

## ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION OF THE BARAD TRIBE OF PUNJAB

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**Abstract:** Economy has always been an important part of every society. In primitive societies life was hard and filled with backbreaking toil. The work done in primitive economy was simple and for the fulfillment of immediate needs. Production was done solely for consumption purposes. The forces of production have been simple and the variations in day to day activities were least. The tasks were allocated to members according to the established social categories. There was not much specialization and the division of labour was simple in nature. The tasks were allocated on the basis of ascribed statuses like sex, age, caste, race etc. The same could be found in the Barad tribe of Punjab. The present paper highlights the ethnographic details of the traditional occupation of the Barads which has totally gone extinct. The occupation of Kanghi making which was their identity is no more prevalent. The modern forces have totally devastated their traditional occupations and have reduced them to mere labourers and other menial tasks. Hence the paper focuses on their rich traditional work and gives an insight about their organization of work in earlier times.

**Keywords:** Occupation, ethnography, traditional, tribe

### INTRODUCTION

Barad is a very small community found in the regions of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, and Chandigarh. They are classified as Scheduled Castes in all these regions. (Singh; 1996, 2003, 1999) Barads are known by different names like Bard, Barad, Barar, Burar or Berar. (Ibbetson and Rose, 1970) The etymology of these words is not known. Not much could be found on the origin or history of this community though it is believed that it has its origin in Himachal Pradesh from where they migrated to other parts. (Insert Table 1 near here) Most of them on being asked about their origin replied, '*saada pichha pahaar da, assi barad othe de hi aa, otho hi assi phir edar (Punjab) nu aa gye.*' (We Barads basically belong to Himachal Pradesh and have migrated from there to Punjab) On enquiring about the reason of migration few of them believe that they came to Punjab wandering (*ghumde ghumaonde aa gaye*) while others say that they came in search of livelihood as there were no business opportunities in Himachal Pradesh.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson in his book *Panjab Castes* classifies Barars as menials of the hills and writes,

The barara or barar is the basket-maker and bamboo-worker of the higher hills, though he has spread into the sub-montane districts. He is not a scavenger by occupation, though he is said to worship *lal beg*, the *chuhra*

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deity. He is fond of hunting, which fact, combined with his occupation, would almost seem to point to a gipsy origin. He is also called *nirgalu*, because he works in the *nargali* or hill-bamboo. The name is probably that of an occupation rather than of a true caste, and appears to be hardly distinguishable from *bhanjra*. In kullu the barara is said to be generally *koli* by caste. He is an outcaste, like all workers in grass or reeds, and only 66 are returned as *musalmans*. (Ibbetson, 1970)

**TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF BARADS OVER NORTH-WEST INDIA (CENSUS 2011)**

Community	State/UT		Persons	Males	Females
<b>Barad<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	Total	5890	3026	2864
		Rural	5447	2794	2653
		Urban	443	232	211
<b>Barar, Burar, Berar</b>	<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	Total	116	64	52
		Rural	111	59	52
		Urban	5	5	0
<b>Barar, Burar, Berar</b>	<b>Punjab</b>	Total	8451	4417	4034
		Rural	1277	660	617
		Urban	7174	3757	3417
<b>Barar, Burar, Berar</b>	<b>Haryana</b>	Total	1026	571	455
		Rural	191	116	75
		Urban	835	455	380
<b>Barar, Burar, Berar</b>	<b>Chandigarh</b>	Total	243	128	115
		Rural	0	0	0
		Urban	243	128	115

Barads are timid and shy people mostly dwelling in the semi-pucca houses. Earlier they have been residing in *kulli* (temporary hut settlements) made up of *kana* (stalk). Their habitation is mostly on the western side of a village. Traditionally Barads speak *Pahari/Dogri* language which also clarifies their migration from the hills. Within the community there are no divisions. All *gotras* (clans) are treated equal and there is no distinction or maintaining a distance from any particular *gotra* (clan). Caste endogamy and *Gotra* (clan) exogamy is found in the community. Barads have patriarchal families where the authority and the right to take all decisions lie in the hands of men. Eldest male member is the head of the family. But no doubt women have equal status as that of men and are considered an asset for the family. The residence rule followed is Patrilocal. Traditionally joint family system has been prevalent among them. Barads believe in Hindu deities like Mata, Lord Shiva, Lord Brahma, Krishna, Hanuman etc. They do not have their own temples. They visit Hindu temples to worship. Worshipping ancestors or *jathere poojna* is very sacred for them. They worship their ancestral place on the *jetha* Sunday (first Sunday of the lunar month) of the month of *jeth* (May-June). They do *pooja* and

distribute *langar* (a communal free kitchen) among all community members. *Jathere* are also worshipped at the time of birth and marriage. At the time of the birth and marriage of first son they offer *bakra* (lamb) to their respective *jathere*. Barads are great worshipers of Baba Balak Nath. They visit the temple once every year along with the flag which is offered there. Baba Lal Badshah is also worshiped. They visit his place every *jetha* Thursday (first Thursday of lunar month) at Nakodar. They also believe in Baba Nakodar Shah which is situated three kilometers from *Chintpurni Mata* temple towards *Sheetla Mata* temple side. (Kaur; 2010, 2016)

Economy has always been an important part of every society. Karl Polanyi identified two meanings of economy, respectively called 'formal' and 'substantive', one that rested on the principle of the 'maximization of profit' and the other, 'on the fulfillment of one's needs'. The first was based on the 'laws of mind', of reason and rationality; the second on the 'laws of nature', that is 'if human beings have to live, they have to eat; and what they eat comes from their possessing of the habitat around them. (Srivastava, 2010) While the first meaning coincides with the primitive society where fulfilling the bio-social needs are the ultimate goal of the production system, the other meaning denotes the market economy where the goods are produced in large scale for profit making and not just for consumption.

The tribal economy has been described as a simple and primitive economy. The forces of production were primitive and there have been no use of technology. Economy undoubtedly plays an important role in the formation of cultural and social structure of the society. The mode of production in tribal economy is governed by customs and traditions and is an important constituent of community life. It is a classless society where the relations of production are monolithic in nature. They are a single social unit where the community relations are strongest in character. The price system is generally absent and the distribution system is based on the barter system. The forces of production too are simple in character. They mostly depend on the Mother Nature for their livelihood. (Madan and Majumdar, 1957; Vidyarthi and Rai, 1977) Similar kind of economy was found among the Barads as well. The present study highlights an ethnographic description of the traditional occupation of this community and also gives an insight about the changes occurred therein.

## METHODOLOGY

The universe of the present study is the Barad community of Punjab. According to census 2011, the total population of the Barads in Punjab is 8451 persons which comprises of 4417 males and 4034 females. The area of the proposed study is the districts of Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar and Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar (Nawashehr) districts of Punjab due to their higher concentration in these districts. Further three villages/towns were chosen from each district. As the population to be studied is homogeneous so villages with highest concentration of the Barad tribe were chosen. Villages chosen from Hoshiarpur district were Singdiwala, Barian Kalan and Saila Khurd. Singdiwala in Hoshiarpur tehsil has the highest concentration of Barad

community. From Jalandhar district three areas chosen were Jalandhar city itself, Adampur and Nakodar. As the maximum concentration of the Barads is urban so these areas were selected for the study. Similarly in Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar district there is no rural population. The two towns where the community people reside is Banga and Nawashehar city itself. Hence, a total of 8 villages and towns were selected for collecting the sample.

Multiple methods were used to gather significant information. The tools such as interview schedule, case study and observation method were utilized. A detailed interview schedule with open and close end questions was served to the respondents selected randomly. Field diary was maintained on daily basis and the qualitative data was recorded as well for future reference. Observation was another tool utilized. Respondent's behaviour, gestures, responses and whatever significant was also collected. Ethnographic account of the selected respondent was best recorded with the help of case studies. Total 8 case studies were done from all three districts where the head of the households were in the age group of 75 to 110. Elderly respondents were selected who could provide enough and authentic information about their traditional occupation. The respondents provided useful information that enriched the quality of the data.

### **TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION OF THE BARADS**

In the early times Barads were semi-nomadic in nature. This was due to their dependency on forest and landlessness. Their main occupation was food gathering, foraging, hunting, basket making and even begging. They used to wander from one place to another in search of food. Ibbetson notes: 'Barar, fem. Barri, a low caste given to begging and roguery. They also used to hunt with dogs.' But due to restrictions imposed by the government on the usage of forests, they changed their occupation like many other tribal communities. (Ibbetson and Rose, 1970)

This timid and shy community has its origin in Himachal Pradesh and has migrated to other parts due to lack of business opportunities there. They have migrated from Himachal Pradesh (earlier a part of Punjab) to Punjab about 150 to 200 years back. According to them, their fore-fathers migrated from Himachal Pradesh in search of occupation.

Their traditional economy has been of artisan and craftsman type. In Himachal Pradesh they have been indulged in making *chhaj* (winnowing fans) and *chhabrian* (baskets) but now as government has provided them land they started doing agriculture. However, the land holdings are not sufficient for their subsistence due to which they have been reduced to wage labourers in farms or at construction sites. But in Punjab the traditional occupation of the Barads was making *kanghi*, *jude* and *innu*.

#### ***Traditional Occupation of the Barad Men***

During survey it was found that the traditional occupation of the males was *kanghi*

(Image 1) making and was followed by majority of them. In Punjab, the community came in contact with the *Adharmi Julahas* (low caste weavers) who used to work on *khaddis* (handlooms). Hence, Barads started the work of making *kanghi* which was used to make cloth. Their work flourished in whole Punjab as well as outside. *Kanghi* marked their identity and sometimes people used to call them as *kanghi-bann* rather than Barads. An elderly Barad told that few of their community members even resided in Pakistan where they came in contact with *musalmaans* who used to make new designs of cloth. *Kanghis* were made accordingly and supplied to them. This is how the work of making *kanghi* started and then whole community indulged in it.

IMAGE 1 (KANGHI)



### ***Kanghi and its Types***

Cloth is one of the basic needs for survival along with food and shelter. It was earlier prepared in hand-looms rather than power-looms as in today's modern industrial society. Everywhere in India *khaddis* (hand-looms) were prevalent. Same was the case in Punjab. *Adharmi Julahas* (low caste weavers) used to weave varied varieties of cloth. Moreover, females also used to prepare cloth at home. As a basic necessity it was prepared in most of the houses especially in the Malwa region where Punjabi girls used to make beautiful *phulkaris* (embroidered *dupattas*). It is believed that a good housewife should be specialized in almost all household chores. Weaving was one of them. Females in every house used to weave.

For weaving a special instrument was used popularly known as *kanghi*. Different types of *kanghi* of varied length and breadth were made by the Barads which were utilized in making wide variety of cloth. Types of *kanghi* depended on the size of the *kanghi* and raw material used. According to size, *kanghi* was either *motti* (thick) or *bareek* (thin). *Motti kanghi* was prepared for coarse cloth while to make fine cloth *bareek kanghi* was made. *Motti kanghis* were used to make *kambals*, *dariyan*, *chadar* and *khes* while material like *khaddar*, *terricot* etc were made by the *bareek kanghis*. *Bareek kanghi* required more effort and skill as compared to other regular *kanghis*. These *kanghis* were prepared on special order. The raw material used was better in quality, hence, they were costly.

According to length a very long *kanghi* popularly known as *Amritsari kanghi* was also prepared. It was used by professional weavers and prepared on special

order. An elderly Barad told, '*Amritsari kanghi Delhi jandi si, othe de julahe eh kanghi kharid de si.*' (*Amritsari kanghi* was sold to weavers in Delhi. They used to weave on it) On the other hand regular size *kanghi* were used by women at home.

Depending on the raw material used *kanghi* was categorized into two types. One was *bans di kanghi* (bamboo comb) which was made up of *bans* (bamboo) and the other was *kane di kanghi* (comb made from stalk) which was made up of *kana* (stalk). *Bans di kanghi* was better in quality as *bans* are stronger than the *kane*. This *kanghi* was costly as compared to the other. It was prepared on special order to make fine fabrics. On the other hand regular fabric was prepared by *kane di kanghi*. The former was used by weavers while the latter was used in houses.

### ***Making of Kanghi***

*Kanghi* making is an art which Barads have been passing from one generation to another. It has not only been their source of livelihood but also a symbol of their identity. It is a very laborious activity and requires both skill and hard work. A common man cannot make a *kanghi* without the knowledge of the skill used to prepare it. Not all communities were aware of it. Barads specialized in its making. It was the major occupation of the Barad men though women also used to assist them in it. Making of *kanghi* consisted of various steps like collection of raw material, cleaning and cutting *kane* (stalk), making of *adda*, preparing *kanghi* on *adda* etc which have been discussed in detail below. Along with the discussion the chief characteristics of any tribal economy has also been identified among the Barads.

### ***Collection of raw material***

Raw material is the most essential element for preparing any item. Forests have always played an important role in the livelihood of tribal people. As mentioned above tribes have always been dependent on forest for the collection of raw material irrespective of the items/crafts prepared by them. Same was the case with Barads as well. The community was totally dependent on forest for the collection of raw material for their work. The forest area of the Hoshiarpur district was the prime region. This is also one of the reasons for the maximum concentration of Barads in this district. The topography of Hoshiarpur district consisting of hilly tracts and presence of *chos* (small water streams) has been the reason of providing them the necessary grass (bamboo and stalk) for their crafts. The principal grasses grown in the Hoshiarpur district as mentioned in 'Punjab District Gazetteer: Hoshiarpur' are as follows:

The principal grasses are the bamboo (*Dendrocalamus stictus*) and *Bambusa bambos*. Three kinds of bamboo are grown- *magar*, a very thick kind; *bans*, and *nal*, thinner varieties. The *bans* grows in the government forests of Karnpur and Bindraban (Tahsil Dasuaya) and the *nal* are the kinds

most commonly used for the various purposes to which the bamboo is put; the *kharkana* (*Saccharum bengalense*)- most useful plant. The leaves (*khar*) are used for thatching; the sheath of the stalk (*munj*) for ropes, the stalk (*kana*) for chinks, chairs, sofas, stools etc., while the tapering tops of the stem form which is called *sirki*, a kind of thin thatching: the young shoots which grow from the stumps in spring are eaten by cattle: kahi (*Saccharum spontaneum*)-the leaves of this are also used for thatching and pens cut from the stem the *khabal* (*Cynodon dactylon*)- the best grass for fodder; the *bagar* (*Dichanthium annulatum*)-useful for making ropes; the *bui-a* fine grass. Growing in poor sandy soil, and not eaten by cattle; the *baru* (*Sorghum halepense*)-good for fodder; the dib or bulrush (*Typha angustata*)- the leaves are used for mats; the *nara* (*Arundo donax*) –the stems are made into *hukka* tubes, chinks and baskets. This reed, when planted along the edges of *chos*, often prevents the cutting away of the banks; its roots bind the soil where it grows, and quickly spread. (Sharma, 1980)

From above it could be seen that all essential grasses used for making different items like ropes, mats, baskets, chinks etc were found in Hoshiarpur. Few of these were used by Barads for preparing their handicrafts. The raw material used for *kanghi* making was *kana* (stalk), *bans* (bamboo) and *soot* (thread) which were all available in this region.

The *kana* were of two types *desi* and *kusar da* or *dholu kana*. *Kusar da kana* was better than the *desi kana* as the size of the *pori* (a small portion of the stalk) was long so the quality of *kanghi* made from it was good as compared to the other one. On the other hand, as discussed above *bans* was stronger than the *kana* so *kanghi* made from it was of better quality but it was rarely found and requires more labour to cut. It was also costly as compared to *kana*. *Kanghi* made up of *bans* was prepared only as per the requirement of the weavers. Huge amount of *kana* and *bans* were found in the regions of Dasuya and Mukerian in the Hoshiarpur district. These were the prime regions from where the Barads used to collect their raw material. While *soot* was available at all grocery and departmental stores in the nearby areas it self.

Collection of raw material from jungle was not a single man task as there used to be wild animals. A group of 10 to 15 community members used to go to collect raw materials. The group consisted of middle aged men who were expert and strong enough to do the hard labour. From every village these community members used to go together. They could be brothers, relatives or even from neighborhood. Cooperation is one of the chief characteristic of tribal economy which was undoubtedly found among the Barads. At times the group used to include women as well. They were taken along to prepare food. Kids and aged members were not taken along. Sometimes community members also used to supply the raw material to their relatives in other villages. In *kanghi* making two types of task were done. One was preparing *kanghi* and other was being a *vyapari* (trader) and

selling them. Almost all community members used to prepare *kanghi*. But few of them from the whole community in Punjab used to work as *vyapari* (trader). These people also used to bring the raw material from jungles and then supply to all in different villages. At times when community members were unable to go to jungles to collect raw material they used to take it from these *vyaparis*.

After forming the group they used to start their expedition for collecting raw material. As discussed above the prime region was Dasuya and Mukeriyān in the Hoshiarpur district and the Pathankot district as well (earlier a part of the Gurdaspur district). It was not a one day task. It used to take about four to five months to cut, collect and bring the raw material back home. Earlier more time was consumed due to lesser means of transport and communication. They normally used to go near Diwali in the months of October/November and come back in the months of March/April. If required they used to visit in other months as well. The heavy *mands* (forest area) contain a lot of *kane* (Stalk). In earlier times they had their rights over forests areas and used to conduct their expeditions smoothly without paying any price in lieu of their raw material but with the passage of time due to restrictions imposed by the government they struggled to find land full of *kane*. With time they started paying Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 to the landlord for allowing them to cut *kane*. Though these *kane* served no purpose to the landlord still they have to pay. This was the result of the coming of feudalism and money economy in Marxian terms.

An elderly Barad told in the interview, “*Dasuya, Mukerian, Pathankot aa, othe dareya aa Beas, othe bahut bhahra mand hunda si, othe ja ke le aane kane, aap vad ke le aane, othe jaiidaar si, jihda rakba hunda si, ohnu 50-100 de dena te gadiyan diyan gadiyan le aane kane ethe. Assi jande si diwali to das din pehla te auna chet visakh nu*”. (There is river Beas in Dasuya, Mukeriyān and Pathankot region. This area is full of jungles. *Kane* (stalk) were collected from this area. We used to cut them and give Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 to the owner of the land. Trucks full of *kanas* (stalk) were brought back. We used to go near Diwali and come back in the month of March-April)

Everyone used to assist each other in this expedition. They work hard day and night to collect the best material. As it took them several months to collect raw material, so, they used to make *channa* or *kulli* (a temporary settlement made up of thatch) for staying. Tremendous amount of hard work was put in to cut *kane* (stalk). Extreme winters prevailed during the months of expedition but they used to do hard labour despite unfavourable weather conditions. Due to the presence of wild animals in the jungle one or two members turn by turn from the group used to be awake at night for protection. Hunting was also done for survival in the forests. Accompanying females used to collect food and fodder and cook meals. After collecting the entire material, big bundles of *kane* (stalk) were tied and brought home in *gadde* (wooden carts), trucks or by train. After bringing the *kane* (stalk) back home, they were distributed among the members. Those who could not accompany



to bring the raw material used to buy by paying money. *Kane* (stalk) was brought for the whole community. They were even distributed to the community members staying at other villages or town. The whole community was following the same occupation of *kanghi* making.

### ***Cleaning and Cutting Raw Material***

After collecting raw material the next step was cleaning and cutting it into desired size. The instruments used in this process were *chakku* (knife), *vadali* (Image 4) and *bhann* (Image 5). The photographs of all have been shown below for better understanding. It is to be noted here that the simple and primitive tools and techniques were used by Barads. Most of the instruments were either made by themselves or brought from the market. They even used to get them built from nearby *Tarkhan* and *Sikligar* (wood cutter and ironsmith).

The first thing done in the process was cutting *kane* (stalk) into small pieces that is making *poriyan* (pieces of *kane*: Image 2) with the help of *chakku* (knife: Image 3). These pieces were cut equal in size. Once the *poriyan* were made then they were vertically cut into thin pieces with the help of *chakku* and kept aside. One *pori* was vertically cut into four or five pieces. *Gudda* (pulp) inside the *pori* was removed with the help of another instrument called *vadali*. These small cleaned pieces of *kane pori* was called *chirauni*. One of the elderly male Barad told that “*kane le ke aune te pher ohna diyan chakku naal poriyan karnia, poriyan karke ohnu vicho katna te ohde vich gudda hunda si oh saaf karna, te phir chirauni bna leni*”. (After bringing *kane*, *poriyan* were done and then they were cleaned from inside. *Chirauni* was prepared)

After cleaning, the thin pieces were required to be of similar size. Another instrument named as *bhann* was used for this purpose. It was a type of measuring instrument so that all the thin pieces of *kane* are of similar size and the *kanghi* made from it is even. It defined the breadth of the *kanghi*. The *chirauni* was put into *bhann* and were broken off of the required length. The *chirauni* of similar size and nicely cleaned was called *shing*.



**IMAGE 2 (PORI OF KANA)**



IMAGE 3 (CHAKKU)



IMAGE 4 (VADALI)



IMAGE 5 (BHANN)

### *Preparing Adda and Making Kanghi*

After cleaning and cutting the raw material of desired length and breadth the community members used to indulge in making *kanghi*. The cooperation found during the collection of raw material could also be seen during this process. Brothers, relatives and neighbours used to assist each other during this time. If anyone used to get more work he used to call his relatives staying at other places to help him in completing the work. The relatives used to stay and work for him. In lieu of it he was paid in both cash and kind. As mostly the Barads have joint families so it was seen that father and all his brothers and their sons and even their women used to work together. Hence family used to play the role of providing economic training to the children and passing the traditional occupation to the next generation.

The most important task in *kanghi* making was preparing an *adda*. A Barad male told, “*kanghi adde utte hi banni jandi si. Pehla adda teyaar karna te phir uss utte kanghi teyar karni*” (*Kanghi* was prepared on *adda*. Firstly *adda* was built and then *kanghi* was made on it). *Adda* making was not an easy task. The structure of the *kanghi* relied on the structure and quality of *adda* prepared. It requires special skills and was prepared only by expert members. They used to prepare *adda* and then hand it over to other family members to prepare *kanghi* on it.

*Adda* was a platform consisting of two wooden *pawe* (supportive feet) with hole at the lower part. The lower part of the *pawe* (supportive feet) was broad as compared to the upper. An elderly Barad told “*Paave vich bans pauna, te pher dove passé doriyan launia. Pher shitian leke kane diyan, ik upar banni te dujji niche. Ehna nu donno passé ban ke ehna vich shinga paroyian jandia si. Ik tari upar chaldi si te ik niche. Upar shing piro ke soot naal gath ban deni, te pher niche vi eda hi kar dena*”. Two *pawe* were made to stand opposite to each other and then a long *bans* (bamboo) stick was put inside the holes at the bottom and tied strongly so that it keeps intact. Then long sticks of *kane* were taken and tied horizontally between two *pawe*. One stick was tied at the lower part and another stick was tied horizontally at the upper narrower part. The distance between the *pawe* was kept according to the length of the *kanghi* required.

Once the *adda* was built then the last work was to prepare *kanghi* on it. The instruments used in this particular process were *tariyan* (Image 6 and 7) and *peyada* (Image 8). Another raw material i.e. soot was also used. Soot was coloured with different colours to make *kanghi* look colourful and bright. *Shing* which was prepared earlier was put between the two horizontally tied long sticks of *kane* both at the upper end and lower end and tied with soot. Soot was wrapped around two *tariyan* so that it doesn't get entangled and it is easy to tie knots. *Peyada* was used to maintain the evenness of the breadth of the *kanghi*. It was adjusted between the two sticks of *kane* on *adda* and then slowly moved forward as the *shings* were tied. This is how the whole *kanghi* was completed. Another instrument used by the

community member was *pathri* (Image 9 and 10). It was utilized to sharpen other weapons like *chakku* and *vadali*.



IMAGE 6 (TARIYAN)



IMAGE 7 (TARIYAN)



IMAGE 8 (PEYADA)



IMAGE 9 (PATHRI)



IMAGE 10 (PATHRI AND CHAKKU)

It is to be noted here that number of *shings* tied in *kanghi* used to decide the type of *kanghi* i.e. *motti* or *bareek*. If the number of *shings* in a particular length was more it was called *bareek kanghi* otherwise the *kanghi* was *motti*.

### ***Selling/Trading of Kanghi***

After doing so much hard work in preparing the *kanghi* now time comes when their efforts have to bear fruits. It is indeed essential for them that they get justified amount of money for their hard labour put it. All the *kanghis* made by the whole community were sold either to *vyaparis* or *adharmi julahas*. An elderly Barad man told, '*julahe vi aunde si kanghi kharidan te vyapari vi*'. Weavers used to demand special type of *kanghi* according to requirement. They used to visit the houses of Barad community and give their orders. Therefore, these *kanghis* were prepared on special order. It was costly as compared to the ones sold to *vyapari*.

On the other hand *vyaparis* were usually of two types. One was of the same community and others were of different community. On being enquired about who these *vyapari* were another Barad told '*aapni biradari de vi hunde c te doosri biradri de vi, maashe vi aunde c kanghi len*' (*vyapari* were from our own community as well as other community. Even *maashe* used to buy *kanghi*). Few members of the community turned as traders. They used to buy *kanghis* from the whole community and then sell it further to bigger merchants of other community who used to come from the Malwa region. But sometime the traders of other community used to directly approach the community members and buy *kanghis* from them.

The price of the *kanghi* started from 50 paise and went on to Rs. 40 to Rs. 50. It was found that not much money was made by the *kanghi* makers while the business of the traders was good. An elderly trader told, "*kanghi banan vale hamesha thalle hi lagge rehnde si, ohna nu kuch nahi si bachda*" (*Kanghi* makers were always exploited. They couldn't save anything from their work). The hard work they used to put in *kanghi* making was never returned to them. They belonged to the poorest of the poor.

#### ***Traditional Occupation of the Barad Women***

Barad women have been an economic asset. They equally participated in the economic activities along with men. Besides doing household chores they have been earning and contributing to their family economically. The main traditional occupation of the Barad women has been making *jude* (Image 12) and *innu* (Image 11) though they have also been assisting men in *kanghi* making. The same was informed during the field work as well. It was found that 81.50 per cent of women had *jude* and *innu* making as their traditional occupation. Other major occupations were selling bangles (*vanga churian*), labour work and *kanghi* work which were followed by 15.50 per cent, two per cent and one per cent respectively.



**IMAGE 11 (INNU)**



IMAGE 12 (JUDE)

### ***What are Jude and Innu?***

In earlier times *jude* and *innu* were widely used in every area of Punjab. Barad women used to make and sell these items. Earlier women were supposed to fetch water or fodder from distant places so they used to carry water pitchers or other things on their heads *Innu* is a round shaped item used as a support for carrying any material on the head. It was widely used in villages to carry cow dung or utensils or pitchers full of water. *Jude* are a type of brooms used to sweep floor. It is required to sweep *kacha* floor i.e. floor made up of mud which is not plastered or cemented yet. It was widely used in villages as they used to have mud floor in their houses. This was the reason that Barad women used to visit different villages to sell these items.

### ***Collection of raw material***

The raw material used for making *jude* and *innu* was different from that used for *kanghi*. *Bagar* (*Dichanthium annulatum*) or *munj* (the sheath of the stalk) were used to make these items. It was available at various places unlike *kane* and *baans*. Usually *bagar* was brought from Banjarbagh and Jejon region in the Hoshiarpur district. Not a heavy expedition was carried out to bring *bagar*. Five to six Barad women from family, relatives or neighbourhood used to go and bring it from there. They used to go early morning and return in the evening before dark. Young girls were not allowed to go. They used to go every week or when required to nearby places to get the raw material. Bundles were made and carried back home on head. At times even men used to go and bring it for them.

It was also found in the jungles of Dasuya and Mukerian region in the Hoshiarpur district and even in the Pathankot district. Men used to bring the raw material i.e. *bagar* from jungles along with *kane* and *bans*. Women never visited jungles alone. Sometimes they used to buy it from weekly *mandis* (markets).

### ***Preparing Jude and Innu***

After collecting raw material all women used to make *jude* and *innu*. For this *bagar* (*Dichanthium annulatum*) or *munj* (the sheath of the stalk) was firstly cleaned and then beaten to make it fine. Lot of hard labour was needed to clean it. *Jude* and *innu* were prepared with the help of an instrument called *daaklu* (Image 13). It was a V shaped instrument. No other techniques were used. *Bagar* was twisted and twined and put over *daaklu* and then *jude* and *innu* were prepared. It required a lot of hard work and in the process of making them the hands also used to get hurt. An elderly woman told, “*Sab kam hathan naal hi hunda si. Bahut aukha kam si. Cheere aa jande si hathan te bunde bunde*” (Whole work was done with hands. It was very difficult work. Hands used to get cut while preparing these items). Women of *gali mohalla* (neighbourhood) used to sit together to make them. We feeling and cooperation was very strong among the community members. Each one of them used to make about seven to eight *jude* and *innu* daily along with other household chores. One of the Barad woman told, “*dekho dekhi asi sat ath jude te innu bann layidian si*” (we used to make seven to eight *jude and innu* in competition with one another).



IMAGE 13 (DAAKLU)

### ***Selling Jude and Innu***

After preparing *jude* and *innu* the task of selling them was also done by females. The cooperation found during the process of making these items was also found during selling them. Barad women used to go in groups to nearby villages. They used to roam around from one home to another to sell them. Barter system was prevalent



and people used to give them *daane* (grains) in lieu of *judde* and *innu*. Money was rarely given. It was only with the passage of time that the trend of taking money started and the females started selling them for one paisa or so. Hence the economy of the Barad community was **partial money economy**. Making a livelihood was hard for the community. Even in extreme hot summers women used to go from door to door to support their family.

### **DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE BARAD COMMUNITY**

As already discussed the division of labour among tribal people was simple and primitive. Theodore Caplow in his book *The Sociology of Work* writes, "Even among those communities bound together by 'mechanical solidarity' in Durkheim's sense, certain basic occupational distinctions are invariably found. These arise from the division of labour between the sexes, among the several age groups, and among different orders of skill". (Caplow, 1970) The most important is the distinction between the work of men and women. Thurnwald calls it as the 'primary division of labour'. In any society, there is always a labour force distinct from the total population. The very young and the very old are normally excluded from the working population. Adolescents, pregnant women, cripples, chiefs, prisoners and strangers are often excluded too (Caplow, 1970). Similar kind of division of labour could be found among the Barads as well. The work was divided on the basis of sex, age and skill as discussed below.

#### ***Division on the basis of sex***

In Barad community work was equally divided between men and women. The prime occupation of men was *kanghi* making while women used to make *jude* and *innu* along with doing other household chores like cooking, cleaning and caring of the infants and the old. The work of making and selling *jude* and *innu* was solely done by women. Men never used to prepare or sell these items. However, sometimes they used to help women in bringing raw material i.e. *bagar* (*Dichanthium annulatum*) or *munj* (the sheath of the stalk). Along with making these items women also used to assist men in *kanghi* making.

In *kanghi* making work of men and women was divided. The task of going to jungles and collecting raw material was of men. Women rarely used to accompany them. Even if they used to go along their work was to cook food. Hunting and collecting raw material was the task of the male members of community. Tasks like cleaning and cutting raw material and preparing *kanghi* was done both by men and women. Building *adda* for *kanghi* was a task of skill. It could be done by both men and women whosoever was expert and experienced in it. But it was generally done by male members as they used to be more experienced and skilled ones. Again there was one more task which belonged to the arena of male members. This was trading

or selling of *kanghis*. All orders were taken by men and they used to decide the price of the *kanghi* as well. Females had no say in it. The *Adharmi julahas* and also the traders from malwa region used to come and buy *kanghis* from the male community members. The women never encountered them and also used to be in veil.

### ***Division on the basis of age***

The division of labour was also present on the basis of age. The adult males used to go to *mands* for the collection of raw material. The aged and very young men were not taken along. Similarly only the adult women used to bring *bagar* or *munj*. Young women (both daughters and daughter-in-laws) were not taken along for security purposes. They even never used to accompany for selling *jude* and *innu* in different villages and towns. They used to help their mothers in household chores and in making *jude* and *innu*. Even in the process of *kanghi* making the work was divided according to age. Children were given simpler tasks like doing *chirauni* or making *poriyan* of kana or colouring of *soot*. *Adda* which was most important work in *kanghi* making was usually done by the adult and elderly members of the community.

### ***Division on the basis of skill***

Labour was also divided on the basis of skill. As discussed above *kanghi* was of several types like Amritsari *kanghi*, *bareek* and *motti* or regular *kanghi*. The *bareek* and Amritsari *kanghi* were prepared on special order as it required more skill and labour. These *kanghis* were built only by few adult males who were specialized in it. While, *motti kanghi* did not required any special skills. Making *adda* was another skilled work which requires experience so they were also built by elderly males and females who were expert in it.

## **FAMILY AS THE UNIT OF PRODUCTION**

Traditionally economy and family had been closely related. The family was the group or unit which worked and earned together. The activity of earning the livelihood was family and caste oriented and not individual oriented. In a non-commodity oriented society especially the tribal society the economic activity was part of family community setting. The economy functioned as a by-product of kinship, political and religious obligations and relationships. Even in the case of Barads whole family was the unit of production. Husband, wife, parents and children all used to contribute in the economic activities and also in other household chores. Work was evenly divided among the family members. Children used to assist their parents and the skills were passed from one generation to another. Family acted as the training unit for its future generation. As parents used to give vocational training to their children so, the bond between them was very strong in

traditional times. Children used to respect their parents and obey them. Love and affection always existed between family members and they all used to support and cooperate with each other.

### **WORK RELATIONS AND WORKING ENVIRONMENT IN TRADITIONAL BARAD ECONOMY**

Barads followed domestic system of production in earlier times. Items like *kanghi*, *jude* and *innu* were prepared at home itself. Traders used to come and give them orders for *kanghis* and then collect their material after paying them money in cash. Barad women used to make their products at home and then sell them off in nearby villages. The working environment for the Barad community was comfortable as they used to work from home. Nobody was there to keep any type of supervision over them. They used to work according to their own suitability. They had full freedom in their working environment. They themselves used to define their own working hours according to their mind and body.

Similarly the working relationships were also cordial in nature. They used to work along with their family and other members of the community. Cooperation was found among them at every stage of their work like collecting raw material, preparing *kanghi*, *jude* and *innu* and even during selling these items. They were always ready to help and support each other. There were no exploitative relationships found in olden times. The Barad community also developed good relationships with *Adharmi Julahas* (low caste weavers) and even with traders who used to buy their products.

### **PRESENT OCCUPATION OF THE BARAD MEN AND WOMEN**

Traditional economy of the Barad community was primitive in nature and dependent on forests. They used primitive technology and raw material for making their products. Family was the basic unit of production and simple division of labour based on age and gender was found.

We all know that change is inevitable and could be found in every aspect of society. Similar is in Barad economy as well which has changed drastically. With the impact of modern forces like industrialization, development, education, modernization etc a shift can be seen in the occupations followed by this community. Not even a single person is found doing the traditional work of making *Kanghi*, *jude* and *innu*. The new occupations followed are labour work, selling bangles, driving, working at workshops/automobile service stations, rickshaw pulling, selling vegetables and fruits, *pheri lana*/hawkers, selling *kabaad* etc. They could be seen doing all types of low income occupations. As they do not have any regular occupation so they do any type of labour which is available to them. According to them it's better to have some work rather than no work. They could be seen working in brick-kilns, farms and even at construction places as *deharidar* (labourers). This could be construction of roads or any building public or private or even houses.

Few of them also work at marriage palaces as waiters. One of the Barad respondent said, “*jehra vi kam sanu milda kar layida, nah nhi kitti kadi. Je aap na karna hove ta aapni biradri de kise hor munde nu bhej dayida. Kam kehra asani naal milda*” (We do whatever occupation we get. We never say no to any work. If someone is not interested in doing any work he/she sends some other member of the community to do it. It is not easy to get work).

The major occupations followed by Barad women are selling *vanga churian* (bangles), cosmetic products, working as maids and also as labourers. Earlier they used to sell only bangles but now along with it they sell other cosmetic products like lipsticks, nail paints, clips, handkerchiefs, rubber bands, undergarments etc. Few women even sell clothes of babies along with these products. They bring these products from whole sale markets of Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur cities and then sell them in nearby villages. Men also assist them sometimes in buying products from market. The products are tied in big bags and brought in buses. All the products are put into a *tokri* (basket) and are carried on heads. Women along with baskets roam around in nearby villages to earn money. The Barad women work hard to make a living. They visit from door to door to sell their products. Even in extreme summers they have to go out to sell these items due to their poor economic conditions. The earning from these items is only sustainable. During the survey some Barad women told that only few women from villages buy their products since they prefer going to city shops as more variety is available. Items are bought from them only in case of urgent requirement. Moreover, they give very less money for their products. In shops they might spend thousands but from them they expect cheap products only. Other major occupations are working as labourers and as maids. They perform the task of cleaning, washing utensils and clothes. They are paid monthly Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 approximately for work in one house. Each woman works in 3 or 4 houses depending on the number of household chores they have to do. They also work as labourers at construction sites and in farms. Construction work can be public or private. During winters they could be seen plucking peas, potatoes and other vegetables. They are paid less as compared to men. The average *dehari* (daily wage) is Rs. 120 to Rs. 200 per day. These occupations are also subsidiary for few as in summers the work of *vanga churiyan* decreases.

In the wake of development they have been adversely affected. The new emerging forces of production have destroyed their economic structure and placed them at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

#### *Notes*

- 1 Barad, Barar, Burar, Berar are names given to the same community. In census they have been bifurcated into two divisions. Even K.S.Singh in his book *People of India* makes two divisions. However they are not different communities.

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