



**DYNAMICS AND IMPACTS OF PEASANTS' MOVEMENT IN NORTH-
HASHTNAGAR, DISTRICT CHARSADDA, PAKISTAN****HABIB ULLAH NAWAB^{1*} AND PROF. DR. RASHID KHAN²****1:** PhD Scholar Sociology, University of Peshawar Pakistan**2:** Chairman Department of Social Work, University of Peshawar***Corresponding Author: E Mail: habib_soc@yahoo.com****Received 21st Jan. 2019; Revised 12th Feb. 2019; Accepted 21st March 2019; Available online 1st Sept. 2019****<https://doi.org/10.31032/IJBPAS/2019/8.9.4806>****ABSTRACT**

The current study titled “Dynamics and Impacts of Peasants’ Movement in North-Hashtnagar, District Charsadda, Pakistan, aimed at examining the causes of Peasants' Movement in Hashtnagar and its socio-economic impacts on peasants’ community. Data for the study were collected through the interview schedule from 380 sampled respondents belonging to landlords, peasants and labours community. The study variables included both independent variables (poverty, alienation, awareness, landlords’ attitude with peasants, ejection, agricultural productivity, politics, social relations, law and order, litigation) and dependent variable (peasants’ movement). Likert scale was used for the measurement of variables, and the chi-square test was used to test the association between independent and dependent variables. The Bivariate association between poverty and Peasants' Movement show that peasants' movement had a highly significant association with poverty lead peasants to agitation (P= 0.000), peasants got agricultural land due to Peasant's Movement (P= 0.000), land is self-cultivated (P= 0.000), increase in peasant's income after the peasants' movement (P= 0.000) and wages of agricultural labour have been increased. Moreover, peasants' movement had a significant association with peasants can buy and sell land (P=0.001), and landlords have reduced the rent on peasants (P=0.002). Introduction of innovative technologies, establishing village-level organizations, inclusion of peasants in farm-level decisions, starting integrated and participatory agriculture development programs, awareness of local people by involving local leaders, effective use of mass media in knowledge

dissemination, skill development of locals by involving NGO sector, providing loan and alternate employment opportunities to locals, revitalizing Jirga, activating reconciliation centres, controlling human rights violations, providing opportunities for mixing up of landlords and peasants and implementation of land reforms in its true spirit are some of the policy recommendations in light of the study.

Keywords; Charsadda; Kissani Movement; Peasants Movement; Poverty

INTRODUCTION

Half of the total populace comprises peasants who deliver 70% of our nutritional requirements. They comprise small-scale agriculturists, domesticated animal guardians, landless people, and indigenous people all around the world (Campesina, 2010). However, peasants are not given honour; instead, they are reflected as rationally hindered, unskilled and immature (Saragih, 2011). Peasant uprisings are the reactionary rebellions against the ill-treatment of feudal, like financial and social abuse (Gough, 1973). Social impact is characterized by numerous points of view; however, we can state that it is the investigation of a program, approach, experience or a movement that influence the human populace forcefully or wilfully. The results might be pre-arranged or coincidental. At times, individuals, even do not know they are being impacted by a movement, although it is exceptionally eminent (Woodson, 2013).

Dynamics are the causes, qualities, and powers that lead a movement (Collins Dictionary, 2014). This dissertation offers a review of the progression and effects of

peasants' uprising in North-Hashtnagar, of district Charsadda in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Ownership of agrarian land is a way of political power. The political authority is in certainty monetary misuse of the mediocre individuals, or lack interests in political affairs (Harris, 1980). Pakistan is primarily a rural country with almost three fourth of its people living in 50000 hamlets (Khan, 1980). The clash between peasants and feudal lords began in 1948 when the lease of land in Hashtnagar was expanded, from 40 rupees per jareeb to 70 rupees. Peasants protested against the expansion throughout Hashtnagar. The uprising was effectively obstructed on Abdul Qayyum Khan's requests by police (Pakistan Forum, 1972).

Land reforms of Ayub Khan in 1959 sensitized landlords to announce their land as self-cultivated. So they began to utilize modern machinery and ejected peasants from their land. Under the initiative of Mazdoor Kisan Party, the ejection was pronounced unlawful. Also, begar (free service) to landowners was denied. Conflicts between landowners and

peasants started. Feudal lords' private militia alongside state apparatus was utilized to suppress the peasants (Farhad, 1970). In 1960 and 70s land reforms were carried out for legitimized circulation of land, access to assets, diminishment in poverty and the abolition of exploitation. Likewise, regulations and the relationship between peasants and landlords were reformed. As indicated by a few investigations in Pakistan, 9% landowners possess 42% of the land, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is not exempted (Naqvi et al., 1989).

Pakistan's land reforms are exceedingly criticised on the premise that land was never taken from the feudal lords. They redistribute the land among their relatives. Lawsuits began between the peasants and landowners after land reforms. In a few territories, these changes turned out to be praiseworthy. Likewise, that is, the authoritarian rule of landlords declined. Peasants got harmony and satisfaction; additionally, per acre of land yields expanded (Khan et al., 2009). Mazdoor Kisan Party on 19th April 1970 planned an open gathering at Mandani town and gave the motto to peasants "*Hammara Tumhara Sub Ka Nagar, Hashtnagar*" English meaning is that your town my town Hashtnagar (Zafarullah Khan, 1994). Peasant uprisings of North-Hashtnagar got their ideological motivation from the

Marxist Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The most exceptional effect of Marxism upon them was that it constrained landowners to acknowledge some of the peasants' appeals. It united peasants and enhanced their financial conditions. Even though it was an incomplete program; however, it enabled peasants to acquire better hospitals and educational institutions (Khan and Mughal, 2013).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Peasant movements are significant variations of communal movements (Dhanagare, 1983). A radical peasant movement is a vast scale association that is not formally recognized, and its main aim is to change the lives and the current status of peasants in society. On the other hand, an 'institutionalized peasant movement' is one where recognized bodies create a formal institution in order to ensure a constant change in the preferred institutional course of action of society. Scholars have watched that peasant movements are not massive commotions from the beginning of time; however, one movement may extend into a larger one over some time through the process of transition. The procedure of expansion and transformation of these movements from radical to institutional effect the overall identity of these movements and the community (Singha Roy, 2004).

Throughout history, it has been observed that peasants had inconsistent social identities. On the one hand, they have been portrayed as being extraordinarily traditional or conservative, uncooperative or dependant on the superior class. However, they have also been represented positively by proclaiming their nature as ground-breaking, progressive and even self-conscious. Indeed, these paradoxes have emerged due to the economic formations and socio-political changes that shape these peasants' societies. However, notwithstanding such inconsistencies, scholars have boldly highlighted the underdog, disregarded and subordinated position of peasants in human society. Peasants have always tolerated the severe forms of demotion and oppression in society first by being members of the lower strata of the social and economic hierarchy and then by occupying an underdog position in politics. In the Indian framework, peasantry embodies the socially deprived: backward classes, women, landless agricultural labourers, poor artisans and even small cultivators. Parts of the peasants in India are attempting to transform their social status rapidly; however, their social and economic oppression continues. That is the reason they have been relentlessly trying to develop resistance against such oppression. One of the features of this resistance has

been their participation in peasant movements. Peasant movements have provided the peasantry with political identity and a space for collectively organizing resistance against oppression and domination by the superior (Shah, 2004).

METHODS & MATERIALS

The present study analyses the Dynamics and Impacts of Peasants' Movement, in North-Hashtnagar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The data was collected from the selected villages of Tangi Tehsil in Charsadda district. Which was purposefully selected, keeping in view the nature of the study. The peasantry movement remained in this part of the area due to significant landholdings and absentee landlords. Villages of North-Hashtnagar comprising *Kuz Behram Dheri, Bar Behram Dheri, Shodag, Marghan and Shakoor* hamlets was the universe of the study. A sample size of 380 respondents was taken through stratified random sampling. From these villages based on stratified sampling techniques, the sample was drawn according to their population. The strata included owners, tenants, *Mazdoor* (labourer). Primary data were obtained through a pretested questionnaire which was developed based on study objectives, conceptual

framework and other required information. The secondary data was obtained through these, research papers, books and reports in the news. After collecting the data, it was edited and entered into SPSS software. The data was processed and explored through SPSS to know about the results through frequencies and percentages. Further, in order to assess the association between the dependent variable and independent variables, the Chi-Square test was also used.

Perception of the sampled Respondents about Poverty as the cause of Peasants' Movement

A majority of 93.7% of the sampled respondents agreed that poverty was the leading cause of peasant agitation, 4.2% respondents disagreed with the statement and 2.1% were uncertain. Besides, 73.7% respondents told that they got agricultural land after the peasant's movement, 22.6% respondents disagreed with the statement and 3.7% were uncertain. Moreover, 68.2% of respondents further added that their acquired land was self-cultivated and 87.6% reported that they could buy as well as sell the land. Furthermore, a majority of 90.8% respondents stated that peasants could start a business of their choice; also, 78.7% reported that their income per

month increased after the movement. Poverty had a leading role in the initiation of the peasants' movement. A handful of 9% possessed most (42%) of all arable land in Pakistan (Naqvi et al., 1989). Poverty in peasantry became more disgusting due to owners oppression and its associated repercussions. The peasants were trapped in the net of debt, and their generations were forced to work for owner class. The children were deprived of education, medical and other essential life facilities. The peasants were not let to get out of this multifaceted poverty under the owner's oppression.

Landlords' attitude with peasants became so intolerable that peasants returned to owners furiously and fought up to their elimination, and acquisition of land (Sattar, 2017). Land ownership reduces poverty as land ownership is the key to monetary gains in rural areas and landlessness means vulnerable to absolute poverty (Brohi, 2010).

Furthermore, an even proportion of 93.9% of respondents agreed that the landlords reduced the land rent after the peasant movement and agricultural labour wages have been increased after the movement. Moreover, 92.4% of respondents disagreed that peasants' movement increased the poverty of agricultural labours, 96.3%

agreed that they were exempted from private taxes imposed by landlords like Tip and Tora after the movement. Similarly, 94.7% reported an increase in peasant's share after the movement and 92.4% agreed that the uprising resulted in a reduction of poverty. The peasants' movement has its roots in land reforms initiated in Ayub Khan's regime (1959). The landlords were sensitised for potential threats from peasants and motivated to declare their lands as self-cultivated. Introduction of mechanised farming reduced the role of peasants and different tactics in shape of taxes, excessive rents, low labour wages, free labour and poor access to lands were adopted to eject

peasants or keep them under control. The peasant class was organised politically and gradually. It gained the power to stand up against the oppression of landlords. The movement declared ejection as unlawful and stopped free labour, hence initiating deadlock and conflict. The feudal lords used force to suppress peasants (Farhad, 1970). The subsequent land reforms were highly influenced by these peasant lord relations and legitimized circulation of land, access to assets, diminishment in poverty and abolition of exploitation. Likewise, regulations and the relationship between peasants and landlords were reformed (Naqvi et al., 1989; and Sattar, 2017).

Table 1: Perception of Sampled Respondents about poverty

S/No.	Statements	Disagree	Uncertain	Agreed
1.	Poverty was the main reason that leads peasants to agitation.	16(4.2)	8(2.1)	356(93.7)
2.	You get agricultural land after the Peasant's Movement.	86(22.6)	14(3.7)	280(73.7)
3.	Your land is self-cultivated.	105(27.6)	16(4.2)	259(68.2)
4.	You can buy and sell land.	41(10.8)	6(1.6)	333(87.6)
5.	You can start any business.	29(7.6)	6(1.6)	345(90.8)
6.	The income per month increased after the Peasant's Movement.	76(20.0)	5(1.3)	299(78.7)
7.	Landlords have reduced the rent on peasants after the movement.	19(5.0)	4(1.1)	357(93.9)
8.	Wages of agricultural labours have been increased after the movement.	14(3.7)	9(2.4)	357(93.9)
9.	Peasant's uprising increased the poverty of agricultural labourers.	351(92.4)	7(1.8)	22(5.8)
10.	Peasants were exempted from private taxes imposed by landlords like "Tip and Tora" after the movement.	1(0.3)	13(3.4)	366(96.3)
11.	The shares of peasants in crops have been increased after the movement.	5(1.3)	15(3.9)	360(94.7)
12.	Peasants' movement resulted in a reduction of poverty.	24(6.3)	5(1.3)	351(92.4)

Source: Survey

Associations between Poverty and Peasants' Uprising

Poverty is the major contributor to shaping human attitude and behaviour. In agriculture-based economy, the ownership of land and its productivity determines the

social ranks. Therefore, land tenancy-right of humans on land- shape the social structure where different rank groups are placed in different positions. The higher the size of landholding and control on occupied land the higher is the social

status. The struggle for occupancy of the land is never-ending and has continued for centuries and still underway in various forms of peaceful and violent riots. To test the association between poverty and peasants' movement, the perception of poverty was limited to a few statements as given in the **Table 2** and explained below.

A highly significant association ($P= 0.000$) was found between poverty lead peasants to agitation and peasants' movement. The livelihood of the agricultural-based economy is linked with man to land relation. The higher the size and control of land, the lower is poverty. Besides, the landlords engage the poor peasants in agriculture economy on such conditions that they cannot get out of the vicious circle of poverty. The grinding poverty and weakened landlord provide peasants with an opportunity to revolt and start an organised movement against landlords. Land reforms of Ayub Khan in 1959 sensitized landlords to announce their land as self-cultivated. They began to utilize modern machinery and ejected peasants from their land. Under the initiative of MazdoorKisan Party, the ejection was pronounced unlawful. Also, begar (free service) to landowners was denied. Conflicts amongst landowners and peasants started. Feudal lords' private militia alongside state apparatus was utilized to suppress the peasants (Farhad, 1970). As

indicated by a few investigations in Pakistan, 9% landowners possess 42% of the land. Therefore, for legitimized circulation of land, access to assets, diminishment in poverty and the abolition of exploitation, land reforms were carried out in the 1960s and 70s. Likewise, regulations and the relationship between peasants and landlords were reformed to reduce poverty and avoid land-based conflicts (Naqvi et al., 1989).

Furthermore, a highly significant association ($P= 0.000$) established between peasants' movement and the peasants got agricultural land due to the Peasant's Movement. Besides, a highly significant ($P=0.000$) association was found between the land is self-cultivated and peasants' movement. Moreover, a significant ($P=0.001$) association was found between the statement that peasants can buy and sell land and peasant movement. Reduction in poverty and gain of power is sequential processes. The peasant movement enabled peasants to get hold of the land, cultivate and sell it. The establishment of such rights on land not only empowered them but also instigated other peasants to join the movement and make it robust. These findings are in line with Brohi (2010), who reported that poverty in peasantry became more disgusting due to owners oppression and its associated repercussions. The peasants were trapped in a net of debt, and

their generations were forced to work for owner class. The children were deprived of education, medical and other necessary life facilities. The peasants were not let to get out of this multifaceted poverty under the owner's oppression. Landlords' attitude with peasants became so intolerable that peasants returned to owners furiously and fought up to their elimination, and acquisition of land (Sattar, 2017).

Similarly, a highly significant (0.000) association was found between peasants' movement and increase in peasant's income after the peasants' movement. Likewise, a significant (P=0.002) association was found between landlords have reduced the rent on peasants and peasant movement. Again, a highly significant (0.000) association existed between the wages of agricultural labour have been increased and peasants' movement. These results pertain to some positive and negative outcomes of the

peasant movement on poverty. The peasant movement enabled peasants to increase their income by cropping their fields. Besides, the movement helped in the initiation of peasant-landlord dialogue and among other benefits, reduced land rents. However, after the peasant movement, the labour became scarce, and a huge amount was spent on the engagement of the labour force. The findings are consistent with Brohi (2010) that land ownership reduces poverty as land ownership is the key to monetary gains in rural areas and landlessness means vulnerable to absolute poverty.

Conversely, a non-significant association was found between peasant movement and peasants can start their own business (P=0.253), peasant uprising increased the poverty of agricultural labourers (P=0.182), and peasants were exempted from private taxes imposed by the landlords (P=0.892).

Table 3: Association between poverty and Peasants' Movement

S#	Attribute	Perception	Peasants' movement			Chi-square test
			Disagreed	Uncertain	Agreed	
1	Poverty was the main reason that leads peasants to agitation.	Disagreed	19 (52.8)	1 (2.8)	16 (44.4)	x ² =147.997 P= 0.000
		Uncertain	0	0	4 (100)	
		Agreed	5 (1.5)	2 (0.6)	333 (97.9)	
2	You get agricultural land after the Peasant's Movement.	Disagreed	24 (27.9)	2 (2.3)	60 (69.8)	x ² =91.79 P= 0.000
		Uncertain	0	0	14 (100)	
		Agreed	0	1 (0.4)	279 (99.6)	
3	Your land is self-cultivated.	Disagreed	24 (22.9)	3 (2.9)	78 (74.3)	x ² =76.123 P= 0.000
		Uncertain	0	0	16 (100)	
		Agreed	0	0	259 (100)	
4	You can buy and sell land.	Disagreed	0	1 (2.4)	40(97.6)	x ² = 45.145 P= 0.001
		Uncertain	0	0	6 (100)	
		Agreed	24 (7.2)	2 (0.6)	307 (92.2)	
5	You can start any business.	Disagreed	0	1 (3.4)	28 (96.6)	x ² =5.352 P= 0.253
		Uncertain	0	0	6 (100)	
		Agreed	24 (7.0)	2 (0.6)	319 (92.5)	
6	The income per month increased after the Peasant's Movement.	Disagreed	19 (25.0)	1 (1.3)	56 (73.7)	x ² =56.670 P= 0.000
		Uncertain	0	0	5 (100)	
		Agreed	5 (1.7)	2 (0.7)	292 (97.7)	

7	Landlords have reduced the rent on peasants after the movement.	Disagreed	3 (15.8)	1 (5.3)	15 (78.9)	x ² = 18.851 P= 0.002
		Uncertain	0	0	4 (100)	
		Agreed	21 (5.9)	2 (0.6)	334 (93.6)	
8	Wages of agricultural labours have been increased after the movement.	Disagreed	0	0	14 (100)	x ² =16.873 P= 0.000
		Uncertain	0	0	9 (100)	
		Agreed	24 (6.7)	3 (0.8)	330 (92.4)	
9	Peasant's uprising increased the poverty of agricultural labourers.	Disagreed	24 (6.8)	2 (0.6)	325 (92.6)	x ² =6.241 P= 0.182
		Uncertain	0	0	7 (100)	
		Agreed	0	1 (4.5)	21 (95.5)	
10	Peasants were exempted from private taxes imposed by landlords like "Tip and Tora" after the movement.	Disagreed	0	0	1 (100)	x ² =1.12 P= 0.892
		Uncertain	0	0	13 (100)	
		Agreed	24 (6.6)	3 (0.8)	339 (92.6)	

Source; Survey

CONCLUSION

It is concluded that landholding is the primary determinant of social status in the agricultural economy. The landowners, for a fuller control of the land and higher income, tried to introduce mechanised farming and eject peasants. The importance of land for the life of peasants compelled them to organise and initiate a movement against landlords and establish full control over the lands. This also helped the peasants to get rid of their poverty by increasing agricultural productivity and its associated monetary income. The peasant has now been in the position to bargain the landlord on mutually agreed rent and work on landlords' land on higher wages in a dignified manner.

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