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Women and Peasant Resistance in Colonial Sindh: A Case Study of Mai Bakhtawar

Abstract

The history of Sindh, a province in Pakistan, is marked by peasant movements that arose in response to exploitation by the landlords. These organised efforts often included participation from Sindhi women, although their contributions remain under-documented. Mai Bakhtawar, who emerged as a key figure during a peasant movement and sacrificed her life while fighting for the rights of disadvantaged peasants, is one such overlooked figure. In this context, this research paper aims to examine the reasons for her marginalisation in history while highlighting her vital contributions and exploring the impact of gender on her activism in Sindh and South Asia. A qualitative content analysis of primary and secondary sources suggests that two factors have contributed to her limited recognition in history and academia: her background as a member of a poor peasant family in rural Sindh and the socio-cultural context of being a woman in a feudal and patriarchal society.

Keywords: Mai Bakhtawar Shaheed, Peasant Resistance, Colonial Sindh, Hari Women, Haris

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Abstract

The history of Sindh, a province in Pakistan, is marked by peasant movements that arose in response to exploitation by the landlords. These organised efforts often included participation from Sindhi women, although their contributions remain under-documented. Mai Bakhtawar, who emerged as a key figure during a peasant movement and sacrificed her life while fighting for the rights of disadvantaged peasants, is one such overlooked figure. In this context, this research paper aims to examine the reasons for her marginalisation in history while highlighting her vital contributions and exploring the impact of gender on her activism in Sindh and South Asia. A qualitative content analysis of primary and secondary sources suggests that two factors have contributed to her limited recognition in history and academia: her background as a member of a poor peasant family in rural Sindh and the socio-cultural context of being a woman in a feudal and patriarchal society.

Keywords:

[Mai Bakhtawar Shaheed](#), [Peasant Resistance](#), [Colonial Sindh](#), [Hari Women](#), [Haris](#)

Introduction

Land plays a crucial role in shaping social status, political influence, and economic power within agrarian communities (Bertocchi, 2006). The right to possess land encompasses a broad spectrum of rights, including social, political, and economic dimensions (Abbas et al., 2016; Herring, 1983). Furthermore, the dynamics within and between households are significantly influenced by land ownership. The primary categories of rights concerning agricultural land are land ownership and land control (Abbas et al., 2025; Agarwal et al., 2021). It is noteworthy that individuals may possess the

right to own land while lacking the authority to manage or control it, a situation that is frequently observed among women in South Asian countries, particularly in Pakistan (Agarwal, 1994a).

Pakistan, in general, and its province Sindh, in particular, is not an exception where landed aristocrats have been exercising and enjoying control since colonial times. The Agrarian Reforms Committee of the Muslim League reported that a small minority of large landowners controlled nearly 80 per cent of the cultivated agricultural land in the province (Hassan, 1949). Subsequently, like other regions in South Asia, Sindh has faced various



peasant uprisings and forms of resistance arising from the unequal distribution of agricultural land and the economic, political, and social exploitation of the peasantry by the landed classes (Alavi, 1965; Gazdar, 2009; Sodhar, 2025).

In these peasant uprisings against the landed aristocracy in Sindh, women have actively participated alongside their male counterparts (Salim, 2008). Among them, Mai Bakhtawar is acknowledged as a prominent figure in the peasant resistance movement during the colonial era in Sindh. She is renowned for her slogan, “Whosoever soweth, shall reap,” and is commemorated for her sacrifice in advocating for the rights of disadvantaged peasants. Due to her contributions, she has been referred to as the “Joan of Arc of Sindh” and is regarded as a symbol of the struggle against exploitation by the landed class (Abbas, 2020; Shah, 2007).

Despite her significant contributions, the challenges, achievements, and sacrifices of Mai Bakhtawar have frequently been neglected in the accounts of historians and social scientists. This study aims to investigate the factors contributing to her exclusion from historical narratives and to highlight her impact on the peasant community in Sindh and South Asia. Furthermore, it will investigate the influence of gender on these dynamics, as well as the broader implications for gender roles associated with her activism. A qualitative content analysis of both primary and secondary sources will be employed to address these inquiries.

This research paper is structured into an abstract and introduction, followed by six distinct sections: a brief history of peasant resistance during Mughal rule in Sindh; an analysis of land ownership patterns and peasant resistance in Sindh during the colonial era; a discussion on the Sindh Hari Committee (SHC hereafter), *Batai Tehreek* and *Allati Tehreek*; a historical overview of women’s land rights in Sindh; an examination of the roles of women in peasant resistance during colonial Sindh, with a particular focus on Mai Bakhtawar; and finally, concluding remarks.

A Brief History of the Concept of Land Ownership Tenures and Peasant Resistance during Mughal Rule in Sindh

During Mughal rule in the subcontinent, there was no concept of private land ownership. The emperor

was the sole owner of land within the Empire and distributed it temporarily to princes, princesses, *mansabdars*, and other state officials to generate revenue for state expenditures and to support the army. This distribution was not permanent or hereditary, and officials were periodically transferred to different lands. The land was given to tenants for cultivation under two systems: *batai*, or sharecropping, for unirrigated land, and *zabti* for irrigated land. While tenants operated as de facto owners of the land under a system known as peasant proprietorship, *zamindars*, or revenue officials, were responsible for collecting land revenue on behalf of the emperor. These officials would be reassigned every two to three years (Allami, 2004; Habib, 1995; Hasan, 2005).

The lack of legal and administrative safeguards for peasants significantly contributed to their exploitation by the landed elite, prompting them to resist. Notably, during the Mughal era in regions now part of Pakistan—such as Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Punjab—peasant resistance was often led by mystics (Sufi Saints), including Shah Inayat Shaheed in Sindh, Madhu Lal Hussain in Punjab, and Bayazid Ansari in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Salim, 2008).

Before Shah Inayat Shaheed’s resistance, Sindh had experienced a peasant uprising known as the Mehdavi Movement, led by Miran Syed Mohammad Jodpuri (1443–1505). Jodpuri’s organisation, called *Daira*, included members from various societal segments and was based on principles of universal equality and the right to a better life without discrimination (Verma, 2016). According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his book, *Tazkira*, the followers of Jodpuri practised sharing their income, dedicating a portion to religious purposes while also supporting their families and communities. The Mehdavi Movement was fundamentally based on socio-economic egalitarianism (Azad, 1960).

The first organised and collective peasant resistance in Sindh during the Mughal era occurred in the early 18th century, spearheaded by the tenants of Thatha under the leadership of Sufi Pir Shah Inayat (1655–1718). A mystic from the Suhrawardy Order, Shah Inayat, challenged the actions of the landed elite, promoting a transition from a feudalistic society to one based on collective well-being. He famously proclaimed that “Land belongs to God and its yield to the tiller” and “Jo Kherey, So

Khaey" (the tiller of the land deserves the produce) (Salim, 2008; Verma, 2016). Shah Inayat implemented collective ownership and farming, distributing his land among landless peasants without compensation, which raised awareness among the local peasantry and incited resistance against the landed classes (Khashkhelly et al., 2015).

Shah Inayat's ambitions posed a challenge to the elite, and he was ultimately arrested and executed by the landed elite. His movement is recognised as one of the early organised peasant uprisings against the landed gentry in feudal India. Participation in the movement extended beyond Muslims, as individuals from various religious backgrounds joined the cause (Khashkhelly et al., 2015; Verma, 2016). While the revolt did not achieve its primary objectives, it fostered awareness among the lower agrarian classes in Sindh, demonstrating that exploitation could be resisted through organised collective efforts. Some peasant women also took part in both movements, aligning with their male counterparts in the struggle against the landed classes, although historians and researchers have often overlooked their contributions.

An Analysis of Land Ownership Patterns and Peasant Resistance in Sindh during the Colonial Era

The Permanent Settlement Act of 1793, implemented by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, transformed revenue collectors into landowners and reclassified peasant proprietors as tenants (Abbas et al., 2016; Alavi, 2000). This shift granted landowners the right to evict tenants at their discretion, leaving tenants vulnerable to the landowners' whims. The British administration sought to consolidate power by establishing a landed aristocracy, which was intended to suppress potential rebellions against British rule in the subcontinent. A patron-client dynamic characterised the relationship between the British and the landed class. The introduction of permanent settlement and private land ownership by the British led to widespread resistance in the form of peasant uprisings.

While a form of the *batai* system existed during the Mughal era, it became formally established under British rule. The *batai* system resulted in economic degradation and social alienation among peasants. It enabled the landed elite to intensify the exploitation of peasants, adversely affecting their

economic and social conditions and contributing to animosity toward colonial governance. Consequently, numerous peasant rebellions and movements emerged throughout the subcontinent, including the Bhopalpatnam Struggle (1795), Bheel Rebellion (1822-1857), Maria Rebellion (1842-63), First Freedom Struggle (1856-57), Bheel Rebellion by Tantya Tope in Banswara (1858), Koli Revolt (1859), Gond Rebellion by Ramji Gond in Adilabad (1860), the Great Kuki Invasion of the 1860s, the Sirajganj and Pabna Peasant Uprising (1872-73), Rani Rebellion (1878-82), and Santhal Revolt (1885-1886) (Hussain & Mohyuddin, 2014).

Following the British occupation and annexation of Sindh in 1843, a class of land revenue collectors was established to collect taxes from tenants on behalf of the state. Over time, this class was granted landownership rights, evolving into a landed elite. The objectives associated with this class included not only tax collection but also the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of revolts. In agrarian Sindh, two primary classes emerged: landowners, referred to as *waderas*, and peasants, known as *haris*. A report from 1947 indicated that nine per cent of landowners possessed 52 per cent of the total land. Specifically, there were 7,000 landowners with over 500 acres, 246 landowners with over 5,000 acres, and at least one landowner with a significantly larger expanse of land (Hassan, 1949).

In response to colonial rule and the influence of local landed aristocrats, several peasant movements emerged in Sindh, including the Kolhi Movement, the Movement of Sodha Rajputs of Parkar, the Hurr Resistance, the SHC, the *Batai Tehreek*, and the *Allati Tehreek*. These uprisings transcended religious, ethnic, and provincial boundaries, emphasising the importance of communal harmony. Organisations such as the SHC (1930), the All-India Peasant Committee (October 1935), and the All-India *Kisan Sabha* (1936) were established to organise peasant efforts against imperial colonisation and the local landed aristocracy, with peasants confronting both British authorities and local elites.

A Discussion on the SHC, Batai Tehreek, and Allati Tehreek

Newly colonised (irrigated) lands developed through canals, and the Sukkur Barrage (1923-1932)

was predominantly allocated to large landowners rather than landless tenants. This situation led to feelings of deprivation among the *haris*, prompting them to organise a revolt against perceived injustices (Haines, 2011). Consequently, Jethmal Parsuram, Abdul Qadir, Ghulam Mustafa Syed, Abdul Majeed Sindhi, Jamshed Mehta, and other peasant activists established the SHC in 1930. The main objectives of the SHC included the abolition of *begar* and *abwab*, the security of tenure for tenants, and the allotment of lands from the Sukkur Barrage to the *haris* (Sodhar, 2025).

The committee promoted slogans such as “land to the tiller” and “total abolition of landlordism,” while advocating for land reforms and the redistribution of land to landless peasants and tenants. The first *kisan* conference was organised in 1931 in Mirpur, attracting numerous peasants, farmers, and some members of the landed aristocracy (Shah, 2007). Key figures such as Ghulam Muhammad Laghari, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoti, and G. M. Syed played significant roles in mobilising the peasants and raising awareness about their rights.

Following the establishment of the SHC, multiple *kisan* conferences and peasant meetings took place, leading to the *Batai Tehreek*, which aimed to challenge the landed class (Hussain & Mohyuddin, 2014). During the 1946 *hari* conference, a resolution was passed to ensure equal distribution of crops between *haris* and *waderas*, stipulating that the *haris* would not give more than fifty percent of their produce to the *wadera*, with crop division taking place in the fields rather than at the *wadera*’s location. This led to conflicts between the *haris* and *waderas*, resulting in several casualties, including the death of notable figures like Mai Bakhtawar (Uzma, 1990).

The SHC also initiated the *Allati Tehreek*, which aimed to protect peasants and farmers who had been allotted land (16 acres per family) and to advocate for the allocation of newly colonised and state lands to landless tenants. Despite these efforts, the lands allotted to peasants were reportedly seized by the landed aristocracy with the support of the bureaucracy and politicians (Hussain & Mohyuddin, 2014).

In 1936, the SHC focused on securing the allocation of Sukkur Barrage lands to deserving *haris*, evolving into a platform that represented the lower and marginalised classes of Sindh’s agrarian

society. However, much of the SHC leadership originated from landowning backgrounds, which led to internal divisions within the organisation. G. M. Syed and others separated from the SHC, citing concerns about the emergence of class conflict that could be detrimental to the province. Among the SHC’s significant achievements were the reinstatement of evicted tenants through legal means and the organisation of a *kisan* rally in 1943 (Khawaja, 2016).

The SHC advocated for change through democratic processes, organising various seminars, meetings, and conferences to educate *haris* about their rights. The withdrawal of the proposed Tenancy Act by Sir Roger Thomas and the approval of the Sindh Tenancy Act, as advocated by the SHC, were notable outcomes (Salim, 2008). Furthermore, *haris*’ complaints regarding the *zamindari* system were addressed at an official level for the first time in 1943, leading to the establishment of a Tenant Law Committee by the government, comprised of sixteen members (fourteen government officials and two members of the Sindh Assembly), which presented its recommendations in 1945. However, no substantial results emerged from these efforts for the peasants (Uzma, 1990).

In 1946, the Muslim League Government of Sindh, following the directives of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, established a Sindh *Hari* Committee. The committee’s objective was to investigate the grievances of *haris* and provide recommendations for addressing these issues. However, the newly elected Muslim League Government in Sindh largely overlooked the problems faced by the *haris* (Masud, 2007).

The Sindh *Hari* Committee was reconstituted on March 3, 1947, with Sir Roger Thomas, the agricultural advisor to the Sindh Government, serving as chairman. Other members included Muhammad Masud Khaddarposh (collector of Nawabshah), Nooruddin Siddiqui (Manager of the Income Board Estates Sindh), and Agha Shahi (Secretary). Sir Roger Thomas was a notable landowner in the Tharparkar district. Subsequently, Ghulam Rasoo Kehar, a prominent landowner from the Larkana district, was added to the committee by the Ayub Khuhro Ministry of Sindh. The committee produced a 298-page report, which asserted that landlords serve as benevolent guardians for tenants, acting in their best interests. However, Muhammad

Masud Khaddarposh did not endorse the report and submitted a dissenting note that spanned 37 pages. His dissent included critiques of the *zamindari* system and advocated for substantial reforms, leading the government to decline publication of his note (Uzma, [1990](#)).

In response to this context, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni and a group of fifteen Ulema issued a pamphlet containing a religious decree (*fatwa*) that declared land reforms as un-Islamic, labelling Masud as a communist. Eventually, on June 20, 1949, the ministry led by Yousaf Haroon ordered the publication of Masud's dissenting note. By this time, Masud's work had gained significant attention among the agrarian lower classes in Sindh and across Pakistan. Consequently, the League government implemented land reforms in 1950. It is noted that, despite this development, most provincial governments, except for East Pakistan, did not carry out these reforms. Following the provincial elections in Sindh in 1955, it was reported that 90 per cent of the Members of the Sindh Provincial Assembly were from the landed class (Masud, [2007](#)).

A Historical Overview of Women's Land Rights in Sindh

In South Asia, a prevailing perspective is that men are the primary breadwinners, while women are often viewed as dependents (Agarwal, [1994b](#); Agha, [2021](#)). This societal structure leads to men predominantly owning and controlling land. In agrarian societies within this region, the roles of men and women in social interactions are influenced by gender norms. Consequently, the social and economic roles assigned to women in peasant societies are often defined by their gender. Women are frequently positioned lower in social hierarchies due to the concentration of resources and power among a small number of individuals, primarily men, with many landless or semi-landless individuals being women. Women from lower classes experience dual disadvantages based on both gender and class (Roy, [1995](#)).

Rights related to agrarian land can be categorised into two types: land ownership and land control. There are instances where women own agricultural land but lack control or management over it. This lack of control, combined with their underrepresentation in public decision-making

bodies, results in women's dependence on men for their economic needs and social standing. The limited rights of women both in terms of ownership and control of agricultural land in agrarian societies, including South Asia generally and Sindh specifically are significant factors contributing to their economic, political, and social subordination (Agarwal, [1994a](#); Agha, [2021](#)).

In colonial India, particularly in Sindh and Punjab, property inheritance among Muslims was often governed by tribal customary laws rather than Muslim Personal Law (*Shariat*). These customary laws usually excluded women from inheriting land, and even when women, such as daughters and widows, did inherit properties, they typically had limited control over them, with male relatives often managing these lands (Holden & Chaudhary, [2013](#)).

Rattigan and Gilmartin note that the British colonial administration preferred the application of customary tribal laws over Muslim Personal Law (*Shariat*) to exert control over communities practising patrilineal inheritance (Gilmartin, [1981](#); Rattigan, [1880](#)). Consequently, many daughters were excluded from land inheritance. If there was no male head of the household, the estate typically passed to the tribe or village community. Gilmartin posits that these policies were founded on both theoretical and political assumptions (Gilmartin, [1981](#)). The theoretical perspective, as presented by Tupper ([1881](#)), is based on the agnatic theory, which argues that excluding women from inherited land is a strategy to prevent land fragmentation and maintain stability within kinship structures. Politically, this approach aimed to avoid fragmentation of land, thereby reinforcing the kinship systems necessary for consolidating British rule in the region.

In Sindh, the British also applied customary tribal laws rather than Muslim Personal Law, resulting in women's deprivation of land ownership and increased vulnerability to exploitation due to economic dependency on men (Agha, [2021](#)). Legislative changes, such as 'The Sindh Muslim Personal (*Shariat*) Application Act, 1950' and 'The Muslim Personal Law (*Shariat*) Application Act, 1961,' recognised agricultural land within their provisions, consequently removing the gender-related restrictions established by the *Shariat* Act of 1937 (Holden & Chaudhary, [2013](#)). Thus, these acts legally empowered women to inherit agrarian property.

Most South Asian countries recognised women's rights to inherit agricultural land during legislative developments in the 1950s. However, rights regarding public or state agrarian land, which was redistributed under land reform initiatives, were not acknowledged by policymakers until the 1980s, following the United Nations' declaration of 1975-1985 as the Decade for Women. Consequently, redistributed public land was predominantly allocated to male heads of households, with some exceptions for households headed by widows (Agarwal, 1994a).

Due to existing legislative frameworks, only a limited number of women in South Asia actively inherit agricultural land, and an even smaller number exercise control over it. The inclusion of women's rights in agrarian land issues signifies a potential expansion of the existing conflicts over land, which have primarily involved men, to include women (Holden & Chaudhary, 2013).

Marxists and leftist advocates of land reforms tend to emphasise class issues, often overlooking the gender dimension. This perspective has contributed to the practice of allocating redistributed land exclusively to men. In Pakistan, recommendations from the *Report of the Working Group on Women's Development Program for the Sixth Plan (1983-1988)* were not included in the final document. The report suggested that "all land distributed under the land reform programme should be registered jointly in the names of both spouses" (Agarwal, 1994a).

An Examination of the Roles of Women in Peasant Resistance during Colonial Sindh, With A Particular Focus on Mai Bakhtawar

There are two types of peasant movements: radical and reformative. A radical movement is typically short-lived, spans a large area, utilises non-institutional mobilisation, and is guided by a swift change ideology. In contrast, a reformative movement, which has a longer lifespan, is characterised by a steady change in ideology and employs institutionalised mass mobilisation. Radical peasant movements may provide greater opportunities for women's empowerment, whereas reformative movements tend to offer limited scope for this empowerment due to their acceptance of pre-existing institutional arrangements (Roy, 1995).

Historically, most peasant movements in Sindh during colonial rule, such as the Kolhi Movement,

the Movement of Sodha Rajputs of Parkar, the *Hari Committee*, *Batai Tehreek*, and *Allati Tehreek*, were reformative in nature. Consequently, they provided limited opportunities for women to engage actively in the liberation of peasants and their own rights, despite the participation of many women in these movements. A notable number of women even faced severe consequences during the struggle; however, they did not receive the same recognition as their male counterparts, nor did they achieve their rights (Salim, 2008).

Women from lower classes experience dual forms of oppression: gender-based and class-based. Their absence from decision-making bodies, along with socio-cultural and economic factors, contributes to political passivity. This results in social neglect, economic exploitation, and political disempowerment. Key issues include gender-based wage discrimination, land entitlement through land reforms primarily favouring male heads of households, and the allocation of loans predominantly to male heads, all of which contribute to the marginalisation and deprivation of women in patriarchal peasant societies.

In 1946, tensions over *batai* arose between peasants and landed aristocrats in the districts of Sanghar, Nawabshah, and Tharparkar in Sindh Province. Landed aristocrats sought a larger share of the crop, while peasants maintained that they would not pay more than 50 per cent (Uzma, 1990). This led to armed conflicts between the two groups, with landed aristocrats, supported by politicians and bureaucrats, forcibly evicting peasants from their fields. In response, members of the peasant community organised demonstrations, rallies, protests, conferences, and meetings throughout the province, with leaders such as Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi advocating for the peasants' right to a 50 per cent crop share. Both women and men participated in the movement against the landed aristocracy (Khawaja, 2016).

A significant peasant conference organised by Jatoi took place from June 20 to June 22, 1947. On 22nd June 1947, a conference was held in the village of Jhudo, attended by most men and many women, with Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi presiding. Taking advantage of the absence of males in the fields, Saadullah, a landed aristocrat, entered the village with the intention of seizing the crops, supported by his manager, Chaudhary Khalid, and armed men. However, Mai Bakhtawar intervened (Shah, 2007).

Born in 1880 into a peasant Lashari Baloch family in village Dodo Khan Sargani, Bakhtawar was recognised for her bravery from a young age. In 1898, she married Wali Muhammad Lashari, a peasant working on the lands of an Ahmadi aristocrat, Saadullah. The Ahmadi Estate comprised 40,000 acres, where the aristocrats frequently resorted to armed intimidation during harvesting seasons to claim the majority of the yield, leaving only a small share for the peasants (Khawaja, 2016).

Mai Bakhtawar stated that the crops could not be taken until the rightful owners and the village peasants returned from the conference to assert their rights. In response to Mai Bakhtawar's resistance, Saadullah reacted by attacking her. After fighting with the landed aristocrat and his armed men for a while, she lost her life. She was the first woman peasant recorded to embrace martyrdom in the history of peasant uprisings in Sindh. She lost her life in opposition to a male landed aristocrat (Salim, 2008; Shah, 2007).

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, Mai Bakhtawar played a significant role in directing the peasant resistance in Sindh, a region where many male peasants were hesitant to voice their grievances against the landed class. A female peasant emerged as a pivotal figure, advocating for the rights of her fellow peasants and ultimately sacrificing her life in the struggle for justice. Her actions inspired other women to join the fight against the injustices perpetrated by the landed gentry, and she has since become a symbol of resistance for the agrarian class in Sindh. Her contributions illustrated that women can actively participate alongside men in efforts for collective causes.

In addition to inspiring other women to join the struggle, her courage revitalised peasant resistance against exploitation by the landed class. Mai Bakhtawar is credited with launching the Sindhiani Tehreek, a women's movement in Sindh. Founded by rural women in Pakistan's southern Sindh region, this movement is a women-led political organisation. The group, founded in the early 1980s under General Zia-ul-Haq's rule, participated in anti-regime activities as part of the larger pro-democracy movement that emerged at that time.

Due in large part to Mai Bakhtawar's efforts, the Sindh Tenancy Act was passed in 1950. Tenants in

the area were entitled to 50 per cent of the agricultural harvest because of this legislation. The Act had a significant impact on Sindh's agricultural system, marking a breakthrough in the recognition of tenants' rights and promoting fair treatment among farming communities.

Mai Bakhtawar is often compared to historical figures like Joan of Arc, serving as a figure of resistance against the exploitation of peasants by landed aristocrats, much like the women textile workers in the United States who protested their exploitation in 1857. However, she remains an often-overlooked figure in the historical narrative. Discussions about her contributions may be met with scepticism, as there are perceptions that they could be politically charged.

Two significant factors that may have contributed to the limited recognition of Mai Bakhtawar in historical narratives and academic discourse are her background as a member of a struggling peasant family in rural Sindh and the socio-cultural context of her time. The feudal and patriarchal society in which she lived presented various constraints and challenges for women, which may have overshadowed her contributions and influence on history.

Posthumous Achievements and Acknowledgements

1. The Government of Sindh passed a law in 1950 (Sindh Tenancy Act, 1950), which gave the tenants the right to take a 50 per cent share of the crop.
2. Killers of Mai Bakhtawar, Saadullah Khan, and Chaudhary Khalid were punished with twenty-five years and twenty years of imprisonment, respectively.
3. Asif Ali Zardari (ex-President of Pakistan) and Benazir Bhutto (ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan) named their daughter Bakhtawar Bhutto after the name of Mai Bakhtawar.
4. A Union Council in Tehsil Kunri, District Mirpur Khas, is also named after Mai Bakhtawar.
5. A Government Boys Primary School, Tehsil Kunri, District Mirpur Khas, is also named after Mai Bakhtawar.
6. Landless women farmers received land tenancy for the first time in Sindh, Pakistan, in 2016.

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