

ANNEX 1: JALAMBANI

Introduction

Jalambani is located 136 km from Quetta, 33 km from Sibi, and eight km from Dhadar. The village is connected with the main Quetta-Sibi road by eight km of rough shingle road. Administratively, the village is included in Mashkaf Union Council of Dhadar *tehsil* (sub-division) in Kachhi. In Sibi, the average maximum temperature in June was 48.2° C and the minimum mean temperature in June was 30.3° C. The mean maximum and the mean minimum temperatures in December were 25.1° C and 8.2° C respectively. Rainfall is extremely sparse, although it varies greatly year by year in the range of eight to 15 centimeters. (Government of Baluchistan 1981, 13 and 25). The village is located in the Bolan foothills and is subjected to torrential and devastating floods from time to time; the latest being in August 1986 almost twelve years after the previous devastating floods.

Demographic Characteristics and Village Profile

The population of Jalambani was 285 (147 males and 138 females) according to the census of 1981. At present the estimated population is 421 persons distributed throughout 54 households. Approximately 46 per cent of the population is under 15 years of age and the total number of old-aged dependents in the village is around 23. The entire population of the village, except the village *moulvi*, can be subsumed into 25 extended families, all *Jalambanis*, a sub-clan of the *Kuchiks*, a clan of the *Rind Baluch* tribe. *Baluchi* is the mother tongue of the inhabitants, but most men can also communicate fluently in *Urdu*, *Sindhi*, *Sariaki*, and *Brohi*. All the inhabitants are adherents of the *Sunni* Sect of Islam.

Village houses are made of mud and mostly consist of two rooms without a separate kitchen, bathroom, or lavatory. All the houses in the village have electricity. Wood and animal excreta are used as fuel while Kerosene oil and electricity are used for light.

A primary school was established in the village in 1962, although it took several years to provide a mud structure and a teacher. Enrollment in the school remained negligible throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, but there was marked improvement in this respect from the late 1970s. At present, more than 60 per cent of the school-aged boys are attending school, five boys are matriculates, two of them are studying in college, and 12 boys are studying in high school in Dhadar and Rindli. All of them are day scholars and commute daily to school by bicycle. Apart from these, only five males are literate in the village. Female literacy is almost zero.

The principal occupation is agriculture and everyone has small landholdings. Generally, a household in the village owns a few goats, some cows, and about a dozen or so chickens. The cows and the goats are locally bred, and their milk yield is low and is entirely consumed by the household. Oxen, goats, chickens, and eggs are sold for cash.

Social Institutions

Kinship is patrilineal and all residents belong to the same patrilineage. The extended family is the predominant institution in the village, the father is the head of the family and it is his responsibility to support and to manage the family. Females are segregated from adolescence and, unlike in many other villages, women do not work in the fields or in any other agricultural

activity. Marriages are arranged by the parents. In marriage, girls are often exchanged between different families or *lab* (bride price) is paid by the grooms' family to the bride's father. The amount of *lab*, in this village, is in the range of Rs 10,000 to 15,000.

All inhabitants of the village belong to one lineage which is, by preference, endogamous. Their kinship organisation is further strengthened by endogamy and it also provides mechanisms for ventilating hostilities and procuring reconciliations among different families. There has been no incidence of violence against person or property during the past two decades. The head of the lineage, or *wadera*, who is traditionally responsible for the resolution of conflict, has never had to mediate. Minor disputes are settled by the heads of the households themselves.

Land Management

The total cultivated land in the village totals 305 acres for which perennial irrigation is available from the river Bolan. Until 1984, all the natural resources were managed under a common property regime. Ownership of the land and irrigation rights were vested in the *Jalambani* lineage but the water rights and the right to usufruct the land were only vested in adult males. Under the common property regime, the entire land was divided into two equal halves and, on alternate years, one half was cultivated and the other was left fallow. The land to be cultivated was sub-divided equally between all the adult males of the village, and the total number of such shares was 98 in 1984. Water rights were also distributed according to the share of land at this stage. Protection and maintenance of a 4 km long irrigation channel was the joint responsibility of the entire lineage. Each and every adult male was given a share, and, on the death of a shareholder, his share reverted to the community and not to his dependents who had to depend on the charity of relatives for their survival. The male child of the deceased had to wait until adulthood to claim his share in common property. An arbiter was appointed to determine when a boy had reached adulthood and was entitled to receive his share.

The village community has experienced a fundamental change in its economic structure and production relations. Common property resource management, which had been in vogue for many generations, came to an end in 1985, when the land and water resources were distributed permanently among the males. The concept of private land ownership was introduced by the village *moulvi* (religious teacher). He considered the common ownership of resources un-Islamic, because the institutional arrangements deprived females and the dependents of the deceased of usufructuary rights to the resources. The *moulvi* claimed that property in Islam must be owned by individuals and must be inherited by all the dependents and relations of the deceased according to Islamic injunctions. The *moulvi* told us that, since the early 1970s, he had been protesting about the system of common ownership and distribution of resources because it was contrary to the edicts of Islam, but only a few persons agreed with him. This attitude began to change in the late 1970s and in the early 1980s the majority approved of the *moulvi's* point of view and private ownership of land was established. In the permanent distribution of land, however, females were not given shares although male children, even infants, received shares. For this purpose two male children were considered equal to one adult male, and, thus, the total number of shares was 108 at the time of permanent settlement.

In 1985, the entire land area of 305 acres was first divided into two parts and the two main factions of the lineage agreed to take one part, allocation to be decided by lottery. The land was then divided among the shareholders in such a way that brothers and cousins took possession of adjoining plots. Water was allocated according to land and each individual share of land was allocated one *pahr*, or three hours, of water from the irrigation channel.

The traditional institutions are quite strong and effective in management and allocation of resources. Maintenance and cleanliness of the irrigation channel, four to six times a year, is the joint responsibility of all cultivators. They must participate in the periodic cleaning and maintenance of the irrigation channel. Those who cannot participate in physical work have to pay the labour costs for their share of the work. According to convention there is a penalty for the absentees, but it has never been necessary to enforce this penalty.

The village has some pasture which consists of fallow land and land not available for cultivation which has scant vegetation. There is no prohibition on grazing and seasonal migrants are allowed to graze their herds if vegetation is available. Most of these seasonal migrants buy fodder crops or staple food crops, of inferior quality, to graze their herds.

Although the village *moulvi* played a major role in bringing about private property rights over land and water, market forces also played an equally important part in the transition towards private ownership of land. In the early 1970s, vegetable cultivation was introduced into the village by some cultivators who had been exposed, in the nearby villages, to the methods of a prosperous and modern farmer. The village is in the immediate vicinity of a large estate of the Khan of Kalat which is leased out to a Hindu manager (for Rs 400,000 a year) who has been using machinery since the early 1970s. His tractors and implements are available for hire to other farmers in the area.

Vegetables proved more profitable than wheat and sorghum, the principal crops of the area, even though, at that time transportation was extremely difficult and market contacts were weak. Vegetables transported, on a camel's back, to Dhadar (8 km), and sold to the local shopkeepers, at considerably lower prices, paid more than any other staple crop at that time. However, the cultivation of vegetables was labour intensive, and, under the common property regime, every individual was awarded a different plot of land every year. Nobody was ready to work hard for someone else to cultivate the plot next year.

In the late 1970s, some cultivators from the nearby villages brought tractors and a rural road was demarcated which opened up opportunities for automobile traffic. Demarcation of the new rural road facilitated transportation of fresh vegetables to distant places. Commission agents from Quetta were attracted to cheap vegetables and the entire crop was disposed of at the farm gate without any trouble. Successful cultivators encouraged other individuals to accept permanent land settlement and the arguments of the *moulvi* were used to win support. There were substantial income differences among the farmers growing vegetables and the farmers cultivating cereal crops. In addition, many farmers were convinced that the *moulvi* was telling the truth and that he must be obeyed. According to the village *moulvi*, under the common property regime, subsistence cultivation was the norm and a large number of people avoided hard work, but it is difficult to substantiate. The *moulvi's* campaign was organised for recognition of the Islamic principal of inheritance and property rights of females. However, although the former has been established the latter is still not acceptable, because of established traditions and dominant social values.

The village has witnessed many changes in a short span of time. Land is now alienable private property which can be sold for cash, although so far only one person has sold his property. The commission agents and the road linked the village economy with the greater markets which have played a very important part in bringing about socioeconomic changes. The village economy is subject to market forces and the rates fixed by the traders in Quetta and Sukker. This has brought an important change in production relations. Previously, land was cultivated with bullocks and all the able-bodied men in the village cultivated their small plots of land by themselves. Only a few persons employed wage labour in the harvest season if the crops were

plentiful. Now the ploughing, levelling, sowing, reaping, and threshing are done by tractors and wage labour.

Land distribution in Jalambani is not skewed, although there are some differences in family landholdings. However, only a few families own more than 12 acres of land, and it is not feasible for a large number of farmers to maintain and employ bullocks. Previously there were only eight bullocks in the village and the owners received a share of the crop from farmers who employed them. The cultivation of cash crops increased the farmers' income and, in a situation of freedom from want, farmers can afford to rent tractors and wage labour. Within a few years, bullocks were completely replaced by hired tractors and other implements. Another important change in the past few years has been the employment of wage labour for most jobs. Vegetable cultivation, which a large number of cultivators have adopted, is labour intensive. Most farmers lack resources to rent tractors and pay wages at the time of sowing. The commission agents from Quetta provide loans for this purpose and these are repaid at harvest time.

Village politics are marred by factionalism. What gives this a distinctive atmosphere is interaction among kinship groups and factions which often result in coalescence of the kinship groups into a number of conflicting activities.

Project Assistance

Project intervention started in 1986 when the village organisation (VO) was first formed. At that time, the VO had 48 members because all the households in the village participated. There were probably amicable relations among factions at that time and all the heads of households were persuaded to join the village organisation. Later, however, there were some disputes in the local government elections and one faction withdrew from the VO in order to disappoint its opponents.

The faction that took over the VO is very eager to introduce development schemes - construction of rural roads, etc. - in order to impress upon the other faction that their cooperation is not necessary to implement development schemes. Because of the factional strife the VO was inactive for some time, and the Development Officer (third since the VO was organised) did not seem interested in receiving it. When the VO was re-organised in 1988, its membership dropped from 48 to 25. Apart from the factionalism, the VO is not regular in savings nor in holding meetings. The leaders, its chairman, and the secretary are influential individuals who have some connections with the low level officials in the sub-division. The secretary is a landowner, proprietor of one of the three shops in the village, and a councillor on the Mashkaf Union Council.

The other faction is led by the village *moulvi* who is influential because of his position as a religious teacher, custodian of the village mosque, and ritual leader; he is widely respected by all villagers. The *moulvi* is available in the village at all times and tries to meet all visitors to the village. He does not like the VO and, keeping a distinctively low profile, grumbles against its leaders. In these circumstances, the VO is bound to be an ineffective and unorganised body.

The Project provided assistance in some physical infrastructure schemes and four culverts were constructed over the irrigation channel to facilitate transportation. The VO demanded other physical infrastructure schemes such as drainage construction and street paving.

However, despite the many problems involved in using hired machinery and tractors, the VO has not applied for assistance in this matter. The VO has also not asked for assistance in improving

agricultural productivity, livestock and poultry breeding, land development, and water course improvement. Its vision is limited to physical infrastructure schemes which are a source of income and can be used as instruments in factional strife.

The Women's section of the project, which is engaged in health education programmes and in introducing income-generating activities for village women, has not received encouragement despite the great efforts of the project staff. In 1988, the Project started a programme to train Community Health Workers (CHW). After 17 days of intensive training workers are able to identify and treat most of the common and minor ailments and for this they are provided with the UNICEF-supplied health kit. Two persons from the village were nominated by the VO for CHW training. One of them joined after repeated calls and dropped out after a few days.

The project is an equal partner with the LGD in rural development. The DO of the LGD in the union council is the main resource person in the villages and is involved in organising the rural masses. The DO involved is interested in getting development schemes for the village, and has asked the VO leaders to raise their savings in order to get development schemes approved by the Project. He has tried to cover up the malfunctioning of the VO and maintains its records properly in his office in order to get sanction for development schemes. However, despite this, VO meetings are infrequent. The leaders claim that two meetings were held in the previous six months, whereas the DO has recorded four. VO savings are neither regular nor uniform and, in the past two years, the entire savings of Rs 4244 have been deposited in four installments only. The DO has not yet grasped the basic strategy of the Project and its objectives, and the villagers remain ill-versed in organisational matters. Popular participation, representation, self-help, and cooperation are concepts that have yet to be fully understood and internalised.

ANNEX 2: KILLI MUSA KHAN JUMMA KHAN

Introduction

Killi Musa Khan, Killi Jumma Khan, Gharibabad, and Allahabad are a cluster of villages located close to each other. They are situated 130 km from Quetta, on the Quetta-Sibi road, in the western backyard of Dhadar town. The cluster is distinctive from other rural areas of Baluchistan in many respects. The first two villages were selected for the study. The two villages are separated by a 12 ft wide street. Two blocks on one side of the street are called Killi Musa Khan and, on the other side of the street, Killi Jumma Khan. There were two separate village organisations for these blocks and our discussion is confined to these two villages. Both these blocks, Jumma Khan and Musa Khan, have been involved in the development efforts of the Project since its inception.

The climate of these villages is similar to Sibi which is very hot in summer and mild in winter. The mean minimum and mean maximum temperature of Sibi during July was 25.7° and 42.3° respectively. The mean minimum and maximum temperature in January was 6.9° and 22.3° respectively. Rainfall is scanty and varies from year to year in the range of 80 to 150 mm per annum. There is only one primary school and no basic health unit or other services.

Demographic Characteristics and Village Profile

The total number of households in Killi Musa Khan is 28 and in Killi Jumma Khan around 80. The average size of a household is from six to seven persons and the total population is under 500. All the inhabitants are *Sunni* Muslims.

Only four households are engaged in agriculture. The rest are wage labourers and work in towns for different trades. People of the Musa Khan block are *Gola Baluch*, members of the same lineage and migrants from the same area of Sanni.

Musa Khan was a cultivator working as a tenant in this area for many years. Later he obtained the land for a rent of Rs 42,000 and cultivated it with the help of three other households. In the past decade, most of the relatives of Musa Khan, who were seasonal migrants, constructed permanent huts on the land cultivated by Musa Khan. The landlord served notice through court and asked all the illegal occupants to vacate his land. Threatened by the prospect of becoming homeless, they approached the Project for assistance. The Project helped them to purchase land and to erect houses on a self-help basis.

The Killi Jumma Khan case is similar. The occupants were seasonal migrants from Dasht who had been given similar notices by the landlord. They also approached the Project and requested assistance for the purchase of land. Assistance was granted, and houses were built on a self-help basis with Project cooperation. All the households in the Jumma Khan block are labourers who work for wages in towns.

The houses are made out of a mixture of mud and hay. Roofs, in more than 70 per cent of the houses, are constructed with iron girders, T-iron, and baked tiles. Clean potable water is available from public taps. The majority of houses have very large compounds with boundary walls as high as eight feet. Several houses of the same extended family are located within one compound.

Baluchi and *Brohi* are the mother tongues of *Baluchi* and *Kurds* respectively but a large proportion of the men can also speak *Saraiki* and *Urdu*. Only a few men in the village can read and write, and the females are all illiterate. The new generation is now going to school and about 70 per cent of the school-age male children are attending school, several have passed matriculation, and one boy is a student of M.Sc. Chemistry at the University of Baluchistan. The occupational structure is, to some extent, diversified. Only four households are engaged in cultivation, a large number of persons are labourers, several are employed as peons and watchmen in government offices in Dhadar, and several are employed in the Baluchistan Levy force. Three high school graduates are working as primary school teachers.

The people of Musa Khan block have now settled permanently in the village, and no longer return to their old homes in Sanni where there is a scarcity of potable water and lack of employment opportunities for wage labour.

All the *Kurd* inhabitants of the Jumma Khan block, (53 households) are seasonal migrants from Umer Dhor in Dasht, about 50 km from Quetta. These people used to migrate to the plains in winter and before building houses on the block they used to live in tents for the six month period. They own permanent houses in Dasht, and all except a few *Kurd* households migrate to their homes in Dasht in spring and return to the Jumma Khan blocks in autumn. If the rain comes, they cultivate land in Dasht, otherwise men travel to towns in search of wage labour leaving their women and children behind.

Social Institutions

Nuclear families are more common than the joint and extended families which are now disintegrating rapidly. Urban influences and a high rate of physical mobility, due to extensive travel to find work as wage labourers, have played an important part in changing family institutions. Adolescents who travel and live independently as wage earners and enjoy more freedom tend to deny the parental controls regarding marriage. However, several households of the extended family live in the same compound and, when men travel to other areas in search of work, it is the father who is responsible for caring for the families of his sons.

In the case of marriage, the groom's consent is necessary, and females have no right either to make their own choice or disapprove of the spouse selected by their parents. Among the *Gola Baluch*, marriage is either by exchange or *lab* (bride price) is paid to the bride's father by the groom's family. Marriages are all endogamous and *lab* is often fixed under Rs 5,000. Some villagers have now begun to question the *lab* custom. *Kurds* are also endogamous and marry their boys by obtaining their consent but without giving the same option to their girls. Most of their marriages are arranged between different types of cousins and *lab* is not prevalent among them.

Musa Khan, the most prosperous man, is leader of the *Gola Baluch*. His son and partners are leaders of the entire lineage-based group, and all minor disputes are resolved by them. Jumma Khan *Kurd* is the leader of his block. He is a literate and prosperous landowner from Dasht who has also helped many of his lineage to settle in the village for which he has been acknowledged as *wadera*, headman, by all the *Kurd* households. All minor disputes are resolved by these elders and no major incident or dispute has occurred during the past decade.

Project Assistance

The Project assisted the villagers to form a village organisation in August 1986. At that time 25 households joined and members deposited Rs 100 each in a savings' fund as well as contributing Rs 10 monthly towards the savings or the self-help fund. The first task of the VO was the construction of houses on the newly acquired land, and the Project provided assistance on a self-help basis. Almost all residents built their own mud structures for which the Project paid daily wages. Twenty five per cent of the wages paid by the Project were deposited as savings in the self-help fund. The VO has become a successful village organisation and has justified its existence by solving the immediate and most pressing accommodation problem.

The VO has emerged as an intermediary for the villagers with development agencies and government departments, and it is a properly functioning organisation as far as savings and meetings are concerned. Savings were regular until February 1989 and, according to its office bearers and the LGD officials, VO meetings are held regularly. At these meetings certain requests are forwarded to the Project for approval. Leadership of the VO has not changed since its inception, and the leaders are influential members of the community because they have helped other members in the past.

The *Golas* of Musa Khan block designated Musa Khan as *takri* and *wadera* (titles for *Baluch* and *Brohi* heads of sub-clans). Musa Khan's contacts with the local officials have also confirmed his leadership of the block. He is also the only person in the block whose son is a student at Baluchistan University. This son was also secretary of the VO. The authority of Musa Khan is such that, whenever we tried to talk to other villagers, they referred us to Musa Khan or his son. It appears, therefore, that the institutional structure of *Baluch* tribal authority and hierarchy has been transplanted into the VO.

The VO has not fully succeeded in instilling the spirit of self-help and cooperation into the villagers for solving problems (individual or collective). The Project supported the VO in buying land and in house construction during the first stage. It provided construction materials and training for lavatory construction in all the houses. The project staff demonstrated lavatory construction with an understanding that the villagers would build their lavatories on a self-help basis. The lining rings for the lavatory pits were also provided but are still lying in Musa Khan's Compound. Despite repeated advice by the Project, VO members have not constructed lavatories, but at VO meetings demands for lavatories, in each individual compound, are still made.

The VO applied for an extension of the Dhadar water supply scheme to the village and the Project provided all the necessary assistance. As a result tap water is now available in the village. The VO then asked for street paving and drainage systems. Since the boundary walls of all houses are made of mud, street paving is neither necessary nor feasible as it cannot be maintained. Cemented drainage lines and brick pavements in the streets will vanish within a few months of construction, particularly as household rubbish is thrown into the streets and there is no street cleaning mechanism.

Similarly, the demand for drains in the street is unrealistic. First of all water is only available from the public taps (there are two at either end of each street). People are accustomed to using very little water because of water scarcity and carry it in pitchers and buckets, made of used motor tires, to the house at the rate of a couple of pitchers twice a day (about eight gallons). Drainage will create problems because the mud will soon clog the drainage channel and, in the absence of cleaning arrangements, turn into cesspits harbouring parasites, which will eventually vanish completely under the mud. These schemes for streeting and drainage construction were

sanctioned by the Project because of an administrative lacuna in the Project Office and a misunderstanding between the Project and the self-help wing of the LGD. The village has become an extraordinary beneficiary of the Project despite the fact that the VO has neither made any progress in achieving popular participation nor fully responded to the self-help approach to problem solving.

The VO in the Jumma Khan block was established on November 17, 1986, with 66 members. The first application for assistance was a request to the Project to pay for the land that they had already purchased. The VO claimed that, in buying land, 66 villagers obtained loans totalling 150,000 and were unable to repay their loans from their own resources because of house-building expenditures. A detailed list of 66 persons, their creditors, and the loans taken was submitted and the Project paid 60 per cent of their debts and provided assistance in house construction.

This VO is less regular in meetings or savings than the VO in the neighbouring block. Savings are deposited and meetings are held every three or four months. This is because most of the people migrate to Dasht during the summer and others work as labourers in other towns. In this block, leadership is vested in a person who is literate, prosperous, and able to establish rapport with the local officials and visitors. The Chairman of the VO is Jumma Khan Kurd.

The number of households has increased in the village since the VO was first formed in 1986, and there are about 16 new households who have applied for VO membership. This has been rejected by the VO chairman because he argues that 66 is a very large number of members, more members means more 'trouble', and, therefore, he has not allowed new residents of the village to join the VO. The trouble he is referring to is the collection of periodic savings. He claims he has to loan monthly savings to different members who are not present in the village at the time of collection. *"It is difficult to find all the 66 persons for collection of savings how can I find 80 or more for this purpose."* Leadership remains within the same group and all members have recognised the status of VO leaders as prevalent in the tribal system.

The VO has not responded to the Women's Section programmes of the Project. The Women's Section handles programmes in basic health education, embroidery training, poultry training, and fuel saving cooking stoves. The chairmen, of both VOs, said that all these schemes are useless, take too much time and effort, and have no benefits at all. *"We know well how to breed chicken and how to make stoves. We are labourers and need only labour intensive schemes where our members can be employed"*. They are very happy to be engaged in the construction of drainage and pavement of streets because all the villagers were earning wages without going out to other towns in search of work. Now the VO has applied for a village protection dam because floods cause extensive damage to the buildings. Their interest in labour intensive physical infrastructure schemes is understandable because with this all males will find work without travelling to other places. Extension of public works in the village has made a major impact on migration. In the past one year several persons from Dhadar have bought land in the vicinity of the village and have started constructing houses.

ANNEX 3: KHUMBRI

Introduction

Khumbri is situated 10 km to the north of Dhadar town. The Quetta-Sibi road passes close by this village. Khumbri is actually a valley surrounded by the Kirta mountains, located in the hottest zone of the Province where the midsummer maximum temperature often remains above 40⁰ C. Winter is mild with a minimum temperature of 7⁰ C. Rainfall is infrequent and, whenever it occurs, it brings heavy but short-lived hill-torrents into the valley. The village is a very recent settlement and is probably an excellent example of courage, determination, entrepreneurship, confidence in self-help, and collective efforts in order to control and manage natural resources and the environment. Prior to settlement, Khumbri was a barren valley with a small brackish water spring. Vegetation in winter was scanty and was used as pasture by nomads from the Dasht area.

In 1980, Dilawar Shah and his nine kinsmen bought the 12 square miles of barren mountain and the Khumbri valley owned by the *Kuchick Baluchis* of Kirta. When the land was bought it consisted of a small and highly uneven gravel bed valley with little vegetation and with a lot of salinity. According to the land classification employed by the Revenue Department, Khumbri comes under the category of *banjar ghair mumkin* (barren where cultivation is impossible). The Shah brothers bought these mountains and the valley for Rs 125,000 and their shares in this investment range from 6.25 per cent to 15.62 per cent. Very hard work was required to bring this land under the plough. A series of small and large dams are required to slow down or stop the velocity of hill torrents so that the gravel can be covered with rich alluvial soil, brought down by these same torrents, and the land levelled.

The four mile long, oval-shaped valley has one spring of water at the northern end. The valley is now divided by seven dams, two of which are almost twice as high as the rest. Because of these dams, the entire valley has been divided into eight large fields. When the hill-torrents come they are stopped by the first dam until the first field is full to the brim. When the field is filled with water, an outlet is provided and water is diverted to the next field and the same process is repeated throughout all the fields. This process allows the silt and clay in the water to settle down and after several repetitions of this process the land becomes cultivable, although the danger of salinity is always there.

Demographic Characteristics and Village Profile

The village is actually a collection of 27 hamlets scattered over the western ridge of the valley. Only one house is made of baked bricks and cement, the rest are mud structures. The people are all migrants from the Kanak Dalai area of Dasht and all except three *Brohi* households are *Sayyids* (descendants of the Prophet of Islam). All adhere to the *Sunni* sect of Islam and speak *Brohi* as their mother tongue. Most of the people can communicate in *Urdu*, *Pushto*, and *Baluchi* as well. All the inhabitants are cultivators. The total population of the village is 190; the inhabitants belong to 18 extended families, and they are divided into 32 different households. The population has grown rapidly due to the migration of eight tenant households over the past two years. The village primary school was built by the Project and most of the school-aged boys are enrolled in the school.

Social Institutions

People live in joint families. Marriages are arranged between different types of cousins and are based strictly on bride exchange. If this is not possible then some payment is made for marriage expenditure to the bride's father by the groom's family. The respondents claimed they did not pay *lab* or bride price.

Seasonal migration is a dominant phenomena in this village. Most of the inhabitants have their houses and land in Kanak. These people migrate in October to Kachhi district, in order to graze their herds on pastures and work as agricultural labourers during the harvest season. In February, after the sorghum harvest, they return to Kanak. Women, children, and some men, migrate to Kanak Dalai where the summer is more mild than in Khumbri. Most men remain in the village to keep watch on the houses, floods, and hill-torrents that may occur between May and September. Some migrate only because of the extremely hot weather and, after the village is electrified they might stop migrating in the summer.

People are migrants, but they are concerned about the future of their children because of their seasonal migration. The children go to school in Kanak where they stay for the spring and summer season. However, there is no school in Khumbri where they spend the autumn and winter seasons. Well aware of the need for continuity in the education of their children, they requested the Project for a school building and this was approved.

Land Management

In the first year only 40 acres of land were cultivated and in the following year a 100 acres. Some of the crops and saplings of 50 trees, provided by the Project, were washed away by the floods. This year about 400 acres of land are under cultivation. The uncultivated land is used as pasture. *Brohi* nomads, who throng the area during winter, are allowed to graze their herds on the uncultivated land free of charge. Last year one field of sorghum, where the crop was poor, was sold to the nomads who used the crop as fodder for their herds.

Last year wheat, pulses, sorghum, water melons, tomatoes, okra, gourds, spinach, radishes, and turnips were cultivated. Rice was cultivated on some plots but was washed away by the floods. In February, 1989, wheat, barley, beans, onions, and cumin were grown. The land is mostly irrigated by spring water but neither spring water nor the soil have been tested in a laboratory. The land has a lot of salinity in some parts. According to one respondent, 40 kg of wheat were sown per acre but the average yield was only 500 kg per acre. DAP and Urea fertilizers were also used but all these efforts failed to increase the land productivity.

Vegetables are sold through the commission agents in Quetta. Vegetables are packed in used tea chests and these are transported by farmers to Dhadar where they are handed over to the forwarding agent. The forwarding agent charges Rs 10 per package as transportation costs. The commission agent deducts six per cent commission in addition to two rupees per item as handling charges. In the current season, during January 1989, the farmers received Rs 150 per 25kg package of tomatoes and, in February 1989, they received Rs 70 for the same package. Wheat, sorghum, beans, and pulses are sold to grain traders in Dhadar.

Although most members of the consortium were pastoral nomads, with limited engagement in settled agriculture, their knowledge of crops, cultivation seasons, and methods is extensive and commendable. They are enterprising and innovative farmers who experiment with different crops. This year cumin was cultivated and a good crop was produced. If this experiment succeeds

more spices will be cultivated. An important factor is that large investments in land are required and villagers are making use of every opportunity to increase their capital. The consortium of shareholders owns all the natural resources in the valley. Although they belong to the same clan, they have also formed some sort of joint stock company which is responsible for harnessing the potential management and better utilisation of the natural resources.

Project Assistance

Construction of several huge and lengthy dams was a difficult and very expensive labour intensive task. Villagers approached the agriculture and land reclamation departments for assistance but were disappointed. The villagers then approached the Project and requested assistance. They were advised to form a village organisation (VO) representing all the villagers. The VO was formed in August 1986 with 25 members; all of whom deposited Rs 100 each to establish a savings' fund. The Project provided a bulldozer for 500 hours to construct two large dams. The consortium employed its own resources and bought two tractors to complete five other smaller dams. In a short span of time, 400 acres of land were brought under cultivation. This area is expected to increase very rapidly because of the efforts employed by the consortium.

The VO in Khumbri can function only in the winter months when all the inhabitants return from their summer abode at Kanak. VO meetings are held only in these months and savings are collected and deposited at an interval of two to four months. The VO had a total savings' fund of Rs 24,308 in February 1989, but has not succeeded in creating broad-based cooperation in different activities. It seems to have been organised only to obtain assistance from the Project. In all other activities, the consortium owning the valley has organised its joint ventures in an appreciable and efficient manner.

In 1985, the consortium bought a second-hand tractor, (with a trolley and all implements) which was badly needed for development of land and cultivation in the valley. The tractor is also rented to the farmers from the nearby villages. When it is not required for agricultural purposes it is made available for hire and is employed in the transportation of sand, gravel, and bricks. Although members of the consortium did not disclose the exact profit, they agreed that the tractor had proved to be a good investment. This was possible because the tractor is driven and maintained by the members of the consortium. The consortium is enterprising and pursues every avenue to raise capital. In 1987 they bought another used tractor, and with these two tractors they are rapidly developing their land and earning income to invest in the development of land and water resources.

ANNEX 4: GOLA BASTI

Introduction

Gola Basti in Jalal Khan Union Council of Kachhi district, is 280 km east of Quetta and 10km from both the metalled road and Bhag town. The village is in an alluvial plain in the eastern area of Lahri mountains and is located in the hottest zone of Baluchistan where the midsummer temperature often reaches 40°C, although the winter is mild and pleasant.

Demographic Characteristics and Village Profile

The present population of the village is 227 distributed throughout 43 households. Agriculture is the main occupation. About 50 per cent of the school-aged boys are enrolled in the primary school. *Saraiki* is the native language, while *Sindhi* and *Baluchi* are extensively spoken and some people can also communicate in the *Brohi* language. All the people are ethnically *Gola Baluch* and adhere to the *Sunni* sect of Islam. Agriculture is the main occupation.

The village is a new settlement about a quarter of a mile away from the site of an older settlement which was washed away in the 1986 floods. The village mosque and the primary school survived the devastating floods and still stand on the old site. All houses are mud structures. Most have only one room and some are still without proper plaster on the walls and floors. All houses have thatched roofs supported by wooden beams. None of the houses have separate kitchen, bathroom, or lavatory.

There is no shop in the village. The nearest shops are in Jalal Khan village about three km away. The villagers do all their shopping in Bhag town ten km away because, in their opinion, shops in Jalal Khan are very expensive. They travel by a bus which passes through the village on alternate days. For shopping needs, they usually take 30-40 km of grain, mostly sorghum or oil seeds, sell it to the grain dealers for cash and with this buy commodities. They buy clothing, most grocery items, kerosene oil for lamps, tobacco, and all other consumer items not produced locally. Most of the villagers grow varieties of gourd, spinach, turnips, radishes, and okra for their own consumption and they also share them with those who do not grow their own.

Social Institutions

Joint families are the norm. Women are actively engaged in agricultural and livestock activities. Marriages are arranged by the parents among close relatives to maintain group solidarity and power. Normally, girls are exchanged in marriage and if this is not possible a small amount (usually under Rs 5,000), known as *lab*, is paid as the bride price. The institutions have not changed much.

The social organisation of the village is composed of different *thala* or labour groups. A labour group is a collection of several households of brothers and cousins who work together as members of the agricultural production team. Some labour groups also include members who are not related by blood or marriage. The labour group is a necessity that has been imposed by the organisation of production and management of resources. Every *thala* is headed by a headman, known as a *raiece*, who is often the most influential landowner in the village. The

raiece settles the individual problems and minor disputes which occur in their day to day life. There are eight such *thalas* in this village.

Land Management

The entire area of land was owned by the chiefs of the *Mugheri Baluch* tribe, the largest landlords in the area. Since the mid 1980s, small plots of land have been sold to the tenants, but distribution of the land is uneven. The headman owns about 200 acres whereas most of the households own less than 10 acres. Their holdings are much below subsistence level and due to the uncertainty of irrigation they cannot even partly depend on their own land for their livelihood. Therefore, the entire village is a tenant village where the inhabitants cultivate the land of other landlords on a crop-sharing basis.

The land is given for cultivation by the landlords not to individual tenants but to the head of the *thala* who is responsible for preparation of the land, maintenance of embankments, the irrigation canal, small diversion dams, and irrigation operation and cultivation of crops. On an average, a *thala* manages about 200 acres of land. Work required on this amount of land is beyond the capacity of six or seven men and their bullocks. Only part of the land can be prepared for irrigation and cultivation by the *thala* due to many constraints.

Water for irrigation is uncertain and dependent upon rainfall in the catchment area. The water comes in the form of high velocity hill-torrents which are diverted into inundation canals for irrigation of land. Individual fields of several acres are surrounded by a strong embankment. Maintenance of embankments to prevent leakage at the time of irrigation, diversion of irrigation water at the time of destruction of dams, and other such activities require group efforts.

The landlord receives one third of the grain and one tenth of the hay and fodder. All inputs and labour are provided by the tenants. The carpenter also works under a traditional contract arrangement where he receives one thirtieth of the harvest for his services.

Sorghum is the principal crop of the area and is dependant upon the floods in May/June. In the absence of floods, farmers have to irrigate this crop. Another significant crop is water melon which is also flood-irrigated in January/February. This crop is profitable since it is marketed in distant towns and cities. Fodder and vegetable crops are also grown in this area.

The village has no specific pastureland. All the uncultivated land, which brings some sort of vegetation after the winter rains or after the summer floods, and the cultivated fields after harvest, are used as pastures. Usually women and children take the animals out to graze. During some months a few villagers take sheep, goats, and cows from the whole village for grazing. Although no fixed wages are paid for this service, the shepherd is paid whatever the villagers can afford. From November to February, *Brohi* nomads from the highlands of Kalat come to the area with their flocks of sheep and goats. They are free to graze their herds on the uncultivated land. After harvest, the stalk and residue of the sorghum is sometimes sold to these nomads for their herds.

The Project Assistance

Project intervention started in 1986 when the villagers requested the construction of a village protection dam. The villagers were advised to form a VO. Each household became a member of the VO and deposited an establishment fund with the Development Officer. The Project agreed to finance and implement the village protection dam on the condition that local resources and labour would be utilised to the maximum extent.

Villagers were encouraged to use their bullocks, and were paid daily wages at the rate of Rs 30 per day out of which 25 per cent was deposited as compulsory savings in the VO bank account. There were only seven pairs of bullocks at that time in the village. The Project gave a loan to purchase 15 pairs of bullocks. After completion of the dam, the VO paid for the bullocks from its savings. One pair of bullocks was given to the village headman, as traditional tribute, and the remaining 42 oxen were distributed, one ox to each VO member. Every VO member purchased another ox and each became owner of a pair of bullocks from the wages earned from the dam construction. The villagers were very pleased with the arrangement because their homes were now protected against the floods; they owned oxen; they earned wages which they badly needed because of the drought that year; and they had saved a substantial amount in their joint savings' account.

After the completion of the dam, the VO applied for the construction of a lined water tank. This was needed, because the old unlined water tank was dirty and polluted. It also used to dry up before the arrival of the floods. In the absence of water, people were forced to migrate to some other area for a few months or they had to bring water from very long distances. The Project approved the scheme for construction of the lined water tank and the tank was constructed on a self-help basis. This new tank is protected by a boundary wall and water is drawn by a hand pump outside the boundary wall. The VO is responsible for maintenance and authorises its use to outsiders. Now the village has two water tanks; one relatively clean and hygienic for the men and another, the old one, for the animals.

The third intervention of the project was in extending a loan to purchase sorghum seeds. Generally, a *baniya* (money lender-cum-shopkeeper) provides seeds on loan and charges interest at the rate of 10 per cent per month plus a surcharge of one month's interest. This problem was discussed by the VO and a request was made for internal lending (from the savings of the VO). The project loaned money and the money was recovered with an interest rate of only 10 per cent.

The success of the VO was due to several factors. Firstly, the village is almost homogeneous as far as the economic conditions of a vast majority of the people are concerned. All, except the village headman, are small landholders-cum-tenants. All are extremely hard working and enterprising farmers eager to take risks and respond to innovations. Secondly, the institution of *thala*, under which the head of the group is responsible for his members, allocates responsibility to a limited number of persons. Finally, the traditions and conventions of the tribal system, under which one must fulfill one's obligations and the trust put in one, are also responsible for the success of this institutional innovation. The traditional tribal system, in which the leadership of various sized groups and lineages is vested in the *takris*, *waderas*, and *raiece*, is very deeply rooted in the social organisation.

The women have not yet formed a Women's Organisation. However, the benefits of the VO have become so obvious to the villagers that, after a short span of time, they will realise the need of a Women's Organisation and allow their women to form one. Much hard work is required on the part of the Project to organise women and engage them in income generating schemes.

The villagers lack a basic knowledge of health and hygiene. There is no dispensary or basic health unit in the village or in any other village nearby, except the government hospital at Bhag. Representatives of other government departments or other development agencies have never visited the village and the villagers have not approached them. The agriculture and animal husbandry departments have some field staff in the area but they have never been seen by the villagers. No other international agency, engaged in development activities in Baluchistan, has a project in this village, and hence there is much scope for the Pak/German Self-help Project here.

ANNEX 5: PINDRAN

Introduction

Pindran Village is located in Nichara Union Council in Kalat District 230 km south of Quetta. Pindran Valley is about 2000masl and is surrounded by lofty and mostly barren mountains with scarce vegetation and very few trees. The valley is located in the temperate zone of Baluchistan where mid-winter minimum temperatures remain below freezing point and the summer are mild. The climatic conditions of Pindran are similar to those of Kalat which is 60 km from the valley. The mean minimum and mean maximum temperature of Kalat during the mid-winter of 1985 were recorded as -10°C and 9.4°C respectively. The mean minimum and mean maximum mid-summer temperatures for the same year were 16.70° and 31.1°C respectively.

Demographic Characteristics and Village Profile

The total population of the village is estimated to be 880. According to the census of 1961, the population of the village was 405, distributed throughout 90 households. In 1972, the total population was 716 and the number of households was 127. By 1981, the population of the village was recorded as 1,469 and the number of households was 240 (Government of Pakistan n.d, V-70; Government of Pakistan 1976, 148; and Government of Pakistan 1983). At present, according to the estimates of the DO, the population is around 1900 and the number of households 280.

The village is a relatively old settlement. Fruit and vegetable production for the market was introduced in 1972 and a rural road connecting the village with the district headquarters was completed in 1976.

Until the recent past, raising sheep and goats was the occupation of a large number of non-farm households who used to migrate to Kachhi district in winter to feed their herds. At present, only a small number of households migrate in the winter and they return to their homes in spring. Most of these seasonal migrants own relatively large flocks, without any agricultural land in the village. Cultivation is the principal occupation of the village and accounts for the activities of 50 per cent of the households. Landless labourers and artisans constitute 17 per cent of the households. There were 12 shopkeepers, ten religious teachers, 20 government employees, and four of the villagers were working in the Persian Gulf States.

Most of the houses are made of mud with thatched roofs, consisting of three rooms which are also shared by the animals. Only a few rich families have large double storey houses.

The village primary school, established in 1953, was upgraded to middle level in 1986. Total enrollment in the school was 49 students with only one student in class eight and two in class seven. The enrollment ratio is low and the drop out ratio is high. There are only two teachers in the middle school. In addition, there are two religious schools of different sub-sectarian groups in the village. Enrollment in one of the two religious schools was reported as 115 and it is difficult to confirm this claim. Most of the religious schools in the country report larger enrollment figures to obtain larger grants from public funds and private charities. The impact of these three schools is reflected in the literacy ratio of 8.1 per cent reported in the census of 1981.

There are 12 shops in the village which provide people with household articles and groceries, and most of the people still exchange foodgrains for their necessities. There are two water mills for grinding flour. The owner of each mill receives one tenth of the grains ground as wages.

Another mechanical flour mill was also installed a few years ago and the rate for grinding is Rs 10 per 40 kg. Most of the population is engaged in agriculture combined with herding, and wage labour is an additional source of income. The labourers migrate to Mekran or Quetta in search of work. Wages are highest in Mekran, at the rate of Rs 50 per day, so during winter most of the labourers go to Mekran, which is in the tropical zone, and during summer they work in Quetta which is in the temperate zone. There is one basic health unit in the village, and the building was constructed in 1978. The unit is staffed by one dispenser and a trained midwife.

Social Institutions

Ethnically, the entire population is *Brohi* speaking and belongs to about two dozen lineages of different tribes. All of them belong to the *Sunni* Sect of Islam but are further sub-divided into two sub-sects of the Deobandis and the Barelvis.

Families are patrilineal and domiciled in extended family groups. Marriages are usually arranged between members of the same clan and *lab* or bride price is paid so that girls cannot be exchanged in marriage. Kinship is a strong institution and groups are organised around kin loyalties and obligations. During different ceremonies and rites of passage, gifts are exchanged among the kin group as well as among affinal relatives. Solidarity of the kin group is the main feature of social life where such a large number of small groups of different lineages live together.

Social organisation is tribal, where chiefs and leaders of different lineages are recognised as *motaber* or 'local influentials' whose authority extends to their own lineages and those of their economically dependent tenants and allies. The *Pindrani* tribal chief used to be the most powerful person, because of his economic power and the number of his followers. After his death, the 'local influentials' played an increasingly important part in settlement of disputes. Religious leaders, such as the *mullas* and *sayyids*, who until the recent past, were almost at the lowest rung of the hierarchy, now play a major part in the settlement of petty disputes. (In the past, only prominent religious men were invited to the *Jirga* or tribal council). The disintegration of the tribal system and proliferation of religious schools, to some extent, created a religious elite in *Baluchi-Brohi* tribal society.

The village leadership now consists of mainly the *Pindrani* and the *Nichari* clans who are the largest clans in the village. A large number of other lineages are tenants who were mainly allowed to settle in the village for cultivation of land on a crop-sharing tenancy basis.

The social structure of the village can be analysed in terms of four economic and occupation groups. The first group is that of the large landlords who own orchards and vegetable plantations that are cultivated by landless labourers. Their economic power in the village is strengthened because of their authority over the large kinship group. The next group is one of small landowners who combine cultivation with sheep-goat raising. They are not economically dependent on the large landlords but the kinship networks and political alliances make them appendages to one or other of the powerful clans. The third group consists of tenants, artisans, and landless labourers; employed by large landowners. The fourth group, which is not separate from the third group, is composed of the herdsmen who graze their own sheep and goats, as well as those of other people, either on the basis of monthly wages per animal or mostly on a yearly contract basis.

Village politics are strictly factional between the *Pindrani* and the *Nichari*, and they are severely alienated from each other. The lineage leaders compete for resources from the Government and

this, in 1983, resulted in a big fight between two tribal groups in which one person was killed. The settlement of this dispute was sought, through the indigenous institution of the tribal council, and the case was resolved by compensating the aggrieved group with money, land, and two girls in marriage. The cash settlement, according to some villagers, was Rs 500,000 and 20 per cent of this money was given to the tribal chief as traditional tribute. One of the mountains previously owned by the *Nichari* was also taken over by the *Pindrani* tribe. This mountain was declared open to all members of the *Pindrani* tribe while its trees and wood became the property of the tribal chief.

Land Management

The total land area of the village is 400 acres and all the land is irrigated with perennial water from a spring two kilometres away in the mountains. The water is distributed according to the traditional rights of usufruct vested in different lineages and their landlords. Distribution follows an eight day cycle. Water is distributed into five unequal shares every 24 hours. One share lasts nine hours, one four hours, and three are of three hours duration. Water rights are predetermined. However, timings are on the basis of rote. A water manager, or *mir-i-aab*, is appointed to ensure proper distribution and he is paid by the water users. The water manager is responsible for cleaning the watercourse every four months. He fixes the responsibilities of different shareholders, and those who cannot contribute labour are obliged to pay wages for their part of the work. The water manager is also empowered to levy fines on those deliberately avoiding labour. He is also a landowner and is allowed to irrigate his land free of cost without being subject to payment of customary dues or labour in water course management and cleaning.

Irrigation water is an available commodity in the village because some landowners only possess small plots of land and their share of water is larger than their needs. These landowners sell their water to landowners who have large landholdings but insufficient water for proper irrigation. Normally water is not sold for cash but rather the water rights' owner is compensated with one fourth of the yield. Recently (1983), the Agricultural Department provided funds for improving the water channel and a farm water management committee was appointed to look after the water distribution and water rights. However, the traditional institution of *mir-i-aab* is so strong that this committee ceased to exist after completion of the work.

We were unable to obtain the correct land distribution statistics from the revenue records. Land distribution is uneven among different lineages and among different landowners of the same lineage. Large landholdings are cultivated on the basis of crop sharing tenancy for staple food crops. Orchards and vegetables are mostly cultivated by wage labour that is either employed for the whole year, at a monthly wage rate, or on a monthly basis in peak seasons. The traditional organisation of production, in which artisans used to provide services in return for a share in agricultural produce at harvest time, has been abandoned and replaced by cash payments. Land is also leased for cash on a yearly basis.

There is no tractor or any other kind of modern agricultural machinery in the village. Cultivation is done with draught animals, mainly oxen and camels. Wheat is the principal crop and it is cultivated in November and harvested in June. Sorghum and rice are also cultivated by some landowners. There are some fruit orchards with apple trees. Mulberry trees grow wild and the fruit is used as food by poor people in both fresh and dry form. Most temperate and tropical vegetables are grown and marketed in Kalat.

Forest

According to the local people, long ago the mountains were covered with Juniper (*Juniperus excelsa*), Pistachio (*Pistacia Cabulica*), and Olive (*Olea cuspidata*) trees, although this is difficult to confirm because nobody knows how long the forest has existed. At present, landlords in the area claim ownership of the mountains. During the Kalat State period, the ruler of the area was recognised as the owner of all the pastureland and agricultural land. However, at present, there is sparse vegetation and very little trees on these mountains.

The tribal chiefs, who own these resources, are also empowered to enforce sanctions on their unauthorised use. Since raising small ruminants was one of the major occupations of the tribesmen in the area, private ownership, claimed by the tribal chiefs, has restricted the use of pastureland and some of it is now closed. These mountains are also used as hunting grounds for senior government officials or for the Khan of Kalat - the previous landlord of the area. Grazing, wood cutting, and collection of dead wood from mountain areas, claimed as private property by the landlords, is totally prohibited.

Unauthorised wood cutting results in a very large fine and this is collected by the tribal chief. Unauthorised use by any person invokes sanctions which are much larger than the benefits acquired by the user. For grazing during the closure period, the penalty is one lamb. This is slaughtered and its meat distributed among the members present.

Only during drought, when people face extreme hardships in grazing their small herds of sheep and goats, does the tribal chief allow grazing for a limited period. Mountains outside this reserved area are free for grazing, hunting, and wood cutting by all inhabitants of the village. Neither forests nor vegetation are plentiful on these mountains.

Project Assistance

Because of factional struggles in the village and its large size, the Project permitted the formation of more than one VO. Two VOs, Pindran Nichari and Pindran Ramdanzai, were organised in October and November 1987 respectively. The Nichari VO was organised with 22 members only, although the households of that clan are in the majority. The VO was neither regular in savings nor in meetings, and one reason for this was the seasonal migration of some members to other areas. The DO, however, made efforts to ensure regular savings and these amounted to Rs 4,850 by the end of March, 1989. The Project approved of a flood protection dam for the VO at an estimated cost of Rs 120,000. The work is in progress, but the VO has neither tried to increase membership nor intends to do so. They have probably not understood the project philosophy and approach, as several reports of project staff who visited the village indicate.

The Ramdanzai VO was established with 23 members. The leadership and membership have not changed since its inception. Some of these people also migrate in winter to other areas and, therefore, the savings and meetings have not been regular. The Project approved a road construction scheme for the village in 1987. A scheme for a village protection dam was approved in 1988 and this is still being completed. The estimated cost is Rs 624,440. The total savings of the VO until October 1988 were Rs 4730. Savings in March 1989 were Rs 25,064, because the VO members working on the dam received wages and 25 per cent of the wages go into the VO's saving account.

ANNEX 6: TALHAR PATHAN

Introduction

Talhar Pathan is located approximately 400 km from Quetta, in the Jalal Khan Union Council of Kachhi District. It is situated at a distance of 15 km to the west of Bhag and 5 km from union council headquarters.

Demographic Characteristics and Village Profile

The total estimated population of the village was 318 persons distributed among 49 households, in comparison to a population of only 31 in 1981. Most of the people migrated from the village to other areas during the mid-1950s when Bolan dam was built, because it diverted flood waters into the reservoir and distributed within its own vicinity. The village inhabitants, migrated to other areas where water was available. Such a massive increase in population, between 1981 and 1989, was due to the fact that in 1985 the Jalal Khan Dam was constructed and it diverted the flood water to this massive plain; resulting in an influx of people who returned to this area to cultivate the land of their former landlords. Seasonal migration is only induced by shortage of drinking water (mostly from April until the arrival of fresh floods). A large number of *Brohi* nomads, from Kalat district, come to the area during winter to graze their animals and work as agricultural labour during the harvest season.

Sindhi, *Saraiki*, and *Baluchi* are common languages and some people can also communicate in *Brohi* and *Urdu*. Almost all inhabitants are illiterate. All the inhabitants belong to the *Sunni* sect of Islam. Agriculture is the principal occupation of inhabitants in the area.

Social Organisation and Land Management

Ethnically the people are *Baluch*, mostly migrants from the Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan districts, who were brought to the area as farmers during the past two centuries.

The social organisation and land management is similar to that of Gola Basti. Out of the 49 households in the village only two are landlords and all others are tenants. There are no social or economic differences among the tenants, all of whom cultivate the land of a handful of landlords.

The system of joint tenant cultivation, as described in Gola Basti, is prevalent. There are altogether five *thalas* in the village. All the members of the joint tenant group owe allegiance to their *raiece* who is responsible for his group to outsiders and resolves their mutual disputes if any. All except two groups of tenants are members of the same extended families. Therefore, kinship, apart from the labour group, also provides a basis for group solidarity.

Project Assistance

Project intervention in the area started from the Orientation Phase, and the Jalal Khan Dam was the first scheme implemented by the Project in 1984-1985. The VO was formed in August 1986, and the first scheme identified by the VO was a school building. The Project approved of the scheme and the building was completed in 1987. This school is the most modern building in the

village. The school enrollment is, however, low, largely due to the involvement of children in agriculture.

An interesting incident occurred in 1988 when the school building was occupied by the son of a *Buledi* landlord and the villagers were unable to ask him to vacate the building. He was, however, told to do so, but he failed to comply. The matter was reported to the Project and a complaint was lodged with the district administration. The occupants were forcibly removed by the police and arrested. The landlord was very angry with the villagers and they had to pay the price for ejecting his son from the school building.

The villagers have bought some land from the landlord but the title has not been transferred to them despite payment of Rs 75,000 by several *thalas* for purchase of small plots of land to individual tenants. The landlord blatantly refused to transfer the land and asked the villagers to pay a Rs 50,000 fine for the arrest of his son. He deducted Rs 50,000 from the money that he had already received and the villagers were unable to do anything about it. When the head of the *thala* was informing us about this incident, a member of the landlord's family came along, and the tenant was unable to utter a word in his presence.

The VO is a properly functioning organisation and holds regular meetings. Its savings amount to Rs 24,870. The Project provided the VO with a lined water tank for drinking water supply and this solved the water shortage problem. Loans from money lenders are a problem for the villagers, and, in 1989, their VO savings will be used for internal lending. The people have understood the project objectives and approach and are willing to cooperate to improve their socioeconomic conditions.