

# SUKKUR BARRAGE: ITS IMPACT ON THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF SINDH

By

M.B.K. Lashary

## I. INTRODUCTION

Agriculture is our basic industry and the base of our economy. Rural life is dependent primarily upon agriculture. Thus it is also a mode of life and the economic basis of a distinct culture. That is to say, the two cultures - rural and urban - while they are similar in some respects, they are not so in many others.

Irrigation, as we know, and shall discuss briefly, has had a marked influence on social organization. Irrigation is essential for cultivation. It entails a very high investment of human labour for the construction and maintenance of irrigation system as well as the growth and harvesting of the crop. Where such a huge investment of labour is made in land, people abandon their nomadic life and take to immobile and settled life.

Sukkur Barrage on River Indus, which was commissioned on 13th of January, 1932, has successfully completed fifty seven years of its life. It ushered a new era in the irrigation history of the province of Sindh.

This paper envisages to trace a brief history of irrigation in general and to highlight the impact of Sukkur Barrage on the social life of the people of Sindh in particular. The methods employed in this study are: 1) Historical Method, 2) Statistical Method (whatever data were available and the author could lay his fingers on), 3) Comparative Method, and 4) Observation Method. Since published material regarding impact of Sukkur Barrage on the social life of the people of Sindh is scarce much of the present discussion is based on Personal Observation.

The barrage was opened more than half a century ago, and since then the world has changed a lot. All that has happened during fifty seven years of its existence, therefore, cannot wholly be attributed to it, because there are other variables which have worked together, e.g., separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency in 1936, creation of Pakistan in August, 1947, expansion and extension of education, improvements in communication and transport facilities and the availability of, and access to, the modern mass communication media, abolition of Jagirdari System and Land Reforms, increased health and sanitation facilities, rural electrification, mechanization of agriculture, use of artificial fertilizers and pesticides, research in agriculture, addition of two more barrages, one of which has already completed thirty four years of its life, and many other facilities of social importance provided by the ideological, independent and sovereign Islamic

## Grassroots

State of Pakistan changing the entire outlook and philosophy of life. However, as Sukkur barrage was the first to revolutionize the irrigation system of Sindh previously based on inundation canals, it has had a marked influence on the social life of the people it serves. We have to see the extent of this influence and impact; that is to say, the social change and social trends.

### II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE IRRIGATION SYSTEM IN SINDH

Sindh has scanty rainfall of 5" to 6" average per annum. But here nature has given much by withholding much. It is the gift of the river Indus, which has rendered its lands cultivable since times immemorial. The relative importance of rainfall and irrigation has been well summarized by sociologist Dwight Sanderson (1942):<sup>1</sup>

Lack of rain makes the un-inhabitable desert. A light rainfall produces the prairies and steppes, where livestock grazing is the chief mode of subsistence and is often associated with a nomadic or semi-nomadic type of life. Only where rainfall is sufficient and reasonably regular can agriculture exist, except where it depends upon irrigation. This exception is noteworthy, for considerable areas in the oldest agricultural regions can grow crops only by means of irrigation and the art of irrigation is one of the man's first conquests of the natural environment.

On the eve of British Annexation of Sindh in 1843 irrigation in Sindh from the river was of two kinds: either by the use of the Persian wheel, or by simply opening drains leading to low lands. The former is worked by a camel or bullocks, which system T. Postans termed as a far under affair than any thing seen in India at that time. Occasionally the method of raising water by hand, as was adopted in Egypt (there called the Shaduf), might also be seen at work, fastening the leather pockets to the end of long poles, with a great mass of clay at their other extremities, and working in short upright posts. The pockets were dripped in the stream, and the preponderating weight at the other end of the poles was employed to lift the water.<sup>2</sup>

The improvement of inundation canals under the British administration began to receive attention with the British Annexation of Sindh. The pioneers in this great work were: Lt. Col. Walter Scott, who traced the main defects of the old system of irrigation and suggested the best method of improving it, General John Jacob, Mr. Bartle Frere, and Lieutenant J.G. Fife, R.E. The last named is said to be the real architect of what has since become the most impressive system of public works. He was not only responsible for many of the earliest improvements on a small scale undertaken in Sindh but was also the first Irrigation Engineer to foresee the need for what became the Sukkur Barrage. In 1855, Lt. J.G. Fife, R.E. (as he was then, and later became Lieut. General) submitted

## Grassroots

a brilliant scheme for remodelling of the irrigation system of the whole Province. He proposed four lines of canals, one leaving the river at Rohri and running parallel to its left bank at a distance of about fifteen miles from it until it entered the Fuleli Canal near Hyderabad; another leaving the river at Sukkur and running parallel to the right bank till it entered the Western Nara Canal a few miles north-east of Larkana, the third and fourth leaving the left and right banks of the river respectively at Jherruck. The last of these two canals was ultimately to reach Karachi. His scheme was partly accepted. The Rohri Canal Project due to its alarming magnitude was not adopted. The project of Sukkur Canal was accepted in a very reduced and modified form and sanctioned in 1861. The third and fourth canals leaving the right and left banks of the river near Jherruck were not sanctioned. Fife had also suggested a fifth canal to be constructed running from Mithrao to Wanki Bazar on the Eastern Nara. It was immediately sanctioned but owing to financial stringencies of the period it was not completed till 1879. Between the period 1884 and 1894, the largest canal work carried out was construction of the Unhar Canal in the north of Sind, costing 6 lakhs of rupees; two smaller canals, namely, the Pitchard and the Dhamrao Canal, each costing 3 Lakhs of rupees, were constructed in 1894. Work on Jamrao canal was also started in 1894 and the canal was opened in 1899. It was designed as perennial canal. Since opening of the Jamrao canal, the largest work carried out was the remodelling of the Nasrat and Dad canals which was done at the cost of Rs.18 lakhs and 27 lakhs respectively. The work of remodelling of Desert canal was also carried out. All these works were finished between 1902 and 1904; and between this time and the sanction of the Lloyd Barrage and the Canals construction scheme, no larger mechanical work was carried out in Sind. Sind was still without one assured perennial canal. After a persistent battle between two schools of thought, one favouring the continuation of inundation canals and improving them and the other which took the wider view that the only satisfactory long-term solution was perennial water brought on to as much of the land as could be irrigated, Lt.Gen.Fife's dreams at last came true after 77 years, and by that time he had long been dead.<sup>3</sup>

"The victory of perennial irrigation is now complete" says the author of the Gazetteer of West Pakistan-Sind Province (1968), "and it will not be long before the last of inundation canals are matters of history, as the two great areas left out from the command of the Sukkur Barrage Project are now being covered by: 1) the Kotri Barrage ... and 2) the Guddu Barrage in Upper Sind....."<sup>4</sup>

### III. THE IMPACT OF SUKKUR BARRAGE ON THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF SINDH

#### A General Impact on Economy:

Sindh forms an area in which agriculture is by far the most important industry or occupation. From agriculture is derived most of the wealth of the country and greater portion of the population is dependent either directly, or indirectly, on the success of agriculture. Prior to the opening of the Barrage, the cultivation was mostly done on inundation canals. The statistics of cultivation on inundation canals from 1873-74 to 1931-32 shows the gradual and continuous increase of cultivation on inundation canals. The acreage under inundation canal cultivation rose from 14.9 lakhs in 1873-74 to 30.6 lakhs in 1931-32. The years 1878-79, 1889-90, 1900-1901, 1910-11, 1919-20 and 1929-30, falling at ten-and eleven-year intervals, were years of bumper crops. There was a real set-back in 1918-19 when the area under cultivation dropped from 31.6 lakh acres in 1917-18 to 24.17 lakh acres probably due to influenza epidemic in the last months of 1918. The Revenue Officer, Lloyd Barrage (as the post was then called) disposed of 4,77,383 acres of the three-class government land, namely, concessionary sales, sales at full rate, and leases during five years from 1928-29 to 1932-33, and recovered sales/lease money of Rs.2,14,18,525. Sales of land subsequent to 1932-33 but prior to 1938-39 were 8,10,539 acres and thereafter upto 1957-58, the total number of acres disposed of by the Revenue Officer, Lloyd/Sukkur Barrage stood at 5,92,433.<sup>5</sup>

Now Sukkur Barrage alone with canal net-work length of over 6,000 miles and commanding gross area of 8.5 million acres, is irrigating an area of 7.28 million (72.8 lakhs) acres, nearly 2 1/2 times more than the total area of 30.6 lakh acres of land cultivated by inundation canals in the whole Province in 1931-32.

The immediate effect of Sukkur Barrage scheme was substantial increase in cultivation. The ultimate planned area for annual cultivation was 5.25 million acres. The expected acreage of wheat, cotton, rice and oil seeds was realized within 8 years, but the tonnage yield of crops did not increase correspondingly because of un-skilled management of soils and unscientific care of crops, soil deterioration, lowering fertility due to intensive agriculture, and lack of high yielding varieties in private farming. On the whole the barrage was a success and led to the construction of Kotri Barrage near Hyderabad and Guddu Barrage in Upper Sind.<sup>6</sup> From economic point of view the immediate effect of Sukkur Barrage can be well judged from the fact that although the thirties were period of acute financial crisis and of agricultural distress due to the low market prices of commodities throughout the world, and despite the break out of World War II in 1939, which brought a host of new problems for Sindh to face,

the LLoyd (Suukur) Barrage, after a difficult initial period began to pay handsome dividend from the proceeds of which Sindh was able to provide itself with some magnificent new buildings for the Legislative Assembly, Dow Medical College and Government House.<sup>7</sup> Despite difficulties of very arduous type, Dr.Sorley writes, "Irrigation has been pressed on with commendable despatch. The existence of the great Sukkur Barrage has vastly increased the resources of the country. But the authorities not content with this have now added in 1954 a second barrage at Kotri.<sup>8</sup> The third barrage has also since been added."

Increased cultivation and yield of cotton led to the installation of cotton ginning factories and ultimately textile industry. Cultivation of sugarcane made possible introduction of sugar industry. At present there are 16 sugar mills in Sind, out of which 8 are in the command area of Sukkur Barrage, and 4 cover it partly. There was not a single sugar mill in Sind at the time of partition. Extensive and intensive cultivation of paddy rice crop necessitated opening of more rice mills. There is need to instal more sugar mills, specially in Badin District where sugarcane production is more than the crushing capacity of the existing three mills.

To what extent have the cultivators and the Government of Sind benefited from the Sukkur Barrage can also be seen from the fact that during 1980-81 (Kharif and Rabi), the total acreage under cultivation irrigated by 5 of the 7 canals, namely, Rohri Canal, Nara Canal, Dadu Canal, Rice Canal, and North Western Canal was 51,22,198 (details could not be had about Khairpur Feeder East and Khairpur Feeder West) while the ABIYANA recovered by Government during that year (for both Kharif and Rabi) for area cultivated and irrigated by all the seven canals was Rs.14 crores approximately. The land revenue was in addition to this amount of Rs.1400 lakhs. (Details obtained from the Office of the Chief Engineer Irrigation (Development), Government of Sind, Shahbaz Building, Hyderabad).

The barrage has, thus, on the one hand, added to the Provincial Exchequer and, on the other, improved the financial condition of the people of Sind in general, and of the farming community, in particular.

### **B. Social Change and Social Trends with special reference to the rural areas**

Change, in general, has been defined as "any alteration in the position or condition of anything from a state previously existent." (E.E.Eubank). Social change, therefore, is alteration of the previous position or condition of social phenomena, which are the forms of association and of social interaction. Social change is often discussed as synonymous with cultural change; but the latter is much more broader term dealing with the entire human culture, including its material culture. Social change is dependent on and is a part of cultural change but is restricted to the non-material

## Grassroots

culture, the changes in the forms of human association and how they function and in the forms of interaction that occur among them. What is social is the meaningful interaction between men.<sup>9</sup> Social change has also been defined as "the reorganization of society in terms of time and place."<sup>10</sup> The phenomenon of social change is as old as society itself. No society, whether highly complex or primitive, is completely static or completely dynamic. Since the social institutions are inter-related with one another, change in one social institution causes changes in other social institutions in varying form, speed and direction.

Since agriculture and irrigation are the essential parts of economic system, and are institutions by themselves, changes in them are bound to affect other social institutions. Let us see the changes and trends arising out of the change in irrigation system - from inundation canals to the perennial canals.

### 1. Patterns of Settlement and the Mode of life.

Since irrigation communities are compact, immobile and pacific, the local peasants, who were previously engaged in cultivation by means of inundation canals were obliged to supplement their income by livestock. They led semi-nomadic life, roaming about along with their cattle in search of fodder. Now, they as well as the new settlers, who were granted land in the barrage area, had to make permanent dwellings for cultivation on perennial water made available by Sukkur Barrage as it required high investment of labour and permanent care. With the extension of cultivation the pasture-land went on decreasing, forcing the livestock grazers, who lived entirely nomadic life without permanent abode, to take to cultivation and to dispose of all or significant portion of their livestock. It had dual effect turning nomads to live fixed abodes, and gradual decrease in the number of livestock. Permanent settlement necessitates building of houses.

Endorsing the account of dwelling-pace in Sind, given in the 1907 Edition of the Sind Gazetteer, the author of the West Pakistan Gazetteer Sind Edition (1968), wrote: "Sind is largely still a rural and pastoral and a nomadic country, and the majority of the inhabitants have little desire to live in or possess substantial brick-built buildings. Some scorn even so much as shelters of reed mats and live under trees; but the ordinary villager has a low hut consisting of mud or wattle walls and a roof of thatch with a hedge round it enclosing the cattle-shed which is also his reception room when friends call. In an emergency the cow will share his own hut with his family. His furniture consists of a cot or two, a mat, cooking pots and a hookah! According to the same author, there had been on the whole, very little change since that time, except that after the period of agriculture depression, which ended about the commencement of World War II, a great

improvement occurred in the income of persons working and living on the land and this improvement had the effect of increasing the amount of money which agriculturists were prepared to spend on the provision of more substantial buildings than those prevalent in the days of the great agricultural depression, which lasted for about twenty years from the end of the World War I. The author talking about the riverain districts, further wrote that the conditions in most parts of the country (i.e Sindh) were still not very different from those observed by Lt. James in his account of the Chanduka (the Larkana District) more than a hundred years ago. Lt. James had said: "The houses are of mud with flat roofs, and those of the poorer classes are of tamarind wood covered with mats and boughs and, where procurable, grass. Many villages are comprised almost entirely of the latter description, little if any distinction being observable between the sheds of the cattle and its owners...." Dr. Sorley, however, called it absurd to believe that the Sindhi peasant in that way was an unhappy and ill-provided for creature and believed him to be quite satisfied with his housing conditions.<sup>11</sup>

Dr. Sorley started writing the Gazetteer in October, 1957 and finished it on the 3rd December, 1959, i.e more than 29 years back. The publication of the Gazetteer was, however, delayed until 1968. Since then a lot of social change has taken place. Addition of two more barrages, rural electrification, modern media of communication and transport, which have shortened the physical distances and have brought people nearer to one another, and many other developments which took place thereafter, have all made rural population more conscious of their dwellings, dress, eating habits, etc. Economic prosperity and imitation have made people to build brick-built houses. Those who cannot afford such houses are now building kutchha houses but of the type which are now more spacious and properly ventilated. In saline areas where mud-built houses are not durable, houses are built of LAKUR that are not of the type late Dr. Sorley observed more than a quarter century ago. Now the rural people no longer live in WANDHS or under the trees or with their cattle. The trend is towards making better-built houses. Similarly, the ruralites are now generally well-dressed, both males and females. Shalwar and Kamees or Kurto, a dress which was once supposed to be the dress of the ruralites. is now getting popular with the urbanites also. Sindhi Ajrak and Sindhi Topi are now considered as a symbol of prestige and dignity even by the educated class. Women folk in the rural areas are imitating their counterpart in the urban areas in their dresses. Similarly, dresses of rural woman are getting popular with the urban woman. The hookah is fast vanishing. A few generations hence it may be a matter of history. In fact hookah had received a heavy set-back when BIDIS were introduced. Now bidis in most part have been substituted by cigarettes. Rural woman who in the past used to smoke hookah now smokes bidis or even cigarettes.

## Grassroots

Were Dr. Sorley living today, he would have been pleased to notice this change in the outlook of life of the people whom he had served and loved throughout his civil service career in Sindh Province and Pakistan.

### 2. Family Institution: Future of Joint Family

Joint family still continues to be the basic social and economic unit. However, there is a trend towards Nucleus family, specially where some members of family enter government employment and move to towns and cities, due mainly to the difference in incomes of the individual members. Distribution of the inherited landed property also often leads to the disintegration of the joint family and thus gives rise to the formation of nucleus family or family of procreation. This trend is more rapid in urban areas because rural society is largely an agrarian society, and the agriculture-based society, with perennial system of irrigation would, even after extensive mechanisation of agriculture, require co-operation of many members to handle the process, which can be possible only in a joint family. In rural areas the process of disintegration of the joint family is so slow and uneven that the situation cannot be considered as alarming. The joint family system has no danger for many generations to come.

### 3. Population Change

In 1847, the total population of Sind was estimated at 12,74,732 persons (Bom: 1847, p.2). 1961 census quoted the population as 6.42 million, more than twice of 1900, the year when the first census was taken. The population grew from 30,71,000 in 1901 to 1,41,56,000\* in 1972. Sind's total population in March, 1981 rose to 1,89,66,000\*. There was significant increase in population between 1931 and 1961, which was caused by the introduction of perennial irrigation and separation of Pakistan from India in 1947. Perennial irrigation was first introduced through Sukkur Barrage in 1932, and by 1941 the population went up by about 20% in Sukkur Barrage area. Except for Karachi, the population growth in all other districts is related largely to the development of irrigation and agriculture.<sup>12</sup>

### 4. Social Stratification

Social stratification has two forms, Class and Caste. While class is attained by economic and social status and can be changed, the caste is hereditarily fixed. Sindhis have had a fairly rigid caste system. Class could be changed through one's efforts and struggle, but not the caste. It is not so rigid now. Individuals belonging to conventionally low castes in Sindhi Society can, now, on getting rich and wealthy, command as much

\*Source: Housing and Population Census of Pakistan 1980-81, Provisional Tables, Population Census Organization, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, Census Bulletin No.1, P.I.

respect as those belonging to the so-called superior castes. Inter-marriages between the so-called low caste families and the superior ones, are gaining ground. In some cases even Syed families, who hitherto felt proud of marrying non-Syed girls, but felt humiliated in giving their own daughters and sisters in marriage to non-Syeds or Ummatees, have now made relaxation in their rigid attitude.

### 5. Social Processes: Co-operation, Competition and Conflict

While co-operation is still the basic form of social interaction in rural society and shall remain so, because on it depends each and every society, whether primitive or highly complex, competition and conflict have fairly increased. Due to imitation, competition is fast replacing the traditional contentment. It is mostly in the acquisition of wealth and in the material aspect of life. Competition when it is healthy and indirect is not harmful, but when it is direct and personal, it leads to conflict. In rural society and specially in Sukkur Barrage area where sharing of water (Warabandi) is fixed and tight, conflicts often take place among peasants and / or zamindars. This results in litigation and sometimes even murders. Acquisition of others' landed property (often belonging to weak or old persons, widows and orphans) is also the bone of contention. Sometimes and somewhere woman will also be the cause of conflict. Thus it can be said that as ever ZAMIN, ZAR and ZAN are the main causes of conflict in our rural areas. More often it is the ZAMIN (land) which has become so valuable after perennial irrigation, that has led to the conflicts for the other two. Zamin does bring and has brought Zar (Wealth) and the Zar stimulates acquisition of, and involvement in, ZAN (woman). It was not so in the past, at least not with such a frequency.

### 6. Time Consciousness

Sindhis are often called as lazy and immobile. At least, this cannot be true of those engaged in cultivation, specially those hailing from Sukkur Barrage area. The perennial irrigation system, as has been stated earlier, requires everyone to be alert to get his share of water at any time, whether it is day or night. Summer days are very hot in Sindh. Ploughing, sowing and harvesting have to be done in early hours of the day. One who is lazy will lose everything. Thus a significant change that can be noticed with ruralites in Sukkur Barrage command area is that almost every peasant has a wrist watch, not as a fashion but of necessity. The people are, therefore, generally time-conscious. One should not envy their leisure activities. It may be partly correct that Sindhis are immobile. But it is both a virtue and necessity. They are immobile due to their relative prosperity and traditional contentment generally having no lust for more wealth. They are happy with whatever they have. Irrigation communities cannot afford to move about as cultivation would require huge human labour

## Grassroots

Investment. They are, therefore, pacific and immobile.

### 7. Amusements and Recreation: Emergence of Institution of Mandnee and Hotel

A significant change can also be noticed in the emergence of the institution of Mandnee and Hotel, otherwise an insignificant but sociologically interesting and important institution. Professor Nizamuddin Halepoto in his Hotel Aeen Mandnee: Hik Samajee Idaro has called it an interesting and important institution where many faces of rural society can be observed. Tracing the history of the origin of this institution in rural areas, Professor Halepoto states that this institution emerged as a result of opening of barrages in Sindh. When the barrages were constructed, and canals and distributaries and bridges (Morees) were built over them, bridges became the meeting and resting places of those who lived in nearby villages as well as for travellers. At first Hat (small shops) were established which catered food and also provided a resting place but later on those who were unable to do any other business took to tea stalls or cigarette shops. Professor Halepoto has discussed in details the advantages and abuses of this institution. It has become the meeting place of antisocial elements - thieves and narcotic drug traffickers, etc., and also of those suffering from contagious diseases. A lot of back-biting is done, which leads to conflicts. Sale of drugs and narcotics is done. This is the dark side of this institution, but the bright side of it is that it has become a place for amusement and recreation for ruralites where radio, tape-recorders and even T.V. provide amusement to the ruralites. The place of settlement of mutual disputes has now generally shifted from the Otaq of Wadero, Raees, or Chango Murs to this institution. It has also brought about social as well as political consciousness among the ruralites.<sup>13</sup>

### 8. Fatalism, Conservatism and Superstitions

Due to increased awareness and awakening, brought about by mass media, the traditional fatalism, conservatism and superstitions are losing ground. With the supply of irrigation water guaranteed by the perennial system of irrigation, use of improved seeds, artificial fertilizers and pesticides and modern agricultural technology (though limited form) our peasants have become far less fatalist or conservative than before. The idle class of Pirs and Fakirs who used to pray for and guarantee good cropping, bless with a male child, ward off diseases of crop and cattle, and give relief from illness to the people and thereby made an easy living, is now fast vanishing.

### 9. Social Interaction and Social Participation

With the modernization of transport and communication system inter-group and intra-group interaction has now increased. So far as social partici-

pation is concerned, no significant change is noticed among the Sindhis, except one. In the past they used to spend lavishly on social and religious ceremonies and get indebted, but now with the rise in income many of the families do not suffer from indebtedness on this account. It will not be true to say that "our peasant is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt." In most of the cases the real cause of rural indebtedness is their practice to spend lavishly on social ceremonies and on the improvement of their standard of living.

### 10. Changing Status of Woman

Our rural woman in general is now enjoying better status than in the past. She is an economic asset in rural society and works in the field side by side with the male members. In fact from the times immemorial she has been working alongwith man but was generally not given her due status. She had hardly any say in the affairs of the family. Now with the awakening and general consciousness and with the change in the hitherto rigid attitude of the males towards her, she has come to attain a better position. The examples of this change are:

- i) ruralites now are generally interested in, and inclined to, the education of their girls.
- ii) they are now taken for medical treatment to the doctors, dispensaries and hospitals,
- iii) change in the attitudes in allowing females to join service and become career women so as to add to the family income and thereby improve their standard of living; and
- iv) while endogamy is still the prevailing system of marriage, exogamy is also being practised.

## VI. CONCLUSION

To conclude, the commissioning of the Sukkur Barrage in operation has proved a boon for the people of Sindh in particular, and Pakistan in general. It has helped the people to improve their lot economically, socially, and thereby politically.

## REFERENCES

1. Sanderson, Dwight, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organisation, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942), Pp.42-43.
2. Postans, Capt. T, Personal Observations on Sindh, the manners and customs of its inhabitants, (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1973), Pp.81, 84-85. Originally published in 1843 by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London.
3. Sorley, Dr. H.T., The Gazetteer of West Pakistan-Sind Edition, (Lahore: 1968), Pp.455-58.
4. Ibid, p.457.
5. Sorley, op.cit., Pp.363-64 & Pp.490-91.
6. Hussain, Ishrat, Economy of Modern Sind, (Jamshoro: Institute of Sindhology, University of Sind, 1981), Pp.191-96.

## Grassroots

7. Sorley, op.cit., p.193.
8. Ibid, p.205.
9. Sanderson, op.cit., Pp.645-47.
10. Chaudhry, M.Iqbal, SOCIOLOGY, (Lahore:Aziz Publishers, 1980) p.336.
11. Sorley, op.cit., Pp.291-93.
12. Rahman, Dr.Mushtaque-ur, A Geography of Sind Province, Pakistan, (Karachi: Karachi Geographers Association, 1975), Pp.151-52.
13. Halepota, Prof.Nizamuddin, in his Hotel Aeen Mandni: Hik Samajee Idaro, published in Bi-Annual Sindhi Adab No.1 (Jamshoro: Institute of Sindhology, University of Sind, 1979), Pp.72-75.