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## **WOMAN'S STATUS IN THE REFLECTION OF SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMARY PRACTICES: A STUDY OF 19<sup>TH</sup> AND 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY DG KHAN**

D.G. Khan is a region of far west of province of Punjab and as compare to other provinces of Punjab it is more tribal in its social set-up. The contiguity of this region to Baluchistan has had the influence on the lives of people due to the nature of tribal culture. The paper tried to investigate the trends of tribal culture on the lives of women of this region who had been subjugated in every aspect of life. The paper will also try to explore the social position of women through the lens of historical record, provided in the Gazetteers of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries related to the British Punjab. This period is interesting in the sense that it will explore the nature of customary practices which had determined the status of women in the tribal society of D.G. Khan that was patriarch in its nature. Women were seemingly excluded from all walks of life and structural coercion made them voiceless agent/appendage of the prevailing system. This investigative approach in the paper also questions the marriage of convenience which the

British made with customary practices to establish and prolong their rule in spite of claim of rationality and of liberty.\*

In this paper the emphasis is more focused on customary and social practices which have engendered the hierarchies and tended to more exploitation of women. The society of D.G Khan is more tribal and as well based on primordial relationships that have necessarily interpreted the course of social relationship in terms of power and influence. This power pattern in colonial context served not only the patrons but also the client. It has been found that latter end in its interaction with power mechanism exploited the social relationships in their favor. So operative power nexus in this society exploited the female gender and she is more sufferer and vulnerable as compared to man in getting social services and rights. It is pertinent to mention that gender is always central to the ways in which social relations have been navigated, built, challenged and resisted.

In this situation Susan Thorne indicated vividly that '[it is] an inchoate interdependence between gender and ... other social categories that shape and influence people's lives and the power structures in which they are located'<sup>1</sup>. In such context woman as a subject had been seen as a non-functional agent of tribal society of D.G. Khan because power was produced discursively in the society dominated by male. In this patriarchy, Power is a matter of competing discourses which are *not externally* imposed upon subjects (women). Subjects are not distinct from discourses but instead produced by them—power is constitutive not merely prohibitive. In the tribal society of D.G. Khan, subjects do not break from structures as autonomous agents and seemingly not in a position to enact social change. In that particular area of D.G. Khan, patriarchy was a dominant structure and accepted as a value to facilitate the social behavior. Its historical nature has been given by Lerner in one of her study that ...[In patriarchy] male head had absolute power over the household member and patriarchy began in classical antiquity and ended in the nineteenth century with the granting of civil rights to women.<sup>2</sup> This article will therefore also establish the

historicity of the phenomenon of male dominance and try to layer it out in the prevailing aspects of social life of D.G. Khan.

### **History of D.G. Khan and Balouch Tribes:**

Dera Ghazi Khan District is mainly Muhammadan and composed of *Biloch* and *Jat* tribes, with a few scattered families of Sayads of local importance. All the tribes composing the *Biloch* nation claim a common origin, but those resident in the sub-montane tract (the *Pachad*) forming the western part of the district are organized into separate and distinct tribes each (with one exception) ruled by a single chief. The *Pachad* is owned almost exclusively by those tribes, and their countries lie in the following order from north to south:-

***Sangrah ...Kasran, Bozdar, Nutkanis; Dera Ghazi Khan... Sori Lunds. Khosas. Legharis; Jampur... Gurchanis, Tibbi Lunds; Rajanpur... Drishaks, Mazaris.***<sup>3</sup>

The town of Dera Ghazi Khan was founded by *Haji Khan*, and called after his son *Ghazi Khan*, who succeeded him and died in A.D 1494. All the *Biloch* tribes now occupying the Dera Ghazi Khan frontier trace their settlement to this period. Some, such as the *Mazaris*, the *Gurchanis*, and *Tibbi Lunds*, first confined themselves to the *Sulemans*, but they gradually spread down into the plains and occupied the nearest lands, extending themselves in some places as far as the *Indus*.<sup>4</sup> The *Mazaris* in this way ousted the *Nahars* from *Kin* in the South of the district, and the *Nahars* dominions were reduced to the tract ruled from *Sitpur*, viz., the north of the present *Rajanpur*, and the south of the present *Alipur tahsil*. Most of the district was at that time a desert waste, and only a few towns in addition to Dera Ghazi Khan are said to have been in existence, viz., *Choti Zerine*, *Choti Bala*, *Harrand*, *Dajal*, *Asni* and *Mari*. The *Mirranis* soon came into conflict with the *Nahars*, who had extended their dominion northwards from *Sitpur* to *Harrand* and *Dajal*, but were ejected as rulers from that part of the district by *Ghazi Khan* in A.D 1482, though some families of their tribes still survive there. From this time forward, the boundary between the *Nahar* and the *Mirrani* governments was approximately the northern boundary of the *Rajanpur Tehsil*. The *Nahar* government gradually broke

into two: Kasim Khan, grandson of Islam Khan, ruling the southern portion, from *Umar Kot* in this district to *Kashmor* in Sind, and Islam Khan, his brother, taking the northern half, of which the capital was Sitpur. The *Mirrani* government included not only the remainder of this district, but also the western part of the central portion of the present *Muzaffargarh* District. The position of its boundary to the north towards *Dera Ismail Khan* is somewhat uncertain, but the *Leiah* tehsil was said to have been subject to *Mirrani*.<sup>5</sup>

All the *Biloch* tribes in the three northern tahsils acknowledged the suzerainty of the *Mirrani*, who for fifteen generations ruled at *Dera Ghazi Khan*. Each successive *Mirrani* Nawab was a *Haji Khan* or a *Ghazi Khan*, each giving his son his own father's name. A village near the town is consequently called *Haji Ghazi*. The *Mirrani*s acknowledged the sovereignty of the Emperor ruling at Delhi, and the name of *Ghazi Khan* is found among those of the chiefs who appeared in *Shahpur*, and tendered their submission in A.D. 1540 to *Sher Shah* when he was in power, during the time of *Humayun's* banishment from India. On the accession of Akbar, the *Mirrani*s owned him as their sovereign, and they remained subject to his successors. In 1700 A.D., towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign, one of the Ghazi Khans rebelled and was defeated with difficulty by the Governor of *Mooltan*, *Mauj-ud-din*, who was afterwards *Jahandar Shah*. About this time the *Kalhora* family came into prominence in Sind, and *Yar Muhammad Kalhora*, with the assistance of the Khan of Kalat, defeated the Governor of *Sevi* and established himself in northern Sind. *Yar Muhammad* made his formal submission to *Jahandar shah* on his succession to the throne of Delhi, and was invested with the title of Nawab and the governorship of *Sevi*. His son, *Nur Muhammad*, extended his aggression northwards, and the *Kalhoras* soon came into contact with the *Mirrani*s, during the period preceding the invasion of *Nadir Shah* when the Mughal Empire had fallen into a state of decay. So weakened were the *Mirrani*s by this struggle, that when *Nadir Shah's* invasion was followed in A.D.1739 by the cession to him of all the country west of the Indus, he recognized as his governor in *Dera Ghazi Khan* not the *Mirrani* Chief, but

his *wazir*, *Muhammad Khan*, *Gujar*, and that too in subordination to *Nur Muhammad Kalhora*, who had submitted to *Nadir Shah*.<sup>6</sup>

### **Customary Practices in D.G.Khan and the Status of Women:**

It is an observable fact in the region of Dera Ghazi Khan that customary practices have had a far reaching impact on the social life. The social implications of these customary practices for the woman of this region are more severe and they had been relegated back in all spheres of life. Different scholars have given their own understanding of the culture of which customary practices are the part. Clifford Geertz used the concept of culture as an interpretative one in search of meanings and as well their social expressions. He stated that 'culture is not a power, something to which social events, behavior, institutions or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligible'<sup>7</sup>. So the context of D.G.Khan has its own cultural connotations and among them are the customary practices which had a far reaching impact on the lives of women of this region. In the underlying section different customary practices have been figured out to determine the status of women, one of that is relating to the inherit property which can mark the economic dependence of women in this region.

### **Property Rights and Status of Woman;**

Culturally determined gender ideologies often define rights and responsibilities of women and what is appropriate behaviour for them. They also influence access to and control over resources, and participation in decision-making. These gender ideologies often reinforce male power and the idea of women's inferiority. It is evaluated that how far culture has an impact on the property rights of women in the region of D.G.Khan. Muhammadan law in its application is indeed different from that of *Riwaj-i-am* of this area in bequeathing property to the daughters and sisters. W.R.Wilson, settlement officer of Dera Ghazi Khan had had the views of this social practice which he stated in one of his report titled as 'Customary

Law of the Dera Ghazi Khan' that 'Muhammadan Law , to quote Sir A.H.Diack, is followed by the Jat tribes with a few exceptions which are generally those located in the country of a Biluch tribe. Nevertheless, there are only the *Khetrans* and the few *Sayads*, *Qureshis* and *Pathans* who are not ready to modify the provisions of Muhammadan Law where there are sons. The allegation is that sisters and mothers always have the decency to forego their rights in favour of brothers and sons. *Biluch* tribes followed their own customs in matters of inheritance'.<sup>8</sup> This provision of customary practices is further endorsed by the statement which is more relevant to the *Biluch* of *Rajanpur* Tehsil of *D.G.Khan* in 1920s. It was that 'All the *Biluches* of the *Rajanpur* Tehsil and the *Gurchanis* who have always been the most uncompromising champions of the male, have no part in this newly-found enlightenment(application of Muhammadan Law), and the bold assertion made when the *Rajanpur Riway-i-am* was being attested "*Biloch log shara ke nazikh nahin vende*" or "Trust *Baluches* to steer clear of the law".<sup>9</sup>

It was found in the documents that some of the tribe follows the Muhammadan law in the transfer of property to the female member of the society but with reluctant consent. The different tribes of this region follows their tribal customs variably in transfer of property to female agent of their tribe. The *Gurchani* tribe in the *Jampur* tahsil refuse to allow a women to inherit [property] under any circumstances.<sup>10</sup> It has been found that if property is transferred to the female member of the tribe then it is difficult for her to dispose of it at her own will if the need is felt of except in few matters. A.H.Diack in the customary law of the Dera Ghazi Khan described about this state of affairs that 'the general rule among *Biloches* is that the widow, &c., may alienate in case of necessity, e.g., if the estate is encumbered with debt or the land revenue is in arrears or if she is ill and the collateral relatives of her husband fail to support her and she cannot raise money otherwise. Moveable property may be alienated in any manner, but immovable property may only be mortgaged, not sold'<sup>11</sup>. It has also found in the Diack Report that if widow remarriages then her right to the property was unacceptable because she insinuated the tribal honour and

unsanctified it. He stated that 'all tribes both Hindu and Muhammadan who allow the widow a life interest in her husband's estate say that her rights are extinguished by either unchastity or remarriage'<sup>12</sup>. To this phenomenon of honour, it is plausible to give the referential description of Campbell who defined that 'honour is always something imputed by others, a woman's honour depends upon the reputation that the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts'.<sup>13</sup>

### **Betrothal & Compensation;**

Another important aspect of social custom was the ceremony of betrothal which could be cited as an example for the overawed domination of man in that tribal society. The moral integrity of man was not a challengeable question in the annulment of betrothal, but if it was allegedly attached with women that contract cannot be enforced. So here again women is seemingly more subjugated and mythological being sanctified as the honour of not an individual but of a tribe. The stated fact was that 'for man the impotence is the only ground recognized as sufficient for annulment: immorality, however bad, does not justify breaking it off'<sup>14</sup>.

The other aspect of engagement was not to consider the age of girl or not seeking her consent for the contract, had damaged the women's personality by not granting authority to them over the decisions which were more likely the part of her life. Even if the contract is not come into success, the effectee had a right to claim the damages from the tribe of the girl which may further aggravated the social position of women if the hand of sister of the contractor lady is given as remedy. It has been noted that in response to claim for damages the British Court system upheld the customary practice in this regard rather than to check it. The above given reference of W.R.Wilson gave the description of this act as follows in section ii-Betrothal. He stated that 'as a matter of fact in the rural communities betrothal is sometimes even antenatal, and is usually effected at an early age'.<sup>15</sup> Whereas the consent is concerned 'the consent of the

parties is not required as a rule in any tribe'<sup>16</sup>. One of the illustration in regard to damage claim had endorsed the general view about the status of women in that particular society and which was following: '*Mt.Lal Khatun,Biluch Dasti of Kacha Bhaut*, was betrothed by her father to *Jamal Dasti*, but was married elsewhere. The father was ordered by the Court on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1907 either to give Jamal another girl in marriage or to pay Rs.500 as damages'<sup>17</sup>. The illustration of this phenomenon is explicit by another case quoted overhere "the son of Sanwal, son of Ghulam Muhammad of *Chorutta*, was betrothed to *Mt. Jethi*, daughter of *Karam Khalol*. *Karam* refused to give her in marriage. By the political Assistant order, dated 29<sup>th</sup> June 1912, *Karam* was ordered to give the girl or pay Rs.800/ as damages within four months.<sup>18</sup>

### **Assertion of Woman's Will;**

It has been noted that in the tribal society of D.G.Khan man is free to make a contract of marriage if he is of full age but the women has no right to do the same act. This part of the social act seemingly made the women as an appendage of the social fabric in which she has no free will to act upon but rather if she does so, she is relegated in her social set up and her act is declared as *Kala*. A.H.Diack depicted well this particular act and said in his report that 'among Biluches a man is free to arrange his own marriage if he is of full age... but if an adult woman marries without her guardian's consent the marriage is not annulled but is considered *Kala(black)*'<sup>19</sup>.

Some of other social acts have assigned the derogatory status to lower castes or tribes in the dealing of marriage contract. Tribes or castes of elite segment of society of Punjab were seemingly reluctant to give the hand of their daughters and sisters to the men of lower caste or tribe. It was the act of social segregation which hampered the homogenization of the society , and divisions based on primordial considerations set apart the social fabric. H.A.Rose described this phenomenon well in one of his report to highlight the features of social set up of Punjab. He stated that 'as a general rule a wholly legitimate marriage can

only be contracted within the caste. ...in the first place each caste is split up into a number of sub-castes(endogamous groups) [and]... the characteristic rule of hypergamy, which is so widespread in the Punjab(though by no means confined to it), permits a man to take bride from a lower caste(as well as from lower groups within his caste), but forbid him to give a daughter to a husband of that lower caste(or group)<sup>20</sup>.

### **Reflection of Social Life and Status of Women:**

The description of the region of D.G.Khan in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was reflecting the social and economic conditions of women and as well the regional preferences by the stake holders in establishing the institutions which were seemingly supportive for the women wellbeing. It is being expounded that women were deliberately kept behind from the social domain and relatively were transgressed in all spheres of life. The layout of their social position will not only endorse the harmful impact on the lives of women but as well accepted this sorrow state as fait accompli. The era under investigation for this particular region of Punjab has also marked the societal division in primordial and instrumental parameters.

### **Women & Domestic Industry;**

The economic status in terms of gender shows that women were more active in domestic industry and the things which were being produced at local level were the main source of income generation. The things which were produced at domestic level and their nature in terms of their economic importance in the region of D.G.Khan, had been mentioned by Mr. Lockwood Kipling, Principal of the Lahore School of Art. He stated that ' in the border hills in this district there is an interesting domestic industry of woolen weaving, the products of which resembles the Arab and Semitic type of woven fabrics more than any other work found in India. The coarse and everyday forms of this pastoral craft are rough goats' hair ropes, the rude cloths on which grains is winnowed and cleaned, corn sacks, camel-bags and the like, which are used throughout this district and in the Derajat Division generally'<sup>21</sup>.

He further highlighted the role of women in domestic industry in a spectrum to judge the dexterity of their skill and as well depicted the share of cooperation in promoting the well being of their self and of community. Mr Lockwood stated that 'more highly finished forms are camel trappings, saddle bags, *shatranjts* or rug, and similar articles woven by *Biloch* women in a somewhat harsh, worsted-like yarn, dyed in a few sober colours. The patterns are as simple as the material, but they are always good, and there is a quality of tone and colour in the stuff which more costly fabrics seldom possess'<sup>22</sup>. It is also worth mentioning that some of the modern style factories had been established in the region of D.G.Khan from 1910s to 1930s and women were given chance to get employment. Most of these factories were related to products for which raw material was locally produced. It has been noticed in the Punjab District Gazetteers about the number of factories which was four in total and those were functional with respect to their output. In the cotton ginning, flour milling and oil extracting factory, named as *Seth Darbari Lal & Co* had 24 employees in 1931, in which 16 were males and 8 were females.

The second mill was also same and it operated under the name of *Aya Ram Ginning & Press Co* which had more females as compared to males. Its total employees were 43, having the 25 females and 18 males. Third factory was cotton ginning, flour milling & rice husking, operated under the name of *Seth Chaman Lal-Dhanu Ram* but it had all male employees who were five in numbers. The fourth one was cotton ginning & ice-making, operating under the name of *Mool Chand Ice Co* which had been devoid of female employees and all the 14 labours were male.<sup>23</sup> The above given description about the contribution of women in economic development was not counted as parallel to the effort of men in the progress of the region of D.G.Khan and it meant that their efforts were still to be enumerated to place them in the paradigm of equality. This case is reflecting that in the institutional context women bargaining power was weak in relation to man and they were considered as an agent of no change.

## Abduction of Married Women;

The most ghastly features of that tribal society was the abduction of married women who were seemingly turned in to an object of enmity between the tribes due to the breakage of contract or any other pledge taken for compensation of a crime. This interpretation lies with the findings of data presented in the Gazetteer of D.G.Khan 1897-98. The women abduction was based on Annual Police Report in which it has been presented that in relation to that cases how many personnel were enquired, arrested and convicted. The below given table shows that more of the accused were released and less than half were convicted in the abduction cases, reflecting

Cases Enquired			Persons Arrested			Persons Convicted		
1894	1895	1896	1894	1895	1896	1894	1895	1896
75	38	43	124	51	90	14	10	22

Source: Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan 1897-98,tableXLI,p.1.

the overawed influence of male domination and as well the practices of rituals which curbed the women's access to the institutions of relief by not letting them a free moment outside the domesticity.<sup>24</sup>

## Female Education;

Another aspect of social life was the establishment of modern school system that was to be in adjacent with vernacular ones. It has been noted that schools at the level of secondary, middle and primary were mostly established for boys rather than for the girls. It could be felt that in tribal society female education was not a priority in spite of Tumandars were parts of the British administrative system. Here the example of some of the tribes could be cited as references which were part of the Empire. *Dost Ali Khan Mazarri* was made *Risaldar* of a corps raised for service in the mutiny. He was made honorary Magistrate in 1859. He was made a Companion of the Indian Empire in 1884 and four years later he was raised to the rank of Knighthood. He was also provincial *Darbari* and for a time a

member of the Punjab Legislative Council.<sup>25</sup> In *leghari* tribe, *Jalal Khan* influenced the trans-border tribes, especially the *Khetrans* in the interest of the Government. He accompanied Sir Robert Sandeman to Kelat in 1875-76 and in recognition of his loyal behavior was invested with the title of Nawab and restored to his magisterial powers. The other tribes man of *Laghari* clan like *Mir Muhammad Khan* was a provincial *Darbari* and an Honorary Magistrate, while *Lal Khan* was *Jamadar* in the Border Military Police.<sup>26</sup> In *Khosa* tribe, *Sardar Ghulam Haider* and *Khaura Khan* helped the Edwardes when he marched down the frontier against the *Diwan Sawan Mal*. In the reward of this assistance, *Ghulam Haider Khan* was made *Risaldar* of Police.<sup>27</sup>

The state of education was pathetic for girls or women which is visible in the given statistics about the schools and as well of literacy. In 1896-97 there was only one high school, having the scholars number of 302 males and none were the females. In the same year the number of middle schools for boys were 4 and none for girl, comprising of 602 male students, while the number of primary schools in this year were 51 for boys having the number of 2733 boys and only 1 was for girls in which girls enroll was 105.<sup>28</sup>

There is also poor reflection of literacy about female in comparison to their ratio of population. In 1881 male population of the district was 184,127 and of female was 150,377, the literacy in relation to that was 2490 males were literate while only 23 females were qualifying as literate. After passing of twenty years the state of education or literacy of female was not better. In 1911 male population of the district was 257,719 and of female was 212,928, the literacy in relation to that was demonstrating the qualifying males were 4073, while only 45 females were declared as literate.<sup>29</sup>

## **Conclusion:**

It would be save to conclude that women in the region of D.G.Khan were relatively far behind in getting their due rights in the tribal set-up. Women had to suffer at different fronts and most importantly in determining their practical and strategic

interests. As Chandra Mohanty argued that for too long that women in the third world have been considered not agents of their own destiny, but victims.<sup>30</sup> An image of woman of D.G.Khan is more or less similar to those who are described in the perspective of feminist scholarship as third world woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender—sexually constrained—and her being 'third world' status as ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized, etc. It has been realized that colonial set up introduced the system of liberty, democracy and human rights in the colonized world with the claim of rationality but it consummated its rule with customary practices to not only establish the rule but provided the additional fillip in its prolongation. The British rule seemingly stressed on utility concerns by compromising the rights of women and she was subjugated more and more in the tribal society of D.G.Khan. It was also found that where she had been lacked at different fronts could be caused by her position in the sexual division of labor, and she tends to involve struggles not for liberation but for the ability to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers. It could also be said that woman was excluded from the social set up of D.G.Khan deliberately and the maxim of Sherry B.Ortner come to true as that 'Is Female to male as Nature is to Culture'.

**\*Key Words:**

Subjugation of Woman, Patriarchy, Social and Economic Exclusion, Customary Practices

**Notes and References**

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- 1 Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth Century England*, Stanford, California, 1999,p.92.
  - 2 G.Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy*, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1986,p.8.
  - 3 A.H.Diack, *Customary Law of the Dera Ghazi Khan*, Vol.,xvi, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Punjab Government, Lahore,1898, p.i.

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- 4 Lephel H.Griffin & Charles Francis Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Vol.ii, Revised ed., Civil & Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1910,p.329.
- 5 H.St.George Tucker, *Land Revenue Settlement of the Dera Ismail Khan District of the Punjab*, W.Ball,1879,pp.47-52.
- 6 Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan District 1897-98, Reprinted by Al-Mecca Press, Lahore,pp.22-23.
- 7 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, Basic Book,N.Y., 1973,p.14.
- 8 W.R.Wilson, *Customary Law of the Dera Ghazi Khan*, Government Printing Punjab, Lahore,1922,p.iii.
- 9 The broken Biluch tribes often followed the Muhammadan Law like that of *Nutkani Biluches* of *Sanghar* and the landed *Gishkori* and the *Pitafi* families in Jampur. In the *Pachad* area *Tibbi Lund* tribe, *Rind*, *Spri Lunds* and *Legharis* observed the Muhammadan Law but the *Khosas*, sandwiched in between *Lund* and *Legharis* will have nothing to do with the provisions of Muhammadan Law. *Ibid.*,p.iv.
- 10 A.H.Diack, *Customary Law of the Dera Ghazi Khan*, Vol.,xvi, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Punjab Government, Lahore,1898, p.15.
- 11 *Ibid.*,p.16.
- 12 *Ibid.*,p.17.
- 13 Amir H.Jafri, 2nd edit, *Honour Killing: Dilemma, Ritual, Understanding*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2009,p.20.
- 14 A.H.Diack,op.cit., p.3.
- 15 W.R.Wilson, *Customary Law of the Dera Ghazi Khan*, Government Printing Punjab, Lahore,1922,p.2.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *Ibid.*,p.9.
- 18 *Ibid.*,p.7.
- 19 Alleging that when an adult woman arranges her own marriage, such marriage may be annulled, but the instances they give of this are cases of suits for recovery of wives in

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- which if the marriage was annulled on the ground that it was bigamous. *Kala was used for the purpose of bigamy and as well relating to the act of elope*(Author's Italic). A.H.Diack, *Customary Law of the Dera Ghazi Khan*, Vol.,xvi, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Punjab Government, Lahore,1898, p.7.
- 20 H.A.Rose, *Compendium of the Punjab Customary Law*, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Punjab Government, Lahore,1907, p.14.
- 21 Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan District 1883-84, Lahore,p.124.
- 22 In the years 1881-82 the export of above said item generated the income of Rs. 1,36,000, while the import which came into this region was only of worth Rs. 63,000. Ibid.
- 23 Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol.No.XXIX,Part-B, D.G.Khan District,1935, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore, 1936,Table No.28,p.xcvii.
- 24 D.G.Khan was comprised of D.G.Khan; Rajanpur\_\_Mithankot, Rajanpur; Jampur\_\_Dajal, Jampur in 1891, and the total population of all these regions were 48338. Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan 1897-98,Table No.xliii,p.liii.
- 25 Lephel H.Griffin &Charles Francis Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Vol.ii, Revised ed., Civil &Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1910,pp.338-39.
- 26 Ibid.,pp.343-44.
- 27 Ibid.,pp.355-56.
- 28 Ibid.,Table No.XXXVII,p.xlv.
- 29 In 1905-06, there were only 4 girls primary schools in the District but not a single school was established in the ranks of middle and high, while 95 were boys primary schools, 4 middle and one high school. Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol.No.XXXVB, D.G.Khan District,1912, Civil &Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1913,Table No.50,p.cxxvi.

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- 30 R. Ray and A. C. Korteweg, Women's Movements in the Third World: Identity, Mobilization, and Autonomy, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 25 (1999),p. 47.