers in Khairpur that they did not have to go to Lahore to seek permission for rice cultivation. The powers were transferred to the Commissioner in Khairpur to normalise the ban on cultivation of this crop, which was imposed by the Lahore Government. According to the new policy implemented in Khairpur, two committees were formed to deal with the SCARP and non-SCARP areas of Khairpur. Farmers of these areas were required to apply for permission to the Deputy Commissioner by 15 February every year and their application was to be approved after receiving a report about the condition of the land submitted by the respective committee.<sup>54</sup> Eventually, farmers were able to cultivate rice in the unaffected lands. In terms of growing crops and increased productivity, Khairpur emerged as an important agricultural district in the country.

### **Impact of agricultural productivity**

The Green Revolution brought about by technological changes led to various changes in Khairpur. It made it possible to attain self-sufficiency in food but also improved socio-economic conditions of cultivators. The introduction of changes in agriculture also led to the new changes in social relationships between the landowners and land farmers.

### ***Improvement in socio-economic conditions***

In fact the performance of agriculture seemed to suggest that the dramatic breakthrough in agriculture was the result of high yielding technology developed by means of scientific research. To achieve these productivity goals was no doubt a fascinating tale of HYVs, and scientific research that needed to keep the technology moving. The government sponsored research into crop varieties suited to the lands and

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<sup>54</sup>*Ibrat*, August 11, 1970.

several studies were carried out by scientists and agricultural experts on a variety of issues in farming including plant diseases.

In Khairpur, where relatively good weather conditions and abundant sunshine existed, suitable crop varieties produced bumper crops. The weather conditions favoured the new varieties especially wheat variety. For example the most common disease was rust. The leaf rust and stem rusts appeared in Khairpur and Sind shortly before the end of the cropping season because the temperature and relative humidity did not favour the spread of these diseases and caused less damage to the crops.<sup>55</sup> However, the findings of research suggested that the seeds could be treated with fungicides and foliar sprays could also be made to check the growth of these diseases.<sup>56</sup> Thus, scientific research helped farmers increase productivity and improve their conditions.

These crops improved the ability of farmers to expand farming. Importantly, the progressive farmers emerged as a new agricultural force in Khairpur who were keen on adopting new techniques instead of struggling with the old ways of cultivation. The farmers could previously only work in the fields during day-light hours but now they were able to work at nights with the advent of tractors. The progressive farmers were also followed by those farmers who had newly entered agriculture. Their success stories had a greater impact on the adjoining areas of the district.

Undoubtedly, the huge production of agriculture improved the conditions of the farmer and his family. Growers of major crops were able to increase their incomes. For instance the grower of wheat's average income per acre was Rs. 1275.<sup>57</sup> The cotton grower, however, realised Rs. 2800 per acre income in Khairpur in the 1970s. Farmers were now able to meet the social and economic needs of their families. They had access to food, clothes and shelter and the other necessities of life. They could afford to send

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<sup>55</sup>Jagirdar, Syed Ahmed Pasha, *Wheat diseases in Sind*, (Tandojam: Agriculture Research Institute, 1980), p. 14.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup>Abro, Manzoor Hussain, *Production and Maxi-Pak wheat in Khairpur*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, (Tandojam: Sind Agriculture University, 1975), p.44.

their children to schools. Farmers were also able to spare some time for entertainment and other social activities. These conditions led to the improvement of middle class life in Khairpur.<sup>58</sup>

### *Change in social relationships*

The increase in productivity and revenue also increased the shopping power of farmers required for increased consumption of new products. They could easily buy necessary household items including transistors, which played a significant role in integrating the small villages and towns into the world in terms of information. The increased level of awareness among farmers as a result of social awareness and agricultural know-how proved vital for the emancipation of farmers from the bondage and cruel treatment of *waderos*, whose political dominance began to end in the villages of Khairpur. In the 1970s *waderos* who wanted people to worship them were now labelled as cruel and parasitic creature. They were socially condemned by the journalists, story writers, poets and the middle class activists.

In addition, educated farmers began to argue with landowners to increase their share in *batai*. This institution was changed immensely in the following decades. Farmers realised that huge productivity was possible because of their hard work in past decades.

Thus, they were entitled to have a major share. The *waderos* were no longer in position to relocate them because no other farmers were now willing to work in unchanged conditions. On the other hand, farmers threatened the landowner of the consequences in the case of their leaving his lands. These lands could become barren if they were not cultivated by hardworking farmers. In these days it was hard to find hardworking farmers in Khairpur because of the competition among the most productive landowners. They had equal access to high yielding varieties and crop inputs, but there was only one area where one land owner could excel over another.

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<sup>58</sup>See Chapter 6 Impact of Agricultural Change: Consumption and Urban culture, pp. 223-226.

The hardworking farmers were vital to the rapid progress in agriculture. Thus, the point that made the landowners worried was that the farmers could leave them in the absence of their power to keep them working on their farms. They felt insecure. Meanwhile, they tried to keep things as civilised as possible with their farmers. Perhaps, they needed to think about their past behaviour and avoid repeating the traditional methods of influencing farmers in the changing scene of farming. Clearly, this was a dark time for them and they could not imagine forcing farmers to get things done. However, the old habits were dying hard. In Khairpur these landlords tried to reconcile with the new situation that came out of new agricultural changes.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the third source of change in agriculture, the introduction of high yielding varieties in the late 1960s. The improved water sources and mechanisation further motivated cultivators to use new farm-inputs, which included high-yielding varieties, chemical fertilisers and pesticides. These factors have been considered in the success of the drive for increased food production in Khairpur. The drive for 'grow more' was started in the 1960s to increase food. This drive became successful due to these new inputs and motivation provided by the government to farmers.

## Chapter 6

### **Impact of Agricultural change: Consumption and Urban culture**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter analyses the emergence of a middle class and the growth of an urban culture as an outcome of technological change in Khairpur. This study investigates the processes of commercialisation of agriculture and consumption which were created by increased agricultural productivity. The process of commercialisation of agriculture and development of communication followed by the growth of markets has shaped the urban landscape of Khairpur where a consumption culture came to represent middle class life. The chapter also argues that the drive to consume new products and services was a result of socially constructed and created desires of consumers. They began to use consumption as a source of expression of their new identities. This chapter has used contemporary advertisements to illustrate how the process of consumption was a means of demonstrating economic and social change. The rise in consumerism is presented as one of the main indicators of the growth of middle class.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Impact of Green Revolution: Agricultural industry**

Industrial progress correlated with agricultural change in Khairpur. The introduction of changes in agriculture, including the improvement of irrigation, the process of mechanisation and the use of fertiliser-intensive high yielding varieties boosted agricultural production. The higher productivity in food crops including wheat and rice created the need for new markets in the towns and provided the rationale for the establishment of small industrial units including flour and rice mills and food processing units in towns. Cash crops such as sugar cane and cotton also increased trade and commercial activities across Khairpur. The opening of agricultural-based industrial

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<sup>1</sup>Talbot, Ian, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2005), p.46.

units gave impetus to the process of industrialisation. The state had started a considerable number of industries including textiles, cement, tobacco leather, ice, match and several cottage industries. The process of an industrialisation was an important determinant of social mobility in Khairpur. The major contribution of industry was in providing jobs for the unemployed who were not engaged in agriculture. The state also started various development schemes including the provision of water supply, drainage and roads to develop towns. In the 1960s, the growth in urban population of Khairpur due to internal migration – a result of the socio-economic change taking place in Khairpur- put pressure on the available facilities in the towns including water supply, drainage and street lighting and street roads. Nevertheless, housing was one of the serious problems created by rapid increase in urban population. It was necessary to build new houses and repair the existing dwellings. City managers declared that the occupancy rate in 1968 was 2.7 persons per room in Khairpur, which indicated the congested living conditions in the urban areas of Khairpur.<sup>2</sup>

The migration of people from rural areas affected the social institutions of the village. For example the male-dominated system of joint family was one of the main features of village life which was affected by industrial migration. According to this system only male members could become the head of the family. Women were considered the guardians of family honour and could not choose their life partners. Parents had the right to decide what was good or bad for their daughters. Exogamy was strongly disliked by people, parents preferring to marry their girls within the family. The second priority of the girls' parents was to marry them to someone within their own caste. The joint family system was peculiar to rural conditions of life and it satisfied the social needs of the family who were socialised using folk literature and past experiences transferred from generation to generation. Nevertheless, the new settlers in the urban

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<sup>2</sup>Aquil, Syed Mansur (ed.), *Decade of Reforms in Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: West Pakistan Government Press, 1968), p.189.

towns had to disassociate themselves from the joint family system in the favour of adopting the nuclear family system. In order to facilitate these settlers, new schemes of settlement were launched which were based on the integrated approach to solving the problems of housing and employment.<sup>3</sup>

### **Growth in Communication and Commercial services**

New forms of transport increased the possibilities for expansion of the townships. In the 1960s the development of roads in Khairpur and existence of railway stations located in major towns of Khairpur played a significant role in the growth of urbanisation. The towns of Khuhra, Gambat, Ranipur were connected to Khairpur by a network of roads, which gave these towns access to National Highways and railway stations located near Gambat, Ranipur and Khairpur. New towns such as Pir-Jo Goth, Tando Masti, Hingorja, and Mirwah were flourishing townships of Khairpur.

The railroads were established in the late nineteenth century. Perhaps the only critical view of new transport technology came for the first time in the 1920s by a historian, Hakim Fateh Muhammad. His views were based on the assumption that the opening of train system caused social disorganisation and social disturbance in society. He believed that before the advent of railroads, life was simple and peaceful. With the establishment of a new system it became easier to move from one place to another. The excessive cost of journey became a source of unrest among people of rural areas. In addition, he blamed the new system for the scarcity of food in the rural villages owing to the transportation of vegetables and fruits from villages to the cities and other countries. The demand for vegetables and fruits in urban areas increased the cost of food products in villages. Thus, he argued that the transport of food by traders from villages prevented the villagers from benefiting from the lower price of these commodities.<sup>4</sup> In addition, he

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<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p.192.

<sup>4</sup>Sehwani, H. Fateh Muhammad, *Meeran ji Sahibi*, Second edition, (Hyderabad: Sind Research Board, 1989), pp.71-73.

was of the view that the hustle and bustle created by new technology, caused trouble in the process of thinking and creating social wisdom.<sup>5</sup>

However, his biased view of technology ignored the positive impact of technological change. It can be argued that the railway revolutionised the system of transport and helped in mobilisation of middle classes. Since its establishment the railway became the dominant source of transportation. The post-Partition migration from India to Pakistan was also facilitated by the railway network. In addition, the mobilisation of troops in the time of war largely depended on the train system. The railway played a very significant role in the development of trade and economic development in urban areas. It facilitated the process of learning and exchanging information and worked as a vehicle of peace and cooperation. The trains also provided their commuters a new space available to people for sharing business and social ideas. The exchange of feelings between diverse ethnic groups promoted national integration. This space was great opportunity for people to interact. This temporary interaction between culturally diverse people often culminated in the creation of permanent friendships. The new travel technology also worked as a bridge between the employers and middle class job seekers. It enabled the latter to explore opportunities and find work in towns and cities. Khairpur's railroads as an integral part of the railway network of Pakistan facilitated the growth of towns and accelerated social mobility. In addition, with the growth in urbanisation, the transport needs increased tremendously. Thus, the railway met the huge challenge of transportation by expanding its capacity.<sup>6</sup>

The train stations established close to the major towns, also served as entertainment points for middle class hosts who came to receive their urban guests or see off their friends or relatives. Sometimes, guests came from Khairpur or other cities to visit their

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<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>Aquil, Syed Mansur, (ed.), *Decade of Reforms in Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: West Pakistan Government Press, 1968), p.241.

family relatives or friends in the towns and villages. College or school trips were also arranged to enable urban students to become familiar with village life and vice versa. All this was considered a good opportunity for the rural people to interact with their urban friends and learn more about the urban life. The exchange of information and story telling was followed by riding in *tonga*. Commuters were amused continuously by new stories full of urban adventure and suspense until they reached their respective destinations. These *tonga* stories and urban myths were a great source inspiration for those villagers who wished to migrate from rural areas to the urban areas. The *tonga* services provided pick up and drop off facilities to the residents of villages and towns. These facilities were also established closer to the main entrance of each station where *tongas* were parked. In addition, passenger shelters were established at stations, where also passengers would socialise while they awaited their bus or train.<sup>7</sup>

The railway stations housed guest rooms which were classified according to the provision of facilities. The first class guest room was only open to the elite class people. The landed elites, wealthy businessmen and higher government officials were able to use these waiting rooms. The middle class people normally used the second class waiting rooms. These two kinds of rooms were separated by a main entrance to the station. Although both rooms were located in the main station building yet, their interior designs and exterior outlooks distinguished them from one another. The first class room was considerably spacious and offered additional facilities including washing room and lavatory. The difference could also be found in the design and structure of furniture kept in these two kinds of rooms. These first class rooms were aspirational and increased the desire of middle class people for joining the elite class. However, keeping in view the growing number of commuters, additional First, Second and Third class waiting halls

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<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p.245.

for men and ladies, refreshment rooms and water coolers were established at various stations.<sup>8</sup>

These stations were also sources of livelihood for the local people. The stations housed a number of facilities including tea and food shops which created jobs for local people. The stations were a launching pad for the opening of new small businesses and they were also used to advertise new products. New products, services and new ideas were advertised there to capture both the town and rural markets. Moreover, the establishment of railway division at Sukkur opened new opportunities for local people to get employment in transport sector as well.<sup>9</sup>

### **Rural –Urban migration**

In the 1960s people were able to afford the cost of moving from villages to the towns of Khairpur. The towns as classified by the government include Khuhra, Gambat, Ranipur and Khairpur Municipality.<sup>10</sup> The main factors for migration to these towns were availability of industrial jobs and educational opportunities. These two factors which attracted a large number of internal migrants increased the growth of urbanisation. People who came to settle down in these towns began to assimilate to the town culture. First thing to do was learning how to live in the comparatively small houses as opposed to the spacious houses which they had in villages. In these towns they needed to accommodate themselves in 2-3 bed rooms with a sitting room. The third room could also be used as a guest room. The furniture used in the houses was simple. Although there was some space adjacent to the main structure of house, yet kitchen facilities were not properly established. The families normally cooked at home. They did not go to hotels or restaurants for dining partly because of income constraints but more often because of religious and cultural reasons. However, new settlers in the towns

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<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.247-248.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p.242.

<sup>10</sup>Government of Pakistan, *District Census Report Khairpur*, 1961, pp.1-15.

were expected to learn the food recipes and cooking patterns from the old settlers. As an outcome of the town's cultural influence, they began to use artificial *ghee* instead of natural butter. They also became used to hot drinks such as tea.

### **Composition of Middle classes**

The formation of social classes has long been debated by the economists, sociologists and historians. According to Karl Marx the basis of class formation was exclusively economic. Nevertheless, it may be argued that only economic resources cannot define social status of people. MacIver believed that it was social consciousness of people rather than economic distinction which forms class. Thus, the class could be defined simply as a group of people with a 'similar position' in society.<sup>11</sup> In Sindi society *pirs* and *syeds* enjoy more social prestige than even the rich traders. Similarly, educated people enjoyed higher social position than the semi-literate rich people. Thus, both social and economic elements defined class formation.

However, the concept of class was an alternative choice for new identity seekers. It could challenge the restrictions imposed by caste system on individual and collective freedoms. A relatively new concept, class had the capacity to neutralise religious and ethnic biasness which had divided Sindi society into tribal clans which in turn were a major source of tribal conflicts. These conflicts, inimical to collective unity, have favoured feudalism and negatively contributed to the consolidation of Sindi identity. Unlike the traditional foundations of caste system, class formation is mainly based on the sociological concept of achieved status rather than ascribed status which gives, for example, the new born child in landlord family the same status as enjoyed by his parents without working hard for achieving it. Thus, the concept of class motivates people to work in order to improve their standing within their community.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Horton, Paul B., et al, *Sociology*, (Singapore: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1996), p.344.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p.354.

Both the class motivation and identity seeking were the reasons behind people choosing to move to urban settlements. Majority of settlers in urban centres of Khairpur were educated Sindi people. They were employed in these towns as bank officers, school teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, revenue officers and agricultural officers, self-employed, property businessmen, entrepreneurs, skilled workers and prosperous land cultivators. The income data for these middle class workers was unavailable.

There were great prospects for the rise in Middle class populations during the years of Green Revolution. The overwhelming majority of middle class consisted of Sindi Muslims. Nevertheless, these classes also consisted of a small minority of Urdu and Punjabi speakers. Unlike the Punjabis, Mohajir communities lived in Khairpur city. They established a colony where they lived together. This colony did not look like a baby of Karachi, where the Mohajirs stayed aloof from the rest of the city. The majority of Mohajir communities learned Sindi and enjoyed good relations with Sindi communities. The major factor which made them closer to the Shia Sindi communities was belief in same sect of Islam. Thus, the commonality of religious interests has tended to erase the ethnic boundaries. However, middle classes were not confined to the main towns of Khairpur including Khuhra, Gambat and Khairpur. A considerable number of middle classes also lived in small towns and semi-developed villages located near big towns. These middle classes have also been identified as rural middle classes who were less oriented with urban culture but shared the same political aspirations. These rural middle classes were considered to fit into the framework of middle class life which has been examined in terms of consumption.

The major aim of settlement in one of the townships was to give their children good education and to train them the manners of urban life.<sup>13</sup> These objectives formed an important aspect of the upward social mobility. These settlers also believed that the

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<sup>13</sup>Interview with Mansur Mirani (Political worker), Khairpur: May 06, 2011.

process of achieving education and professional skills followed by handsome salaries would take their children into upper middle classes. Consequently, the family status would be raised. The children of the middle class people normally attended government-owned public schools. Some of the middle classes possessed their own motorcycles and bicycles but the bulk of the population used public transportation including the railway. At homes they enjoyed programmes on television and radio. The other middle class people were engaged in transportation, market businesses, trading, shop keeping, and small cottage industries. A significant portion of the middle class population was engaged in providing some specialist services such as legal services, printing services, catering and hospitality, sweet-making, stitching, glazed pottery making and furniture-making.

### **Growth of Market towns**

In the late 1960s, the Green Revolution technology contributed to higher incomes in Khairpur. This led to the improvement of purchasing power of both farmers and landowners. Consequently, they began to emerge as new consumer classes. The increase in the population of these classes was responsible for the growth in market towns in order to supply the needs of consumers. Thus, technological change not only increased incomes of middle classes but also enabled them to benefit from new business opportunities in the markets. In these towns several cloth and foot wear shops were opened. The other shops included grocery stores, book and stationary dealers, medical and homoeopathic stores, electronics repairing shops, food retailers and wholesalers, tea hotels, dry cleaners, motor-bike and motor-car workshops and tractor garages. These commercial activities absorbed a considerable number of non-agricultural workers and greatly helped the towns to grow more in the course of time.

The markets and shops mushroomed in these towns with the rise in consumption of new products. The residents of towns began to consume previously scarce foods

including meat, vegetables, fruits and drinks. The rise in consumption led to the establishment of beef, mutton and fish shops in the towns. The meat consumption in towns created demand for livestock available in the rural areas. Therefore, supplies came from the countryside. Thus, new opportunities for business were created in the towns. In addition, consumption of vegetables and fruit gave opportunities to local traders to buy these products from the villages and sell them in the markets of towns. Moreover, this also increased the economic importance of food and agricultural commodities. In this way, agriculture became a new kind of industry. In the 1960s owing to the growing needs of consumption, 68 shops were constructed for vegetables alone and one beef market was established in Khairpur town.<sup>14</sup>

During the next two decades, town life changed greatly. There were new foods, beverages, soft drinks and new fast foods including spicy boiled chickpeas, crackers, spicy food chaats. The cold food such as ice cream and *kulfi* were also liked by people during the summer. In addition, there were new ways of entertainment which promoted a cassette culture followed by a movie culture. These new features of township life further increased the transformation of urban culture in Khairpur. The consumption of new products and services in Khairpur greatly transformed urban culture and the joys associated with consumption slipped into countryside and penetrated the cultural life of villages also.

### **Impact of Green Revolution: Consumption**

This part of the chapter investigates the impact of increased income in Khairpur from the 1960s. The demand for goods and services increased. This was in part because of growing economic needs, but mainly due to social needs. These goods and services not only responded to people's needs and desires but also began to redefine their social identity and self-perception. They did so as Sindis through consumption and new

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<sup>14</sup>Ahmed, Agha Rafique, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), pp.108-109.

feelings associated with what was consumed, struggled to liberate themselves from harsh memories of the past. Advertisements for goods and services became the channels for transmitting new ideas and for fashioning new visions of life among the people of Khairpur. For this reason, this chapter will pay particular attention to advertisements as a material source of change.

### **Language of consumption and Social change:**

#### ***From the 1930s to the 1960s***

Advertising in Sind began in the early twentieth century targeted only *zamindars* or other wealthy people. Nevertheless, the description of things and the scale of consumption changed through time. Advertising goods and services effectively as the material source of identity required developing a persuasive language of signs through which the goods and services had obvious utility value. This depended on the nature and the function of the product.

Advertisements, cleverly manipulated various words and symbols to express the meaning and message of the product. During the colonial period the majority of advertisements were about items of daily use such as toiletries, cosmetics, herbal medicines, and luxury items such as cars, and watches. A survey of advertisements which appeared in the *Daily Alwahid* indicates that tea was the most commonly advertised item. In addition, cigarettes were also advertised on a large scale.

In the Sindi daily the majority of the products were of foreign origin. For instance, the advertisements of soap products imported from the West, especially from England. The ‘Sunlight’ brand of soap was an English product. Its producers gave the message to Sindi consumers that ‘Sunlight soap not only saves time, but also money.’<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, it was the second part of the message that was regarded as important for the Sindi elite; a Sindi farmer had neither money nor time to be saved by purchasing

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<sup>15</sup>*Alwahid*, September 3, 1932.

soap. The packaging of the soap was printed in English, a language which only elite class people could understand. Similarly ‘Pears’ soap was packed in England, thus there was no labelling or packaging written in Sindi. However, the qualities of the soaps were expressed in Sindi.

Besides these beauty soaps, there were several soaps in competition including Khustori erasmic herbal soap which tried to excel all other soaps in creating freshness and the feeling of being healthy. Thus, it added a new dimension in soap use. Its message was for health-conscious people in general and for the youth market in particular. The advertisement claimed that, ‘Indian youth uses Khushtori for good health.’ It further stated, ‘Khushtori wins hockey,’<sup>16</sup> which intimated that the player who used this soap could win the game. The brand tried to associate its soap with good health and according to their advertisement the healthy person won the match. This advertisement attempted to establish a direct relationship between the soap and success whereby the success was a dependent variable in the hypothesis presented by the Khushtori advertisement. Unlike the erasmic soap, the ‘Lux’ soap made women its target consumers and tried to admire their customers in a persuasive manner: ‘The attractive women liked Lux, because they were told that its white foam kept their skin soft and fair. The user of the high quality soap realised the aroma of fresh flowers.’<sup>17</sup>

These foreign brands of soap were advertised in the *Daily Alwahid* to persuade Sindi consumers by choosing Sindi as a source of communication. These advertisements in Sindi print media added journalistic and commercial value to the Sindi language. The advertisers believed that the best way to motivate Sindi customers to buy foreign goods imported from England was to *sindianise*<sup>18</sup> the text of presentation. When the foreign product was described in the consumer’s language, it projected confidence and faith in

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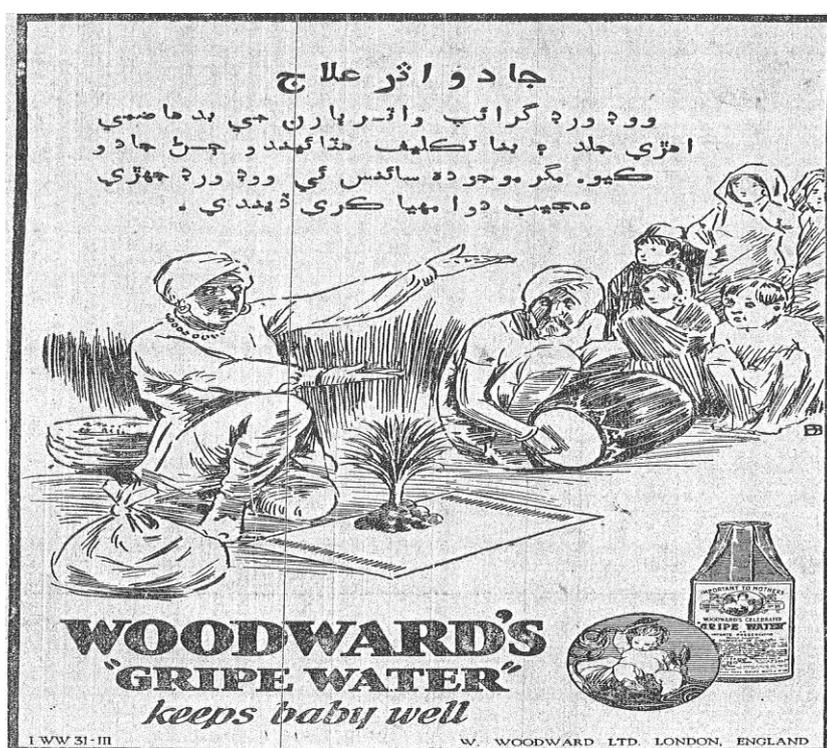
<sup>16</sup>*Alwahid*, June 21, 1932.

<sup>17</sup>*Alwahid*, March 8, 1932.

<sup>18</sup>The skill of presenting things in a Sindi cultural style.

the product. For instance, ‘Woodward’s Gripe Water’ was a London-based company, which used the word *jadu* (magic) within its advertisement in order to make people feel that the water was so effective it was almost magic. The logic behind the use of the word was perhaps the familiarity and closeness of people with this word in the local language. This medicine treated the indigestion caused by feeding among children, like performing an act of magic! The same story was also reflected in the picture within the advertisement, showing a magician performing magic in front of some people.

Figure 4 Woodward’s Gripe water



Source: The Daily Alwahid, 1932

This was an effective way of communicating the true essence of the product in the context of the consumer’s own culture. Therefore, the image of the product was so inscribed on the hearts of the mothers that they still use this gripe water for their babies. The reason for this product’s popularity was not only a good advertisement but also due to the high quality of foreign goods. The selection of a name for a brand or a word describing the qualities of the product was of pivotal importance in making

communication regarding goods and services more successful. Consider the importance of the word *sukhri* (gift). The ‘gift’ has carried importance in every society throughout the ages. Kings sent their gifts to other kings as a gesture of friendship. The exchange of gifts between lovers is considered a sign of love. But in Sindi society, the gift has an even wider sense of meaning. The gift was considered in the Sindi social milieu as the greatest honour. People attached greater significance to cultural products such as *ajrak* and *topi* which were given as gifts to foreigners and respectable guests as an expression of high respect. The majority of people in Khairpur for example considered the Sukkur Barrage<sup>19</sup> as *sukhri* presented by the British rulers to them. This is reflected in a folk song *hojamalo*,<sup>20</sup> which mentions the Sukkur Barrage as major icon of Sind. This word *sukhri* was particularly used by the W.D & H.O. Wills,\* Bristol, and London Company to advertise ‘Scissors Cigarettes’ in colonial Sind and Khairpur state. There were more than thirty free gifts for the consumers of these cigarettes.<sup>21</sup>

### ***From the 1960s***

After independence, advertisers continued to use language for giving their products value in Sindi society. However, the major difference was that products were advertised in the language of the commoner in the period of agricultural expansion. The main reason behind this change was that the space available for limited elite consumption was now being filled by mass consumption.

Sometimes the descriptions of these products were translated from the English or from Urdu into Sindi. This practice continued in both print and electronic media for several decades. The late 1960s and the following decades changed the construction of language, context and the presentation of signs in relation to culture. The language used

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<sup>19</sup>The Sukkur Barrage was constructed on the river Indus by the British in 1932.

<sup>20</sup>The *hojamalo* song is very popular in Sind and Khairpur. It is also considered as a folk song.

\* W. D & H. O. Wills was founded by Henery Overton Wills in 1786 in Bristol. Tobacco products produced by this company included ‘Bristol’, ‘Passing clouds, and ‘Three castles’. However, Woodbine brand was one of the most famous tobacco brands in 1888 in the UK.

<sup>21</sup>*Alwahid*, Jnuary 5, 1930.

in the advertisements was simple, but meaningful terms were deliberately used to promote products in order to increase their utility value. The advertisers knew how to use persuasion and whom they should try to persuade. They were aware of communicating not only to the residents of towns but also to the educated person, he who in the village could read the newspaper and the rest of the villagers would listen to what was read to them. Villagers believed whatever was said to them as if it were a published truth and thus they tried to act accordingly. Newspapers, as the dominant print media, were most acceptable to Khairpur's Sindis. They further believed that newspapers were an authentic means of communicating something original and for reliable information. The Sindi media was also encouraged by the people to become their mouthpiece for the expression of free and fresh ideas. Advertisers fully utilised these circumstances and helped people to express their aspirations for a new identity.

The products advertised in the *Daily Ibrat* newspaper serve as an example of the use of simple language but also of words, phrases and symbols that carry a weight of meaning. For instance, the advertisement which appeared in the *Ibrat* about washing soap started with the headline, '*Kapraan ji dhulai ziyada assan aeen bahtar* (The washing of clothes is easier and better).'<sup>22</sup> The word *kapra* (clothes) replaced the old word *lata* (clothes). The former was normally used by middle class families in Khairpur and its use indicates that growing number entering the middle class. This soap was described as *aala* (high quality) washing soap. Although the use of soap was not new in Khairpur, its consumption was now increased at a higher rate. The younger people felt pride in wearing clothes washed by soap.

'Tibet 990' soap was projected as *khalis* (pure), *naram* (soft), full of foam and produced by an automatic machine.<sup>23</sup> It washed clothes very effectively without affecting their colour. In the advertisement for this product, a woman with a pile of

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<sup>22</sup>See advertisement 'Tibet 990', *Ibrat*, December 16, 1968.

<sup>23</sup>The advertisers used the word 'automatic' to impress the consumers.

washed clothes appears to be modern. The woman did not wear a veil and even her head was not covered with *dupata*.<sup>24</sup> She wore a half-sleeve shirt. It was, however, clear that this advert was trying to convince urban middle class women to buy the product in order to make washing easier. But, at the same time, its message was conveyed by the educated people of the villages or by the shop keepers. Another feature of this advertisement was that it claimed that the soap did not cause any harm to skin. This was designed to convince those who were afraid of the chemical effects of detergents.

Another soap advertisement which appeared in the *Daily Ibrat* newspaper, named their brand as Buraq (electricity) to make people believe that it acted like an electrical force. The clothes washed by the detergent were clean and shiny. The title of the advert was very eye-catching, *Sughar zalun lai khushkhabri* (Good news for obedient wives).<sup>25</sup> *sughar zal* in Sindi society was a middle class woman who worked hard to maintain her house. She cooked food, prepared handicrafts, took care of her family and livestock and protected the family honour. The *sughar zal* was an honourable title given to deserving women. Thus, the reason behind the use of this word was to convince not only existing *sughar zals*, but also those who aspired to be recognised as such.

This late twentieth century Sindi advertisement followed the same technique as those which first appeared in the *Daily Alwahid* for advertising the ‘Lux’ brand of toilet soap. This soap was recommended for the *mahboob* (*beloved*) women for the protection of their skin. To become a beloved the woman needed to use ‘Lux.’ The story continued that the women loved this soap because no other soap made their skin fair except for the new brand of ‘Lux’. Therefore, the use of *mahboob* in the early twentieth century and *sughar zal*<sup>26</sup> in the late twentieth century Sindi advertisement represents a continuity of linguistic tactics and pandering to social aspirations in advertising.

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<sup>24</sup>The piece of cloth used to cover head by women as religious ritual.

<sup>25</sup>See advertisement ‘Tibet 990’, *Ibrat*, December 16, 1968.

<sup>26</sup>The word *sughar zal* is used in Sindi to describe an obedient woman.

Another example of the way the use of language changed is the way in which the old colonial titles lost value. Sindi *zamindars* cherished the titles given them by the colonial state - *Jagirdars, Nawabs, and Khan Bahadurs*. The politics of acquiring titles is well set by Rashidi in his '*Waderiki zindagi* (The life of landlords).<sup>27</sup> However, the rise of middle class in Khairpur after independence witnessed a marginalisation of this old identity. The emergence of a consumer society fortified and undermined pre-existing systems of symbolic communication.<sup>28</sup> The new generation of elite families found the titles which their forefathers had fought so hard to gain, were rapidly losing value.

### **Consumption of feelings**

It is true that without the techniques of advertising the producer was unable to capture a market for his products. They required the study of the minds and hearts of people. The study of the likes, dislikes, habits and inclinations of buyers gave the sellers the power to steer their lives. One of these techniques was to describe the product with a *desi* (indigenous) label in order to satisfy those people who preferred the goods produced in their own country. For instance, 'Honeydew Cigarettes', a brand of foreign origin, was labelled as if it were made in Pakistan.

Khairpuri consumers, however, were proud of consuming *vilayati* (products of foreign origin) rather than *desi*. During the mid-twentieth century Khairpur had a factory producing cigarettes, The Virginia tobacco factory founded by His Highness Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur in 1954. Before the establishment of this factory Khairpuri people felt proud of consuming *vilayati* brands of cigarettes.<sup>29</sup> The products of foreign origin were used as gift and widely appreciated. The foreign products were newly designed and more durable and trustworthy. People in Khairpur had already experienced the use

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<sup>27</sup> Rashdi, Ali Muhammad, *Uhay Deenah Uhay Sheenah*, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1987), pp.5-41.

<sup>28</sup> Daechsel, Markus, *The Politics of Self Expression: The Urdu Middle Class Milieu in Mid-twentieth Century India and Pakistan*, (London: Routledge, 2006), p.169.

<sup>29</sup> Narrated by the worker of Khairpur Textile Mill in documentary *Khairpur joon Yadgeeryoon* (Memories of Khairpur) produced by Professor Muhammad Ali (Episode 5, 6, 7 DISC 2).

of good quality products. In mid-twentieth century Khairpur had a Textile factory which was the largest in the country. It produced cloth of the finest quality. ‘This cloth was exported to developed countries including England, and United States.’<sup>30</sup> Further, the blankets produced at Khairpur were consumed largely by the military in the country.

The *benarsi sari*<sup>31</sup> produced at Khairpur was a very popular product across the world. These products were known for their quality. Thus, people used both indigenous and foreign-made products. They did not take part in the politics of encouraging *desi* products and discouraging foreign brands as had happened in India during the early twentieth century.

There was another feeling of new and old. The new things introduced a new way of life which the consumers were dreaming about; the moments of enjoyment they could have by shopping for new things. These things were a means of happiness. They were pleased at the moment when they were admired by others by saying *wah wah* (fine show or well done). Most of Sindi consumers purchased things just to listen to *wah wah*. It was common in society that it did not matter how much you spent on a new thing, but it mattered if people did not admire the new product. Hence, the admiration of the purchase was considered an indirect reference to the recognition of the consumer. Consider the following story that demonstrates the feelings of a Sindi middle class man when he purchased a motor-car. Ahmed Soomro wrote this story for the popular Sindi middle class magazine *Naeen Zindagi (New Life)*.<sup>32</sup> The theme of the story is how people tried to establish their individual identities by means of the consumption of products. The individual buyer was recognised by saying *wah wah* and by calling him *motor-war* (*the owner of a motor-car*). The story justifies the rise in prominence of the

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<sup>30</sup>Narrated by the workers of Khairpur Textile Mill in documentary *Khairpur joon Yadgeeryoon* (Memories of Khairpur) produced by Professor Muhammad Ali (Episode 5, 6, 7 DISC 2).

<sup>31</sup>The type of cloth produced in Khairpur during the mid-twentieth century.

<sup>32</sup>Soomro, Gulzar Ahmed, ‘Chacha motar Warti’, *Naeen Zindagi*, Vol.15, No.10, (Karachi: 1962), pp. 43-49.

hero as a result of the social impact of his buying a car. The hero seems to belong to a joint family<sup>33</sup> where he takes advice from his nephew rather than his wife.

The writer realistically highlights the aspect of male-dominated Sindi society where women within the family were not consulted perhaps in these kinds of matters. In this story Chacho (uncle) first tells his nephew Hanif that his friend Hakim Jairamdas owns a motor-car, '*Yar! motar ta na ahas, pari ahay pari....! wadi kushadi aeen tamam mazboot jahro jahaz.*'<sup>34</sup> (Oh friend it is beautiful like a fairy, very big, comfortable and strong as an aeroplane). Hanif's uncle was working as a government employee and used tonga<sup>35</sup> as a means of transport to get to work regularly. He wished to buy a motor-car to be known as '*Chacha motar-warro (the owner of a car).*' Apparently he convinced his nephew that he had become old and was not able to travel by bus or tonga. By comparing the money spent on fuel and transport fares he argued that fuel expenses were a little higher but that the comfort the car would provide for him was invaluable.

The next day on Sunday Chacho called his friends and shared this news. All his friends were very excited that they would soon become the friends of a person who would be known as motor-warro. Early in the morning he met his friends at his reception room (*autaq*).<sup>36</sup> He was very happy on this day because his dream was about to come true. Eventually, they planned to see Hakim who was now ready to sell his old model motor-car. They reached the residence of Hakim sahib, but the watchman told them that yesterday he had gone to Khairpur (city) but that he would certainly be returning that day. Chacho Umed Ali and his friends Rasheed, Maqbool, Shayam and his nephew were now anxiously waiting for him.

After a moment, they saw a car coming to the main gate of the building. '*Welcome Umed Ali said Hakim to everyone and shared hal ahwal (greetings). Umed Ali: 'We*

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<sup>33</sup>The family structure in which married brothers live together along with their parents in a one house.

<sup>34</sup>Soomro, Gulzar Ahmed, 'Chacha motar Warti', *Naeen Zindagi*, Vol.15, No.10, (Karachi: 1962), pp. 43-49.

<sup>35</sup>The cart drawn by horse.

<sup>36</sup>Meeting place.

*actually came to buy your car.’ ‘Well! it is yours’ said Hakim. ‘Thanks but could you please reduce money’ replied Chacho. ‘How can I reduce money, this is genuine car and more durable than the cars are being produced in our time. Besides, this model is unavailable in the market. You know how these old things are. Look at my West End watch my grandfather used during the days of his prime youth. Still today, it shows correct time’ (Hakim said by taking out the watch from his front pocket of his shirt.) ‘You are right but we can’t give such a huge amount of money please give us favour.’ At this moment Rasheed the friend of Chacho took this opportunity and offered 800 rupees. ‘No man it is smaller amount than my demanded 1500 rupees. I am sorry I can’t sell my car for this offer. Well I am coming back after washing up my face until then you decide’.<sup>37</sup>*

In the meantime they discussed whether Hakim would sell them the car or not. Umed Ali was a little worried about it. However, he once again tried to make another offer. *I am paying you rupees 1000.... Please accept this offer. Ok I quit you win. I do not like to argue with a gentleman like you. If you did not compel me I would not have been able to sell you this car given to me by my parents.*<sup>38</sup> Umed Ali was very happy to own his car, his friends were also proud of his friendship because they were now expecting to be known as friends of the person who owned a car. But his real happiness was reflected on his face at his reception room where a large number of people gathered to see his car and to say *mubaraks*.<sup>39</sup> Chacho was busy in replying to the people, and children were cleaning the car and washing its wheels. People were coming and going by saying *wah wah*.

It was clear from this story that the consumption of products was also an expression of the desires and wishes of middle class people. This was an easier way to express

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<sup>37</sup>Soomro, Gulzar Ahmed, ‘Chacha motar Warti’, *Naeen Zindagi*, Vol.15, No.10, (Karachi: 1962), pp. 43-49.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>The word *mubarak* is derived originally from Arabic, which is used on special occasions especially *Eid* to pray for the person to have a good life and to use a product safely by the grace of God.

themselves for those who were unable to get their voice heard and to get their name known to others without the use of influencing methods or other means of persuasiveness. It was also actually the feeling of liberating oneself from the old ways of society and using a newer mode of expression. Admiration from people brought a feeling of renewed status in society and recognition for a person's efforts and hard work for the achievement of a new life and getting rid of pull and push stages of new and old.<sup>40</sup> Umed Ali never expected a huge number of people to see him and say *mubarak* before he purchased his car.<sup>41</sup> People knew only a little about him. Thus, the car became his new identity. Now he was among the few people who were able to possess their own car.

These social factors were important for increasing consumer's desire to purchase. Apparently the purchasing power was believed to be associated with economic resources. But, in reality, the social factors were as important as the economic ones. However, with the question 'Does man live for society or for himself?' we try to find the answer in the following section of the chapter. In the context of Sindi society in general, and Khairpur in particular, one could find everywhere people always saying *wath wah wah khay (admiring matters)*.<sup>42</sup>

It is not difficult to understand why people were so dependent on admiration and why they were ready to sacrifice everything just for their community's recognition. Why they considered *lok ji laj (community criticism)* an important tool for controlling their behaviour and their conformity with this social method was essential for their survival in society. *Lok ji laj* was an instrument that could be used in two different manners. It is important to understand how this instrument worked in Khairpur society.

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<sup>40</sup>The past memories pushed the people to leave an old style of life and the new way of life attracted people through advertisements.

<sup>41</sup>Soomro, Gulzar Ahmed, 'Chacha motar Warti', *Naeen Zindagi*, Vol.15, No.10, (Karachi: 1962), pp. 43-49.

<sup>42</sup>Common concept used to express the value of admiration in society.

If it was used positively it could create effective social control and constrain society from many evils such as *karo kari* (honour killing), tribal conflicts, and old customs. The lower class people in Khairpur seemed to be the real victims of this concept. Considering an application of this concept in the case of *karo kari*<sup>43</sup> it is argued that in most cases of honour killing, the women were killed by their male partners just because of *lok ji laj*. The biggest beneficiary of this concept was the *wadero*.<sup>44</sup> Thus, he did not wish to end these evils because he benefited from the local politics of *karo kari*. He encouraged the honour killing and celebrated it as a noble act. However, this concept could be used positively by condemning these inhuman acts of honour killing.

However, the middle class people in Khairpur began to condemn these evils of society. The lower classes adhered to old customs and did not realise what they were losing<sup>45</sup> just for the sake of the feelings of *wah wah* (admiration). Nevertheless, with the development of newer modes of expression, the male middle class in general, and educated female middle class writers in particular, had already begun a war against the evils and shed a light on the black side of the social spectrum.<sup>46</sup>

### **Beginning of middle class life in Khairpur**

New products heralded the beginning of middle class life new identity. The old way of life was being changed by the purchase of the necessities of middle class life. People were persuaded by advertisements to buy these products and to start a middle class life. The magical way of becoming a member of the emerging class was an idea easily understood by people, although it could not be affordable for everyone. However, everyone could aspire to latest products for a new middle class life. Was it really a beginning of new vision of life or a new way of defining identities? The new products of course brought name and fame in the status-oriented society of Khairpur, where

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<sup>43</sup>The killing of the woman blamed for extra-marital relations with a man and vice versa.

<sup>44</sup>Village headman.

<sup>45</sup>They lost properties, wealth, careers, and even their lives in the name of honour.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibrat*, February 1, 1968.

almost everyone tried to acquire wealth to become powerful or to show others their power and prestige in society. For that reason, the logic was quite simple in that these new commodities were to decide who was wealthier and leading a prosperous life.

This kind of thinking could place them in a never-ending competition for acquiring goods. For instance, if someone bought a television set in a village, he soon became so popular that everyone knew about him in neighbouring villages. Wherever, he went people were attracted to him and served him tea simply for having a chat about television. He was not known by his name but by his product. People called him television TV-*waro* (Owner of TV set).<sup>47</sup> People believed that the owner of television deserve respect and appreciation. They were also aspiring to buy a television in order to enjoy the blessings of modern life.<sup>48</sup>

In the late 1960s and 1970s a survey of the first category<sup>49</sup> of advertisements about domestic products such as radio, television, ceiling fans, pedestal fans and batteries reveals that these electronic appliances were now used by people in Khairpur in considerable numbers. The price of an Awami transistor radio was only rupees 99.0. The radios were offered by the different companies at the different rates, for example the starting price of the Melody company radios was from rupees 110 for the 1-band radio. This company offered 11 models with different names. The price was fixed according to the model and the band of the radio. The royal-100 4-band radio was offered at 280 rupees. Similarly, the car radio 9-band was offered at 825 rupees.<sup>50</sup> These prices were fixed to attract buyers according to their purchasing power.

The Sanyo company offered black and white television models of 19 inch and 23 inch screens. The price of the products was not so high in relation to the levels of income. However, there were only 10 television sets in Khairpur in 1975. The consumption of

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<sup>47</sup>Interview with Abdul Qadir Junejo (Writer), Jamshoro: March 19, 2011.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup>The advertisements were deliberately categorised by the author to explain the use value of the products.

<sup>50</sup>See advertisement 'Melody Radio', *Ibrat*, July 19, 1968.

radio and television increased significantly in the following decade. The number of radio licences issued in 1979-80 was 13,910 and the number of television licences issued in the same year was 1,132 in Khairpur. These figures only represent the radio and television sets which were being operated under the licences issued by the government. The number of users could be greater since many people could use these sets without licences. Thus, the electronic goods including radio, television, ceiling fans, pedestal fans and electric motors transformed the way of life.

This new way of identifying someone was liked by people. They felt proud of being the owners of products such as radios, televisions, and refrigerators. These products had greater identifying value and thus became the cause of immense popularity and they enhanced their self-confidence. The use of such products was actually an indicator of a middle class life.<sup>51</sup> It reflected the personality and life-style of the buyer and this was fully exploited by advertisers.

In the second category, it could be seen how cleverly advertisements manipulated the opportunity to buy the latest product.<sup>52</sup> The 'Lifebuoy' soap for example appeared in the newspaper as a new product. The beginning of its advertisement stated, '*Naeen zamanay jo nauoon* Lifebuoy (New soap of new time)'<sup>53</sup> It further told the consumers that the soap was their trusted companion and it was presented as new, beautiful and better than it had ever been.

The third category of the advertisements was about various hot and cold drinks which were replacing the old drinking habits of the people; these led the people to believe in new things of the time and to begin a new life. To keep the drinks cold and save themselves from the hot summer, the reader was expected to buy a refrigerator. This would also prove his prosperity. Consider this advertisement about a refrigerator. The

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<sup>51</sup>See advertisement 'Lifebuoy', *Ibrat*, May 25, 1969.

<sup>52</sup>The value of the product at a particular time.

<sup>53</sup>See advertisement 'Lifebuoy', *Ibrat*, May 25, 1969.

starting point of this item again is modern life.<sup>54</sup> ‘The modern life begins with Ariston; there are five new models of very high quality. No one could reach such a higher quality at realistic price.’<sup>55</sup> Its realistic price was 2150 and 1550 rupees for 5 cubic and 6 cubic feet respectively. There was no attraction for buyers to buy 6cubic feet refrigerators in terms of price. However, the aspiring shoppers had the choice to buy the item suitable for them. In the 1970s and 1980s in Khairpur, televisions and refrigerators were believed to be the true representations of middle class life.

### **Products of recreation**

Transformation in agriculture through mechanisation and other farm-inputs provided leisure time by reducing the amount of work required of cultivators. This led to the development of new forms of recreation and leisure in Khairpur. In addition, the emergence of the new life motivated people to enjoy new foods, meals, cooking spices, oils or *geeh*<sup>56</sup>. People used the butter and *desi* ghee, but now they began to use an artificial ghee prepared at the ghee factories. ‘People liked every good thing. Like good music, people like good food’ said the advertisement for Hyder Banaspati ghee. The producers of *banaspati* claimed that ghee provided vitamin A and D which were necessary for growth and an active life - in other words, middle class life. Talo Banaspati was also described as pure and responsible for good health.<sup>57</sup> The new kind of cooking oil was cheaper and thus used by middle class people and other poor people in Khairpur. However, the popularity of potatoes in the 1970s and 1980s increased the demand for the ghee everywhere in Khairpur and the rest of Sind. The new foods and drink products enabled a new way of living.

But, it was obvious that people could not accept the consumption of the new drinks immediately. This fact was known to the advertisers and thus, they devised a clever

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<sup>54</sup>The new products were suggested by advertisements as modern.

<sup>55</sup>See advertisement ‘Ariston’, *Ibrat*, August 23, 1970.

<sup>56</sup>The word *geeh* used for ghee produced at factories.

<sup>57</sup>See Advertisement ‘Talo Sehat baksh Ahay’, *Ibrat*, July 5, 1967.

method of bringing people into the fold of the market. Consider this advertisement which appeared in the paper for the first time for a drink made from apples. The apple was not commonly eaten in Khairpur. It was expensive as compared to the other indigenous fruits such as dates, guava, and mangoes. Apple juice was certainly a new kind of adventurous drink. The *Daily Ibrat* on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May, 1969 advertised a picture of an apple, some part of which was peeled off. The next day the picture appeared again with some words ‘*Soof jo sha thiyo.....?*’ (*What happened to apple?*)<sup>58</sup>. It was clear that people had to wait to see what happened to the apple. The readers were anxious to see the outcome of the apple, which was already peeled off. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of May they were surprised to see a magical act of performance. They saw a bottle labelled as ‘Apple Sidra’. The people were thus told that the apple was preserved in this bottle.<sup>59</sup>

The main purpose of this exercise was to make people believe that the bottle was filled by the pure juice of the apple. This was an important step in building confidence among the consumers for the soft drinks, who were afraid of newly introduced drinks. After a few days the advertisement began to guide the customers. It advised people that they needed to drink apple Sidra when they felt tired. They showed the example of a girl who travelled in a boat and enjoyed fresh apple juice after she felt tired. The same girl also drank apple Sidra while playing a badminton match to keep herself feeling fresh.

Mango juice was introduced on the same lines. ‘The Shezan’ mango juice bottle was advertised in the *Daily Ibrat*. Its strategy was based on their advice to their readers to ‘make friends with Shezan fruit juice.’<sup>60</sup> This piece of advice was written in two heart-shaped diagrams printed on the bottle. The name Shezan was printed between these two diagrams.<sup>61</sup> The aim of this technique seemed to make people believe that Shezan could play an intermediary role in making two hearts closer and helping them begin a new

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<sup>58</sup>See advertisement ‘Soof jo sha thiyo’, *Ibrat*, May 10, 1969.

<sup>59</sup>See advertisement ‘Apple Sidra’, *Ibrat*, 11 May 1969.

<sup>60</sup>See advertisement ‘Shezan Juice’, *Ibrat*, 25 May 1969.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*

friendship. This advice was a ray of hope for lonely young people and could even lead the reader to the world of imagination, where the reader could enjoy the feelings of new friendship. This kind of experience of friendship, for example at a public place or inside the train or bus, was quite new and full of excitement in a society where the mixing of boys and girls was strongly disallowed by parents and definitely not tolerated by society generally. These advertisements were eye-catching. Middle class young people who liked to see the advertisements in which beautiful pictures were highlighted. It was certainly a new feature of life to expose beauty rather than to cover it. Now it was becoming the fashion to see pictures of the young women from outside the family,<sup>62</sup> which was not possible in the pre-consumption society. It was considered a sin by the *mullahs* to look at these pictures but people ignored the views of the clerics.

These pictures thus had great marketing power and were used to encourage potential customers to take a look at the products. There was also a great impact from the use of such pictures from a recognition point of view. For example, most of the illiterate people in Khairpur did not know the exact name of a product, but they could easily remember the mark, sign or photo printed on a product. Most villagers did not know the name of the paracetamol drug used to relieve pain and reduce fever but they could remember the mark of the tiger forever. Thus, the mark had significance for popularising the product in the landscape of consumption. There was a similar kind of story about a religious mark used for a world famous soft drink.

The strategy of Coca-Cola was to attract religious people. The purpose of the advert was to utilise customary practices of society. The month of Ramadan was considered an ideal time to advertise Coca-Cola. In order to impress the fast-abiding believers they showed the bottle looking like a *minar* (minaret) of a mosque by adding a dome on the

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<sup>62</sup>The women were considered 'stranger' except those who were related to men by family relations approved by the society.

top.<sup>63</sup> The use of a religious sign for this product was not questioned by the religious men.

The advertisement asserted that '*Iftar jay waqat farhatbaksh Coca-Cola*' (Drink Coca-Cola at the time of *iftari* (the time one's fast ended). The message for the fasting Muslims was appealing. It invited them to drink cold Coca-Cola to feel fresh after a whole day's thirst.<sup>64</sup> An American watch company sold watches at a discounted rate to those who fasted during the month of Ramadan, because the company believed that the watches and clocks were important for them to start and end their fast on time.<sup>65</sup> It was the religious duty of a true believer to be regular and punctual in performing religious commands and this was only possible if he was able to buy the watch.

The other hot drink which dominated the sky of advertisements was tea. 'Tea was advertised to impress drinkers to enjoy the different taste of Adam tea golden ray.'<sup>66</sup> The advertisement presents an enigmatic picture of a woman, who enjoys drinking 'Adam' tea. The housewives demanded this tea, which was not known by its name but as the tea which was drunk by a *sohni mae* (a beautiful woman). After a month, a change was made in the packaging and its name. Now the emphasis was not on the name 'Adam' but on the 'Supreme.' The advertisers perhaps thought that the word supreme would be new and would be applicable for a new era of tea consumption. However, they did not delete the word 'Adam' because people were already familiar with this name. Another point about the change was its colour. The colour of the packet was made red which had special significance in Sindi society, for instance, the colour of a bride's dress, and the *chaddar* (bed sheet) of a bride-groom's bed, as well as other objects such as *topi*, *ajrak* painted in red.

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<sup>63</sup>See advertisement 'Coca-Cola', *Ibrat*, November 20, 1969.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup>Daechsel, Markus, *The Politics of Self expression: The Urdu Middle Class Milieu in Mid-twentieth Century India and Pakistan*, (London: Routledge, 2006), p.182.

<sup>66</sup>See advertisement 'Adam Tea', *Ibrat*, April 7, 1969.

In addition, the favourite flower grown in Khairpur was the red rose. The red coloured flags of the Sindi middle class parties also bore witness to the importance of the colour. Thus, the advert attracted readers by saying, 'Now Adam Supreme tea is available in new, beautiful red packet.'<sup>67</sup> In fact, the tea advertisers left behind the former advertisements in campaigning about their products. Take for example the advertisement for Aroma tea, which claimed that it was not tea if it was not Aroma.<sup>68</sup> This persuaded tea drinkers that only Aroma qualified for tea, all others were simply not teas. The tea drinkers also shared a similar kind of thinking about the tea of their choice. The offer of tea, like an offer of cigarettes, had a special importance in Khairpur.

Tea began to symbolise hospitality and honour for a guest. Thus, tea was served to express feelings of respect and importance for guests. At village level and at town level, the elders gathered at a place where they discussed the problems of daily life and shared their experiences of life. During the meeting their host served them tea to prove his hospitality. Everyone tried to establish how important he was by illustrating examples from their life's experiences. Someone could start his story, telling his friends about his importance and respect. To hear *wah wah* from his friends he needed to quote a special event, for example when he went to see the deputy commissioner or another influential person for his personal purposes, i.e. acquiring a weapon licence, and his host offered him tea. He would have ended his story by remarking, '*Wah wah kahri galh kajay bas bahri thee wae* (the tea was really excellent)' for lasting impact.<sup>69</sup> His friends could now believe that he was really an honourable man and began to be proud of his friendship.

In addition, cigarettes were a notable means of enjoyment for the men. They changed their habits of smoking Sindi *bidi* made of *pepur* tree leaf and tobacco. But with the

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<sup>67</sup>See advertisement 'Adam Supreme Tea', *Ibrat*, May 31, 1969.

<sup>68</sup>See advertisement 'Aroma Tea', *Ibrat*, August 14, 1970.

<sup>69</sup>It was a common expression of middle class people in Khairpur.

increase in the consumption of smoking stuffs, there were a large number of brands. The advertisements of these cigarettes had different strategies to win the hearts of the smokers. The smoking of some special brand of cigarettes had a different taste, and way of enjoyment. They were educated by the advertisers about their unique look and their style, different from the rest of the smokers. The most common brands of cigarettes were Diamond, Cavander's, Passing Show, Woodbine, Honeydew, Embassy, Union, Marcovitch red & white and K2 cigarettes. In the late 1960s the price of these brands was the same at 0.25 paisa, except Woodbine and Red & White cigarettes, which were sold at 0.45 and 0.70 paisa respectively. However, in the 1970s the price of cigarettes, including Diamonds and Honeydew, increased by 0.5 paisa.<sup>70</sup> However, the prices of Wills and Capstan which were foreign cigarettes, were rupees 1.50 and 1.80 for twenty cigarettes.

### **Formation of Social attitudes**

The middle class life required change in the way people behaved and the way they interacted with each other. There was a difference in relationships and a change in attitudes. The development of consumer society brought substantial behavioural change in Khairpur. People's identities came to be bound up with the possession of a particular consumer good and the possession of these goods now began to change the way people behaved towards each other. The consumption and the aftermath of a change in attitudes encapsulated their way of defining a new identity and expressing social status with the use of new labels and symbols. This new way of communication became a social identity, which could easily be copied in any situation and in daily life.

In addition, in the performance of various duties including the duty of true friendship, the person needed new values to keep an old tradition alive. The friend needed a renewed form of relationships. But the question was, how to perform and where to

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<sup>70</sup>See advertisement 'Diamond Cigarettes', *Ibrat*, August 22, 1970.

perform a new role or the post-consumption role? The answer to these questions was little known by middle class men and women. The advertisers persuaded the buyers to consider the way they looked at the things. Apparently, the purchase of products such as a television set and a refrigerator could change the material aspect of life but it could not guide a person on how to maintain relations with the neighbours. Inappropriate use of radio or television could disturb one's neighbours. Sometimes, these products created anger, jealousy and resentment among the people.

Thus, the impact of products on the way of life was considerably important for the beginning of a new life. For example the buyer was supposed to play his role differently after he became a *T.V-warō*. It was obvious that one could not easily change his actions immediately after purchasing new products. He could begin with feeling proud, ignoring people around him and wasting no time in showing arrogance in dealing with relatives and his family members including women and children.

However, a rapid change in his behaviour could create severe consequences for his changing relationships. This was a problematic feature of advertising. More often they were misleading in their way of describing things and changing the meaning of values. For instance, consider the advertisement about 'Diamond' cigarettes.<sup>71</sup>

### ***Middle class sociability***

Friendship was also a medium of expressing feelings and social values. The sociable nature of middle classes motivated them to express their feelings in a new middle class style. The most common expression was exchange of presents on different occasions such as weddings. This process of exchanging gifts was the 'social glue'<sup>72</sup> that strengthened the bonds of friendships. The friendship between families was also expressed in exchange of visits and attending family events including birthday parties

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<sup>71</sup>See advertisement 'Diamond Cigarettes', *Ibrat*, November 25, 1969.

<sup>72</sup>The term 'social glue' is used to define the process of strengthening relations among people, parties and organisations. For example, exchanging gifts in a Japanese culture is necessary when conducting business in both formal and informal contexts, including that of friendships.

which provided an opportunity for social gatherings and expressing feelings of happiness, love, care, respect and even social status. The change in middle class attitudes toward friendship was impacted by new kinds of gifts such as perfumes, diaries, pens, wrist-watches and clothes. This expression was different from that of the colonial times on the basis of differentiation of class and objects.

During the colonial times the attitudes towards friendliness were expressed by elite class normally in presents of high quality. Take for example the elite expression of feelings of friendliness between Mir Ali Moorad Talpur the ruler of Khairpur state and Mr Phillip Edmond the Governor of Bombay. In order to express his feelings the ruler of Khairpur state sent presents to the Governor. These presents included the sweet mangoes from his personal garden, rosewater, *uttur*, and other articles manufactured by artisans of Khairpur, which included silver mounted knife, silver cups and dishes, silver *uttardanee*, and *Khyrepoor* cloth (cloth produced in Khairpur state).<sup>73</sup>

However, in the 1960s and 1970s the middle class people had plenty of new products in order to express the new attitudes. For instance, some friends found the cigarettes of their common choice a new way of expressing feelings. Thus, the advertisement for 'Diamond cigarettes' developed a new attitude towards friendship. It gave an example of an exemplary friendship between an urban man and a rural man. This was ascribed to the smoking of 'Diamond' cigarettes. These cigarettes made it possible for two friends, who were seen sitting in a beautiful valley where livestock were grazing, to enjoy the taste of cigarettes. The main purpose of the advert was to create a belief in 'Diamond' cigarettes which erased the differences of the rural poor and the urban middle class educated men. The description of the qualities of 'Diamond' cigarettes asserted that 'Our friendship and the qualities of 'Diamond' are *sadabahar* (always like a spring).'<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>See File No. 34 Political: 1872-1876, (Karachi: Sind Archives) [In the file the word *uttar* refers to perfume and *uttardanee* refers to the article used to preserve perfume.]

<sup>74</sup>See advertisement 'Diamond Cigarettes', *Ibrat*, November 25, 1969.

The cigarettes were popular among millions of people. The post-consumption attitude of the smokers towards friendship was developed their belief in long-lasting friendship. Another advertisement appeared in the *Daily Ibrat* with a new strategy. The target of its strategy was to impress the middle class people. Use of social value friendship was one of its key strategies to campaign for 'Diamond' cigarettes.

It said, *Dosti jo haq ada kayo Diamond pesh kayo (Fulfil the duty of friendship by offering the Diamond cigarette)*. These cigarettes were described as *lajawab (unique)*<sup>75</sup>. The important aspect of this advert was to attract middle class officials and professionals who lived in towns and shared the urban culture. The two gentlemen were dressed in Western style clothes and were seen sharing cigarettes and fulfilling the duty of friendship. The cigarettes in the packet were named '10 Diamonds.' The price of these 'Diamonds' was only 30 paisa. The word diamond was used as metaphor for the cigarettes to make people believe that the cigarettes had the same qualities of the diamond. Probably, a more striking feature of these diamonds was that they were cheaper cigarettes.

### ***Differentiation for the rich***

Earning money was not the aim of life but means to a prosperous life in most developed societies where the state was responsible for most of the basic amenities. For example in English society, the state provided basic facilities to the citizens including education, health, housing and other public amenities for entertainment. Thus, in English society middle classes were less power-oriented and they were not hungry for accumulation of money because it was a source of prosperity rather than source of political power to influence others in society. They spent considerable amount of their income on the leisure activities, which served as lifeline of economic stability.

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<sup>75</sup>See advertisement 'Diamond Cigarettes', *Ibrat*, August 22, 1970.

In Khairpur and Sind, rich people used money to influence and keep poor people down. Their choice and taste of products differentiated them from the rest of the people. Consider the following advertisements which reflect attitudes of rich smokers. Sometimes, their eyes were glittered with enticement offered by new products advertised in the newspapers. Some products named as diamonds to give impression that the product resembled with real diamonds sparkling in candle light. Take for instance another brand of cigarettes advertised in the *Daily Ibrat*, ‘Honeydew’, which was sold at the same price as ‘Diamonds.’ The honeydew fruit is known for having superior quality. Therefore, the word ‘Honeydew’ was used as metaphor to express the unique taste of these cigarettes. Although these two types of cigarettes had similar size and the same cost value, their consumers were different. They had different likings and dislikings based on their taste and choice. However, the consumers of cigarettes were normally affluent middle class men and elite classes.

Similarly, the taste of a climbing shrub with sweet-smelling flowers was described as honeysuckle<sup>76</sup> or woodbine and used as metaphor for the cigarettes. The ‘Woodbine’ cigarettes advertisement attempted to give a brief description of the experience of the smoker who said, ‘*Kahro na mazedar ahay muhinjo* cigarette’ (How tasty my cigarette is!).<sup>77</sup> The ‘Woodbine’ smoker declared it as a blend of an excellent tobacco which gave him the fresh taste and which did not change.<sup>78</sup> At the end of the story, the advertisement appealed to the customers to just try ‘Woodbine’ cigarettes. The *mazo* (taste) was a common motivation behind cigarette consumption. The sweet-smell of flowers and the delicious taste of melons was appealing for the smokers. The smokers stated that they were smoking just to enjoy the taste of life. The young smokers after the day’s hard work smoked these cigarettes for comfort. The new brands of cigarettes were

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<sup>76</sup>*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, Eighth edition, (Oxford: Oxford, University Press, 2010).

<sup>77</sup>See advertisement ‘Woodbine Cigarettes’, *Ibrat*, August 6, 1970.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*

initially tried by people just to enjoy the different taste of cigarettes but after some time they increased the consumption of these cigarettes.

Actually the customers were already prepared to consume cigarettes to enjoy life; the advertisements only tried to represent their aspirations. Those people on lower incomes who consumed *bidi* and *huka* were also attracted to the new taste and thus experienced this new way of enjoyment of middle class life. However, to leave a psychological effect on the mind of the customers the brands were deliberately given such trade-marks so that people feel proud of them. For instance, the trade mark printed on 'Honeydew' was elephant.<sup>79</sup> The elephant was considered the heaviest and most powerful among the animals and thus it gave an impression of something bigger than others. The cigarettes consumed more in later decades were named as 'K2', the highest peak of the country. This gave the message that the quality and taste of these cigarettes was as high as 'K2'. Similarly, 'Diamond' cigarettes' advertisers persuaded smokers that 'Diamond' cigarettes were as valuable as were diamonds. The 'Union' cigarettes company also chose a unique bird as its mark. The eagle was selected as the trade mark of the 'Union' cigarettes to impress its customers to feel like an eagle. This bird concentrates only on the target and its eyes were able to see the target even from a great distance. These qualities were rarely found in other birds. Thus, the cigarettes used unique marks for their popularity.

These signs provided feelings as raw material for formulating attitudes of smokers towards smoking new brands of cigarettes. The trade marks also defended cigarettes against the possibility of the opposite views in a subtle manner. In addition, the advertisement of the 'Union' cigarettes declared the cigarettes as a 'friend of man when he works and companion when someone is lonely.'<sup>80</sup> The young people smoked usually because of a feeling of loneliness. Most of them resorted to cigarettes because of

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<sup>79</sup>See advertisement 'Honeydew Cigarettes' *Ibrat*, August 18, 1970.

<sup>80</sup>See advertisement 'Union Cigarettes', *Ibrat*, April 26, 1969.

various social causes including the deprivation of the right to express their feelings. These messages therefore motivated the young people to consume more cigarettes. This could be reflected in the Sindi literature in various short stories and novels, where cigarettes were healing the sorrows of middle class men. The smokers were also known by the brands of the cigarettes and shared different taste and attitudes as compared to smokers of *bidi*. The latter was the sign of a poor financial condition and the former was considered as the sign of a wealthier person in Khairpur.

### ***Importance of ownership***

It was clear that these products recognised the status of the owner and created new means of enjoying honour and respect among people. Moreover, the material products gave the owner a feeling of ownership, which meant that he would be able to use it at anytime without any difficulty. It was a common saying in Sindi society that *Pahinjee shai mein saween sukha*.<sup>81</sup> (There was a lot of happiness in using one's own thing). Further, the buyer would be able to enjoy the *wah wah* (changed attitude of people towards him). The adverts made the buyer realise that there was nothing like something of your own. For instance, the advert for the 'Beco' bicycle used a novel but persuasive strategy to attract the readers. This campaign was entitled '*Apni sawari sab se niyari*.' (There is nothing like your own bicycle)<sup>82</sup> This created a new sense of ownership and made a distinction between your own things and the things owned by others, which you could never rely on or trust. These things could make your life dependent and full of difficulties. Sometime you might desperately need something but the owner could refuse to give it to you even on a rental basis. As opposed to this, you could use your product at any time and as you liked. Therefore, the advertisement persuaded customers to buy the 'Beco' bicycle and to have a safe and enjoyable journey.

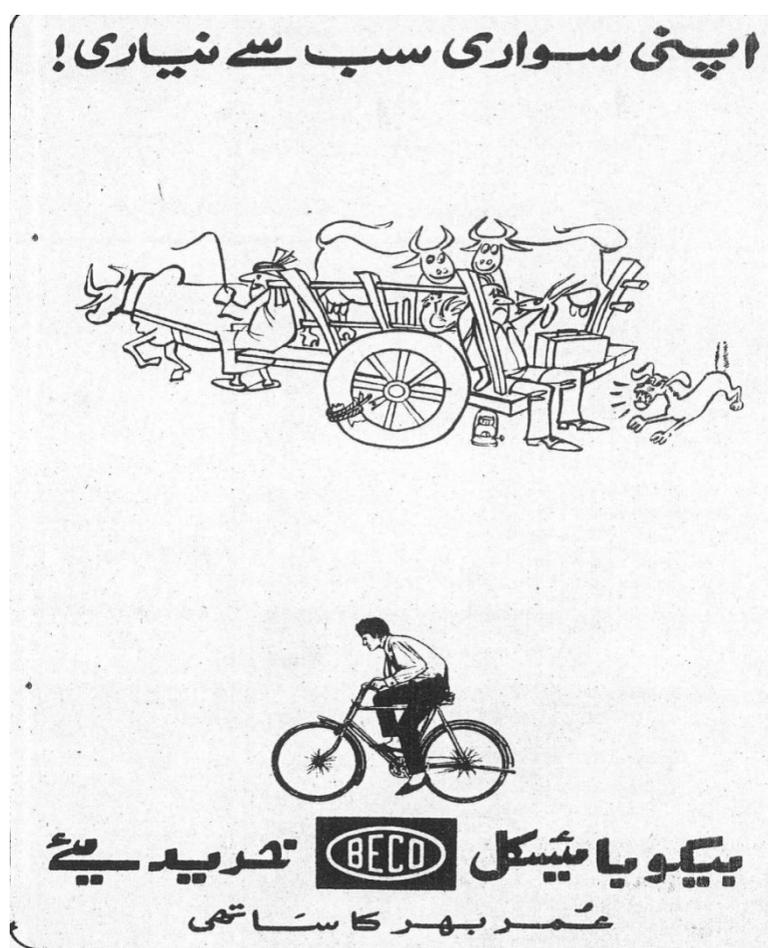
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<sup>81</sup>Common saying in Sindi society.

<sup>82</sup>See advertisement 'Beco bicycle', *Ibrat*, August 20, 1970.

In order to differentiate between what you have and what you are dependent on, the advertisement presents a picture of two middle-income men. One of the gentlemen was taking a journey in a bullock-drawn cart along with livestock. The left side wheel of the cart was already damaged and thus the gentleman seemed to put his life in danger by sitting at the end of the cart where he could fall victim to the bite of a wild dog. But, the other gentleman had nothing to do with these problems because he was riding his own bicycle.

Figure 5 Beco Bicycle Advertisement



Source: The Daily Ibrat, 1970

This kind of persuasive comparison could effectively convince the buyer to purchase the bicycle immediately. But of course, the major problem was the availability of

money. Some people had money but they did not want to spend it on buying new products; rather, they were interested in saving money as much as possible. Taking this idea into account, the advertisers here used a different method to unlock the *trijori* (the box wherein money was saved). This time the bicycle was compared with the rickshaw instead of the bullock-cart.<sup>83</sup> The gentleman taking a journey in a rickshaw appeared to be uncomfortable. He was just looking at the meter to read the distance covered by the rickshaw. The fare was to be charged according to the number of kilometres covered by the rickshaw.

Therefore, this picture could convince such people to buy a bicycle if they were trying to save money.<sup>84</sup> The aim of this strategy was to change the attitude of the commuters towards buying a bicycle by comparing it with the other means of transportation. It targeted those who would normally consider buying a bicycle a waste of money. Thus, the bicycle could save the money that would otherwise be spent on the fares of rickshaws. The first strategy designed by the 'Beco' Company was to convince lower-middle and middle class people living in rural areas to buy its product, and its second strategy was to change the attitude of the middle class people living in towns. However, to convince the wealthy class of people living in cities, the company gave five reasons for buying a bicycle and regarded it as the best investment.<sup>85</sup> The company also used an English medium magazine- *Herald* to communicate with its target customers.

### ***Differentiation for the poor***

The same logic was behind the sale of motor-bikes. The motor-bike was also used as a symbol of prosperity and great respect. In the year 1975, the number of motor-bikes in

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<sup>83</sup>See advertisement 'Beco bicycle', *Ibrat*, August 6, 1970.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup>See advertisement 'Beco bicycle', *Herald*, (Karachi: June 1973).

Khairpur was only 699 and the total number of motor-cars, jeeps and wagons was only 527.<sup>86</sup> Among the motor-cars, there were only 9 cars used as taxis in Khairpur.

The motor-car was an even greater source of showing power and influence than the motor-bike. Possession of a car was believed to be a sign of status in Khairpur, for instance if a guest came in a car to attend a marriage ceremony he would be warmly welcomed by the host. The social status and power of the family was judged from the number of cars parked in the *autaq* at the time of a marriage ceremony. Villagers and even town residents stood up to greet the car's guests and meet them meekly. They bowed down and shook hands and remained standing until the car's guests settled down in the chairs already reserved for them. Foods of high quality were also served to these special guests. The farmers normally sat down on a mat spread over the ground just because they were poor and to give the car-riding guests higher respect.

The guests who arrived by car symbolised the power of wealth, political influence or social status. Most of these elite guests arriving by car were actually the blood suckers, tax evaders, unfair traders, were corrupt and were also involved in misusing the foreign aid given for improving the conditions of the poor. They delivered long lectures on social problems, perhaps because they knew everything since they were the creators of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, social injustices and large inequalities and discriminations in society. Sindi literature reflects the true picture of the social devastation caused by the division of society into classes, which created mountains of hate and cut down the trees giving shelter to love and peace and flooded the rivers of negative attitudes.

In the short story of the long 'note book'<sup>87</sup> the writer presented a story of two lovers and their attitudes towards their class affiliation. Nawaz and Nasreen, who belonged to

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<sup>86</sup>Government of Sind, *Development of Statistics of Sind*, (Karachi: Bureau of statistics, Planning & Development Department, 1978), p.186.

<sup>87</sup>Sharjeel, 'Note Book', *Mehran*, Vol.27, No.3, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1978), pp. 73-81.

the lower middle class and middle class respectively, both liked each other, but the parents of the girl were looking for a person belonging to the wealthy class. Nawaz was studying for his MA and simultaneously earned 500 to 600 rupees from his teaching job. Out of this money, Nawaz had to send 100 rupees to his mother and 50 rupees to his brother. In order to increase his income he also worked at night as a booking clerk at a local cinema. He was a self-made person, thus he was a self-centred young man aspiring to become a lecturer after the completion of his degree. But, he knew that it was not an easy task. After completing his MA he had to struggle and needed *sufarish* (favour) to obtain his goal in life. It also required much time to achieve status in society. In that society where wealth was the only criterion to select a life mate, no one could expect fair treatment.

The parents of the middle classes aspired to marry their daughters into the upper class or at least upper middle class families.<sup>88</sup> Both Nawaz and his girlfriend knew this fact. Eventually, the moment came when Nawaz received an invitation card from his girlfriend to attend her wedding to a grade 18 officer. Nawaz did not worry much about it, because he was already aware of what was going to happen to him in the end. Now, at least he got the answer to his question which he asked her in every letter he wrote to her. She was not able to say yes or no to her friend before her parents arranged her marriage to a man from an upper middle class family. Nawaz believed that society was divided into classes and thus, 'no individual could be blamed because there were reasons already available for the action.'<sup>89</sup> Everyone just tried to secure his/her own future and for that reason, fair or unfair means were adopted.

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<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*

### **Other mediums of middle class expression of attitudes**

The societies based on class-system did not accept the free-mixing of people belonging to different classes. In such societies, boys and girls were not allowed to freely express themselves and they could not communicate face to face and express their feelings. The only source of communication for their views and sentiments was through postal letters. It was the best way to say anything which sometimes was difficult to say face to face. However, the positive aspect of letters was an expression of someone's real personality which otherwise could not come out due to the social pressures. In fact reading a letter was a journey to an unknown world of thoughts and ideas. The flow of these ideas was like a flow of fresh water but without exchanging them they looked like a lake of stagnant water, the smell of which could pollute the entire world of social attitudes. Therefore, readers were entertained by reading the new things and useful information in letters which helped in formulating positive attitudes.

The postman, who delivered these letters, was also appreciated by middle class families because he brought letters from their loved ones and also money orders to fulfil their social and financial needs. It was observed that more than 18,000 letters were registered by the post during 1975-76.<sup>90</sup>

In addition, the other medium of communication available to middle class was the telephone. However, the problem with the non-digital public call offices (PCOs) was slow delivery of services. The customers needed to book calls and waited sometimes many hours to make a call. This problem was expressed in the form of a satirical sketch, in which a middle class person was shown as destructed by waiting for a long time for his call to be connected.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>See Government of Sind, *Development of statistics of Sind*, (Karachi: Bureau of statistics, Planning & Development Department, 1978), p. 195.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibrat*, May16, 1982.

## **Conclusion**

Chapter 6 considers the process of commercialisation of agriculture and growth in the communication and markets as an impact of higher productivity created under the Green Revolution. It has been argued that these factors contributed to the creation of urban culture represented by the patterns of consumption. It further seeks to prove that the impact of agricultural change was that consumers were now able to express themselves in the form of material goods. The purpose of this expression was to redefine their social identities. The advertisements for new products and ideas for a new life became messengers of middle class consumers' desired identities and their messages were as springboards for achieving them. The aim of gaining desired identities was to improve one's social image by means of admiration or social attitudes as markers of social status. The advertisements thus helped the consumers to achieve their goal of these desired identities by representing their aspirations in their own language. The means of presentation and persuasion were changed through time. With the emergence of Sindi consumer society, language was made simple and meaningful by advertisers to communicate to their target audience. The new consumers were huge in quantity in comparison with the previous limited number of wealthy consumers. Thus, the use of old words and expressions was changing through time.

*Chapter 7***Emergence of Middle class consciousness****Introduction**

This chapter explores the importance of money for maintaining and improving middle class life. Money performed economic and social functions including leisure and shopping. It became so important that people began to express their happiness and other social feelings through the medium of money. In addition, education increased their consciousness and empowered them to take decisions in life. People considered money and education to be the two props they needed to improve their social standing.

It is argued that the motivation for acquiring education and wealth was driven by the middle class desire for self-improvement. This process culminated in the rise of middle class consciousness in Khairpur, where middle class relations with the Style, Proud and Comfort (SPC) oriented elite class were based on middle class compromise. This chapter investigates further the middle class experience of bureaucratic and rural-elite responses to the rise of the middle class position in Khairpur. It also explains the failure of political parties to protect Middle-class political interests. Chapter relies on Sindi literature in order to give a clear picture of the socio-economic changes that enabled the growth of social and political consciousness among middle class people in Khairpur. In addition, real life stories have also been used to analyse the role of education as an important channel for social mobility and as a source of social and political consciousness. English sources have also been used to describe the untold story of the Sindi middle class.

**Part 1 Expression of Middle class consciousness**

This section describes middle class consciousness in the form of shopping and leisure. It is argued in this part of the chapter that these two human activities not only reflect the

importance of money in society but also reflect class consciousness of consumers. In addition, middle classes expressed consciousness in the form of education and self-improvement to raise their economic and social status in society.

### **Value of money: Middle class shopping**

Middle class Sindi magazines present evidence about the conditions of the emerging middle class consumption in the early 1960s. Short stories demonstrate the value of money for middle class shopping in the 1960s. The middle class families had limited income and thus they could not shop extravagantly. The dialogue (See p.246) published in the popular Sindi magazine *Naeen Zindagi* the 'Spectator' of Sind presents a true picture of a middle class family. Shopping distinguished different classes of society. Middle class shopping was huge in quantity. It was favourite subject of middle class women. They were keen to buy *surkhi* powders (cosmetics and toiletries) such as beauty soaps, lipstics, nail polishes, perfumes, talcum powders and new varieties of clothes.

Middle class people thirsted for shopping but the money they earned was usually not enough to maintain the standard of living to which they aspired. Sometimes, middle class shoppers did not purchase things, not because they did not like them, but because they were cheap and the buying of these things could distort their image in society. Similarly, they could not buy the products which were beyond their economic power. These expensive products were normally consumed by the upper class. However, the middle class women had a strong desire to enter the upper class by adopting the same habits and by indulging in elite class shopping despite their limited resources. The family heads belonging to the middle class were struggling to overcome financial difficulties and to keep their houses in order. They were maintaining and improving their conditions for the Pursuit of Social Position (PSP). This objective made them different from the upper class which stood for Style, Proud and Comfort (SPC).

The following play written by a Sindi middle class female writer reflects the aspirations of middle class women for shopping and exposes the fears and anxieties of men, who in Sindi society were responsible for the maintenance of their wives, and other dependents in the case of a joint family. The play consists of three scenes at different places and times. Scene One describes the excitement of a housewife about to go shopping when her husband tells her that he has received his monthly pay.<sup>1</sup>

In order to convince her husband to go shopping she gives him two arguments. Her first argument exposes her love for fashion and the other is an expression of mixed feelings. For instance, praise for her husband that she was the wife of an officer, fear of community criticism and her intention to maintain her image as the officer's wife before her friends. She also intended to feel smug and fashionable by consuming new products.

### **Scene One**

Sahib:<sup>2</sup> *Begum! Begum!*

Begum: *Yes, I'm just coming, is everything alright?*

Sahib: *I'm alright... I received my pay today. Keep this money and we shall prepare the monthly budget.*

Begum: *No, I'll keep this money in my purse.*

Sahib: *What do you mean?*

Begum: *I mean that we would go shopping today; I haven't gone shopping for a long time.*

Sahib: *You are right, but we'll go shopping next month because this money is not even enough for repaying the loan; I have to pay house rent for the last three months, we have already received a final notice for vacating this house.*

Begum: *I'll not spend much; I'll buy only a few things.*

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<sup>1</sup>Sheikh, Mahtab Mahboob, 'Shopping', *Naeen Zindagi*, Vol.17, No.1, (Karachi: 1964), pp. 34-36.

<sup>2</sup>The word *Sahib* is used in Sind to address a government officer by middle class people. Here the *Sahib* is a husband and *Begum* is a wife.

Sahib: *For example?*

Begum: *Some wool, and make-up.*

Sahib: *It is just waste of money. Darling, makeup is not a necessary item. You can live without makeup and I had bought you a sweater last year, there is no need to buy a new one.*

Begum: *The designs and style are old.*

Sahib: *It is not suitable for middle class people like us to talk about old and new designs; it will only be appropriate to talk about such things when our financial condition has improved.*

Begum: *I know, but the people don't know about our financial conditions. My friends know that my husband is an officer whose monthly income is rupees 300.*

Sahib: *We should not increase our expenses more than our earnings just to show other people that we are rich. In this time of increasing inflation, rupees 300 is not a huge income. Out of this money, we have to pay 150 rupees for house rent. In addition, we have to pay for school fees, milk and food expenses for a whole month; just think how is it possible to shop in this situation. I also need to return a loan immediately. I know you are an intelligent lady; you should cooperate with me in this difficult time. Look at me, I have been going to office in the same shirt and trousers for six days a week but I don't care what people think of me.*

Begum: *But I'll buy only a few things, there are always lot of house expenses. Nothing serious will happen if I buy few things.*

Sahib: *Oh my Dear! How can I make you understand that money is not more important than you? May the day come when I am able to make your all dreams come true!*

Begum: *I don't know when that day will come in my life. I think I'll die with my wishes unfulfilled.*

Sahib: *Dear, please don't say these things; ok, get ready, we are going shopping.*<sup>3</sup>

## Scene Two

This part of the play describes how difficult it was to control the shopping behaviour of a middle class housewife. There was a change in behaviour of the buyer in the shopping place. Her husband tried to reduce expenses, but she ignored him and kept shopping. Her choice for expensive products such as Gala lipsticks, Hi-fi lotion and Dearborn cream reflected her desire for purchasing new things of higher quality which were normally used by elite women. The purpose of shopping at an expensive shop was to impress others, as evident from the following.

Begum: *(excitedly) Look at that shop on the corner! Mrs Shoro told me that everything is available there.*<sup>4</sup>

Sahib: *But it is very expensive.*

Begum: *Let's see....*

Salesman: *Welcome sir, how can I help?*

Sahib: *Show me some wool please.*

Salesman: *Here it is, wool in all colours available here.*

Begum: *Give me that blue coloured wool 1lb, it is good to make a shawl.*

Salesman: *Ok.*

Begum: *You must have different shades of lipsticks of Gala Company.* Salesman: *Yes we do.*

Begum: *I want an orange, pink and purple shades and (Hi-fi) lotion.*

Sahib: *(Whispering) Dear, please ask the prices first.*

Begum: *I think they do not cost too much. I have bought only few things yet.*

Salesman: *and....?*

Begum: *Give me nail-polish of the same shades as lipsticks.*

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<sup>3</sup>Sheikh, Mahtab Mahboob, 'Shopping', *Naeen Zindagi*, Vol.17, No.1, (Karachi: 1964), pp. 34-36.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

Salesman: *Sure, and anything else....?*

Begum: *Do you have any bangles?*

Salesman: *Yes, we have different varieties of bangles.*

Begum: *Give me two sets of these bangles.*

Sahib: *(slowly) Dear please.....*

Begum: *(ignoring him and looking at the Salesman) And a Dearborn cream. Now pack these things and prepare a bill.*

Salesman: *24 rupees for wool, 12 rupees for a one Hi-fi lotion and 18 rupees for three lipsticks, 12 rupees for three nail polishes, 6 rupees for two sets of bangles and 6.5 rupees for Dearborn cream.*

Sahib: *(slowly) Oh no!*

Salesman: *(giving bill) Rupees 78.50 only sir...*

Sahib: *Dear take out the money from your purse.*

Begum: *(opens her purse) I can't find money in my purse.*

Sahib: *Try again, money should be there.*

Begum: *(almost weeping) There isn't money!!*

Sahib: *Oh my God!*

Salesman: *What happened, sir?*

Sahib: *(trying to smile) Actually we have lost the money some-where. I am really sorry for wasting your time. We hope to buy these things again later.*

Salesman: *No problem Sir, we are ready to serve you any time...*

Sahib: *Thank you.*

Sahib: *I don't know what will happen now! I was about to fall down with shock, and was also feeling embarrassment in front of the sales man.*

Begum: *I'm sorry dear, all this happened because of my rigidity.....*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

**Scene Three**

Sahib: *Someone is knocking at the door, (he opens the door) OH! You*

Landlord: *Yes! I have been giving you many notices but I am compelled now to ask you to leave my house right now.*

Sahib: *But please...Give me some time...*

Landlord: *Sorry, I can't.*

Sahib: *Alright please wait; let me pack my stuff...*

Sahib: *(looking at his wife) Now, tell me, where to go.*

Begum: *(silent, crying)...*

Sahib: *Don't cry over split milk. Let's pack the stuff and go.*

*(Both are packing stuff)*

Sahib: *Look at this, the money is in this box.*

Begum: *How is it possible..?*

Sahib: *I am surprised! Wait, I am going to pay rent to landlord. Sahib: Here's your money...*

Landlord: *Thanks please pay on time in future.*

Sahib: *Yes I will. (Coming inside the home)*

*How did this miracle happen! The money had fallen on road...then how it could be here in the box?*

Begum: *Now I remember, I put this money in the box.*

Sahib: *Thanks God, we found money, otherwise we might have been on footpath today!*

Begum: *And I learnt a lesson today...<sup>6</sup>*

In the last scene the script-writer has made middle class people realise that the money has acquired great importance in society. The lack of money could cause insult and it could be the bringer of so many troubles. The message for middle class people was to

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<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

use their available money with care and to try hard to improve their conditions by generating sources of income.

The message for wives was that they were not right in spending more money extravagantly just for showing-off to others. The script-writer also criticised them for their fear of community criticism. This false style of life compelled them to take loans from banks and borrow from their relatives and friends. This also prevented middle class people from saving money in banks. The unavailability of money that could be saved, did not enable them to invest money in starting a business on a small scale, thus they were dependent on government service rather than on business.

Another trend was also developed as a condition of society whereby everyone just followed the way of the majority of the middle class. The only difference was found in the speed with which they were competing with each other. This concept of *rees*<sup>7</sup> or social competition was also a driving force for spending more money to look better than others or in other words to keep other people down in the different aspects of life, i.e. social and cultural positions. These two concepts, community criticism and competition, were different sides of the same coin. However, the former was a social factor which regulated the social behaviour of an individual towards the community, and the latter was an individual's inner feeling displayed in the form of buying similar products, as purchased by others. To satisfy their inner feelings the individual needed to compete with others in a number of ways, i.e. education, wealth, choosing a life partner, shopping, political power and prestige in society. People that engaged in social competition forgot all about having any fellow feeling and developed jealousy, suspicion, and the fear of being dominated by others.

These driving forces increased the middle class hunger for shopping in Khairpur, where new shopping centres, bazaars, and new shops were constructed, not only in the

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<sup>7</sup>The term *rees* is derived from Sindi which meant social competition.

city but also in big and small towns. In the city there was only one meat and fish market in the 1950s. Nevertheless, keeping in view the levels of consumption of food, 68 shops were constructed in Khairpur during the next decade.<sup>8</sup> In addition, new shopping centres were established in the heart of the city to cater for the increasing shopping needs of the people.

The importance of money for shopping was further increased with the introduction of new fashions including new dresses that were designed according to the latest styles imitated from the dresses of elite women. This encouraged the growth of the tailoring industry in Khairpur where most of the male tailors became ladies' tailors. These tailors, like furniture-makers, tried to imitate designs from the pictures published in elite class magazines. The novelty of products was used as a marketing tool. Thus, middle class women in search of a distinctive look loved new fashions which were also a source of self-expression. The design and quality of clothes reflected the inner feelings of the person who wore them. For instance, the dressing pattern at a glance gave an idea of the age, education, class, thinking, attitudes and preferences of the person. The dress served as the showroom of the personality. The dress thus acquired a social value in Khairpur.

In social functions like weddings only well dressed people were allowed in and people in rags were not even able to take a peep at these functions. Therefore, clothes, even as they potentially masked the real face of a person, unmasked the social reality associated with dressing. Women were curious about new designs, colours and new prints of dresses, and they competed furiously in order to look different, or, in a real sense, to beat others in the fashion stakes by means of displaying their wealth. But of course middle class women were no match for their upper class sisters when it came to purchasing power and hence always lost out in the fashion stakes.

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<sup>8</sup>Ahmed, Rafique Agha, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.108.

### **Value of money: Elite class shopping**

In the 1970s the popularity of new type of clothes 'lawns'<sup>9</sup> for summer dressing began to increase. It gave a 'glamorous look' to the elite class women. These prints, described as colourful, exquisite and stunning, reflected the choice of buyers.<sup>10</sup> The advertisement for Gul Ahmed lawn, went further to describe the woman who wore lawn, as 'my fair lady' in Gul Ahmed.<sup>11</sup> The picture reflected the life style of an elite class woman sitting in a chair. In the advertisement the furniture and the decoration of the room indicated an upper class life style. The telephone set was also kept on the table in the background of the lady's picture. In addition, the mirror hung on the wall of the room reflected a light, perhaps made by a camera flash or room bulb which combined to present a glamorous show. The popularity of different varieties of clothes including lawns made up of cotton also began to increase in Khairpur. Both men and women liked to wear cotton and this created an opportunity for starting a small business for dry-cleaning in the towns of Khairpur.

However, other luxury items used by wealthy women were out of reach for middleclass women. For instance, expensive watches offered by Rado, Omax, Camy and Seiko companies. Other luxury cosmetic items such as Hi-fi make-up, Delycia perfume, Charlie perfume and Patra perfume, nail polish and lipstick imported from the West were normally consumed by the wealthy class. However, middle class women were able to buy talcum powders, Ponds' cream, Stillman's cream, Brylcream and new soaps such as Imperial Leather, Capri and Rexona. They also used toothpastes such as Binaca, Macleans and some other brands. The elite consumers and middle class buyers had different intentions for shopping. Their intents represented them in the affairs of daily life and influenced their relations with each other.

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<sup>9</sup>Lawn was the name of newly introduced variety of cloth used specially in the summer.

<sup>10</sup>See advertisement 'Gul Ahmed lawn', *Herald*, (Karachi: April 1976).

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

The words style, proud and comfort (SPC) described the elite intentions. These words, mostly used in the elite communication of products, appeared in the *Herald* of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>12</sup> These words used to express the elite understanding of non-social things to deal with social life as an impact of their beliefs. They believed that they were distinctive from the rest of the people on the basis of the style they chose to live in, separate and isolated colonies with a distinctive way of consumption. This belief was an ideal for advertisers to communicate to this creature (elite class) in terms of taste and a touch of class. Thus, the manifestation of SPC was visible in advertisements for the elite class. Consider the advertisement for Omax watch. Readers were told that it was a masterpiece of SWISS watch making of which they could be proud.<sup>13</sup> Thus, they were supposed to purchase a valuable product because it made them feel good about themselves. They felt proud of having a different life style expressed in consuming expensive imported products.

These products distinguished them from the people belonging to other classes. The hand that wore an expensive watch was one of the hands that ruled over the country. The Seiko watch company called its product a ‘symbol of distinction.’<sup>14</sup> Money made it possible for the elite class individual to gain a distinction, which otherwise required the middle class person to do much hard work to achieve a distinction in his/her life. However, these expensive watches were not for the middle class to wear because they had special qualities such as style proof, scratch proof, time proof and value proof.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the manufacturers did not consider it necessary to make fashionable watches for middle class people. Instead the manufacturers made their watches waterproof to enable middle class people to use these products under any circumstances.

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<sup>12</sup>The examination of advertisements which appeared in the elite class magazine *Herald* suggests that these three words were most over-used to communicate elite people living in upmarket areas in order to persuade them to buy elegant products. These words are combined to express the mentality of elites and their attitudes.

<sup>13</sup>The masterpiece is meant as the high quality product and the masters means producers.

<sup>14</sup>See advertisement ‘Seiko’, *Herald*, (Karachi: January 1973).

<sup>15</sup>See advertisement ‘Rado’, *Herald*, (Karachi: July 1981).

The drive for shopping in the two classes was determined by class intentions. The elite quest for instance, was for comfort in addition to lifestyle. They wanted comfort alongside show of their material success.<sup>16</sup> Elite consumption of comfort was reflected in the following advertisement.

Molty foam advised its buyers to ‘sink deep into the heavenly comfort’ offered by Molty foam mattresses. In addition, another foam company came with a slogan to awaken wealthy people to be Pakistani and buy Pakistani. The aim of this slogan was actually designed to promote its own product rather than all other foam products made in Pakistan. In order to make it clear, it further said ‘be wise and buy united foam.’<sup>17</sup> According to the advertisement all other buyers were unwise who purchased products sold by other foam companies. This was justified through an animated picture in which a fashionable girl was seen relaxing. The advertisement told elite consumers that mattresses and round pillows would give them the ‘comfort’ they need and the ‘leisure’ they enjoy.<sup>18</sup> The round pillows were mostly used by most upper class houses. Middle class families normally used hand-made bed sheets.

### **Value of money: Leisure**

In the late 1960s there were enormous opportunities for leisure. Middle class people had some free time and money to spend on recreational activities. They were able to watch movies, participate in games, attend musical programmes or enjoy a meal or tea at hotels in the towns in Khairpur. For all these activities people needed money which they received from a variety of sources i.e. agriculture, employment or a business. Money became increasingly important in society. It made it possible for people to enjoy their leisure time and stimulated their appetite for these leisure activities and for shopping.

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<sup>16</sup>Ahmed, Sultan, ‘High Living in Poor Pakistan’, *Herald*, (Karachi: January, 1980), p.15.

<sup>17</sup>See advertisement ‘Unifoam’, *Herald*, (Karachi: January 1980).

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

In addition to indoor entertainment people enjoyed participating in games such as volleyball and cricket, or watching other traditional games such as *malakhra*<sup>19</sup> and *kabadi*.<sup>20</sup> These activities began when Khairpur was yet a princely state. The Talpur Mirs not only established physical centres but also organised tournaments and championships. The Ali Murad Hockey tournament championship and Aqil Memorial Hockey tournaments were a regular feature of the sports and games organised in Khairpur. In the late 1960s the hockey team from Khairpur participated in the 17<sup>th</sup> National Hockey championship. For team work and fighting spirit, the Khairpur team stood out.<sup>21</sup>

There was a divisional sports committee which organised sports activities. It was also decided to arrange sport events in the rural areas of Khairpur. This committee decided to hold the All Pakistan Commissioner Cup Hockey Tournament.<sup>22</sup> Thus, sports were encouraged by the administration, and sports associations organised games at district and divisional level. In the city of Khairpur, a stadium was established to sponsor various sports. The hockey, cricket, football, volleyball, badminton and table tennis sports were organised.<sup>23</sup> However *malakhra* was popular in Khairpur. The popular players of this game were Ghulam Hyder Burdi and Ghulam Qadir Laghari. In addition, playing cards, dog and bear fighting, cock-fighting and pig-hunting were also liked by people in rural Khairpur.

In the 1960s people of Khairpur also had access to other leisure opportunities, including fairs held at Ranipur, Gambat and other small towns and villages, cattle and horse shows and bullock races organised in Jacobabad and Larkana respectively. However, a new event, *jashan-e-Khairpur*, came to be organised in Khairpur annually.

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<sup>19</sup>Sindi style wrestling.

<sup>20</sup>The local Sindi sport and a form of recreation.

<sup>21</sup>*Dawn*, March 30, 1967.

<sup>22</sup>*Dawn*, September 9, 1967.

<sup>23</sup>Ahmed, Rafique Agha, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.237.

This function provided ample opportunity for the citizens to visit the various exhibitions at industrial stalls and to view agricultural progress. They also enjoyed various sports organised under the programme. This function was organised in the spring season to provide opportunities for enjoyment.<sup>24</sup> The colourful programmes of *jashan-e-Khairpur* included Sindi and Urdu *mushaira*, *mehfil-e-qawali*, and musical concerts. The women singers and dancers were also encouraged to participate in the music programmes. Miss Rubina was a popular female singer who performed in the musical concerts at Khairpur. People liked ogling girls in these concerts and fairs, arranged mostly at the tombs of Sufi saints.

In addition to the music, drama and paintings were also promoted through the exhibitions in the function in order to patronise the young artists of Khairpur. These were the sources of middle class entertainment and leisure. The audience of these programmes dressed in Western style trousers, coat and tie. It indicated that the programmes were only designed for the middle class professionals and educated and literary people.

These programmes enabled them to enjoy their leisure time by listening to poetry competitions, folk music and dancing. In the other fairs, the dancing was mostly performed by teenage boys. Villagers liked the dancing very much and threw paper money over the performers to encourage the art. These pastimes were healthy activities for middle class society.

There were two gardens, Phool Bagh (Park) situated in the heart of city, and Dilshad Park located near the railway station. In the former, see-saws were installed to provide recreational facilities to the children.<sup>25</sup> These parks not only increased the beauty of the city but also provided leisure opportunities for its citizens. Tea shops were also

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<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p.250.

<sup>25</sup>Aquil, Syed Mansur (ed.), *Decade of Reforms in Khairpur Division*, (Khairpur: West Pakistan Government Press, 1968), p.53.

established close to Dilshad Park. A new picnic spot was developed at the Rohri canal near the city. This picnic point was named as Gosha-e-Nasheen where a separate park was developed for the children. There were also boating facilities at this spot to entertain the citizens of Khairpur.

The city had a new building for housing a gymkhana and for use as a leisure centre. It was constructed in 1968 and covered an area of over 6000 square feet. The gymkhana consisted of a big hall, billiard rooms, guest rooms and other spacious rooms available for the members. The total number of its members was only 92 and it was open to upper middle class people. The Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner were the Chief Patron and ex-officio President of the club. It was open to upper middle class people who participated in social activities. This was regarded as the hub of social and recreational activity.<sup>26</sup>

There was also a public library, which was established in 1955. This library was shifted into a new building in 1965. This library had three different sections for women, children and researchers. It had a collection of 25,000 books and rare manuscripts in English, Sindi, Arabic and Urdu.<sup>27</sup> It also contained text books on various subjects such as electrical, mechanical engineering, economics, English literature, Islamiyat, Sindi and Urdu literature. These books were used by students of degree classes such as undergraduate and postgraduate taught courses. The library was also equipped with audio and visual facilities including documentary films which played a significant role in social development.<sup>28</sup> Another reading room was also built in the Phool Bagh (Park).

The middle class students read books and were entertained by magazines including *Naeen Zindagi*, *Mehran*, *Sindi Digest*, *Gulful* and newspaper reading. These magazines educated their readers about manners, etiquettes, new fashions and new trends of life.

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<sup>26</sup>Ahmed, Rafique Agha, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.60.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibrat*, August 22, 1968.

<sup>28</sup>Ahmed, Rafique Agha, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.244.

The newspapers were helpful in raising middle class awareness. Newspapers were also kept in the tea houses, restaurants and hotels to attract middle class customers in Khairpur. In addition to leisure activities, new forms of home entertainment were also developed. The use of television sets and the boom in cassette music was a social sign of middle class affluence in Khairpur.

In the 1970s, the only available choice for people was to watch Pakistan television programmes which were telecast in Urdu – the national language of the country which was not spoken by the majority of people of Sind. In 1972 their Sindi drama was also given some space on the state<sup>29</sup>-owned channel. This programme, *natak rang*,<sup>30</sup> became very popular among the people. This activity not only entertained people, but also created awareness among the rural masses and raised a voice against the social problems which troubled Khairpur society. In almost all Sindi dramas the heroes were portrayed as the educated middle class who struggled for the rights of the lower classes and challenged the authority of the village head man. The character of the head man was presented to the audience as a villain. The supportive roles of this character were the police and bureaucracy. They were seen as creating obstacles for the rising middle class by shutting down the schools and turning them into their reception rooms.

The landlords were opposed to the opening of schools in Khairpur and Sind because they knew that the beginning of education was actually the beginning of the end of their power. This is reflected in Sindi middle class dramas which performed the dual function of entertainment and education about social position and social consciousness as seen in the popular drama '*Marvi*' based on a folk story written by Nurul Huda Shah. In the play some of its characters were chosen from the new middle class. The major theme of the play was education. The primary school teacher was shown arguing with the village headman. The village headman was afraid of the positive impact of education, thus he

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<sup>29</sup>State refers to the state of Pakistan.

<sup>30</sup>This Sindi term was used for a drama telecast on Pakistan Television Corporation in the 1980s.

closed the school by force. The teacher's daughter was the only girl who managed to study at university. Thus, the teacher faced threats from the headman that he would not help him if his daughter was kidnapped. The girl's fiancée also faced severe community criticism from his co-villagers. The script-writer not only undressed the character of the headman and his anti-educational activities but also criticised the community criticism directed at the girl and her family just because of her desire to gain a higher education. Apparently the landlord did not give weight to what he called '*a paper degree*'. He considered it no match for his power. In fact, he feared that the spread of education meant the spread of light which would enable people to see the dark face of his self-created kingdom. This play significantly contributed to the development of social consciousness.

The radio revolution in the late 1960s was followed by a great cassette boom in the late 1970s<sup>31</sup> and in the 1980s. It became an economical way of obtaining entertainment and music. Poets began to use this medium to communicate their feelings with people and to spread ideas about love, peace and social awareness. These means of entertainment became popular because cassettes were not only cheaper but also convenient to use as compared to Long-Playing (LP) discs used with a phonograph.<sup>32</sup> These cassettes were used to record songs and speeches delivered by politicians and religious leaders. Philips introduced a radio recorder with many features and claimed that the radio had become a necessity for every home.<sup>33</sup> This radio provided a voice mixing facility for recording purposes. These recorders were used to record the teachings of The Holy Quran and musical programmes. The recorded cassettes were sold at music centres in the towns of Khairpur. Middle class people could easily afford to buy cassettes of the singers of their choice such as Abida Parveen,

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<sup>31</sup>Noorani, Asif, 'The Great Cassette Boom', *Herald*, (Karachi: August 1978), p.33.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>See advertisement 'Philips', *Herald*, (Karachi: October 1978).

Sohrab Fakir, Waheed, Manzoor Sakhirani and Sarmad Sindi. The last mentioned was known for singing songs of social freedom which rebelled against the system.

These singers were able to introduce new trends in Sindi music. Jalal Chandio was one of the most famous singers for his new trend because of his simple, open but very distinctive way of singing and his use of traditional musical instruments such as *yaktaro and chapri*.<sup>34</sup> His audience consisted of rural middle and lower class people. The songs sung by these singers were recorded by the cassette companies and were sold at the music centres. These cassettes were also played at middle class weddings in order to entertain people. In addition to Sindi songs, people also liked more Bollywood songs than the Lollywood<sup>35</sup> movie songs. The popularity of these songs further increased with the use of the video cassette recorder (VCR). The combination of television and VCR dominated home entertainment in elite houses. Like cars and air conditioners, VCRs also became luxurious items.<sup>36</sup>

However, it generated business opportunities for the owners of music centres and tea hotels in the late 1980s and in the following decade. In the towns of Khairpur a considerable number of dwellers, including shopkeepers, small traders, labourers, merchants, and students, watched Bollywood movies at hotels or hired VCRs to watch movies at their homes or at reception rooms. However, this VCR culture did not develop at village level because of cultural rigidities in the 1980s. Parents did not allow their children to watch such films depicting love stories or to copy these actions and roles in their real life. Nevertheless, villages too did not remain unaffected by these changes.

Movies were supposed to attract more rural people rather than their urban counterparts. Firstly, the subjects of some movies were closer to village life and

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<sup>34</sup>Traditional musical instruments used in Sindi music.

<sup>35</sup>Bollywood refers to Indian movies and Lollywood refers to Pakistani movies.

<sup>36</sup>Ahmed, Sultan, 'High Living in Poor Pakistan', *Herald*, (Karachi: January 1980), p.15.

depicted a picture of village life. Secondly, the influence of these stories was greater on the villagers than on the urban community because the majority of villagers were uneducated and quick to believe whatever happened in these films. These movies no doubt created awareness among people but at the same time they severely affected children's formal education in towns.<sup>37</sup> Children also imitated the different roles they watched in the films. Some of them memorised the dialogues and made parodies. These parodies were also a good source of entertainment for children.

### **Children's leisure**

Middle class families sent their children to the government owned schools. The primary schools where Sindi was a medium of instruction did not afford adequate opportunities for children's entertainment in Khairpur. However, children took part in games that were mostly played in the streets. The starting point of young children's entertainment was reading poems of their choice. They remembered poems and were amused by reciting them repeatedly. Consider the following popular poem among the middle class primary students. This children's poem was to entertain school children and to keep them aware of the value that money was acquiring these days.<sup>38</sup>

*"I found paiso (money) on the ground*

*And purchased some grass*

*The buffalo ate the grass*

*And gave me some milk*

*I gave milk to my mom*

*And she gave me a lolo<sup>39</sup>*

*The crow ate the lolo*

*And the bird gave me a quill*

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<sup>37</sup>Interview with Hizbullah Soomro (Writer), Khairpur: October 29, 2008.

<sup>38</sup>Sindi Text Book (for students of class 1), (Jamshoro: Sind Text Book Board, 1982), p.7.

<sup>39</sup>The word *lolo* means bread made of wheat flour.

*I gave quill to a king*

*And the king gave me horse*

*I rode on the back of a horse*

*And the riding gave me pleasure”*

The six verses of the poem not only entertained children but also enabled children to understand the value of money in achieving material success and pleasure in their future; they came to build this knowledge through education. Perhaps, the poet wanted children to see a dream of having power and status in society. The horse in Sindi literature symbolises ‘power’ and the horse-riding was a leisure enjoyed by the elite class people. Some of the readers of this poem could go on to learn horse-riding in the Civil Service Academy<sup>40</sup> in order to become a successful civil servant or they could enjoy horse-riding as a leisure activity at the racecourses.

In the 1970s and 1980s, children belonging to middle class families entered state run schools where the curriculum was different from that of the privately owned schools for elite class boys and girls. The syllabus prescribed at primary level was taught in Sindi. In these schools the primary students were required to remember a few poems to get through their examinations. These students remembered short and easy poems, including the poem about money. The students recited a poem but they rarely understood what it actually said to them. Later these children would realise that the poem contained an important message. In addition, singing was also a source of leisure for children. The talented ones participated in *nat*,<sup>41</sup> and song competitions.

The children of the villages played traditional games during their school breaks including hide and catch and *wanjh wati*.<sup>42</sup> In town schools, boys played football, volleyball and cricket. Children also began to play with plastic toys, sports materials

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<sup>40</sup>The Civil Service Academy was established at Lahore in 1948 to train the civil servants, especially the officers belonging to the District Management Group.

<sup>41</sup>Poem in the praise of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him).

<sup>42</sup>The children’s outdoor game played on the ground.

and other entertainment tools including small bicycles manufactured particularly for teenagers.

In addition, the consumption of books, geometry materials and other school essentials such as school uniform, increased with the growing popularity of education. The middle class boys normally dressed in a common school uniform. It became a sign of middle class schooling. However, this growth in children's consumption began to commercialise leisure. Children's toys, uniform and school materials became an important section of middle class family shopping. This created demand for more money and the parents needed to spend considerable money on the purchase of toys and other objects instead of saving money for a rainy day.

For instance, the Servis Company introduced new school shoes, which were consumed by elite class boys in the 1970s.<sup>43</sup> However, by the following decade these school shoes and sport joggers were within the reach of middle class boys as well. Parents had leisure and money to spend on children's educational and social needs. This activity also pleased them and formed a new attitude towards their children as an object of leisure. These activities increased the commercialisation of leisure in Khairpur and money became important for life. The opportunities for free entertainment were disappearing day by day. Without money one did not expect to enjoy new ways of leisure, shopping, weddings and touring here and there. Every single penny became so important that one could not expect to lose or waste anything. However, the times were not for saving but for mass consumption. These conditions convinced banks to appeal to the middle class people of Khairpur to avoid spending too much money and to invest in the banks.

Money acquired a new social value and became a source of expressing feelings of happiness and entertainment. Consider the middle class weddings which developed as a

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<sup>43</sup>See advertisement, 'Back to School comforts', *Herald*, (Karachi: August 1978).

new form of entertainment and socialisation.<sup>44</sup> People attended weddings to interact with each other and exchange their feelings of happiness. These feelings were associated with their dress made of *boski*,<sup>45</sup> silk or cotton cloth, watches, handkerchiefs, cameras and pens especially Piano ball points which they hung in their front pockets of their shirts. They discussed their attitudes, behaviours, experiences and success stories of middle class officers and debated political issues.

In fact, middle class women found the weddings an opportunity to show off wealth. These social ceremonies served as venues of fashion and became showcases of fashionable girls.<sup>46</sup> The girls enjoyed gossiping, singing and various activities of fun. They felt happy to show off their golden jewellery and expensive *haars* (necklaces). They also liked to be seen and considered by the parents of the boys in order to arrange marriages.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the boys had also an opportunity to choose among these walking showpieces in the weddings. Thus, the weddings were an excellent opportunity to watch colourful scenes of middle class beauty and to enjoy social mixing of people.

However, the most amusing part of the wedding was foods especially *zarda* and *pulao*<sup>48</sup> served to the guests. The government put a ban on the illuminations, decoration and these foods to decrease the expenses incurred on these social ceremonies. People were allowed to serve only soft drinks. However, in Khairpur, this decision was not accepted by people and they continued the traditional way of celebrating weddings. These weddings had already become commercialised in the 1970s. However, from the 1980s, catering shops mushroomed in the towns of Khairpur. These catering shops offered all decoration materials including tents and grocery used in these weddings on the rent-basis.

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<sup>44</sup>Zaidi, Sajeda, 'From Zarda Pulao to Coke Weddings', *Herald*, (Karachi: August 1980), p.32.

<sup>45</sup>The type of cloth used by affluent middle class and pen-keeping was also considered as a sign of an educated middle class in Khairpur.

<sup>46</sup>Zaidi, Sajeda, 'From Zarda Pulao to Coke Weddings', *Herald*, (Karachi: August 1980), p.32.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup>Zarda and Pulao were very common foods served in the weddings.

In addition, the custom of dowry also led to the opening of special shops which provided bride's make-up, dresses, *mehindi*,<sup>49</sup> bangles and other dowry items including tape recorders, washing machines, water coolers, grocery items, irons, pedestal fans and furniture. The shopping of these dowry products also entertained the parents of the bride. They also tried to spend as much as possible on the purchase of these products in order to save themselves from community criticism. These products were shown to people on the day prior to wedding in order to hear admiration. Every product was shown to public with announcement of names of bride's relatives who contributed to the collection of dowry in order to recognise them.

Nevertheless, everyone could not afford to give everything expected or demanded from the boy's side. Hence, the social custom of dowry became a headache for the parents of bride.<sup>50</sup> This social evil became an obstacle in the establishment of marital relationships. Most parents having lower-incomes were unable to marry their daughters just because they could not raise enough dowry and thus faced community criticism.

### **Education and Self-improvement**

Education was an important aspect of middle class consciousness. It helped middle class people to improve their physical and social conditions. Gaining education was an expression of consciousness in their social attitudes and behaviours. In the 1960s, the educational administration was divided into two subdivisions in Khairpur under the control of the District Inspector of Schools. In 1959 there were 526 primary schools and 8 middle schools where 24,163 students were registered. In the year 1967-68 the number of primary schools increased from 526 to 775 and of middle schools increased from 8 to 33.<sup>51</sup> Before the 1960s there was no opportunity for girls to gain an education,

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<sup>49</sup>Mehindi (henna) was used to colour hands and feet of bride and bridegroom.

<sup>50</sup>Zaidi, Sajeda, 'From Zarda Pulao to Coke Weddings', *Herald*, (Karachi: August 1980), p.33.

<sup>51</sup>Ahmed, Rafique Agha, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.186.

but in the late 1960s, 64 primary and 3 middle schools for girls' education were established.

In order to improve the quality of education, two centres of training were established in Khairpur. The Education Extension Centre at Khairpur imparted training not only to the teachers of Khairpur but also to the teachers who came from the Hyderabad, Quetta, and Kalat division to get training in English, mathematics, science and social studies.<sup>52</sup> The subject of social study was the study of an introduction to society, history politics, economics and geography. The number of High schools was also increased considerably from 8 in the late 1950s to 12 in the late 1960s. A brief description of these schools highlights the growing importance of education in Khairpur.

Figure 6 Government Naz High School Khairpur



Source: Photo by author

These schools imparted free education to middle and lower class students. The most important school was Naz High School, named after Mir Ali Nawaz Talpur, the then ruler of the state. It was established in 1906 on the lines of Aligarh in India. This school became a high school in 1916. In the 1950s a new campus was constructed and it

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<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p.189.

covered 94 acres of land in the heart of the city. In the 1960s the school was converted into a pilot secondary school and emerged as the biggest single-shift school in West Pakistan with the enrolment of more than 1300 students.<sup>53</sup>

In addition, a new Comprehensive School was established at Faizabad colony with modern facilities. The school had a science laboratory equipped with scientific tools of learning. The school also had a library, hostel for 200 students' accommodation, technical workshop, swimming pool and playground.<sup>54</sup>

College education was also growing in Khairpur. There were two colleges in Khairpur, Mumtaz College for boys and another college for women. The classes for the Women's College started in Girls' school in the evening and later shifted to ladies' club in 1965. A Girls' students union was formed to improve social networking and to arrange functions, debates and quiz competitions. This union also encouraged athletics and arranging *Meena* bazaar.<sup>55</sup> These programmes became a good source of leisure and enjoyment for girls of middle class families. From the 1950s, these schools played a significant role in the formation of an educated middle class in Khairpur. In the decade of the 1980s the establishment of a university proved to be the greatest milestone in middle class education in Khairpur. It was founded in 1976 as a campus of University of Sind and became an independent university in the 1980s.

The basic aim of gaining education was to maintain and improve oneself and one's position in society, not to acquire knowledge or indulge in a love for learning. For this middle class, thus education was seen as crucial to the successful pursuit of their social position (PSP) in Khairpur. Therefore, in this section, the middle class will be considered for its commitment to the pursuit of improving its social position through education. Arguably, the institutionalisation of education facilitated the process of

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<sup>53</sup>Ahmed, Rafique Agha, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.187.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p.188.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, p.192.

social reconstruction and change through self-improvement. Education stimulated the desire for self-improvement and created consciousness in the middle classes. It is evident from the following story. The story, '*Shori ja angal*' (The desires of girl), was published in the Sindi middle class magazine *Mehran*.<sup>56</sup>

Unlike the play<sup>57</sup> this story is about an individual girl who gained an education and improved her ability to achieve freedom and to challenge the age-old customs of society. Through education her attitude towards society changed and she became conscious of her natural and new social rights including freedom of expression.<sup>58</sup> The aim of this story was to create awareness about the social problems which the writer observed in society. He comes with a solution through education which he believed to be a main factor of social change. Education not only broke the culture of silence but also echoed a voice against these problems which water-logged the social soil.

This story about a girl, thus, is the true expression of self improvement and consciousness created by education, which had no fear of community criticism. By using inductive reasoning, the author further argued that education was the only way to identify oneself and to become conscious of one's own position in society. There was a great lesson for the educated middle class in this story, that when they would really become conscious through education, then the change in the old system would become inevitable. Only conscious middle class people could take firm decisions and demonstrate commitment and determination for achieving visionary goals disregarding community criticism. However, individual self-interest and personalisation of material gains damaged the collective cause of the Sindi middle class. It created feelings of envy and disunity among the Sindi middle class people even as they strove for social and economic rights.

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<sup>56</sup>Abassi, Najam, '*Shori ja Angal*', *Mehran*, Vol.36, No.4, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1987), pp.139-143.

<sup>57</sup>The play *shopping* demonstrated the middle class intent to maintain and improve the level of life under difficult financial conditions of low income earners or the beginners of middle class life.

<sup>58</sup>New rights were guaranteed by the constitution of Pakistan 1973.

The story was about how the girl became conscious of her social position after gaining a higher education. It also described how education empowered a girl to face community criticism confidently. The heroine of the story was born to the middle class family of a motor garage owner who supported her to gain an education.<sup>59</sup> When their daughter had completed her primary education, she desired to continue to study, first in high school and then in the college of higher education. She worked very hard to get through her BA examination. In fact, she became the only person in her family to gain an education.

Education brought about changes in her way of thinking and consequently in her lifestyle. For instance, she dressed herself in the latest styles, such as the half sleeve shirt and sandals. In addition, she did not wear *dupata*, which infuriated her mother. Her mother did not like her daughter gaining an education, but could not do anything about it. The girl also participated in extra-curricular activities such as politics. This helped her to develop her public speaking skills. With her education and experience in public affairs she was able to get a job in a private firm as a secretary to the head of the company. Taking this decision was very difficult for her because her mother was opposed to her doing a job along with male colleagues. Her mother created a hue and cry, complaining that she was disrespecting the family honour by working even though she did not need a job to support herself financially. For the mother, women taking a job outside the home were committing a sin.

However, the daughter boldly faced community criticism and decided to go ahead with her job.<sup>60</sup> The job gave her a feeling of independence and self-sufficiency and increased her confidence. However, after some time she became an active member of a political party. She mobilised people and created social consciousness. These activities

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<sup>59</sup>Abassi, Najam, 'Shori ja Angal', *Mehran*, Vol. 36, No.4, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1987), pp.139-143.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*

made her mother angry, and she even attempted suicide because she did not dare to face community criticism. The heroine organised social networks and formed a group of volunteers who helped other women through difficult times. This group also encouraged and motivated uneducated women to send their children to school. Eventually the time came when the heroine was asked by her parents to marry. This was a real test. Her parents tried to find a good proposal for her because they believed that they had every right, according to locally prevalent social customs, to find a partner for her. The men within their extended family did not want to marry her solely because they were less educated than she was, or even totally uneducated and so were afraid of being outshone by her cleverness, intelligence and confidence. This was also a result of her mother's propaganda against her daughter which created misperceptions about the character of the girl.

Nevertheless, a proposal of marriage came from a prominent landlord who was already married and had four children. The landlord saw her during her social work at his village. He tried many tricks but failed. Finally he found that the marriage was only solution to net the fish.<sup>61</sup> The parents of the girl were very happy to hear from an elite family. When the heroine knew this she spoke loud and clear. Consider her eloquent way of responding to her parents; 'I don't like this proposal and I do not accept it. I don't intend to marry at this time. I will choose my partner myself no one has a right to do it for me. People marry their girls to Holy Quran, But, I will marry to my goal of life. If you will force me I will not attempt to commit suicide like many timid girls do. On the contrary, I will kill the parents who force their daughters to marry against their wishes. I will also kill the *mullah* who performs *nikah* and the person who wishes to marry without getting my consent.'<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>There were many techniques including marriage proposal to persuade a girl to enter into a relationship. This was known as an art of fishing.

<sup>62</sup>Abassi, Najam, 'Shori ja Angal', *Mehran*, Vol. 36, No.4, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1987), pp.139-143.

This kind of audacity was needed in order to smash taboos and create an atmosphere of social change so as to root out the last vestiges of feudalism and exploitative bureaucracy. These individual stories can thus be used to construct a bigger picture of what the middle class was aspiring to be.

Education acquired importance in the life of people. Thus, it became one of the important determinants of class formation. The motivation for education came from the expectations that education would raise an individual's overall ranking in society. However the commitment to attainment, and the gap between effort and ambition largely depended on the quality of socialisation which differed from class to class. The educated middle class family was not only a source of inspiration but also it was in position to guide its children where to go and how to go for achieving ambitious way of life. The process of socialisation was to be influenced by external and internal environment of learning which shaped the personality of learners. These two environments also influenced the nature of attitudes towards education. The internal environment within the family was narrowed by limited experiences of life, while the external social environment provided a bigger picture of education in society. One important aspect of the bigger picture was schooling. The choices for schooling also represented the class ambitions and class interests in Khairpur where education became an important channel for supply of educated middle class members.

In the 1960s, the middle class people who went to schools had ambitious plans for their lives. The most common middle class ambition was to get into government service. These ambitions were redefined after finishing general schooling and going for further specialised higher education including medical, engineering, technical, agriculture, commerce, and other fields of natural and social sciences. These fields significantly contributed to the formation of professional middle classes. However, every ambitious person had a different story to tell about his or her experience and the

impact of education on his or her life followed by the completion of education. Most of the learners felt, as we shall see, that education changed their life. In order to understand the role of education as an important channel of social mobility, we shall examine the experiences of learners.

Mansur's grandfather was settled in the village Moor Jhabar a small village in the *Katcha* areas of Khairpur. In this village life was uncertain because the cultivation of crops was dependent on flood water. There was always a danger of heavy floods which could ruin the villages. These unstable conditions of life pushed the family to migrate towards the *Pakka* areas of Khairpur. Thus, Abdul Rahman the father of Mansur decided to settle down in the village Kingri where he cultivated the land of the local landlord. Abdul Rahman worked very hard to improve the conditions of his family. He encouraged and supported his son to get education. Mansur completed his six classes in a local school at Hadal Shah and then went to high school to complete his eight classes. Mansur attended the schools regularly and he did his homework while sitting in the shelter of the trees. After attending his school and finishing his home work he also gave his father a hand in cultivation. In the 1960s Mansur decided to migrate from the rural areas to the township of Khairpur to give his children good education. Mansur believed that he would not be able to improve social status of his family without migrating from the village to the town. However, for him 'the real value of education was as the main source of political consciousness.'<sup>63</sup>

It was education which enabled him to enjoy respect in society and helped him to understand politics. He actively participated in the movement for the rights of farmers. This was his mission in life. He was one of the chief organisers of *hari* movement in Khairpur. Education not only increased his confidence in his mission but also improved his public speaking and other aspects of his personality. Thus, he was able to perform an

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<sup>63</sup>Interview with Mansur Mirani (Political worker), Khairpur: May 06, 2011.

active role in the politics of farmers. During the days of martial law imposed by Ayub Khan political activities were banned. However, the organisers of the movement carried out their political activities in a secret manner.

The local organisers of the movement were unable to meet publicly. Thus, they chose to see their co-workers in the main hotel situated in Khairpur town. Bahlaj the owner of the hotel was pressurised by security agencies to disallow political gatherings and later he was arrested by the police on the charges that he was working for India and organising conspiracy against the state. Thus, the hotel remained closed following these allegations. These activities of the movement now shifted from the hotels to *maikhana*<sup>64</sup> where political activists continued their mission for the rights of farmers. Therefore, these difficulties could not prevent political workers from struggling for farmers. The commitment and political consciousness of political workers was an outcome of education. Thus, Mansur strongly believed that the political consciousness was the only weapon which could be used to dismantle feudalism.<sup>65</sup> For him the aim of education was not earning a degree to get a prestigious job but spreading political consciousness. Thus, he preferred to live a life as political activist rather than live as the follower of landlords or other influential persons.

However, his political activities were not at the cost of family improvement. He continued to encourage his children to get a good education. His elder son earned a law degree and became a civil judge. One of his two other sons got a job in the Siemens company and his younger son went to Sydney University to study democracy. Among his three daughters, the elder one studied for a master's degree in computer science and opened an English medium school in Khairpur. His daughter was able to get a scholarship to study for a PhD in mathematics. His younger daughter became a lecturer

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<sup>64</sup>The *maikhana* is a place where people normally meet, drink and enjoy folk or Sufi music. It gave a space to like-minded people to exchange their views in a free manner without any legal or social restrictions. This was one of the important sources of public sphere in Khairpur. In some aspects it resembled with pub of England. The visitors of this place were called as *mawalis* (drinkers).

<sup>65</sup>Interview with Mansur Mirani (Political worker), Khairpur: May 06, 2011.

in commerce through the Public Service Commission examination. Thus, education greatly contributed to the success story of a middle class family which was migrating from one place to another in search of better economic conditions of life in the early 1950s but the later decades proved that education and middle class life go together in Khairpur.

Educational opportunities attracted newcomers to Khairpur towns. The schools of Khairpur were ranked among the best schools. There was no institution in the entire country from Karachi to Khyber which could compete with Khairpur's Naz High School.<sup>66</sup> It offered advanced learning opportunities. There was a science laboratory where scientific tools and machines were made available to encourage learning through observation and experiments. For example, to learn about the early source of energy – steam, which paved the way for industrial revolution, a steam engine was made available in the laboratory. This engine helped students to learn about how steam energy could be converted into mechanical energy which moved the locomotives and steam boats. Thus, scientific knowledge helped the students to develop their thinking and observations based on scientific rationality. Developing objectivity as a key criterion for scientific investigation liberated young minds from superstitious beliefs and increased the acceptance of technological innovations in a traditional society.

Good quality education enabled many entrants from Khairpur to achieve higher positions in civil service, judiciary and politics. The incumbents however, assert that their teachers greatly contributed to the success of students. The teachers trained their students to become useful members of society. Riaz asserted that the teachers not only taught them the prescribed course but also 'polished and enabled them to cope with the new world without fear and arrogance.'<sup>67</sup> Riaz was one of the students who studied in Naz High School in the 1960s. He came from Rawalpindi to live with his father in

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<sup>66</sup>Interview with Malik Riaz (Engineer), Islamabad: April 14, 2011.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*

Khairpur. His father was working in the Rangers department in the 1950s. After completing his matriculation in what he called a 'unique school' he continued his education in Mumtaz College for two more years before joining university education in mechanical engineering followed by his career in Pakistan and abroad. However, he still had a romantic attachment to Khairpur. When asked whether he would prefer to live in London or in Khairpur, he opted for the latter.<sup>68</sup>

## **Part 2 Middle class consciousness in action**

This section of the chapter deals with middle class consciousness which came into action as a result of middle class experiences of interactions with elite classes in rural and urban parts of Khairpur.

### **Middle class principles and Self-interest**

In Khairpur, middle class relations with the upper class remained far from friendly. However, their economic and social inter-dependence was a major binding force. The middle class, however, could not take full advantage of its role and was unable to negotiate its due share in resources. The middle class people were also unable to provide an alternative leadership, because of their inability to negotiate their position with elite class people, and they resorted to compromising their principles. Thus, they were vulnerable and weak. They were easily exploited by the upper class party leaders, bureaucrats, and elite groups. The compromises the middle class entered into were a result of their attempt to join the upper class. But the elite class did not mix socially with them, precisely in order to retain its separate identity.<sup>69</sup> This kind of relationship between the two classes was established by the way they described themselves through their attitudes.

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<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup>Interview with Mansur Mirani (Political worker), Khairpur: May 06, 2011.

Middle class men were flexible in doing away with so-called middle class values as compared to those of the upper class. Their commitment to the principles of life such as simplicity, serving humanity, helping the poor, did not last for long. These principles were relegated to slogans when some middle class men were able to get material means of access to the upper class life. Thus, for them, these principles were no longer meaningful. Their class-commitments were like promises made by a politician with the voters of his constituency before an election, which were of course never fulfilled upon winning the election. The ship of middle class ideology so loaded with lofty ideas and middle class values, was sinking under the weight of self-interest. This practice put the common interest and group identity of the middle class in danger.

During the process of self-improvement through education, the educated middle class individual had a vision for change and ideas to translate that vision into reality, but after he became a part of the elite-made system, the seepage of SPC into his life began to exert a stupefying effect. The things about the system he disliked during the earlier process now became the new order of his life. Most civil servants for example had rural, middle class backgrounds when they joined the elite services. But, after doing so, they forgot their middle class values. Consider the following short story about interaction between middle class and upper class individuals. This story offers glimpses of middle class individual attitudes and their lack of commitment to values.

The heroine of this story had painful experiences while working with an educated middle class man.<sup>70</sup> She was surprised to see that middle class people did not keep their commitment to their goals and middle class values. At the same time, the heroine noted that their attitudes towards women's freedom never changed, even after they were able to get material success in their lives. However, material gains did not matter to her. What she believed in were the ideals and values of life. She was an educated social

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<sup>70</sup>Sidiqui, Rana Shafique, 'Adarsh', *Mehran*, Vol.27, No.3, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1978), pp.62-72.

worker and did not approve of people whose values underwent a change after they acquired wealth and prestige. She loved neither the face nor the body of a person, but instead she loved his ideas for bringing change in society by doing social work. When she realised that her friend, who belonged to a middle class family, was backing out from his ideas, she decided to part ways.

Shireen and her friend studied at the same university and worked together for the uplifting of the people who were affected by the floods. Shireen belonged to the upper class and her mother owned a beauty parlour. Her mother wished her daughter to take charge of the parlour after the completion of her studies. But, Shireen did not aspire to a life of luxury. She enjoyed helping the poor and serving human beings generally. These attitudes brought her close to her co-worker Shafqat. In her vacations she preferred to do some social work. She chose to work in the rural areas where she helped flood-affected people. Before leaving for relief work, the team was preparing goods to take to the people affected by the heaviest floods. Her co-worker Shafqat was packing the relief goods. She came to join the relief team but was surprised to see him so angry and thus she asked: ‘What happened Shafqat? Why are you so angry?’<sup>71</sup> ‘What didn’t happen, do you know anything? *Not people but beasts are living here..... Animals..... Cannibals*’<sup>72</sup> he replied angrily. ‘Do you want to know who is cannibal? You..... Your class bloody opportunist, your mind is small but belly is too big. Look at this list of blankets, there were 200 blankets out of them 150 were already taken away by bureaucracy.

These 200 blankets were even not sufficient for children who were facing cold in the open.’<sup>73</sup> Shafqat continued. Shireen gazed at him silently for a moment.

However, she did not mind, and tried to read the situation and boldly gave hope to the entire team. Momentarily, she hesitated, then once again tried to make Shafqat

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<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, p.64.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, p.65.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*

understand what the reality of the situation was. She told him that he would be behind bars if he tried to argue with the bureaucracy. Shafqat once again advised her that she could leave the feeble mind of her class at home before coming to work. 'I am thinking of your future; you would become the wife of some thick, dull and bald government officer.' Then he told her the additional features of bureaucrats. They were always dissatisfied and their faces reflected their dissatisfaction. May be she would get a degree in social work and preside over some women's association, or organise *Meena*<sup>74</sup> bazaar. This was the expression of his emotions and sentiments about the bureaucratic red tape and corruption. At the same time he was trying to keep Shireen aware of the fact that she would not be able to participate in any meaningful social work, except to preside at social meetings, being a part of the upper class housewives' way of life. Shireen enjoyed his colourful speech, even while she resented him for taking her to be a stereotypical upper class girl.

Nevertheless, she broke the silence and emphatically argued: 'Why do you perceive me as a timid girl? Do you know something? It is my 'timid class' that provide your class, a leadership. It is the leaders of elite class who create a movement among you people.'<sup>75</sup> In other words, Shireen's provocative argument was basically a criticism of her friend's comments on her 'timid class.' As a matter of fact, she did not deny the existence of the middle class as a political entity, but still she doubted its ability to provide a leadership. However, Shireen was happy to help poor people and now she was thinking about her aim in life. She believed that one day she would be able to bring a positive change in the lives of socially neglected people.

After finishing relief work the team returned back and once again everyone became engaged in the preparations for the examination. After some time, Shireen was really surprised to see that Shafqat was in a completely different state of mind. She was later

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<sup>74</sup>A bazaar for temporary shopping to sell goods for the benefit of the poor.

<sup>75</sup>Sidiqui, Rana Shafique, 'Adarsh', *Mehran*, Vol.27, No.3, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1978), p.70.

to realise that while he had presented himself as progressive in his ideas, but actually Shafqat had the same mentality that the bulk of the people had. 'Shafqat you are looking so happy'<sup>76</sup> she inquired one day.. 'Yes I am happy. I have got a government job.' Shafqat replied happily. 'But, what kind of job? Shireen asked. 'I have been appointed as an editor of the magazine for the government department,'<sup>77</sup> he said, 'The job was the result of the influence of my friend's father who is a high level government officer. Isn't it good? You know social work is nothing and how it is hard for me to pass Public Service Commission's examination for a good position.'

Shireen saw that Shafqat was now completely changed. He forgot his own principles and jettisoned what he trumpeted during his student life. She realised that it was easy to discuss the problems faced by humans and difficult to achieve lofty ideals. 'It is a good job. I am lucky to have it easily.... bungalow, car and office. I don't like a student life any more' he said. Shireen wished him *mubarak* for his new job and started on her way. He stopped her. 'Why are you not happy? Look, it is good for both of us; now our common goal [to get married] is just in front of us. 'But Shafqat, previously your aim was something different.' Shafqat laughed, and said, 'My aim at present is of course different from that of my past. 'When I see my past I laugh at my foolishness. Anyway you like me no matter what I do.' That is where you are wrong,' said Shireen. 'My aim is not any man. Your present values are different from my values of life therefore, we have now parting ways. No hard feelings.'<sup>78</sup>

After a few days she got a letter from her mother in which she was told about a marriage proposal from Aslam the deputy commissioner. Aslam and Shafqat both belonged to the same category. They both shared the same kind of thinking. This is what Shafqat had disliked during the process of self-improvement. But after his joining

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<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, p.71.

the so-called system of public service, he abandoned the ideas of change in society and focused on getting the most he could out of the extant system.

This system tried to protect the status quo by creating hurdles in the path of social and economic change. Perhaps it was not the fault of the system, but the mentality of the classes, which drove it. The middle class people easily criticised the system not with the sense of bringing change within it but to get a share in the benefits it could offer them by going through the main gates or even through the backdoors known to every educated middle class individual.

For instance, the Khairpur middle class doctors, lawyers, teachers and journalists became strangers to their own ideas of change. The medical student taking a course in medical college expressed his concerns about the poor health conditions in the district hospital but never fulfilled the promises to change it. Similarly, teachers during their student life disliked the state of education in colleges and schools, but most of them did not show a strong commitment to their profession. Similarly, the majority of lawyers were engaged in making money and denied relief to innocent poor sections of society.

Therefore, one of the basic problems of the middle class people, as also expressed in this short story, was their lack of commitment.<sup>79</sup> In consequence, their ideas were more or less like tea, simmered to boiling point by the cruel acts of the powerful segments of society that rapidly cooled down, when poured into the saucers of the system. The heroine of the story, Shireen, was a student who always helped poor people and tried to help in bringing about social change. She lived very simply and did not spend too much money on shopping or any unproductive works. When her mother gave her a *sari*<sup>80</sup> as a gift she was surprised because it was not important for her to wear an expensive *sari* of rupees 5000. She was committed to her principles and did not change, but her middle class friend was just waiting for the opportunity to become a part of the affluent social

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<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.62-72.

<sup>80</sup>The dress worn by elite class women in Sind.

club in order to disown his past heritage, including the altruistic culture and values he was fond of professing allegiance to during his student days. His feelings prior to landing his government job were only the result of frustration caused by being on the wrong side of the economic divide. The case was the same with the majority of middle class men and women who talked more about change but in reality were not at all sincere about promoting it. Thus, Shireen in the story and many countless people in real life were discouraged and disheartened by the representation of pseudo-identity in middle class culture.

Thus, one of the main reasons for the inability of the false prophets of change to reorganise the system was their self-interest. This was their only criterion for analysing and judging the world around them. They were looking for the society which fitted in with their model of achieving their own interests. When they achieved burgher status by having a bungalow and car and a good position in the civil services or in business, they began to forget their old progressive principles. However, some of them did not leave their ideologies and stood for their principles. They began to provide leadership in many fields of social life in Khairpur. These middle class men and women led the change in sectors including education, politics, and the social services to inspire social consciousness.

### **Middle class and Political system**

In addition to the inherent deficiencies of the Sindi middle classes, the post-Partition political environment was unfriendly for Sindis to become a strong political force. The structure and culture of the political system was unsuitable for achieving their political aspirations. The awareness among Sindi middle class regarding the feudal dominance and flaws in election system was created even before the Partition. This was also mirrored in the poetry. Consider for example famous poet of upper Sind Abdul Karim Gadai. He warned the farmers to beware about tricks applied by landlords in order to

buy their votes. He said that the landlords compelled by circumstances could offer them 'green notes' (money) but he appealed to farmers that they should not accept them. He also suggested to them to escape from the nets of 'old hunters.' The poets of people greatly contributed to the awareness among masses.<sup>81</sup> However, the use of notes for votes was continued and the new skills of manipulation were used even after the creation of Pakistan.

The Sindi middle class in post-Partition Pakistan was squeezed into small towns and the space in big cities which was created by Sindi Hindus who left for India was filled by Muslim migrants from India. These migrants largely occupied big cities of Sind including Karachi—the then capital of Pakistan. Thus, they were able to get better educational and employment opportunities in the capital of new country than their native competitors. They were also patronised by state under the policy of military regime (1958-1969). The migrants benefited from the economic policies of the military regime. Thus, Mohajirs were able to get a larger share than their supposed proportional representation. Although in the early 1970s migrants constituted less than 8 percent of population yet, they held 33 percent of the higher positions (Grade 17 and above) in the elite civil services.<sup>82</sup> The Mohajir community also dominated the business and industrial enterprises. They were also over represented in military bureaucracy. Out of the top 48 positions in the armed forces migrants captured 11 positions in comparison with Sindis who held not one of them.<sup>83</sup>

Thus, the over representation of migrants in civil and military bureaucracies and their dominance over private business favoured the process of the formation of their politically viable middle class. This class could bring a lasting change by allying with other growing middle classes of country. These classes could also extend support to the

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<sup>81</sup>Interview with Mansur Mirani, (Political worker), Khairpur: May 06, 2011.

<sup>82</sup>Kennedy, Charles, H., 'The Politics of Ethnicity in Sind', *Asian Survey*, Vol.31, No. 10, (University of California Press: October 1991), p.942.

<sup>83</sup>Tahir, Amin, *Ethno-national Movements of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors*, (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Sciences, 1988), p.82.

growing Sindi middle class in their struggle against feudalism. Theoretically, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) claimed itself as political party of middle class but it became increasingly 'ethnicised in composition and outlook.'<sup>84</sup> Its policies obfuscated the party position on various political issues the rural Sindi grappled with. The classic example was the water dispute between the Punjab and Sind. Although both communities live and die on the same soil and share the river, they still did not share the responsibility to protect Sind interests collectively. The exclusion of Sindi interests from its politics was the main cause of unpopularity of the party in Sindi majority cities, towns and villeges.

In addition, the MQM was also unable to unfold its image crisis. From the point view of its opponents MQM has significantly contributed to the rise of gun culture, incidence of theft, blackmail, assassination of the political opponents and intimidation which have exacerbated the law and order situation in big cities of Sind.<sup>85</sup> Thus, neither MQM nor Sindi nationalist parties, which were often blamed by their critics as foreign agents, could transform themselves to attract the majority of Sindi middle classes. They were not able to become an alternative political choice for voters to counter the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). The Peoples Party was established in the late 1968 as a main stream political party. The image of the party as democratic and moderate political force emerged shortly after the conduct of 1970 elections. However, it shared the same blame, which is often put on political parties of Pakistan, that it was internally undemocratic and lacked moral power to resist dominance of feudalism.

The most significant problem of the political system of Pakistan was that the leaders of major political parties were selected rather than elected in a democratic way. Their candidacy was normally based on wealth and political influence rather than leadership

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<sup>84</sup>Talbot, Ian, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2005), p.46.

<sup>85</sup>Verkaaik, Oskar, *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban violence in Pakistan*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p.56.

skills and university training. The candidates of the main political parties including Peoples Party, Muslim League, and Islamic parties, came to rule, dominate and enjoy power in unchanged system. There was no academy to teach future managers of country the politics for the collective good of society. Thus, the inability of the political system to give middle classes a reasonable place in the management of political affairs explained its failure to bring a positive change in the ramshackle structure of political institutions.

Thus, the continuing dominance of feudalism in Pakistan's political culture has favoured political chicanery and patronage over the democratic preferences of the middle classes. The factors include 'cost of electioneering, weak party organisations and emphasis on social influence in vote winning has limited the pool of candidates to the legislatures to some 400 families.'<sup>86</sup>

The scenario outlined above offers a pessimistic view of the political spectrum shaped by the forces unleashed by process of accommodation and conciliation between interests of feudalism, bureaucracy and industrial imperialism. The inchoate nature of Sindi middle class political activism was directly linked to the failure of political parties to manage the middle class expectations. For instance, the policies of PPP have remained less concerned to take care of middle class interests, indeed, sometimes the objectives of the party have seemed inimical to Sind interests. This sense of deprivation drew them closer to the advocates of Sindi nationalism. Some sections of middle class have supported nationalist parties on the political issues ever since the rise of Sindi nationalism in the form of campaign against the abolition of One Unit scheme.

However, in the electoral politics the major support of middle classes was consumed by Peoples Party which was largely led by feudal lords---the bitter enemies of the Sindi middle class. The party leadership hijacked by undemocratic feudalism failed to initiate

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<sup>86</sup>Talbot, Ian, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2005), p.51.

economic policies to respond to the social, economic and political grievances of the Sindis. The nationalist parties such as Jeay Sind, Sind Tarqi Pasand Party and Awami Tahrik did not believe in participation in elections. Thus, the PPP has greatly benefited from a voting environment without rivals. Nevertheless, the change in the policies of nationalist parties in favour of electoral politics will undermine the performance of PPP in future.

### **Middle class values and the Elite civil service**

The Central Superior Service of Pakistan (CSP) was the official name of the elite civil service, socially known as ‘conscious of social position’. It was a chief source of SPC mentality bureaucrats. The deputy commissioners appointed in Khairpur since the 1950s belonged to this group. They were conscious of their status and this was clearly demonstrated by their use of the signs of social power. The badges and designation signs such as vehicle plates and house and office door plates identified them to society. These were signs of administrative power and social and political influence in the society. These signs also reminded them that they were distinct from the others and they were a superior species of human beings. The common people could enter the holy places in search of God, but were unable to go into their office without prior permission. These civil officers had an army of assistants who worked only for them. They were served everywhere by their assistants. Their assistants were as obedient as the disciples of the Sufi *pirs*<sup>87</sup> who were supposed to be in the hands of their masters like a corpse in the hands of the washer of the dead.

Thus, these superior officers had to do nothing except to sign files. In the social sphere, these bureaucrats attended only those meetings and social gatherings, which were either presided over by them or where they were invited as chief guests. But, at the arrival of the chief guest in the hall, all the middle class people stood up like soldiers in

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<sup>87</sup>*Sufi pir* in Sind is a person who guides on religious matters. It is also believed that a religious leader would be the saviour of his followers in the life after death.

the army and they rushed to see him and tried to get as close to him as possible in order to have a picture taken. The chief guest always came late and went early. The reason for his late coming was to keep the public waiting for him to make everyone believe that he was a very important person (VIP). Even the other professionals, such as the doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers, traders and writers were kept waiting for the guest in the hope of seeing some curious creature like a deputy commissioner. The reason behind his leaving earlier was again of a psychological nature. It was to create the impression that he was such a busy person, that he had no time for these useless activities of the middle class.

Similarly the wives of these important persons behaved in the same way as their husbands. They wore expensive dresses imported from foreign countries to impress the middle class wives. They sometimes presided at club parties and arranged *Meena* bazaars in the small towns of Khairpur. In the late 1960s the wives of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner in Khairpur were President and Vice President of the All Pakistan Women Association (APWA) branch of Khairpur. The President of the Association performed the opening ceremony of *Meena* bazaar Khairpur.<sup>88</sup> There was an industrial home established by APWA to enable needy women to work and earn some money. This organisation also opened a primary school at the *Benarsi*<sup>89</sup> colony. The wives of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner also presided at social gatherings and women's sport functions and awarded prizes to the winners.<sup>90</sup> These social activities were a source of entertainment for middle class women in Khairpur.

A keen observer of CSP wives noted that 'at the party the wives of CSPs only liked to interact with women belonging to their class and gave the impression that if they were to fraternise with the wives of engineers, businessmen or bank managers, they were in

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<sup>88</sup>Ahmed, Rafique Agha, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.232.

<sup>89</sup>The colony named after a cloth manufactured in Khairpur.

<sup>90</sup>Ahmed, Rafique Agha, *Decade of Progress, 1958-68: Souvenir of Khairpur*, (Khairpur: District Council Publication, 1968), p.235.

danger of being approached for favours.’<sup>91</sup> The upper class women derived the prefixes, titles and labels from their husband’s identity. Thus, these couples used a common identity to wield power in society. The wives had to forfeit their own identity in society and to identify themselves with their husbands,’ for instance the wife of the Deputy Commissioner (DC) was known by middle class people as Begum DC.<sup>92</sup> The Begum Commissioner at the party or a social gathering was often to be seen behaving as distinctly as if she belonged to an entirely different planet (superior world). ‘The other ladies of the middle class were like drones near the queen bee, trying to get closer to her when the camera flashed.’<sup>93</sup>

Middle class people were proud of having relations with upper class people in Khairpur. At public gatherings and meetings at village level or town level, when the people approached middle class officers regarding any problem, their response exposed their pride in having relations with superior bureaucrats or politicians. The most common problem-solving approach employed was giving a verbal reference for problem owner<sup>94</sup> who approached them in public meetings. This reference was coded in one word *salams* (regards). The problem owner needed to deliver a coded message to the concerned officer in order to get his work done. This approach was, however, limited by hierarchy and class affiliation. It crossed neither the cultural barriers of social class nor the boundaries of bureaucratic norms. Therefore, this approach was most commonly used by the officers of the same grade or members of the same social class.

The use of ink and paper to pen a reference or use of telephonic communication to help problem owner, were other methods used to solve problems. These approaches were applied according to the nature of the problem and the relationship between the problem owner and the to-be rescuer. The most common middle class problems in

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<sup>91</sup>Shareen, ‘Oh These C.S.P Wives’, *Herald*, (Karachi: May 1970), p.37.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup>Problem owner is meant as a person who faced a problem and a rescuer is meant as helper.

Khairpur included the acquisition of a certificate of domicile, admission to professional college, a job in the government sector, promotion, deputation, allotment of government owned housing, acquiring a vehicle with a government number plate. In addition, there were the granting of passports, granting of driving and weapons licences, granting of government contracts, exemption of land tax, canal clearing, water courses improvement, installation of tube wells and the establishment of schools and libraries. Most of these problems were solved with the use of the above techniques. Consider the importance of these techniques for a middle class problem, i.e. the issue of a domicile certificate.

This document was, and is yet, required for admission to higher education, as proof of address in the district. It was also required when applying for a job after completion of education. The availability of places in colleges or universities and in public services were distributed on the basis of this certificate. This certificate was issued by the deputy commissioner of the district. Getting the certificate of domicile was considered as hard as getting a job. There were commission agents who prepared documents in exchange for certain charges. The students of the lower middle class were not able to afford these charges and therefore they tried to approach other officers for help. These middle class officers did not dare to use the above techniques because they were afraid of the bureaucratic norms of power. For instance, a professor of grade 20 or a director of agriculture of grade 19 preferred to get an appointment to see the deputy commissioner of a grade 18 officer rather than to use the above problem-solving techniques.

The alternative for educated middle class officers was to communicate with office superintendents of grade 16 or lower rank employees in the office of the district elite officer imported from the Punjabi-dominated elite service.<sup>95</sup> These lower grade

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<sup>95</sup>The commissioners and deputy commissioners appointed in Khairpur from the 1950s to the 1970s belonged to the Punjabi ethnic group. They were appointed by the Punjabi-dominated establishment.

employees accepted *rishwat* (bribe) just to put up file<sup>96</sup> and to transport the file from their small tables to a big table covered with a green cloth, which was kept in front of the revolving chair of the district officer. This approach was used as an alternative choice to get work done. The same approach was also used by educated job seekers of Khairpur in the provincial secretariat as an alternative to *sufarish*.<sup>97</sup>

But, most of the job seekers belonging to the lower classes were fully exploited by some middle class individuals. For example, some of them claimed that they were close friends of the members of the National or Provincial Assemblies elected from Khairpur. They were able to extract money from lower- and middle class job seekers to help them in getting a job. Very few middle class individuals among them were genuine in their claims. However, the sale of lower jobs such as a primary teacher, peon, police constable or security guard through genuine agents of elite class ministers and bureaucrats, began to strengthen the belief of people in the twin sisters of: *rishwat* and *sufarish*. In the following decades, these social evils poisoned the ecosystem of the Sindi middle class.

This weakened the confidence of candidates. In addition, some middle class students became fatalistic and argued that as they did not have *rishwat or sufarish* there was no point in gaining a higher education; it was a waste of time and money that could be better used in the cultivation of land or any other business activity rather than in higher education. Most of the educated middle class people believed that these evils were deliberately created by the enemies of education and the rise of middle class consciousness. They were of the view that the parasitic mentality of the elite and the attitudes of bureaucracy gave a free hand to these snakes of evil to sting the merit-

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<sup>96</sup>The clerical staff developed a new kind of communication. For instance, 'to put up a file' they meant to pick up a file among pile of files and to place it on the top in order to give it priority. The word *rishwat* (bribe) was also coded as *chanh pani* (tea), *mithai* (sweets), red note (one hundred rupees currency note), green note (10 rupees currency note). These codes were used by clerical staff for demanding bribe from their visitors.

<sup>97</sup>*Sufarish* means using influence to get things done.

loving middle class.<sup>98</sup> Consider the following dialogue<sup>99</sup> between a Secretary (highest bureaucrat) and the girlfriend of an unemployed person. It clearly demonstrates the SPC mentality of high-level elite bureaucracy with enormous power, without accountability.

*Yasmin: Sir, can you help Bashir in getting job. He is really very deserving.*

*Secretary: To be an intelligent is not a big deal. The candidate needed to have sufارش or money or ..... (Secretary became silent.)*

*Yasmin: Sir Bashir is needy. I personally request you to consider him please.*

*Secretary: But only request can't work...*

*Yasmin: Sir please give at least one out of twelve jobs on merit.*

*Secretary: It means you will get order<sup>100</sup> for your cousin at any cost.*

*Yasmin: It would be your kindness.*

*Secretary: Well take my visiting card and do contact me please. In the mean time would you join me in partaking of dinner followed by watching movie somewhere?*

These corrupt bureaucrats were social butchers who slaughtered the merit and ruined the careers of many educated middle class professionals, and their red tape wounded the hopes of the common men of Khairpur. However, some middle class and lower class men, unaware of their adversaries, decorated their reception rooms with the photographs of elite people to show their relations with the upper class bureaucrats and elite class men, the same people who had no consideration for love or to honour the hospitality people offered them.

### **Middle class and the Rural-elite**

In the 1980s the middle class in rural Khairpur had bitter experiences of the rural SPC mentality. The rural elite did not want middle class people to be involved in village affairs or talk about local power-sharing. Thus, rural landlords began to use new

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<sup>98</sup>The word 'snakes' is meant *rishwat* and *sufارش*.

<sup>99</sup>Solangi, Farooque, 'Female Ward', *Mehran*, Vol.10, No.2, (Jamshoro: Sindi Adabi Board, 1978), pp. 63-68.

<sup>100</sup>The word order means job appointment.

methods to weaken the growing political power of the middle class in order to maintain their hegemony over village life in Khairpur. They created dacoits to check the growth of the affluent middle class in rural Khairpur. They used these dacoits to maintain their power and establish their authority to enforce their own systems of law and order. Their strategy was also carried out by their allies – the police and the administration. These landlords did not consider themselves merely as managers of socio-economic and political affairs, but they made the urban-elites believe that the villages and whosoever lived in these villages were their property. They further believed that they were all-powerful to decide what to do and how to do it. Nevertheless, it became impossible to exercise an all-out hegemony in the presence of a conscious Sindi middle class.

The emergence of new middle class attitudes made the local-elites worried about their power and control over society which they began to lose slowly and gradually. They were afraid that their power would be usurped by the middle classes, the power that they as landlords had acquired as a hereditary right. Nevertheless, they did not have the moral courage to confront the reality of the middle class and to oppose openly its way of life. The middle class movement for the restoration of democracy<sup>101</sup> in 1983 in northern Sind, including Khairpur, threatened bureaucratic rule and its supporters. Therefore, landlords used gangs and criminals with strong mass bases to pose a threat to middle class life. This resulted in the culture of the gun becoming endemic across contemporary Sind.

The landlords, however, were not alone in their pursuit of their aim. They had their traditional friend-bureaucracy with the same mentality of hunger for money and a thirst for power. The alliance between bureaucracy and landlords was based on mutual interests.<sup>102</sup> The bureaucracy served the interests of local elites by implementing no

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<sup>101</sup>This movement was started in the 1980s by the middle and lower class Sindis for the restoration of democracy and opposed military-based government led by General Zia.

<sup>102</sup>Hussain, Zahid, 'House of Feudals', *Herald*, (Karachi: April 1985), p.44.

change in the revenue system and giving them a free hand to manage their empires. The landlords in return promised to help the bureaucracy's favourite candidates to win elections by controlling those polling stations situated on their land. In this work of nation-building the Police also rendered valiant service. Thus, Station House Officers (SHOs) were at the beck and call of landlords at the time of elections. The landlords also gave political support to the bureaucracy and saw to it that their bureaucratic rule was established at the centre.<sup>103</sup> Thus, the policy of the coexistence of their respective spheres of power was maintained in Khairpur.

The Janus faced response of the district bureaucracy exposed its political neutrality and its ineffectiveness in dealing with a serious crisis in rural Khairpur. The police force also showed indifference to the growing rate of crime. They were supposed to protect people and their property, but most of them failed to perform their duties. The law-enforcing agencies in general, and the police in particular, turned a blind eye to the wave of crime. Police did not like to shut up their shop and stop generating money. They also benefited from dacoits' activities and post-activities arrests of innocent people for the so-called purpose of interrogation just on the basis of suspicion. They harassed the poor and innocent families, and misbehaved with and locked up women and children belonging to these innocent villagers just 'to fill in the blanks of their daily progress registers.' This treatment resulted in the multiplication of dacoits and compelled the people to take *kelashan*<sup>104</sup> in their hands.

The dacoits shared loot and plunder with the police in the form of cash and other valuable gifts for their coveted support. In addition, they enjoyed parties arranged by landlords where they would have seven different kinds of nice food and drinks including wines. These special guests were entertained with music to prove their

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<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> Kelashan was the local name of the new Russian-made gun, the Kalashnikov. These guns were smuggled from Afghanistan through the Sind-Baluchistan borders and through the Karachi-Peshawar Bus service and the highway motels.

hospitality. Thus, police left people in rural areas at the mercy of dacoits and their accomplices. However, the big achievement of the police was to change themselves both theoretically and practically. According to this new meaning of the word police, they became protectors of landlords' interests and criminal entertainers. The criminals were entertained by news and interviews from police officers about their success stories. In an interview the leader of dacoits accepted the fact that they laughed and felt amused each time they read false statements by the police published in newspapers.<sup>105</sup> The police always presented its heroic role and sometimes they ascribed failures to their tired vehicles and old guns such as World War Two rifles as compared to the modern kalashnikovs.<sup>106</sup> Thus, the police were able to produce very many justifications for their inability to catch robbers.

The dacoit's activities made the lives of the common people miserable. They kidnapped people from the towns and villages of Khairpur and disappeared like ghosts. They had a very advanced system of communication. They were well informed about their targeted man, his complete address, his engagements and the timings of his comings and goings from home or at his work place. They also had access to all of the information inside the police stations.<sup>107</sup> The majority of people in Khairpur believed that the dacoits did not operate independently. They were succoured by landlords and aided by the police. They also believed that the police knew about the hideouts of the dacoits in the *Katcha* areas of the district of Khairpur but did not take action against them. Many officials turned a blind eye to the fast growing criminal activities and the police were harassing poor people and arresting political workers.<sup>108</sup> This created doubts about the collusion of dacoits and law-enforcement agencies of the state and questions were raised by middle class people in the press about the *laissez-faire* attitude of the

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<sup>105</sup>Jafri, Sadiq, 'The only solution is amnesty', *Herald*, (Karachi: August 1986), p.61.

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup>Pirzado, Anwar, 'Dacoits or Dissidents?', *Herald*, (Karachi: November 1986), p.53.

<sup>108</sup>Ali, Ameneh Azam, 'The Rise of Dacoit Power', *Herald*, (Karachi: August 1986), p.53.

administration towards a few hundred dacoits who challenged the authority of the government.<sup>109</sup>

Against the backdrop of public pressure, an anti-dacoit campaign was launched in 1986 to flush out dacoits from the riverside areas of *Katcha*. The government sent the army into four districts— Sukkur, Dadu, Larkana and Khairpur, where the army captured Sagyoon— a strategic forest in Khairpur and other forests in the respective districts of Sind to wage a war against criminals. This action was also followed by accusing innocent villagers of harbouring dacoits. These people became the victims of harassment, violence and terror from both sides - the dacoits and anti-dacoits.<sup>110</sup> In most of the operations led by the army and the police, innocent farmers and small children were killed. No one could come to rescue these poor villagers. The women were humiliated by the law-enforcement agencies. Mothers were separated from their infants and pregnant women were forcibly dragged out of their homes and locked up in *thanas*.<sup>111</sup> Some of them gave birth to babies in jail and some of them lost their child through the shock.

These cruel activities were a consequence of the active participation of Sindis in the middle class movement for the restoration of democracy. Therefore, Sind was bleeding and Sindis were persecuted for their desire for democracy and their opposition to the joint rule of feudal, civil and military bureaucracy.<sup>112</sup> These military and police anti-dacoits were not supported by people because of their political agenda. Some of the people also accused the government of deliberately allowing the law and order situation to deteriorate in order to justify the presence of the army in some districts, including Khairpur.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, p.51.

<sup>110</sup>Pirzado, Anwar, 'Dacoits or Dissidents?', *Herald*, (Karachi: November 1986), p.54.

<sup>111</sup>Police station or prison.

<sup>112</sup>Pirzado, Anwar, 'Dacoits or Dissidents?', *Herald*, (Karachi: November 1986), p.54.

<sup>113</sup>Hussain, Zahid, 'Sind: The Untold Story', *Herald*, (Karachi: November 1986), p.45.

These conditions in rural Khairpur further made the middle class people realise that the landlords and their elite friends in urban Sind and at the centre were trying to eliminate the growing power of their class. They also became aware of the fact that social and economic institutions were dominated by elites. The failure of these institutions caused disorganisation in society in the form of a deterioration in the law and order situation which led to the migration of the population to the urban areas.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, the people who decided to stay on in the villages began to develop their own techniques to deal with criminals instead of relying on the police. They purchased weapons to defend their own villages. They did not compromise on the family honour and boldly faced the criminals. In this way the dominion of the landlords and bureaucrats over Sind was challenged.

The elites were further alarmed by the middle class social and political consciousness in cities, towns and villages. Later events such as the middle and working class reaction to the political issues including the issue of the *kalabagh*<sup>115</sup> dam indicated their political consciousness and determination to fight for their social-economic rights. The Sindi press and literary scene also became effective media of presenting middle class views on political issues. These sources (newspapers and magazines) tremendously increased the social and political consciousness of the middle class. It was evident from the fact that 'Sindi literature had disturbed political pundits to the extent that Sindi magazines were told to stop publication without assigning any reasons, Sindi books were banned, printing presses were sealed and Sindi writers and editors were thrown into jails without trial.'<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup>Kalabagh is a name of a place where the proposed dam was being constructed on the river Indus by the Government of Pakistan.

<sup>116</sup>Mahboob, Mahtab, 'Sind's political pundits are disturbed by its literature', *Herald*, (Karachi: September 1986), p.91.

These developments convinced the economically prosperous if politically insignificant middle class of Khairpur to break silence and began to show their concerns regarding political issues they collectively faced.

### **Public sphere and Middle class issues**

The private sphere was evolved during colonial India. The British allowed the private sphere to grow under policy of recognition. They allowed Muslims and Hindus to be treated according to their own religious and social doctrines.<sup>117</sup> In the same manner Khairpur state had allowed landowners to decide the local issues according to the village customs and traditions. The state did not intervene in village affairs and gave an opportunity to the landowners to develop a private sphere. The institutionalisation of political role of *autaq* in the second half of nineteenth century enabled it to become an institution of political socialisation and a centre of political power and elite-deliberations about key local and national issues. This sphere was not for public to participate in these deliberations. The legacy of private sphere continued until the development of public sphere in the second half of twentieth century. The public sphere evolved in Khairpur as a result of participation of villagers and small traders and shopkeepers in discourses at tea shops in the mid-twentieth century.

The tea hotels were institutions of their primary socialisation of discursive nature of sharing views regarding local level issues. These tea hotels provided space for public to exchange their ideas and discuss openly the matters of common interest. These hotels also became a place for settlement of local disputes which were basically shifted from *autaq* to these hotels.<sup>118</sup> Therefore, these hotels played an important role in public life.

In the late 1960s the Hydri hotel in Khairpur played a significant role in the development of public sphere in Khairpur. Its 'family room' located in the hotel

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<sup>117</sup>Ali, Amir, 'Evolution of Public Sphere in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 26, (Economic and Political Weekly: July 2001), pp. 2419-2425.

<sup>118</sup>Lashary, M. B. K, 'Sukkur Barrage: Its Impact on the Social Life of People of Sind', *Grassroots*, Vol.13 & Vol.14, (Jamshoro: University of Sind, 1988), p.82.

provided space for political activities to the political activists including the organisers of farmer and nationalist movements in Khairpur.<sup>119</sup> In addition, Firdos hotel was opened in 1970 which also opened new opportunities for public gatherings and political meetings. These two hotels attracted a large number of people in the city. Moreover, there was also open ground between these two hotels which was open for everyone, where city dwellers came to see their friends and to discuss the problems for evolving mutual consensus. This place therefore, served as Hyde Park of the public sphere in Khairpur. The public sphere was further encouraged with flourishing Sindi press and participation of educated middle class in the development of literature. In addition, people of Khairpur took part in various movements including peasantry movement which ‘demanded the half of the crop as the peasant’s legitimate share.’<sup>120</sup> They also played their political part in the anti One Unit scheme in the 1960s and movement for restoration of democracy and nationalist movement in the 1980s. This brought about radical changes in politics and mobilisation of rural masses generated an unprecedented political and nationalist consciousness.<sup>121</sup>

The impact of these social and political developments was an ability of middle class people in Khairpur and in Sind to share their views and debate the issues they faced as a Sindi middle class cultural identity at social and political levels. First, in the social sphere they were able to transform some key social issues from private to public. Among them glaring example of social issue in Khairpur and other parts of Northern Sind was an issue of honour killing and women battering. In the past even though it affected entire society it was considered as a familial issue of honour by feudal society. Thus, the state institutions did not intervene and denied it was a private matter. Local police was unable to register a case and arrest the murderer involved in honour-killing

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<sup>119</sup>Interview with Mansur Mirani (Political worker), Khairpur: May 6, 2011.

<sup>120</sup>Shafi, Muhammad, ‘Language Controversy in Sind’, *Pakistan Forum*, Vol.2, No.11 (Middle East Research and Information Project: August, 1972), p. 13.

<sup>121</sup>Hussain, Zahid, ‘House of Feudals’, *Herald*, (Karachi: January 1986), p.40.

and they left it for *sardars*, and *waderos* to decide it privately. Therefore, the power of state was being exercised by privatising of purely public matter.

The middle class writers, novelists, reporters, journalists began to condemn the old customs which were just followed by feudal society to enslave women and strengthen the feudal control over local affairs. Most Sindi newspapers targeted not only social and political issues but also highlighted gender issues. For example, a Sindi newspaper directly targeted those landowners who did not allow their daughters to get married to boys outside the family. This was because of the fear that their daughters could claim a share in their lands. It was openly demanded that the state take action against those parents and that a law be passed to protect women's rights.<sup>122</sup>

In addition, newspapers also played an important role in creating awareness among all classes of society regarding the social issues and the writers attempted to develop public opinion in the favour of reforming marriage system and eradication of social evils such as dowry. It was argued that the demand for dowry from the parents of bride was actually an attempt to demoralise her and dishonour her family.<sup>123</sup> In the 1980s these issues got further public attention and were deliberated in the public sphere. These social issues were mainly faced by women, but however, their exclusion from public sphere was again the marker of social and gender inequality.

In the political sphere Sindi middle class formed a sub-cultural group in the Pakistan society where multiplicity of publics with diverse sub-cultural identities existed. The main ingredient of which was political expression of language and culture. As a matter of fact, public sphere in Pakistan as a whole did not include voice of social silence. It can be argued that the domination of public debate by powerful groups ruled out the possibility of mixing all social ingredients to build four pillars of consensus over social

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<sup>122</sup>*Hamdard*, March 15, 1972.

<sup>123</sup>*Mujahid*, May 24, 1976.

and political realities. The cultural style of all groups participating in public arenas basically appeared as sub-cultural dominance of one group over the other.

However, these dominant cultural identities did not appear as result of diverse sub-cultural complexities but they were formed largely on the basis of unjust distribution of economic resources. Thus, the sub multi-cultures could not be a basic issue for participation of multiplicity of publics in political discourse of public sphere simply because everyone could freely express his opinion in his own cultural style using his own cultural experience of life in the backdrop of historical values. For instance Sindi middle class expression of their opinions can be differentiated with other diverse social groups. Their opinions about the issues could not be hot cakes cooked on constant temperature but exactly like bricks that were burnt at diverse temperature in a traditional chimney of politics. Moreover, the opinions also could be influenced by the interpretation of their discourses in colonial and post-colonial worlds and the understanding of problems they faced and the response they got from the strong system they were made a weak part of.

In the 1980s, Sindi middle class raised their issues and debated in the public sphere by means of printing press in their own cultural and linguistic style. These opinions about the various social and political issues did not reach at the elite-forums fairly because of ineffective representation of their thoughts and ideas by their so-called elite leaders. Their upper class leaders did not give much importance to the middle class presentation of concerns primarily because they believed that middle class people were not their social equals. The elite- forums of opinion formation and decision making represented houses of 'feudals' rather than houses of common people. They were susceptible to politics of their class interests. Fraser has rightly termed these dominant people as

*strong publics*, who were supposed to be accountable to *weaker publics*.<sup>124</sup> According to her analysis the former were not only involved in the formation of opinions but also in decision-making compared to latter who only could form public opinions and it was the responsibility of the former to translate such opinions into authoritative decisions.<sup>125</sup>

Thus, the level of representation of middle class interests and opinions was an outcome of the force with middle class participates in public sphere. In the country like Pakistan where democracy could better work with more possibilities of respecting both voices of consent to policy and the voices of dissent to the decisions. The policy-makers required assimilation of all opinion makers to be affected by policy. This could happen only when the people feel they are socially equal in the public arena. Thus, it can be concluded that participatory parity of publics is required by ‘democratic public sphere,’ which essentially depends on the social and economic equality.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, removal of social inequalities in order to develop public sphere could be insurance for democracy against military interventions in country. It could also bury poverty, deprivation, frustration, alienation and rebellion against the state. The main reason for feelings of social alienation among Sindi middle class was the denial of their cultural and social identity by dominant social groups.

## **Conclusion**

The first part of chapter 7 concludes the two ways of middle class expression of social consciousness in Khairpur. The first way considered money as a medium of expression and the second way of expression found education to be a necessary tool for social climbing. The former attached importance to money for shopping and leisure, which were also sources of expressing a ‘progressive’ life. Nevertheless, the latter gave an impression that education was gained to improve the self in order to achieve the non-

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<sup>124</sup>Fraser Nancy, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere: A contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy’, in Calhoun, Craig J. (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, (London: The MIT Press, 1992), p.134.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, p.135.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid.*, p.133.

material aspect of the desired identity. The material aspect of the desired identity of the middle class had already been expressed in the form of consumption. However, the second part of the chapter 7 summarises middle class consciousness in action.

The reason for the first expression of social consciousness in tangible form was the importance acquired by having money in Khairpur society. This was an indicator of a capitalistic trend in society. Writers also tried to educate middle class readers about the significance of money for their shopping and for other activities in life. For example the writer of the play 'shopping' stressed the social fact that lack of money could be the cause of insult. Therefore, middle class people needed to save money and avoid spending money extravagantly. In the 1960s middle class buyers had more desire than their actual financial capabilities. Nevertheless, the intention of middle class shopping was to maintain a level of lifestyle. The motivating factors for shopping also included social competition and community criticism which were of a psychological nature. The importance of money for shopping further increased with the new wave of women's fashions. Weddings became fashion shows for women and a source of leisure for middle class men. This form of entertainment also provided a space where middle class people exchanged their views and opinions about various issues.

The second mode of 'non-tangible' expression of consciousness was education. It was a significant aspect of self-improvement and expression of middle class social and political consciousness. In the 1960s, middle class boys and girls had sufficient educational opportunities. They had to attend free schools including primary and high schools situated in the city and main towns of Khairpur. In addition, Khairpur had also progressed in its college education for boys and girls. Khairpur's education provision was further progressed with the establishment of the University in the 1980s. These educational facilities offered the boys and girls space for interacting and sharing ideas.

Girls were allowed to arrange functions and encouraged by schools and colleges to organise social activities.

The basic aim of gaining an education was self-improvement. It empowered middle class educated people to free themselves from any kind of fear or community criticism.

However, the second part of this chapter deals with middle class consciousness in action through middle class values and principles. Rising middle class consciousness was an outcome of their interaction with urban and rural elites. This enabled them to develop public sphere as strong source of expression.

## Chapter 8

### **Conclusion**

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the conclusion regarding the Green Revolution in Khairpur. The second part concludes about the main issues associated with the technological change in comparison with the conclusions of previous studies dealing with these issues. The third part is concerned with the conclusions reached by this study with regard to the theoretical, cultural, social and political impact of technological change. However, the last part of this chapter shows how these conclusions are relevant to the conclusions reached by the other research studies.

### **Green Revolution in Khairpur**

The Green Revolution developed in Sind in irrigation-rich areas. Hyderabad and Khairpur participated in the process of Green Revolution. Geographically, Khairpur became the frontline region in agricultural development. It had access to irrigation supplied by perennial canals and the tube wells established by the government and cultivators. Thus, availability of adequate water facilitated the process of agricultural revolution in Khairpur region where farmers also used improved seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides for their crops. The use of these new inputs played an important role in decreasing the degradation of soil. However, this 'positive environmental effect' of Green Revolution technology in developing countries was frequently ignored by most researchers.<sup>1</sup>

Khairpur's experience of the Green Revolution concludes that the technological change enabled farmers to double their agricultural productivity. The use of new

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, Per Pinstrup, et al., 'The impact of the Green Revolution and Prospects for the Future', *Food Reviews International*, Vol.1 No.1, (Washington D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute, 1985), p.19.

agricultural inputs created enthusiasm among farmers to increase productivity in food and cash crops. The Green Revolution did not create the problems of poverty or unemployment; instead it helped to create more jobs in transportation, workshops, grain markets, shops, mechanical workshops and fertiliser agencies. Thus, the conclusion of this study corroborates the conclusion reached by Anderson.<sup>2</sup>

### **Theoretical issues in the Green Revolution**

The study has reached the following conclusions regarding theoretical issues. The conclusions of this research are divided into three sets of issues, which are given as under:

#### ***First set of issues***

With regard to the irrigation issues this study concludes that in some cases farmers argued that the Green Revolution increased the land degradation. It was blamed for degradation of soil quality. Further, an excessive use of water could damage the growing ability of the lands which previously grew other crops such as *jowar* (sorghum) and *bajhri* and some kinds of vegetables which needed less water as compared to the amount of water needed for the high-yielding rice varieties. An excessive supply of canal water to the rice growers also created a shortage of water in the areas situated at the tail-end of watercourses. Thus, there was always the danger of water disputes among farmers. The study concludes that the issue of water shortage was mainly due to inefficient irrigation bureaucracies. Nevertheless, the issue of water-logging and salinity in Khairpur was not created by the Green Revolution. It occurred much before the advent of technological change in agriculture. The problem of water-logging and salinity started soon after the opening of the Sukkur Barrage on the basis of technical

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<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p.2.

reasons.<sup>3</sup> In addition, inappropriate maintenance of canals by irrigation bureaucracy increased further the problem of water-logging and salinity.

### *Second set of issues*

The conclusion with regard to the issue of labour displacement corresponds to Randhawa's conclusion about Indian Punjab and many other conclusions reached by scholars who found that mechanisation did not displace labour. Mechanisation had a greater impact on farming methods in Khairpur, where it did not displace labour in agricultural activities. Consider for example a wheat crop where the possibility of displacement was at the time of harvesting and threshing. The Khairpur experience suggested that labour was rarely displaced by mechanisation; rather there was a shortage of labour. Mechanisation contributed to the creation of a host of non-agricultural jobs such as tractor operators, tyre and diesel shopkeepers in Khairpur. The opening of welding shops, electrical repairing, bicycle repairing, furniture-making and animal-cart making shops absorbed a considerable number of non-agricultural workers. Thus, the study also supports the argument that non-agricultural workers were benefitted from the process of non-farm diversification in village economy.<sup>4</sup>

Tractors provided cheaper farm-power and efficient methods of cultivation. The machines prepared soils in a systematic and organised way to improve land in order to achieve an objective of crop-intensity. It was found that mechanised farms had 15 percent to 30 percent higher per acre yields and crop intensities were higher than in non-mechanised farms.<sup>5</sup> The crop intensity enabled farmers to sow double, and in some cases triple, crops in a single season. In this way crop-production was increased at double.

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<sup>3</sup>See Administration Report of the Khairpur state for the year ending 31<sup>st</sup> July 1939, p.19.

<sup>4</sup>See Sharma, Rita, et al., *The New Economics of India's Green Revolution*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1994), p.254.

<sup>5</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p.79.

However, this study has also concluded that mechanisation faced several constraints in Khairpur, which were the result of policies adopted by the government to respond to the processes of technological change. These policies enabled some, if not all, big farmers to monopolise credit facilities in order to buy agricultural machines and farm implements. The first constraint on mechanisation was the importing of a variety of tractor models. There were about 30 different models available in the country. This created the problem of a shortage of spare parts and trained mechanics to fix the engine problems. The farmers continued to face these problems until the government intervened and a new policy of standardisation was introduced in the 1960s to import suitable tractors.<sup>6</sup>

The aim of this policy was to encourage importers to import suitable tractors along with the necessary spare parts. Nevertheless, tractor holders faced the higher cost of spare parts including tyres. Taking into account these issues, the commission on farm mechanisation recommended exempting tractors and other agricultural machinery and spare parts including tyres from levy of import duty or any type of tax.<sup>7</sup> The second constraint on mechanisation was the unavailability of loans to farmers. The small farmers had difficulty in acquiring loans for the purchase of crop-inputs mainly because of conditions set by the banks. These conditions were normalised to some extent in order to provide loan opportunity to small landowners. However, landless farmers were unable to benefit directly from agricultural loan schemes. They were indirectly benefitted from the schemes, if loans acquired by their landowners, were used to improve land and purchase agricultural inputs including agricultural machinery. The banks only served big landowners who benefited most from the government schemes.

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<sup>6</sup>See Chapter 4 Sources of Greater Productivity: Mechanisation, pp.147-155.

<sup>7</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Farm Mechanisation in West Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Ministry of Agriculture and Works, 1970), p. 22.

This was a deliberate effort to preserve and strengthen the feudalistic feature of land cultivation.

The third constraint was the shortage of farm-implements in Khairpur. Some manufacturers were able to supply small agricultural inputs. These were supplemented by supplies from blacksmiths and local artisans. But overall shortage of farm-implements was a real issue.

The fourth constraint was the unavailability of an electrical power supply in most of villages of Khairpur. It discouraged the farmers from installing tube wells and to benefit from this process of mechanised source of irrigation.

In spite of several issues faced by mechanisation, it can be concluded that farm mechanisation contributed significantly in expanding land under cultivation. This is evident from the data which showed that the cultivated area in Khairpur in the year 1960 was 506,368 acres, which increased to 795,000 acres in the year 1971-72<sup>8</sup> solely because of improvements brought about by farm-mechanisation.

### ***Third set of issues***

In response to the third set of issues the study reached the following conclusion: The majority of farmers engaged in agriculture were illiterate. They were lacking skills and specific knowledge related to agricultural inputs and mechanised implements. Farmers who knew about the new techniques made proper use of the technology and increased their production more than the ignorant ones. Therefore, illiteracy was a serious constraint on the use of new high-yielding varieties.

The high-yielding rice varieties were banned in some parts of Khairpur. This was justified on the grounds that they would increase water logging and salinity. This argument was given as a lame excuse for the failure to remove water logging and salinity. The powers to permit farmers to cultivate rice were highly centralised. The

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<sup>8</sup>Government of Sind, *Agricultural statistics of Sind, 1970-71 to 1973-74*, (Karachi: Bureau of Statistics, Planning & Development Department, 1975), p.10.

bureaucrats were able to favour their friends or those who offered them bribes. However, these rice varieties were also produced abundantly in water-logging free zones of Khairpur. These new rice varieties began to replace indigenous varieties which gradually disappeared from Khairpur because farmers were no longer interested in sowing these old varieties which did not promise more productivity per acre. However, the old varieties could be preserved mainly because of their unique features.

### **Impact of Green Revolution**

The study has also reached the following conclusions regarding the theoretical, cultural and political impact of the Green Revolution in Khairpur:

#### ***Theoretical debate on technological impact***

The study concludes that the benefits of technological change were distributed among all big and small farmers in Khairpur. It therefore rejects the idea that only big landowners benefited from the process of the Green Revolution. It can be further argued that the generalisation about the impact of technological change on small farmers, made by Griffin can only be applied to those farmers who owned very small pieces of land. Most farmers who were dependent on landowners for supply of crop-inputs were able to benefit from the productivity increased by HYVs. For example, in Khairpur the majority of farmers depended on their landowners who took production decisions and supplied major inputs to farmers on a credit-basis and shared the benefits of technological change with farmers. The study also suggested that landowners were treated favourably by credit agencies and suppliers of chemical fertilisers. Therefore, it reached the same conclusions as reached by Griffin who argued that the technology was neutral but supportive institutions, i.e. credit-supplier institutions and other agents for chemical fertilisers and pesticides, were often not neutral.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Griffin, Keith, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: An Essay on the Green Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1974), p. 232.

This issue was mainly concerned with the politics of policy objectives to bring institutional changes or maintaining the status quo in the agrarian system. The system recognised that landowners had the lion's share in production and therefore the policies led the technological change to widen income inequality and strengthened feudal-elements in society. Therefore, the study found fault with the land system and not with the technology. Nevertheless, the technological change enabled the larger majority of new landowners<sup>10</sup> or self-cultivators and the farmers who were dependent on landowners to increase their income and improve their living conditions. In relative terms, the income distribution varied from region to region because of variations in land management. However, in most cases the technological change contributed to higher incomes for both rich and poor farmers.<sup>11</sup>

The Green Revolution also helped in poverty reduction and provided poor farmers with an opportunity to change their social and economic conditions. Thus, the views presented by some critics of the Green Revolution that only big landowners benefited from the new technological change were simply untrue.<sup>12</sup> The Indian Punjab experience also suggested that the new technology was adopted by all small, medium and big farmers in varying degrees and they all benefitted from its fruits.<sup>13</sup>

### ***Social and Cultural impact***

One of the major contributions of technological change in Khairpur was the creation of urban culture and emergence of a consumer class. The consumption of new products in the 1960s and 1970s was driven by identity construction in Khairpur. These social and cultural pursuits reframed the lifestyles of people and enabled them to bring a

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<sup>10</sup>In the late 1960s new landowners owned 5- 16 acres of land and they engaged themselves to cultivate their land with the help of agricultural labour. The majority of farmers were dependent on the landowners who possessed lands, more than 15 acres.

<sup>11</sup>Anderson, Per Pinstrup, et al., 'The impact of the Green Revolution and Prospects for the Future', *Food Reviews International*, Vol.1 No.1, (Washington D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute, 1985), p.20.

<sup>12</sup>Randhawa, M. S., 'Green Revolution in Punjab', *Agricultural History*, Vol.51, No.4, (Agricultural History Society: October 1977), p.660.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

change in attitudes. The advertisements attracted people to consume domestic appliances, electronic goods and other products of recreation which led to the great social and cultural transformations in Khairpur.

The beginning of a new life in Khairpur started with the use of new things that became the new identities of consumers. In the late 1960s and the 1970s people were able to use electronic appliances such as radios, televisions, ceiling fans, pedestal fans, and their prices were not too high in relation to income earned by middle class families. Use of these products was an indicator of middle class life which was a major theme of advertisements. For instance the advertisement about 'Lifebuoy Soap' declared the soap as 'the new soap of new time'<sup>14</sup>

In addition, leisure, pleasure and others feelings were expressed through the medium of goods and products consumed by people. Gifts also began as a source of communication. Thus, middle class life was symbolised by consumption of brands, which became a metaphor for expression of feelings through a new medium. Take, for instance, cigarettes, which were a notable source of expression for friendship, which removed social inequalities and removed the distances between villages and cities. Middle class smokers expressed the value of friendship by smoking together with a new style and changed attitude towards friendship. This kind of attitude was clearly demonstrated by the advertisement about 'Diamond Cigarettes' which showed an exemplary friendship between the rural and urban middle class men.

Therefore, consumption helped people to bring a change in their attitudes with the use of new things and adopting new values. But still the advertisements were unable to guide their social handling of material things. The inappropriate use of these things could affect the consumer's relations within the home and outside the home. In fact, social life was unable to keep pace with the material life of consumers in terms of

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<sup>14</sup>See advertisement 'Lifebuoy', *Ibrat*, May 25, 1969.

change resulting from the use of these material things. However, these material things greatly contributed to the formation of new attitudes. Therefore, it can be concluded that the culture of consumption enabled this emerging middle class to begin to develop a collective Sindi identity. However, the individual identities of the members of the middle class were susceptible to social competition and community criticism. These two elements influenced the social chemistry of collective middle class identity.

### ***Political impact***

This study of agricultural change in Khairpur, argues that the Green Revolution greatly contributed to the political consciousness among the middle and lower classes in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Improvement of socio-economic conditions of these classes changed their social relationships with landlords, bureaucracy and other elite classes and generated new political orientations. The emergence of the middle classes and their political orientation were great political changes produced by the Green Revolution in Khairpur. The middle classes began to pose a new challenge to the system monopolised and controlled by the bureaucracy-feudal alliance. In order to contain the rise of the political middle classes, the bureaucracy and feudal lords worked out new strategies to maintain the status quo and destabilise the power of the middle classes in both urban and rural areas.

In the towns of Khairpur, the middle class experience of the bureaucracy indicated that the successors of the colonial masters tried to reconstruct the colonial image of their identities in order to create fear among people and feelings of slavery in their hearts and souls. The process of personality-replication initiated by the former only enabled them to replicate their habits and imitate their attitudes, but failed to enact the principles of political neutrality and administrative efficiency, which formed remarkably the image of colonial bureaucracy.

The reason for showing such a bureaucratic attitude towards the institutions of public importance and carrying out development was that the bureaucrats could not conceive of their power and status being overwhelmed by the results of socio-economic development. They were not ready to vacate the positions they had cleverly filled, immediately after the decolonisation of British India. They claimed that they were the real heirs to the throne and heritage of huge political and administrative power. Thus, they enjoyed the powers and unmatched privileges as an inherited right until the rise of the middle classes. Therefore, in order to respond to new changes, they demonstrated their power and influence in society in their interaction with the middle class and other lower classes. They avoided social mixing and sharing views with middle class professionals on the basis of their monopoly over power. They were not ready to share power and tried to make middle class professionals aware that they had subordinate status in society. They also believed that middle class people were not their social equals. This negated, of course, the constitutional promise for equality of all individuals as enshrined in the constitution of the country.<sup>15</sup>

However, in rural Khairpur the major impact of the Green Revolution was a change in social and political relationships. In rural areas, the middle classes were victimised by local elite-politics. The local landlords perceived the middle class as a serious threat to their power. Thus, they wove a spider's web to entrap the affluent middle class and its growing political influence. They developed a dacoit culture in Khairpur and used dacoits to squeeze the money from affluent middle class people in rural areas. They were supported in their aim by their allies: the Police and District administration. The permissive attitude of the administration towards lawlessness indicated their soft corner for criminal activities. This tripartite alliance was mainly responsible for the conditions which allowed the criminals to move freely and carry out criminal activities anywhere

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<sup>15</sup>Ebrahim, Sheikh, (Compiled), *The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973*, (Lahore: PLD Publishers 1999), p.i.

in Khairpur. This alliance was based on taking care of mutual interests of landed-elites and local bureaucracy in a number of ways. For instance, the landlords were given a free hand in the management of local affairs and in return landlords helped the favoured candidate of bureaucracy in elections. The political elites, who were elected to office with the help of landlords and bureaucracy, guaranteed the posting of their supporting officers and adopted policies which favoured feudalism and encouraged nepotism. The political representatives from Khairpur were not willing to raise the middle class issues.

This elite-strategy was striving to eliminate growing social and political consciousness in Khairpur. These forces made a common cause in order to stifle middle class expressions of consciousness and to destabilise their efforts for accumulation of public power. Thus, the new Sindi middle class faced powerful opposition in rural areas. They began to defend themselves instead of relying on the police, who danced to the tunes composed by adversaries of the middle class.

The feudal system continued try to prevent the emergence of a strong middle class political power, and to keep the farmers oppressed in order to keep them at their beck and call.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, they were unable to eliminate the growing Sindi middle class consciousness, which was carried forward by new money and growing educational achievement. But, the Sindi middle classes were yet unable to become a political force mainly because of their habit of compromise, flexibility and susceptibility to the preservation of self-interest, i.e. a good job, promotion, awards, medals, financing for foreign trips and government contracts or salary allowances. When civil servants from a middle class background gained good positions they ‘adopted and practiced the feudal behaviour and style.’<sup>17</sup> Thus, most of these middle class people preferred to gulp down the power greedily, of which they wished to sip the taste before joining the elite

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<sup>16</sup>Hafeez, Sabeeha, *Sociology of Power Dynamics in Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Book City, 1998), p.26.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

sponsored civil services. The behaviour of these *mawalis*<sup>18</sup> of power sometimes tended to the bacchanalian. They appeared to be public servants but actually they lived like *kamdars*<sup>19</sup> and enjoyed living in government residences, circuit, rest houses and riding in expensive vehicles, in some cases with green number plates and blue sirens, using public funds for private gains.

However, participation of the middle classes in the political system did not help them to develop political leadership. In the late 1960s the formation of the Pakistan Peoples Party brought a new political hope in the areas of Green Revolution to be converted into constituencies of middle class political revolution. The middle classes gave considerable support to the party. In 1970 elections two upper middle class PPP candidates from Khairpur won two seats NA 114 and NA 115 in National Assembly of Pakistan. Syed Qaim Ali Shah and Syed Abdul Qadir Shah became the members of National Assembly. They again won the seats of NA161 and NA162 seats in the elections of 1977.<sup>20</sup>

These candidates belonged to influential families. The *pirs* families had considerable influence over their devotees and *biraderis*. The high incidence of illiteracy in villages affected the voting behaviour of the rural voters. Most of the illiterate voters did not vote for the policy and programme enshrined in the party manifesto, but they believed that it was their religious obligation to vote for *syeds* who were widely respected by communities as they believed that the *syed* families originally belonged to the family of the prophet. Thus, these religious and political factors convinced the party leadership

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<sup>18</sup>The term *mawali* refers to the person who is addicted to something.

<sup>19</sup>The term *kamdar* refers to the person employed by a landowner to manage the land cultivation and to exercise various functions including solving water and land disputes. He also investigated any local issue and recommended solutions to the landowner. He was a trustworthy, loyal confidant of the landlord. His duties also included the handling of financial affairs, security and protocol arrangements.

<sup>20</sup> See Election Commission of Pakistan, Notification, March 21, 1977.

that the traditional leader was the better horse to bet on. Hence, Peoples Party allotted tickets to *pirs* and *waderos* and relied on traditional leadership.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, in provincial politics, no change was made in consideration of candidacy of old political guardianship in Khairpur. This was confirmed by the elections of 1970 which saw the following elected to the Assembly: Syed Nadir Ali Shah, Pir Haji Gul Shah, Illahi Baksh Banbhan and Mir Atta Hussain Talpur, who was elected again in the 1977 elections. The other members of provincial Assembly included Hadi Bux Larik, Qadir Baksh Mari, Pir Asadullah Shah and Muhammad Maluk Shar. Most of these members belonged to politically influential backgrounds. However, this was the disappointing factor for the educated middle classes of Khairpur. It exposed the policy of the party which differentiated Sind from the Punjab where feudalism and *biraderi* system were no more a decisive factors and hence the PPP achieved success in agricultural and industrial prosperous areas of the Punjab.<sup>22</sup> The only way to reduce the influence of feudalism and *biraderi* system was to encourage middle classes which could provide educated leaders and political platforms as an alternative political choice for people. The political empowerment of the middle class could also be used as a countervailing force to contain the rise of ethnic problems and as a vehicle to cover social and cultural distances between communities.

### **Relevance of conclusions with general point of cultural, social and political impact**

The conclusion of this study regarding the role of technological change corroborates the argument that technology played a neutral role. However, public policy and institutions favoured the affluent class of landowners. Therefore, it has been argued that the Green Revolution offered an opportunity to increase agricultural productivity and, the process, enabled participants to use resources in a productive manner. However,

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<sup>21</sup>Baxter, Craig, 'Pakistan Votes---1970', *Asian Survey*, Vol.11, No.3, (University of California Press: March 1971), p.214.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p.213.

whether this opportunity was exploited fully and how its benefits were distributed in society, was contingent on the response of public policies and institutions.<sup>23</sup>

Bureaucracy's non-positive response to social and economic changes created by the Green Revolution caused underdevelopment of rural areas and poor implementation of land reforms which enabled big landowners to remain powerful in rural areas of the country and to retain the same power and influence they possessed during the colonial period. Moreover, the elite civil service established its dominance in the same way the colonial bureaucracy had monopolised power in society. The reservation of the most important positions for members of CSP branch of elite bureaucracy in the government since 1947 clearly demonstrated their influence and monopolisation of state power.<sup>24</sup> This power was at its peak during the military government in the 1960s, when the government attempted to transform the role of elite bureaucracy 'from an agency of law and order to an agency of socio-economic change.'<sup>25</sup> The burden of an additional development in their tasks was put on the shoulders of district officers. These 'district administration gods' accepted additional power to control huge development funds with little or no accountability. However, the role of local government institutions had been negligible in the overall picture of rural development.

The bureaucracy had missed the opportunity to play a vital role in a local capacity building and training manpower in order to shift this responsibility to the local institutions. It sabotaged all efforts to strengthen rural institutions in order to preserve

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<sup>23</sup>Anderson, Per Pinstrup, et al., 'The impact of the Green Revolution and Prospects for the Future', *Food Reviews International*, Vol.1 No.1, (Washington D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute, 1985), p.2.

<sup>24</sup>The key positions were reserved for CSP officers in all government departments. For example, the posts of deputy commissioners or district magistrates were filled by members of CSP on a priority basis. In 1960 CSP officers held 30 such posts out of 53. The number of these reserved posts was even greater than the number of incumbents. The Pay and Service Commission further noted that if there were more CSP officers available, the positions for other officers would have never arisen. The commission was convinced that the 'PCS officers were used as a pis aller or inferior alternative.' The PCS officers, who were recruited by the Provincial Public Service Commissions, were less powerful and they were treated less efficient. See Government of West Pakistan, *Report of the Pay and Services Commission 1959-1962*, (Karachi: 1969), pp. 69-70.

<sup>25</sup>Jahan, Rounaq, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*, (New York: Columbia University Press), p.93.

and further increase its political influence. Moreover, district officers were blessed with administrative, magisterial, financial, political and huge discretionary powers. Because, they belonged to the superior services their prestige remained high, and their authority was accepted by all people in the district.<sup>26</sup> This provides an explanation for why the majority of CSP officers were not anxious to implement reforms which could 'radically change their status' and powerful position of their service in the country.<sup>27</sup>

The conclusions of this study regarding the polarization between classes as suggested by Grabowski and Griffin, indicates that the emergence of the middle class created a new context for social and political relationships. The middle classes were no longer ready to accept the traditional influence of feudal lords and bureaucrats. Thus, the big landowners began to use new tricks to contain the rise of the middle class. The middle classes' painful experiences of landed elites further increased political consciousness, to be converted into the political action that was needed in order to break the bones of the rural power structure. The consciousness of the Sindi middle class further developed when they began to face political issues, including water issues, discrimination in jobs at provincial and federal level, and marginalisation of Sindi middle class people in almost every walk of life, especially the top echelons of bureaucracy where the Sindi presence was scant. However, debate about issues in the public sphere was a discernible sign of political consciousness and political protests against the injustices.

This development of a public sphere was a response to the policies of central and provincial administration which turned a deaf ear to their viewpoints. Therefore, these attitudes of indifference shattered the mirrors wherein Sindis were able to see a bright picture of their future prosperity. Nevertheless, the middle classes were able to define

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<sup>26</sup>Birkhead, Guthrie S. (ed.), *Administrative problems in Pakistan*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1966), p.12.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 211.

political problems and identify their adversaries who contributed to a huge trust-deficit in middle class attitudes to the system.

In order to remove this deficit of trust, the Sindi middle class needed to create principled, incorruptible and un-purchasable leaders to work for their class interests. This desire for such leaders was articulated by middle class people in the middle class public sphere from time to time. This middle class intent generated a thrust for middle class leadership, to pull people out of their subjugation to an orthodox way of thinking that assented to the superiority of the feudal order, and created new possibilities for middle class Sindis to breathe the fragrance of free thoughts in a new civil society.

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## **Appendix 1**

### **Constitutional Reforms in Khairpur**

Since the pamphlet was written, new constitutional reforms have been announced. According to a Proclamation by the Ruler of Khairpur, made public on July 4, 1953, the new Government of Khairpur (Interim Constitution) Act 1953, as approved by the old Government of Pakistan, came into effect on July 15, 1953 and the Legislative Assembly was dissolved with effect from the same date, and preparations have been started for holding fresh elections to elect a new Legislative Assembly according to the new constitution.

The Proclamation reads as follows:- "I, Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur, Ruler of Khairpur state, anxious to increasingly associate the people of my state in the administration of its affairs with a view to the progressive realisation of the goal of responsible and democratic government in the state as a federated unit of Pakistan and desirous of bringing the Government of the state in line with that of other democratically governed units of Pakistan, do hereby, according to my will and pleasure, promulgate the Government of Khairpur (Interim Constitution) Act, 1953, as finally approved by the Government of Pakistan, which shall take the place of the existing constitution, and with effect from July, 1953, the Government of the state will be carried on according to the new constitution, which I hope will, meet the aspirations of my people and inspire them to carry out their new and added responsibilities for the good of the people of the state and its general advancement and prosperity".

Under the new constitution, Khairpur shall be a Federated state of Pakistan and the constitution of Pakistan, as framed by the Constituent Assembly, shall apply to the state in the same manner as it would to other Provinces and states. The oath which members of the legislature as well as the Chief Justice of the High Court are required to take,

shows that they bear allegiance to the state of Khairpur, “saving the faith and allegiance” which they “owe to the constitution of Pakistan as by law established”.

It is also clearly laid down that the executive authority of the state shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation and that where there is inconsistency between Federal laws and state laws, federal laws shall prevail.

There shall be a single-chamber Legislative Assembly comprising 30 members elected on the basis of adult franchise. The special constituency created in the previous constitution for the Ruling Family has also been abolished. The life of the Legislative Assembly is to be five years unless dissolved earlier. The language to be used in the Legislature shall be Sindi or Urdu but the Speaker can allow a member to use any such language as he can speak.

An annual financial statement showing estimates of receipts and expenditure of the state is required to be placed before the Legislature and provision is made for submission of supplementary statements of expenditure as well during the course of the year according to need.

The Ruler is provided with a Council of Ministers who must be members of the Legislative Assembly and responsible to it. The Chief Minister appointed by the Ruler with the previous concurrence of the Governor-General shall be the Chief Adviser of the Ruler and the President of the Council of Ministers.

The Ruler has certain special responsibilities for which he is required to act in his discretion and exercises his individual judgement. When the Ruler exercised his special responsibility he shall be under the general control of the Governor-General and shall comply with such particular directions as may be given by him from time to time.

In all cases where the Ruler acts in his discretion or exerts his individual judgement he is required to seek the advice of the Chief Minister, and in case of difference the

Governor-General's advice will be sought and accepted. The Ruler with the approval of the Governor-General can promulgate Ordinances in special circumstances when the Legislative Assembly is not in session.

Such an Ordinance must, however, be laid before the Legislature when it meets and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Legislature or if a resolution disapproving the Ordinance is passed.

The Legislative powers of the state Assembly have been defined according to a Federal Legislative list. The residual legislative powers remain with the state Legislature. The distinction between A and B schedules (reserved subjects and transferred subjects) in the previous constitution has been abolished and all matters including money bills must pass through the Legislature.

The constitution provides for the appointment of a Public Services Commission and for the protection of civil servants. There is also provision for a High Court, a Chief Justice and an Accountant-General. It is laid down that the proceedings of the High Court shall be in Sindi, Urdu or English. In case of a failure of the constitutional machinery the Ruler, by a proclamation made with the concurrence of the Governor-General, may assume such functions as are essential to carry on the Government of the state.

The new constitution, in effect, therefore, brings Khairpur in line with the democratic set-up in other provinces and fully integrates it with the federal structure of Pakistan. Special privileges enjoyed by the Ruling Family have been abolished. The Ruler's powers have been hedged in so far, as to make them ineffective without the approval and concurrence of the Government of Pakistan. The Council of Ministers is responsible to the popularly elected legislature, and should carry with it the wishes of the people as expressed through their elected representatives in the state Legislature. It should be

noted that the new constitution is only for the interim period until the Pakistan Constituent Assembly frames a new Pakistan constitution for the country.







