

Locating Livelihood Patterns of Wahi Pandhi within Three Interpenetrating Modes of Production: A Marxist Analysis



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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled: "*Locating Livelihood Patterns of Wahi Pandhi within Three Interpenetrating Modes of Production: A Marxist Analysis*" submitted by Kashif is accepted in its present form by the Department of Development Studies, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the degree in Master of Philosophy in Development Studies.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents – who always believed in me and my decisions. Their foremost support during the MPhil course work and dissertation writing made me to dedicate this to them.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express more than a gesture of thanks to my key informants, who would always make this excursion and study as priority than their daily routine work in village. Secondly, thanks to the respondents and local people of Wahi Pandhi, who always endorsed me as part of them and will let me observe the natural settings and cultural occasions.

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on locating livelihood patterns and its transition as result of technological and economic advancement in village of Wahi Pandhi, District Dadu, Sindh, Pakistan. The premise of observation is modes of production i.e. pastoral, subsistence agriculture and capitalist market economy.

The fieldwork is conducted using qualitative research strategy and the techniques were ethnographic study, participant observation, focus group discussions, and semi and un-structured interviews based data collection. Furthermore, this research is thick description of social structure of village and its economy with local/emic perspective.

Though, historically looking at modes of productions of Wahi Pandhi, I analyzes the development of forces and relations of production within theoretical framework of classical Marxism. In similar vein, livelihood patterns which are found among three modes of production i.e. pastoralist, subsistence agriculture and capitalist (market economy) located under theoretical consideration of historical materialism. In order to interpret historical development and modern technological effects on overall social, political and cultural aspects of village.

Firstly we find that three modes of production are neither independent nor isolated, they depend on nature and are interpenetrating in social environment of village where study was carried out.

Secondly, the change in livelihood patterns and division of labour put local identity in crisis. Therefore, in chapter seven we adds dimension of identity construction in Marxist analysis. The identity of local people also plays significant role at superstructure level and at the base respectively. Then, we add that in analysis of class relation and class structure of Wahi Pandhi.

Thirdly, the dominant mode of production in region (under study) is agriculture and subordinate mode of production is pastoralism. Pastoralism as being distinct mode of production because of the forces of production at the base are different than agriculture and market mode of production.

Key Terms: Agriculture, Modes of Production, Marxism, Market Economy, Pastoralism,

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1. Introduction

Social research studies man in relation to other men and, therefore, its subject matter is comprised of social fact. A social fact includes all biological, ecological, cultural and anthropological data relevant to explanation of man's behavior in relation to society (Sharma, 2008, p. 39). According to one view fact is an abstraction and according to another view fact is an observation which is based upon experience, similarly, facts are closely connected to theories (ibid. p.13). Theory is an explanation of what we have gone through and what other have gone through then we investigate experience. Theories are the tools anthropologists use to give meaning to their data. (McGee & Warms, 2000)

Karl Marx, great philosopher of all time experienced inequality and he saw bits and pieces of Capitalism as big crisis for future world and specially exploitation of proletariat – he investigated it, he saw industrial revolution behind that. After century

Marx stance was that there are classes of people defined by the kinds of property they own and kind of work they engage in. To do Marxist analysis one must not undermine class, Terray quotes Marx that:

“if all history may be regarded as the history of class confrontation, it is because class is, as it were the place where the various dimensions of social life – economic, political and ideological – intersect” Marx quoted in Terray (1975, p. 86).

Terray's research offers us detailed and broad outline of Marxist analysis of Abron social formation. He uses theory of social class and he justifies that class is as “totalizing” concept: one must refer to all aspects of social reality in order to define it. For us it is important to know what class comprises of and what constitutes class. Class by definition in Lenin's¹ perspective is large group of people distinguished on the basis of place they

¹ Conceptualizing class from Lenin's perspective, few points can be drawn, that class is larger group of people, distinct from each other, classes will vary in different modes of production and nature of class shall be defined as connection/relationship of people with means of production. These relationships are manifested at two level: one at level of productive forces, a class is formed by producers and non-producers can or cannot set to work the means of production and at level of the relations of production, a class can either control and dispose of the means of production or else be separate from them.

occupy in social production including their relation to the means of production and their role in division of labour and capital.

Present study is an examination of Wahi Pandhi region which ought to explain socio-economic and socio-geographical aspects of life in region. We borrow some of work of Terray² – it gives two additional modes of production; lineage and captive different from ancient mode of production. His idea of interpenetrating modes of production is opposite of Classical Marx, they view that there is only one mode of production but what Terray argues is different from classic Marx. It refutes on many things, such as definition given by classical Marx, thus it gives us larger number of concepts that we could probably use in field. His total re-definition of terms gives us more space maneuver for analysis. Terray (1975) define social formation very different from classical Marx; social formation is made up of structural level – this gives us expandable tools for analysis.

Primarily, present study aims to give descriptive analysis of the field for purpose of examining the social structure of society and the nature of work people do there. By this we shall be able to understand social formation of Wahi Pandhi and we shall be able to describe networks of relations.

Furthermore, I cannot disagree – neither with classical Marxist nor with neo-classical Marxists. It is obvious that society is made of structural level, but relation of structure and determinant issue exist. French neo-Marxist are into giving some kind of determining power to ideological and political structure (superstructure). According to classical Marxists, social, political structure they are only epiphenomenal to the material structure/economic/infra structure but Terry in his work establish mutual causality relation, which may actually be a more useful way of looking at relationship between structural level in my field.

Terry (1975) argues that ideological and political structure also act. From his arguments and research, we understand that he does not support thesis of classical Marxism regarding

² The idea is not joining the work of Terray but to borrow some theoretical ways of examining interpenetrating modes of production. Because Terrays analysis is very much helpful in characterizing the modes of production and social formation especially from different perspectives and with historical analysis.

economic determinism, he is giving mutual causality to infrastructure and the superstructure³ – for me this makes it broader perhaps more applicable⁴.

The missing gap in literature of modes of production which my study shall examine is of livelihood patterns⁵. Drawing on Chambers & Conway (1991), a livelihood is defined as it comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income. In each mode of production discussed above and here and there in proposed work authors failed to describe and locate livelihood patterns. There is no apparent established link of livelihood patterns by Marxists in debate of modes of production. If even that is being discussed in literature somewhere, I believe that it is long ignored or had disappeared in debate. Secondly this study focuses on impacts on changes at micro level on society. This study will also analyze these impacts on livelihoods within broader study of modes of production. In similar vein, it will also look forward to understanding the transitions that changed environment by intensive production, and its impact on lives of women particularly in region.

1.1. Argument

Concerning modes of production

Marxist analysis in Development Studies has been antagonistic of neoliberal thought process, because Marxist scholars draws heavily from Karl Marx who himself had not been very friendly to neo-liberal capitalism. Bertrand Russell notes in his book that Karl Marx called himself materialist. For him, matter, not spirit, is the driving force. It means that, for Marx, the driving force is man's relation to matter (something material), of which the most significant part is his mode of production. In this way Marx's materialism, pragmatically, becomes economics (2009).

³ In contrast, Cohen another Marxist of the view that “the level of development of productive power explains the nature of the economic structure” and argue that a functional explanation of the connection between productive forces and production relations alone establishes consistency between the attribution of causal primacy to the forces, and plays greater role of the relations in shaping the development of forces (Laibman, 1984).

⁴ For further philosophical and methodological debate I would suggest reader to read literature portion where concepts are explained in detail. I would also suggest reading whole document as this will make sense while reading in context than choosing something randomly.

⁵ Livelihood patterns in this study will be taken as occupations vis-à-vis modes of production.

Following, Maurice Godlier, French anthropologist argues not in favor of those who presents different modes of production, in contrast, Godlier argues modes of production are not rapidly increasing, or independent of one and other i.e. hunting, farming and pastoral, but are in fact different forms of labor processes within a mode of production. Godlier's emphasis on the social relations of production determines whether these phenomena are labor process in same mode of production or are they different mode of productions. (James W. Wessman in his work compare Godlier with Wallerstien,) Wallerstien's argument is that the unit of analysis must be modern world system or capitalist civilization, not the mode of production. This work of Wallerstien demands considerable attention, as he puts mode of production in hierarchical and historical perspectives – a diachronic approach. So, Wessmen is of the view that if mode of production cannot be unit analysis then we have to find alternative approaches to do Marxist analysis (Wessman, 1979).

There is another debate of French Marxists, which Althusser and Balibar put forward, is about the new notion of mode of production. They hold the view that infrastructure (the forces of production and relations of production) as the basic element, however, proceeded to elaborate in a more refined fashion the theoretical and philosophical structure of the mode of production. (Cleaver, 1976, p. A5).

However, the articulation of mode production is long debated by Marxist and non-Marxists, Gervase Clarence-Smith (1985) notes that attempt to articulate mode of production is serious, and also frustrating; especially so when theorizing the transition from one mode of production to another. He argues that Leninism has reached its *reduction ad absurdum* in Africa. That it only emphasizes relations of production are main cause of transition from primitive communist to advanced communist ones. But for writer it had forgotten that the state of the forces of production, which forms the huge gulf between the two (Clarence-Smith, 1985).

Smith provides the different perspective of looking at it from vantage point. Articulation in not really our issue to ponder upon, but in South Asian, many scholars are urging for analysis of transition of modes.

In respect to transition from one mode of production - Marx attempted, with rather limited success, to explain the transition from one mode of production to another. Marx saw two components at work—the development of the forces of production and class conflict—but both are not adequately integrated into a coherent theory of social change. This is evident in his treatment of the transition from feudalism to capitalism, which generally fails to take into account the class struggle between the two key classes involved. We will thoroughly keep this in our view to understand social change and change in livelihood of people of Wahi Pandhi. To understand the social change one must understand the political, cultural and environmental changes.

According to Stuart Corbridge⁶: “Post-Marxism offers a more nuanced political agenda. It recognizes that "capitalism" is neither unitary nor without appeal, but is rather a variegated set of social relations of production and conditions of existence with some prospect of longevity. This being so, the political agenda for progressives will continue to vary with respect to time and place. More specifically, it means that progressives can work within the system in the knowledge that the system itself is changed by less than revolutionary political actions” pp.634.

For Meillassoux⁷ and Terray⁸, these anthropologist argues regarding involvement of two distinct modes of production, hunting and agriculture. They characterized them in terms similar to the conventional anthropological conceptualization. The hunting mode contains fluid cooperative groups, reciprocal sharing, and egalitarian relationships. While the agricultural or perhaps we can say lineage mode expresses a more complex division of labor, the crystallization of ancestry or descent groups, appropriation of land as the means of production, and redistribution (Moseley & Wallerstein, 1978, p. 264).

Aim of present research to study social organization of Wahi Pandhi seeks to analyze social, economic, political and ideological relations. The premise of observation will be modes of production i.e. pastoral, agriculture and capitalist. Though historically looking at these modes of productions we assume neither of them are independent or isolated. They

⁶ Article: Post-Marxism and Development Studies: Beyond the Impasse

⁷ (1960, 1967, 1972)

⁸ Terray (1969; also Danilova 1971; Willame 1971)

depend on nature and are interpenetrating in social environment of village where study will be carried out.

For the purpose of present study field research was conducted in order to conceptualize a better deterministic understanding of the modes of production in effect in region of Wahi Pandhi – where rapid and gradual social, economic and technological changes are occurring. These changes are not isolated, they equally impact nature therefore nature changes as well⁹. The relation of man and nature is very old, in that whatever man build it comes from (exploiting) nature. As Marx noted that “Technology discloses man’s mode of dealing with nature, the process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them” (K. Marx, 1867 ‘Capital Volume I’).

In similar vein, livelihood pattern which are found among three modes of production i.e. pastoralist, subsistence agriculture and capitalist (market economy) will be located under theoretical consideration of relations of production and forces of production, analyzing how transitions in mode of production have brought changes in livelihood patterns of local people residing in Wahi Pandhi.

1.2. Statement of Problem

Starting approximately 1200 AD in west (particularly Europe), and later in rest of the world, an emerging capitalist market economy began to disrupt the world order. Nobles and landlords who owned land wanted to increase their land and wealth. In order to achieve that, they had to replace small scale subsistence agricultural production with large scale and intensive production for the market place. They (as whole system of intensive agriculture production campaigners and capitalists) forced people to change crops, disregarded deliberately traditional obligations, and sometimes forced villagers off their lands.

The world has experienced drastic changes at the end of the twentieth century in terms of technology, globalization, intensive production, demographic changes and to name a few.

⁹ Agro-pastoral livelihood also change/shift to more urban system, when man/society make technology, abundance of production, therefore nature is impacted.

These changes heavily impacted on culture, society, economy and climate of world. Post-World War II changed geography of world, with formation of new states on map and marked as epoch which was end of colonial era. The discourse was changed and development was child of that time, this way new-modern era got its roots in world economy. All these changes are documented, written, authored by international intellectuals, activists and organizations mostly hailing from the West. In that long run economists, development orthodoxies focused on growth and progress at macro level/state level and global level. Micro-scale examination was given little or less attention.

By the micro scale examination we are of the view that understanding of the socio-economic condition of village from emic view. This also involves participant observation among community and thorough fieldwork. In order to gain access to individual and group level understanding of social relations in village and those revolve around forces of production.

Since 1960s scholars hailing from Marxist background indulged in convoluted debate of modes of production. Reading literature puts reader both in confusion and amusement. As Moseley and Wallerstein (1978) notes that “Marx-Engels oeuvre and the launching of new empirical research produced confused mass of new types and interpretation” (p.264).

Present study analysis will distance itself from European way of looking at things, not just because we need to bring up our own analysis and imagination but also European dynamics is very different from our South Asian case. For instance, kinship and caste system, kinship socio-historically and qualitatively is deep rooted in our society, in contrast, European case is different they have very individualist society and nuclear families. Culture, religion, politics and economics all are distinct. Similarities apart, we have to understand difference that are blurred in theoretical debate.

Firstly, difference is the social and technological change with respect to economic conditions of South Asia, after British colonials left the sub-continent. Later, the neo-imperial policies of exploitation of labour and resources continued in same kind but different form. It was too early to decide the mode of production whether it is capitalist or colonial or feudal even Asiatic. It is, however, important to start with basic understanding

of infrastructure, structure and super-structure in Wahi Pandhi. For that reason, this research extensively investigate and answer the following research questions.

1.3. Research Questions

This study is an attempt to go beyond that impasse by studying the mode of production and class structure in Sindh generally and Wahi Pandhi particularly. Given the statement of my research problem I have operationalized my topic into following research questions:

- Study will understand/examine the material conditions of people living in Wahi Pandhi?
- The social stratification within village on bases of occupation, caste and tribe?
- What livelihood patterns and how these are adopted by various elements of society and occupational groups?
- Historically how this region has changed? In what ways the changes have occurred? What is insensitivity of that change?

1.4. Research Objectives

1. To study relationship (that forms nexus) of trade, agriculture and livestock in locale Wahi Pandhi
2. To study socio-economic aspects of life in region and of particularly Wahi Pandhi, with it history included in order to locate livelihood patterns among these relationships (which are stated in objective first)
3. To examine the dominant mode of production within three modes of productions
4. To examine the role of kinship in social structure of Wahi Pandhi

1.5. Key Term(s)

1.5.1. Modes of Production

The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life (Marx and Engels – Marxism. History of Socialist thought p.268). The Marxist perspective on the mode of production states that it consists

of two types of process or aspects of social reality, first being forces of production and second - relations of production. “Forces of production are aspect of social reality which establish and reproduce the society’s necessary articulation with nature. Relations of production are the aspect of same social activity which establish and reproduce the structure of inter-human relations” (Laibman, 1984, p. 261).

To put them in simple terms, we can say that, forces of production are; technology, livelihood, livestock, relation between man and nature, etc. and relations of production involves social relations of production (Clarence-Smith, 1985; Cleaver, 1976; Godelier, 1984).

The whole study of mode of production is very essential to this thesis. To explain the mode of production, this study translate above given definition and relates it with data acquired and collected through field work. However, these all definitions are align with each other and do not differ in essence.

1.5.2. Pastoralism

Pastoralism is defined by many authors and scholar with respective to geographical settings. Some of them are of the view that the societies or communities relying on domestic animals i.e. cattle, goat, sheep etc. for subsistence and predominantly engaged with herding on pastures are characterized as pastoralist. The early domestication of herd animals – first sheep and goats, later cattle – was coextensive with flora and plant domestication and early agriculture (Digard, 1990).

Pastoralists are described by similar patterns of husbandry of livestock, division of labor, migration patterns, cyclic movements, rights and obligations in pastures and animals, types of political organization and cultural character. Yet more often than not they share forms of culture, religion, social organization and language with stationary settled communities to whom they are tied through trade, marriage, descent and exchange Barth (1961) in (Barnard & Spencer, Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology 2nd Ed., 2010).

The definition provided above gives somehow idea for reader to understand the terminology that is being discussed throughout the document. Pastoralism being simple, harsh, and related with mobility and nomadism in literature. During fieldwork, we found

that pastoral economies are not closely aligned with capitalist mode of production because it don't necessarily involves; endless accumulation of wealth, market oriented production, neither the exploitation at maximum level. Less conception of private property or any influences from bourgeois is found among pastoral communities of Wahi Pandhi.

1.5.3. Subsistence Agriculture

Subsistence farmers, can be defined as those who grow what they eat and have access to unclaimed arable land outside a marketplace, will not be responsive to government policies because they are "uncaptured" by the marketplaces (Waters, 2007). Moreover, agriculture and cultivation, in which communities intentionally plant crops, and care for them, and harvest crops (which are domesticated plants) for food and other uses¹⁰.

Again, subsistence agriculture communities do not produce anything beyond immediate need. Among subsistence economies we can't assume a surplus production of any crop or food. Although, there can be small proportion of production for trade or sell but that also involves very low in scale and size trade.

During the mid-twentieth century with intensification of technology in agriculture sector has changed the communities' attitude toward production from subsistence to intensive agriculture. This change in behavior and technological uptake in different parts of world among farmers have put them in new era of profit maximization. The reason of discussing it here we can imply that, in present times, it is hard to find subsistence agriculture and economy.

Subsistence agriculture is important term to understand, because of its usage in thesis and in academics, not only for anthropologist, also for students and scholars and reader of diverse backgrounds. In this thesis we look at subsistence agriculture in history of Wahi Pandhi and its people. Moreover, there is little indications of subsistence agriculture near the market of Wahi Pandhi, however, there are some of groups who lives in mountains and

¹⁰ It is also important to know what Intensive Agriculture mean in order to understand Subsistence agriculture. In the farming system known as intensive agriculture, farmers keep their fields under cultivation far longer than horticulturalists. Indeed, some intensive agriculturalists have their lands under almost continuous cultivation—the same fields are farmed year after year, with only brief fallow periods. This is what is meant by using land more intensively: to produce higher yields, farmers work the land (and usually themselves) harder (Peoples & Bailey, 2012).

practice subsistence agriculture. The purpose of studying it in historical context because it gives us immense evidence to understand development, change and evolution of village and its mode of production.

1.6. Significance of Study

Present research is both explanatory and descriptive as it is doing Marxist analysis of modes of production in Pakistan's context. The previous work on this topic is less, particularly the area of study is not explored by researchers in past generally and anthropologist particularly. Which itself gives importance to this topic in specific region to explore further methodological and tautological issues in Marxist tradition.

Present study will highlight social issues in village economy which is found to be transitioning. Market¹¹ economy is core of this study, along with that I will examine interpenetration of various modes of production. This study will contribute toward literature of class structure and social formation. So, the study will recognize the economic activities happening in market. And how market is social place for peoples and what it is importance of market in mind of people. Without these kind of social place people cannot survive¹².

¹¹ Systems that exchange goods and services using all-purpose money as a standard measure of relative value. Early market systems are characterized by market places or bazaars which are often cyclical, moving among a fixed set of localities, each having its specific market days. Here market can have both characteristics, one that is modern and other is early market systems. Whereas, market exchange is, a mode of exchange which implies both a specific location for transactions and the sort of social relations where bargaining can occur. It usually involves a system of price-making through negotiation. Borrowed from Raj, Dictionary of Anthropology (2002).

¹² As a student of Development Studies, I realize the importance of topic, Shahr (market) of Wahi Pandhi is main economical/trade hub and regular. Moreover, more than ten castes from different villages' visits *Bazaar* on regular basis, to buy basic commodities and sell their things. This study will help to identify the social ties between tribes and other castes (indigenous and migrated peoples).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Literature review is conceptual reading of previous research to critically analyze the work which is done by scholars, academicians and researchers around world (exhaustively). In this research I have reviewed journal articles, review articles, essays published in renowned journals and books. This review gives reader idea of previous research done in the domain relevant to present dissertation topic.

Process of literature review is following. During the first year of MPhil studies we decided to review the literature on topic. After choosing and deciding research topic I started initial review of literature, which give us space to write reading list for review. First step was the “reading list” that comprised of less than hundred journals articles, books, reports, reviews etc. Reading list is a organized way while researcher is doing review of literature, in which researcher knows which reading he have studied and those he didn’t studied.

Methodology of reviewing literature was difficult and lengthy but researcher stick to that. It took some extra time, but it was worthwhile. However, reading articles, following things were important to notice, first, to find out major thesis of article (by author), and then minor thesis – whole idea behind that was to get central point (core)/ argument. Secondly, to find out supporting thesis of major thesis and examine the evidence (data) used by author/s in article. Either author/s used primary data or secondary data, which methodology author/s used in work? Finally, the conclusion drawn by author/s. These were major themes while doing review of literature and studying any article or work.

In this section of literature review I have mentioned relevant, detailed and brief review of article which I have studied. This portion does not include all the papers, books and reports I have read regarding the topic but some of very useful works are included. This is not entirely thematic review as this study is not confined toward any thematic process. Here, we choose article on the basis of relevance and its application to this study.

2.2. Recasting the Mode of Production.

In this paper Robert Briglio focuses on social constraints and non-technological production imposed in primitive societies such as economies which are engaged in hunting and gathering. The basis of his analysis is concept of “underproduction” given by Marshal Sahlin. He defines underproductive system as; “material and social relations of production control (consciously or may be unconsciously) in a way which limits the production to a certain level consistent with interpersonal harmony”. Correspondingly, under-productive systems (those whom are not engaged in production) limit the production in a way consistent with the reproductive capability of the environment. Robert contrast over-productive systems with underproductive systems and claims that former are only incidentally constrained by social factors and produce, rather, in relation to the material requirements of those in control of the means of production. For him over-productive systems are free from constrain by the natural confines of environment. Underproductive systems by definition cannot reproduce themselves within a limited set of resources. Such systems seek continuously to expand their resource base, either within their environment or by expanding into the environments of other systems (Briglio, 1990).

Author’s hypothesis is about the instrumental relation among intensity of production, social and material relations of production, and what will be termed the natural relations of production (the relation between production and the non-human environment).

Regarding the premise of underproduction, Birglio offer us that:

“...underproduction as a system in which cooperation and reciprocal sharing organized in personal kinship relations functions to distribute subsistence resources on a communal basis. Production is constrained by the social requirements of cooperation and reciprocity which are paramount and implicit in the kinship mode of interaction” (ibid.).

When turning away from underproductive system to overproduction, Birglio describe it as:

“transition from underproduction economies to more materially productive ones involve a number of preconditions. The forces of production permitting more permanent residence and the potential for surplus production must be developed”

Regarding the environment, the evolution of over-productive state societies has a similar revolutionary impact. Surplus production under state societies leads toward population pressure at a level never experienced by underproductive economies.

As the tools of state production have increased in scope and power, the gap between over-production and under-production economies has widened. He is of the view that industrialism has entirely transformed the productive process (ibid.).

In the last, writer suggests that:

Current or present production relations must draw attention to personness and form of organization to the greatest extent possible and assume a kinship ethic, and, by incorporating communal ownership and cooperative and reciprocal relations of production (which are personalized, functionally integrated, and communally determined), industrial production will begin to operate morally, through custom, rather than legally, by fear and force.

Birglio in his work, misses to define more than one precondition of transition, secondly, he does not discuss primitive communistic mode of production. Third, which I think is important is that, in study taken by Aidan Southall in same journal in 1987 states that: Sahlins includes both foragers and agriculturalists in his "domestic mode of production" without discrimination. But the foraging mode is so distinct in its essentials that it must be accorded separate status (Southall, 1987, p. 184). However, Robert Briglio also did not mentioned distinction which Aidan Southall is taking about.

Nonetheless, Birglio research provide me with new dimension and concept of underproduction to understand and relate with social structure of Wahi Pandhi. I cannot be sure about it until I undertake field work. This can/ not be relevant but it can be very helpful to examine the social structure of Wahi Pandhi in terms of domestic mode of production, in which I may be able to do examination of forces of production and relation of production.

Secondly, this study notes that "under productive" systems limit production in a way consistent with the reproductive capacity of the environment. As my topic is related to livelihood patterns, which are impacted by environment in-turn technology is replacing all traditional ways of exchange and reciprocity. What I am trying to say is that, my

assumption regarding the change in livelihood patterns was not only technology but also environment. But here I found that technology considered as “over-production”. Robert notes that; “over-productive systems are unconstrained by the natural limits of their environment”.

2.3. Internationalization of Capital and Mode of Production in Agriculture.

This article poses the question of the relation between local or domestic agrarian structures and the world capitalist system. The question arise is that how we can analyze social structure which have been shaped by world capitalist system and are part of it. And those which have not characterize of capitalism: wage labour and capital accumulation? (Cleaver, 1976).

Writer presents theoretical debates on modes of production from Engle’s, Stalinⁱⁱ, the Bolsheviks, Leninist, and Trotskyists, Althusser and Balibar. Harry first describes mode of production and we have already discussed the concept mode of production which include forces and relation of production. Writer highlights that the relationship between forces and relations of production was one of conflict; the developing forces of production (autonomously) came into contradiction with relations of production that constrained further development of both.

This give us more space to include new modes which do not fit in theoretical model but it recognizes the possible coexistence of different modes within any concrete social formation. Reexamination of Althusser and Balibar really give new approach to analysis the other modes of production and we can find these in writings of Godieler and Terray (ibid.)

To understand capitalism, Cleaver explains an alternative perspective:

“If we take notion of capital – as a social relation of struggle between those who would impose work as a condition of life and those on whom it is imposed – then we can understand the world capitalist system as the global imposition of these relations” (ibid.)

Vital points regarding capitalism and agrarian society;

“The structure of agrarian society, which we want to understand within the world capitalist system, is the class struggle. If our goal is the ending of the imposition of work as a means of social control, then we must begin from the actual struggles of the different parts of the working class” (ibid.)

For analysis of South Asian region, we take these notes from Cleaver’s article;

For India he say we must remind ourselves of the question for instance what it is we want to know about? Cleaver’s position in that is he wants to find out way or perhaps we can say is the strategy for proletariat class – whatever its specific composition – to end the domination or rule of capital. In this way, it will make us understand the contemporary condition of working class struggle against capital (for this we are interested in history). And doing this will help us to evaluate the possibilities for the present and future of struggles.

Examining historical trajectories of India under British colonial rule is evident that India was part of the global capitalist system. The conquest of India by British changed many social structures and organization of working class in India. Harry notes that the way British change the pre-existing form of social organization and the way began to reorganize them is fairly well-known. They changed the form of production accordingly their uses, gradually they change everything they could for their own purpose. They exploited working masses of India to facilitate their expansions. Best known example in the introduction of private property. At that time land was under state ownership not in hands of private people. This shift allowed them to use coercive control over the rural labour force. Harry calls it: threat of starvation.

Methodology for understanding south Asian societies – one good way is – the analysis of structural transformation, which is done by Saith and Tankhaⁱⁱⁱ. They examined and studied the transformation of a single rural village, first under colonial land reforms (introduced by British) and then under the impact of the market and the Green Revolution.

Similarly, with these theoretical debates, it become more accessible for me to understand the Agriculture mode of production from vantage point. Perspectives in these articles give me opportunity to locate my positionality within larger academic debate on topic.

However, this article also connects debate and situates them within international scenario, as development studies student it would be helpful for me to align my research with international researches and struggles of working class. This article at length identifies the politics among academic's debate which is significant of researcher in new field to understand who he wishes to take side with and follow most of the time. At some point writer singled out research which mainly focused on single Indian village. These all help me during my writing up literature review particularly and dissertation generally.

2.4. Pre-capitalistic Social Structures

This article give us insights about what are the important innovations of structuralist school of thought. However, we find that work they had done related to this study is the reworking of the mode of production concept, in which they give added weight to social relations of production. That is the mode of appropriation and distribution of both the final product and means of production^{iv}. This is only relevant to the analysis of pre-capitalist systems or perhaps we can say modes of production, where the relations of production tend to be extra-economic in form (Moseley & Wallerstein, 1978).

Moseley and Wallerstein in this article described and examined the precapitalistic social structures, I draw here from some of their work in characterization of social structure. This is for sake of reader to understand the precapitalistic mode of production.

a) The hunting mode:

Involves fluid cooperative groups, egalitarian relationships, and reciprocal sharing, while the agricultural or lineage mode evinces a more complex division of labor, the crystallization of descent groups, appropriation of land as the means of production, and redistribution (ibid.).

b) Asiatic mode of production (AMP):

Involves the juxtaposition of communal and hierarchical elements: on the one hand, relatively self-sufficient village and kinship units, in which the producer retains direct possession of the means of production; on the other, the imposition of the state, which claims ultimate right of domain and appropriates surplus product through taxation and tributary (ibid.).

Contemporary analyses of pre-capitalist systems reveal a common appreciation for the notion of social systems, involving both regularities in internal functioning, and a set of conditions for the reproduction of the whole. Here Wallerstein mention two clear-cut relevant examples, first, slave-based systems, and second, communal systems. Former system requires new slave supplies, therefore continues warfare for slave capturing and discourage revolts. Latter system which is communal, are dependent on the limitation of demography and competition, in this additive inequalities cannot emerge.

At the same time, these cases suggest two different sorts of analysis, reflecting different trajectories of theoretical development. The first is structural, and reflects an anti-Parsonian conflict sociology, overlapping with Marxism. The second involves an emphasis on the environment that is more typical among anthropologists, where there has been a gradual shift from cultural to ecological models of equilibrium (ibid.).

This paper has debated and regenerated debate over issue of precapitalist social structures which will help me to analysis with critical lens the issues e.g. of base and superstructure, relating to Asiatic mode of production and theories of ecological school, structuralism, functionalism and Marxism.

This research help us in as good starting point for the investigation of problems raised by the structuralists: the role of structural causality, or what we might call "determination from above," on the one hand, and, on the other, the ways in which the effects of other causal factors are specified by qualitative differences between structures and systems. These questions can be used in my study to further investigate them theoretically.

2.5. Post-Marxism and Development Studies: Beyond the Impasse.

This article stress, explain and problematize the work of David Booth on Marxism in sociology and Marxist development studies (MDS). David Booth argues that:

"There is a basic problem with Marxian theory as an input to development sociology that transcends the particular forms in which it has been manifested" (Booth, 1985, p. 773). Booth contends (1) that Marxism has a "metatheoretical commitment to demonstrating that what happens in societies in the era of capitalism is not only explicable, but also in some stronger sense necessary" (p. 773); (2) that this commitment

is disclosed in the process of mapping the concept of the capitalist mode of production onto concrete social formations; and (3) that Marxism is unable to recognize the richness of the development experience as it is wrought under shifting systems of culture and class formation. (cit.: Corbridge, 1990, p. 623)

Corbridge in his work, rehearses the main components of Booth's argument and support some of its arguments. Booth, however, in this article critically evaluate Marxist development studies in three dimensions of his challenge highlighted: his treatment of essentialism, of economism and of epistemology.

From this article we get point of view and perspective of Post-Marxism and Development Studies, these point, briefly highlighted in following paragraphs:

Post-Marxian discourse deals with and concerns politics. It is of high important that post-Marxism strongly holds a conception of power which emphasizes asymmetry and force and which is linked incessantly to economy and the class (Corbridge, 1990).

According to Corbridge, Post-Marxism breaks with the projection of revolutionary socialism and Third-worldism. From the vantage point of post-Marxism both projects disguise an abstentionist politics. (ibid.)

The post-Marxist project is different than the logic of classical Marxism. Classical argue for a direct or somehow indirect link between revolutionary socialism and Marxist analysis. However, on the other hand, post-Marxism suggests both an intellectual tolerance of non-Marxism, and a recognition (pace Schumpeter) that Marxism works better as a critique of capitalism and not as a blueprint for socialism. (ibid.)

Post-Marxism accepts that regimes of accumulation under capital are contradictory, are founded on asymmetry and are prone to crisis; but it denies that these contradictions work to a consistent set of spatial outcomes or lead to some form of apocalyptic denouement. And, post-Marxism encourages us to see differences as well as uniformities; it returns to radical development studies a sense of time and a sense of place. (ibid.)

This article has provided me with insights and perspectives of Marxist development studies. Specifically, use of Marxism in development study, secondly, the theoretical position of Post-Marxism. It is always better to have different views in order to make up

plausible theoretical framework, it also help us to make operationalization broad. By this I will be getting to know idea about the outcome/results of study.

2.6. Researching the Future of Pastoralism in Central Asia's Mountains: Examining Development Orthodoxies.

In this research paper, author is of the view that societies and communities dwelling in mountainous areas of Central Asia face difficult situations because of the geo-political and economic conditions of post-Soviet states. While discussing past and present (new) research directions writer highlights that research has radically changed in scope and parameters since the end of the Soviet period in 1991. This research also emphasize on shift that took place after the break down of USSR, because the scientists in USSR were doing different research, for example their focus was on plants and the animal also the grounds

In contrast, post-soviet research on agriculture production system in Central Asia is rooted in European development models, activated through international (mostly Western) funding channels that support short-term research and development programs, and variously aimed at bolstering biodiversity conservation, sustainable land management, civil society and market value chains (2012).

Moreover, this paper describes the characteristics of mountain pastoralism and transhumance in Central Asia. In which we find geography, climate, life of mountainy people, number of pastures, biodiversity, and livelihood. To name a few, most of Central Asia has a semiarid or arid climate. Reason for the attraction of pastoralist to mountains is that it receives more precipitation than the plains and valleys. Although, higher level of rainfall result in deep snowfall in winter, which cut off villages for long periods – this is serious drawback of making living on mountain land in Central Asia. For that reason, starting prehistoric times in Central Asia, people had adopted the practice of transhumance^v.

Significantly, Kerven, et al (2012) attempts to conceptualize pasture degradation and its particular applicability to Central Asia. In which brief areas are discussed below, before that, I want to highlight some major concerns in previous literature writer has stressed that:

adopts methodology, which analyses and review report, researches and development documents, from different approaches and perspectives of social sciences as well as natural sciences.

This study highlights adversities faced by mountain pastoralist and factor those are pushing mountain pastorals further to margins and edges of extinction (of this particular livelihood pattern). When it says there is need for in-depth research for mountain pastoralist to find solutions to their problem, I feel that my research can fill this void.

Furthermore, from this paper, I can be able to relate my findings that pastoralism as mode of production transform because of the reasons which are discussed in this paper. In fact, if we take development sector and international organization's funding as part of capitalist project, we can critique that type development which uses short term research as means to gain more funding profit. But not to look in to real matters, which writer emphasize such as we don't have reliable data. If we can have reliable data – better results can come out of that. Which will be in larger profit of scientific community and mountain pastoralist to find way and solution to largely ignored areas and genuine problems.

Second relevance to study is the characterization of mountain pastoralism and transhumance in Central Asia. These characterizations can be compared to pastoralism and transhumance of South Asia generally and Pakistan particularly. By this we can make comparisons, for instances to point out similarities and differences between pastoralist of different region including those of Wahi Pandhi.

2.7. Conceptual framework

A Marxist methodology in anthropology or in the social sciences demands an analysis that traces a hidden network of causes linking forms, functions, mode of articulations, hierarchy, and the appearance and disappearance of specific social structures (Godelier, 1984).

Few of terms that are very necessary for reader to be aware are following:

As this research is closely aligned with Marxism, first I would like to explain what this term refers. Marxism is a general term of schools of thoughts and methodologies deriving

from Karl Marx, which share notion of social class and material production as important social determinants. Secondly, historical materialism, a theory that explains social features through analysis of the economics involved in the material production of goods and the reproduction of social institutions.

In this study, I will use two theoretical perspectives while analyzing data, first, is historical materialism. Second, is functionalism, also known as structural functionalism, we can define as a theory that explains social institutions and events in terms of the effects that they produce throughout the rest of society.

Materialism is close to a functional approach. Some scholars would suggest that functionalism best interprets gradual institutional change, whereas historical materialism best reflects times of sudden, disorienting social change. In this research we assume a set of relationship between three modes of production within locale of study, however, my opinion is based on assumption and possible outcomes of situations.

The work done by Karl Marx on historical materialism, places us in debt to his legacy¹³. Therefore, this study will be closely aligned with the historical materialism theory as we will be studying the various level of structures in society.

These structures are visible at three levels; infrastructure, economic structure and superstructure.

Infrastructure includes – material means of existence, forces of production, material resources. For example, natural, technological¹⁴ (tools), labour, skills etc.

Economic structure – relations of productions, relations of people with people, relations of people with machines. These relationships are based on production, distribution and contestation (in market, rights of ownership and use).

¹³ Marx doctrine was closely related to theory of historical materialism and dialectical materialism in which he emphasized on class struggle and division of labour.

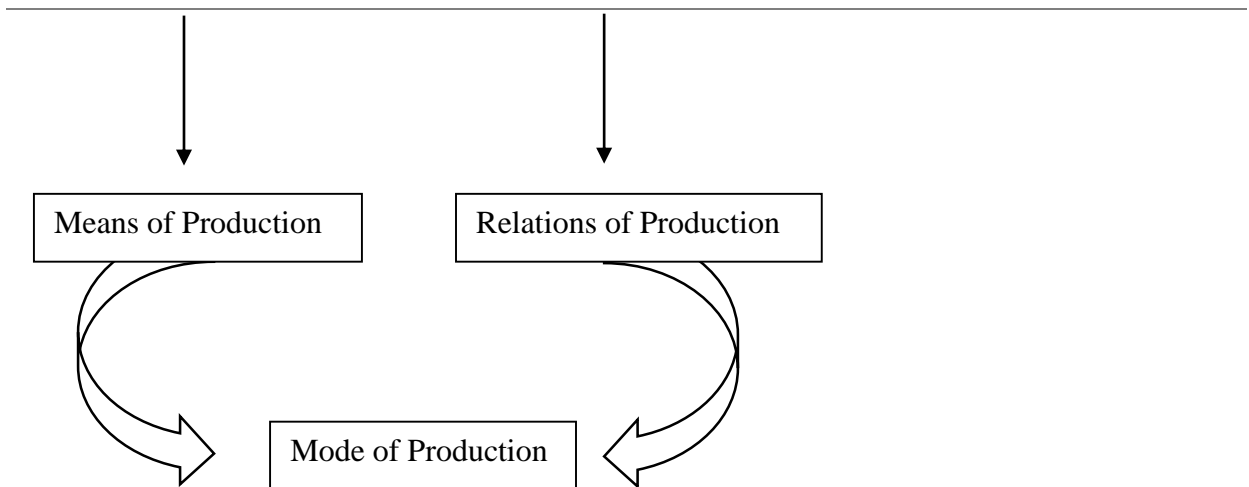
¹⁴ Ways of effecting changes in the environment by using human-invented processes and tools to produce goods and services for human use and consumption.

Superstructure – dominant ideas, ideology, religion¹⁵. Shared set of idea, endorsed and accepted by society.

These three structures are analysis of study.

Figure 1: Structural levels and analysis of study

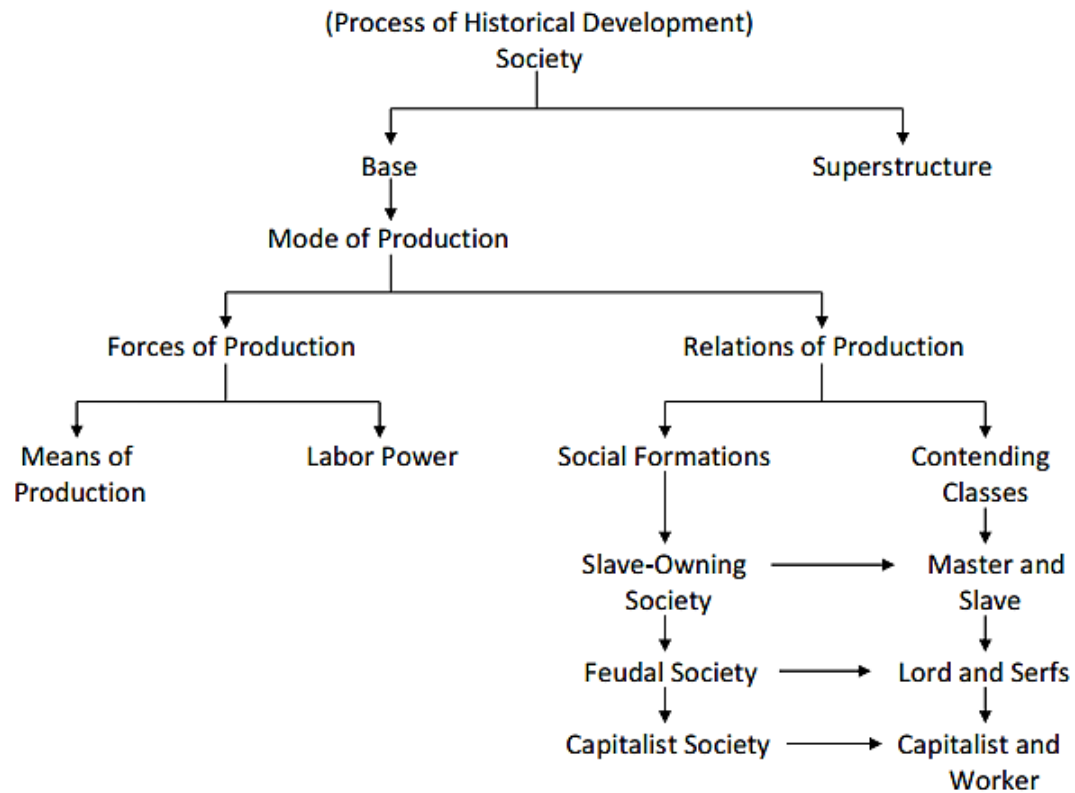
Infrastructure	Economic structure ES	Superstructure SS
<p>Material means of existence, forces of production, material resources.</p> <p>For example, natural, technological (tools), labour, skills etc.</p> <p>Ways of effecting changes in the environment by using human-invented processes and tools to produce goods and services for human use and consumption.</p>	<p>Relations of productions, relations of people with people, relations of people with machines. These relationships are based on production, distribution and contestation (in market, rights of ownership and use).</p>	<p>Shared set of idea, endorsed and accepted by society.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dominant ideas - Ideology - Religion



¹⁵ Some of scholars; put culture, politics, judiciary etc. in superstructure analysis. This is not part of our debate, primarily our aim is to understand concepts in order to be clear in understanding of theory.

Karl Marx explanation of historical development is primarily understood in the context of concept historical materialism. The process of historical development is define in the “outline of historical materialism”.

Figure 2: Outline of Historical Materialism



Source: This is figure is borrowed from paper explaining Karl Marx – Historical Materialism. This can be downloaded from google. The author is anonymous.

3. Methodology and Methods

3.1. Introduction

Methodology is a research strategy that translates ontological and epistemological principles into guidelines that show how research is to be conducted. Methods on the other hand are instruments employed in the collection and analysis of data.

Present research techniques are more similar to those used in anthropology or in-depth ethnology than to those used in econometrics or sociometrics. Social scientist and scholars spend much time in determining the constraints that govern choice in the society under study; they are curiously silent when it comes to the question of why they chose the society they did (Lancaster, 1981).

For very reason I want to know that how societies work, how they perceive themselves and other world and how they maintain their life. I am curious about knowing changes which occur in particular society.

Present research is conducted by using qualitative research tools, design and approach. Also involves ethnographic study of Wahi Pandhi. Under which participant observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions are largely used to acquire data.

3.2. Units of Data Collection

Units of data collection are the units which are explored by a researcher in his / her research in order to obtain relevant data according to his / her topic. It can be an individual, a group of people, an entity, a process, and / or an object.

Within the target population we study livelihood patterns to form general model in order to understand relationship of following, a) labor patterns, b) employment patterns, c) migration patterns, and d) kinship pattern - these are the parameter of one component of study and field work.

Specifically, the units of data collection for the current research are as follows:

- i. Groups (Families and Merchants)

Group as unit of data collection was chosen because I have interview families of pastorals, farmers and Zamindars. The interview data is mentioned in chapter five and six. Groups were important because they tell us whole lot of story about the past and present. In the locale most of the people were settled after green revolution and introduction of agriculture technology. Keeping this in view, I use to have conversation with different age and gender group members of household. Women will tell me about what happened when they were at home, how they perceived a group of travelers visiting and stay at night. Children (those are now grown adults) what would they say when they watched parents doing their work and moving with herds. Elders, always interesting, have their knowledge and folk wisdom of telling us their way of life.

ii. Individuals (wage worker, labour, *Zamindar*, farmer and shepherd)

Individuals, are mostly the wage labour, *zamindar*, farmer and shepherder. They I choose as units of data collection because most of them were found out of home and working. Individual gave me in-depth interviews and I choose them on basis of judgment and their profession/occupation.

iii. Documents (NGOs Survey, Census Survey, Govt. Surveys, etc.)

Documents are used in present study to get the data regarding the population size, drought situations of past, size agriculture land, baseline surveys and reports on area of study.

iv. Articles & Books

Articles and books are used to understand the overall conditions and historical landscape of South Asia and Sindh in particular. There are some articles/books that I have mention in this thesis are authored by people who have researched in area or travelled around.

3.3. Qualitative Research Strategy

According to Berg:

“Qualitative research properly seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings....Qualitative researchers, then, are most interested in how humans themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these

settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles, and so forth” (*Berg, 2001*)

Berg present us very clear explanation of qualitative research. Similarly, Bryman points out that qualitative research strategy differs from quantitative research strategy in three fundamental ways (Bryman, 2012). Firstly, the former emphasizes more on inductive reasoning to make an inquiry into the relationship between theory and research unlike deductive approach in which the emphasis is placed on the testing of theories. Secondly, qualitative strategy rejects natural science or positivism (which is dominant in quantitative strategy) and uses interpretivist, critical realism, or postmodern as its epistemology. Thirdly, qualitative strategy deems social reality as something ‘subjective’ and subject to change unlike quantitative strategy in which the social reality is understood as something, external and ‘objective’ which is unlikely to change.

Present study is based on qualitative research. The rationale for opting for this type of strategy is to make a detailed inquiry of daily life of people residing in Wahi Pandhi. Also the analysis of social, economic, political and demographic structures of village. Therefore, I am using Marxist epistemology and interpretivist paradigm, conventionally it is obvious that research is based on qualitative research strategy.

3.4. Research Design

Research design is manifestation of methodology and logic underlying various decisions that we make during entire process of research. There are four major types of research design are used in social and natural sciences. These are the exploratory, explanatory, descriptive and experimental. Given my research propositions and research strategy, I have used descriptive research design. Descriptive because present study ought to do ethnography which describe living culture.

Majumdar defines descriptive research design as a design that allows the researcher to “obtain a precise and accurate description of the characteristics of the phenomenon or a particular social group.” (Majumdar, 2005, pg. 114). He also asserts that research design essentially answers two important questions: First is that does the research in real manner provide results or answer to the objectives of research? Second, is how substantially it does so” (ibid. 119).

Descriptive research design is very detailed and it strictly do not include pre-conceived analysis while entering in field. As my research is related to observation of local people interaction and identification of history, language, experience and socialization. Present study adopted this approach because field observation from emic view.

3.5. Data Collection

Qualitative research is perceived, both as, difficult and at the same time flexible. There are no fixed rules and rigid ways of doing qualitatively rich study. All researcher must do is – to formulate tentative methods and procedures of conducting a research in particular field. Keeping this general phenomenon of research in mind, following are the framework of data I collected during field work.

3.5.1. Methods/ Framework of Data Collection

Methodology determines the manner in which research would be conducted. Here in this part I am going to explain the methodology utilized during research and fieldwork. I use the qualitative research methodology. Which involves following methods.

3.5.2. Participant Observation

Participant observation “involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives” (Bernard, 2006, p. 342). Therefore, we can also say that the observation of a particular community is not attained from a distant and safe point by being in the middle of things, that is, by participating in as many as social events as possible (Duranti, 1997). According to Malinowski who introduced this technique for first time for studying exotic culture, says that participant-observation is a building stone of anthropology’s contribution to our understanding of human culture.

“An Ethnographer who sets out to study only religion, or only technology, or only social organization cuts out an artificial field for inquiry, and he will be seriously handicapped in his work” (Malinowski 1922: 11)

Participant observation is unique, because researcher learn the language and culture of the group being studied by participating in the group's daily activities. Through this intensive participation, they become deeply familiar with the group and can understand and explain the society and culture of the group as insiders (Scupin, 2011).

Present study was conducted with using participant observation as method of data collection. I was able to live and chat with respondent on day to day basis. Not only chats with respondents but an art of observation was in practice. Participant observation of pastoral and agriculturalist communities gave me a perspective which was not directly part of questionnaire or interview. The movement of people within household, their way of communication and cooking etc. was part of observation.

Most importantly, I was able to get idea of dealing of money and other farming activities. I always catch many things by just observing and it came to my notice that during my interviews people do not speak of many thing which I can see. There are always some sort of communication constraints between respondent and research as many things will not be said because of difference both person background.

Rapport Building

Rapport building is to make relationship between the interviewer, and it is the part of participant observation. Rapport building is process of being trust worthy in field to the natives. In this process, we continually meet with respondents and make good rapport. When we ask for any person, information or even some hidden things we'll get to know easily. The process of rapport build makes the respondent feel important and comfortable with research. During participant observation we need to build a good rapport so that we can conduct our research without any obstruction.

My rapport in field is built in a very gentle and humble manner as I have been researching in areas since 2015. My every visit at town and mountains make people closer to me and they share things which are very close them. I make pictures of respondents, capture their movements of life, and talk about the life difficulties, about the cultural traits, historical events and many other things, significantly the interview-guide and questionnaire. This

also spark their interest in my research as respondent feel very close the research and realize that they are important part in this research.

3.5.3. Key Informants

According to H. Russel Bernard:

Good key informants are people whom you can talk to easily, who understand the information you need, and who are glad to give it to you or get it for you (*Bernard, 2006, p. 196*).

The selection of key informant depends on the researcher. There are few qualities which key informant should have and even kept in mind to select key informant. These characteristic are, firstly, key informant must have knowledge about the locale. Secondly, he/she should be interested and expert in research topic. Thirdly, key informant should be socially active and well known in village. Finally, most important one that is he should meet researcher frequently.

3.5.4. Interviews: Unstructured and Semi structured

The concept of “interviewing” covers a lot of ground, from totally unstructured interactions, through semi-structured situations, to highly formal interactions with respondents (*Bernard, 2006, p. 210*).

Unstructured interviewing goes on all the time and just about anywhere – in homes, walking along a road, weeding a millet field, at night time gatherings, or waiting for a bus. Semi-structured, or in-depth interviewing is a scheduled activity. A semi-structured interview is open ended, but follows a general script and covers a list of topics. (*ibid.*)

Unstructured Interviewing

Unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind, but are also characterized by a minimum of control over the people’s responses. I have used unstructured interviewing as means of data collection, because the idea is to get people to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace (*ibid. p. 211*). Unstructured interviews were employed when necessary. Certain situations such as when a person came to one place and sat down to relax and stay for more than hour.

Semi-structured Interviewing

In situations where you won't get more than one chance to interview someone, semi-structured interviewing is best. Because, it has much of the freewheeling quality of unstructured interviewing, and requires all the same skills, but semistructured interviewing is based on the use of an interview guide. This is a written list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order (ibid. p. 212). This method of interview was used with upper level merchants, dealers, Zamindars and migrants.

3.5.5. Focus Group Discussion

As Lunt and Livingstone said;

Focus groups can “generate diversity and difference either within or between groups, and so reveal . . . the dilemmatic nature of everyday arguments” (*Lunt & Livingstone, 1996*)

Present research used focus group discussion technique in order to gain “the dilemmatic nature of everyday arguments”. FGD given me opportunity to probe into economic matters of daily life. Focus group discussions happens to be integral part of present study. As this research was conducted in village setting during months of May to August. During summer season local people often work in early morning until noon and then pause all activities during noon time because of the extreme hot temperature in Wahi Pandhi. All activities of local villagers resume after *Asar*¹⁶ prayers. However, the midday is for rest and most of elder and young boys sit together under tree or in *bethak*. During that time span I conducted group discussions.

Six focus group discussions I conducted during the fieldwork. The participants were mostly male. First group discussion was conducted with pastoralist. Second, agriculture producers mainly farmers and tenants. Third was with Zamindars (local landlords, also involved in politics), from upper strata of village. Fourth was with *Seth* (local money landers and agriculture related product sellers). Fifth with wage laborer. Six and final group was who recently (that is a decade ago) pastoralist shifted to permanent residence and started work in agriculture farms, and lands.

¹⁶ Asar is afternoon prayer, which is recited around 4 to 5 pm.

3.6. The Respondents

Sampling in social research means a process of choosing a ‘unit’ (which can be people or organizations) from researcher’s population of interest so as to generalize the results or conduct analysis on the basis of entire population chosen by the researcher (Kane & Trochim, 2007). Sampling is procedure of selecting respondents. This process takes time to understand the nature of topic and indicators of research topic. From those indicators we dig them further and make variables. The indicators and variables are studied in-depth to get idea that which fraction of population will be sampled. For instance¹⁷, my research question revolves around social and economic aspects of production activities in village – therefore we have chosen respondents whom are directly involved in those activities.

Some concepts about sampling in research methodology are following:

Target population; Wahi Pandhi. Target population¹⁸ of study is specific to places with characteristics of pastoralism, subsistence agriculture, intensive agriculture and *shehr* (market place, livestock market and *sabzi mandi*).

The areas of study might expand to other territories of region. In locale, we had presumed nexus of relationship between three modes of livelihood. This nexus help us to examine and understand social and class structure of village. That is discussed at length in the chapter of findings.

3.6.1. Non-Probability Sampling

As the name indicates, non-probability sampling procedures do not employ the rules of probability theory, do not ensure representativeness, and are mostly used in exploratory research and qualitative analysis. The techniques of non-probability sampling which this research used during field work are presented below;

¹⁷ This is example, which doesn’t not necessarily relate with present dissertation of field work related to this work exclusively.

¹⁸ For further understanding of target population and specific location I would prefer reader to read section of the field. The field is detailed view of locale which offer us to understand landscape, geography, socio-linguistic and culture of Wahi Pandhi. Presently no anthropologist has done ethnographic research on region of Wahi Pandhi except my previous anthropological research and thesis is done in same field.

The reason for using non-probability sampling is that, first, this research is qualitative and second, is that we cannot use probability sampling because of unknown population and small data set in locale. For probability sampling we need to have large number of sample size but this study is not about sampling larger population, the sampling size is small and differing on the basis of units of data collection and unit of analysis. Therefore, present study used purposive and convenience sampling.

3.6.2. Purposive Stratified Sampling

In this technique the researcher purposely choose subjects who, in their opinion, are relevant to the project. The choice of respondents is guided by the judgment of the investigator. Purposive sought out only those people who have information regarding the subject. A stratified technique was used because people were categorized into various occupational groups. There were farmers, traders, pastorals, and *Zamindars*.

The village as whole was part of study, every interaction and observation is counted as data and information. However, I have interviewed 12 farmers (including wage laborers) in different locations and in different times throughout field work. 7 traders also ever interviewed, their interview were based on in-depth and extensive interaction for once and twice. 8 *Zamindars* and 4 *Seths* were also part of the sampling process.

Given the UDC's, the purposive sampling was helpful to obtain data from variety of group and occupation based people. For that reason I had purposively and on the basis of judgment had to find respondents, such as specific group of people and families.

Secondly, this worked in other way too, I would meet my key informant and tell him that today I want to interview *Zamindar* only and then he will ask a local *Zamindar* on phone call to meet and tell him about my research. Most of *Zamindar*'s I was intervening with this method. Because there were selected people who had certain knowledge about subject was my sample. I had to find them through sources and then ask them to meet. Therefore, purposive stratified sampling was used for UDC one and two respectively.

3.6.3. Convenience Sampling

I used convenience sampling, because to interview individuals and Seths in market. As already mentioned 5 Seths, 7 individuals were interviewed through convenience sampling. These were merchants, labours, and herders. As Russell Bernard notes “convenience sampling is a glorified term for grabbing whoever will stand still long enough to answer your questions. Sometimes, convenience samples are all that’s available, and you just have to make do... All samples represent something. The trick is to make them representative of what you want them to be. That’s what turns a convenience sample into a purposive one (Bernard, 2006, p. 191)”. This category of sample relies on available subjects-those who are close at hand or easily accessible (Berg, 2001, p. 32).

More often than not, I was visiting places at first, and I go see the setting of place and meet people. By then, I had idea of who are these people and what they do (as work/profession). This way I ask them that about their consensus to be interviewed by me. And mostly they will say yes if they time. I cannot say that I specially used this sampling technique for one or two UDC. However, I used this technique for UDC one and two, but not strictly for single UDC.

3.6.4. The Research process

The research field, I reached after travelling 6 hours from hometown (Hyderabad) and 8 Hours from Karachi. The environment and nature of locale is peaceful, spiritual and feeling of pure satisfied culture. Also less complex structure comparatively to urban settings. People have strong social ties in terms of network, market, interaction and are well aware of what is happening. I went there several times in my past, but as an anthropologist, I felt different, I was with aim, curiosity. The first few days after my arrival was important, I met with people, my vision and objectives were clear. I talked with natives, started to have conversations and discussions, about my discipline and the work I was doing. I was the part of community as doing participant observation and rapport building. The beauty of ethnography is that we access to all the social phenomenon, I observed the behavior of natives in different place and time. It was becoming clear, what are the values of Baloch’s and other ethnic communities.

4. Locale

The locale of research is *Wahi Pandhi*, in local terms it is Tapo (Town), of Tehsil *Johi*, District Dadu, Sindh. *Wahi Pandhi*¹⁹ is an oasis and arid settlement, along with the Kirthar Mountain Range, the town is linked with Balochistan²⁰.

Since the world is moving toward the technologies and modernity, less areas of the world is not adopting the technologies. The technology was first introduced in town was late 20th century, marked the beginning of technology, when electricity came to this arid and oasis mountainous area. Landholder farmers began to use the tube wells, mostly ran on diesel for water irrigation and to cultivate large scale land. In 21st century most of the farmers rely on tube well irrigation rather than on rain water²¹. But they have the herds for their basic survival and living.

Wahi Pandhi economy is based on agriculture and trade, where subsistence's are limited in sense of yearly income. Income gains sufficient surplus, which only make enough money to cultivate crop for next season. Following crops are produced in area; brinjal (eggplant), cabbage cauliflower, onion, tomato, okra (lady finger) and chilly.

When the agriculture season of chili and tomato end, people take their herds to highlands. The destination is *Baragh* (*Kirthar* Mountain top), in summers for the better pastures. By then their way of income is trade – of livestock including goats, camels, cattle and naturally grown *Peesh* in mountains.

The most of livestock trade occurs on weekly Friday market (*Jumma Pirri*). The buy or sell of cattle, goat, sheep, camel are most common animal. The weekly market also includes varieties of commodities related to livestock. Not only commodities related to livestock but also for the use of local people i.e. used cloths, tools for agriculture, and ornaments for men and boys, toys, food stalls and season related stuff. But the core purpose of market is

¹⁹ The settings are unique, in west there you will see the Kirthar Mountains, in west is arid and plane land, in north is Kacchho and south is Kohistan.

²⁰ The data gathered here about locale is based on observation, interviews, and from google map sources.

²¹ For more read Hamza Alavi on green revolution in Pakistan, and Dr. Taimur Rahman on class structure of Pakistan.

buy and sell of livestock. Buying on the cheapest rates and high value selling. Jumma Pirri is periodic market, for everyone dwells in Wahi Pandhi and surroundings of it.

The choice of setting is deliberate, because in that area, there are pastoral, subsistence agriculture, intensive agriculture and capitalist modes of production.

4.1. Physical Features

The region of Wahi Pandhi is rich in all kind of natural resources. Wahi Pandhi, in broader terms is part of *Kachho*, a region which local people define as a place where most of agriculture subsistence acquired by and relied on rain. The arid zone of Sindh called as the “Kachho” in Sindhi. The subject area located in upper Sindh is mainly consisting upon “Kheerthar” mountain range which starts from the western side of District Kamber-Shahdadkot (part of old District Larkano) and reaches sea shores of Sindh by crossing through old Dadu District.

The word “Kachho” is derived from the Sindhi word “Kachh” means “Lap”. The reason behind this name seems to be the location of this area as this area is situated in the “Kachh” or in the “lap” of “Kherthar” mountain range. The word “Kheerthar” is also a fascinating word having the meaning of “Cream of the Milk” (that we usually see in fresh milk immediately after milking a she Camel or cow or after boiling the milk). This name, “Kheerthar” has probably taken its origin from the shape of hills found in this particular mountain range. (zainulabdeen, 2012)

Climate

The climate is mostly high temperature in summers and hot winds from south, make area famous for hot in summers, as compare to other areas of Sindh. In the summer arid oasis area rely upon rain for crops. Otherwise people do trade, goes to KSA or just sit in home and wait for season to come. Season of vegetables start from July-August as local farmers start seeding and cultivating vegetables. After seeding, the time for crops to be ready varies accordingly the crop which is seeded in land. For example, tomatoes fully grow in 3 months, and Chappar Kadu grows in 40 days. Likely in start of winters the major vegetables will be ready to harvest, Tomatoes and Chili .

4.2. Introduction: Geographical description of region

Kirthar is one of largest mountain ranges of Pakistan. Geographically Kirthar Mountains range comes into Sindh and Balochistan provinces of Pakistan. This mountain form the boundary between the Sindh (lower Indus plains) to the east and southern Balochistan to the west. The dwellers in the Kirthar range are mainly Baloch and Brauhvi tribes. Baloch tribes historically migrated toward Sindh for better pastures and grazing lands. Hence

Figure 3: Map of Sindh. Showing and emphasizing on pastoral places of dwellings



approximately three decades ago there was change, which we call modern technology that started to appear – with this appearance, most Baloch families started to sell large number herds (sheep, goat, camel and cattle) and begin to purchase

land for intensive agriculture. Brauhi tribes still resides at farther west in district of Khuzdar, Balochistan (see figure 1)²².

This part of dissertation and research focus on the pastoral communities residing around the Kirthar mountain range. Specifically the study focuses on two-main areas of Kirthar Range, one is Gorakh and second Wahi Pandhi²³. Both locations have distance of around 40 KM. The choice of location involves detailed study of these two-areas and ethnographic research was conducted from August to November 2015. Second-time field work has been

²² In this figure author have only drawn the area of research locale, otherwise Kirthar Mountain covers long range.

²³ Wahi Pandhi lies at base of Kirthar. It is in district Dadu, Sindh.

conducted from May to August 2018. During 2015 to 2018 author had short trips to locale in order to understand environment and social life of locale.

4.3. Background of Study Area (Gorakh, Wahi Pandhi, Kirthar)

According to one respondent, whose interview I conducted in July 2018, said that “in year 1980 oil (diesel) engine water machines purchased by us in order to maximize the agriculture production. Before that our land was cultivated solely on rain waters”. This shows us, in particular region agriculture production was only limited when it rain or natural water flowed in canals from Kirthar Mountain. Same respondent also added that “we only use to do subsistence agriculture production”. He also mentioned, and it was verified from few other respondents, that construction of first ever modern road network started in year 1990 and 1992. When roads were constructed it also attracted outsiders such as traders²⁴ and merchants to reach in market of village for purpose of buying and selling, trade. When the outsiders, especially wealthy traders came to market they influenced local people to grow more agriculture and cultivate large lands.

Around year c.1980s, 75% of population was pastorals and their livelihood depended on livestock and nomadic migration patterns. In an economic survey on Sindh of years 1843-1933 states that, Sindh was more pastoral than agricultural. When the British came Sindh was a pastoral country though not at all to the same extent as it once was Sheep and goats were in the largest number followed by the milch and plough cattle. (Choskey & Sastry, 2015). Now, in 2018, we find that merely 30% of people entirely rely on livestock and herding. One of the very reason of this economic shift in livelihood is expansion of market into village economies. Godoy, R., et al., notes the that existence of market transform the way indigenous people used their renewable natural resources. Intensification of market in rural areas changes choices of people in production and pushes them toward surplus production. Even the shortage of land stimulates livelihoods i.e. pastoralism and nomadism to margins and people start to yield accordingly market demands. Not only extensive market intervention, but population growth is also a reason of change in pastorals livelihood. Similar study of Abelardo Rodriguez, argues that population growth has

²⁴ Traders in local language are known as “*Wapari*”

increased the already excessively high pressure on the rangeland resources, posing serious questions about the sustainability of the livestock sub-sector in Kirthar mountain's of Balochistan side (Rodriguez, 1994).

4.3.1. Ethnic Composition of Study Area:

The dwellers of this oasis are mainly Baloch tribes/castes, those are, *Laghari, Rustamani, Jamali, Lashari* and *Birhamani* with majority of population. Other permanent and less populated castes are *Rind, Malokhani, Bozdar, Brohi, Lund, Babar* and the Sindhi castes are known as *Smart Qoum's* are *Panhwar, Mastoi, Thaheem, Khaskheli*.

Table 1 List of Villages, categories according to caste and tribe division

Laghari Villages	Rustamani Villages	Lashari, Birhamani Tribe Villages	Jamali Villages	Other (Minority In Terms Of Population) Castes
Urs Laghari	Fateh Khan Rustamani	Dodo Birhamani	Peryo Jamali	Doulat Khoso
Gul Laghari	Usman Rustamani	Ghulam Muhammad Lashari	Muhammad Ali Janamli	Kamoni Muhala
Sahib Khan	Soregh	Pir Bux Lashari	Fazal Jamali	Mastoi Muhala
Sori wall			Musa Jamali	Sakhi Ali Murad
			Sewah Jamali	
			Masu Jamali	

Wahi Pandhi is UC town, consisting of sub-villages which are divided into tribes and castes. The villages are known with name of tribal head or who was head of village²⁵ in past. 21 sub-villages are merged in Wahi Pandhi, and center of all sub-villages is Wahi

²⁵ This isn't necessarily apply to every village, but with passage of time a village of more than 20-30 households get a name, which either can be of head or forefather of dwellers. It also can be a name of famous personality in village or a saint.

Pandhi, in local term *Shahr*²⁶. List of sub villages are mentioned below, according to division of tribes, under which tribe these villages come.

4.4. Internal Structures

4.4.1. Joint family house structure

The above picture is of house of permanent settlers. The live in rural areas, the region is also mountainous area with arid oasis weather. Environment and weather of Wahi Pandhi is extreme hot in summers. Internal structure of house are made to coup with family needs and with ecological settings. The houses are made of mud, *Bhoso*, *Palal*, and with wood and sticks. The normal house is made of mud, and nomadic camp is different from normal

Figure 4: Joint- Extended family house structure



house, which are also replaceable and remake able, flexible due to migration and changing of camp site.

²⁶ *Shahr* can be translated as city. Which also gives same meaning in URDU language. Bazaar is also used in Urdu for Shahr.

4.4.2. Nomadic House Structure

In figure 4 the structure of nomad home is shown, these homes are open from sides and covered by *Tada*²⁷. The local term for this house is *Pakha* in Balochi and *Tada* is tool used to make them. Mostly farmers reside in these camp units for time period of six month or more until the agriculture season is end. These type of structures were used by mostly

Figure 5: Pakha nomadic house structure



pastoral families in past, and now this house structure is only made construct by *Jarwani* in Soregh and *Bozdar* at outskirts of Wahi Pandhi Shahr. The houses structure near the Shahr are different and some are adopting modern ways of building house in Wahi Pandhi, with cement and including bungalow structure.

Another house structure which is nomadic style, and has been made by all but now only few tribes/sub-tribes make them for living. The region of Wahi Pandhi is consist of substance farmer, pastoralism, trade and low-level governmental jobs.

²⁷ Tada is Balochi word used for rug made by native women and the material *peesh* (Serenoa) is used to make rug.

4.5. Market; location and structure:

Geographically, Wahi Pandhi is at center of region, where the routes of caravans cross, and most of them travel to market (*Shahr*) of Wahi Pandhi, which is also the regular place for

Figure 6: Shahr (Bazaar) located in Wahi Pandhi



trade for Balochi's, Sindhi's and Brauhi's tribe in region. The development of Wahi Pandhi in region comparatively is advance than other locations in region.

The market place I used as main spot for me to interview respondents, and most important was daily meeting. This place is symbolic for residents of Wahi Pandhi, native visit this place regularly, once or twice a day. All the economic activities are regulated in Shahr (Bazaar) and everything related to economy is done in Shahr (Bazaar). According a respondent, the present market was not much big in size, but it gained prominence locally. Tando Rahim Khan Market was once used to be larger than Wahi Pandhi, however, now Wahi Pandhi market has grown rapidly. The reason of rapid development is attraction that it got from traders, merchants, machine sellers, and Zamindar. Now recently after 2018 delimitations, Wahi Pandhi has become UC town and nearby large area are included into Wahi Pandhi UC.

5. Agriculture and Market Economy

5.1. Introduction

Agriculture is backbone of Pakistan's economy, which contributes 19.5% in GDP of country per year. It also employs 42.3% of country's labour force (Pakistan Economic Survey 2017-18). The provinces of Sindh and Punjab together hold about 80% of the population of Pakistan, and 85% of the agricultural labour-force, 85% of the cultivated area, 92% of the irrigated area, 88% of the cropped area, 89% of the major crops and food grains (Khan, 1981; Rahman, 2012). By this we estimate that Sindh and Punjab alone produce large share of agriculture crops and products in Pakistan. Thus, the agrarian relations can be found largely in both provinces.

Present study focuses on town of Sindh, which represents the province. In the research locale agriculture is found to be means of sustenance of local people, align to market economy and on second is pastoralism and livestock breeding.

5.2. Production Relations and Capitalist Market

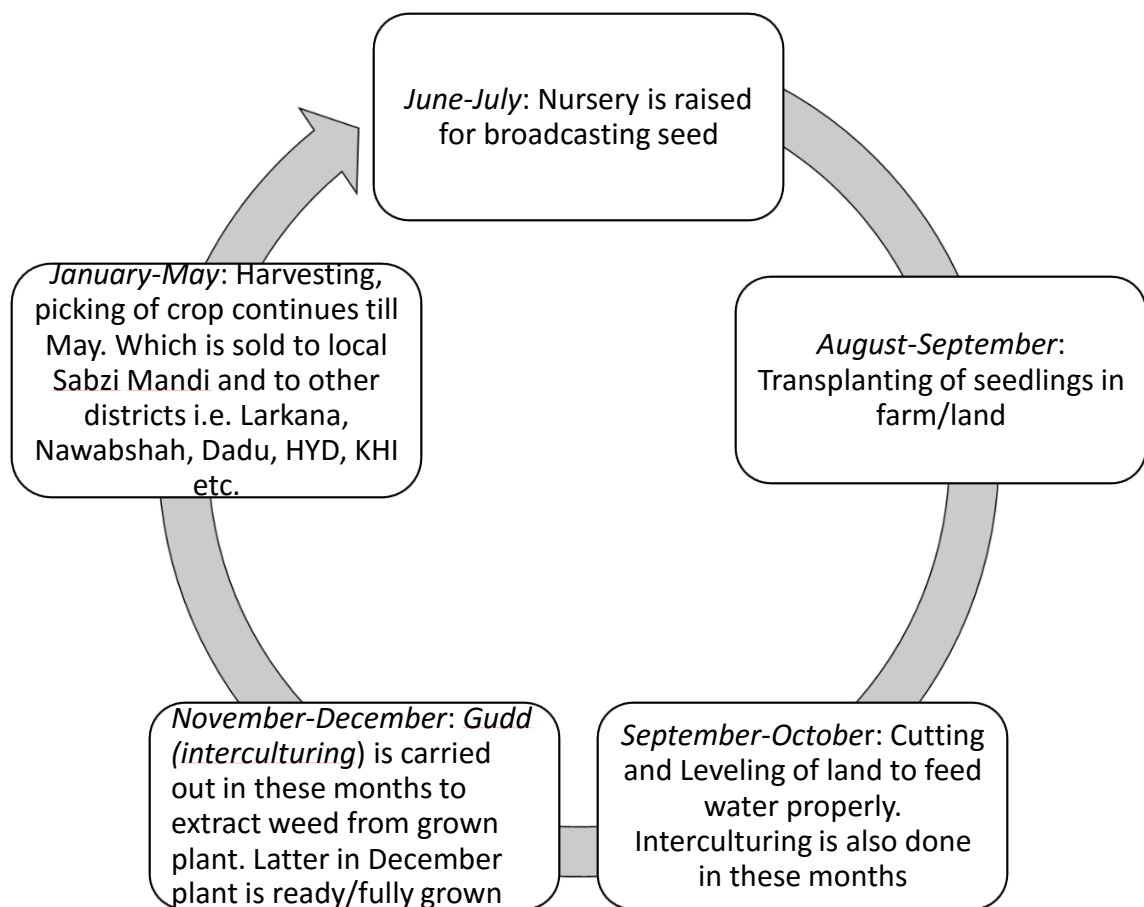
Market²⁸ and agricultre realtion is closely aligned. The activity of labour during agriculture production relies on the technology that market provides. To grow crops on the agricultural land requires materials and necessary products from market. From hybrid seeds to packing of yeild, market plays crucial role as institution/space for farmers to contain those items. The relation during this process is of production is menifested in the relation of dealer or *seth*, *zamindar* and farmer (*Hari*).

Hari is the landless worker. The similar term for Hari is Kissan and Mazzare, it is used in Punjabi and Urdu languages, both langauges are spoken in Pakistan and in India. In context of present research Hari term may not necessarily share similar characteristics associated with Kissan. Hari is one who is landless peasant, makes an verbal agreement with the land

²⁸ Present discussion discusses market as an aspect of capitalist economic intervention in rural areas. Which is part of present economy of Wahi Pandhi and deeply embedded in society and culture. Capitalist market work as mechanism of exploitation and surplus extraction which goes into hands of small proportion of population. The economy based on capitalism and neoliberal values and norm leads toward inequality, injustices, exploitative system. The inequality, not only economic, but also social and religious. The injustices not only from judiciary or government but also from market and private sectors. The exploitative system includes those people (or organization) who has power of any kind; those includes, the police, the justice department, state institutions, in schools, etc.

holder/owner that we will cultivate the land together. The profit and loss will be splited equally. Hari then gives his labour and work on that land from start till the harvesting, picking and selling the final agricultural yield til the end of season. Zamindar allows Hari to cultivate on land. Zamindar pays everything in time span of start, till harvesting and production is ready for sell in market. Hari is landless peasant and have no financial assets or money to invest in cultivation process therefore he sells his labour with his family. They work on farm, from seeding to seedling untill season end (see: frigure 13).

Figure 7 Cycle of Agriucture Porduction Season



The time of year which take place during agriculture cycle (see; figure 17) is specifically emphasize on system that is of study locale Wahi Pandhi, Sindh. In other parts of Pakistan there is variation in agriculture activity, this may be similar to upper Sindh, and Punjab but the season in northern areas, Gilgit Baltistan will be different because of geography, altitude and weather conditions.

The role of dealer/*Seth* is to assist Zamindar and there is minimal interaction and relation of *Hari* with *Seth*/dealer. This relation do not involves direct exchange of money or credit. Zamindar borrow credit, seed from *Seth*, also suggestions, instructions regarding the good crop of season. It is more like supply and demand at initial level. *Seth* informs Zamindar regarding the possible demand of crop at end of season and future²⁹. The Zamindar buy

Figure 8: Planting Seedlings (Landless peasants)



that seed (in case of Wahi Pandhi, Zamindar has few/less options of crops to cultivate but he decides about how much from each to cultivate, how much number of acres of land), and he gives it to *Hari* for further using it in land for season. If we look at history of Sindh with respect to its economy and agriculture, things have not changed much. For instance, this quote from an economic survey of 1843-1933, it says;

The zamindar was looked upon in awe by the peasant, and his advice was acted on in all agriculture matters of the community. His laborers remained with him with their families as they were averse to change and only left because unbearable extortion. Like peasants all over the country they were satisfied with a bare substance and small advances of money. Where the wages were paid in kind the cultivators and laborers were necessarily poor. (Choskey & Sastry, 2015)

²⁹ might be based on past experience.

Zamindar and Hari (landless peasant working on Zamindar' land) has close relation and their interaction is regular. There is stratification in classifying Hari social position, which is decided by the caste, lineage, ethnicity, and religion³⁰.

There are exceptions from Zamindar side in caring of Hari burden. According to one respondent (Zamindar) when I asked question regarding his behavior and relation with/to Hari (farmer) he said; farmers are like our family. They help grow our farm, and from their labor we eat, our kids eat. "*dhukh Sukh chaa wadharun, bemaari- bari*" In every difficult situation or in good time we are with Hari. Both good and bad times.

Then I asked how you help Farmer during the season, he answered that, during difficult times. For instance, in illness we pay them in advance, or in accident or in delivery case. We pay Hari's in certain situations.

5.3. Patterns of Relations

One may argue that how the society under study is different than other one's which have been studied by scholars and Marxist scholars particularly. We may not have such direct answer to that, but it is obvious that area under study was not part of any research on modes of production and livelihood patterns. The area of study interacts at geographical, economic, social and cultural levels³¹ (see: figure 19). The interpenetrating modes of production are not only in abstract sense but they make up concrete general model.

First let us examine that what are these modes of production and their patterns of relations we are talking about here. From materialistic perspective these activities are economically distinct because of the relations of production they constitute.

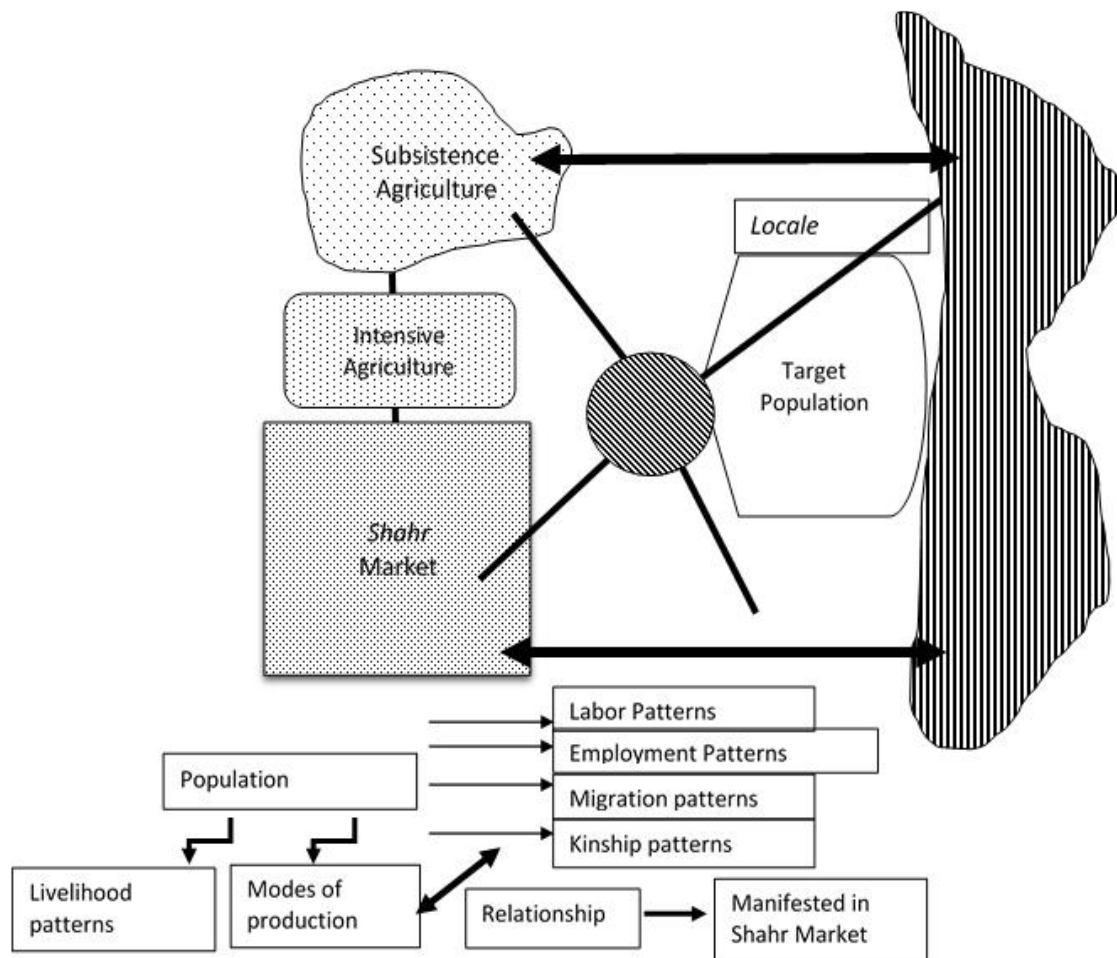
First the relations of production are livestock, it also means of subsistence for agriculture family. They consider it as enormous support when agriculture season is off or starting of new season of agriculture cultivation. According to one respondent, he said "livestock is our bank/reserve". In Wahi Pandhi, there is no bank or state department to look over finances of town. Therefore they give livestock importance as reservoir.

³⁰ There are other things which might pushes chance of being deciding factor. However, I have only highlighted major and dominant influencing force among the social relation of Hari and Zamindar.

³¹ Have already discussed politics at length in chapter 5.

Secondly, the agriculture, which of two types, one is subsistence and other is intensive agriculture. In Wahi Pandhi research found that subsistence agriculture is almost disappearing with advancement in technology and large scale yielding solutions. These including hybrid seeds, color, pesticides and the hardware technology, such as machine pumps for spray, large number of tube-wells/boring machines, and most praised was the tractor.

Figure 9: Interpenetrating Modes of Productions (Area of Study)



Thirdly, the market, where people create social networks and deep roots of social relation are found in human interaction - on basis of these relations market perpetuate. The relation of people with people and people with market is complex. These relations and interactions are significant historically which cannot be understood in isolation in present circumstances.

However market is integrated and other modes of production are linked with market closely (see; figure 19).

So, we define market as: a space where people interact on daily basis, not only to practise trade, to buy and sale of their production, some of which are not industrial production but hand made products such as traditional rug, buckets, sweepers, water storage pieces of mud, own grown vegetables. Its often interesting to find homiopathic medicines found in markets which attracts number of villagers.

Above figure shows us the routes of exchange (shown with bold arrow) among the areas with dots. Subsistence agriculture is in part connected with pastoralism. Pastoralism is located at right of figure 19, where you can see it comes down to market for exchange. Goes up to subsistence agriculture for sustenance and means of survive.

6. Pastoral Livelihood and Mode of Production

6.1. Pastoralism, and Its Pattern of Movement/Migration

Societies that are dependent on domesticated animals for subsistence and predominantly occupied with herding on natural pasture are characterized as pastoral (Digard, 1990). Although some pastoralists rely on their herds more completely than others do, it is impossible to base subsistence solely on animals. Most pastoralists therefore supplement their diet by hunting, gathering, fishing, cultivating, or trading. To get crops, pastoralists either trade with

cultivators or do some cultivating or gathering themselves.

Unlike foraging and cultivation, which existed throughout the world before the Industrial revolution, pastoralism was confined almost totally to the Old World, particularly in

arid zones (Kottak, 2011; Rosman, Rubel, & Weisgrau, 2009).



As above literature define pastoralism related to Old World, but exist in large numbers around the world. The nomadic pastorals are found in the area of Kirthar. Ethnic composition of area is consist of mostly Baloch dissent castes and tribes. Some of true nomadic subtribes are; Malokhani, Khohira, Jarwani, and Bozdar in Wahi Pandhi and in Gorakh area are Halkhani, Bijarani, Brohi, Mirwari and Rind. Two patterns of movement

occur with pastoralism: nomadism and transhumance. Both are based on the fact that herds must move to use pasture available in particular places in different seasons. In pastoral nomadism, the entire group— women, men, and children—moves with the animals throughout the year. With transhumance part of the group moves with the herds, but most

Figure 11; This picture also shows us true nomadic family camp setting.



people stay in the home village. (Kottak, 2011). There are three major types of grazing systems can be classified in this research which is based on fieldwork. True Nomadic, Transhumant and Sedentary Pastorals³².

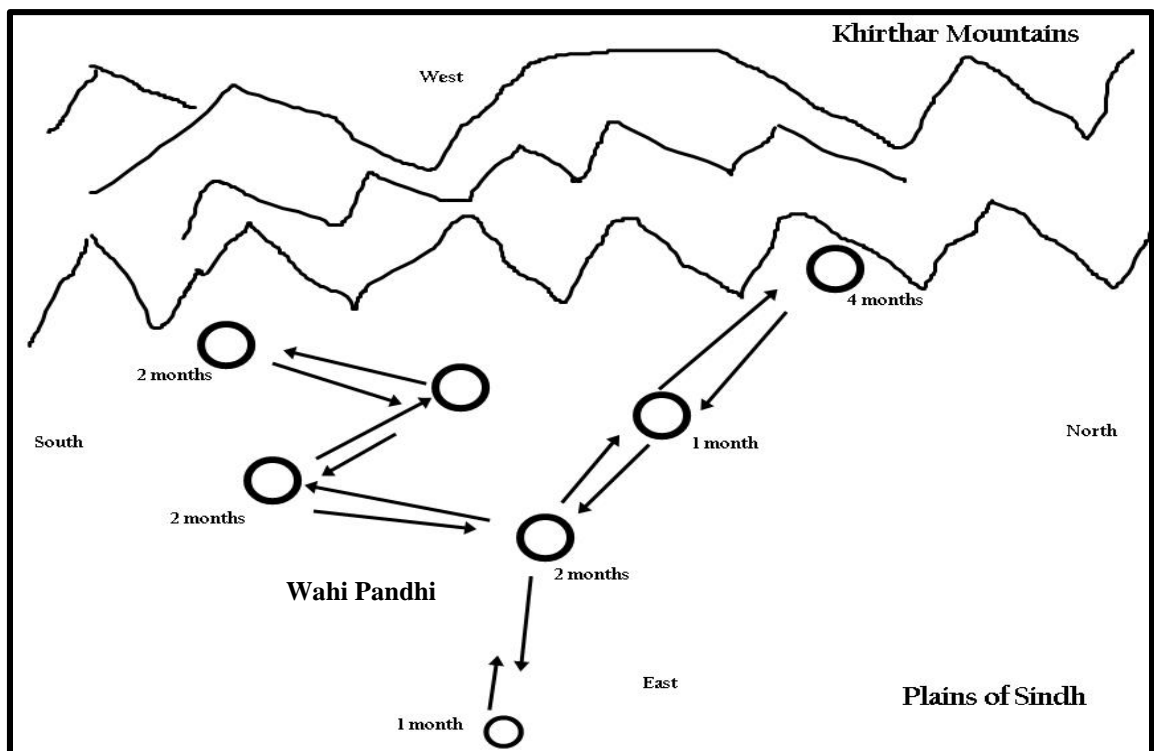
The true nomads follow the seasonal patterns of forage production, spending the summers in the low-temperature highlands of Kirthar and winters in low lands of Sindh (Kachho). A house structure of this pattern of family is shown in figure 3. Transhumant means only part of population moves seasonally with herds.

³²Sedentary Pastoral in this paper is used as agro-pastorals, but not entirely as it reflects on small portion of population

Whereas, sedentary pastorals are the most of the people living in the agricultural villages in area of Wahi Pandhi, which raises animals i.e. sheep, goats, and cattle. This type of animal raising also accounts for a major portion of the household income and helps increase farm productivity. Because, agriculture production is seasonal and cash crops money comes at end of season. So in between livestock is major support for families, especially in illness. Women play a major role, not only in the raising of these animals, but also in converting their by-products for daily use and saleable items (Rodriguez, 1994).

6.2. Nomadic Migration/Movement Patterns

Figure 12; Seasonal movement pattern of true nomadic pastoral families.



Description and Credits 1; this image is drawn on data that were collected during field work from respondents.

The places may vary family to family and number of herd a family own. This is not general patten of nomadic movement, but it is accurate one based on data. Choice of location is only indicator that can be studied by researcher only when he/she accompany them during whole year. Picture is created by author from primary data collected during field work.

Tribes and sub-tribes of Baloch's have had been nomadic mountain tribes. The Balochis were a mountain tribe, which inhabited an extensive tract of wild and barren country from the Hala mountains eastward to the confines of western Persia (Choskey & Sastry, 2015).

History of Balochis written in many books and research articles, says that, the basic subsistence of Baloch was on shepherding and pastoralism (Rodriguez, 1994; Rehman, Jasra, & Fazal, 2001). Same is the case found in Wahi Pandhi and surrounding areas³³. Despite of changes in patterns of residence coupled with the introduction of modern technologies in agriculture sector and integration into single national market system, Baloch used to spend their life more as transhumance than sedentary agriculture. They use to change place time by time, once or twice in year depending on resources such as; water, pasture lands and in search of harvested crops. Migration of sub-tribe and more often than not of clans; that also varies from clan to clan, such as Bozdar tribe. Bozdar tribe still dwells in Gorakh mountainous area and have seasonal movements of winter and summer, where in winter they change place from top of Kirthar to the bottom plains of Wahi Pandh, Dadu. However, in summers walk toward Gorakh and until summers end. Other tribes such as Malokhani, Rind and Jatt have distinct migration pattern than Bozdars, they change their places in plain, from one district to another also called as circular migration pattern. Choice of place depends on the availability of resources e.g. pastures and fertile lands – availability of resources.

Baloch perception and trends in nomadism and pastoralism regarding migration, changing of place; in this part I will highlighted some of interview responses set, and specifically those answers which are directly related to nomadic migration.

Abid Chutanri: Baloch nomads take their women and kids with them during herding.

Atar Kohira: said that he has spent his most of life time in mountains, six to seven years ago we shifted from nomadic life to sedentary agro-pastoral settlement.

Hakim Babar: Mostly nomads do not have jobs, for him it's obvious and he said nomad's do not even have CNIC (national identity cards) because pastoral has no permanent place to live and therefore government has no policy for them.

Azeem Laghari: I was selling vegetables in vendor in streets of Village Sahib Khan Laghari then I went to Sakrand Sindh for earning, I spent two to three years (approximately) there,

³³ Even in my opinion, Wahi Pandhi is gateway to enter into Balochistan and then Iran, Afghanistan.

he said but I will tell you that, if you go anywhere in the world for earning “Watan merai, watan en”³⁴. Now he owns small shop near his home in Village.

Kehar deen Malukhani: We are famous for KOH (mountains), we lived there for many years, he added that from ancestors we lived in mountains, now we have come to Wahi Pandhi approximately 10 years ago. Because of quarrels with other Baloch tribes and Sardar forced us to leave the mountain, after long fight, we had lost our men, and I lost my

Figure 13 Author interviewing a pastoral head of family in their natural setting



one leg then we decided to migrate to plains of Indus (Sindh).

Hussain Kohira: Our profession is shepherding, we shifted our life patterns to live permanent in plains of Wahi Pandhi, and reason for shifting life is long-term drought, so we started to farming under Zamindar and our shepherding is still existing. Winter in Wahi Pandhi, and summers in Kirthar.

³⁴ This translate as; “own country and land has no match, even if you go anywhere in world”

6.3. Transformation in Livelihood of Pastoral Communities

(Case studies from World and Pakistan)

Firstly, we must be clear of what livelihood is, it is defined by Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway; “a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living”. Chambers and Conway was one of first authors who elaborated definition of sustainable livelihood. Secondly, agro-pastoralism as term used to define and conceptualize those people whose livelihood and means of subsistence is combined of both agriculture/cultivation and pastoralism (also discussed as sedentary pastorals). Agriculture here we refer it to low-scale, seasonal farming³⁵. In this context the research was carried out to measure the qualitative impacts of change among those communities. From the literature, we find that change wasn’t rapid but gradual, since the British rule in subcontinent (India), and also after industrial revolution our part of world, developing countries faced drastic changes in economic, politics, culture and society. British rule of over two centuries in India, they brought far reaching changes in economic systems (Jayapalan, 2012), which in turn impacted the social structure of society. Although that change was at macro level, in this study author discusses changes at micro level, but impacted by changes at macro structure of larger society (globe or world).

For instance, intervention of intensive markets in small scale villages boosted the production of agriculture in region. The large portions of land started to be cultivate and greater number of people involved in agriculture production³⁶. That extensive agriculture production in long run damaged environment. Environmental changes were named as climate change. With the change in climate rain stopped in some part of world, summers became hotter than ever. Snow start to melt at high pace and early (not on usual time). Market intervention is directly related to industrialization. Some impacts of industrialization are found in studies conducted around world. In study of Argentina, author

³⁵ Landless cultivation. Owns no land and always work as serf/farmer in order to get some payments at end of season and also acquire some grazing land

³⁶ Anthropological perspective in this regards is; existence of market transform the way indigenous people used their renewable natural resources. Intensification of market in rural areas changes choices of people in production and pushes them toward surplus production. Even the shortage of land stimulates livelihoods i.e. pastoralism and nomadism to margins and people start to yield accordingly market demands. (Raj, 2002)

anticipated that impacts of industrial development process has driven the environmental degradation. Other than industrial development, some state policies and intervention also caused change in livelihood (Tanner, 2003).

Figure 14 : Bijarani Pastoral family camp in background and man from household



The case of Kirthar mountain area has similarities that are noted by De Waroux & Chiche in a case study of Moroccan society, regarding the change in occupation, their results shows us main changes between 1962 till today, asserts that dominant occupation was farm work and livestock herding that during time changed now and today services, construction and trade is dominant occupation (2013). This study has clearly defined the transition, but it did not explained the causative of market economy on environment and livelihoods.

On other side of literature coming from positivist paradigm and state policy promoters, some scholars articulate subsistence livelihood and pastoral mode of production with higher poverty for that reason development approach is established to enhance local village economy for sake of poverty reduction (Reardon & Vosti, 1995), along with integration of development there is urge to implement positive polices and improve institutional arrangement to enhance socio-economic conditions of pastoralism (Popular & Rik, 2016).

Chakrabarti reveals in his paper that livelihood in Sikkim mountain area such as pastoralism is deliberately confined by policies and state acts, in his paper “State Policy of

Figure 15: Head of pastoral family, in middle of Shahr, Wahi Pandhi



Environment, Forests and Land Use”. He is of the view that the state policy emphasized that pastoral grazing activity harm nature and contribute in forest degradation. Writer critique that there is total absence of the understanding and acknowledgment of the value of nature and of living nature as environment of human existence. Chakrabarti, argues that given these reasons they must

create alternative livelihood avenues otherwise the old traditional ways will abolish and new livelihood will harm nature and local cultures (Chakrabarti, 2011).

Similarly we can draw from these perspectives that change in livelihood means change in social and economic structures of any society. By this our societies may not function well as every group and individual has its own specific function to sever. Most of pastorals and nomads (e.g. Bijarani, Malookhani, Bozdar, Kohira) I interview during field research, I found none educated. Those I interviewed older than 17 years have not entered any school for education purpose. Because they have been living in mountains and wandering for pastures of herd in Sindh or Kirthar, even Balochistan. This also hinders assimilation process of pastoral communities with permanent, rural and urban communities. Lack of

education limit their access to urban town and semi-urban areas. Their limited mobility in villages only help them to get basic necessities of daily life, basic health and basic trade. In figure 5, a head of nomadic family, can be seen. He lived almost entire his life in mountains. In an interview he told me that approximately 8-10 years ago his brother left foraging for herds and settled in Hashim village. Now they are farmers at Zamindar's land. They also herd goats and sheep but they are sedentary. Only young male and boys leave for grazing the animals in morning and return back in evening.

6.4. Transition; Causes and Solutions

Since introduction of green revolution in late 1960's the infrastructure of agricultural production was somewhat received technological input. The basic technology which green revolution introduced was related to high yield of crops and larger number of land cultivation. It helped along the way to make productivity hundred percent.

In present study, two apparent causes of shift are highlighted; first is livelihood, second is market integration and environmental change. These theoretical and secondary reason are very clear, but some of other reasons which local people have identified and experienced is obvious threat to pastoral communities in Kirthar hilly mountains.

During my field visit, in Kirthar Mountains, my interaction with local nomads gave me insider perspective. These are reasons that nomadic pastorals are switching their livelihood to agriculture.

Deteriorating of Forage Resources; Lack of pastures

Pastures are very important to graze the animal, good pastures plays pivotal role in nourishment and health condition of herds. Degradation of pastures are due to low rainfall in region³⁷. Secondly, the availability of pastures in present time depends on location of camp, a flock can travel to 5-10 kilometers and then comeback to camp. Also it depends on number of herds in flock. I conducted interview at village Soregh, from a pastoral family, revealed that pasture are rare in the month of June, July and August.

³⁷ This will be further discussed in details in a very relevant part

Lack of pastures create pressure on pastoral communities to move further into area where they find sufficient pastures to feed herds. Not every area is common grazing ground some of areas are under control of specific tribes where no-other tribesman is allowed to graze their animals.

Water Shortages and Climate Change

Present study have highlighted that climate change is adversely impacting pastoral mode of production. Because of harsh high temperature during summer in region make difficult for pastorals to find a place where they can get availability of water. In figure 9, we can

Figure 16: Shepherd boy prepare his herds after hour rest at small pond of rain water



see that small pond of rain water. Only rain fills that pond and nearby pastorals come for water drinking themselves and herds.

With change in climate and rainfall per year pastoralist are facing difficult situations in raising and grazing animals. In an interview with respondent, I asked them about any relief from government they have received, all of them answered “no”. There is no such policy or drought relief program or even when there are low rains in area we have to suffer until it rains.

Drought

In 2000, the area of study (Wahi Pandhi) was under severe drought because of less rainfall in area. The water table was gone down even in riverine belt. At that time, lack of drinking water and vegetation in the area badly affected the livestock, especially health of animals. According to an assessment report on drought of 2000 by Relief Web and Pattan Development Organization, local farmers and pastorals started to sell their animals, this also caused the drop in prices of livestock, still people had to sell their animals in half of actual price (2000). This made many of local shepherd's to move their animals to far flung areas, where it was very difficult to adjust in new environment.

Epidemics in Animals

Livestock contributes 55.91 percent of agriculture value addition. Livestock consist of domestic animals, such as buffalos, cattle, goat, sheep, horses, camel, mules and poultry and their products. It has recorded a growth of 2.89% against 3.99 % past year (Pakistan Economic Survey 2013-14). From this statistics, we find that livestock herding is major source of income for many families in rural and remote areas. Although it contributes in economy too. There is less attention is paid toward the policies regarding pastoral communities.

When I asked question about the health of animals, that who bore the expenses of during goat or sheep is ill, most of the pastorals answered that we from our own expenses but medicines. Even during outbreak of disease there is no response from government to resolve or mitigate the illness. This is also reason that most of pastoral face higher level difficulties during illness of animals. There is no such responses from government during difficult situation that pastoral faces.

6.5. Conclusion:

Market integration of rural village economies³⁸ have observed dramatic changes in livelihood, whereas the literature shows us that these impacts have somehow degraded the environment but there is still need of larger research to understand that what are patterns

³⁸ These economies generally can be subsistence farming, craft working, low-intensive agriculture, pastoralism and nomadic

in which environment is affected in connection to market. The gap which is found in literature also exist in reality.

7. Class Structure of Wahi Pandhi

7.1. Introduction

Class structure according Marx is that, a class comprise of same type of economic resources a group of people have. Neo Marxist redefine class as, those who own and manage same type and value of economic resources. They add manager as well those who manage. These are policy and decision makers and petty bourgeois. From Lenin perspective class is large group of people different from each other and that is based on the history, social relations and how they manage to extract surplus from labour. He also opines that classes and class structure will vary in different mode of production.

For the purpose of this study, however, class we take as both definition of Marxists and neo Marxists. As these definition are broad, which ought to explain the class at state level, or perhaps at broader level of modes of production. This study is small-scale and ethnographic bases, therefore, defining the social organization with respect to caste and tribal identity is major component of this chapter. Research on class structure in generally in south Asia have been done by many scholars. Present research focuses on the role of cultural identity and social status in defining the class structure of Wahi Pandhi.

To analyze class structure we must first define the social organization and family system of Wahi Pandhi. In this part, I am going to explain tribal identity and concept of identity among local residents (those are of Wahi Pandhi). These are mainly Baloch and Sindhi ethnic tribes. Present description of those castes which are permanently living now in town.

Comparatively by looking at only one region we cannot understand situation holistically, for that reason comparative perspective is required. In order to expand area of research, I have connected literature with findings for comparative and cross-geographical analysis.

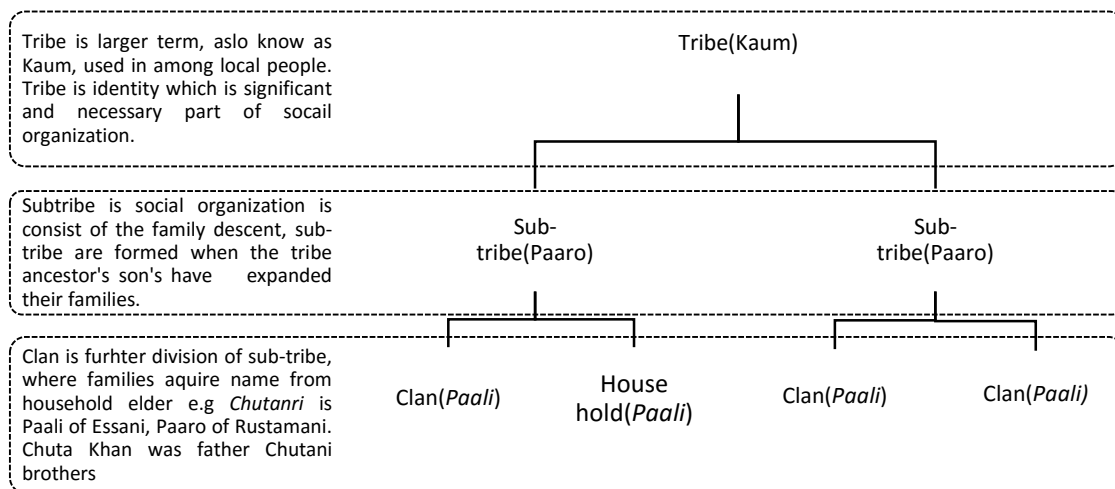
Identity tracing from descent and lineage (aspect of caste and tribal identity formation)

Ethnography gives us opportunity to study human interaction through emic and etic view by observing community inside them. These following data sets of ethnographic study presents ground description of identity symbolism and social status.

Although to know about how Baloch form their identity, one might questions and analyze the answers, perhaps I have better way to understand identity is participant observation, a cornerstone of Anthropological fieldwork.

During initial days in field I came to know and understand that local people (most of them were ethnically Baloch communities) trace their descent from forefathers and ancestors with high emphasize to standout and position themselves in lineage.

Figure 17: Chart of lineage system and descent tracing



However, to obtain profound knowledge about descent from top to bottom is highly difficult task, for researcher and also for natives. The sense of lineage identity and caste recognition was very important among the local castes of Wahi Pandhi. We found this phenomenon while having long conversations with local people. This also applies in particular how local tribesman recognize other tribesman. Natives of Wahi Pandhi almost knows everyone in Wahi Pandhi because of their daily social interaction and networking. This recognition is by tribe only if relation is not close. Otherwise knowing details about other person who is closely related e.g. friend, or kin.

According to natives, they trace lineage through their forefathers and in hierarchical structure. This was observed in stories, lore's, verbal conversations and most of things were known during interaction, daily communication, and interviews. The local views are that,

likely after the fourth or fifth generation sub-tribe (*Paaro*) further divides into sub-sub tribe (*Paali*) of sub-tribe. It is not possible to be directly identify from just name of Tribe. For further understanding of this phenomenon see; figure 10.

In an interaction of a local person with person from another village having same ethnicity (i.e. Baloch), the following question will be asked to know other person accordingly (culture plays important role here). For instance, that you are in which sub-tribe? In Balochi lexicon it is *Paaro*(sub-tribe), and further division of *Paaro* is *Pha'li* (clan) (see; figure 10).

Historically, origin of Baloch caste/tribes begin after male decedent named as Mir Hamza³⁹. Every caste and tribe (mainly Balchis) is meeting with one ancestor on top. This goes down to his son, who separates, and start making their own tribes, and when their son's grow up they became grandfather and when their grandsons have sons, they will call their sub-caste according to grandfather name, tracing descent from lineage is also called by natives as *Shujra*. These epic traditional narratives are emphasized in Balochi poetry and heroic ballads. In constructing identity, each *Paaro* has name of their grandfather to be recognized widely, and in some sub-tribe they found *Pha'li*. For example, Rustamani is umbrella tribe, but within village Rustamani people identify themselves with sub-caste.

Why sub-caste because of the distribution of land. And also they have conflicts among them. The land⁴⁰, play role in defining a person's identity and his positionality in village. The residences, the joint family homes are defined. Specific sub-tribes will live at the specific area of land. At tribe level we can find that Jamali tribe resides mostly at South of Wahi Pandhi, whereas, Laghari's North West, Rustamani lives in North East and Brihamani, Lashari villages are in East. The residential and settlements of tribes symbolizes their attachment toward land. Land ownership is one of the major issues which define and measure person's affiliation within tribe and particularly subtribe.

³⁹ This story was depicted in the folklore of local residents, mainly Baloch ethnic population.

⁴⁰ (as mention in chapter four in the ethnic composition of locale),

Questioning about the identity in local context

Asking question about identity is integrated part of language and culture. One example, which might illustrate here is question asked by tribesman, *in Brahui language it is “Khalaq Dinai” answer will be “Ghulam khalaq’na” after that next question will be “dinaa paro sa” answer will be “Essani Paro sa” here the both questions are about knowing the other person identity.* The English translation is that *which family you belong and after answering that, another question come on way that which sub-tribe you belong to “dina paro sa”.*

The language and depicted symbol’s about the identity plays vital in the construction of tribal identity. One must be aware of his family head, and subtribe name which will explain his/her position in the region. Either on mountains of Kirther or in the plains of Sindh, Kachho.

After identifying the Khalq and Paaro, one will ask; *Dina maari* ‘your father name’ all that is usually asked question when people newly meet *“Ey kai mascha na, khalaq dina, khalaq burza mochanai koh, ey Sindh bhalosay”.*

7.2. Social Organization and Structure

The particular patterns of social relationships that characterize a society or social group are referred to as its social structure. These groupings have continuity through time. While structure emphasizes continuity and stability, organization refers to the way in which individuals perceive the structure and context of any situation and make decisions and choices from among alternative courses of behavior (Rosman, Rubel, & Weisgrau, 2009). Tracing lineage from descent or founding ancestor is historical and traditional practice among the Baloch’s of Wahi Pandhi. It is shown that, how the clans and tribes trace their lineage from one ancestor, accordingly in what ways they form clan, subtribe and tribe. All these steps are symbols and sign for identity formation and reproduction of social status in village.

7.3. Family and Kinship relations:

Social structure/organization of any society is comprised of small and larger institutions, among them family is foremost important institution, which plays greater role in

functioning of society. In this part, we will thoroughly explain the family system and elements revolve around family in particular field – Wahi Pandhi.

Nomadic family structure:

Nomad families are found to be living in nuclear and joint family system. They do not form extended family system. Nomads are always on move. In winter they will settle in plain and in summer's highland of Kirthars. The seasonal movement is one of the major reason behind family system of nomadic tribes and families.

Peasants Family Structure:

After spending some time in research field doing ethnographic study I came to find that we cannot form generalization on the basis of our direct observation in particular time-period or in a time-bound research work. My extensive field work has given me different opportunities to learn and enhance my existing knowledge about field work.

Peasant family structures are different from nomads. There are two types, which I briefly explain here, seasonal peasants and permanent landless peasants in village. Seasonal peasants comes from across Sindh province, in contrast, permanent peasants are locals of area but without land of their own.

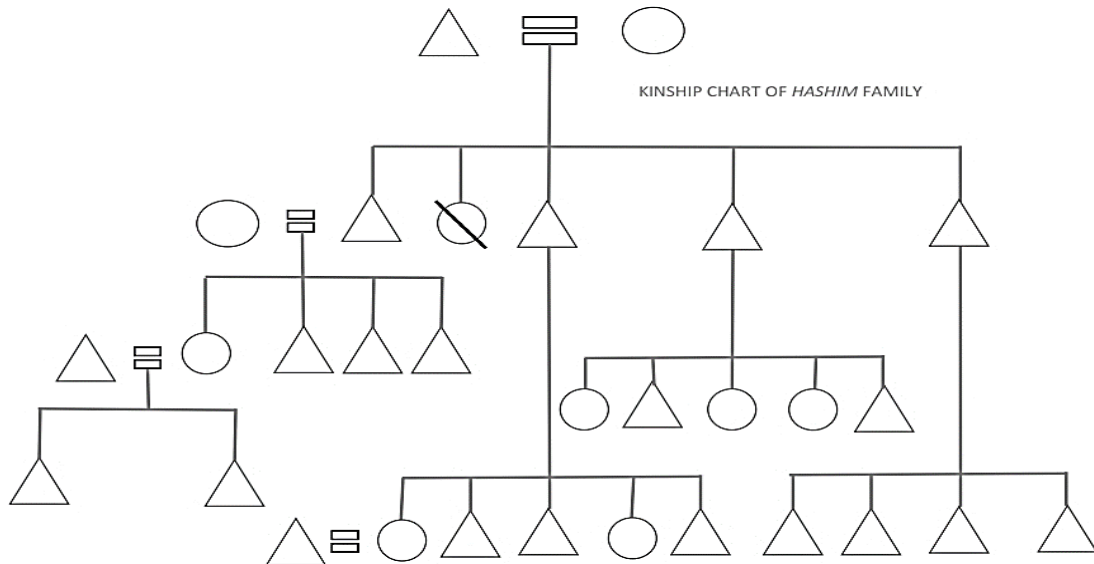
Those migrant peasants lives in makeshift homes near to land which they work in/on. The size of family varies. Depending on how much people will be working in land. All the family members must work on same land; these are terms set by Zamindar. That further define the living style of peasants.

Permanent local landless peasants; this term might sound bit long, however, it gives clear meaning of what I am going to talk about next. These peasants are not migrants, they have been living here since forefathers and can be called as natives. Like all other parts of world not all natives own land. Their subsistence depends on farming, livestock grazing and on daily wage Mazdori.

With the word permanent what images appear in mind is that they have not moved since they arrived or started living. The size of family is relatively large. They lives in joint

family system, in communal way. House are almost attached; one has to pass x house to enter into z house.

Figure 18: Kinship Chart of local family (household)



There is shift in living style of these peasants. These families comes under lower socio-economic category. Sometimes economic conditions are very harsh and that makes their survival difficult. With bad economic conditions many social problems arises. Which include quarrels among inter families. For that reason, these families have changed living style into joint family system to nuclear system. As nuclear household lessen burden of man who earns bread. This change is not entirely found in field neither in all peasant families. This I can say is happening. Will be closely studying this phenomena in future.

Permanent land holder families:

These families are not distinct culturally from landless peasant families. Both lives in same social environment and have close ties. Kin relations are from strong, inter family marriages are performed. If we look deep in these families there are difference of socio-economic class. Land holder families are stronger in terms of social and economic capital. The family size is large and small both. They lives in joint family and extended family system (see; figure 11).

7.4. History of Caste\ Living in Wahi Pandhi

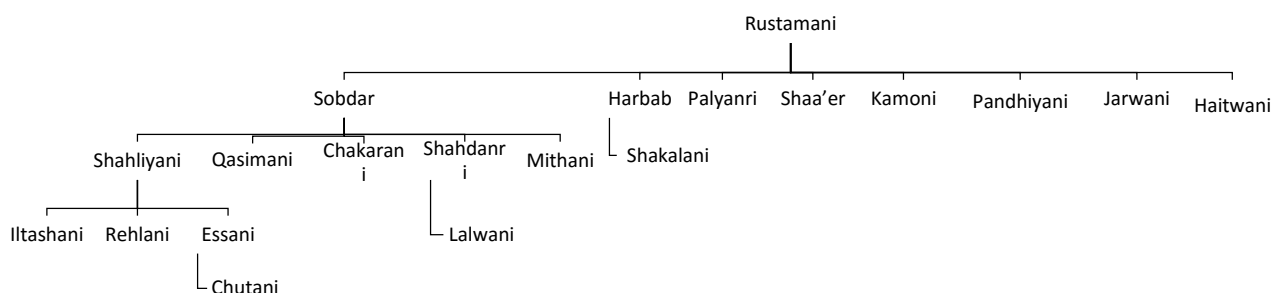
Rustamani

This part of dissertation explains the interaction of people on the basis of ethnicity particularly on the basis of tribe and sub-tribe.

“*Ma waahe chaa panch paro astun, ma wachar biyun ta, thaday'en garmie'ch kha'on shaigur*” it translate as we five subtribe live together, and help each other in difficult/bad times. *Sadique* my respondent told me that – *ma shahlani, kul*. We divide ourselves into clan and subtribe regarding our forefathers, we trace our subtribe from Aba-Dada (forefather). Nawab Khan is Kaumi Sardar of Rustamani Tribe. He said we are known by our tribe Rustamani in market, when we come into contact with other sub-tribe of Rustamani then we are known as Shahlani.

Rustamani *Kaum* according to natives is sub-tribe of broader tribe Rind. Respondent *Jhanda* said in conversation with author, that “we connect ourselves with Rind tribe. He believes that Baloch *Kaum* is under tribe of Rind exclusively”.

Figure 19: Descent Tracing of Rustamani Caste.



Connotations and Images of Sub-tribe “TAKRI”

About *Takri* local interpretation is that, this title is given to head of *Kohira* subtribe. And those who belong to Takri are like *Raees*, and people who lives in *Takar* (Rock, or rock which are found on mountains). Another connotation that he’s financially strong and vice versa.

Concluding the case study of **Jarwani** Sub-caste, I present this table explaining that why this caste has been given titles and names.

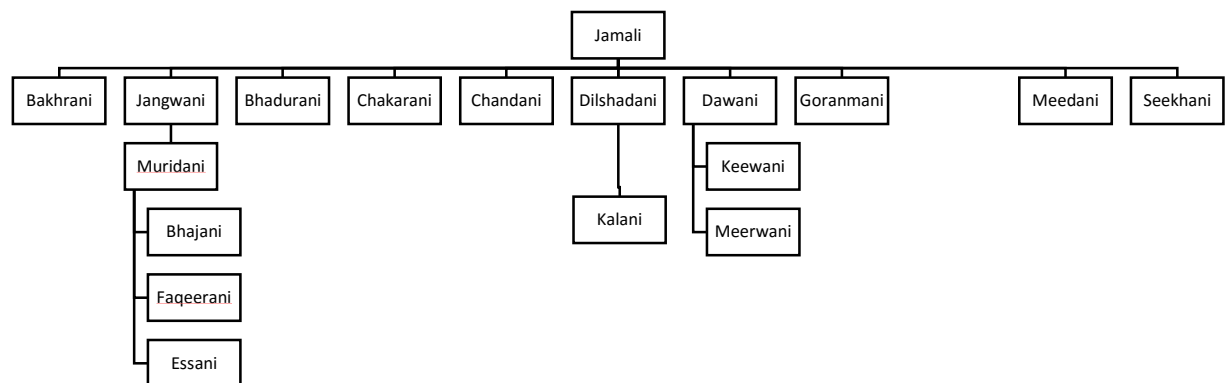
Table 2 Tribe and sub-tribe and their alternative/socially given names for historical reasons.

	Name	Description
Tribe	<i>Rustamani</i>	
Sub-Tribe	<i>Jarwanri</i>	This is because their forefather name was <i>Jaro Khan</i>
Famous name for the <i>JARWANRI</i> sub-tribe.	<i>Khohira</i>	This is because they lived in mountains for long period of time and the current generation of <i>Jarwanri</i> is living on plain lands of Sindh. <i>Jarwanri</i> sub-tribe started to live on plains and permanent dwelling since a decade or two ago.
Other names given to them	<i>Rakhia-Zia</i>	They are also known by <i>Rakhia-Zia</i> who was famous and known forefather of <i>Jarwanri</i> after <i>Jaro Khan</i> .
Socially given name from society. To selected persons.	<i>Takari</i>	Takari is alternative of given name to prestigious and financially strong men in the sub-tribe of <i>Jarwanri</i>

Source: Data provided in this table is taken from ethnographic notes and interview collected during a research in 2015. Data is borrowed from MSc thesis; Education, Language, and Identity (A Case study of Wahi Pandhi) by Kashif Rustamani. Thesis was submitted to Department of Anthropology, Quaid I Azam University, Islamabad.

Jamali

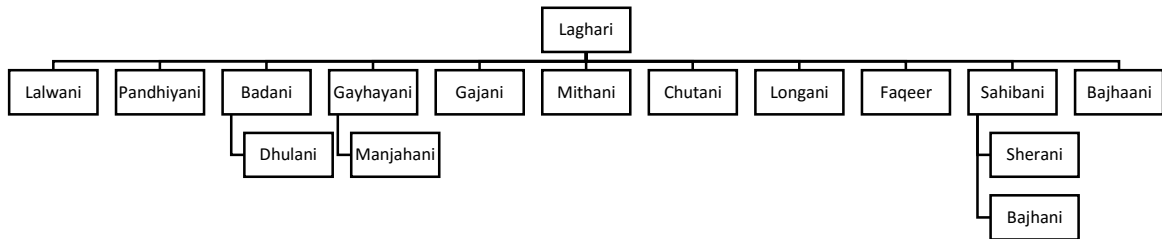
Figure 20. Descent tracing of Jamali lineage



Jamali tribe villages are at south of Wahi Pandhi, sub villages of Jamali tribe is accordingly name of Paaro. These Paara's are shown (in figure 10) that are ten in numbers, and Jangawani sub-tribe is further divided in Pali (Muridani and Dawani). These eleven sub-tribes are descendant of Jamali tribe. They are not directly under name Jamali, but rather with passage of time generations passed and only those generations are described which are traced. The more the senior member of tribe the more he knows about the forefathers. That's why tracing of descent from one ancestors is easy but finding out how many have passed is difficult and ambiguous. The results which I analyzed are from the current situation more than the past.

Laghari

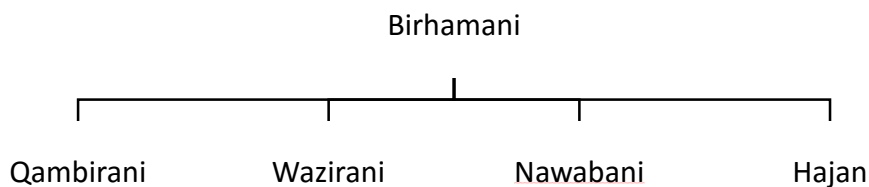
Figure 21. Descent tracing of Laghari



Barhamani and Lashari

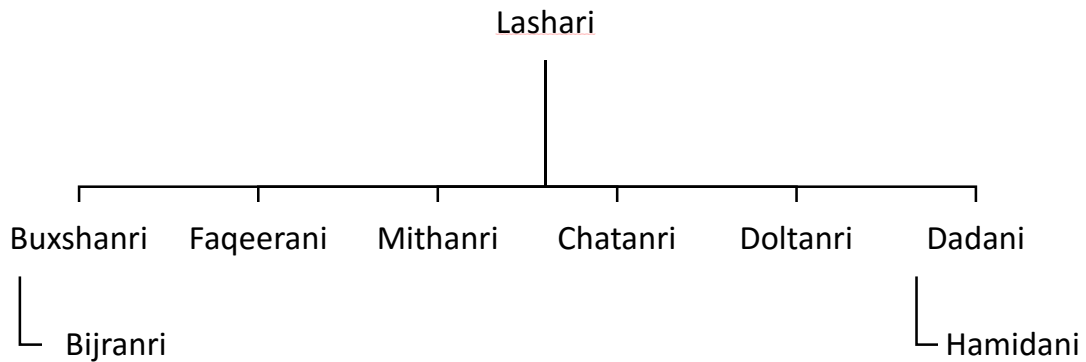
A collective living structure based of language, culture, and their patterns of family system and marriages. Sense of collective identity among them, they are sometimes not distinguishable in village between Lashari and Birhamani. Both castes are also known as

Figure 22. Lineage tracing of Birhamani Caste



Jatt in Wahi Pandhi. *Jatt* is given name in society, local people connote it because Lashari and Birhamanis elders were camel herders.

Figure 23. Lineage of Lashari Caste



Tracing of descent from forefather, and dividing further into sub-castes then into clan’s and families head. This categorization and family founding from forefather is the way local people define their identity.

Relations through conversation

Tho kahien aa – Who are you?

During the field work, and interaction with natives on regular basis, I found that there was patterns of questions asked from almost everyone who met first-time or after some long time.

The question which natives ask is *Tho Kahien aa? thai naaw chen?* It translate as “who are you? What is your name?”⁴¹.

When we look at the linguistic meaning of that question “*Tho Kahien aa (who are you)*” it is crucial part to understand latent meaning, that how one can define himself to other person in context of place. But when we look at in context the answer of question varies. In the context I mean, the variation in situation. This also defines that who is asking question and

⁴¹ this is formal one and common one

who is the one being interrogated in order to recognize him. I am going to explain the situation, and the answer of these question in various context and situation.

Beginning with first situation of meeting, is that when two person of same tribe meet and introduce their self, with question of *tho kahien aa?* If he is known to other person, regarding his tribe, just like from Laghari tribe then the answer given by Laghari to other Laghari tribal mate is that *maa Longani astan*. Now that answer would be acceptable and understandable by natives that he's *Longani* which is sub tribe of *Laghari* see (Figure 21). This will be close one, that two persons from one tribe asking themselves "Who are you?" is the context, where answer is given just name of Sub-tribe, and that'll be enough to recognize.

Secondly, the situation is of two persons of different tribes, which I explain in context of *Rustamani* and *Laghari* tribe. Again the same question, *tho kahien aa?* Now that it is in between two different tribe natives. The answers they give, if *Rustamani* is asking question from *Laghari* – he will answer "*maan laghari astan*" that I am *Laghari*. Now other person no doubt, acknowledged that he's *Laghari*, but another question will rise here is that "*tho Khaan paro se aa?*" which subtribe of *Laghari* you belong, that's the other question, which is commonly asked by natives to recognize the man who they are talking to. Nevertheless, the case here now is same the case I discussed above, *paaro (subtribe)* that which subtribe you belong, this is the situation and second stage of knowing other. Now the answer of *Laghari* is that "*ma malangani paaro se aan*" this is the significant part, to know the sub-tribe is that you know the person belonging, this will automatically make image of person, that he's from *malangani paro* and that image will be he's from village *Sahib Khan Laghari/Soreh val*.

Former and latter paragraph attributes identity and recognizing one another in local fashion. Former situation of intra-tribe is question asked was about the subtribe in latter situation first question was asked about the tribe. This distinction is about knowing each-other. In that manner, the symbols of network are constructed, that connote the meaning of tribal-ness and village-ness, they come to know each other, and dwelling the same land. This interaction occurs in *Shahr* (Bazaar Markter) where every male resident of *Wahi Pandhi*, visit on daily basis. This interaction of natives, their meeting makes their ties strong and as

I have discussed above that these ties are made because of their tribal affiliation and keeps on sharing this value in culture concerning the construction of identity.

To sum up this we come to understand that identity construction in Baloch of Wahi Pandhi is contextual. But yet, this was first step, the next is recognition in intra-tribe and inter-tribe, concerning about the second question which is “*thai aba naaw chen’ay?*” or “*tho kahien chuken?*”

Layers of meaning: tho kahien chuken – who’s your father?

This situation can be defined in context/s, that the person who is questioning and to whom, whether they are from same tribe or not, whether they are from same sub-tribe or not. I will illustrate two conditions, in both we are going to analyze the meaning of following question.

These situations, the first one is interaction of two natives, and those two are belonging to same tribe. In this situation question regarding father name is having core significance in meetings and talking of natives. These meetings can be on occasional basis, mundane or in market places. So, when two unknown man from same tribe meet, they ask themselves, *tho kahaen chuken* in simple English it means that what is your father name, thus this situation have more meanings than previous and deep one. One can’t associate his father name with him but, deep underlying meaning is that whom is your father, you’re offspring of whom? The name he will answer that “*ma haji musa chukan*” meaning I am son of Haji Musa Rustamani. This part of interaction further identify man that; He is son of *Musa*, he belongs to *Chakarani* sub-tribe. By then the man who was asking will recognize him as; he is son of my pateranal uncle’s son’s son. That is finding kin of your own tribe and finding that particular relation with person. Eventually they will say that, *tho ta mai weggha, main hoon chuk* means that you’re from my own descent. This recognition will make him closer with other. That’s how person knows that who is who, what he means to me, and will finally decide how to behave with person who is from own tribe or other than own.

These situations I have explained, are tools to recognize the identity of Baloch generally and in Wahi Pandhi particularly. That in turn make possible to situate the status of other castes those are not ethnically Baloch. We find the These are also markers of identity and

difference between groups. These communication and lexicon used during interaction turns out to be decisive category in observation and everyday interaction.

Now we will look at social structure of caste, culturally and socially.

Native perspective about non-Muslim minority dwelling in village - One native man, I told him that I want to meet with your farmer who is non-Muslim *bhaagri* – Native replied me that you don't need to meet with these guys, they are the *Bhaagri* and we don't like them much. And they are unholy people and also don't write their names.

7.5. Identities: Caste and Tribe

In understanding the Baloch identity, we must clear ambiguities to an extent where we will be clear to make fine distinctions among variable of identity. While during research, in collecting data less people will tell you that our Baloch groups are either tribes, ethnicities or caste. To make clear things I will here explain similarities and differences in Baloch and other than Baloch groups to endow the clarity in thesis and representation of Baloch's.

Baloch identities are indeed tribal once, this can be understood in the patterns in which Baloch lives their life, and their culture. Baloch tribes of Wahi Pandhi, mainly major tribes residing in Wahi Pandhi are indigenous tribes – Natives. They have strong sense of land affiliation, because they born, lived and continues to live on same land. They trace their tribe from descendent, particularly these systems persist in Wahi Pandhi.

The term tribe is however complex to define, what is tribe or who is tribal because of its nature and use which is archaic in western communities from where we get most of our ideal things. Although, this is not issue to talk about, we concern here nature of tribe. Anvita Abbi define tribe as, the term “tribe” has been used since the British rulers introduced it in 1872 to describe a few select communities in India. She is of the view that tribe in India is significant reality, characterized by a distinct way of life, rather than by virtue of forming a constituent part of hierarchical structure of society as in the rest of India. They are outside the “caste” or ‘jati’ system. While describing tribe its situation in south Asia generally and in India particularly. She writes that, the concept of tribe in India is an administrative, judicial, and political concept, which is applied to sections of the population that are

relatively isolated. The language spoken by these tribes are considered as “tribal languages” (2008, pp. 153-174).

Furthermore, to understand tribe we must know its history and background, we must understand it in contrast of complex societies because tribes were less complex and simple in pre-colonial and colonial period. There is another point of view of anthropologist concerning tribe and its construction, in the book (*The Tapestry of Culture: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, 2009).

“After first contact with Europeans, small-scale societies and even indigenous states were increasingly brought under the jurisdiction of larger political entities, typically European colonial empires. Colonial administrations imposed a structure consisting of tribes and districts replacing indigenous units in order to govern more easily. At first, anthropologists paid little attention to the nature of the articulation of “tribes” to the colonial empires of which they were a part. Today they are interested in the historical process of how these societies were incorporated into newly formed nation-states. These groups have been transformed into ethnic groups, often in conflict with one another, and with the nation-state. Modernization, industrialization, and globalization have made small-scale societies part of a world system, and anthropologists now investigate how they have responded to these changes” (*Rosman, Rubel, & Weisgrau, 2009*).

From this we get historical image of tribe that how and when the tribe term came to literature and how the British administration imposed structures of tribes in order to govern more easily. Much of work has been done in primitive societies and their tribal structure in which they lived in un-centralized authority under big man and chief in Polynesia and Melanesia. Though my focus on Baloch tribes is to try and explain the tribal affiliation and identity. In field I also found the term *Zaat* (is derived from Sindhi Language) is also used to explain the tribe which you are, or the way showing their attachment with their respective tribe to be distinguished from others and having more knowledge about their identities.

7.5.1. Narratives and Native perspectives

Caste and tribes and further their division into sub groups e.g. sub-tribe and sub-caste are important for people to identify themselves within village, same is case with the people of Wahi Pandhi. Rustamani and Lagheri Baloch are in majority, these tribes are wide and spread all over Pakistan, but what makes them to recognize themselves as one or different

from others that they have different sub-castes. Which they trace from forefather, patrilineal fathers. There are similarities and differences in patterns which tribes adopt and culturally embedded in them. The interaction of the community with other communities is always of concern to the anthropologist. In urban centers (metropolis) interaction of people, they don't ask details, because of diversity; more complex societies, larger population living together of different ethnicities, origin and place. Complex societies are very heterogeneous and culturally diverse with regional, class, occupational, religious, and ethnic differences. Such diverse groups have subcultures of their own that may become units of analysis for the anthropologist (Rosman, Rubel, & Weisgrau, *The Tapestry of Culture*, 2009). In simple society you find different levels of identity in structured social organization. One of my respondent, during interview told me that, Chakar, Rustam, Lashar were son of Rindo he attached these names of four Baloch brothers with existing tribes of Wahi Pandhi. It means according to native that we are all from Rind, but when Rindo was giving his "Paag" to his elder son Chakar, during this, his other sons were not satisfied with that so the Rustam and Lashaar left his brother with their respective families and started to making everything on their own. By this when Chaar, Lashaar and Rustam had their sons and grandson's taken their names – Rustamani, Lashari and Rind. This way, they rely on their identity based on narratives who we are and where are from. Now when we look deep into it we get different opinion and stories by native.

These narratives apparently play important role in construction of identity, in which it symbolizes the tribe and their descents. Tells much about their history, what happened in past with all the tribes. Dwelling together tribes in one region of Wahi Pandhi has built the senses in their narratives so that this can't be unknown to us how we came here and living in one region.

7.6. Prestige and Social Status

Prestige is a significant factor in human societies affecting our everyday lives and the choices we make on many levels, not just that of language and identity (Sairio & Palander-Collin, 2012). Prestige is embedded and ingrained in society. Prestige and social status is defined as both are related concept in present study. Both social forces plays major role in social relations which revolve around agriculture production and market exchange. s

One of the social forces I found main aspect to understand the social context of construction is prestige and social status.

However, prestige define by Henrif, is the standing or estimation in eyes of people; weight or credit in general opinion (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001). He explains that having prestige means honored, and synonymous is influence not – authority, power or dominance. Even we find the same situation in primitive societies and in their ceremonies, rituals. Prestige was integrated part of primitive society, played role in functioning of society by managing equality and sharing.

Study of Sahlins of Political types in Melanesia and Polynesia (Sahlins, 1963). Rather we should say influence and is not necessary to be obeyed, but prestigious person opinion is intemperately weighted. Having prestige means honor, influence and in Wahi Pandhi, prestige is indeed social force in construction of Baloch identity, first I discuss that what brings prestige? Thus we may find various variables, but the important factors are; land, political background, helpful to natives, money and of course education, the other factors also I found in the field concerning prestige, reverence and deference. Which is the person's inheritance; the family of *Sardar* (tribal chief), *Wadera* (feudal lord), or prestigious family member (those are who contributed with efforts in wellbeing of village and village people, who worked for villagers and efforts are apparent).

Present study also maintains to discuss and explain in details these social forces that how these are socially and culturally constructed and transmitted into generation of Baloch's heredity and way of life. Baloch have strong sense of respect for themselves and for others also. One of the respondent, head of village, told me that if; someone is going to kill us we accept to die but do not disrespect us by using vulgar words and lame language. He further said, our respect and prestige is equal to billion rupees, one cannot buy our respect nor can exploit it. Native Baloch of Wahi Pandhi are strict in this context they do not want someone to abuse them. Or simply disrespect them⁴².

Although we are not here to justify any fact or reason of natives, that in anthropology we must listen, understand and accept anything said by native and observed in field. I will

⁴² This part of writing, is genuinely ethnographic notes, which are writing during ethnography

categorize prestige, in high prestige, nor high nor low, and low prestige. This categorization will just be way of explaining. More importantly prestige I took as social force which define economic wealth and political position of person in village.

7.7. Politics

Is equally important in social construction of identity and defines social position of person in hierarchy of caste within village. Political background here we see as variable of social forces. If we examine this in context of individual's political background, we find most affiliated persons with political background and successive in politics are the prestigious one in village. Associated with political party, a person became a means of giving resources and opportunities for villagers. Work for the betterment of village and solve native's problem effectively. Mostly political parties are joined by *Sardar* and then immensely followed by people of *Sardar*. In 2015, during local district and council level elections, dynamics were changed. There was competition among tribes and intra-tribes. There was not much influence of *Sardar* towards *Rustamani*, *Lashari*, *Birhamani* and some groups of *Laghari*. But *Jamali* remained true and fully on side of PPPP (Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentary), and *Sardar* of *Jamali* tribe in *Kachho* region.

Nonetheless, political affiliation enable person in social and political activities of *Wahi Pandhi*, although politics is not open to everyone. There are some requirements to become a politician, one the most common factor is education, which lacks in people of *Wahi Pandhi*, other than this, is the individual need to be more established in terms of economics and finance and needs strong social ties with other political elites.

One case I found *Comrade Mastoi* he was politically active person in *Wahi Pandhi*, affiliated with PPP Shaheed Bhutto Party, he put lot of efforts into elections, ran his election campaign by himself with his party members, notwithstanding he never have received sufficient votes in election to win seat from *Dadu/Johi*. In spite of this unjust equality he continues his struggle, he has better vision for change in Village. His has no education (formal schooling), he is considered as illiterate in village. All those action *Masoti* take in favor of labor class or deprived community he is considered as puppet or

person being misused by bigger political actors in Wahi Pandhi. His education counts even though half of population of village is un-educated.

7.8. Economy

There are load of definitions for economy, for instance Karl Polyani's works and major contributions in economic anthropology, he developed a set of conceptual tools for analysing pre-capitalist, embedded economies (Isaac, 2005). Polyani study of primitive economies and disembodied economies of capitalist paradigm help us to understand simple and complex economic structures in social matrix. His work also was influenced by Malinowski's famous ethnography on Trobriand Islands. That how prestige was attached with economy and Polanyi contrast it with capitalist economic system and critically analyse it. Polanyi gives concept of substantives approach/perspective to understand of economics in human interaction, on societal level rather than individual rational choice.

In the modern capitalist world money is prime value, which shapes human behavior, influences cultural patters, and even on state level it is of core importance in forming any policy. Secondly, all the societies/nations are integrated in single market system through exchange, which is primarily on prize-setting market. This system is less favorable for societal level and more focuses on individual. On the one hand, Durkhiem saw this system and said unlimited wants are very root of evil, the source of an anarchistic battle among interests that destroys society instead of building it (Wilk & Cliggett, 2007)

Thus reason of discussing this, I want clear a point here, *Wahi Pandhi* is village and city for villagers because of its unique market *Shahr* (Bazaar) which connects every one residing in Wahi Pandhi and nearby; villagers, traders, pastorals, and Brahui tribes from Balochistan and East-Sindh.

This market enable person to establish himself in market, and make him financially strong if he is doing business or trade. As Hamza Alavi notes that, at the level of the village, economic power is major factor in the establishment of positions of political leadership (Alavi, *The Rural Elite and Agricultural Development in Pakistan*, 1976). So the market is means of gaining stronger financial status. The role of market in economy, and economy in prestige are indeed related in sphere of politics.

7.9. Migration

Moving from one place to another, equipped with essential things such as sleeping beds, herds, Tada, Tanwriyun, Rasha toward mountains or plains sometimes to urban centers. We call this movement of changing place; migration.

There are two patterns of migration existing and persisting in the Baloch tribes and Brauhi's. Nomadic and permanent, former is about changing places for reason to feed their herds and shepherd subsistence, latter is shift for agriculture subsistence and migrating

Figure 24 A nomad family on move (migrating). The picture also shows us how women undertake activities in village



toward urban cities and shifting life from nomad to education and better living standard. In latter changing way of living, in which improving education, economic and social conditions. Nevertheless, both migration pattern has cause and existing in contemporary times in Baloch's, these both patterns will be discussed latter in this thesis.

The Baloch epic tradition indicate that the Baloch were completed long treks throughout history. The influence of migration might be effectives of it, is that both patterns have different social structures, and overlap each other in cultural values.

7.10. Role of Women

Women undertake wide range of activities and does the domestic chores. This include, cooking, child rearing, milking and processing of milk, tethering and staking out livestock. In case of pastoral families, women play pivotal during migration and clamaties. But here we are discussing about general role that women do both in agriculture sector and livestock production.

During field work and participant observation, I found high level of gender segregation. Women were not even found in market and public places as well. Other than at local shrines for offering of Sadqa or for only purpose of Ziarat. Women only gathered for event such as marriage ceremony in village or special days as Eid, at other occasion on death of some relative or when someone is very sick.

Women were only taken to hospitals when males find out that she is not going to get better by naturally, rather it requires urgent checkup of doctor in emergency wards in urban town. In the case of maternity only few % of women make it to hospitals. Some give birth on their way and some of them loses their lives while giving birth. This is not only reason that we do not have hospitals, second reason is that there is no serious care for women during pre-natal and post-natal periods.

High level of illiteracy ratio is found in women dwelling in rural areas, women in village of age 30 to 50 was not able to offer prayer as there was no one educated to teach them when they were children and young. These women could not read single alphabet of Sindhi, Urdu and English, other than some number counting when estimating or counting money – as economics determine social structure. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics shows the literacy ratio of female is 21.65 % and male 48.03 % alone in DADU district, which has total ratio of 35.6 %.

Language is power to communicate and negotiate, to reach at power corridor or is best means to get know external world. In village, I only found few women that could be able to talk official language which is Urdu and Sindhi – they were no way near around speaking of English. If women hail from Baloch family she only speaks Balochi some speak Siraiki

too. But a lot of women failed to talk in Sindhi and Urdu as they said “our tongue is not used to it”.

Women mobility is restricted, they cannot come to urban places as they do not know medium of instruction and national language. By not knowing common (market and official) language lot of women are automatically marginalized as they can't wander in cities, goes to hospital alone, for shopping and for jobs.

The main reason that women are reluctant to go out home to urban cities is that they have no network in outside world other than their own. Language restricts their communication with educated class, civil society and literacy world. A person with no command in official language is only eligible for low-paid bad condition and long working hour jobs as New British Salve trade victims are those who do not speak official language (English).

For women with no command in language is like lonely tree in forest. They end up doing house work, agriculture work and child rearing for whole life. This passes to generations as their daughters and granddaughters becomes victims of same legacy. Only lucky girls get education in rural areas of Sindh gets enough education to do hold public office. In many cases high schools pass and graduated girls end up their career as housewives and baby/partner caretakers.

7.11. Locale Perspective of Modernization

Native thoughts, about change and resistance toward that change

In this part of thesis, I purpose perception of natives regarding the change, and that change is in traditions and culture. Within this is process I assume acculturation of Baloch tribes with Sindhi ethnicity, and other Pakistani cultures such as education culture, modern patterns of fashion and influence of media on life of natives. Moreover, the change which is occurring in language, and influence of dominant language which is in power. Problem arouse here in the values, ideology, perception, adaptation, information, tradition which is being transmitted into new generation of Baloch tribes of Wahi Pandhi, and that is new one, different from what has been.

Problem; change in people perception, mostly youth and younger Baloch they think of their old traditions as illiterate stuff. And elders think of their tradition as authentic. Generations are not same, today modern age generation of late 20th and early 21st century born Baloch thinks different from their elder's perception/perspective. This change, in thoughts I would say change in ideologies and thinking patterns of native elders and youngsters.

What has been changed that, elders say that there is change in "*Rawaj* customs/traditions. This change is influenced by media, modernization and acculturation. Thus these changes are occurring in every part of society, when we see if some societies don't accept change they bring change for instance the case study of the fox project. The project viewed Fox problems as being largely cultural. The treatment specified tended to be cultural in nature (Willigen, 1993, p. 66).

First aspect of change, which is *Rawaj* customs and traditions, in this crucial thing is change in dress pattern of specially women. In women dress pattern and trends are changing with time, this change is odd to natives, elder ones. One example from interview, when I asked respondent about the change in trends, he focused on women's dress pattern. He is our dress trend is now like Sindhi one, in this context Sindhi is modern one. He said our trends of Baloch were like to cover the body fully with long and flowing cloths of women which is *Phashk*, *Ghagho* and *Phado* we liked it. This was best for us and fitted on women and he said for me it was respected and in circle of culture. Using sarcasm, he ridiculed new dress pattern; new which are being adopted by Baloch's from modern Sindhi;

*Jar, dress main sindhiyen, waliengay shuha, ni ma Sindh cha rahyun,
Sindh cut zurthien. Mazeen Suthanr biyen haan, maziem pakta biyee han,
hawan mana, on women – main mae maziem kusan khanay haa, from top
to bottom, ni kul tedi behan haha, nei sindhkaen cut zurthash, pheesha
asthien o henya "Shesha nish gaar, chandi aa ni muth nesh astay."*

This change is not protested, but the resistance exists in conservation and when questions asked about the change.

Most of people living in *kachho* are Baloch, and Baloch traditions are not similar to Sindhi as Franz boas say that every culture is product of their own particular history.

This areas, and natives of Wahi Pandhi has recently shifted from nomadic life to settled agriculture, and shepherding. This process still can be seen, as some of tribes has changed life style couple decades ago. This shift is has bought major structural changes.

Now Sindhi trend are coming in Baloch, mixing the culture of Baloch with Sindhi. My respondent said that, I hate sindhi things which are mixing-up with our traditions. He called new dress pattern and music, songs etc. these are **circus**. He further said I like Baloch dress, *Sindhiani mazien panchan*, in Balochi he further said especially dress of women is better, which is also wore by bruahi Women - *Ghagha*.

Media and Technology

Electronic media is major source of disseminating new trends into the masses. This is based on my observation in Wahi Pandhi, where in hotels, homes, and public places media is persisting, especially television and radio are electronic media. There is also internet facility, in mobiles, EVO broadband and 3G internet in mobile networks. These sources are increasing in recent times, in comparison to 20-30 years ago this change was not that much spread, and innovations came with time, diffused in developing countries and came to rural areas and peasant societies. Print media such as newspapers and periodic magazine written by educated class of Village, only in Sindhi language.

8. Analysis



Figure 25: Privatization of mountain near Wahi Pandhi, August 2018

Modern south Asia generally, and specifically Pakistan's relationship and interaction with capitalist world economy was first fully developed during British colonialism (Hensman, 2015). British rule of over two centuries brought far reaching changes in economic structures of sub-continent (presently India and Pakistan) (Jayapalan, 2012). Hamza Alavi notes that colonial power not only diminished the power of Mughal Empire. It also transformed the structure of power at the local level. By disposing the cultivator from land and creation of 'bourgeois landed property whereby land became the property' of the zamindar (Alavi, 1981). British policies were more focused on plundering of resources from India. They created huge network of railway tracks and roads. The shift was apparent when they started commercialization of agriculture, destruction of Indian textile production (based on domestic production) and making conditions worse that they (people of India sub-continent) must rely on imports. In words of Karl Marx, he is of the view that "It was British intruders who broke up the Indian hand-loom and destroyed the spinning wheel" (Marx, 1853).

Furthermore, we get idea from above writings that during colonial time economy of India was transforming toward capitalist mode of production side by side feudal mode of

production. Hamza Alavi draws clear line that capital was not only mode of production. He calls it peripheral capitalism which later became dominant mode of production in India (Alavi, 1981). It is also evident in writings of other Pakistani scholars that south Asia's transition to capitalism was product of colonialism (Rahman, 2012).

However, present study finds that dominant mode of production in region (under study) is agriculture and subordinate mode of production is pastoralism. Pastoralism as being distinct mode of production because of the forces of production at the base are different than agriculture mop. Pastoral livelihood and their social structure do not necessarily comes under the obligation of state, neither have they owned land for residence or cultivation. Here we also find historical material logic of development of society.

Marx's theory of society and social change is based on the analysis of the material forces at work in the unfolding of human history (Barnard & Spencer, 2010). This approach is known as historical materialism; material conception of history and society. There is general understanding of historical materialism theory is that the way people provide for their material needs determine or the conditions the relations that people have with each other, their social institution, and even the ideology (Ritzer, 2008).

Studying Marx we must know that his analysis of history is that; our world has progressed through modes of production. First, mode production was primitive communistic mode of production in which basic livelihood was hunting and gathering. This mode of production was egalitarian and class less. There was no concept of surplus production or private ownership of things. The mode of production was changed when the sense of family was first came to mind of hominid and now sapiens. Primitive communistic mode changed, new mode of production was ancient mode of production.

Second, ancient mode of production can be conceptualize as that it contains concept of land ownership, because the concept of cultivation was came in mind of those sapiens. Second is concept of animal breeding along with cultivation of land. When land was cultivated then idea of protection of land came in. The sense of ownership, and cultivation became one of the reason for having family and living in group – for protection and maintenance. The wars and raids was also part of the ancient mode of production.

Third, Germanic mode of production, where slavery, prisoners of war and less centralized ruler were major characteristics. This mode of production can be articulated with pre-capitalist mode of production. Fourth, comes as Feudal mode of production, which is much debated theory of mode production in subcontinent region. Actual question arise that did it in true manner have transits toward capitalist mode of production. The characteristic of feudal mode of production are still found in developing countries. The Capitalist mode of production is latest of among all mode of production, which we can call era of modernization, industrialization, cosmopolitanism, and neoliberalism and to name a few.

We simply relate these modes of production with the mode of production of Wahi Pandhi following question arise. These question are already answered in early chapter of this dissertation. We see it as that the concept of land/property ownership came because when concept of plantation and cultivation came – this phenomenon was observed among Baloch nomadic tribes of Kirthar.

Furthermore, I have tried to answer that how relations and forces of production have changes nomad course of life. How the pastoral mode of production transitioning to agriculture, how the people looking at that market and trying to settle, how the people looking at agriculture and technology, how the people are changing lifestyle, culture, language when their relations of production changing and the forces of production advancing. How the Kohira have come to settle down. How the natives of Gorakh have changed their local knowledge and perception of world, their world view. They now will change their way of living as well, then their mode of production will be changed – which compelling them to do more, produce and sell, make surplus, own land etc.

These ideas are utilized and conceptualized in more enhanced fashion. In order to understand the interpenetration of three modes of productions. During the field work we found different aspects of modes of production. The data collected through ethnographic techniques has provided us with deep and clear understanding of social ties, kinship relations, relation of production, and forces of production. The study further take us into ride, traveling back to history, through narratives, in which explains the tracing of lineage. The socio-historical aspect plays significant role in construction of identity and social classes in town.

Human history and society has evolved and progressed since long time ago. The very idea is presented in studies of archeology, anthropology, biology, philosophy and many other disciplines. All have a very different world view and perspective to explain phenomenon, such as the big bang theory of earth, cosmological studies of Carl, evolutionism of Darwin and among them many others.

One has leverage and his bias to take up a one theory and explain the world around him/her aligning with particular postulates of theory. Epistemological position and ontological description of phenomenon of that particular postulate will be his/her work and analysis. My position is of taking up Marxist epistemology and model of mode of production from historical materialistic conception of history was to analyze the economic, social and cultural change. However, this model gives us best opportunity to understand pastoral communities and changes in their economic activities which led toward the adoption of agriculture.

Pastoralist and nomadic communities are understood as very distinct from sedentary and permanent settlers. These are not under the state obligation, more often than not, they do not pay even direct taxes. In Wahi Pandhi the special case apply to livestock market where exchange and trade is without paying direct tax. Purchaser and seller directly exchange cash or delay payment.

The work that I have undertaken is not to apply the theory, as it ought to be now at least, the work is mostly about, does this model applies or fits in context of Pastoralism. I have only came this far in the pursuit of academic achievement. This leaves us in no position to take side or not to take a side. Nonetheless, this work do not mislead at any cost to reader. My dissertation work give space for reader to get idea or better judge from his own epistemological position regarding what they think of the model and theory.

I understand that model and theoretical lens is important to look over a phenomenon, which is supposed to be basis of our analysis. Again the question raises here is that when we see something from emic perspective we follow our instincts, philosophical orientation and educational training. All of these things make us to think beyond. This out of way thinking became core of our analysis.

Now that historically looking at human progress we find that human was not and never was same as it is now. By that I mean our modern approach toward understanding primitive settings. It's like, looking at black and white picture we almost think that those days were really backward, without colors. But that is not the reality, the life was same colorful as it is now. However, as science has advanced so our thinking became salve. We almost make distinctions which are almost falsely judged.

Modernity is in it full glory and we are busy in personifying human abilities (which are almost alienated). Thing is that part of us do not know that modernity we praise comes with price of our own destruction. Marx was not being personal with industrialist but the thought process of industrial bourgeoisie is not in favor of humanity. Massive exploitation of resources, environment, culture, and people has the price (consequences). Modernity and advancement at infrastructural level looks very good but beneath the surface and underlying strategies aren't very good.

Changes in social and economic structure of pastoral communities make us realize that we have gone too far and we think that there is no turning back. However, there are alternatives to neoliberal capitalist development (see. Hensman, 2015). Moving ahead of nature will not give us the fruit of going along gradually. During a conversation with local Seth, I asked him about his occupation. "He told me that we were pastorals and subsistence farmers but it was four decades ago. Then we shifted toward production of agriculture. He told me that our first integration into market was shop we opened of shoes trading. After some years we closed that business and started new business. The new business was selling pesticides, seeds and other agriculture technology. It was some 15 years ago we started that". In contrast, I met former pastoral community head, Roshan Bozdar, he lives in makeshift house. "He said 15 years ago we settled down in one place. Now we are here for almost fifteen years. But do not own land. We are landless peasants. Our life is here with these huts and Zamindars. We fetch water from three miles away. Our children has no education and we are also not educated". Even they are not integrated into state system. This can be implied because they had no national identity card issued by concerning authority.

Conclusion

It is almost now cliché to say that world is moving toward advancement in terms of technology, development and financially. The advancement is not equal, not applies to every part and population of world. It adversely effects and damages some sections of society those are not ready yet. Human life and culture are not always same, imposing ones decision and curiosity to other yields worse results. Similarly, an urban city oriented person will think of rural peasant as un-educated, illiterate, and so on. Peasant, in similar vein, think of urban dandy person as disrespectful, out of world and alien to their culture.

I have discussed in dissertation about agriculture, modernism, and capitalism. Then moving on to pastoralism something on and off not properly align with modern world system and not ready for modernizing themselves. They still need a way to enhance present conditions and not to adopt the single city offer. Pastoral livelihood, migration patterns and labour patterns. We then touched the ground by highlighting caste, identity and class relations in village setting of Wahi Pandhi. Moving next to analysis the research discussed the finding in light of Marxist analysis of modes of production.

Policy Recommendations

From the findings of present study we have highlighted following policy recommendations:

For agriculture:

Agriculture in present times accounts for larger portion of production in Wahi Pandhi. Therefore looking at present condition of agriculture we find that yield is getting higher per year but the price and market fails Farmer and Zamindar at large.

For that reason, government must intervene in market mechanism and set a proper price setting in which farmer and landowner can benefit. They must get profit because without profit they are very vulnerable toward money lenders and find themselves in debt for long time. There is strong monopoly in setting rate by dealers and suppliers, where farmer say is absent. This also discourage farmer because he only know the real time investment he make in cultivating land including his and family labour for year.

Rain has substantially decreased in area and agriculture production now rely heavily on water tube-wells run by electricity. The energy shortage in Pakistan has impacted farmers because the supply of electricity is not ample. Electricity plays significant role for land to provide water on time from tube-wells. For that reason government and state institution must ensure that during agriculture production they shall provide full electricity supply to villages like Wahi Pandhi for their better growth of production.

Due to political patronage system most of villagers do not get government aid and projects for water supply and irrigation system. These irrigation, water supply and other facilities are given to rural and political elite in Wahi Pandhi. By this act of patronage, large segment of village pollution became deprived of government projects. For this reason, there must be accountability and monitoring of government funded projects in village. Also expert team shall be executed before starting any project to validate the genuine location and true beneficiaries get those projects.

For Pastoralist

These days pastoral livelihood is endangered. Because of low rains in area and less pastures for large number of herds. Secondly common pool resources are being taken by powerful people and those who live nearby lakes and greenery.

In Pakistan and Sindh specifically there is no strong policies and implementation which favors pastoral communities. There is no medical treatment for livestock and all burden is taken by Pastorals themselves which is also costing lot of money to them. These Pastorals are switching their livelihood and adopting farming. It gets worse when they switch their livelihood, and with that they changes their lifestyle and it takes over a decade to settle down. Some of Pastorals which are now farmers still lives in huts and owns no land, no livestock and has no identity.

We as inhabitant of world must consider this issue as priority, because environment is our priority. This research may be understood by scientific community as base to start to look at Pastoral communities which are endangered in Sindh and Balochistan.

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Glossary

Wahi Pandhi:	Name of Village
Johi:	Johi is tehsil of district Dadu
Kirthar:	Name of mountain range
Lund:	Is caste in Wahi Pandhi
Babar:	ethnicity caste (Sindhi)
Malokhani:	Is Balochi tribe living in mountains
Thaheem:	Is Sindhi smart kaum
Panhwar:	Is Sindhi smart kaum
Birhamani:	Is Sindhi caste
Kachho:	Is arid region
Chappar Kadu:	Is name of Vegetable
Bhoso:	Fodder
Palal:	Hay
Soregh:	Is umbrella term for Village of Rustamani
Paaro:	is local term used for clan
Shujra:	Lineage tracing
Khalaq:	Brohi Language word for family
bhalosay:	Brohi language means better
Panch:	Five
Shaigur:	To your home
Kaumi:	is referred for ethnicity and tribe in Wahi Pandhi
Shahlani:	is subtribe of Rustamani
Jhanda:	is name, in Sindhi it means flag
Raees:	is prestigious person in Village holding some powers
Tho kahien aa:	is way to ask identity who are you
Bhaagri:	is schedule caste

Jati:	is term used in India for caste
Rawaaj:	trends
Phashk/ Phado:	women dress (Balochi)
Paag:	turban which is symbolic
Takri:	Laqaab or given name to financially strong people in mountains
Zia:	descent tracing
Wadera:	Big man in village of respective tribe/subtribe
Sardar:	Chief of tribe
Tada:	rug made by peesh
Tanwriyun:	material used to make rug
Watan merai watanen:	pro verb
Koh:	mountainous area, especially rocky
Jabal:	Mountain
Urf:	aka
Jar:	Cloths
Sindh cut zurthien:	modern fashion
Mazeen suthanr biyen haan:	long (trouser) salwar
Pheesha:	before
Shesha nish gaar:	proverb and taunt for (modern) women
Aman pasand:	peaceful
Teen daba:	iron made things
Phad(h)ai:	fighter
Zaat:	term used for caste
Merai rupya cha charano astay:	measurement in conversation 25 cent in one rupee.

END NOTES

ⁱ Sahlins views the "freedom from environmental control" realized in permanently residing agricultural communities as primary among the factors in man's material evolution. He argues that the irregular demand on subsistence, realized through agriculture, stabilized the social environment and permitted specialized production in a variety of non-subsistence productive modes. Accumulation of non-subsistence material things was then possible to the extent that residence remained permanent.

ⁱⁱ Engels postulate was that the basic structure of any society was of production and it was this which determined the pattern of distribution, consumption, etc.

ⁱⁱⁱ Saith and Tankha analyzed the transformation of a feudal-like domination of labour into a hierarchical structure of peasant owner-operators during the colonial period and then a later shift toward a polarization of rich/ capitalist peasants and waged workers, a movement which was accelerated by the Green Revolution. In the same vein, writer emphasizes that it is important to know (historically) the class conflict whereas this area is less discussed and researched.

^{iv} While the strictly economic elements comprising the forces of production remain determinant in the long run, in this view it is the relations of production that dominate the functioning of any ongoing system and that should serve as the defining feature of the mode of production as a whole

^v They spend part of each year with livestock in the mountains, when environmental conditions are optimal, and the rest of each year somewhere else—in adjacent lower valleys, distant plains, or even cities (van Leeuwen et al 1994).