

# **Transition of Bagri Community from Hunting and Gathering to Sedentarization**



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**2016**

# **Transition of Bagri Community from Hunting and Gathering to Sedentarization**



Thesis submitted to the department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University  
Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the Degree of Master of Philosophy in  
Anthropology.

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**2016**

*This thesis is dedicated to my loving  
‘Family & Friends’*

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Salma

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## Acknowledgments

It is the kindness and merci of The Allah Almighty - the most compassionate and merciful, who showered lot of blessings on me and enabled me to accomplish this work. I offer my countless salutations to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and His Ahalbait (a.s), whose teachings enabled all the believers to recognize the true path.

I owe special gratitude to my co-operative supervisor Dr. Anwaar Mohyuddin (Assistant professor, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad) who always encouraged me to give my best. I would like to thank to my supervisor for his constant guidance and fruitful suggestions throughout my study at this university in general and during research work in particular. I always found his suggestions and advice helpful during the different phases of my work. I would like to thank him for helping me continuously and giving his valuable time that enabled to improve the quality of my work. I owe my special thanks to the Chairman of the department, and all the faculty members, who taught me different subjects during the course work. I extend my thanks to the community members, who always welcomed me and gave a lot of their precious time for obtaining the data.

I am especially thankful to Ada (brother), Inayat Ali for his encouraging attitude and sincere support throughout the study. My deepest thanks also go to my best friend Shahbaz Ali, for his constant encouragement, words and wishes, which were more than enough for me to make my stay at the University easy. He encouraged and supported me in every stage of my life.

Also, I would like to say my thanks to all of those, whose names are not mentioned here, but they supported me directly and indirectly. Last but not the least, I owe a debt of gratitude to my whole affectionate family members, especially my Mama (maternal uncle), Sayed Shakeel Hussaini, who constantly inspired me and supported me during

all ups and downs. Whatever I have achieved, it could never have been possible without them. I thanks to my friends and hostel fellows for their good company, their valuable criticism and suggestions that helped me to improve my research work.

May Allah bless them all!

Salma

## **Abstract**

Three hunters and gatherers communities are prevailing in Pakistan such as Bagri, Ravra, Ghurgala. The proposed study, however, focused the Bagri a wandering and Scheduled Hindu community living in the central part of Sindh province of Pakistan, with reference to its transition from hunting and gathering to sedentarization. The Hala is under developed area of Pakistan where the Scheduled caste people have been settled and practicing hunting from many years. Hala is very old historical and cultural city of Sindh. It's very popular with the work of standard pottery, (glazed as well as unglazed), textile (Susi, Khadhi and Ajrak), and woodwork (Jandi). We can say that this city is the city of crafts. Bagri claim to be the descendant of Rajputs clan, migrated from India; they were aboriginal hunters and gatherer. (Soomro, 1977). The Bagri communities pass through different socio-cultural stages such as, hunting, nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled life-pattern. Bagri transition from hunting to sedentary highly effect on their living way of life. The Bagri's of Sindh are recognized hunters and gathers, as their identity is based on their ancestral occupation. Ecological conditions have exerted a great impact in shaping their culture and lifestyle, but culturally and emotionally, they are attached with their traditional occupation of hunting. The Bagri people give great importance to hunting knowledge. They learn it through enculturation from their ancestors. This knowledge is visible in different forms such as foot tracing, recognizing the animal sounds, knowing of the forest routes, making effective hunting groups, local idioms of hunting, the perils of animal, defend from animal, capturing of animal, net making reaping of hunting tools.

In the past, the hunting was the preferred mode of subsistence, nowadays, however, 25% of Bagri community is engaged in that occupation as well as interested in eating the animal flesh. Therefore, the present research finds out the indigenous tradition of hunting and gathering, and the reasons responsible behind the continuity or discontinuity of it in Bagri community. The Bagri lived in the forest still they are engaged in hunting and those Bagri they are permanent settled in different region of

Sindh, they got an invitation from the forest Bagri's for hunting. Bagri went for hunting to remember their ancestral occupation. Besides, Every Bagri tribe eats the meat of pigs, it's religiously compulsory to eat flesh of pigs. After that they become the Bagri, otherwise they are not considering as Bagri. The meat of pigs is religiously sacred for Bagri religion. Therefore, still Bagri attached with hunting, they never miss the opportunity of hunting the pigs. The concept of headmen is also used by Bagri tribe. But in their own language they called as Shikari Punch. Bagri community also uses the technological tool such as Bow (Dapho), Loop (phasee) which made of the coil, Iron stick (Rambo), Axe (Kuhari), wooden sticks (Dando), Robes (Raso).

After hunting Bagri involved in begging, it provides an extra income. Usually women, children and old people go into the nearby cities and villages to collect money, sweets and old clothes from door to door or from shop to shop. Young people, however, labor in the town market places where they load and unload grain or other articles. After begging cultivation is another source of food production, hunting and begging does not yield sufficient mean of enable them to meet the needs of the day, therefore, they borrow land from the local muslim landlords, and cultivate vegetable and fruits.

In Bagri community economy is change through different diversifications. Their economy, which is also going under the process of change from pre-dominantly hunting to cultivation, is the great source of change in their living standards. The Bagri tribe socially emotionally is being influenced by the sedentary group through a functional interaction with the Muslim landlords and Bania. With the economic development and increased social interaction with the sedentary population they have adopted some changes in their living standard. They lived in three types of settlements such as Pakka Kacha and Jhopra (huts settlement). In few years ago all population of Bagri lived in huts. Due to acculturation some changes occur in their settlement patterns.

The division of the labor among the Bagri is mostly based on the sex and age differences. Men are the hunters and cultivators; women are beggars, house workers as well as helps to their husband in cultivation. Their whole system of distribution and

consumption based on the Thoro (gift and ceremonial exchange), which is distributed during the marriage ceremonies particularly but generally on visits. They share the crop yield along with sharing out the meat hunted. They exchange gifts and counter gifts on marriage in the form of Niendro and Mani. Niendro is present in the form of the cash or kind of marriage given to the celebration household heads and Mani is the Feast has given to the invited Mitrmitre (household representatives who participated Thoro) as a counter gift.

The Bagri social organization is based on the clan organization the whole tribe is divided into nine bands called the Paro. These Paros are socially stratified in Bagri society. Chuhan and Dhabhi are the upper bands, while Kori, Roda and Pamanwara are the lowest and Saroki, Punmarr, Dhamdaro and Wadyaro are middle in the hierarchy. Each Paro is a Patri-clan like the Dhabhi, Paro Chuhan Paro. They are totally exogamous but within tribe they are endogamous. For executing this ethnographic research, researchers have used the qualitative methods of data collection along-with few quantitative methods. During research stratified sampling as wells purposive/judgmental sampling was used. The units of data collection divided on the basis of their age, and particular knowledge about the topic. So the complete views maybe obtained.

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

History reveals the plentiful evidences that human beings have travelled through the evolutionary process such as savagery, barbarism, and civilization. Correspondingly, the hunters and gatherers of Sindh, Pakistan, passes through different socio-cultural stages such as, hunting, nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled life-pattern. These different socio-cultural subsistence levels have had unreliable impacts on the Bagri community to adjust or adapt themselves to the changed situations. The transition implies a change in their settlement patterns. These settlement patterns can be defined as the way in which populations dispose themselves over the landscape (Willey, 1953).

The current research, therefore, examines the transition of the Bagri community from hunting and gathering to sedentarization. Hunter's gatherers are the group of the people who adapted to their natural environment and being depending on the hunting of the animals, sand fishing, and gatherings of the wild fruits and seeds for survival (Bailey, 1983). The term hunter-gatherer is apparently self-explanatory, when an individual or a population makes hunts and gathers as the main form of subsistence. This term is economic in nature, because it describes how an individual or population lives, and survives. In the past, ninety-nine percent of the world's hunter-gatherer populations lived (DeVore, 1968).

The hunting and gathering communities are as yet communities prevailing, but they are rapidly disappearing, displaced by more complex communities. These communities are still found among the Aborigines of Australia, the Bushmen of South Western Africa, and the Pygmies of Central Africa, as well as the central part of Sindh. The existing communities in Sindh are Bagri, Ravra, and Ghurgala.

The current research merely focuses on the Bagri community of Hala. They are one among the wandering Hindu tribe of the Sindh. They claim to be the descendant of the Rajputs' clan, migrated from India; they were aboriginal hunters and gatherer (Soomro, 1977). The Bagri are another tribe of doubtlessly from Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. Their features and dark complexion deceive their aboriginal origins. (Fuchs, 1961). Bagri are scattered all over the Indo-Pak or sub-continent and are known by various names. In India, Bagri is known



as *Vaghri* or *Bagdis*. Stephen Fuchs believes that these tribes are aborigines of India. Although, in their dealing with the castes of India, they may have lost their tribal characters to a large extent, retaining only the nomadic and foraging habit. He classifies nomadic tribes of India into three groups. The first group belongs to primitive food gathering, and hunting stage of culture. The second group belongs to the more advanced culture of Jungle- dwellers and primitive cultivators. And the third group is probably of predatory nomadic tribal origin (Fuchs, 1973). According to the given nomadic classifications of Fuchs, Bagri community is allied with the primitive food gatherers. Having said that, the identity, based on their ancestral occupation, the Bagri community of Hala is recognized as hunter-gatherers.

The modern hunter-gatherers are equivalent to old-ones. However, many would argue that the conditions of modern hunter-gathers (mobility and foraging) are similar to the conditions under which past groups developed (Kelly, 1995). The modern hunter-gatherers of Hala have endured tradition of hunting from their old generation (ancient hunter-gatherer). They lived in the Great Indian Desert, since ages and here they could only get wild foods gathering mainly through the hunting. They are still maintaining this traditional mode of life. For instance, in past the hunting was the preferred mode of subsistence, whereas, now 25 percent of Bagri community is engaged in hunting, and rest of 75 percent population is engaged in other professions, such as begging, cultivation, and trade. The sedentary Bagri get an invitation from the forest Bagri for hunting. Subsequently, they practice hunting in an organized group. They hunt different animals such as pigs, jackals, wolf, reptile lizards, and jungle cats. When they perform hunting in a group, they keep remember their ancestral occupation (Riches, 1982)

The Bagri community has been associated with hunting occupation for decades. Ecological conditions have exerted a great impact in shaping their culture and lifestyle. The Bagri people give great importance to the hunting knowledge. They learn it through enculturation from their ancestors. This knowledge is visible in the different forms such as foot tracing, recognizing the animal sounds, knowing forest routes, making effective hunting groups, local idioms of hunting, the peril of animal, defense from animal, capturing the animal, net making, and reaping of the hunting tools. These various forms cannot be studied in isolation from their cultural values and norms. Certain proverbs and taboos are the guiding principles of these hunters.

Hunter-gatherer communities offer insights into the basis of “fundamental institutions in aboriginal human society”

In Bagri community, the economy is changing through different diversifications. The economy's change from pre-dominantly hunting to cultivation is the significant source of change in their settlement patterns. Kelly argues that variations in settlement strategies result from "the economic decision-making process of hunter-gathers as they are confronted by a set of resources, a process that enables them to choose between resources depending on their goals" (Kelly, 1995 ). Therefore, the trend towards sedentarization among the Bagri community is promoted by the internal socio-economic development of the hunter society as well as other factors such as reduction in the number of postures, influence of agricultural neighbors and so forth. The reduced size of the hunter's territory is because of the growing pressure on land, and the advent of new types of employment yielding more income from hunting mode of life.

Bagri claims to be *Hindu* by religion, but in practice they do not strictly adhere to *Hindu* doctrines, especially related to their diet. Unlike the *Hindu* their primary diet is animal flesh and the major source of income is animal hides. They are very simple in their technology and materially they lead primitive and traditional lives division of labor on the basis of age, sex and age without any specialization and diversity of occupation. In the past their economy was based on the hunting, and begging, now the animal husbandry, cultivation, and cottage industries are the main occupations of the Bagri people. Also, they frequently work for daily wages. A very small part of their population at present are also employed in the government related services.

The Bagri community is divided into nine exogamous communities called *Paro*. Every *Paro* has its own status in the social hierarchy. *Paro* may be translated as a clan. The stratification is based on the number of members of a clan and on the efficiency of its leaders. However, the Bagri live in the bands of 15 to 30 families regardless of *Paro*. The band is constructed on the base of kinship. The entire member has a kinship ties with each other. Each band has its own chief, called, *Punch*. A punch is an influential person having traditional authority over the band. A punch achieves this role and status by his personal abilities plus inheritance, i.e. a person having the capability of being a punch tends to be found among the heirs of the previous punch.

### **1.1. The problem**

The present study is about exploring the transition of Bagri community from hunting and gathering to sedentarization. Bagri belong to group of wandering Hindu tribe Sindh, they claim to be Rajputs and migrated from India. The history shows that they were aboriginal hunter gathers of India. The economic condition of Bagri is not good; they are peasants working under the landlords. They are one among the marginalized ethnic group in Hala, District Matiari. The modern hunter-gatherer of Sindh is associated with hunting, the present study wants to explore, why Bagri community is recognized as a hunter gatherer and why they are still engaged in hunting? Moreover, current research also investigates their transition from hunting and gathering to sedentarization. How they get settled and acquiring settled means of subsistence?

### **1.2. Hypothesis**

The hypothesis is the statements based on our general perceptions, assumptions, general knowledge and concepts. The following are the hypothesis to be tested during this study.

- Hunting is still present in Bagri community; it is compulsory to eat pork of pig. Religiously pig is considered sacred for them.
- The changes in their economy from hunting to cultivation are the prominent source of change in their settlement pattern.

### **1.3. Statement of the problem**

The current research focuses on the Bagri Community in Sindh. Particularly focuses on Hunter-gatherer settlement patterns in Hala. Hunter-gatherer settlement patterns take into consideration the symbiotic relationship between the environment, subsistence activities, social organization and settlement (Parslow, 1991). (Parslow, 1991) The HG tribe, whom I conducted research, belongs to the Bagri community; they pass through different strategies, such as hunting, nomads, semi nomads, and now 70% population of Bagri community is permanently settled in different regions of Sindh. Therefore, the thesis examines changing forms of settlement patterns amongst the hunter gatherers of the Sindh Provinces. It focuses, on the Bagri Scheduled caste, which lived in the Hala region, district Matiari, Sindh. It attempts to provide a broader picture of their changing subsistence practices, and the attitudes towards them. The researcher examined the settlement patterns of Bagri community from hunter's life to sedentarization.

The main concern of the proposed study is to investigate the socio-economic transition of Bagri community from hunting to sedentarization, and to know the major differences occur in their economy. The study also focused to capture the complex system of subsistence practices of the Bagri and their relations with them. Moreover, current research also tries to explore the changes in the socio-economic structure with emphasize, the factor influencing their choice of health care system

Bagri is a primitive community associated with of hunting group; they still used indigenous technology for hunting. Moreover, this indigenous knowledge is learnt through practical experiences and transferred to the next generation through oral tradition. Bagri community relies only on indigenous tools. It investigates how indigenous technology helps in the forest, overcoming of the dangers of wild animals, tracing footage of animals, making a special type of net for capturing pigs. Despite of available opportunities of having modern technology, they used to prefer traditional tools. This is the source of their eating of their sacred animal. Traditional technology is more compatible to their ecology and part of their tradition; therefore, they don't want to quit it.

The current research also covered the origin of the Bagri community, where they come from, and to understand their kinship system, what type of kinship system do the Bagri have? Moreover, it focuses on their belief system, which type of belief exists in Bagri community. Still, they are attached to their traditional belief or some changes occur due to acculturation.

Therefore, the research looked the shift from traditional to modern therapy, and which type of therapy pattern sought by Bagri community *when* they feel ill. In our society each individual has some health beliefs that may have been acquired from his/her immediate environment. (Kleinman, 1980). Similarly Bagri used different methods for treatment, and these methods based on their belief system.

#### **1.4. Significance of study**

The study of hunting and gathering communities has a rich and extended intellectual history. It starts by tracing the early origins of the concept of hunter-gatherers, and investigates its increasing role in the emerging disciplines of archaeology and anthropology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's.

Research on hunter-gatherer communities has been a major focus in anthropology since its inception (Kelly, 1995). My study of the Bagri has two grounds for its significance; first is, for fulfillment of the research needs of my own department that is the academic significance. Second, is the most important for national policy making or bringing any change in the society. The idea of working upon the Bagri came into my mind since childhood. I always used to ask from my uncle that why these people are culturally different than us.

Academically, my study is one of the few studies of hunter-gatherer communities conducted in Pakistan.

This study explores the indigenous way of hunting and gathering. This is one among the few anthropological researches on untouchable primitive people like Bagri settled in Pakistan. Intellectually, it may be helpful to examine the validity of the approaches in the cultural anthropology.

The changing way and patterns of nomadic life is a very important subject in anthropology. The hunters-gatherers tribe, whom I conducted research have settled themselves in different regions of the *Sindh*. It can only be a matter of time until they have resigned hunters-gatherers traditions. Thus, it has only been necessary to deal with the settled portion of Bagri community. Where any connection exists between the hunters and the settled community, and it has been possible to obtain information regarding them. I analysed their transition from hunting and gathering to sedentarization.

Generally, or for the interest of the other agencies who want to bring about any change in the Bagri society. It may be useful because the study gives a descriptive and an analytical account of the society. Encapsulated communities like the Bagri need special channels in order to be introduced the certain desirable change and the analytical insights which suggest means on which this may be done, may be revealed in this thesis. So this study will be useful for discipline of anthropology.

### **1.5. Objectives of the study**

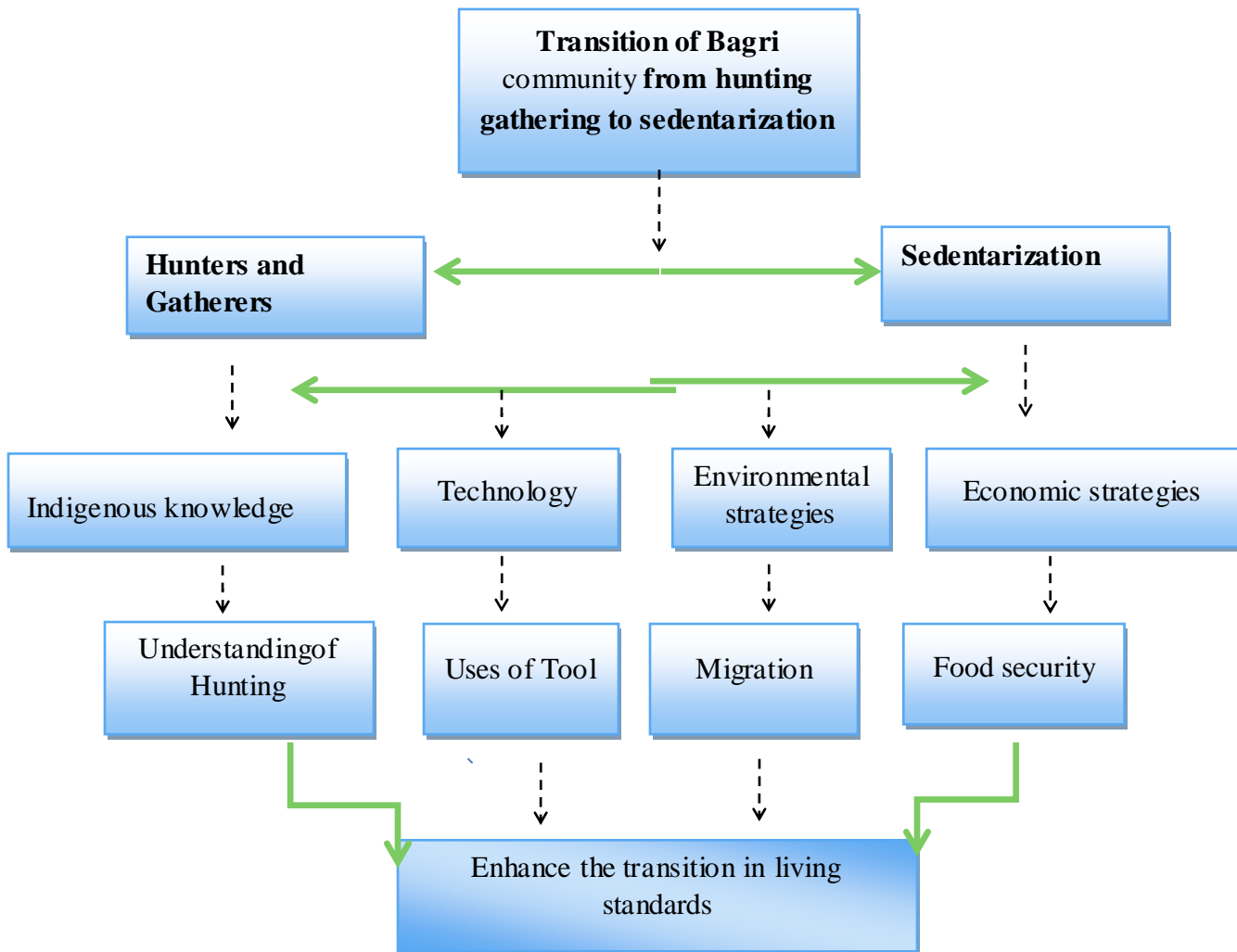
1. To explore the role of hunting, gathering for the survival of Bagri community;
2. To document the changes in the settlement patterns among the hunter-gatherers;

3. To document the transition in their socioeconomic structure from hunting to sedentarization.
4. To document the factor influencing their choice of seeking health care system.

## **1.6. Organization of thesis**

The organization of this thesis is as follows. The first chapter is a brief introduction of the topic entitled Settlement Patterns among Hunters and Gatherers: (A case study of the Bagri community a Scheduled caste in *Sindh*). In this chapter I have given a brief overview of research topic included the problem, statement of the problem, objectives of research and significance of study and theoretical framework. In chapter two, I attempt to summarize the literature. In chapter three, provides the research methods used in the thesis and discussed village profile of target areas. In chapter four, I present the social organization, along with origin and history, as well as I have discussed the belief system of Bagri community. As well as, Chapter five provides a brief description of Bagri as a hunter-gatherers in which I have discussed their indigenous practices of hunting. In chapter six, I examined the settlement patterns among Bagri community, in which I focused on their transition from hunting to nomadic, begging and settle life pattern. After that seventh chapter provides health seeking behaviour among Bagri's. Chapter eight discuss the theoretical discourse. In the final chapter, I conclude the thesis, glossary and bibliography.

### 1.7. Operationalization of the concept



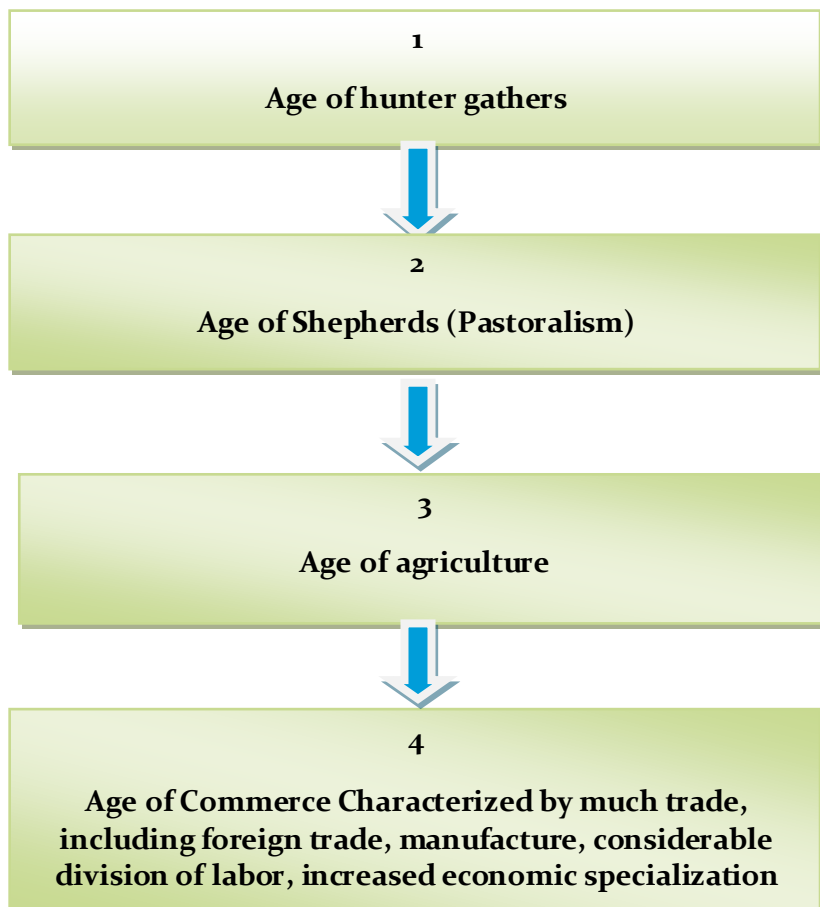
### 1.8. Conceptual frame work

#### Adam Smith's Sequential Model of Evolution

Bagri community evolved through the different stages, they claim to be hunter and gatherers, and now they are permanent settled in different region of Pakistan and India. On the basis of topic, I cite the work of Adam smith which helps me to draw the picture of the Bagri community about their transition from hunting to permanent settlement. Adam was born in Scotland. Adam Smith, who introduced socio-cultural theory of evolution, it's also called the 4th age theory in 1749, influencing the other members of the Scottish enlightenment, and other authors as well. The Four stage theory was published in 1776, in the book of '**The Wealth of Nations**'(Pocock, 1999).

The clearest description of Smith's theory of development comes from the set of his students 'notes compiled into the Lectures of Jurisprudence. The theory was not published by Smith or during Smith's time. The four stages theory was a common construct of the Scottish Enlightenment, as demonstrated by (Berry, 1997). Adam Smith's views on the stages and nature of development of human communities. Smith divided the chronological development of communities into the four sequential stages shown in Figure. Probably to make it easier, he described these stages as ages. He assumed that each stage followed the other in the sequence indicated in Figure but that not all communities would evolve past the early stages. Their prospects for transiting to stages later than that of HGs depended on their natural resource endowments.

**Diagram of four stage theory by Adam Smith**



Smith tells his students “there is four distinct stages which mankind passes. In the first stage, Smith's introduce ‘age of hunters’, subsistence depended on the ‘wild fruits and wild animals. People in this stage would now be called hunter-gatherers. The second stage, the ‘age of



**shepherds’ or of ‘pasturage’** is characterized by the herding of animals. The animals herded by ‘shepherds’. In Smith’s story the **‘age of agriculture’** or the ‘age of farming’ added (arable) farming (tillage, the cultivation of the soil), though the keeping of animals and the eating of meat certainly continued. Agriculture in this sense required investment in clearing and cultivating the land, and allowed food supply and population to increase. He used the word ‘agriculture’, as Smith did, to mean settled agriculture with a large arable component, and ‘pasturage’ to mean animal husbandry without tillage. **The commercial stage** is different in that it is not defined by the main source of food. Commerce (trade) plays some role in all stages of society, while the commercial stage, as Smith defined it, is a development of the agricultural stage. A simple agricultural system might have ‘little foreign commerce’ and only ‘coarse’ manufactures produced in the household. A division of labor and corresponding pattern of trade develops bit by bit with no clear dividing line at which society becomes ‘commercial’.

‘In the four stages theory, the hunting stage is followed by the domestication of animals and a whole stage of social development in which people live from their herds of animals, before the start of what Smith calls agriculture, the domestication of food plants’. In West Asia, Egypt and Africa it does seem that the domestication of some species of livestock (sheep and cattle) preceded the cultivation of crops (Renfrew, 2007) although (Brewer, 2008) suggests that simultaneous development was the case. The pattern of development of early HG communities varied with the geographical location of HGs. The pattern of evolution of later HG communities most likely differed from the trajectory of early HG communities which had already evolved to become agricultural communities. Some later HG communities in their transition may have moved from HG to combine simultaneously the keeping of livestock and the growing of crops because they had some knowledge of the practices of communities that had already adopted agriculture as a way of life. It is clear that diverse patterns of evolution of the HG communities occurred. In the beginning these patterns appear to have been greatly influenced by local natural resource endowment, for example, the extent to which animals suitable for domestication were present locally, the availability of wild plants suitable for cultivation, climatic conditions and so on.

Although Smith’s theory of the evolution of communities as presented in Figure 1 involves a series of discrete changes, actually he was aware that socio-economic change was more gradualist and that different mode of subsistence could exist in the same society. Possibly, he

used the term 'ages' to help his students memorize the substance of his theory of socio-economic development.

Further conceptual framework underlying the focus of this research on settlement pattern is found in the approach of cultural ecology. Steward, who first defined the concept of cultural ecology he focused on the adaptation of culture to the environment (Steward, 1955). Using a Holistic view of culture in which all aspects of culture are functionally independent of one another. Steward also developed the concept of cultural core and the constellation of cultural features which are most closely related to settlement activities and economic arrangements. Anthropology adopted ecological approaches in the study of pre-historic communities. Within the ecological framework settlement behavior is a subsystem of culture which most closely link with human group and their environment. The environmental zones set the exploitable resources which present the particular problems for human utilization, subsistence behavior, which reflects the nature of the cultural adaptation of a group to environmental variation in order to fulfill its basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. (Bukley, 1968)

The study of human ecology is concerned with the ways in which man relates to his surroundings and the effects on his activities have on the natural and social environments. For Steward ecology is the adaptation to the environment. According to cultural materialist, the study of subsistence activities which plays an important role in understanding of the way cultures function and for the reconstruction of other aspects of culture (Harris, 1968). Similarly subsistence activities have a direct and demonstrate influence on other cultural subsystems and variables such as settlement patterns, level of technology, social and political organization.

Since subsistence activities can be more readily reconstructed and interpreted, subsistence studies have pre-dominate the field ecological anthropology over the past few years. Now the recent study on hunter gatherers has focused on the need to develop a general model of economic behavior which has predictive value in interpretive adaptive responses to a specific situation.

Optimal foraging theory, developed in the field of evolutionary ecology, has recently been applied to the study of hunter-gatherers and the development of a variety of predictive models of settlement behavior, focusing such as optimal diet, optimal group size, and optimal levels of information exchange. Bettinger was of the view that: it must be assumed that an aboriginal group had full knowledge of these resources so that settlement pattern is the result of economic

decision.2) it must be assumed that environment and its resources are stable so that the yield of individual resources can be described by a mean of range values. 3) Holding a technological constant, it must be assumed that a decision regarding the range of intensity of resources to be exploited is made with reference to the local group (Minimum band), and that no larger regional system is being evolved. 4) It is usually assumed that for a given environment, and a given technology, there is only one optimal adaptive solution and that the adoptive process is sufficiently concerned that local groups will closely approximate this optimal solution. .

Steward, who deliberately examined more than one site and understood each, forms part of a system. Settlement system was composed of human populations and their relation to the natural environment. The next major pioneer of prehistoric settlement pattern studies in the Americas was Gordon Willey. Willey was also influenced by the work of Steward, but carried out his research in a different manner. He examined human settlement patterns from a functionalist, rather than ecological perspective (Willey, 1953). Settlement patterns as a starting point for the functional interpretation of cultures. Willey also stated that hunter-gatherer settlement pattern models must examine the environment, the level of technology on which the past hunter-gatherer population operated, and the institutions of social interaction which the population maintained. Willey viewed settlement patterns as indications of human behavior. He was also the first to offer a systematic methodological framework for a conjunctive approach to research on settlement patterns (Chang, 1972) what is meant by a conjunctive approach to research is that Willey pioneered regionally orientated research on settlement patterns. In other words, Willey's contribution progresses hunter-gatherer settlement pattern studies from a single cultural approach to a multiple culture - regional approach in his search for a general theory of hunter-gatherer settlement patterns. The work of both Julian Steward and Gordon Willey shaped the future of settlement pattern studies in America. Their work particularly influenced those anthropologists interested in past hunter-gatherer populations.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Reviewed of literature**

The literature review is the most important part of the thesis writing that keeps us understanding the underlying ideas of our selected topic. Actually literature review has been the already existing literature in the form of books, internet, journals, articles, etc. which makes the comprehensive sense of the topic. A good researcher before going to field reviewing the already existing literature, making a fully sensible of the topic upon which is being conducted.

#### **2.1. Hunter gatherers**

The term hunter-gatherer is seemingly self-defining person, or population, that hunts and gathers as the main form of subsistence. Historically, however, this term has carried a variety of meanings. Early hunter-gatherer studies emphasized the primitive aspects of hunting and gathering as a Lifestyle while later researchers such as (Sahlins, 1972 ), emphasized the apparent affluence of hunter-gatherer populations. This term is economic in nature because it describes how an individual or population lives, and survives. Ninety-nine percent of the world's hunter-gatherer populations lived in the past (DeVore, 1968). Hunter-gatherers are now viewed as groups of people who were adapted to their natural environment. Adaptation as any structure, physiological process or behavioral pattern that makes a group more fit to survive and to reproduce (Bailey, 1983)). In pre-historic period, the cultural transformations of food-gatherer hunter to traders and herders were a slow process. Among the present day hunter-gatherer communities there rapid transitions. True food gatherer-hunter tribes are no more in existence. The fast transformation that took place in human life during the last ten thousand years on earth had been aptly summarized by George Peter Murdock. Before Ten thousand years ago, the whole inhabitants of the earth subsisted by hunting and gathering, as their ancestors had done since the dawn of culture. By the time of Christ, eight thousand years later, tillers and herders had replaced with at slightest half on earth. At the time of the discovery of the New World, only perhaps 15 percent of the earth's surface was still occupied by hunters and gatherers, and this area has continued to decline at a progressive rate until the present day, when only a few isolated pockets survive" (Murdock, 1973). Furthermore, Thirnothy was of the opinion that primitive people are a first-hand example of environmental adaptation. He says that inheriting the legacies of cultures thousand years old, primitive communities still live in balance with environments usually judged

too severe for civilized man. In the article, Eskimos and their ancestral culture adapted ingeniously with dog sleds, ice houses, snow goggles and other inventions that permitted survival (Thirnothy, 1973).

Stephen Fuchs believes that, these tribes are aborigines of India. Though in their dealing with the castes of India. They may have lost their tribal characters to a large extent, retaining only the nomadic and foraging habit. He gives the three categories of nomadic tribes of India. The first group belongs to a basically primitive food gathering, and hunting stage of culture. A second group belongs to a more advanced culture of Jungle- dwellers and primitive cultivators. A third group is probably of predatory nomadic tribal origin. (Fuchs S. , 1973). Therefore the Hunters and gatherers have been the subject of anthropological study and debate as long as the discipline of anthropology has been in existence

## **2.2. Indigenous technology**

The invention of technology starts from Paleolithic, very primitive Paleolithic tools made from stone blocks, cobbles, Blanquettes. Chimpanzees use a humorous tone to shell and crack hard fruit against an anvil made of cobble or piece of wood (Beanue, 2004). In Bagri community hunter uses similar tools which were being used by their elders, and they continue till today. Now they employ some tools which have been used by Bagri hunters and also used different traditional tools for a long time. They have no exact time, where since they have been used traditionally tools for hunting, their statement that it continuous from our father and transferred to us. No group of technological invention better reveals primitive man scientific aptitude than his hunting traps, snares and deadfalls, concerning various devices, Julius Lips comments. Long before Archimedes Primitive men invented, based upon the application related to the modern machinery can easily be observed by laymen, their construction has undergone considerable improvements. (Holmes, 1965). Similarly Bagri hunters are very wise and skillful in making tools, they made of different type of tools for hunting, such as Bow (Dapho), Loop (phase) which made of coal, iron stick (*Rambo*) which have sharp edges Axe (*Kuhari*), wood stick (*Dando*), Robes (Raso). They learn tool making techniques from their elders. Elder people try to same techniques from transmitting to their next generation. Techniques are simple in this modern age, but it plays a very essential role to their livelihood. The tool exists only with the gesture which renders it technically efficient. Human technology is not static collection of material objects and

technological facts, but a dynamic system of skilled and global directed in social context (Ingold, 1993). Human technology relates to the fact that, technology is itself an inherently social phenomenon. Stone keeping like other technical skills takes place highly structured social physical context. Bagri people pay great head to learn tool behavior. Tool behavior is a special skill which is distinguished from layman to Bagri hunters, when a hunter holding any tool such as bow, axe, iron stick, then their holding style, grip of hand, eye sight , when they target , throwing hitting head position , body movements which totally different from laymen, these all skills posses in Bagri hunters.

Hunting for Pygmy group is co-operative affair net hunting, particularly, the use of private magic is frowned on through there is no law against it, the sacred hunting is fire is all that they consider right as necessary and this is found throughout the forest . (Turnbull, 1961). Similarly *Punjore* is a net hunting tool which is made of nylon strings, it is specially designed for hogs, this tool requires more than eight people, because two to three people install it, where as the rest of them hide themselves in their direction in the bushes waiting, for the hunt hence they make a noise to avert the direction of the hunt right to the net ultimately. Therefore, Indigenous culture around the world have profound and sophisticated knowledge of native species and habits within their domains, knowledge of which western sciences continue to remain largely ignorant, but in case of language of oral tradition conveyed by them, their preservation is particularly important. (Lucas, 1996). Hunters of the Bagri community try to preserve hunting knowledge through transforming it to the younger generation by oral tradition. Young hunters learn all these skills and techniques, which help them during hunting or capturing the animals by doing practical work with their elders in the forest. The old people, who have considerable knowledge, impart it to young hunters. Furthermore Paulson talk about the young hunters chief he said, young hunters skipper asked a retired skipper, for whom he had worked as a techno, where he should go in the future and the ex- skipper gave the young a lesson in laying nets, operating to use on a difficult spot. Having retired from the game, he felt to give valuable information in preparation of nets. (Paulson, 1986). In Bagri community Young hunter has always obtained the help of retired (Jhona) hunters during this research I met many experienced hunters who did not do any work, during hunting but they helped the young ones in every way. They told many things about the behavior of various species of wild animals. Suppose install nets, instruction (Totka) which are given by the experienced hunter.

In Bagri community, hunters always keep in mind previous hunting experience, hunting location and then they make strategy for hunting. These experiences guide him to decide correctly. This hunting knowledge is based on decades of observation and experience. During my research work I found that all local hunters were not expert in all hunting fields. Some hunter knew the habits of animals better than others, some were familiar with foot tracer, and some are expert to come out the second of animals. Sometimes during hunting, hunter faced the difficulties, but chief men try to apply different techniques for hunting's. Correspondingly the Bagri hunter skippers use a wealth of knowledge to decide both when and where to hunt. They must choose the time and places to hunt on the basis of their knowledge of currents, the behavior of different kinds of fish, bottom features, past season, their ideas of fish breeding and feeding patterns and interpretation of weather forecasting. Similarly, in hunting when chief hunters take any judgment about difficulties in hunting (Ibid ). In Siberia, the position of human hunters as predator is insecure. As soon as, he succeeds in predatory act, the hunter falls into the position of prey. In this case, predation consists of violent action reciprocated by the animal prey, in hunting involves not only the skill of finding in perusing the animal, but also the equally important skill of avoiding being proud upon in turn. (Kwon, 1998)

A lot of researchers are of the view that, differential success is mostly due to marked differences in hunting skills. Bagri hunters, always in a great risk, they felt insecure because if any movement wild animal, especially wild pig, appears, it quickly attacks over them due this action, they may lose their lives. Therefore, they use their indigenous knowledge, technique and tools to defend themselves from any risk and expected Danger. If you want be a good hunter, you have to learn from a cunning fox, if a cunning fox realizes upon its senses to detect the human smell, of the trap hidden deep under the snow or to sense human noise from to prey to human, a good hunter is skilled at hiding his smell and noise not only from his potential prey but also from the potential predictor. (Kwon, 1998). The good hunter among the Bagri tribe is that person, who is skilled in animal foot tracing, to distinguish the sound of the animals and could make the same sound of the potential prey in order to dodge it about his presence. Hence, that type of hunt is considered with the eyes of respect in the community. Especially the young hunters come to him for guideline because they accept him as an expert hunter. He feels pleasure to teach them the trip of hunting the animals.

Hunter remarks that they value their short hunting trips highly because they allow to them participate actively in the daily life household and to present in case of domestic crises. (Robben, 1979). Many inhabitants of this Bagri community always prefer one day hunting, than long hunting trips. Because they consider that by doing one day hunting, they can return to their houses and can participate in their daily life activities. The Pig is the sacred animal for Bagri community, if there is a shortage of pig hunting, and then they went other area for pig hunting. Bagri live in a joint family, their married son and children live together. However, sometimes they could not feed their offspring's independently and are dependent on their parents and elder brothers.

In nomadic hunter gatherer communities, there is marked the sexual division o labor. In broad terms, hunting is mans responsibility and gathering and some type of fishing done by the women. Women may hunt the small animal and men secure for themselves substantial amount of the vegetables, food, particularly among hunter gatherers in warm temperate in tropical environment. (Riches, 1982). The division of labor among Bagri community is also based on sex and age. Men are associated with hunting and are daily bread winners. Whereas, the young women near the children, look after their house chores. Especially, old women used to begin skirts of their vicinity to run the families because only the hunting was not a sufficient for them to take care of their homes. Therefore, for this purpose, they used to beg outside of their homes and village, as their financial position was not supportive to rely only on the hunting and gathering. In the buffer zone of the upper Niger national park, the chief hunter of the each village has been appointed head of village or community empower to allocate a limited number of hunter and fishing permits, and regulates t hunt where, when , and what and who sets fire when , where and how.(Byers). Same way, in my community one leader is selected who is called Punch, he is a chief hunter and political leader, he is a very respectable person in a community, and the people obey his order. His main responsibility to resolve conflicts of their people, and create coherence among the community, and get the permit for the hunting to the landlords when they conduct hunting a try.

### **2.3. Sedentarization**

Sedentarization is an ambiguous term that has been widely interpreted with regards to settlement stability or settlement size. its emergence as a continuum process along with the scale of



residential mobility”. (Kelly, 1992). Sedentarization is an important area of study in modern anthropology and archaeology, because the transition from a mobile lifestyle of living in permanent villages is seen as one of the key changes in the history of humanity.

Furthermore Rafferty postulated sedentarization in this way; he said that, Sedentarization means to move towards a sedentary way of life. Therefore development that must not be ignored in any study of hunter-gatherer settlement pattern, for three reasons: it either caused or allowed the population to grow rapidly, it led to the development of higher levels of political organization, and it led to the development of agriculture. (Rafferty, 1985 ). In other words sedentarization is based on individual, family sometimes tears the nomads from a traditional system of social ties and deprives him of significant lines of defense. Often nomads who settle must interject themselves into ethnically different and initially hostile communities. The change from more nomadic to less nomadic- from a less sedentary to more sedentary lifestyle. The process is neither irresistible nor irreversible.(Salzman, 1980). Similarly Bagri community passes from different stages such as hunting, nomadic, less nomadic to nomadic, due to impact of acculturation, now they adopt sedentary life style for the survival.

Kelly pointed out; Sedentarization will be an important topic in the settlements among hunter-gatherers, as sedentarization was thought to be in conflict with the foraging way of life. Sedentary settlement systems are those in which at least part of the population remains at the same location throughout the entire year” (Rice, 1975). This definition is used because it encompasses all human patterns of movement such as residential/logistical mobility, as well as all types of settlements (Rafferty, 1985 ). Correspondingly Bagri community lived in Hala since many years, due to the contact with the sedentary population Bagri community adopted three types of settlements such as Hut, Kacha and Pakka settlements. Fratzkin and Roth (2005) mention five major factors leading to sedentarization;

- Population growth
- Drought and famines
- Loss of common property resources
- Commoditization and urban migration

## **2.4. Economy**

Ranger writes that even rural economies cannot be reduced to agricultural production; “The livestock input, extent of nomadic or agro-pastoralist or specialized pastoralism also needs to be examined”. She adds that mobile pastoralism takes on a special relevance in times of drought or famine. Pastoralist production can also impinge on urban economies when it comes to markets and trading for meat, leather products or wool. Additionally, intensive cultivation or unsustainable collection of timber for fuel and other uses in the urban periphery and surroundings would in turn have an impact on pastures and grazing. Also, the relation between pastoralists with settled groups have a significant impact on trade. Ultimately, there are also cultural symbols and the amalgamation of pastoral cults into the religious representations of the literate. (Ranger, 2004). Economic systems are conceived to involve the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services needed and wanted by a population dominated as a societal unit-nation state, tribe, chiefdom sub-division of which are not conceived as having separate economic systems but as being part of the whole system.

According to (Raymond, 1951), economic organization is a type of social action. It involves the combination of various kinds of the human services with one another and non human goods in such a way that serve ends. As for as Bagri group is considered the dominant characteristic of their economic system. The basic concept of economic is the allocation of scares, available resources between realizable human wants with the recognition that alternatives are possible in each spheres, however, defined the economics thus deals with the implication of human choices with the results of decision. (Raymond, 1951).

In addition of the Raymond work Herskovits (1952) postulated that, Consideration of sound analysis detect that no comparison between our and other, economy be attempted without full realization of the effect on the main lines of economic development and shaping of the economic institution. Exerted by the presence of machine technology., the invasion of the evolution processes by pecuniary considerations and high development of business enterprise, yet particularly every economic mechanism and institution known to us is found somewhere in the non literate words. He further said, the distinctions, between the literate and non-literate economies, to be drowned, are consequently those of degree rather than of kind. Contrary to this, the substantives on the other hand, deny that there is any such thing as an economic sphere in no

literate and traditional communities. They insist that economic relations can be identified only in the context of each society studied. Substantives deny that, the rational economic model derived from industrial and market economies of western civilization, can be applied universally. They believe that economic behavior should be examined in the social and cultural terms of the people engaged in it.

Karl Polanyi, he was the major pioneer of substantive approach, he stated about substantive approach. According to his deliberation substantive meaning of economics derives from mans dependence for his livelihood upon nature and his fellows. It refers to the interaction with his natural environment, in so far as this result in supplying him with the means of material wants satisfaction. He differentiates two approaches as follow. The two root meaning of economics, the substantive and formal have nothing in common, the latter drive from logic, and the former of fact.(Polanyi, 1957).

If we talk about primitive economy and western industrialization, which makes formal economic theory incapable of yielding analytical insights when applied to primitive structure and primitive economies are different from market industrialism not in degree but in kind. (Dolton.1961). Besides them, Sahlins proposed a correlation between types of reciprocity and degree of social distance. Contrary to the formal economic concepts he has made an important contribution to the comparative sociological study of primitive exchange. The substantives emphasize the way in which economic activities are entertained with other social activities in any given society. They demonstrate several ways in which economic relations are merged in another brother social relation. They focus on the substantive process of interaction among the humans and between their environments to meet their subsistence needs.

## **2.5. Health**

The health is an ideal or a perfect state of people in the society. The state of illness is defined in terms of performance of predefined roles and responsibilities with the optimum capacity and deviance from any illness. Generally people tend to associate health with not being sick or not having an injury or a disease. Heleman in his book “Culture, Health and illness “describes health with reference to the Community Health Foundation. Health is more than just the absence of pain or discomfort. Good health is a dynamic relationship between the individual, friends,

family and environment within which we live and work.” (Heleman, 1960). Health is the broader concept which can embody a huge range of meanings from narrowly technical to the all embracing moral and philosophical. Hippocrates, who is traditionally considered as the father of the medicine, also described health as a condition in which the functions of the body and the soul are in harmony with the outside world. (Pettersen, 1998)

In common usage, a disease is an abnormal condition of an organism that impairs bodily function. In human beings, “disease” is often used more broadly to refer to any condition that causes discomfort, dysfunction, distress, social problems, and sometimes death to the person affected or similar problems for those in contact with the person. .Disease refers to a disturbance and uncertainty in the body, physical, and mental, disorder, a disease in the energy, or any sort of undesirable condition. Disease is a state of abnormality in the body or an imbalance in the energy level. Brown et al., who defined disease in this way, From the anthropological perspective, the disease cannot be explained as purely “things in themselves”; they must be analysed and understood within a human context i.e. relation to ecology and culture. (al, 1957)

Brown *et al*, made it clear in the above-mentioned discussion that in anthropological perspective disease is neither an isolated or separate phenomenon, nor it can be understood without a cultural or ecological context. Even before the scientific diagnosis, health problem is socio-culturally recognized, then brought to a modern hospital for scientific way to check-up. At the first moment, most of the illnesses are socio-culturally recognized and perceived. Thus, at primary level culture gives explanations to disease and its cultural context cannot be neglected, because it helps to label it and choose an alternative from resort of actions like ignoring or treatment.

Furthermore, McElroy and Towns end differentiated to disease and illness from each other. They are of the view that an illness may occur to a person ‘without corresponding disease’ or disease may occur without illness. Disease is defined from the perspective of biomedical science. It may be defined narrowly as a deviation from clinical norms, or it may be defined more broadly, as impairment in the ability to rally from an environmental insult. Illness is a cultural category applied to individual experience, and sickness is a category of social behaviour. (Townsend, 1985:49)

The illness is an abnormal phenomenon and its consequences leads towards socially unwanted, undesired and unexpected condition of human beings, which threats to their biological as well as

socio-cultural life. Biologically, it can cause of death of an individual. Edward Suchman wrote one of the first pathway models in 1965. He contends that, Each illness episode could be divided into five different phases; experiencing symptoms, assuming the sick role, contacting a doctor, being a patient and relinquishing the sick role. Suchman concluded that experiencing symptoms and assuming the sick role were particularly critical in the decision-making process, with the level of pain from symptoms and discussion of symptoms with family or friends being highly significant. Suchman argued that once a person had decided to seek treatment the subsequent three stages were relatively easy. Whilst Suchman's five stages are useful for breaking down the process of an illness episode, subsequent studies have found that stages three and four of Suchman's models, contacting a doctor and being a patient, are not always as easy as Suchman assumed. (Suchman, 1965)

After falling ill, the knowledge as to the factors responsible for such undesired state, the response of ill-person/family members/friends, and the decision and initiatives to be taken in terms of ignoring it or coping with it through treatment and the type of treatment is called illness behaviour. Meehan defined illness behaviour as, Illness behaviour refers to the varying ways individuals respond to bodily indication, how they monitor internal states, define and interpret symptoms, make attributions, take remedial actions and utilize various sources of formal and informal care. (Meehan, 1995)

It is a conceptual model, constructed by culture and it is part of individuals' cognition, which is acquired and shared by the members of same society. Aetiology of illness is found out into two frameworks, one is 'personalistic system', in which illness occurrence is to be believed due to intervention of a sentient agent like supernatural being (a deity or god) or a nonhuman being (ghost or evil spirit) or a human being, on the other hand, it is 'naturalistic system', in which it is believed that there are certain elements in the body i.e. 'heat', 'cold', the humours etc., which are in balance appropriate to the age and condition of individual' and illness is caused by imbalance in these elements of the body (ibid, 53). In this regard, Alexander shares a list of factors, which cause illness. He pointed out that: In primitive medicine, although most belief systems include a set of causes "that which produces diseases". The most widely distributed of these are: (1) natural causes; (2) breach of taboo or social regulation; (3) ancestor spirits; (4) ghosts; (5-6)

witches and sorceress, (7) various gods or other benevolent spirits; (8) malevolent spirits; (9) magic practiced by non specialist; (10) soul loss. (Alexander, 1970 )

Helen Ward et al define Health Seeking Behaviour (HSB) as 'any activity undertaken by individuals who perceive themselves to have a health problem or to be ill for the purpose of finding an appropriate remedy' (at, 1997). Health Seeking Behavior (HSB) is situated within the broader concept of health behavior, which encompasses activities undertaken to maintain good health, to prevent ill health, as well as dealing with any departure from a state of good health (WHO, 1995 ). Health or also includes the sub-discipline of health belief modelling, which seeks to specify certain beliefs that can account for individual motivations that contribute towards health behaviour (Sheeran, 2000)

According to Helman it is a social organization of health that solves the health related problems. For understanding health and illness, he emphasizes that it is indispensable to study social organization of health and illness; Which includes the ways that people recognized as 'ill', the ways that they present this illness to other people, the attributes of those they present their illness to, and the ways that the illness is dealt with (Helman n.d:7).

Moreover, Kleinman said that: Social reality can vary from person to person and society to society. The causes of difference may be different like one person's class, occupation, religion, ethnicity, language, social network and so forth. Knowledge about the illness, perception, recognition, labelling, response and behaviours of ill person, types of cure, 'hierarchy of resort' and the ways in which ill-person is responded by family and other practitioners are also culturally constructed. He labels it as clinical reality, which differs in three sectors of health care. To know and understand the role of culture in constructing health and illness, it is necessary to study and observe the social organization of health, medical system or health care system, which is prevailing in that society. These are the ideas, which help members of the community to give a name to the illness and to take required action against that condition. (Kleinman, 1980 )

The cultural construction of illness provides a pathway to see what sort of caring and curing is attended by the individual in a particular society. The cultural construction of sickness establishes the way it is understood and explained, the way it affects the status of the sick person (c) how to treat it, depending upon the therapeutic strategies available. (Avalos, 1999).

The available curing and caring system is also a representative of cultural values. The decisions of person to accept a particular cure heavily depends upon healing practices available to them and practices that are followed in their society.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **Methodology**

For obtaining the data about the topic various methods and techniques were used. Data was conducted as planned, and the various research methods could be applied. The methods were used according to the nature of the topic. Various research methods within the qualitative approach were used during the fieldwork. The main source of information was household interviews. The male or female head of the household was selected.

#### **3.1. Participant Observation**

This makes anthropological research differs from other social sciences. Participant observation involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives. Participant observation involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives. For current study participant observation was used as a prime method for data collection. Rapport with the community people mingle with them as they may not avoid or hesitate to give relevant data. Without rapport building, it was not only difficult, but impossible to get true and useful information. It helped to learn the native language and as well as adopt same dress pattern to immerse with them. It gave a chance to participate in their daily life activities, particularly in certain ceremonies and rituals like marriage and death rituals.

Traditionally, ethnography has relied more on direct participation observation. In participation observation, researcher created direct relationship with the actors says in their environment with the purpose to observe and describe their social actions. The researcher interacts with their subjects and participates in their rituals and ceremonials, and tries to learn their language to understand their behavior. (Silverman, 2010)

This ethnography was focused mainly on Bagri community; participant observation was not limited to any single village settlement of Bagri. In the 90 days of field work, the researcher was allowed to stay with Bagri community inside their settlements. The rest of observation was done in various places where they got together, arranged hunting, a communal meeting, or where the researcher participated in their daily life activities.



### 3.2. Key Informant

Key informant was another major method that was used during field work. The key informant method is very useful to get relevant and in-depth information about any phenomenon. Key informants have very rich information about different process which is happening in society. He or she also uses their relative position in the village or city to make good relationship of researcher with community members and create an environment in which information could be easily gathered. After visiting Bagri few times, researcher selected two key informants through careful selection keeping in view the knowledge, availability, and willingness to give the required information about the topic. Preference was given to those members, having enough knowledge about their culture, as well as every member of tribe respects him. I have selected two key informants, Girdhari Lal and Jariya. Girdhari Lal is a Punch of the Bagri community, everyone respects and acknowledges him about everything. Jariya was the elder women of the Bagri community, she introduces me to Bagri people, and then everyone was expressive and willing to give data. Moreover, it was helpful to know about certain important events, rituals, history of Bagri, hunting practices, etc. It also helped to build rapport with other community people, get introduced me with them. Selection of a key informant was the vital step in this research. They showed keen interest in my research topic. They provide me considerable information related to my research topic.

**(Picture no: 1. Jariya (key informant))**



(Source field data)

**(Picture no: 2. Girdhari lal (key informant))**



(Source field data)

### **3.3. Socio-economic Census**

The socio-economic and census survey form was developed before entering into the field. At the time of proposal writing, work was also done on this said form. Later on, when researcher made visits of the field, had conversation and interaction with the local people, then certain changes were brought into it for its further improvement. After choosing key-informant the forms were conducted from ninety households. Key-informant helped enough to fill them out. The forms were conducted randomly from the entire settlements. It provided base-line or primary information about the community members, like their income, occupation, hunting practices, uses of hunting tools, family system, marriage system, religion, , population, educational status, livestock and other economic assets and so forth. The data obtained through it was necessary to understand their settlement pattern from hunting to permanent settlements. It helped in order to gather quantitative data about the community, which helped to analyze and compare it with qualitative data. The obtained data were thus helpful enough to formulate an interview guide and to select a sample. The socio-economic census survey form also helped to crosscheck the data obtained through key-informants.

### **3.4. Sampling**

The technique of sampling is very helpful to study the research problem as in sampling a small group of population is selected that is the representative of the whole population. Ideally in sampling we should like to obtain a sample that will be representative of the target population. To be representative means to provide a close approximation of certain characteristics of the target group. (Singleton & Straits 1988: 136). Sampling was used in order to save time and resources, because it was difficult to collect in-depth data from the entire community. After conducting socio-economic and census survey forms sample was selected from the community. For selection of sample, stratified, and purposive sampling were used. Total sample selected for in-depth study was based on ninety households. Sample was chosen from three strata i.e. 30-45, 45-55 and 55 and above 60. The population of these three categories are added and considered as hundred person then respondents were taken according to their percentage. Main factors of stratification were ageing and techniques of hunting, while history was minor factors that were also considered at the time of making strata. These all factors were directly affecting to the history of hunting and gathering. The aim with this research method is to get an overview of historic events, social changes and personal experiences in someone's lifetime and by this learn about the historical and social context in which the research topic exists. The purposive sampling was another sampling method chosen for the study, it was required in the case of my research with limited time frame and selective respondents,

### **3.5. In-depth Interview**

In-depth Interview is also an important aspect of anthropological research in order to get deep routed information that could not be obtained from other sources. Interviewing is a fundamental process of social interaction. The interview was a tool of conversation was used as the information gathering technique. The interview is a face to face conversation between two or more persons to discuss something with some specific objectives. It was a very useful research tool as it helped me to get the information about the Bagri community and their settlement pattern.

After using other methods of data collection, an interview guide was formulated, which contained some basic broad areas about the topic. The main purpose of an interview guide was to obtain more in-depth data and to keep discussion with the interviewee focused according to the

prime purpose of research and don't escape any required information prior to completing the interview. The data obtained through it helped reveal the perception about their settlement pattern from hunting to permanent settlements. Furthermore, the interviews were conducted in an informal setting. The respondent were interviewed at their houses, their conveniences were kept at the top priority. It was also ensured to keep their privacy, confidentiality and avoidance of interruption as they might not hesitate to give information. During interview researcher also tried to invest his best efforts to take notes of ongoing conversation. Besides notes, sometimes a tape recorder was also used to record the information because it was difficult to take notes of every bits and pieces of giving information simultaneously with keeping eye contact with the interviewee.

### **3.6. Focus group discussions**

Group Discussion is the most functional method .which used in qualitative data; it helped me to collect a good amount of data from the respondents. The group of six to twelve people participated in group discussion. The researcher has conducted 4 FGDs from female and male member of the Bagri tribe. This helped me to get more data in a limited time. One FGD was conducted from the old age people above 50 years they provided me such a kind of data in limited time. Eight to ten people (male and female) participated in group discussion. It helped a lot to crosscheck the obtained data. The Major topics and issues that were covered during FGDs and focused interviews are outlined below:

1. History and origin of Bagri tribe
2. Hunting practices
3. Uses of tools
4. Causes of Settlement patterns

During my research work I did group discussion with local people using this important method I got the chance of listing to different categories of people at the time. They shared their views about the importance of indigenous knowledge by giving practical examples from their daily life. Every one talked and participated to express ideas in personal hunting experiences of his life. This method proved to be very helpful in collecting and capturing the data.

### **3.7. Case study**

This method was also employed during the field work in order to get a detailed and explanatory picture of the phenomena under discussion. Case studies of various aspects of settlements pattern were collected to get more comprehensive data about the events. Case study technique helps to record related events an important way of getting into the depth of interviews of the living individuals. These case studies help me to understand of my objectives. I have used this technique during field work to get complete and consistent data.

### **3.8. Field notes**

In order to record the data and information given by the informants, researcher was highly relying upon taking notes; otherwise, it was very difficult to memorize all the data in mind. Researcher was trying to write each and every important point even to note the emotion of respondents like their smiling face, angry, ruddy and happiness. Along-with notes, researcher

### **3.9. Photography & voice recorder**

The researcher used the technique of photography to make the reader clearer about the area and their settlement pattern. So far the present research, the researcher has taken photographs to sketch the real picture of the area. Similarly researcher used the technique of a voice recorder and camera to catch the good memories of hunting practices, about their rituals etc. researcher captured the various scenes such as hunter animal in the forest, busy in installing *Punjore* nets, hunting dogs, which pursue the hunt, cottages. These photos supported my data and are all the solid proof of my research work in the field. These photos taken at different places suggest that how hunter use their skills in hunting in a different manner and style. By looking at these photos we can know the dress pattern and occupational activities of these people.

### **3.10. Justification for the selection of the locale**

For conducting research work I selected the locale of *Hala*. There are certainly solid reasons for choosing this village as my research locale. Firstly this community was differing from other communities, interns of their culture, religion occupation and their daily life activities. Second, this was very old and primitive community, their main occupation was hunting; now some changes occur in their occupation. Thirdly this was unique in this regard that they were not

employing modern weapons such as gun during hunting, through today is twenty first century and world is global village. But their style as similar as Stone Age.

### **3.11. Research site**

The study was conducted in *Hala*. *Hala* is known as *Hala* Kandi (Old name of *Hala*). *Hala* is very old historical and cultural city of *Sindh*. The research study reveals that *Hala* is culturally rich and interesting city. This city was built about 1800 A.D by Makhdoom named Mir Mohammed. Original name was Murtaza-abad. *Hala* is very popular city of standard work of glazed pottery. The *Hala* is famous due to many its specialties. For instance it is city of Sufi in which a big name of Makhdoom Sarwar Noah who translated the Holy Quran in Persian language. Another very famous poet of *Sindh* as well as a Sufi Shah Abdul Latif Bhitti also belongs to this city. Other Sufis are Makhdoom Ishaq Bhatti, Makhdoom Ibrahim-bin-Umer, and Makhdoom Arabi Dina. Another very famous poet of *Sindh* Makhdoom Talib-i-Moula is also from this city. These all Sufis are buried in this city except Shah Abdul Latif, who has buried in Bhitt shah few kilometers away from *Harlow*. *Hala* is also popular because of its crafts for instance, pottery (glazed as well as unglazed), textile (Susi, Khadhi and Ajrak), and woodwork (Jandi) and so on that gives employment to several people. We can say that this city is the city of crafts.



(Map of Hala District Matiari)



Source: Google map

### 3.12. Geography

Hala is 25°49 north latitudes and 68°-28 east longitudes is the headquarters of the Hala taluka having a Town Committee. It is at a distance of 57 kilometers north of Hyderabad and stands at some distance from the highway running from Hyderabad to Rohri with which it is connected by two branches. The nearest railway station is Tando Jam, at the distance of 24 kilometers. Hala is noted for its glazed pottery and weaving of Susi (cloth) that gives employment to several numbers of people. The only river flowing in the taluka is the Indus River, which runs along the western boundary of Hala. The Hala covers the total area of 548 square kilometers. In the East District Sanghar, Dadu in the West, Nawabshah in the North and Matiari districts are located in the South of the. Hala Taluka. It consists of forty-five villages and seven union councils. There are about 6591 houses with a total population of 26472.

The Bagri is distributed through *Sindh* and adjacent area. They make encampments in the outskirts of the cities and on the banks of the river Indus. These encampments are used alternatively. During the season when the water has receded, they shift to river side encampments. They classify these encampments as *Kacha* (cultivated nature levee) and *Pakka* (cultivated hinders land). One of my respondents was the view he said that:

Bagri community migrated from India, they migrated to southeast India to district Larkana and Khairpur, and these areas are near to the crossing boundary of India. Then Bagri migrated to another region of *Sindh* for their subsistence. The Bagri speaks the local dialects and profess Hinduism with many elements of the nature worship. This suggests that the same people are living in *Sindh* with mostly the same characteristic.

Their migration of *Sindh* according to their own tradition, took place along before portion, from Gujarat to *Sindh* via Rajasthan. Presently, they are inhabited in different parts of *Sindh* in Pakistan. Their major settlements in the area are found *Hala*, Matiari, Sukkur, Khairpur, Jacobabad, Hyderabad, Umerkot, Mythic, and Pane Avail. In succinct we can say that the Bagri claim to be one of the isolate clan of Rajputs, who has high status among the Indian castes. Bagri is living in many regions of India, but in Pakistan they are living in *Sindh* a lower region of Indus valley. Girdari Lal postulated history of Bagri in this way:

Bagri is the original inhabitants of India, they are primitive people, due to food security, they move from one place to another place for searching for food.



They we lived near to Indus river, spiritually the become attached with the river. After 1947 then government sent Hindus to the India, and Muslim of India migrated to the Pakistan. When Bagri are forcibly migrated to India, Nehru give them land. They got every facility such as land and honor, but Bagri are emotionally attached to the Indus River, again they migrated from India to Pakistan. We can find Bagri in *Sindh* and Baluchistan. Further, he said that:

Bagri don't demand for their rights, they said we are happy in our life we earn for just survivals. We don't make any demands for jobs because we were nomad's now from 20 years we are permanently settled in the area, still the fewestrations of the Bagri community they practiced hunting and migrated from one place to another place for their survivals. The reason of the nomad's is that: if we lived 15 days in Khairpur, if we got nothing, then we migrated to another city for the economy. That time we lived in huts, but now everyone are living in their Kacha, and *Pakka* houses.

### **3.13. History of the Bagri**

Bagri is scattered all over the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and are known by various names in different parts of the country. The word Bagri is derived according to Malcoms Memoir of central India,) (Malcoms, 1968) from a tract of country in Malwa, which is known as Bagar or Hedge of thorns, because it is surrounded on all sides by wooded hills. They are known as Bagri in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal.

According to (Fuchs S. , 1973), the Bagri's are another tribe of doubtlessly former aboriginal type that has settled in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. Their features and dark complexion betray their aboriginal origin, but it is impossible to trace them back to any particular social group. According to (Hiralal, 1975). In Gujarat Bagri known as Waghris by the common change of B into V. According to (Fuchs S. , 1973). The Waghris of Gujarat altogether after 200, 00 are obviously identical with the Waghris or baghdis of the central India and claim their kinship with Senses of the Punjab. Fuchs further writes that, according to their own tradition, the Waghris came to Gujarat via Rajasthan. From Gujarat they letter spread over Madhya Pradesh and the northern Deccan. Though adopting everywhere the local languages, they have retained remnants of Gujarati in their present form of speech. Taking into consideration these various illustrations about the Bagri's, we conclude that they are aboriginal in nature, they are vagrant, they are found in all over the India and Pakistan, they profess Hinduism, and they are landless. We can further add that they are untouchable.

The Bagri caste is socially considerable to be very low, they accept food from all Hindu castes and they admit recruits from all superior castes. These are the features which are identical with the Bagri of the *Sindh*. (Hiralal, 1975). Bagri belong to originally from Gujarat, as their peculiar dialect, still in use in the form Gujarati language. They considered that Bagri flourished there up to about 1850 and conceive them to be the dacoits in ancient times. The important feature which Russell and Hira lal described about the Bagri of India, they said that lizard hunting is the most favorite diet of the Bagri of the India, similarly which is completely identical with the Bagri of *Sindh*.(Mayer, 1960 ). Provides interesting insights into the status of Bagri among the Indian tribes. He says that:“A crucial linkage was made between a Rajputs congress worker and the Bagri voters. To him when a congress worker showed his willingness to dine with Bagri, they were greatly attracted to the congress candidate. The Bagri, officially a backward class, can produce historical evidence which they believe that they belong to the Rajputs, but this is not generally accepted by the Rajputs of Malwa.

He further goes on to say that the Rajputs had told the Bagri that they could become members of their newly instituted Dewas branch of the Rajputs perished ”.Another proof of the alleged Rajputs status of Bagri is their names of clans which are often identical with the Rajputs clans. Russell and hiralal were of the view that:They claims to be Rajputs and were divided into clans with well known Rajputs names of Salonki, Panwar, Dhundhal, Chauhan etc. Hence the Bagri of the *Sindh*, are also divided in different clans, they have different *Paros*, clans, and these *Paros* are identical with the name of their clans such as Chauhan, Dhabi, Saroki, Dhamdaro etc.

### **3.14. Sindh region**

After the introduction of the relationship of Bagri with major tribes, and their history and distribution in the country, I intend to describe the environmental condition of the region in which they are living. *Sindh* is the southern province of the Punjab and the Baluchistan on the north and west and its eastern border are adjacent to the Indian province of the Rajasthan. One of my respondents was the view that:

When our ancestor migrated to India, we settled near to the river. The river contributes greatly to the economy of the Bagri, especially in their cultivation. Due to floods when the Indus overflows, the nearby lands which are cultivated by the Bagri on tenancy. The water remains on the land for a short time, for one or two months, and goes back to the descending water level of the

rive when winter starts. It is the time when they start the cultivation of short term crops such as melon, water, and vegetables. Secondly the Indus is the only water source in the area; it attracts the wild animals from the region to live near its banks where the Bagri hunting bands practice the game by trapping them.

### **3.15. Indus**

The characteristic features of the area, the Indus is called the *Sindhu* in the local language which comes from Sanskrit. The earliest mention of the river is found in the Rig-Veda. Flooded occur which is the rainy season from July to September and occasionally there are divesting flash floods. This river contributes greatly to the economy of Bagri, specifically in their cultivation, for irrigation the *Kacha* area with floods and making it cultivable after the rainy season. Due to floods when the Indus overflow, the nearby lands which are cultivated by the Bagri on tenancy. The water remains on the land for a short time, of one or two months, and goes back to the descending water level of the river when the winter starts. It is the time when the Bagri star the cultivation of short term crops such as watermelon crops and vegetable. Secondly the Indus is the only water source in the area, it attracts the wild animals of the region to live near its banks where the Bagri hunting bands practice the game by trapping them.

### **3.16. Climate**

A sub-tropical region *Sindh* is a hot in summer and cool in winter. The hot weather lasts from eight to nine months expect from occasional cloudiness of the sky, or a passing shower that bring little relief it. During winter the temperature of the area is low. The climate then is dry and mild. The rainfall during winter is also poor. The annual rainfall averages about 7 inches, falling mainly through July and August. The southwardly monsoon wind begins to blow in mid-February and continue until the end of September, whereas the cool north wind blows during the winter month from October to January. The Bagri cultivate in winter and live in the Kachha area to hunt animals in the nights. Due to less cools climate, it is very easy for them for hunting and agriculture. The Bagri grow melons, watermelons and vegetables such as gourds, pumpkins, and karalla (a kind of bitter ground). In the past, they got meat by hunting the wild animals in scrublands near the banks of the river. They need a region where the rainfall is not frequent for such area is conducive for their dwellings.

### 3.17. Flora and Fauna

Flora of an area depends upon the soil and the amount of moisture available. Matiari district being on an alluvial plain, therefore, plants pertaining to the alluvial soil nature are mostly found here. The dominant trees are ‘Babul’ (*Acacia Arabica*), ‘Kandi’ (*Prosopis Specigara*) and Gadori (*Cordia Latifolia*), as well as, Bahan’ (*Populus Euphratica*), ‘Ber’ (*Zizphus Numularia*) and several varieties of Tamarisk like Plai (*Tamarisk Gallica*) and Jhao (*Tamarisk Diocia*) on the roadside and in gardens the bar (*Ficus Indica*), Pipal (*Ficus Religiosa*), not only these but also is the series (*Mumosa Sirissa*), the Neem (*Azadirachta Indica*) and Tamarind (*Tamarandus Indica*). Rose (*Rosa Damascene*), Jasmine (*Jasminum efficient*), and Tuberose (*polianthes tuberosa*) etc. are the dominant ornamental plants of this area.

The existence of all forms of fauna, primarily depends upon vegetation available in the city. The constant and rapid colonization has deprived area of vegetation, which has resulted in diminishing wildlife. At present Hyenas (*hyena hyanendac*) and Wolves (*Canis palfipes*) are hardly seen, Jackal (*Canis aureus*) are fairly common and foxes (*vales bengalenis*) are seen in rapidly contracting areas of dry waste. There are a variety of bats, lizards, and reptiles, including the cobra, lundi (viper), are also present in *Hala*. Among the birds Partridge (*francolinus pondoceraianes*) both black and grey are common in the forest plantation. Many varieties of waterfowl like Buft-backed heron (*Bubulcus ibis*), Indian reef heron (*Egretta galleries*) and Mongolian sand plover (*chiaridrius Mongols*) are also found. Other birds found are little brown dove (*Streptopelia senegalensis*), Koel (*eudynamys scolopalea*), Indian scoops owl (*Otus bakkamoena*) and Indian great horned owl (*bubo bubo*).

### 3.18. Foods

Bagri people are most eager to eat Gosht (meat). They eat flesh of pigs, Jungle Cat, *Goah* (Water Lizard), along with their diet consist of simple food as potato, green chillies, tomato, *chutney* (sauce), lady fingers, pulses, dry wheat *Chapatti*. Some time lunch consists of onions simply *Daal* (pulse), rice. Food is served initially to males and the women used to eat with another woman member and their children. In the summer food is taken three times while in the winter twice a day. Meat is their favorite diet and they can manage it in abundance, but only in winter. Vegetables are also a considerable part of their diet. Vegetation stress seems to be one of

the prime distinguishing features of hunting, fishing and gathering economies (Meggitt, 1994 ). Similarly the Bagri do hunt but most of their diet consists of vegetable foods.

Meat is only available during hunting season, but vegetables foods are available during the whole year their food, though limited in variety, are plentiful in quantity. When they have enough food at their disposal they invite their kin who have run short of it and vice versa. They have no concept of storage by drying or other techniques. Sometimes foods are avoidable because of some taboos for example. Dish with scales were apparently not eaten by Tasmanians, just as pork is forbidden by certain religious faith today. (Kessing, 1958). This sort of taboo is also prevalent regarding cow eating among the Bagri, because they claim Hindu and the cow is a mother deity among the Hindus. They cook meat and vegetables by boiling. They use spices in cooking and also bake unleavened bread. They drink *Dudh* (Curdle water) which they get through begging through the landlord households who have domesticated some animals which give them milk, such as cow, buffalo. In short, the Bagri eat both vegetable and animal foods raised or hunted by them. Additional foods such as sweets are eaten which come through begging.

### **3.19. Dress and ornaments**

The Bagri people are very poor in terms of our society, but in terms of their own tradition they are now in good condition. They wear cheap clothes only to cover their body, but not for beauty. The stitching of clothes and their style is very simple. Men usually wear shirts or *Kurti* and *Dhoti*. (A piece of cloth worn around the waist like a sarong). The elder male member uses a turban on their heads, they wear locally made shoes of leather which mostly obtain by landlords. Ladies wear the shirt or Kurta of different style than older women usually wear Ghagra (Petticoat) instead of the Shalwar. Both old and young women take a Dupata (scarf) on their heads. We also observe the element of acculturation among Bagri in the dress pattern. Natho was of the view that:

One generation ago our father, grandfather didn't wear shirt just they used shirt with traditional turban and shoes. Because of the acculturation we have adopted the dress pattern of the natives of the area, as well as Shalwar is also being adopted which reveals the effect of their social environment.

The Bagri don't have a wide variety of ornaments. They have some head ornaments, used by women's like woven round neck, wrist and ankle. They have very light golden ornaments such

as Mundro (ring) Kando Walo (earrings). These are worn only on ceremonial occasions of marriage and birth, etc. and keep them in their hut very careful.

(Picture No 3: Girl Ornaments) (Picture No 4: Female Ornaments)



Picture No 5: Old Men dress code) (Picture No 6: Young dress code)



(Source field data)

(Picture No 7: Widow Women Dress) (Picture No 8: Married Women Dress)



(Source field data)

### 3.20. Heterogeneous communities

Despite being heterogeneous, there are certain values/ traditions that are specific to this region. A brief overview is given in the following. In *Hala* there are many religious people living either Muslims or non Muslims. As a whole they are called as *Sindhi* but there is a difference in their way of life. It means there is a difference in their culture for instance values, norms, beliefs, rituals and ceremonies and so forth. So we can say that culture of *Hala* is heterogeneous. A non Muslim has their own belief system and he/she practiced his/her rituals differently than a Muslim. Their dress patterns and ornaments vary from one group to another. Dr. Qammar-u-ddin defines the people of *Hala* in this way that the population of *Hala* is heterogeneous, developed by mosaic culture. Apart from the ceremonies like birth and death, which are followed as ritual and social duties, changing pattern of social economy, behavioral attitude of the person has diminished the values of cultures and tradition.

### 3.21. Agriculture

Kharif and Rabi are mainly two agricultural seasons in which people produce different crops in which vegetables, cash crops and grains and so on. Now these crops are produced according to season. For instance, in Kharif season Jawar (sorghum vulgar), Bajra (*Pennisetum typhoideum*), rice (*Oryza sativa*), maize, sugarcane (*saccharum officinarum*) and cotton (*Gossypium* genus) are

cultivated while in Rabi season wheat (*Triticum turgidum*), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), mung (*Phaseolus Mungo*) and several kind oil seeds are cultivated. *Hala* is also rich in agricultural products, there are different kinds of crops are produced. Moreover, the vegetables produced over here are cabbage, cauliflower, turnip, green peas, French bean, tomatoes, celery, beet roots, onions, spinach, lady finger, carrot, brinjal and so on. Different kinds of fruits are also produced here for instance, apple, grapes, papaya (*Carica papaya*), mango (*Mangifera indica*), banana (*Musa sapientum*), watermelon, melon, farwa (*Cucurbitaria asiatica*) grew, jamun, (*Eugenia jambolana*), lemon and berries etc. For cultivating crops *Hala* has an established irrigation system. As *Hala* city is situated on the bank of Indus River. The river flows along the western boundary of *Hala*, from Amin Lakho to Mulla Khatiar in Tando Mohammed Khan Subdivision. The main source of irrigation is canal networks of Sukkur and Ghulam Muhammad barrage which are emerging from main Indus at the terminal point of Sukkur. In the past the HG makes encampments on the outskirts of the towns of Indus Rivers. These encampments are used alternatively. During the season when the water has receded, they shift to the outside of the river from the surrounding areas of urban settlements. The Bagri a group of people keeps wandering from place to place throughout *Sindh*. Bi religion Bagri's is Hindus, but somewhat they are different from the Hindu of settled areas. The Hindu of settled area don't let the Bagri in their temples and consider them to be lower caste (Shudhar). No traditional spiritual leader (Brahman) leads their ritual and ceremonies.



## CHAPTER 4

### Social organization

#### 4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher tried to cover certain social aspects of locale, which includes kinship, family, marriage system and religious rituals. Organization is the interface between the people. This interaction in the everyday life among the people is social organization. Social organization is an important in any community. It tells about social relation of community. How people of the community communicate to each other. Some communities are divided into a social group at the base of status. In Bagri tribe some social groups based on the caste and status. These social groups support each other in every matter. Richly Crapo gives his four characteristics about social organization,

“The social organization of a society consists of 1 various groups from which the society is built, 2 the statuses that individuals may hold, 3 the division of labor, the way in which the tasks of society are distributed among individuals and groups, and 4 the rank accorded to each group status”.

In every society, people are organized into groups and levels of honor and social power. Social organization is composed of social interactions in which people have their practical involvement they help and do transactions makes strategies and make decisions. (Crapo, 1990)

The examples of organization can easily be understood from the organs of the human body, which are technically joined together called the organization of parts in the human body. The parts of a table are prepared separately by the carpenter and then fitted together in a technical order. This table is an organized body. It means the organization is arranging of parts into its whole. Similarly, social group is an organization of individuals in a social unit. The individuals set themselves in their positions (status) and by interaction (role), they make a social group. It means they are fitted themselves into the group according to their positions. This participation of individuals in group is social organization.

The whole society is a big organization in which individuals, groups and institutions participate. It is a vast network of social relationship like the parts of a watch organized together. The groups fit themselves in interaction with other groups giving shape to society by the organization. The

process of organization resembles with a human body, a machine, a factory, an office, a bank and the human society.

#### **4.2. Kinship system of the Bagri**

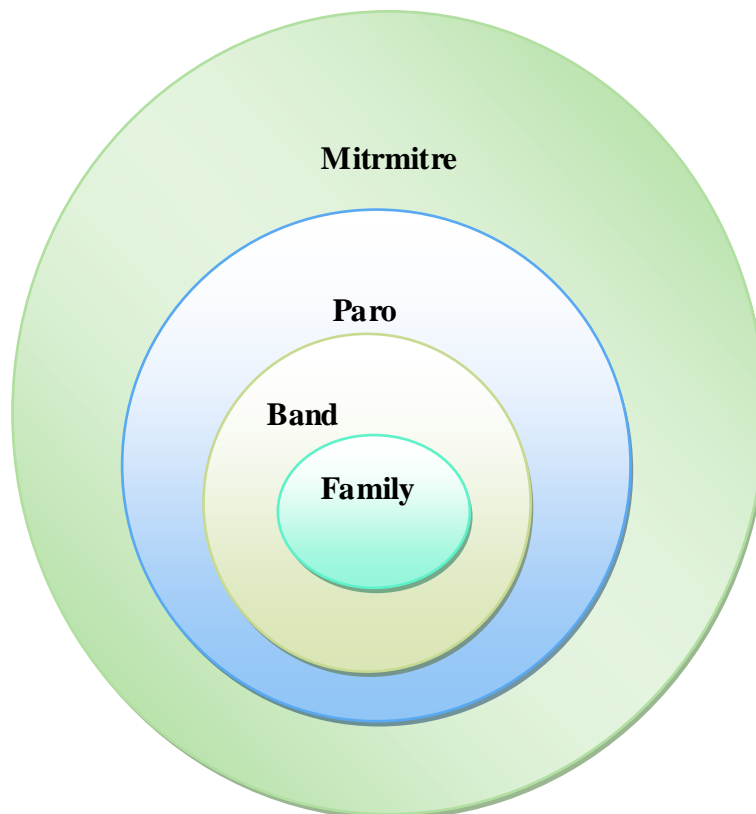
A kinship is divided from marriage, a very basic fundamental institution of the family life, the chief ceremonies and rituals are described to show how marriage contributes to this system. Marriage prohibition, the choice of the bride and bride wealth are considered, since it is very important to understand the behavioral patterns and cultural values associated with marriage and kinship. The Bagri carry recognition of kin relationship much farther than is common in other communities. Genealogical connections can be established with almost everybody, no matter how remote. Even if no direct link can be traced, all members of *Paro* are supposed to be fictive sister and brother in their own generation. A kinship system provides the basis of the social structure in all communities, and particularly in traditional, non-western communities. Kinship is overriding principles upon which social relations rests. He looks at a kinship system in the context of social organization. The system can serve as the basis of economic interaction, such as distribution of the food or the assignment of the laborious tasks, political interaction, such as distribution of power and authority over other individuals of the society, and many aspects of life for members of the group.

The Bagri community is united by bonds of kinship extending beyond the confines of individual homesteads and linking together their immunity. Relatives are expected to be friendly and to help one another. A man looks to his kinsmen of all kinds for hospitality, assistance at work and support in times of trouble. A man usually relies above all upon the members of his own family and such other close relatives as his parents, siblings, along with their spouses and children, of his wife's parents and siblings. These relatives are supposed to advise and help with problems. Whenever any Bagri man arranges any sort of ceremony, his close relatives give gifts of food and commodities according to their particular statuses. Among the Bagri's, the membership is determined by Patrilineal descent that is traced through the male line. Property is normally passed from father to son. Father's relatives are invariably remembered to a greater genealogical depth, than the mother's relatives. Parents have the duty to advise, support, look after and protect their children carefully. In return children are expected to respect their parents. A brother has to attend to the welfare of his sisters and help them in their troubles. Fathers elder brothers are

highly respected by the youngster. Insufficient, with all its perfections and imperfections kinship system among the Bagri is the prime source of the tribal unity that keeps the tribe almost safe and secure from internal as well external calamities.

Moreover, man's relation to his father's younger brother is very affable and friendly. Children when small are often sent to live for a while in their mother's parental homes. They are assured of a warm welcome and generous hospitality and enjoy many privileges. All close relatives come into prominence on festivals and other special occasions. Among the Bagri's, one cannot marry with cross and parallel cousins in the *Paro*, because they are considered as sisters and brothers. This type of marriage is called clan exogamy. After marriage a man moves apart from his parents and makes a separate hut and cooking place. This is known as nonlocal residence. Different levels of Bagri social organization can be stratified diagrammatically as follow.

### **Diagram of social organization**



(Source field data)

The diagram illustrates the social organization of Bagri tribe base of four main institutions such as family, band, *Paro*, *Mitrmitre*. The family occupies the core and all other levels are determined by this core unit. Just like the electrons of the atoms, nuclear families go around the nucleus forming band, *Paro* and *Mitrmitre* groups of different levels of the social organization. The band between the nucleus and the electron is just as among the families of the tribe on different levelsof social relations. The relationship among the family members is just as the relation of neutron and protons which always remains is nucleus. Now I will discuss these levels one by one.

### 4.3. Family

“Family is a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a simple household interacting and intercommunications with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister creating a common culture.” (Barner, 1946 ). The family as elsewhere is the basic unit of social organization of Bagri's. By taking in to consideration Barnerdefinition, I will explain the nature of Bagri family and its function. The Bagri family is the nuclear type. Every male after marriage erects his own hut in the vicinity of his father, s hut and particularly within his father band. In this sense the family is the patrilocal and can also be termed as verilocal. This nature of the family residence strongly suggests the patrilineal character of the tribe. The children live with their parents and share their hut until their marriage. Thefunction of family are concerned, according to (Hoebel, 1958), their essence as follows.

- Sexual
- Economic
- Reproductive
- Educational

These four functions of the family are fulfilled by the Bagri family. The family union is the socially recognized and legalized from for sexual activities and ultimately for the birth of the children. In the context of social organization, submission to the social rules and norms is necessary. The rules of the family determine legitimate and illegitimate sexual intercourse among the members of the group, tribe members formulate these rules and violation of marriage

demarked by the family is incest and adultery. There is a typical example of sexual function of Bagri family, which was observed during my study there.

A boy of band had illegitimate relations with a girl of another band. This was an utter negation of Bagri marriage rules. Eventually the boy was forced to buy the girl and marry her. As punishment he had to pay more bride price than usual.

The second basic function of the family is reproduction. The reproduction of the children is the ultimate purpose of the marriage and family union. They reproduce for the continuance of the tribe, with new members who bear their cultural and traditional character of their society. Economic cooperation is the third main role of the family. All the members play their part in the family economic activities. After the establishment of the household, both husband and wife work and contribute to the income of the family. The men usual hunt and women works for the children. The man ploughs and the woman sow the seeds in the soil. Their children start helping their parents at the early age of 9/10. Children usually make money through begging. The forth important function of a family is the educative one. This may be called socialization. Children are taught locally appropriate knowledge so as to make usual members of the society. However, socialization of the children is a very important factor in the information about his future personality. The Bagri bring up their children to show the defense to sedentary population. In this way children observe and perceive themselves as they belong to inferior caste. The rearing of the children and their diet is not proper. There feeding time is not fixed and there is also discrimination in the rearing of male and female children male is reared more carefully. In Bagri society the most important knowledge is of subsistence techniques and ritual performance.

The Bagri children are trained for begging; similarly the young girl gets trained by her mother at home. She learns to prepare the meals, to rear the children, and also trained for the begging. These functions necessarily bring the family alongside other families for mutual help and cooperation. In this way a social group forms were in reciprocally and mutuallyadjusted responses bind a number of participants. The family among Bagri is a patriarchal type, with the authority vested in the elder male members of the family. Women after marriage moves to her husband's huts. Lineage is traced through male lines. Often, property group membership and titles pass through this line. Production, distribution and consumption, including all other

economic activities are controlled by families. All the members of the family perform their respective duties and pool their income in the common Family fund.

One of the most striking features of Bagri social organization is the inclusion of infants and young children in all spheres of socioeconomic activities. Child rearing practices emphasize individual development for accruing a social role and skills specific to Bagri culture. Each individual is perceived as a unique individual to be trained by parents and they consider their obligation to teach these skills. It is the child's obligation to learn and use them to contribute to their natal household. Due to the poverty, lack of nutrition affects the health of the children and we find so many diseases among them. The parents also remain busy in their economic activities, and thus cannot pay attention to the proper socialization of the children. Different levels of Bagri social organization can be stratified diagrammatically as follows.

#### **4.4. Band**

The band is the simplest unit of social organization. In Bagri society band plays a very important role. In Bagri there is a very strong political organization among Bagri bands and the bands themselves are the basic political units of society unlike other hunting people. The leadership and authority pattern are based on the observance of traditions. The Bagri's band is an aggregate of nuclear families consisting normally of 7 to 23 families per band. Bagri community practice endogamy at the tribal level and exogamy within bands, which consequents in the integrity of the tribes. The bands come in to existence, on the basis of Inter-*Paro* marriage alliances, coming together for hunting purposes and some sort of mutual cooperation such as in collective labor in cultivation. The band is not exclusively a consanguinal group, but consists of both final and blood kin. The following table will illustrate the size of band regarding the numbers of constituting families.

Another grouping of the people is the band. This grouping is on a corporate basis. Different nuclear families, yet related to one another by consanguinal relations or affilinal ties constitute the band. Every member of the band is, in this way, related to the others, but here arises differences between direct affilinal relations and indirect ones. The social cohesion is maintained through *Thoro* (ceremonial gift exchange). Each band is the basic political unit as well, having a Punch as its leaders.

**Table No. 1: Number of bands in their localities**

Number, of bands	Locality	No of families
1	Bagri Bazaar	40
2	Pir Mola Bux Colony	13
3	Kolhi <i>Paro</i>	18
4	Jattan Jo Nako	25
5	Talib- Ul-Mola Colony	30
6	Saddhan Road	35
<b>Total</b>		<b>161</b>

Family average per band 27.6(Source field data)

The average number of the families in Bagri tribe is 27.6, however, there are certain bands consisting of as many 40 and as a little as 13 families.

#### **4.5. *Paro***

It is the next wider circle of the Bagri kinship organization. *Paro* is equivalent to clan, it has been called a form of great family, extending either in the male or female lines, this grown to proportions where actual genealogies have usually been lost, but nevertheless, based on the belief of the members that they have common descent from an original progenitor. (Keesing 1958). According to this definition a *Paro* is the same kin group it is among the Dobuans of eastern New Guinea. A contrast is that Dobuans are Matri-clans and the Bagri are Patri-Clans. The Bagri *Paro* however, is characterized by patrilineal descent. Here inheritance also passes directly through the descent line and cooperation also exists.

The *Paro* consist of male lineage and sisters of these men, but children of these sisters are not included in the *Paro*, they belong to their fathers *Paro*. Moreover Clan exogamy which is also basic features of the Bagri tribe. Each *Paro* is based on the descent assumption but they cannot trace their common ancestor. They consider each band member as brother and sister, thus making it the foundation as to their common descent. As explained earlier, Bagri are dividing in nine exogamous castes, and every caste settled in different *Paros*. It is not necessarily that

member of the different *Paros* directly related from a band and work together collectively, but maintains the identity of their respective *Paros*. This identity is expressed and displayed especially during the conflict. For instance, a member of the Chuhan *Paro*, living in a band where majority of the members is from the Saroki *Paro*, is not bound to obey the dictates of a Saroki and Chuhan *Paros*. He ultimately favors his own *Paro*, whereas he will obey his band's punch, like all other members in conflict other than with the Chuhan *Paro*. If Bagri members have conflict with Muslims then all Bagri *Paro* have unity with each other. As far as the Bagri *Paro* is concerned, each Bagri gets identification from his *Paro* and acquires his father or grandfathers *Paro* on their names. The existence of exogamy signals two underlying factors; (1) the solidarity of the tribe as a whole (2) the strong sense of owning between the individuals of the same *Paro*.

A *Paro* performs the same function as are listed in the definition of a clan by Hoebel 1958. He says that the clan as an institution has two universal functions (1) to broaden the base of the security group formed in the kinship bond by providing mutual aid and collective protection and liability in legal action and disputes; and (2) to regulate and control marriage. Both functions are similarly performed by the *Paro* among the Bagri's of Sindh. *Paro* members help to each other in the disputes against other *Paros* and also clan exogamy is one of the basic features of Bagri *Paro*.

#### **4.6. *Mitrmitre***

The term refers to a group of person and their families' who share the favors of each other and participate in ceremonials together. It crosses the boundaries of *Paro*. The person of *Paro* and other participated with each other. The affinal consanguineal relative meet with each other. They have a sense of feeling; and this is the widest kin group among the Bagri. Those people who participate in the pleasure and sorrows of each other are termed as *Mitrmitre*. It is similar to the biraderi of participation. Similarly Bagri practice *Thoro* (gift of ceremonial exchange) among the *Mitrmitre* groups. Its purest form is Niendro and Mani, which are exchanged on the marriage ceremonies. Niendro is the money given by the representation of the *Mitrmitre*. House hold to the head of the household who celebrates the occasion. Whereas Mani (Feast) is a feast given to the *Mitrmitre* which cuts across the boundaries of the *Paro* also. It may include families other than *Paro* members who participate in the marriage ceremonies.



#### 4.7. Kinship terminologies

The kinship terminology reflects many but not all of the social distinction within the society. The basic pattern is set by the terms used within the family. I collected their kinship terms after listing to their frequent use through abstract discussion. Here I shall discuss the Bagri's consanguinal terms diagramed in the accompanying.

**Diagram  
Consanguinal term**

Relation ship	Addressed
Father	Yaga
Fathers father	Dado
Fathers brother	Kaka
fathers sister	Pui
father brothers wife	Kaki
Fathers sister's husband	Pua
fathers mother	Dadi
Mother	Yai
Mothers mother	Nani
Mother's father	Nana
Mother's sister	Masi
Mothers brother	Mama
Mother's sister's husband	Maso
Mother's brother's wife	Mami
Egos brother	Bahi
egos sister	Bahen
Egos brothers children	Potra potri
Egos daughter children	Dotra dotri
Egos wife	Bahwan
Egos brother's wife	Barjai
Egos son's wife	Bahoo

(Source field data)

#### **4.8. Behavior between the relations**

In the analysis of the kinship system several quite different orders of reality must be taken into account. One of these is the system of terminology and another is the system of prescribed attitudes; both of these are the aspects of kinship roles. There are four factors that influence behavior towards people with whom one is related besides the category of the relationship itself. These are sex, age, residence, biraderi. As a rule, members of the Bagri tribe feel an obligation and desire to aid and protect each other in situations that involve or apposition with the outsiders. When a disagreement or conflict between two members of the Bagri biraderi arises. Then the obligations to elder family members resolve the conflict.

##### **4.8.1. Father / Son relationships**

Amen and his sons work together, travel and live together and if necessary, fight together. Men and his sons are political units, especially in times of trouble, when they always side with each other. A father helps his sons find work and generally setting up economic schemes for them. The father often with the help of his brothers will pay for the bride price and the wedding feast. In return, a son must be loyal to his father and show him respect. He may give part of his income to his father, and he will look after the support and care of his aged parents and pay for their funerals if necessary.

##### **4.8.2. Father/daughter relationship**

The father / daughter relationship doesn't have nearly the close cooperation that exists between a father and his son. A son usually takes precedence over a daughter is given more privileges and preferences. A daughter is expected to serve her parents and take care of them. If her husband's family mistreats her, she knows her parents will always take her back, and will protect her from them. A father is also responsible for punishing his daughter if her behavior is immoral in any way. The father- daughter relationship is more one of distance and respect when compared with the mother-daughter relationship.

##### **4.8.3. Mother son relationship**

The mother – son like the father, son, and relationship is very close one. When the father dies the mother will live with one of her sons and will be looked after the rest of her life. Mothers often support their sons financially, but they will also expect support from their sons if they are

financially successful. A mother often favors her sons over her daughters and will allow them more freedom than the girls, more favors and more leisure time. Kinship among the Bagri may be depicted as an atomic model which always has a nucleus and energy levels of orbits, in which the electrons go round. The model of kinship among the Bagri can be drawn as follows.

#### **4.8.4. Mother daughter relationship**

The father gives their daughters orders which must be obeyed and require a more distant, respectful relationship. A mother's relationship with her daughter is more affectionate and based on respectful cooperation. She is responsible for training the daughters. She directs her in the household duties and teaches how to serve food. She also trains her in begging other kinds of work.

#### **4.8.5. Brother's relationship**

Brothers cooperate economically either under the direction of their father. Brothers travel together and share work. They spend much time together, both in leisure and working, and in general cooperate in day to day living. They also have a special obligation to help each other find wives or husbands for their children. If a brother dies, and there are no grandparents to take the children, another brother will raise them.

#### **4.8.6. Brother Sister Relationship**

The brother has a closeness and equality which is one of cooperation's and mutual aid. They work together and in reaction they enjoy each other's company. The same can be said to the sister. The brother/sister relationship is more concerned with aid and protection and is not based on economic day to day cooperation due to difference in sex. Brother and sister may have to face separation through the marriage of the sister, but the brothers are there to protect her if necessary. An older sister may look after a younger brother, carrying him and feeding him.

#### **4.8.7. Sister relationship**

The sister relationship is very similar to that between the brothers. Sisters chat together, exchange clothes and have a very intimate relationship.

#### **4.9. Bagri marriage system**

Marriage is a major factor regulated and controlled by descent, yet marriage is a whole social institution in itself and thereby needs exploring by it. Marriage is important because it fulfils certain functions of which of prime importance are the legitimacy of the offspring and the social sanction of sexual relations. Taking the above mentioned definition of the marriage an attempt will be made to explain the Bagri marriage system. Bagri community is divided into nine bands. Marriage is exogamous to the bands, but on the tribal level is endogamous. The Bagri neither give daughters or sisters to another tribe nor do they take daughters from others. Besides, they cannot marry in to their mother's family. They don't marry with parallel cousins and cross cousins because they are also supposed to be sisters and brothers.

Normally marriages among the Bagri's are the arranged. In the strict sense of the term we may say that this is a sort of imposing marriage because it is not necessary to seek the consent or even the opinion of the boy or girl going to be wed. As for selection of the bride is concerned. Usually parents of the bridegrooms visit the potential bride's home. During his stay at bride's place groom's fathers generally observes the bride to be. Though they are less concerned about the attractiveness of the girl that is considered as well. The main emphasis is given to physical fitness and working capability. Usually after two or three visits, the programs are arranged and settled. After having seen the girl the bride groom's father takes counsel of his wife in this regard. Meanwhile the bride's parents and kin hold an assembly to discuss the new relationship and future of their girl. In terms of time they arranged marriage takes three to six months to complete the procedures.

Usually Bagri don't like the strangers to participate in their marital and personal affairs. There is no practice of courtship before marriage in the Bagri. Traditionally, there is no question of pre-marriage conversation between bride and groom. There are three main types of marriage, practice by Bagri common.

The Bagri practice only one type of marriage that is monogamy. No case was observed or even heard of regarding polygamy. It was surprising for them to be asked about the practice of having two wives or husbands at a time. But if the husband died, then female marries with his husband, brothers in rare cases. If the wife died, then the male can marry in one other band in some cases with her wife's sisters. As for the age of the marriage is regarded, it is usually between late ten

to twenty for boys and early ten ages for the girls. It may be interesting to note that changing seasons play a role in the commencement of the marriage ceremony. During the harvest season most of the marriages take place because of the availability of enough cash for the requirement of the bride-price, dowry, and other gifts usually given on these occasions.

Normally during the other months of the years they don't have surplus money available to meet expenditures. Therefore, they avoid wedding ceremonies in these months. Comparing the Bagri marriage system with other tribes, marriage systems, for example the Semai brings out the basic features of Bagri marriage in detailed. If a Semai man already married tries to marry with another woman, keeping his wife informed of the facts, she will leave him when she comes to know about it. Wedding among Semai people are very simple and quite. It is rather difficult to pinpoint a married couple in Semai, for this marriage has taken place very quietly. Leaving one difference that the Bagri commence their marriage with as much pomp and show as they can. In the Bagri system of marriage between the consanguinal kin is strictly prohibited. This inhabitation again includes the descendents from the grandparents.

#### **4.9.1. Divorce price**

The separation between husband and wife due to their insoluble mutual differences is seldom practiced custom. The marriage ends up when it becomes intolerable. When marriage comes to divorce the Bagri complains of his wife bad behavior such as adultery, harsh behavior to her husband. Bad cooking not serving food in time. A wife sometimes may be divorced merely because of frequent visits to her parent's homes.

Among the Bagri's the wife cannot exercise the right of divorce. However, she can demand the divorce from her husband. To justify her separation, a wife accuses her husband of beating her and of paying little attention to her. She also complains about her husband's non appreciation for her household services. Sexual dissatisfaction is also one of the justifications given by the wife for separation. Divorce if occurs it mostly takes place during the first five or six years of the marriage. When a divorce takes place, the children are considered as a property of their father. In case, the children are less than ten years of age children nursed by their mother, up to the age of ten the children are sent back to their father's house. Where they are looked after by their new fathers wife or by any of his close relatives. This is an interesting aspect of the Bagri's marriage system that Bagri after a divorcing his wife gets a sum ranging from the divorce price form the

bride parents as divorce price. This all procedures go between the parents of both the groom and bride. When a Bagri groom informs his parents of his intention to divorce his wife. It is father of the groom who declares the divorce in the face of the bride's father and demands divorce price. My informant told me that:

Bride's parents are forced to pay divorce price as a compensation for the expenditure carried at the time of marriage by the parents of the groom.

There occurs no specific ceremony, but the bride's parents come to the house of the groom to pay the divorce price. I witnessed a similar occasion where in bride's father and brother come to pay. In the case I observed, a father of bride from Bagri *Paro* came accompanied by his relatives from his own *Paro*, to pay the price to the father of groom of *saroki paro*.

#### **4.9.2. The bride price**

The bride price is the amount of money or wealth which is given to the kind of bride from bridegroom's parents. In the Bagri tribes, bride price is only calculated in cash. They don't give anything in kind. Bride price among the Bagri's is usually about one lacks. Sometimes the price is as low as two rupees which is given to fulfill the traditional formality. About such a meagre amount of the bride price, I was told by informants, this was done by the two reasons. Firstly, it served as a token of good will and secondly, it was in view of the expenses the grooms parents had to carry on to feast the guests to signify the occasions. This feast is eaten after the bride has come to his groom's parent's house.

When the bride leaves for her new homes the entire guests depart, leaving close kin, they stay for a couple of the days. The marriage may take place without receiving of bride price and the bride's parents hand their daughter over to the groom. Such a bride is termed as *Dharam Patni* (the daughter given in the name of the deity of the god they believe in). Such happening is however less frequent.

#### **4.9.3. *Dan* (Dowry)**

Dowry in Bagri language is termed as *Dan* (gift or reward) is the transferable property which is given to the bride by her parents at the time of the wedding. It may be in cash or in a kind. Amongst the Bagri the dowry is mostly measured in clothes, both in ornaments and in livestock.

Dowry is extremely important and the girls are bound to bring dowry. Men are also responsible for providing respect and basic facilities of life to the wife and greeted with his in laws in a courteously. In case of a girl's marriage, parents give dowry to their daughter before Rukhsati, the volume and amount spent on dowry was considered the matter of prestige for the girl's family. Dowry was properly displayed in front of *Mitrmitre*. According to the traditional values, cash and clothes were also given to the entire family of the groom by keeping a proper record, because the groom's family has to reciprocate on a marriage with bride's family. A specific notebook was maintained to keep the record of cash and kind given to the bride. The mother's mother of the bride gives a great deal of things with a lot of wishes and prayers for the happy married life of the bride and groom. The bride's mother's mother not only pays cash, but she also gives clothes and silver ornaments.

#### **4.9.4. Marriage ceremonies**

Marriage has its own significance in Hindu Society. Marriage is an important event that changes the course of human life. Marriage is celebrated in the presence of bone. Marriage ceremonies start the very first day when grooms parents visit the bride's parent's house. And do not end up until the bride is taken to her in the laws. Different Marriage ceremonies practicing by Bagri which are given as follows.

#### **4.9.5. Choice of bride**

The choice of bride is an important matter and the entire process is carried out by the parents. The parents carefully choose a bride for their son and consult almost all their close kin when they do so. The bride's parents also consult all their close kin before giving the girl. After the first and second visit by groom's parents the close female kin is asked to go to the house of the bride to see her. Usually old women pay visits to the girl's house, ask to the girl's parents for the final approval of the bride and also have a close look at her. They pay some cash and sweets to the bride's parents.

#### **4.9.6. Betrothal**

After having selection of the bride, the groom's parents fix a date for the wedding ceremony in collaboration with all the relatives and close maternal and paternal kin. The bride's family

receives an amount of bride price. The bride is adorned with new clothes specially prepared for the day of and jewellery. Certain types of ceremonies are performed before the actual wedding day. First of all, these ceremonies come to the (Kando) which is a joint assembly of the brides *Paro* and the members of the groom *Paro*. Then they performed Gana ceremony. A thickest thread is twisted from three threads or various colors, which is tied round the wrist of the bride and groom. Then come the turn of (Vatno) ceremony. During this ceremony Ato (flour) is specially prepared for the occasion, Ato is rubbed on the face, arms, and feet of the bride and groom. Vatno ceremony continued seven days. During these days bride's family is given dry food such as dates, peanuts, coconut, for the bride. On the seventh day Bagri celebrate marriage rituals. On seventh day Mani (locally used of general dinner) is served and distributed among the close relatives and *Mitrmitre*. They are served with food, sweets and drinks. In the evening all the *Mitrmitre* give money in return for this food to compensate the expenditures of the wedding. This cash award (money giving) to the groom's family is called Niendro.

On the night the Bania is invited and wedding rites are led by him. He calls the bride and groom sitting with their foreheads meeting each other in front of him. Then all the kin gathers around. The couple advised by the elders for the sincere and helpful relation to each other. The mango wood is lit for illumination. Thereafter bride and groom complete seven rounds the corner of the groom's shirt is tied with the head cover of the bride. Bania recites from the Gita at the round taking occasion and prays for the good future of the couple. After the compellation of Phareys around the fire. The couple is brought in front of (*Pothi*) local name of Gita. The couples appears in front of the *Pothi* and pledges to remain with each other, this rite is called Ikrar (promise). After this a drink of sugar and water is specially prepared for the groom. He has to take it and it cannot be drink by *Mitrmitre* of the bride sides. It is considered as an evil, if it is taken by the bride's side's *Mitrmitre*. There is generation old belief among the Bagri that if bride kin takes that drink then marriage will not survive.

Wedding drum beating is very common among the Bagri tribe. It displays the pleasure and prestige of the parties. During all these ceremonies and rituals the punch has very leading role. He leads the wedding procession to brides place and represents the side of *Paro*. He is presented with gifts on the wedding day by the parties. The newlywed couple after marriage usually lives in a separate hut in the grooms gather band. Thus they start an independent separate life after the



wedding. They erect their own home, separately from their parents. Now I shall describe some other very important rituals in which a kin have very significant role to play.

#### **4.10. *Thoro*/gift and ceremonial exchange**

The Bagri practice *Thoro* ceremonial exchange. It runs the system of distribution and redistribution of goods and services among the band and tribe. It involves all the commonly recognized features of reciprocity and gift exchange.

This refers to the process through which obligations between the parties, whether individuals, groups or institutions are met. According to hunter and Whitten 1976) people in specific setting exchange all sorts of things, including subtle eye contacts, compliments and gifts. Such exchanges also take place in Bagri society.

*Thoro* literally means *to oblige someone*, through the act of giving or favoring him. The most important form of *Thoro* which reveal and ensures the membership of *the Mitrmitre group* in Niendro. It consists of cash among the Bagri. The amount of Niendro may vary from family to family depending on how close their relationship. It is usually in time range of Rs 500 to 1000. This special *Thoro* (Niendro) is made on marriage only. It is given to the members of the household celebrating the occasion by the representatives of all other households of the *Mitrmitre*, which is synonymous of biraderi of participation. According to Hamza Alavi she said that:

It donates those households who actually participate in a ritual of exchange of a presentation called Vartan Bhanji on certain ceremonial occasion.

The essential features of *Thoro* are the reciprocal behavior of the *Mitrmitre*, because reciprocal obligations are the basis of all social relationships. Among them we can realize the validity of Marshal Sahlins (1965) comments that; if friends make gifts, gifts also make friends.

Niendro among the Bagri is a good example of pooling, which is a “system of reciprocities a fact of the central bearing upon the genesis of large scale redistribution under chiefly aegis.” (Sahlins, 1965). The aspects of *Thoro* in the form of Niendro concentrate on the accumulation of cash in the household celebrating the ceremony. A feast called Mani is given on the marriage to reciprocate the presentation on the *Mitrmitre*.

**(Picture No 9:Distribute Mani in front of Mitrmitre)**



Distribute  
Mani in  
front of  
Mitrmitre

**(Picture No10: Taking Thoro)**

**(Picture No11: Record of Thoro)**



Taking  
Thoro  
(Niendro)



Keeping a  
record of  
Thro.

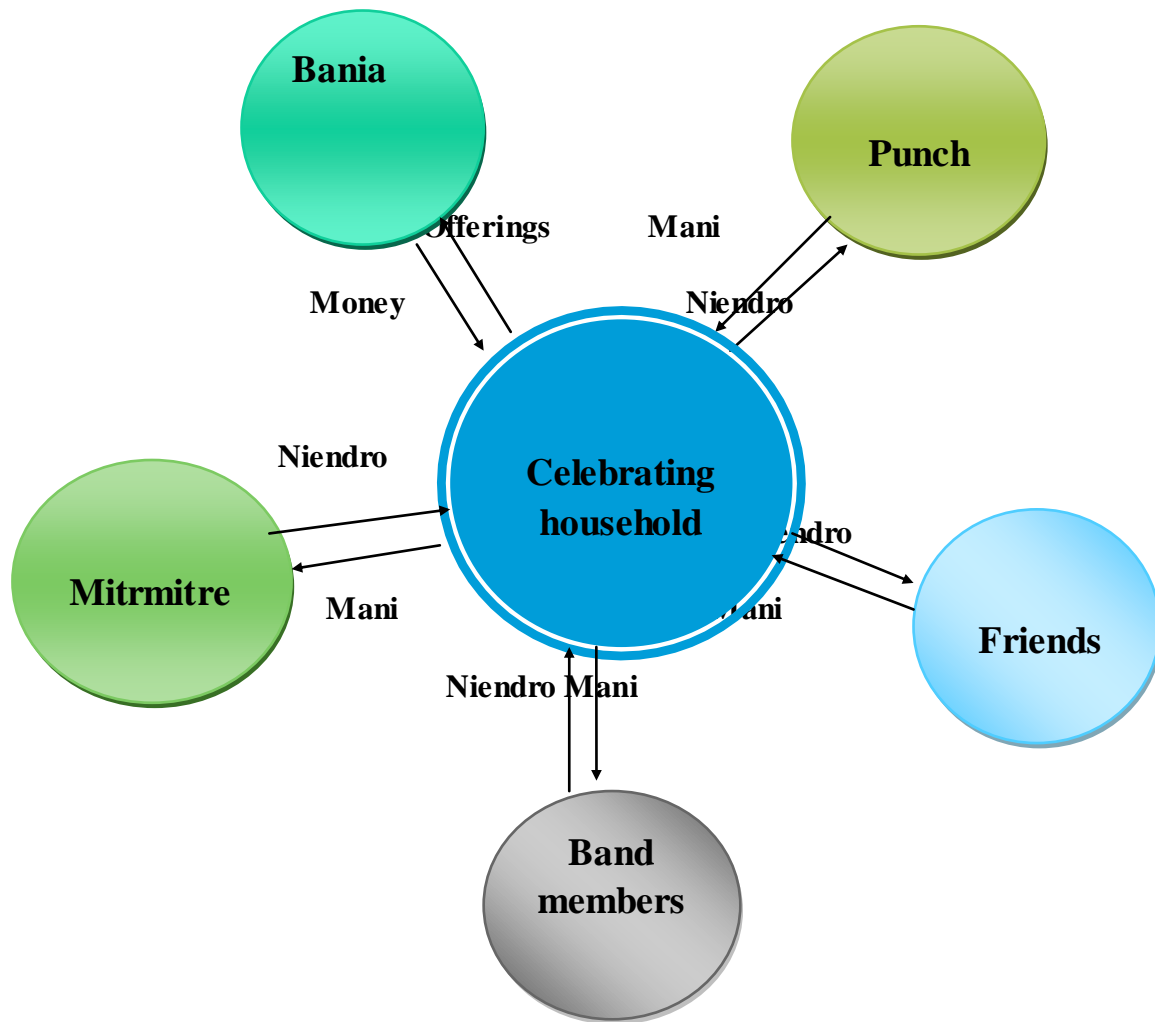
(Source field data)

This feast on marriage may be considered as counter- presentation by the celebrating household who receives the Niendro. This household also gives the bride price to the household of the bride that is usually on lack or two lack rupees. However, in case of men marrying divorced women he has to pay the divorce price also, that goes to the parents of the girl because they themselves have paid this divorce money to her ex-husband. The amount of divorce price may go as up as Rs, 50000 to 180000. Both the households contribute towards the bride- wealth for the establishment of a new household among them.

These forms of ceremonial exchange (Niendro and Mani) are socially more important than economically significant because these are centered on the establishment and termination of the membership of *Mitrmitre* groups. In the marriage ceremonies one is obliged to invite all the *Mitrmitre* and all have to give Niendro and are served with good food at Mani (Feast). If someone doesn't invite any member of his *Mitrmitre* group it means that he has been excluded from this group. And if one doesn't come to attend the feast and to contribute in Niendro, he or she is reckoned angry and aggrieved. They try their best to induce him to attend the ceremony and even then, if he /she refuse, he is out of the group. On these occasions new members of a band who are friends with the head of the household celebrating the marriage are also invited and are given the right of *Mitrmitre* after they have contributed in Niendro and Mani.

Niendro and Mani are recognized methods of joining the new group. This ceremonial exchange is not for one time, but is an everlasting symbolic debt from the members of *Thoro*. One gives when he is invited and takes when he invites.

### Thoro exchange network



(Source field data)

Besides this ceremonial exchange, the Bagri share food obtained, such as meat and edibles to ensure the distribution of the game. In the case of hunting one gives when he has surplus hunt and receives when he has not hunted for some reason. When a person kills some big animal like a wolf or jackals he distributes meat among the band members and other kin's of nearby bands. When an abundance of game is acquired, it is divided among them according to their established rules. Like in the Eskimos as Graburn (1969). Describes;

In hunt that involves a large number of men in a limited area, either cooperating in or pursuing the same activity, there were strict rules of division, in order to avoid quarrels and

disorganization. When an animal is killed, it goes to the one whose snare or dog catches it. He had the right of distribution. In this way the animals bring to the settlement and distributed. Each hunter takes his part and gives to other kin and relatives. First of all he takes the best part of the kill, and then gives to others who watch the chopping at the settlement, then to his parents and wife's parents if they are in the same band then the brothers and cousins and to the various other families in the distribution.

Then come a number of foods produced by cultivation, vegetables, melons, watermelons, and peanuts are also exchanged as a gift. The first yield of vegetables is given to the temple as a token of their affection for god's and deities, which are generally one or two baskets of melons, watermelons or vegetables. Then it is sent to the landlord whose land is borrowed in tenancy. As well as food is also shared on visits. A host gives meals to the visitors and relatives who come from other bands. It is considered the social obligation of the host. The feast which is given at the end of the day when the services of kin and friends are rendered in *Thoro* is an act of reciprocal obligation. It is supervised by the men, who supervised the work. Food is distributed, making sure that the best goes to the men who came earlier and worked hardest which demonstrates that prestige is gained from being the best worker in the group. It is clear to everyone that a person who participates in cooperative work may expect to benefit from the labor of a similar work group in the future.

#### 4.11. Political organization

Among the Bagri's there is no formal political organization that could regulate the activities of the tribe. Rather like any primitive society it is the individuals. Who are generally in the realm of affairs that are aimed to attain the authority and the power. The symbols of authority among the Bagri's as **punch** at the band as a *Paro* level. The following chart will depict the names of *Paro* and their present **Punch's**. Among the Bagri, leadership and authority is exercised on traditional bases. The Punch is considered as authorized leaders of the band. The exercises authority and influence over his own band. He is always a person of renown just as among the Gururumba. The nature of the role becomes clearer if the way, people are recruited to it. Is considered Big men; are men of prestige and renown; men whose names are known as the Gururumba put it. (Newman 1965).

*The Bagri political* organization has two levels as far as authority and decision making is concerned. One is the band's punch who is a person having rights of authority over the bands. He decides the conflicts within his band or with other bands consulting the punch of those bands. However, the potential punch learns the skills and qualifications about the office by helping the previous punch in the last year of his age. In this way punch comes onto the scene before the death of previous punch and assumes the offices on his death. Usually one of the sons, or brothers or brothers' sons may come to *the Sur Punch ship*.

In Bagri society Punch is also a person of but he is one of the heirs of previous punch. His sons are preferred for the punch ship. If the punch has no sons, then authority goes to the brothers or brothers' sons. A punch is a mostly a person, whose is champion of certain economic activities such as hunting and cultivation along with the good qualities of an administrator, in his own band. He gains renown during the life time of a previous punch by following the traditional behavioral patterns. He helps the previous punch in his old age. In this way he learns the necessary knowledge about and gets practice in leadership. When the old punch dies, he becomes a new punch of the band.

Authority among the Bagri on the level of the whole tribe is practiced by the tribal council of nine punches of Bagri tribe. The personal qualities of the tribal chief, re-interred again and again by the Cheyenne's, are an even tempered, good nature, energy, wisdom, kindness, concern for the well being of others, courage, generosity and altruism (Hoebel 1960). All these requirements are also observed by the Bagri for their Peace Chief, expressing the epitome of the Bagri ideal personality. These peace chiefs are chosen from the band leaders who fulfill the requirements of ideal personality. One person is chosen for each band that represents his *Paro* in the annual meeting at different places decided by the councils. Here the pending cases of tribal significance are decided and particularly those conflicts, in which one renounces his own punch, are also decided. The decisions made by his councils are obeyed by the whole tribe and punches of the bands take care to ensure implementation of these decisions.

On the tribal level, there is a council of nine punches, who are the person of the renown, representing their *Paros* in yearly meetings held in different places and at different times for the decision of these conflicts which are so severe that band, punch couldn't resolve them examples can be, abduction, or conflicts among the *Paros*. In Bagri tribe punch decides conflict and

quarrel in prescribed manners. He calls together the conflicting parties. Both parties deposit some valuable things such as gold or money to the punch. He gets the decision fee, which is prescribed according to customary standards, mostly animal skin or cash. Both parties choose their representatives acceptable both of them called Amanti. These people may be two or three from each side. They sit apart from the gathering to decide the matter. It may take one day or a week to resolve the conflict after the long discussions and pleading on the part of their respective groups. The decision of the Amanti is conveyed to Punch and he declares it to the gathering for both the parties.

The conflicts of the Bagri with other native groups of the region are decided by the local landlord who has influence in his area. The punch consults the landlord on the behalf of his band and represents them against others in the whole process of decision. Punch is supported by his band for these services. He is paid a decision fee by the party of the represents. They also contribute to his income on the yields of vegetable, fruit in the form of gifts. All give them one basket of vegetable and fruit and a considerable amount in the first yield.

**Table No. 2: Name of *Paro* and their Punchs**

S.No	Name of <i>Paro</i>	Name of Punch's
1	Chuhan <i>Paro</i>	Gomindo lal
2	Dabi <i>Paro</i>	Shameer
3	Saroki <i>Paro</i>	Uttan Das
4	Punmarh <i>Paro</i>	Adloo
5	Dhamdaro <i>Paro</i>	Natho Das
6	Kori <i>Paro</i>	Mangho
7	Roda <i>Paro</i>	Baghto
8	Wadyarho <i>Paro</i>	Buskun
9	Nanwara <i>Paro</i>	Lal das

(Source field data)

However the determinant factors of authority among the Bagri's have many similarities as well as differences with other tribes in the globe. For instance, among the Bagri's a person may become the punch, a political head, on the basis of his personal attributes plus inheritance.

#### 4.12. Property

Property is mostly treated as being of two types. Naturally movable and immovable. Among the Bagri, lack of immovable property encourages their vagrancy. Williams 1965. Talking about the Dusun of Sensuron, distributes ten types of movable property. These include.

- All stored food stuffs
- Tool and weapons
- All the animals
- All property brought by the wife in her marriage
- Objects used in ceremonial activities
- Property acquired as payment for ceremonial services.
- Property inherited
- Property acquired through personal labor.
- Female property such as clothing's rings and beads
- Property acquired in the marriage of daughter and son.

Among the Bagri most of the above mentioned types of property excluded animals except dogs and property acquired through the marriage of son or daughter because they have a nuclear family system and property brought by the wife on marriage goes to her husband except jewellery set which she herself own. The Bagri property consist mainly of stuff food, weapons, vehicles, land, and ceremonial items such as Gita, Granth clothing, some ornaments, household utensils. These things can be borrowed and weapons, tools and food are shared with each other.

Inheritance of property follows a well- defined set of rules. When a person dies all his property goes to his spouse. When both the parents die, their property is divided among the sons. If sons are not alive, then it goes to the daughters of the deceased and to grandson or if daughter are deceased then two grand- daughters. If they have no son, then the property goes to the female side. And even if they have no son as well as no daughter, then their property is distributed among male and female collaterals. Mostly property is passed more by the person who is closest to them from their relative's consanguinal of male or his final, i.e. consanguinal of female in case she lives with them after the death of her husband. On the occasion when parents die, leaving behind young children, inheritance is suspended until they become adults and a guardian is a husband's brother. If he has no brother, then the wife's brother.



#### **4.13. Belief system of the Bagri community**

The Bagri don't believe in any singular concept of a deity and their behavior in this regard is pluralistic. In certain spheres their ritual activities are quite similar to Hindus. They worship of many Hindu deities such as Rama, Krishna, Kali Devi, Sita Devi etc. They consider Guru Nanak the founder of the Sikhism, as a godly person and keep his pictures or portraits in their possession for the sake of good luck. Similarly, they avoid swearing upon the holy Quran considering it is a holy book and strongly believe in the Sufi saints such as Shah Bhitai, Qalander lal Shahbaz, Sakhi Sarwer, Bahu Sultan, Malik Shah, Saeed Mussani etc. They considered the Bhagvad Gita, the one of the scriptures of the Hindus. The Guru Granth sahib, the holy book of the Sikhs, and the Quran is the Holy book of the Muslims is equally sacred. Their marriage rituals are essentially Hindu as I shall discuss further below. They would worship of the Hindu temple, but according informant he assumed that:

We are untouchable (according to caste Hindu) they are not allowed to enter. Furthermore a Brahman does not lead their prayers, but a member of trader's castes Bania performs the duty of a priest in their temple. The Bania does not live in the community, but visits only at the time of the rituals. He is paid by the Bagri community in the form of sweets and different presents. Usually consisting of the clothes and sometimes money too. The Bania decides in matters pertaining to religion. In the ritualistic ceremonies like Chatti, Jhand, and Jania. The Bania recites the holy verses from the Gita or Granth.

Bagri tribe has very low status among the rural and urban population of the region. Because of their kinship system, each Bagri has a sense of altruism that comes through assisting each other during indecision. Since work parties mostly consist of the kin and other band members it agglutinates them further strong. Similarly their political units both at band and *Paro* level which are another source of harmony and tranquility at a higher level.

One important feature of the Bagri's belief systems is their strong belief in Muslims saints, particularly in Sakhi Sarwer, whose shrine is situated in Dera Ghazi Khan, a divisional headquarter in West Punjab. They pay pilgrimage to this shrine to seek good luck and offers gifts in kinds and cash in the shrines. They could not keep their belief system different from the other beliefs in the area. When they come in contact with Sikhs, they introduced the Sikh elements, similarly when they interact with the Muslims of the area; many beliefs of the Muslims crept into their belief system. In this way they become pluralistic believers

#### 4.14. Festivals

Bagri festivals commence many times a year is given hereunder.

##### 4.14.1 .Wirt

It is always celebrated in the beginning of the Bagri year, usually in august. On this special festival, which is termed as *Wirt*. Every household in different band cooks foods and prepare many sweet dishes and distribute these dishes among dears and kin's. It usually starts when the moon rise, they collect wood and lit a fire and put some food in it. It is called Bhog (burning) and is a considered an offering in the moon.

##### 4.14.2. Sarad

This festival comes in September –October and starts when the sun come over head moon. Bhog is also performed. In *Sarad* festival offerings are given to dead for fathers. Bania recites the holy books *Gita* and *Granth*, which is called a path. Gita is recited for seven days and Granth for three days. The Bania is given sweets, new clothes and money.

##### 4.14.3. Divali

(Picture No 12: Before Divali)



(Picture No 13: After Divali)



(Source field data)

This is third festival which is called *Divali* by them. It begins when the sun sets in. they all get together and light lamps in their huts. In the Mundir lamp is lit which is fueled by Ghee (butter), on this special occasion foods of different kinds are prepared and distributed among kin's and *Mitrmitre*.

(Picture No 14: Lighting the candles in every space of house)



(Source field data)

#### 4.14.4. *Holi*

Holi is the fourth major festival among Bagri people. It is always celebrated towards the end of the year. It starts with the sunrise and continues until the sun is over their heads. They mix multi colors and sprinkle it upon one another just for amusement. They make fun and cut jokes with one another. When it is over, they all go to their own houses after having a collective lunch, which comes from all the huts of the camp and drinks like coca kola.

#### 4.15. Death rites

After a time when the human life undergoes a change is the death. At this stage human being completes his worldly life and move to an unseen world of spirits. Death is a universal truth. Anyone which born will die at any cost, because it is the rule of nature. No one can refuse this bitter truth. Different death rites are performed by the Bagri on the event of death. **Divā** When a person dies, the immediate reaction is shown by his relatives. They put him on the ground and a lamp is lit near his head on the heap of the wheat grain. It accompanies the corpse to the cremation place where it is extinguished after the rites. **Ashnan** Before proceeding to cremate the body family members of the deceased give it a bath. In the water of the bath the water of river Ganga is diluted for its holy conception. After the Ashnan rite they make a corpse taker.

**Kai**, it is made from canes of Jevari (millet) plant. These are put over the corpse (taker) and cover with cotton. This is performed with the oils. This is used in carrying the dead body to

cremation place. **Cremation**, The interesting rite is the cremation of the dead. Four people from the relatives of deceased preferably brothers; sons and cousins form a group called Kandhi (who lift the corpse). They shave their heads, eyebrows, beards and moustaches before lifting the body. They take part in cremation and are usually the hair of the deceased. Bania also participates in the cremation rites by leading the procession and recites holy books for the dead. He supervises the cremation and guides the Kandhi in burning. They put the dead in a heap of wood collected for this purpose. They fire it from two sides head and feet. Ashes are collected after the cremation and are put in flowing water especially in Indus. **Kiriya karam**, performed from death day for 12 days. The bhopa (religious leader), who recite the Gita, and performed different Bhajan for the soul of the dead body. *Mitramitre* are invited on that occasion, if any one come firstly, he/she put rice and tomato on a leaf, and drop into the river.

The bhopa recited the Gita and other Bhajan, as well as make the heavenly house and symbols of their Devta or Devi. Bagri community believes that while doing these rituals the sins of the dead person will be less this is our believe that Our Devta Devi become witness of this ritual, they will give place to death person into heave.

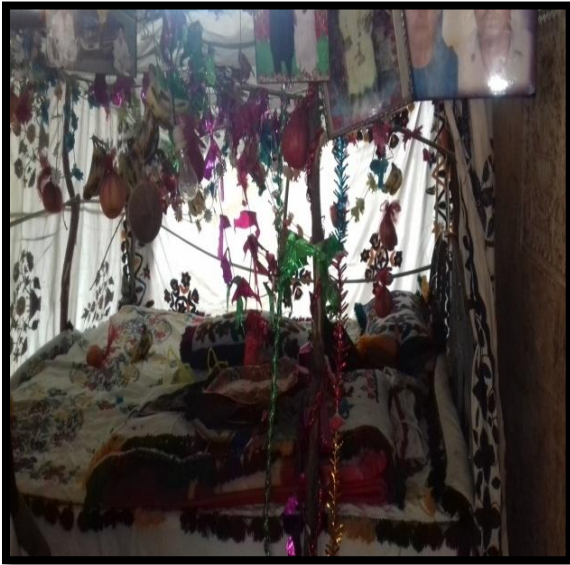
(Picture No 15: Community participation in Kiriya karm) (Picture No 16: Researcher participation in Kiriya karm).



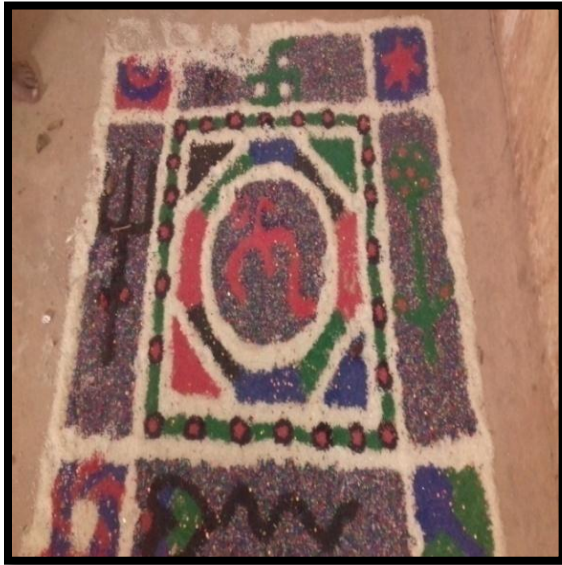
(Source field data)



(Picture No 17:Heaven Home)



(Picture No 18:Symbols of Devtas or Devis)



(Picture No 19: Mani of the Sati (seven days after death))



(Source field data)

#### 4.16. Rituals

Different rituals perform by Bagri tribe, according to their religion. **Chatti** ceremony is performed on the occasion of child's birth to choose his or her name. On this occasion all close kin whether consanguinal or affinal are invited. The Bania is also invited and requires the **Gita**.

The name is chosen by the Bania by opening the **Gita**. First name encountered is given to the child. Sweets are served to kin and the Bania in addition to a certain amount of money that varies from family to family. **Jhand** (the first hair cut of the child) is the second ceremony to be performed after the birth of the baby. In this ritual hair of the child's head are cut in the mandir (temple). Here the father of the child or his paternal and maternal uncle cuts a bit of child hair in the presence of the Bania. Sweets are distributed among the kin and offerings are given to the Bania by the parents of the child. They all make merry. The foods are served to the invited kin by the host of the family at a feast like manner termed as **Mani**. **Jani** is a ritual in which threads are fastened to the wrist of the baby from the age of one till he or she will be six years old. Bagri calls it jania ritual. It is always performed by the Bania. The child is fastened with three threads twisted together of the same color in such a way that the threads pass over the right shoulder and under the left shoulder. There are usually three meanings attached with the fastening of three threads, firstly to make and keep him an obedient child to the elders, secondly to make him serve his parents and thirdly to make the child serve the humanity.

#### **4.17. *Pothi* ritual**

The history and origin of *Pothi* ritual have been held in obscurity. There is no written evidence in the form of literature, art, and architecture. The religious ideology is attained through the verbal recollection of folklore, myths and miracles. The ritual symbol becomes a factor in social action, a positive force in an activity field. The symbol becomes associated with human interests, purposes, ends and means, whether these are explicitly formulated or have to be inferred from the observes. (Turner 1967 :). Since prehistoric times, ritual has been perhaps the most important human activity. Indeed, in traditional and indigenous cultures, we find that human life has been primarily a ritual or set of sacred actions, still traditional communities are attached with this tradition. Bagri is traditional community, still attached with their indigenous culture. They are the Hindu and believe on more than on god. According to (Girdhari Lal) he said there is no written evidence of *Pothi* ritual, we heard from our ancestor about this ritual, we are practicing *Pothi* ritual for spiritual satisfaction and the main concern of this ritual with marriage. After the marriage, we asked from the *Pothi*, the bride can be part of our band or not, basically this ritual is also called the entry of the new member in the family. After that *Pothi* tell us that she can be part of your band or not through the game. He further said that, through this ritual we know about

the marriage relationship, offering for the Vow, curing of disease, economy or the abundance etc.

Bagri practiced *Pothi* ritual from many generations. *Pothi* is basically the Pag or turban of our Devta or devti. *Pothi* is a Shakhty all Bagri securely believe on it. The social life of the Bagri tribe is completely based on *Pothi* ritual. If they suffered from any difficulty, ask from the *Pothi* about their problem, *Pothi* guide them, subsequently they accept everything which bhopa (religious leader) tell them.

**( Picture No 20: Pothi keep in every hous)**



Pothi keep  
in Kacha  
house

(Source field data)



(Picture No 21:*Pothi* weat stones)



Wheat  
grains

(Picture No 22: Communion of bhopa with devta)



Communion  
of  
bhopa with  
devta  
through  
wheat grains

(Source field data)

*Pothi* is basically the Pag or turban of Devta or devti. *Pothi* is Shakhty all Bagri strongly believe on it. These rituals and religious practices provide a structure and meaning to life of the followers (Schrode, 2008). In Bagri tribe they have 9 bands, and their *Pothi* Devta or devti are



different. Every Bagri tribe is recognized by their *Pothi* Devta. There are nine Bands (castes) in Bagri tribe are given in the following.

**Table No. 3: Bands and their Pothi Devta or Devi**

Bagri Bands	<i>Pothi</i> Devta or Devti
1 Chohan	Kara Dosh dev
2 Dabi	Go Saien Devta
3 Saroki	Devi Devta
4 Kori	Lachman Devta
5 Nanwarh	Sorang Devta
6 Punmarh	Mano Devta
7 Damdharo	Kali devi
8 Roda	Devi war devta
9 Wadyro	Bemlo Devta

(Source field data)

**(Picture No 23:Pothi for newlywed couple)**



Bride in cote  
of Pothi  
ritual

**(Picture No 24: Punjait participation)**



Punjait  
participat  
ion in  
Pothi  
ritual

(Source field data)

In this research I focused on the Charan Bagri band. Charan belief on Kaladosh. The Charan caste keeps the *Pothi* of Kaladosh in their rooms. There is Mandir in each house, where they keep *Pothi*. When they suffer from any difficulty, they ask from the *Pothi* for a solution. The religious leader called (bhopa) who started the game of *Pothi*. *Pothi* is the basically a game for other religion, but for Bagri tribe its mysterious thing. The bhopa religious leader of Bagri tribe knows how to perform *Pothi* ritual. Bhopa used Wheatstone which is kept with *Pothi*. When he started *Pothi* ritual, then he keeps Gita, *Pothi* and pictures of their Devta or devti in the surroundings. No one has allowed to sit on the *Pothi*, turban. *Pothi* ritual is used for many purposes, such as for marriage, disease, income, or for offering any mannat. Their process is same for all intents.

The entire member who participated in the ritual they sit in the surroundings. After the recitation of Gita bhopa started *Pothi* ritual. He opens the jar and takes all wheat stones, after the permission of the murshad he starts the game. He keep wheat stone on the *Pothi*, from these wheat stone they can analyze bride is sinner or not, or they can understand what we do for disease, income or other things. When bhopa throw Wheatstone, if from right side the stone comes five and from left side stone comes 2 its means she is a sinner. If every odd number comes in stones such as four or six numbers from the left side its mean she is not a sinner.

If from left side 4 or 6 or and from right side 3 stones comes, Then we consider that girl is not a sinner. We perform this game till 5 times, during 5 times the odd number comes then we consider that girl are not sinner, if even number comes then we consider that girl is sinner. From left hand we get 3 and from right we get 2 its mean that she is sinner. Then girl accept their sin if she don't accept then *Pothi* game continue till she accept it. If girl feel hesitation to accept their sin then the member of the Punjait talk in the behalf of the girl, suppose girl has performed the sin then she share with their family, in that case their family say to the *Pothi* that she performed the sin, kindly forgive her. If *Pothi* forgive her subsequently family members accept her as the part of the family.

If our Devta did not accept her then Punjait becomes the witness of the girl. Again *Pothi* did not accept then they will give punish to the girl whatever *Pothi* said them. If *Pothi* accept her as a part of the Charan caste, then she wears the thread of *Pothi* throughout her life. She cannot

ignore the thread of the *Pothi*. Many women's make the taweez of the thread, wear in the neck. Bagri people take care of the thread till a death. Girdhari lal was of the view that:

*Pothi* ritual performed in every difficulty, but it's mostly concern with marriage. After the second day of the marriage we performed the *Pothi*. The newly wedding couple sit in surrounding then bhopa is spiritual leader of the Bagri community who started *Pothi* ritual.

One of my respondents was of the view that:

The reason to perform *Pothi* for newly wedding couple is that because of *Pothi* we know that girl had sexual intercourse with someone before marriage. This is our believe that *Pothi* tell us everything truly. From many generations we are strongly believed on *Pothi*. Further he said that *Thorough* the wheat stones we know the views of the murshad. During *Pothi* if 3 stones comes its means that girl performed some negative things before marriage. If every even no repeated it means she is not a sinner.

For Bagri tribe *Pothi* ritual have many importance, their all decision are totally based on it. One of my respondents Sita was of the view that:

We ask from the *Pothi*, the bhopa religious leader of the Bagri community. Who come and open the *Pothi*. Then we ask from the *Pothi* she is a bride, now give us permission, then she can be part of the family or not. The reason to perform this ritual is that the new member becomes the part of their family after the Devta acceptance. Bagri people performed this ritual to adopt the newest member in the family. If the member is able to be a part of the family, *Pothi* told them; if she is sinner then she did not be a part of their family.

In Bagri tribe they have concept court. Advocate and witness. Gomindo was of the view that:

According to *Pothi* if girl considers as a sinner, then all punjait has the power to become a witness of the girl. The religious leader bhopa is like an advocate of the girl, there will be 5 witnesses from the girl side. They take sides of the girl and say to *Pothi* forgive her we will give you Parsad of two goats, or other things. If *Pothi* did not accept then boy family give divorce to a girl and take all the expenditure such as bride price, other expenditure from the bride's family. If *Pothi* accept that their forgiveness, then the family member accepts a girl as a part of the family, then girl take aashiwar from all elders, and bhopa give her *Pothi* thread till a death she wear that thread.

#### **4.18. Yearly performance of the *Pothi* ritual**

Every year in the month of September Bagri tribe performed the *Pothi* ritual. In which all the member of the Para participates. Every wedding couple of the Para takes part in *Pothi* ritual. Gomindo postulated that:

We just not perform *Pothi* for newly wedding couples, but we performed *Pothi* ritual for all wedding couples. This is our believe that every year we know about the husband, wife and their relationship. Further, he said that, me and my wife, parents, daughter in law, sons participate in this ritual. We all family members make this ritual is memorable.

In every year in the month of September, all old, young wed couple sits in the Punjait, and performed the *Pothi* ritual. On that day we all offer the fast, and then we performed the *Pothi*. One of my respondents was of the view that:

It is compulsory for them to ask from the *Pothi* from their character. If the old couple performed sexual intercourse with someone, there will be punishment for them. Mostly for the female there will be strict punishment. After marriage if a girl has intercourse with someone, in some cases she will be divorced, she will be stands in the dug more than two days , and other punishment given to them .

#### **4.19. Punishment**

Punishment is a very common obsession in Bagri community. There will be punishment for men and female. According to *Pothi* if any one performed sin, then he or she punished by the Punjait. Sometimes women got divorced from their husbands because of her offence. Somehow (women) try to seek help from the Punjait but they cannot help her . The men were extremely proud what he had done. Her divorce is considered rightful by the family member for the restoration of so-called honor. He claimed he would have lost his entire honor because of her behavior if he had not acted as he did.

For Bagri community it's compulsory to punishment for the women, if female after marriage had sexual intercourse with someone she is considered as a sinner. Punjait decides the punishment for the female. Perhaps if men are sinners, he performed sexual intercourse, then all Punjait said that he is men he can do everything. Men are forgiven by the Punjait and *Pothi*. But there is a strict rule for the female. In some way, if women did not accept her sin, then she dropped in dug till she accepts her sin. In that case one or two days she lives in dug. There is rule

that she cannot eat or drink anything until she accepts her sin. When she accept her sin then punishment decided by her husband. In some cases husband give divorced and take bride price, if she has 10 children if she has sinner then their family member will give bride price to her husband, and all children will live with fathers home. If men and women performed sin then he/she punish by the *Pothi*. In many cases Punjait give punish to men and women to stand in sun / sit in dug one day, or other things. In every Bagri biraderi *Pothi* ritual performed, Bagri has strongly believed on this ritual.

#### **4.20. *Pothi* for curing a disease**

In Bagri tribe they also used *Pothi* ritual for curing a disease. If any Bagri suffer from any disease firstly, they ask from the *Pothi*, then they go for healing. One of my respondents was of the view that:

I suffered from the cancer, then I asked from the *Pothi*, will you cure me or not, if you will not cure me then give me permission to visit to Dr, or other Muslim shrines for healing. Then bhopa said *Pothi* don't give you permission to visit Dr, I have the ability to cure you. Now I am good I have no any disease, Dr said this is the last stage of cancer. She said every Bagri believe on *Pothi* if *Pothi* say no then we cannot do anything. In many cases few people don't accept whatever *Pothi* said, they faced many difficulties.

#### **4.21. *Pothi* for offering mannat**

*Mannat* is asked from the God, Bhagwan only, but it is achieved through or care of somebody holy/sacred or pious ones. Similarly, in Bagri tribe offer Mannat at *Pothi*, one of my respondent claim that:

When we suffer from any difficulty, we offer mannat at *Pothi*, with the miracles of Kaladosh, if we achieve our aims. Every believer of the Bagri tribe not only comes for social, economic, physical and a psychological need but also for spiritual healing.

One of my respondents was of the view that:

After completion of any desire, 'we present Parsad on the name of our murshad. Parsad is a common practice after the completion of the 'Mannat' while they provide Parsad with their inner satisfaction including animals, money, sweets, halwa, etc.

#### **4.22. *Pothi* in their daily life**

Bagri community has strongly believed on *Pothi*. Their daily life is totally based on the *Pothi* ritual. For Bagri *Pothi* is everything. If they go for earning, give kiss to the *Pothi* and said we are going please animal for us take more amount. If someone is ill then they ask from the *Pothi*, for healing. Then Devta communicate through the stone, spiritual leader bhopa understand the everything and he said to people whatever Devta say to them. Healer ask we can healed or not, then *Pothi* said them you are healed by me, don't visit any one for healing. One of my respondents was of the view. If we don't accept whatever *Pothi* said, then we faced many difficulties. Our contemplation is that we accept everything of *Pothi*.

#### **4.23. Case study**

Sabhagi is a courageous woman. She belongs to a landless peasant class and is completely illiterate. We'll look at her life story as described by her own. Sabhagi is now 30 years old, she married with Kevel. She has 7 children, 6 girls, and one son. She possesses *Kacha* house (a house made of mud and wooden planks with thatched roofs) comprise of a transitional shelter, open courtyard incorporated small kitchen with a hearth. Her life is very complex.

She suffered from many difficulties. Her husband and his family emotionally torch them. Because she did not give birth to son. She said I was worried because I have six girls, if my husband does marry then what I do. She said when I gave birth to 2 girls then I asked from the *Pothi* give me son, then *Pothi* said I will give you son don't ask from the other, and don't go to Dr. She said I have strongly believed on *Pothi*, I always accept then one day Kaladosh will give me son. Now with the blessing of Kaladosh, I have three children, viz: two female babies and a male baby. I was blessed with two daughters in the inception, but the letter after observing "mannat" (vow) prayer with the name of after that I was gifted with a male baby. I am very happy that Kaladosh give me son. It is our belief that we would never be returned with the wishes incomplete.

#### **4.24. Case Study 2**

Jariya is 70 years old. She has 10 children. 6 boys and 4 girls. She is widowed, in Hinduism religion widow are deprived, she still work hard. She is suffering from the hepatitis. She said one day I was very sick even everyone accepts that she is going to die. My son asks from the

*Pothi*, we can visit to doctor for healing, *Pothi* said don't visit to the Dr, and I can heal them. Other Bagri did not accept that she is fine, other Bagri said your murshad can not make the miracle he has not ability to make , healthy to this woman, and she is going to die within few minutes. She said to me that you can't believe, when *Pothi* said son put some ash in her mouth, within five minutes I woke up, every one becomes surprised, how she become fine. Again the Bagri of other band said we don't accept that she is extremely fine, when we accept she is good go and prepare a meal for everyone. She said that I prepared the meal for everyone, I serve a meal in front of all relative then all except that I am fine. She said that that was the miracle of our Murshad Kara dosh, when we remember him he always helps us. This is the main reason that all Bagri community strongly believe on *Pothi*. They called dev, Oliya. Kaladosh Bagri community karo dosh is the prophet.



## CHAPTER 5

### Hunting as an identity

#### 5.1. Introduction

As described earlier, Bagri claims to be a *Hindu* by religion, but in practice they don't strictly adhere to *Hindu* doctrines especially as related to the diet. Unlike the *Hindu* their primary diet is animal flesh and the major source of income is animal hides. To trace out the reason why they hunt, we need to go through the historical process. Bagri were living in the Great Indian Desert since ages and here they can only get wild foods that they gather mainly through hunting. They are still maintaining this traditional mode of life, first of all because of their being untouchable and secondly refusal on the part of rural and urban population to absorb them and simultaneously by their own reluctance to settle with either of them. Mostly Bagri lived near to the forest for their naturally habit, if they saw pigs, jackals, wolf, lizards, subsequently they remember their ancestor occupation of hunting. My respondent was of the view that:

Bagri suffered from many difficulties, when we lived in forest we don't have to eat anything, and in that case we migrated to those areas, where we know that we will get more animals for hunts. We engaged in hunting because of poverty. In that period we don't have flour to make meal, we used wood as a meal. We crush wood with the help of stone, and used as a meal. While we remember these days, we weep on the poverty of our ancestor's.

After 1965, Bagri were dying because of the poverty, they had nothing to eat, they adopt the ancestor's occupation of hunting, and they hunt the different wild animal for their survivals, one of my respondents said:

Now 25% of the Bagri community in Sindh still occupied with hunting. The Bagri lived in the forest still they are engaged in hunting and those Bagri they are permanent settled in different region of Sindh, they got an invitation from the forest Bagri's for hunting. Bagri went for hunting to remember their ancestral occupation.

The other reason for hunting being the favorite occupation among the tribes as explained by the Sahlins (1972) hunting is the affluent nature of the economy. Similar the Bagri economy to a certain extent, It fulfils major part of their basic necessities such as diet. Besides, it provides them living. Apart from aforementioned resources there is a third and the most important one.

That forces them to adopt the hunting since they don't own a permanent piece of land. They move from place to place or the sometime force by the landlords to leave the lands. They made huts on that land. This is turn resulting to their disability to cultivate. Thus, they have no choice except to stick the hunting. Nevertheless, there has been a considerable change in their attitude affected mainly by their recent inclination towards cultivation. Their contemplation is that:

Bagri community has considerable knowledge about access to the game. They can tell the kind of the animal by looking just at its footsteps and direction of movement. He can tell about its sex and state of pregnancy as well.

One of my respondents postulated that:

Every Bagri community eats the meat of pigs, it's religiously compulsory for them to eat meat of pigs. After that they become the Bagri, otherwise they are not considered as Bagri. The meat of pigs is religiously sacred for Bagri religion.

**(Picture No 25: Hunters in groups)**



(Source field data)

This figure shows that before going hunting, the group of hunters gathers in a single place they are mostly from the same village, take their hunting tools and decide the venue of the hunting. They become atleast 10 to 15 peoples along with 8 to 10 dogs. These dogs are used for hunting purposes. They use donkey carts for travelling purpose. They use atleast 3 to 4 donkey carts. Their target is that they serve the whole day for the hunting purpose. Their venue or place is

about 25 to 30 kilometres from living place. Their favourite place of hunting are river bank or jungle area where water should be in excess and they can easily find their hunt. They have special season of hunting. Sometimes they return back without any predator.

## **5.2. Methodsof hunting**

They have got the various method of hunting from their ancestors . In the *first* method dogs are used that chase the animal till exhaustion and catch it for their master. For this purpose special dogbred by Bagri'swhich can run faster. The Bagri usually breed three types of dogs. The *second* type is used in hunting the dog run fast. These are not bred to watch the huts but to kill the wild animals when the master points out the game of chase. For hunting by this method the Bagri go to the ponds or river banks where the animals come to drink water. They take the dogs near the common routes of the animals and keep them quietly hidden behind the bushes, making them attack when the animal passes by them. In the *third* method, the Bagri use Iron leg-snares they bury the snares along the commonly taken routes of animals and put meat or other bait within the circle of the buried snares. When animals come to eat it, they are ensnared and caught by the hunters. Sometimes they sit hiding within the snared circle and a mimic of animal voices among the hunters Thorough the cries of the animals, as they call for help to their fellow species. When the animal comes to the aid of their fellows, they are insured and caught. The hunters kill the animals and take them to their huts.

A *fourth* method of hunting, which is a combination of the above two methods, is hunting in the crop fields. In the submerge area near the riverbanks, where the Bagri cultivate the watermelons. Hunting is easy because certain animals living in the area come to eat the watermelons at night. Here the Bagri bury snares around the crop fields. The animals which come to eat the crops and also hide the dogs alongside the paths of animals in the crop fields. Hunter hides in the forest; they are attacked by the dogs hidden along their routes. By this method abundant game is hunted. This method of hunting is practiced for two reasons. One is to get food and animal hides and the second is to protect the crops from the destruction of the animals. The best or high season for hunting of the animals with prize skins is winter. According to Shaman he said that:

In winter the color of animal skin doesn't fade, but it does because of the sun's heat. The Bagri say that in winter pelts grow thicker because fat is stored in great or quantities under the skin. Lastly, in winter, which is also the crop season they

live in the scrubland near the river banks and hunting in the crops-field is thus more beneficial than other methods.

For Bagri, hunting is the preferred mode of subsistence. Leaving aside the cow they eat every type of flesh. Beef avoidance is due to their Hindustic belief that the cow is sacred and equivalent to the mother deity. They hunt wolves, jackals, foxes, lizards, etc. Due to their social pollution occurring from the eating of prohibited items of consumption. Muslims, Christians and Sikhs avoided mixing with them. Such diets among the Bagri's have a historical background..A Bagri will never dare to eat beef or adore his diet such as lizard flesh for two manifest reasons. He will be a heretic if he eats beef and until he gives up his traditional diet, severely abominated by the Muslims, Hindus, and Christians alike, the gap between him and the said communities will remain insurmountable. As mentioned earlier, legends tell that they were beaten out of their abodes and compelled to live in the scanty environments for subsistence which may have led to this behavior. Bagri still hunt with primitive weapons and uses the trap and the noose. They hunt either in their agricultural field or arrange hunting bands that leave in search of the game from place to place.

For hunting purposes, hunters from different *Paros* constitute in hunting bands. These bands remain mobile from place to place in search of game along with their families. So a band encampment is not of simple cognates or agnates but it is usually a corporate group. In which different families of *Paros* are included for the purpose of hunting. Bagri's are great hunters and bird snares. They domesticate dogs which are also excellent trackers. *Bagri's* with the help of trained dogs smell out the game. Dogs are the highly valuable because they on one hand flush out the hunt from the bushes and then chase after it to injure or kill it for their masters. Sometimes when the game is too strong to be subdued by the dogs. The Bagri attack with their axes and kill it. Such hunting bands are organized in hot summer days.

### **5.3. Hunting tools**

The tool is the material object; Bagri depends upon material tools for each activity. Tools are particular and concrete idea which have been externalized and fixed. Men have been the beneficiary of his tools, since without them he would not even by a man, so he designs tools. Bagrimake different hunting tools such as Dapho, *Rambo*, *Dando*, Kori, Axe, *Punjore*, these tools makes use hunter and we are called Shikari (hunter). Bagri hunters pay the greatest respect

to their tools, because these tools are their livelihood, cause of continuity of their culture, and their identity attached with tools. The Bagri use a wide variety of tools and implements to utilize the natural resources as efficiently as they can. Tools and implements used by them can be categorized on the basis of their utilization in different activities and in different spheres. They used hunting tools include iron, leg-snares, spears, axes, hand axes, digging axes, knives, clubs, wooden sticks, and ropes, to catch the animals

The Bagri is an encapsulated society in Sindh. Here they are living in an atmosphere of exclusivity which merges into hostility which is imposed on them by the Muslims and other sedentary groups. The Bagri is hated by the sedentrists. They don't accept food from them; they don't allow them to eating and drinking in their utensils. If Bagri eats in their utensils unconsciously, they break it or give to the Bagri or other vagrant people. Bagri migrated into *Sindh*; the exact time of their migration could not be traced because of their hunting life. Bagri claim that they were entrapped after the creation of the Pakistan. Now their migration was confined within Sindh. Here they were in the minority and encapsulated by the dominant group of the Muslims.

### **5.3.1. *Kuhari* (Hand axes)**

*Kuhari* is an indigenous tool used by Bagri community for different purposes. The use of *Kuhari* is very difficult, it's not easy to operate for the ordinary person, and he does not operate exactly as trainer hunter. When expert hunter target, hit, head position, body movement, which completely technical and different from laymen, these all skills posses in Bagri community. One of my respondents was of the view that:

*Kuhari* (axe) is a very significant indigenous weapon of Bagri community. *Kuhari* used for different functions such as hunting, chopping, cutting woods from forest to fuel and it also use for defence.

**(Picture No 26: Hand Axes)**



Kuhari  
(Hand  
axes)

(Source field data)

### **5.3.2. Punjore (Net)**

After reaching their selected venue or place they spread the nets, especially in the passing ways of predators. Bagri hunters stand in the game place with hunting dogs. When they leave the dogs, they make a special type of a sound from their mouth loudly, by listing this type of sound predators runs to and fro. And lastly, they fall in the net and dogs catch them.

**(Picture No 27: Punjore (Net) installation)**



Punjor  
e (Net)

(Source field data)



### 5.3.3. *Rambo* (Digging Iron stick)

*Rambo* is a very different tool for digging as compare of the wooden stick. With the help of this tool we can dig also a rocky land which is impossible to do with wooden sticks. When Bagri hunter goes to the forest for hunting they always keep this tool, during the *Punjore* net installation, we first use this tool in digging holes through the assist of *Rambo*, and then one foot of four wooden sticks is fixed into these holes. After this practice *Punjore* are bandaged with wooden pieces, subsequently *Punjore* will stand in hunting place. *Rambo* digging, iron sticks also use in *Goah* and *Serh* hunting without *Rambo*, they don't able to hunt these species. One of my respondents was the view that:

*Rambo* is very simple local tool which is used for hunting. *Rambo* looks like a simple tool, but it's very technical; the common man cannot operate exactly as an expert hunter uses it

### 5.3.4. *Dando* (wooden stick)

*Dando* is very old and effective tool in all traditional communities also in Bagri community. It has also a very essential role of *Dando*. Bagri use *Dando* for different purposes such as defence from your enemies, it uses for support when you have a need.

(Picture No 28: Wooden Stick )



Dando  
(Wooden  
stick)

(Source field data)

### 5.3.5. *Dhamako* (sound maker)

*Dhamako* is made of two iron rods, which are joint horizontally; there is a space between 3 centimetres. *Dhamako* use for hunting purposes, it is the main function to create sounds with the help of sounds , the hide animal comes out, and start running in the field, through this art we know the existence of animal.

### 5.3.6. *Phasi* (Rope)

*Phasi* is a very typical hunting tool. Bagri is expert to use *Phasi*. It is a useful method as how to put on earth, how to hide to the animal as it could not see its position. All these things in keeping in mind during the operation of *Phasi*.

(Picture No 29: Rope)



Phasi  
(Rope)

(Source field data)



### 5.3.7. *Dapho* (Bow)

*Dapho* is very dangerous weapons, it is tip very sharp. *Dapho* mostly used in pig hunting, jackals and jungle cat. There are two kinds of *Dophoes* used by Bagri include, thinner handle of *Dapho* which is called (Sanho) and some have thicker are called (Thlho). The shape of handle is a cylindrical and its length is about 4.5 feet.

(Picture No 30: Bow)



(Source field data)

### 5.3.8. *Kuta* (Dogs)

*Kuta* (dogs) is a most prominent tool for hunting, except dog it is too difficult to hunt. Bagri breed different kinds of dogs which belong to different races of dogs, colour, size, habits and assign their roles according to their abilities.

(Picture No 31: Uses of dogs as a Tool)



(Source field data)

### 5.3.9. *Chota tepu*

*Chota tepu* (dog) is a famous for hunting it is found in Bagri hunters. It's similar in the height and wide their body. This dog is used for the *Serh* hunting and *Goah*, these species live in holes, they used *Chota tepu* is suitable for hunting. The *Chota tepu* easily enters in holes and caught the animal or he compels the animal to come out.

### 5.3.10. *Koti bugra*

*Koti bugra* (Dog) is another kind of dog. This variety of dogs had covered his body with long hairs and his ears biggest then others dogs. His height, then *Chota tepu*. *Koti bugra* is a watching dog and famous for barking. No other dog can compare with him in bark.

#### **5.3.11. *Bulitery Kuto* (Dog)**

Bulitery dog is very beautiful in looking. He is smaller in height than *Koti bugra*; he is very fast at running and has good smelling sense.

#### **5.3.12. *Tazi valiti* (Dog)**

*Tazi valiti* dog is one of the finest hunters, dog among the other dogs. This dog is comparatively tall, slim to others. He is faster in running no other dog catch to him and his eyesight is very sharp, through this quality he find the animal very immediately.

#### **5.3.13. *Paree* (foot tracer or tracker)**

*Paree* (foot tracer or tracker) in hunting is the science and art of observing a place through animal footprints. He is able to know an animal through its footprint, sign, tracks and trails. The origin of this science, practiced by hunter gatherers since the time of the evolution of modern humans, this knowledge based on direct observation of animals. Bagri hunters are also being familiar with this technique, those people whose knows this technique they are called *Paree*. This technique is based on observation and takes more time, it plays very crucial role in hunting, this technique developed from childhood. Therefore, for the learning of *Paree* technique, the person must have some qualities, such as his eyesight must be sharp, distinguish the things, good memory, power, good sense of humour, these are the qualities which require, or essential for any good *paree*. Before the hunting the first task of the hunter is to search the foot print of animal and along with recognizing the footprints of that's animals, and this task is given to *Paree*. As *Paree* has very sharp eyesight, intelligent memory power and he easily distinguish the things, there for *Paree* trace the animal foot print and he easily distinguishes foot print of animals through their signs, and tells about the gender of the animal either male or female or child, and belong which kind of category, race, even he tells us about the animal that how much he/she kept the weight.

#### **5.4. Ways of hunting of Pigs through *Punjore* net**

This way of hunting is practiced at evening, when we know there are pigs in the field, and then we install *Punjore* net at mourning time, where we have proven of existence of pig. The length

of *Punjore* is 15 feet its height is 6 feet, in the centre of *Punjore* bamboo is given to support for standing *Punjore* net, and bandage with robes to wooden piece which fixed in holes, as *Punjore* could stand rightly. after installation of *Punjore* we come back to home, for a second time we go to filed at evening now this time we are more than twelve people and everybody has keeps weapons, some have axe and Dando, some have Dapho, Rambo, and stab, now we make the pairs of hunters and started the pursue and make notice and clapping which is called (Tari) and we cover three side filed and one side is open that side install *Punjore* as pig hear the sound of clapping and noise he started running when he see three side are covered with hunters and they are follow me, then he runs to word the *Punjore* side and lastly he collide with *Punjore* at movement *Punjore* fall over the pigs, thus he entangle in *Punjore* and we arrive that place and attack with bow axe, stabs and killed him that place.

**Picture No 32: Hunter Waiting for hunt**



(Source field data)

### **5.5. Hunt of pigs through dogs**

The dog is very essential tool used for pig hunting. Hunt of pig through dog is very successful way of hunting, in which 90% get victories. Predominantly two types of dogs are selected for pig

hunting, in which first is Bulitery *Kuta. Tazi valiti*. The *Tazi valiti* dog smells the urine of the pigs and then praise them, and Bulitery dog always busy in barking when his barking voice reach in the ears of pigs, then pig does the movement, due to this moment dog trace them easily. The Bulitery dogs started running toward the pig and attacked over him and collapse him on earth and fight continue both side Bagri also arrive that place and they attack over the pig with the help of *Kuhari, Dapho*, and *Rambo*, and kill the pigs on that place. Due to change in season hunter uses different hunting methods and tools for capturing of animal. In the month of May most of pigs come in this area and giving birth to his calf. Every animal is different in terms of his flesh test.

### 5.6. Hunt of jungle Cat and Jackal

In the hunting of Jungle Cat, first we trace the footprint of jungle cats, and jackals, when we found footprints of that's animals then we think that, here is presence of jungle cats, and jackals. In the second step we trace those places where is plenty of the foot print, sign of jungles cat and jackals; are uncovered when we found this type of place then we understand here is a commute of animals. In this hunting we have needed two people. In this method of hunting first we dig the hole with the help of *Rambo* and depth of hole is 2 feet to 3 feet in round shape and put the Sanger (iron chain).

**Picture No 33: Jungle Cat**



(Source field data)



The above figures show the predator named especially in *Sindhi* Jungle cat (Mushk Khathoori). . The size of that animal is larger than a cat and the weight of that animal is 3 to 5 KGs. Its running speed is like a tiger. They live in especially in the bank of the rivers and they are very clever animals. Most of the dogs fell, to catch them. But occasionally they can catch it. It's a very special dish for them.

### **5.7. Way of hunting of *Serh* (Parquepine)**

In this way of hunting first we search *Serh* in the field of sugarcane, *Serh* resides in holes surrounded by the sugarcane field. *Serh* makes big holes in which four or five *Serh* reside same time and the lengths of these holes are mostly comprised of 10 to 12 feet underground and these holes have three to four doors for commute. The crop of sugarcane is very dense, so it is more difficult to trace the holes of *Serh*. It is much difficult hunting as compare of Jungle cats and jackals. When any hunter locates the holes of the *Serh* then he calls other hunters, in this hunting four or five hunters are participated. After discovering the holes, then our first step is to observe the parameter of holes, which include their length, routes of holes. In second step we do the work on hole if a hole has four path when we blocked these three routes with mud, and the one route has left in this route we install Phase (Rope) and in third step we try to come out the *Serh* from holes, for this purpose we release the flow of water, since water reach that spot where *Serh* has reside then it quickly try to arrive outside, only through one path that is not blocked and in this route Phase has been fixed as soon as *Serh* close to the *Phasi* and put his foot in centre of phase then it be captured. Sometimes we do not successful through water method in bringing outside the *Serh* through water. The other option we have Tepu dog send in the hole where Tepu fights with the *Serh* and compel them to bringing out side as *Serh* appear in the field we catch it alive.

### **5.8. Hunt of *Goah* (crocodile/lizard reptile lizard)**

Russell and Hiralal (1975). Say that eating the *Goah* or *Sandha* (reptile lizard) is a Waghris Bagri prize. This is also the case with the bawarias of the Punjab. *Goah* also live in holes these holes are made in Lorho (Hedge). We trace *Goah* in these Lorho. This is not pre-plane hunting, but when we are found the footprint of *Goah* then we are understood here is the presence of *Goah* or someone says to us about his existence. In *Goah* hunting mostly three people are participating and all less with hunting tool *Dando* (wooden stick). Now we start the search of *Goah* holes in

Lorho (Hedge) when we found hole of the *Goah* then we begin the digging of this hole with the help of *Rambo* (Iron stick) when digging is complete then one hunter from us put his arm in the hole and move his arm down word to the beneath in the hole where *Goah* lives and he hold the *Goah* and bring out side , or *Goah* not his grip and escape from his hand then other hunter who less with *Dando* then these under strike with *Dando* to *Goah* and kill it.

Another plan which is also practiced by the Bagri of Sindh is to tie a wisp of grass to a long stick and move it over the whole as to make are salting noise. The lizard within think, oh' here is a snake. I may as well give in' and come to the mouth of the hole, putting out his tail first so that he may not see his executioner. The hunter seizes his tail and snatches him out before he has time to learn his mistake. This fondness for lizards is a point in favour of a connection between Gujarat Bagri of Sindh. In the hot weather, the Bagri hunt during July and August. In these months a special breed of lizard is found in abundance. This animal also lives in the ground by making holes. It comes out in the summer because of the heat and is hunted by means of dogs and long sticks. For this purpose the Bagri travel along the river banks and search for the animals in the bushes and scrubland. This animal can be hunted in the day time, for they travel during the day and take rest at night. This animal also yields skins that are sold for their secret costumes and meat also.

**(Picture No 34: New born Goah (lizard))**



(Source field data)

The above figures show a reptile animal named in *Sindhi* Goagh/Gloai. Its resemble to crocodile/lizard. It is larger than a lizard and smaller than a crocodile. Its tail is larger than its body. Goah founds specially in the bank of rivers mostly in holes. Its weight is about 100 gm to 5 kg. It is also a special dish for them.

### **5.9. Attributes of expert hunter**

Bagri hunter is more energetic, physically and mentally, their sense of humour is very sharp. In Bagri community if the person who knows the method of hunting, operates hunting tools with expertly and makes gesture of body moments which are essential for hunting is called hunter. These are the basic character of hunters, which they internalise during childhood. As they are excellent jumper, while jumping, hunters should have their knees held high with their fetlock joint folded tightly. Bagri hunters are evaluated for their movement and also their body language, which is important parameters to judge by, typically the hunter's steps are called Brahango (fast jumping); they are long step cross the ground. Bagri hunters without difficulty distinguish the sound of animals, and feel the action of animals from long remoteness, and use to spell out the similar sounds of animals to distinguish them. Bagri people aggressively participate in hunting practices, because hunting is a game of physical and mental hardiness it demand more actives from Bagri hunters. In the end, if physically courage hunter will not come out to be a winner if the body language is found to be defective.

### **5.10. Game Animals**

Bagri community used to make hunting of animals like *Soo-ur* (pig), jungle bilow (Jungle cat) *Gider* (Jackal) *Goah* (Lizard) *Kandan Wari Serh* (Reptile).

#### **5.10.1. Pig**

The Pig is Dangerous, as compare to others hunting animals. The hunt of pig is a very big risk for hunters. In some cases, hunters can lose their life during hunting. The Pig is very forceful and fatty animal among other wild animals. Pigs are residing in bushes and sugar cane field; and lives in groups form. Pig eats grass, herb and shrub; average weight of pig is 350 to 370 kg is found in my field. Quarry of pigs is practiced in forest bushes, and sugar-cane field which is very dense, that provide shelter to pigs for dwell. One of respondent was of the view that:



If we hear the presence of pigs, we began to prepare a kit of hunting tools which had consisted of *Punjore* net, *Kuhari*, *Dapho*, *Rambo*, and *dogs*. In this hunting game we made the team of twelve hunters, in this team two were main players one is chief hunter called Shikari punch, he escorts the group, another one is *Paree* (Foot tracer) rest of the players who work under the chief hunters. When we reached at the residence where pigs are subsisting, first we met local zamidars of that region, and took permission to chase. Then we discussed with local people of the region, they informed the presence of pig. After reaching that place chief hunter given the instruction to *Paree* to trace sign pig, after the compilation his job, he gave the whole information about the pigs to Shikari punch Chief hunters. There are two pigs one is male and other is female and they are going to south side. Chief Hunter make groups of two people, six groups are made, and one side is installed *Punjore* net, that was s key point.

It was the easiest route for crossing, and so many footprints of pigs are found on that track, there for chasing pigs. Groups of hunters were pursuing three side one side was let were sitting beneath the tree, dogs attacked over them then pigs started running fast , abruptly one pig appear in the front of the one groups of hunters, that were Tareekam and Naresh , through they had less with hunting tools as *Dapho* and axe, but pig was so fast going to attack them as soon as pig reached near with Tareekam he could not protect himself from pigs attack. Pig was climbed over him, and caste him two three mater away from his real poison, then Naresh immediately did counter attack over pigs and hit with *Dapho* on his lower part of neck which is very sensitive, soft and respiratory system also crossed that side , after four five hits hog left to Tareekam, and turn to Naresh , but Tareekam on his shoulders, and started running, he was physically strong and arrived that place within minutes, chief hunter assigned duty of two hunters they admit to injured hunters in hospital. Ten they bring him in hospital where he was admitted for two days. In hunting trip two pigs were killed.

#### **5.10.2. *Jung Bilow* (Jungle cat)**

*Jung Bilow* is bigger in size, weight and height and more Danger then domestic or common bilow (Cat). *Jung Bilow* reside in jungle and lives in holes alone, he eats meat and eggs of birds. *Jung Bilow* also fights with hunters, in that occasion when hunter chases or tries to catch him, and he is capable to kill the man during his attack. There are two types of jungle bilow their local names are Kather bilow, (Colourful cat black and white dot on their skin), and other Bhor Bilow

(brown cat), Kather bilow is very vigorous faster in running and more difficult in animals. He is slim and taller than Bhoro bilow. And in looking more beautiful than Bhoro bilow. Bhoro Bilow (Brown Cat) is fatty and lazy as compare of Kather Bilow due to his fatness, he is not well run, and colour of his skin is brown and no spot in his skin. Most of the time of the spends in sleeping, and easy in the hunt. Jungle bilow are found more commonly in this region, we hunted seventy to eighty from different places such as Bagri Colony, Pir Mola Bux colony.

### **5.10.3. *Serh* (parquet pine)**

*Serh* is an animal, which is hunted by Bagri community. *Serh* swells in big holes in sugar- cane and vegetable filed in the form of groups. Skin of *Serh* is very hard and his body is covered with thrones, average weight of *Serh* is 25 kg. *Serh* eats roots and leaves of vegetables. Hunting of *Serh* is a risk, because during the hunt of *Serh*, he spread their thrones and shot their thrones very forcefully to their enemies when his opponent tries to catch him. Due to this action of *Serh*, so many times Bagri hunters and their dogs are wonders during the catching him. The thrones of *Serh* are very poisoned. Gajo Bagri hunter said; Four month before, I went to hunt for *Serh*, four dogs were along with me, when we trace to *Serh* and tried to catch it, and then he started their thrones, one of them clanged on my left arm and started bleeding, though I entangled him in the trap, but my arm injury was remained continue to three month, and I could not do performed any other major function in between three months. One kind of *Serh* is found in that region his meat is very delicious.

### **5.10.4. *Gider* (jackals)**

*Gider* is very wise, intelligent and timid animal, therefore, as my informant said he does not catch in our traps easily, and takes more time in catching then jungle.cat, *Gider* spends his daytime in their holes, and he/she comes out of their holes and started searching for food so, their hunting practice is made at night. Girders are not in great numbers in this region, but small numbers of *Gider* are present, their existence identified through their shout or make noise at the time of night, which is pronounced as: **Aaooooooooon**. The height and size of *Gider* same as a dog, but he looks like a different than other dog's Skin of *Gider* is very soft and his skin full with black and white spots. Jackals eat dead animals, animal the bird, eat fish from the pound, and

also keen of eggs. Jackals are not common in this region, they are found in rear case. That's the reason we are not hunted more than.

#### **5.10.5. *Goah* (Crocodile/lizard)**

*Goah* is reptile lizard species which live in water and dry land. *Goah* makes holes in the roots of trees and in Lorho (Hedge) for their residence. *Goah* has four short tango (legs) to a head side and two back side and one has Puch (tail), which is very strong, tough and forceful, *Goah* defends and fight his enemy through his tail. My key informant was of the view that:

If *Goah* hit his tail to person than he can fall down, and there are so many chances he can unconscious at that time. There are two kinds of *Goah* which are given local names to that *Goah*. First is Karee *Goah* (Black lizard), this kind of *Goah* full's of fat and bigger in size his weight around about 10 kg. Second is Garhe *Goah* (Radish Lizard) which is thin and longer in body. Garhe *Goah* has less weight, and more active than Karee *Goah*.

*Goah* is in very large numbers, in *Hala* we do not hunt of *Goah* outside of the village. We hunt *Goah* two are three in one week.

**(Picture No 35: *Goah* Hunting)**



(Source field data)

#### 5.10.6. *Soo-ur* (pig) as sacred animal

In every religion there are some sacred places, plants, birds, souls and animals are present. As in Islam is Masjid (mosque). Sower is a holy animal of Bagri community. It is their belief that Pig is sacred animal for us, if any Bagri quite his or her religion and embrace any other religion, then that person is considered sinner. According to our religion if person regret on his act and want to return on their previous religion, then person cannot enter until he or she doesn't eat flesh of pig, when he /she embrace any other religion. Through the flesh of pig we purify the person who was polluted before, in the absence of pig flesh, the bones of pig, or teeth revolve around his or her body there are some function as flesh of pig to clean the person offences, or any or any Bagri suffer any wrong deeds or accused in rape case then it is must to eat meat of pigs or spin pig bone or teeth for his forgiveness and making for holy. One of my respondents was the view that:

Two years ago our girl elopes with Muslim boy then she married to him and adopts Islam. She spends one year with her groom, after some reason, her husband gave her divorce, she came with her parents, but she didn't accept by her parents their motive, she is unholy. And polluted due embracing Islam, still he doesn't leave Islam and convert in our religion, till she will be remain polluted for this purpose she eats flesh pigs, if meat is not available then the bones of pigs are rotated over her whole body. She was made ready for that act that time meat was not available. After this act her parents accept and arrange marriage in her own tribe.

#### 5.11. The concept of headmen

The concept of headmen is also used by Bagri community. But in their own language they called as ***Punch***. In the past when Bagri ancestors practiced hunting, they had a rule that punch was the headmen of the game; he can distribute the meat among all members, who's participated in hunting. But now some changes have been occurring in Bagri community, if anyone who saw the game for hunting, then he invites to all members for hunting. That man considers as a head man. Every member of the band selects him headmen for that reason Because of him they practiced hunting, if he doesn't inform them how they can performed hunt, so everyone gives more honor to the headmen is called ***Shikari punch***, he got more distribution of meat from others. One of my respondents was o the view that;

Still, some Bagri practiced hunting, but not all, those they lived in the forest still they are engaged in hunting. Their contemplation is that, hunting is not a bad thing

for us; we remember the ancestor's occupation through hunting. Further, he said that, if we practiced hunting this is our old tradition to distribute the meat among all bands and nearby bands. In Bagri language that call them **Wandi**. We distributed meat among the all hunters who's participated in the hunting, as well as we give to all bands and nearby by band and friends. The head men make the **Wandi** for all then we distribute among them.

There are certain rules for **Wandi** (sharing) of animal in Bagri hunters. The first distribution of share takes place among those hunters which participated in the game. Second, sharing based on equal level among the hunters. Even a child who participated actively in hunting, he also gets, forth, some amount of flesh, which is taken, to every shareholder for dogs, some share is obtaining a chief hunter. Third bone of leg and head is shared with dogs, in pig hunting fifteen hunters and eight to ten dogs participated, when Pig is hunted, then we don't share pig in hunting place, but we bring animal through donkey cart, in Pari, it is place of distribution, where they give first share to dogs, then they distributed meat to shareholders, then they brings in their homes where, there is also a subdivision of share with their relatives who were not participating in hunting game.

## **5.12. Hunting as a Source of Economy**

Hunting is a one aspect of the Bagri community to generate money and food. The money they use for their bread butter and betterment of the family. My key informants told that jungle cat is a very money making hunting animal for us, we get mutton round about 8 to 10 kg from it. Which is very delicious in eating and we use it two or three days. During his period, we don't buy any vegetable, that money which is spent in our eating food, we save it and this money utilizes in other activities. The other worthy item of jungle cat is skin. Jungle cat skin is costly in the market, its price is 600 to 700.

Jackal is another hunting animal, which is valuable for us in the regard of economic aspects. After hunting the jackal is approximately 10 kg, which is enough for three days to any household hunter, and also is given a share to their relatives , one of respondent was of the view that:

This , is a myth about jackal meat, in our community, that this flesh is very healthy and protect from diseases if our inhabitant suffer with the disease, we eats that flesh/ the skin of jackal is very significant, in terms of their uses, its value market is more than one thousand, but we don't sell in the market, we dry it and cut into pieces, other communities people move toward and demand for the

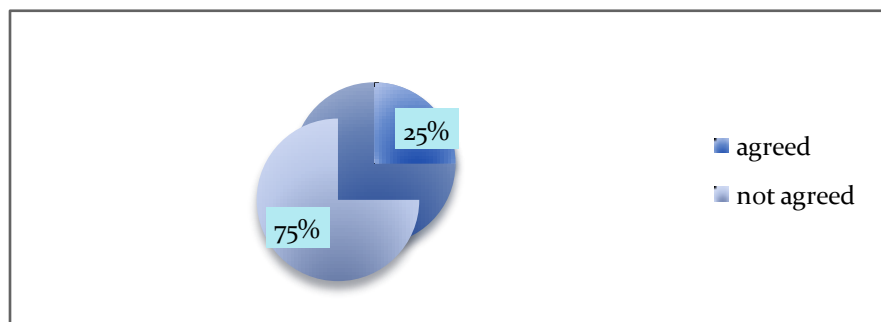
piece of skin of jackal, we give them to in 5 hundred rupees. Bone of jackal is also important in our economy, we make the necklace of bones which is used in ceremonial events.

*Goah* (Crocodile/lizard) is also main reptile which assists to our economy, it is a very useful animal, mostly we catch the *Goah* alive, the cost of animate *Goah* is 200 to 250 it is up to the size of *Goah*, then we decide the price, we also sell the Charbi (Fat) of *Goah* which is used for sexual purpose. One jar of Charbi of *Goah* is more than 100 rupees, this item we don't give any laymen person, but we mostly sell in the local zamidars. Local zamidars also contribute to our economy. Bagri community claims that, we performed hunting because of our traditional occupation, currently if we practiced hunting; we sell the skin of the animals, which will give more economic benefit. The one of respondent said:

Hunting is not only the source of foods, but it is also provides extra money by selling the skins of the animals. These skins are used as decorations and also made into capes. The fresh meat so got from hunting has another purpose besides fulfilling the need of the food. This is exchanged as a gift amongst the Bagri's kin and friends, and therefore, it, is sign of strengthening kinship bands among the people.

In Islam cow meat is sacred; similarly in our religion pigs is very sacred. We Bagri feel very happy when we eat meat of pigs. Now, because we are living in cities, after the few months or years, some Bagri performed the hunt, then they give us, otherwise we kept tooth of pigs, we have custom that every Bagri eat the pig's meat. In Bagri there is custom is that I some reason if we don't find pigs, then we dip tooth of pigs in honey, and gave the **Gurthi**, (the fist food tested by the child) to the new born child.

#### Lay perception of the Bagri community about hunting's



(Source field data)

Bagri community is not strongly in the favor of hunting gathering, from hundred household, 75% are not agree for hunting, and 25 are still attach with their traditional occupation. My respondent was of the view:

We were fully engaged in hunting from 1980, after that every one settled in different region of *Sindh*; some are engaged in agriculture, begging, cultivation and other occupation. Now Bagri is not wasting time to search, the hunt, now everyone are busy in their life, if they saw the animals, such as pigs, jackals then they started hunting there. But they are not fully depending on hunting.

Mostly Bagri not favor of the hunting, even their new generation doesn't know about the hunting. Those Bagri still they lived in the forest or near to the riverbank, they practiced hunting, just to remember their ancestral tradition. Or some time they wanted to eat the meat pigs, and then one person goes into the forest and saw the game for hunting. In current time 25% Bagri is engaged in hunting and 75% are fully against of the hunting. One of my respondents told me in this way:

Mostly Bagri left the hunting for this reason, when Bagri work on land, then landlord doesn't allow to use their utensils, even they drunk water in hands. Everyone felt hate for us, they said that you are taking profane things, such as pigs, lizards etc, beacons of this reason, we all hate from your Bagri community, leave your ancestors occupation, then no one will consider you dirty.

Our ancestor practiced hunting because of the poverty, now we are happy in our life, we don't have need for hunting. Those people performed hunt, they have more time, now we don't have time for this thing. One of my respondents was the view,

When we performed hunting, everyone felt l hate from us, everyone, not interested to sit with us, if any sit, then they felt smell from Bagri, then Muslim said to us we are feeling he smell from you, kindly sit outside. We were feeling shame because we were refused by the Muslims in every situation.

If we ate a profane thing, but in our religion these things such as wild animals are sacred, because of Muslims we left our tradition. One of my respondents claims that:

Muslims are right because we felt smell, when we used a meat of pigs, jackals, lizards, and cat. Everyone felt smell from our body, then we discussed with each others, why everyone undergoes smell from us, we don't endure any smell from the Muslims, then few people said the reason of smell in the body is that, you all

Bagri used to eat profane animals , avoided to eat them, then you become like us. Then we changed our mind and engaged in different professions.

After the period of 1980 Bagri community has totally changed, they are fully engaged in agriculture, they are interacting with Muslims landlords. The deliberation of my respondent is that:

The other reason to perform hunting is the economy. Bagri performed hunting for the economy, they sold skin of animals such as jackals, buffalo, etc. in the market and got more amount. When they sold the skin of animals then they also interested to eat meat of animals. Still, those Bagri sell the skin of animals they are engaged in hunting.

One of my respondents said that our ancestor always feels fear from the other tribes, because in the period of colonization, the British army had beaten and killed them, then still they afraid of the police and other stranger persons. That time Bagri were the criminals, they were theft, now they have changed their mind and engaged in different professions. One of my respondents was the view that:

That time our ancestor thought that if we use profane animals then everyone feel hate from us, no one can communicate with us, because they were criminals and they don't want to make any relationship with another tribe without Bagri's. Now we will be happy in our life.

Our ancestor suffered from the many difficulties, Basically Bagri belong the dhravar caste (shudhar). We are considered as lower class in Hinduism religion. One of my respondents was the view that:

When our ancestor lived in India, they suffer from many difficulties because in India poverty ratio is very high; they were dying because of the poverty. Even Brahman doesn't allow to Barito enter in the Mandir, and don't give them any food, when Brahman and the trader class took food, after they gave them food. Because of this behavior of the Brahmans, our ancestor migrated to Pakistan.

Now Hunting therefore is not a single and sufficient means of subsistence. The Bagri's are compelled to adopt other means too among them is agriculture.



### 5.13. Hunting animal as a source of medicines

The Bagri claim that, wild animals is very important for the human body, if we used to eat wild animals we will not suffer from any disease. Bagri used these animals for curing a disease, they claim that if we ate the meat, wild animals, then we cannot suffer from any disease, the meat of *Gider*, jackals, lizards gives more energy in the human body. Meat of *Gider* is like a medicine for the Bagri. One of my respondents was of the view that:

When we lived in a forest in 25 years ago, we did not suffer from any disease, we were healthy. But now everyone is suffering from different disease such as asthma, Tb, hepatitis, cancer etc. but asthma is very common disease in our family. During the hunting time our male member did hunt of different wild animals for the survival as well as for curing the different disease. She said that, our ancestors hunt the jackals for curing a disease, mostly in winter season Bagri hunts jackals. Further, she said that: Bagri used these animals for curing a disease, they claim that if we ate the meat of *Gider*, then we can never ever become ill in our life, the meat of jackals gives more energy in the human body. Meat of *Gider* is like a medicine for the Bagri.

Further, she said that we cook the meat of jackals, than we used to eat. The reason is that jackals hunted some time, for that reason, we stored the meat for medicine. They keep meat on sunlight after 2 or three days they started to make Phasi of jackal's meat. After that meat crush with the help of stone, and mix with black pepper, advent, and the leaf of olivine. She said that in both season like winter, and summer if anyone suffered from the asthma, they used this home remedy, subsequently they felt good in their health. Bagri community use hunting animals, bones, flesh and skin for illness, they use them as medicine to rid of disease. As pig is used for different sickness, if any, community member suffers in fever from long time and he does not get health, then we make necklace of bone, which comprise on pig bones, that necklace is put on his neck, after this curing he will get relieve from fever in some days he is restore his health. Haki was of the view that:

Haki is wife of Ladho, she told me that my son was suffering in fever, I was worried about his illness, his father took him to doctor, doctor gave him some syrup for fever, but these medicines don't effect on his fever, day by day he is getting week, then I thought he will not live more time, then my mother in law said make the necklace of pig bones and put in his neck. I obey her suggestion, you believe me after within two days he is good in health, now he is very healthy, and his age round about eight years, now it is my belief when every my child

suffer in the fever I don't use other treatment, just only put the necklace in his neck and fever within days will leave.

There are also many myths of community about pig skin, that if the skin of the pig is hanged on the door, that never conflict happens in the home and family reside in solidarity, and it is very pious and auspicious, which bring prosperity for family members, it mean is used for the solution of conflict which happen in the family, or it use for prosperity. Thorn of *Serh* is used for back pain, these thorns of *Serhs* are dried , then dried Kanda (thorn ) grind and mixing in mustard oil , then it oil is massaged in that part where is the pain, it massages, two times in a day and that process continue three days , through this method we shall rid of the pain. One of respondent was of the view that:

I have suffered from pain for fifteen years, I took so medicine but I did not get relief from pain , then I grind of thorn of *Serh* then dip in oil after that I started massage of that oil, after some times of massage now I feel I got some relief from pain not totally , but some extend. Before this act I could not sit in a chair, all the time I slept in a cot in straight away but now I easily sit and walk.

Fat of *Goah* (Crocodile/lizard) is used for sexual purposes. During the butchering of *Goah* Bagri hunter gets that fat, fat is melted in sunlight, then it would be ready for use. This oil is massaged into the penis which enlarges it. Bagri hunters use oil of *Goah* in panes for sexual purposes in commonly. Oil of *Goah* also makes possible to men for long duration sex. It is also one cause of marriage in young age, in this community, that they provide oil of *Goah* for their children to fulfil their sexual needs.

#### **5.14. Preservation of meat**

Bagri community preserves meat through dryness. My key informant was of the view about the dryness process; We dry meat under natural temperature , humidity and circulation of the air , including the direct influence of sun rays, it consists of a gradual dehydration of pieces of meat cut into specific uniform shape that permits the equal and simultaneous drying to a whole set of meat . Beef muscles, dry are usually no longer than 50 cm however, strips longer than 50 cm can be produced by cutting the muscles along. Using these technique long strips can be obtained, but their length should not exceed 70 cm for reason of stability. Meat for drying by hanging strips

over tree branches, wire or rope is not recommended because meat remains in contact with these supporting devices' or may touch each other and thus not dry properly in these contact areas. Branches, wire or rope is not recommended because meat remains in contact with these supporting devices' or may touch each other and thus not dry properly in these contact areas.

#### **5.15. Role of women in hunting and house activities**

Women assign the role according to their age. My key informant told me that: there are four women in my house, from them one is my wife one is my mother and two is my daughter, there are different roles which are performed. The duty of my mother is to get up early in the morning and she prepared breakfast for us, and she goes to village for begging, my daughter is also along with her. She brings money, flour and sometime she also brings clothes from begging, which assist in our house budget. My daughter's responsibility is that, she washes vessels and goes to her grandmother for begging and look after his younger brother and sister. The duty of my wife to rearing the children look after his husband sweep the house, wash clothes, manage things and give them sequence which are disappeared, if her husband or her son demand the things then she give that stuff at the time , she prepared the lunch and dinner , whatever we earn money we give them and she run the house from that money, it is duty of my wife she must keep and save my hunting tools, , and when I have need of tools, I take her, if she not provide then she would be deserve for punish , she also care the dogs their diets and bath them in a day when we bring small animal such as *Goah* or *Serh* in home then it is duty of women, then she slaughtered that animal and put of their skin, and preserve meat and cock them. During hunting When the male member of the band are out for hunting the women folk collect dry sticks to light the hearth and also search food stuffs such as mushrooms, grasses, roots and other edible objects from around the area. Sometimes however, they go for begging in to the near about villages and towns.

## CHAPTER 6

### Transition from hunting and gathering to permanent settlement

#### 6.1. Introduction

The transition in Bagri settlement patterns based on four categories, such as hunting, nomadic, semi nomadic and sedentarization. The motivating force behind the transition from a mobile to a sedentary settlement pattern of the pre-Contact groups living in the Inyo-Mono region of California is population growth. This growth caused groups to avoid moving to distant resource patches when local resources became scarce because it was assumed that other groups were already utilizing these resources. Since groups were staying in a smaller area, they started to take advantage of a wider variety of resources that may not have been collected in the past (Bettinger 1999). Bagri transition from mobile to sedentary highly effect on their living way of life. These Socio-cultural changes have had erratic impacts on Bagri community to adapt the mode of changes. This shift implies a change in their settlement patterns, which passes through different stages, the detail discussion as follows.

#### 6.2. Hunting life

Hunting is the preferred mode of subsistence. Leaving aside the cow they eat every type of flesh. Beef avoidance is due to their Hindus belief that the cow is sacred and equivalent to the mother deity. They hunt wolves, jackals, foxes, lizards; particularly etc. in past hunting being the favorite occupation among the tribes as explained by the Sahlins (1972) hunting is the affluent nature of the economy. Similar the Bagri economy to a certain extent, It fulfils major part of their basic necessities such as diet. Besides, it provides them living. After 1965, Bagri were dying because of the poverty, they had nothing to eat, they adopt the ancestor's occupation of hunting, they hunt the different wild animal for their survivals, Now 25% of the Bagri community in *Sindh* still performed the hunting. The Bagri lived in the forest still they are engaged in hunting and those Bagri they are permanent settled in different region of *Sindh*, they got an invitation from the forest Bagri's for hunting. Bagri went for hunting to remember their ancestral occupation. Bagri community has considerable knowledge about access to the game. A Bagri can tell the kind of the animal by looking just at its foot-steps and direction of movement. He can tell about its sex and state of pregnancy as well.

### 6.3. *Ladaro*(Nomadic)

The characteristic feature of Bagri adoption to their settlement condition is their vagrant way of life. The term vagrant refers to the spatial mobility, i.e. continuous shifting of habitation. The term ***Kahanabadosh*** is the equivalent term in Urdu and in *Sindhi* is ***Ladaro***. The word Kahanabadosh comes from the Persian language (Khana- house, Ba- on and dosh- shoulder, i.e. carrying along the house on shoulder from place to place). The nature of the Bagri vagrancy is for the subsistence of the group not for the herding of animals. Their migration is confined between two definite points. They migrated for the hunting, and for the seasonal stresses of their economy, such as for the cultivation., They migrated only from the surrounding area of villages and cities to crop- fields by the river banks. When the crop season comes they go to the river-bank where they cultivate short term crops in the flood area. At the end of the crop season, they again migrate to the cities and villages where they live till the next crop season in its outskirts. Here they practice the begging. One of my respondents said that:

In past Decision regarding to the migration of the band is made by the **Punch** after consulting other active members of the band. He calls a meeting and decides the routes and places for new settlements. Decisions concerning the migration of a family are taken by the head of household. Migration of one family from one band to another is totally the matter of individuals own choice and is not checked by any other member of the band or it's Punch.

The migration from one geographical region to the other is uncommon. It occurs when the group loses access to the land of one landlord. Hence, they migrate to borrow land from another landlord of that area or the other. One of my respondents was the view that:

The Bagri of *Sindhi*, have an interesting system of signs, for the migration, which they mark on the walls of buildings at important corners. These signs are made where they at once catches the eye. The collective member draws the circle, made the straight line indicating the direction of movement which the band has taken. Further, he said that, the vertical stroke insides the circle, it means that the band is encompassed in the vicinity. The Bagri can follow one another for many miles by means of these signs, when they make trips for lizard hunting especially.

When Bagri were nomads, they performed different works such as begging, robbery, as well as some time hunting. But after the hunting Bagri community were engaged in begging. Begging give more amount for their survivals.

#### 6.4. Begging

The Bagri is the beggars along with hunting. They practice begging when they live near the villages in cities in summer season. In the mourning time when the young men go to watch the crops or to cultivate crops or to hunt, the women and children set off for begging in the cities. Towns and villages occupied by Muslims near their settlements. They beg both at the houses and along the bazaar. Men rarely beg. Children of 4-5 years accompany their mother or grandmothers and learn the art of the begging. They beg in the groups. Children of both sexes under ten years accompany the women, but those above ten usually beg separately or practice hunting with other men of the group such as their fathers, uncles or elder brothers and give up the begging. In contrast, the female children above ten continue the begging with the grown up women of the group. One of my respondents was the view that:

In a few years ago we and our elders fully practiced begging in many times; usually we started before the sunrise from the Bagri settlement and reached the bazaar of the city after one to two hour walk. Here we dispersed in different directions to the separate part of the city and begged for foods, used clothes and money. After begging for hereto four hours, we came to the pre- arranged point in the bazaar and the food thus collected. Remaining edibles were taken to the settlements and were given to the men left there. Clothes were allotted according to their utility for the members of a household and close kin. Sometimes used utensils are gained by begging and are put to the use in the huts.

Bagri know the techniques of begging, one of my female respondents was of the view that:

The technology of begging includes wooden sticks for protection from dogs of the house as well as from pie-dogs, a bowl to put the things obtained and a special kind of bag called GUDRI, made of the old clothes, to put in the items obtained by.

Sometimes in the course of begging they make certain types of pretences and connect different stories to gain the sympathies of the people. For example, they utilize the illness of any member of the group. Sometimes, the death of a person amongst them is also publicized for begging and stories of family quarrels are told and retold to the women of cities by the Bagri women to earn more than the usual amount. When gain recognition, if the group stays for sometime more near a certain city because they go daily amongst the houses and interact with the housewives. Begging is not an act of shame or humiliation, for them, in which they are similar to the Swazi of South

Africa. According to Kuper 1963, p49. He said that begging has a connotation different from that expressed in the European milieu. Among conservatives, it carries no shame.

For Barito beg is a sign of deference and to give is a token of superiority, enhancing status. It is the person who refuses a request who should suffer. Like the Swazi, Bagri have no shame to beg. They have adopted it as a source of income and subsistence. Begging is their traditional occupation practiced by women. It is the major economic activities of women. They have to be very artful to obtain cash, food, clothing and necessities through begging. The cycle of begging is closely related to the lunar months of the Muslim calendar. Normally every day begging is usually confined to market areas, streets, and to the houses of the villagers. Women with the infants and young children go markets and houses. They beg cash from the shopkeepers and travelers and food from different houses. Begging women and young children provide the household with most of its daily requirements.

These Bagri people discuss the skill of successful begging at length and teach their members to adopt it as a specific means of subsistence. Children learn how to dress and distort their faces as a successful, hungry and poor beggar. Mothers beg with infants young girl occasionally combine sexual joking with their begging skills. Hence, they retained their primitive life by practicing hunting wild animals and by living in river banks and the desert area of *Sindhi*. After the master plan of irrigation by the government of Pakistan scrub was cleared to acquire land for irrigation and the deserted areas were also occupied by Muslims in farming. Now the no man's land was finished and the secrecy of the Bagri demolished and they were enforced by the social environments to interact with sedentary to ensure their survival and subsistence. By this interaction with different groups they became part of a pluralistic society.

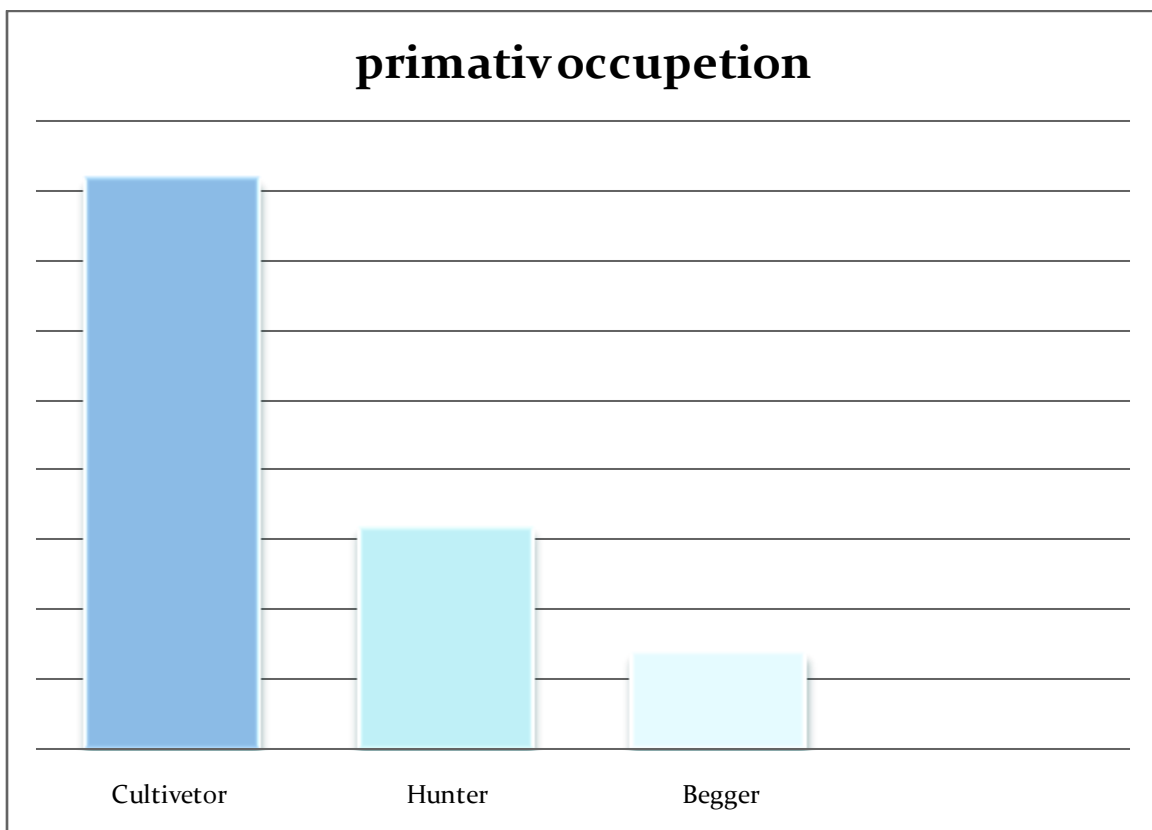
## **6.5. Cultivation**

Bagri is the landless peasant. To meet the needs of the day they acquire land from local landlords on contract basis and raise watermelons, various vegetables and peanuts. They also cultivate the major staple crops like wheat, and rice etc. emphasis is upon cash crops which bring income within a short period. Maize, wheat and cotton are the most important crops cultivated by the Bagri Haris Villagers define cultivation as:

Activities which are concerned with land cultivation. The local term for agriculture is *zamidars*. The people who perform the cultivation are called *Haari*.

He cultivates himself, either his own land or on a share basis, but mostly Bagri Harithey don't have their own land, they do work under the *Sindhi* landlord.

The expulsion of the Bagri from their original habitat and the adaptation of present residence in the desert required the consolidation of the tribe. This could be achieved through land (Barth 1951). The Bagri is the landless, since the land is owned by the Muslim landlords on tenancy. The land is prepared for raising edible crops; there is newly grown secondary vegetation which is the source of shelter for the wild animals of the area. The Bagri live, there's in the crop season, here they do some cultivation and hunt some time. After the crop season they migrate to *Pakka* area which is irrigated. Still migration of the Bagri people is confined between these two zones. During the crop season during November and March, they live in *Kacha* area, where they cultivate the land on tenancy, after the end of the crop seasons; they shift their settlements in the *Pakka* area. They usually live in the outskirts of cities and villages, where from they can approach the market places and bazaars to sell their vegetables.



(Source field data)



A list of the crops commonly grows by the Bagri in both seasons:

**(Table No. 4: Name of Rabi crops)**

Local Name	English Name
Kanak	Wheat
Sarson	Mustered
Channy	Chick Pease
Kapas	Cotton

(Source field data)

**(Table No. 5: Name of Kharif crops)**

**Kharif Crops**

Local Name	English Name
Bajra	Bulrush Millet
Jawar	Great Millet
Makki	Maize

(Source field data)

**Table No. 6: A Model Presenting Changes in Socio-Economic Structure from Hunting to Sedentrization**

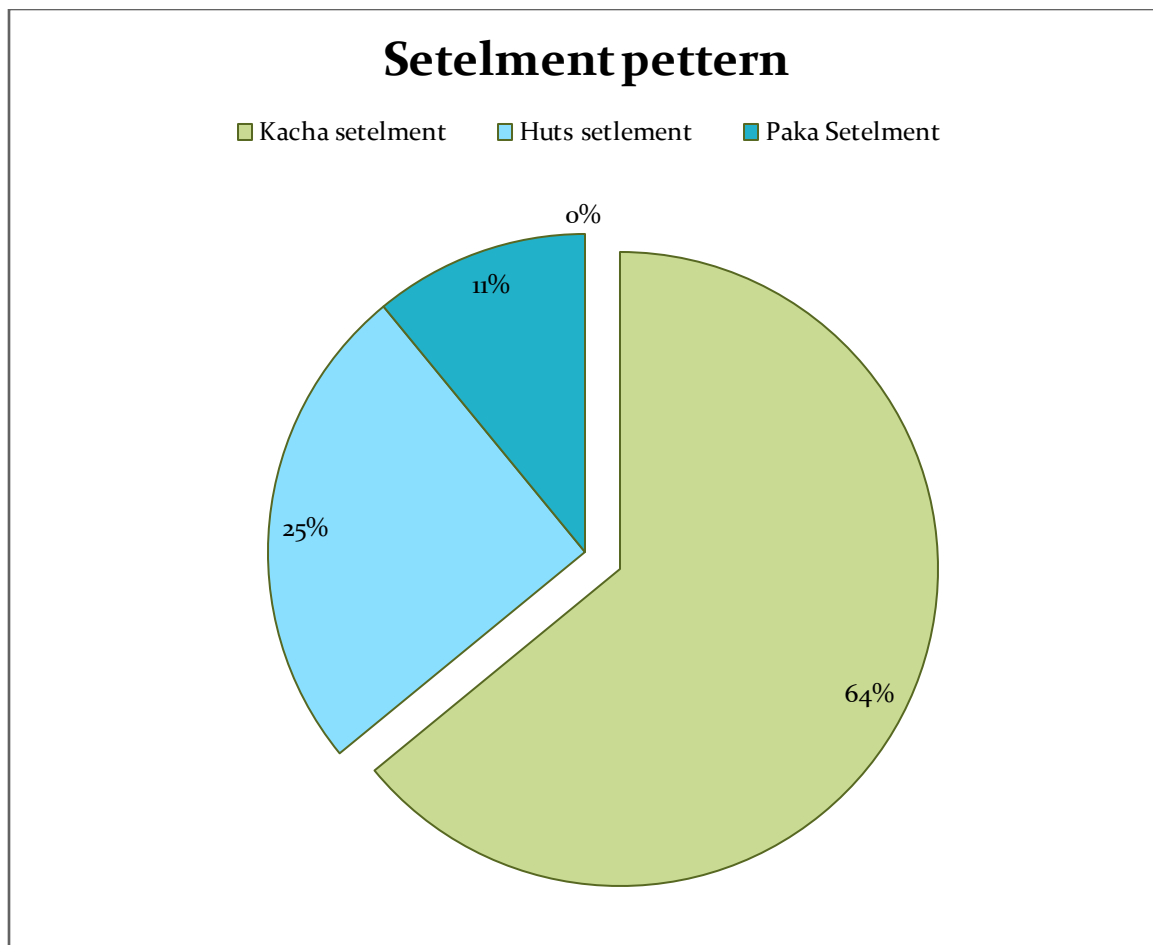
Traditional structure in hunting period	
<b>Demographic dimension</b>	Migratory, low population, density marked by the mobility
<b>Economic strategies</b>	Labor uninventive
<b>Family structure</b>	Extended
<b>Social organization</b>	Mutually dependent
<b>Division of labor and sex roles</b>	Equal participation of both sexes
<b>Mode of life</b>	Non- materilistic, conservative
<b>Mode of life</b>	Non- materilistic, conservative

<b>Changes in traditional structure from hunting to sedentary</b>	
<b>Demographic dimension</b>	Sedentary, agriculture , high population density
<b>Economic strategies</b>	Labor intensive
<b>Family structure</b>	Nuclear
<b>Social organization</b>	Male dominant, high solidarity
<b>Division of labor and sex roles</b>	Predominantly males
<b>Mode of life</b>	Materialistic, non conservative rather liberal

(Source field data)

#### **6.6. Settlement pattern and interior setting**

The ecology, both social and natural, also helped the fabrication of the particular type of settlement patterns; socially they are being influenced by the sedentary group through a functional interaction with the Muslim landlords and Bania. Nonetheless a considerable margin remains between the Bagri and the Bania and also between the Muslim and the Bagri due to their un-touchable stats. With the economic development and increased social interaction with the sedentary population, they have adopted some changes in their living standard. There are commonly three types of dwelling pattern found in Bagri community, such as *Pakka Kacha* and *Jhopra* (hut settlement). In a few years ago all populations of Bagri lived in huts. Due to acculturation some changes occur in their settlement patterns. In the above discussion I have mentioned that Bagri community evolved from different stages, current few inhabitants of Bagri community survive in huts, and other population lives in *Kacha* ad *Pakka* houses.



(Source Socio Economic census survey Form)

The diagram show that, Bagri settlement pattern based on three types of residency such as huts, *Kacha* and *Pakka*. In the above discussion I have mentioned that within Bagri they have hierarchy. Those Bagri they engage in business are living in *Pakka* houses like Dhabhi and Chaohan considers upper class in Bagri community. Those Bagri they belong to upper class on economically basses, their residency is different from other Bagri's. They lived in *Pakka* houses like Muslims, the field data show that from the whole Bagri population just 11% population of Bagri community living in *Pakka* houses. Similarly, those Bagri they are engaged in cultivation they are living in *Kacha* houses. Mostly Bagri population based on agriculture. The Bagri is the landless, the land is owned by the Muslim landlords on tenancy, the landlord will not give them more amounts, just give them wheat and seasonally some amount for survival. The field data show that, 64% inhabitants of the Bagri community lived in *Kacha* houses. The third residence pattern is Jhopra, those inhabitants of Bagri community engaged in begging and hunting they are

living in huts. They are seasonal migrant, they move from one place to another for begging and hunting. The data show that 25% of the inhabitants of Bagri community lived in huts. They are considering a lower class among the other Bagri's.

#### **6.6.1. *Pakka* house settlements**

*Pakka* houses are made up with the cement and fired bricks. In this type of houses the modern as well as traditional glazed pottery has been used. These houses have many rooms for various purposes. *Pakka* houses are made up with cement and one or two rooms and Waranda, rooms. In *Pakka* houses there a lodge, two rooms and one Radhroo (Kitchen) and one Kakoos (Bathroom) walls are made up with the cement and Paki Sirron (backed bricks).

**(Picture No 36: *Pakka* house settlements)**



(Source field data)

#### **6.6.2. *Kacha* house settlements**

Most of the population of the Bagri community possesses *Kacha* house (a house made of mud and wooden planks with thatched roofs) comprise of a single room, a veranda, open courtyard and a small kitchen with a hearth. The walls of the *Kacha* houses are mostly made up with the Lorho (Hedge) but some house has Paki (Brick wall). Most households either *Kacha* or *Pakka* have Otaq for guests. More economically sound people have bungalows with special gardens. Moreover, the housing patterns symbolize the status of the people, for instance the people who

were belonging to the upper class or upper middle class (landlords, businessman, politician or in good jobs) had *Pakka* houses while people who were belonging to a lower class or lower middle class had *Kacha* houses. It means *Kacha* houses symbolize the poverty of the inhabitants.

(Picture No 37: Kacha house settlements)



(Source field data)

### 6.6.3. Hut settlements

Hut villages are owned by the vagrant groups like the Bagri, Kohl, Bheel, and Mehgwar. , the huts (Jhopra) made with straw, plastic sheets, wooden sticks and mud. They make a room like structure with thatching wooden columns and putting wooden beams on them. Then they cover it by the palm branches. It makes a room like shelter of 8-10 feet wide and 5-6 feet high. Each hut has a courtyard in front of it and none overlooks the other. These huts are designed in round shape, four days are required for the building of the hut. Huts are very durable in rain season and in storm. These huts are associated with Hindu Scheduled castes mostly for Bagri community . One nuclear family lives in one hut. Near the hut, each family makes a separate cooking, place which is consists of a pit and stones around it on three sides. These stones are used to support the cooking pots above the ground leaving space for lighting the fire under the pot.

In past Bagri live in huts which are built on wooden poles, made of reeds and long grass. The average high of their houses is about 5-6 feet and nearly 7-8 feet wide. These huts are fitted with a door made up of reeds and rags are used to bolt the door. Their huts are strikingly small and

scattered. Within each hut space is allocated for different uses. In one corner there is generally a hearth over which bread is baked and most of work is done. In huts were piled the main belongings of the household, grain, pots and pans, often one or more quilts. Bagri huts can be moved from place to place like that of lele and Bushong. They are also repairable only one feature of Bagri hut differs from that of Bushong. They don't have a moveable flap between the roof and walls, which lets out the smoke. They also don't light the fire within the huts rather they make a separate cooking place for lighting a fire.

**(Picture No 38: Hut settlements)**



(Source field data)

### **6.7. Annual cycle in past**

According to the subsistence activities, the Bagri divide the year into two seasons. Winter and summer. The year begins with the start of winter. In the beginning of the year a festival is celebrated is called *Wirt*. My respondents were of the view:

*In past* Bagri divide year in two parts, winter and summer. In the winter season the Bagri usually were indulged in lizard hunting and begging, in mid winter they started the cultivation of the crops. When crops were ripened and attract the animals like wolves, pigs and jackals, etc. the best season for hunting is the end of the winter, when the crop season is going to end, they start a migration in the



forest areas, where they engaged in begging and hunting. This cycle goes on by season. .

As mentioned in the foregoing paragraph they are basically hunters and gatherers, but also they practiced primary agriculture, begging, labor and as well as such diverse economic practices as robbery etc.here I intend to give a tabulated sketch of their annual calendar of subsistence activities. The following table will provide us a brief sketch of their month wise subsistence activities.

**(Table No. 7: Month wise subsistence activities in past)**

	Month	Local month	Activities
1	August	Badroon	Hunting lizards/ begging
2	September	Akhoon	Vegetable sowing
3	October	Katkali	Harvesting peanuts and hunting
4	November	Magar	Sowing water melon
5	December	Poh	Hunting
6	January	Mahu	Hunting
7	February	Phagan	Hunting, harvesting , water melon
8	March	Chatro	Harvesting, water –melon/ hunting
9	April	Wahahi	Harvesting, water –melon/ hunting , melon sowing
10	May	Jath	Sowing peanuts, begging
11	June	Har	Harvesting melon, begging
12	July	Sewan	Hunting lizards, begging

(Source field data)

By looking at the given chart of the annual subsistence cycle in the past, we see that the basic mode of subsistence is practiced during the cold months along with subsidiary crop cultivation. It is because these cold months are that part of the year when the water level of the river is the lowest and there is fear of floods. These months attract the Bagri for hunting in the scrubland near river water which attract the wild animals to live in this area also. Here the Bagri and animals encounter each other in the form of a hunter and game. This migration also brings about a change in the size of the bands, which usually occur when some households were left in their huts. They joined a new band in forest areas, where their band was much nearer to that of the new band. Hence, in winter, they disappear into little segments of bands, where they cultivate and hunt.

Where as in summer they came back near the villages and cities and segments of the bands again begin to live together and practice the begging. In summer, when the river overflows the water covers the winter settlements area, begging becomes subsistence for hunting, giving leisure to men and putting the burden of subsistence over the women. In these months men only do a little work. Occasionally vegetables growing and small game hunting in the *Pakka* area. According to one of my respondent he said that:

The summer also brings changes in diet. In winter, meat is more available and so it is of major part of their diet but in summer vegetables are more available and make considerable part of their diet. Changes of season affect the timings of subsistence activities due to heat in summer and coldness in winter. Hunting in winter is done at night while cultivation and begging are done during the day time.

Besides these seasonal changes an annually applicable daily time table may be distinguished, the Bagri get up just before the sun-rise. First of all a Tar (bath) is taken. Among the Bagri bath doesn't mean as that in our society. The Bagri only splash wet their body with water. Then they worship the Bhagvad Gita locally called ***Pothi***. Which they put in a hut which is made especially for this purpose and is used as the temple. This worship takes 5-10 minutes. Then all go to perform subsistence task with kin, friends and *Mitmitre*. According to native people they said that:

In past every one performed different tasks such as Man and male children above ten years work in the land, while the women and children under ten, they visit to



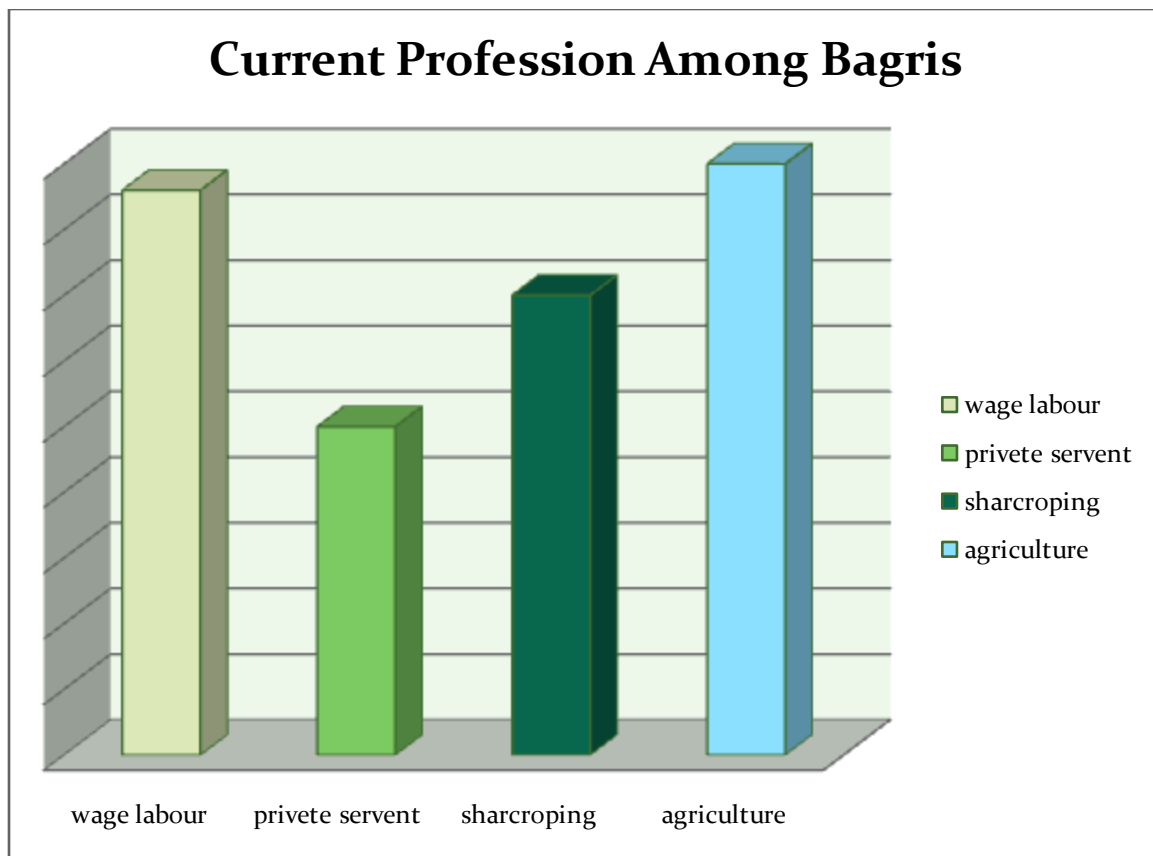
cities for begging. In the huts the young unmarried girls and old men are left to watch the huts and to work and to the visitors who come to meet them from other bands. They guide them to the Bagri who are wanted by the visitors. The working groups have returned to the huts just before noon. They eat together and take a rest after talking and joking with one another. In the summer it is practical and necessary, but in winter they seldom take a full rest at midday. In winter they again go to the work after having a lunch.

In the evening men or women both visit kin and friends after the day work. All the senior male members of the band or most of them gather in *punch* huts and discuss the solution of different problems at hand. They take their evening meal just before sun-set. After dinner, they chat and cut jokes with kin and friends. Then they go to the bed early at night in summer, but in winter usually they don't sleep at night since they have to go for hunting. They hunt till the late night and go to the sleep in the last quarter of the night, when they catch enough game or when they feel tired.

From this daily time table the calculated time spent in the subsistence activities may be as little as 3 to 4 hours daily which is lesser than that spent in the advanced and literate economies. But in the sowing season, they work for the whole day and in hunting season for three fourth of the night.

### **6.8. Bagri economy**

According to Turner (1972:22) Economy is defined as all these interrelated status, norms and rules that are organized into various social forms and that are related to gathering resources, producing goods and services, and distributing these goods and services. Similarly Bagri were hunters and gatherers, but also they practiced primary agriculture, begging, labor and as well as such diverse economic practices as robbery etc for their survivals. But now they are engaged in every profession. I elaborate, chart of the Bagri community about their current professions.



(Source socio economic census survey form)

## 6.9. Division of the labors

All communities have some division of labor. Some customary assignment of different kinds of work to different kinds of the people. Universally males and females and adults and children don't do the same kind of the work. In this sense, then division of labor by sex and age is a kind of universal specialization of the labor. Age is also a universal basis for division of labor. Clearly, children cannot do work that requires a great deal of strength. However, they do those works which don't require too much body strength. For example, they help in animal tending, weeding, harvesting and do a variety of domestic chores such as child care, fetching, water and firewood, and cooking and cleaning.

Girls are considered old enough to be responsible for a younger sibling for a good part of the day. Animal tending is also important work for children. Children are used or engaged in work because they think more is better. My respondents were of the view that:

Bagri living in different bands, their occupation is based on agricultural and non agricultural in nature. The non agricultural occupation consider as, work on daily wages, these include peon, white washers, electrician, and drivers.

Mostly people in the village are working as labor due to lack of other job opportunities. The question arises here is that, why do people prefer secondary source of income. People prefer the secondary source of income for their survival and profit motive.

#### **6.9.1. Female occupation**

Female contribution in economic fields is nearly equal to that of the men. They embrace a variety of occupation my respondent was of the view that:

In the past our females were expert in begging; male member worked on the land and practices the hunting while for economic purpose women practiced the begging.

One of my female respondents was of the view that:

Begging is alsoa traditional occupation like hunting's. Every Bagri woman was an expert at begging. Because begging practiced by women and children's. At that time it was the major economic activities for us. They have to be very artful to obtain everything such as cash, food, clothing and necessities through begging. The cycle of begging is closely also related to the Islamic months of the Muslim calendar.

#### **6.9.2. Patterns of labor in past**

It is generally believedof the primitive people that they did not use to work hard and led an easy life. Likewise the Bagri also work hard and therefore cannot be considered lazy. However, they did relax when they have spare time. They are capable for working well, efficiently and in a continuous manner as described by Malinowski 1922. About the Trobriand islanders of Kiriwina. A Kiriwina must work under an effective incentive, he must be promoted by some duty imposed by tribal standards, or he must be lured by ambition and values also dictated by custom and tradition. But among the Bagri, each individual works for himself and for his family to provide the necessities of life to family members. All the members of the household cooperate to subsist but the division of labor was strict.

This may be variously based upon such factors as sex, age, family connections, ranks, clan's, caste, and special craft skills. Just as other simplest communities, the Bagri labor is essentially

divisible on the basis of sex and age. Men and women did different tasks from each other's and children of each sex help them in their special spheres of activity. Age is also a universal basis for division of labor. Clearly, children cannot do work that requires a great deal of strength. However, they do those works which don't require too much body strength. For example, they help in animal tending, weeding, harvesting and do a variety of domestic chores such as child care, fetching water and fire wood, and cooking and cleaning. Girls are considered old enough to be responsible for a younger sibling for a good part of the day. Animal tending is also an important work for children. Children are used or engaged in work because they think more is better.

### **6.9.3. Pattern of labor in present**

Now Bagri women and men engage in different activities. Men works in the land, as well as other unskilled labor, such as driver, mechanics, vegetable street seller, peon etc. similarly the female member of the Bagri community engage in different activities, they help their husband, parents in their agricultural activities. One of the respondents was of the view that:

The Bagri women are a very hard worker, they help to their relatives in their work, as well as they practice different occupation, such as handicrafts, domestication of the animals and household activities. One of my respondents was of the view that:

The mostly Bagri is engaged in agriculture. Male and female members of the family without any distinction of age, works in the field. For the cultivation of these crops the villagers have to work in the fields through the year. We grow the Vegetable which are very are considered and beneficial for us, the name of vegetables are given in the following.

- Tomato
- Cauliflower
- Cabbage
- Potatoes
- Onion
- Green chili
- Pease

**(Picture No 39: Vegetable Seller)**



**( Picture No 40: Work in Land)**



**(Picture No 41: Woman with husband)**



**(Picture No 42: Children in work)**



(Source field data)



**(Picture No 43: Female children help to their mother in their domestic work)**



(Source field data)

**(Picture No 44: Cumulative Work of Female Male and Children in Agriculture)**



(Source field data)

Here I present a table showing the division of labor among the Bagri.

**Table No. 8: Division of labor at present**

Age group	Males	Females
<b>Children 5-15</b>	Go to school after that	Don't go to school
	Help In Cultivation	Help with House Tasks
	Help In Harvesting and Seeding	Help In cultivation with mothers
<b>Young People 15-30</b>	Communal Labor	Cooking Food,
	Joint Cultivation	Child Rearing
	Separate business	Helping In Harvesting and Seeding
<b>Elders Above 30 Years</b>	Harvesting And Seeding	Help to their husband in cultivation, harvesting.
	All Modes Of Production And separate business run by men	Housekeeping. Taking the care of younger and elderly people

(Source field data)

### Division of labor in present

Age group	Males	Females
<b>Children 5-15</b>	Help In Begging	Help In Begging
	Help In Cultivation	Help In House Tasks
	Help In Hunting	Help In House Work
	Help In Harvesting and Seeding	Fetch Firewood
<b>Young People 15-30</b>	Hunting, Fishing	Start Begging Separately
	Communal Labor	Cooking, Food, Begging
	Joint Cultivation	Child Rearing
	Fetching Firewood	Helping In Harvesting and Seeding
<b>Elders Above 30 Years</b>	Harvesting And Seeding	Patching the Firewood
	All Modes Of Production And Crop Watching But Men Don't Beg.	Housekeeping And Crops Watching, Begging.

(Source field data)

#### 6.10. Change in traditional mode of life

The subjects of my investigation have resigned their hunting habits and acquiring non-nomadic means of subsistence. That is, they entered into a system of exchange that depends on a cash economy. Means of subsistence need not only produced or acquired directly from their own labor, but from selling their labor. It is an agreed fact that the mode of subsistence exercises its influence on the behavior of human. Necessarily a major change in the mode of production of the means of subsistence will bring about change in the behavior, social interaction, in his status and role, in this world view. Here first of all intent to examine the changes in the traditional social institutions, attitude, behavior and ideas of the people belong to Bagri group.



The origins of the ethically peculiar features of the economy of the everyday life of the Bagri group and their ancestors and their social institution go back to the priceless society. With the transition to a settled community, the institutions and forms underwent a transformation. The importance of estrangement and alienation from sedentary were replaced by self consciousness of belonging to the same region. The reason for this change according to Bagri 's that; now when meeting each other, people are interested not in nomadic origin, but in where a person is from, in what town, district, region he lives, what his profession is, where he works and what his position is. So the exogamy barrier has become less, though it has not lost its role. The consciousness of biraderi affiliation still exists, but it is not opposed to the consciousness of belonging to the same region and society. The importance of bride price in marriage still exists today.

Another factor which played an important role in transition is the element of the conversation. As their ancestors embraced a great variety of occupation. Hunters, fishermen, basket weavers, beggars, vegetable seller. These occupations, once so profitable, have a future by no means bright. No doubt, there were conservative during hunting way of life because they believed that it was good for their forefathers is good enough for them, but now, they have broken the chains of conservatism.

Now it is very apparent, that their hunting is fast disappearing and that a process of settling down is under way as traditional modes of occupation are threatened. Now they embrace a variety of new occupations. Since they live on land which is suitable for cultivation. It is not surprising that most of them engage in an agriculture.

In this way they guarantee themselves a complementary livelihood and reduce the danger involved in fail of one branch of the economy. Besides, they can thus vary the diet. So hunters increasingly turn to the nomads, and nomads turn to agriculture cultivation.

Furthermore, now there is no single way in which these Bagri earn their living, many now seek wage labor. There is also some incidence of migrant labor. The opportunities offered by labor, skilled labor, by the economic development have been grasped by the Bagri community. The growing cities, the expansion of road construction and new industries are creating job opportunities. There is also an attraction for some young Barito seek paid labor outside the town.

On the whole, the trend towards sedentarization is promoted by the internal socio-economic development of the hunter society as well as other factors such as reduction in the number of postures, influence of agricultural neighbors etc. the reduced size of the hunters territory, the growing pressure on land, and the advent of new types of employment yielding higher income bring about a decline in the hunting mode of life.

### **6.11. Reciprocity and price mechanism**

Cultivation is a source of extra-food subsistence and because of cultivation their economy is losing its affluence. Now they are producing crops, vegetables, fruits on a large scale, at least more get more food resources. They have a surplus which was shared and reciprocated among them, in the early days of adopting cultivation. As the time is passing their interaction with the Muslim landlords is increasing. This increase interaction between them is due to the sale of surplus to the local landlords in spite of the social norms of sharing with each other. It gives rise to the preference of personal benefits over the tribe, because they only share foods and services not money which is replacing the surplus foods and goods. Money is borrowed from each other rather than sharing hence the accusation of money is getting more importance among them, are now sold to the landlords. They buy from the Bagri on cheap rates and get more benefit in the markets. Hence the concept of *Thoro* in a general sense is losing its significance. It is also affecting their political system. The members of certain bands are disobeying their Punch, who was the ultimate authority over their bands. For example, when Girdhari lal refused to obey his band punch, to return the debt of 1000, to the Lachman Devta, all the band members boycotted him but he still did not return it.

In Bagri community economy is changing through different diversifications. Their economy, which is also going under the process of change from pre-dominantly hunting to cultivation. It is the greatest source of cultural change among them. Agriculture, which is an element of sedentary groups of the Muslims is becoming popular in Bagri community and they are leaving the hunting wild animals. Now they are seasonal hunters as they hunt twice per year. Even the months of hunting are not purely devoted to hunting. They also do cultivation along with hunting in these months. It prevents them from making any distant expenditure for hunting as formerly.

Now they hunt in only crop-fields, river –banks and scrub lands which they cultivate and which are also near river banks. These are the changes which are coming as a result of the introduction

of money through landlords. Therefore the social norm of sharing, which are the basic features of their kinship structure and political structure and which ensure the distribution of goods and services among the band members and kinsmen is being affected by the price mechanism which is being introduced through the Muslims. Hence we can see that the nature of the Bagri encapsulation is a contrast to the marginality, is not self generated because they have low status in terms of economic prosperity, cultural and social sophistication. The Bagri encapsulation imposes on them door to Hindu-Muslim hostility. One of respondent postulated that:

In India our relative Vaghri, they are settled in villages as citizens, but in Sindh, they are hated by the sedentary groups of the Muslims due to their low status and religious hostility.

Their multiple economies which creates a functional relationship with local landlords, are affecting their politics and kinship structure, but encapsulation which is embedded in group's psychology is going on in spite of their religious system . Perhaps it is not enough to cross the encapsulated barriers which demands complete conversation.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **Choice of therapy and Health seeking behavior in Bagri community**

#### **7.1. Introduction**

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. (WHO, 1978). But it is a wider concept, which is defined in terms of three major indicators that are physical, mental, and social. All these make one concept, which is health. It shows that if a person is disturbed either physically, mentally or socially, then s/he will be considered as an ill-person. Generally it is believed that disease, illness and treatment are closely related to culture. In other words, it is the culture which tells us why and how people get ill. It is again a culture which affects the views of the people about the therapy of the diseases. The care and therapy system develops over a long period of time and generally there is harmony between the culture and current practices. It is a general understanding that exists in a person's life; though not necessarily part of their personal experience. (Kleinman, 1980).

In Bagri community therapeutic practices could be determined by various factors i.e. availability of service, resources and related structures. Casl and Cobb (1966) in an extensive review of the literature on health and illness behavior has concluded that the decision to take a particular course of action a person decides when he/she is unwell is influenced by the perceived value of the action when considering the cost of action past civilization of service, personal factors e.g.; age, sex, race, marital status etc. perceived threat of disease, psychological distress brought by disease etc.

In many communities initial choice of treatment to be determined primarily by cultural "beliefs" about the illness. Kleinman postulated that, cultural system also amalgamates all 'components' of society, which are specific to health. These may be Patterns of belief about the causes of illness; norms governing choice and evaluation of treatment; socially-legitimated statuses, roles, power relationships, interaction settings, and institutions (Kleinman 1980:24).

#### **7.2. Influencing factor for choosing healing options in Bagri community**

In this chapter researcher examine the ways and means in which Bagri community constructs the choice of therapy for health seeking behavior. As the health and disease are key factors in any

society. There are different ways of disease and different ways to treat them. In Bagri community the choice was very much dependent upon perception of the cause of illness and its severity. In general the following factors were more responsible: According to Bagri's they were of the views that,

Cost as a major factor in people's health care decision-making. They said if we suffered from *Dangerous* disease, we are not able to visit Dr, and then ultimately, we used other treatment, which is cost able for us.

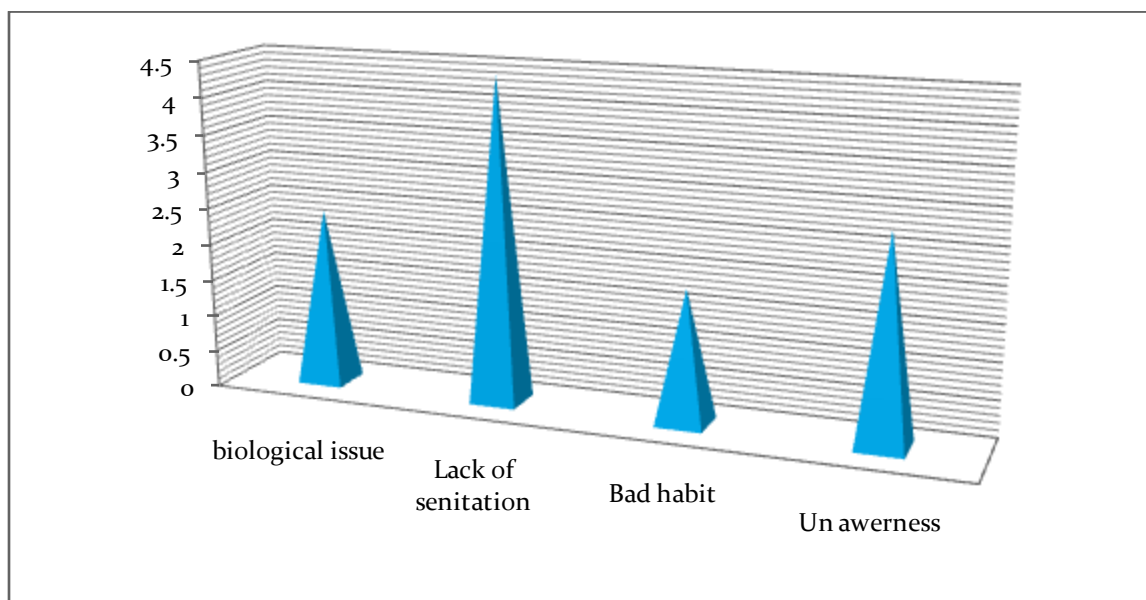
All interviewees argued that belief in various health systems was crucial, everyone has a different belief system, mostly in Bagri community they strongly believe on their *Pothi* is , their faith healing, some believed on herbs , other have believed in medical treatment. So the choice of therapy is totally based on their belief system.

### **7.3. Opinion of Bagri for sickness**

Everybody has a different opinion about the same things. Social trends, Norms, values, educational level, interaction with other people, service, facility, teach people to give their different ideas and opinion about the same things. One of the respondents postulated cause of disease in this way:

The cause of disease among Bagri community was different. Mostly inhabitants have their own believe about diseases they say that diseases come from god it is a natural phenomena. Another believes that it is biological cause of illness. Many diseases convert generation to generation. In a village some people have abnormal body like legs or arms this disease comes from inheritance. Elders people have strong believe on supernatural cause of illness like magic, taweez, evil eye, ghost, spirits, etc. other simple uneducated native have believe on their fat. They say that illness is a part of our fat. In community many inhabitants are economically poor this economic problem becomes a cause of worry tension, depression. These entire problems become psychological cause.

### Cause of illness, amongst Bagri's



(Source field data)

#### 7.4. Methods of the treatment

There are two distinguishable methods for the treatment of sickness, which are commonly found in the Bagri community . These methods are

- Traditional mode of the treatment
- Modern mode of the treatment

There are different sources of medicines for different modes of the treatment. Allopathic medicine can be bought from chemists, private clinics and dispensaries of government hospitals. Similarly the medicines of homeopaths and Hakeem's are available by the same. It can be seen that most of the people who seek spiritual treatment from the Hindu and Muslim shrines. It can be seen that most of the people get medicine from the dispensaries of government hospitals.

Hakeem is the third major source of the medicines, it can be seen that private clinics are another source of medicines. Homeopathic medicines are more common among the Bagri people. Although there is a homeopathic doctor who practices in the village. He also gives allopathic medicine when people need. Among the traditional mode of the treatment spiritual treatment is

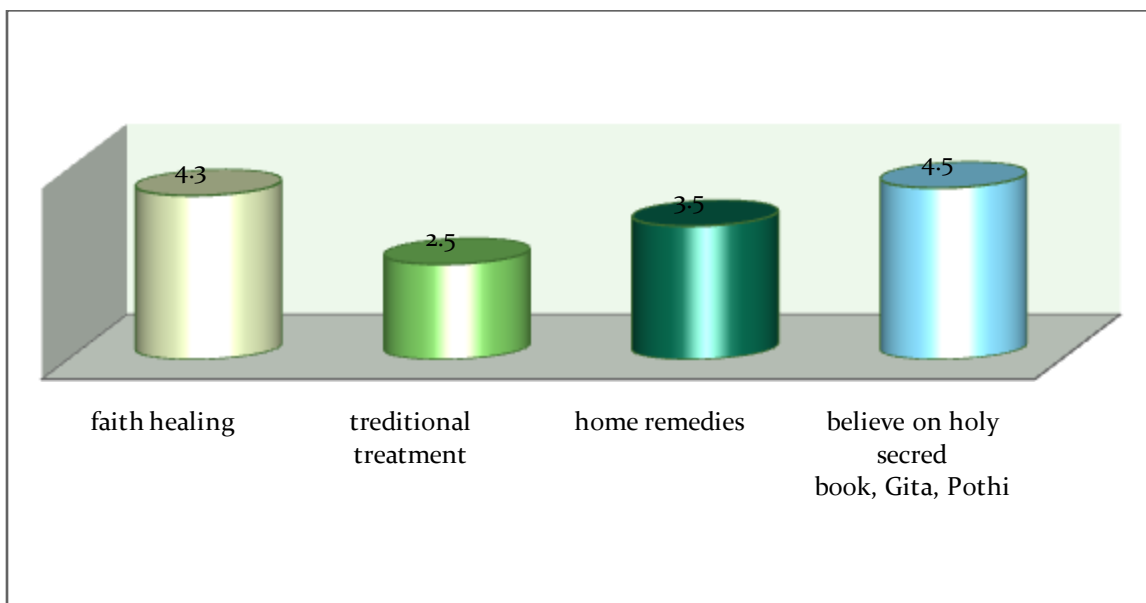
the frequently sought treatment. Hakeem treatment is also being practiced while homeopathic treatment is less common among the villagers. A comparative analysis would be useful at this stage to comprehend the method of the treatment of the few diseases from their traditional treatment to modern modes of the treatment.

### 7.5. Change in health seeking behavior from tradition to modernity

Most of us are aware that “time have changed” especially when we compare our lives with our ancestors. Witness in a recent change in behavior and attitudes of people about living standards, economy as well as mode of the treatment. In current research I found that the Bagri transition from traditional to modern way of the life due to economic uplift, education in the area. During this transitional change has also acquired in the beliefs and behavior regarding the phenomena of health and illness and also in the mode of treatment used by the native people, which resulted in the adoption of an allopathic mode of treatment.

But in spite of this transition people of Bagri community still carry their traditional health related beliefs and traditional way of the treatment (use the faith healer and home remedies ) along with the allopathic mode of the treatment. Thus the pluralistic mode of the treatment is prevailing in the Bagri community

**Seek of treatment in the past**



(Source field data)

Data shows that health seeking behavior in Bagri community in past modern. In the past, a traditional mode of the treatment was very popular and common among the Bagri people. Spiritual treatment was one of the important categories of traditional mode of the treatment. It included them *Pothi*, faith healing at a Hindu shrine through Pooja etc. similarly fatalistic attitude, magic and superstition beliefs, e.g. evil eye also played an integer role with respect to the health seeking behavior of the people.

In the past, they had strongly believed on *Pothi* still this believes system exists. One of my respondents was the view that:

In the past we don't visit anywhere for healing, we practiced our old tradition to ask from the Pothi. Pothi is basically a turban of our Devta, we all Bagri strongly believe on it. If someone is in serious condition then firstly we asked from the Pothi, our Devta communicate through the wheat stones, the religious leader called **Bhopa**, who asked from the Pothi about the disease. In many cases, many people died. We asked from Pothi, then he/she will be heeled or not, then our Devta communicate with bhopa, he said that, I can heal them, don't visit everywhere. So our sick person healed by the Pothi, that's why we don't apply to other methods for the treatment

Home remedies were very common in past, Bagri claim that, after the *Pothi*, and shrines we used home remedies for curing the diseases. In an earlier chapter I have explained that, Bagri were hunters, they used different animals for their survivals as well as for the curing the diseases. Bagri used these animals for curing a disease, they claim that if we ate the meat, wild animals, then we cannot suffer from any disease, the meat of Jackals, lizards give more energy in the human body. Meat of jackal is like a medicine for the Bagri. One of my respondents was of t the view that:

When we lived in the forest in 25 years ago, we did not suffer from any disease, we were healthy. But now everyone is suffering from different disease such as asthma, Tb, hepatitis, cancer, etc. but asthma is very common disease in our family. During the hunting time our male member did hunt of different wild animals for the survival as well as for curing the different disease. She said that, our ancestors hunt the *Gider* for curing a disease, mostly in winter season Bagri hunts *Gider* (jackals). Further, she said that: Bagri used these animals for curing a disease, they claim that if we ate the meat of jackals , then we can never ever become ill in our life, the meat of jackals gives more energy in the human body. Meat of jackals is like a medicine for the Bagri.



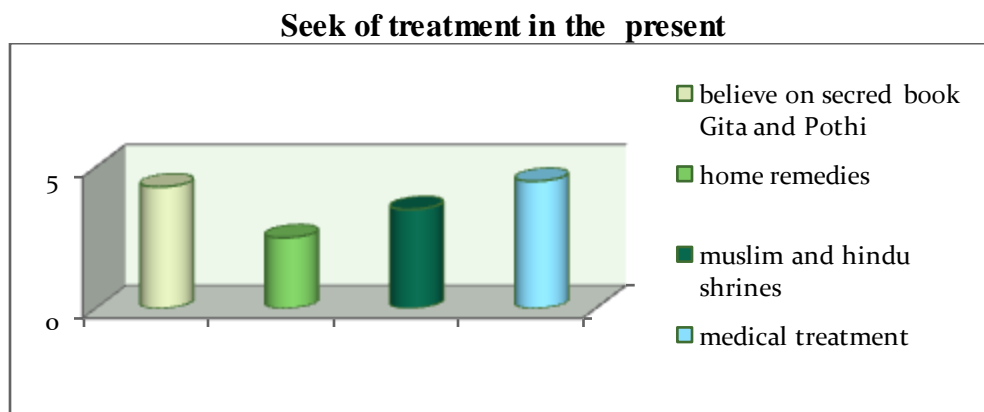
Due to shortage of hunting, we cannot hunt jackals, if any person suffered from asthma , we used another home remedy. Other respondent was the view that:

Different medicine used for different diseases, but asthma is very common disease in our community. The inhabitants of Bagri community make the medicine of asthma from the fish. It is made as follows: “You have to catch a “Sahol machhi” (a species of fish) and cooked it in the Karhai (a cauldron with oil in it). You need to put other two things such as leaves, and honey. You have to cook it for a long time and it became like a ball. Then you have to eat it and you are cured”.

Bagri community used traditional mode of treatment for healing. They used traditional healers for treatment of diseases. One of my respondents was the view that:

In our community, mostly elder natives have strongly believed in ethno-medicine. They make medicine from different herbs and animals. Mostly they make much medicine from fish, crocodiles, and birds. We all villagers make medicines out of birds like pelicans which they use for the pain in the joints. The Method to make it is as follows: “The fat of pelican is preserved in the pot of steel and is put in the sunlight. There should no wind blowing and the day should be hot. After it is melted by the sun, its pure oil is kept in the bottle. Then it is applied at the joints where you feel pain. But there should be no wind blowing when you apply it. It treats pain”.

The belief in evil eye was found among the greatest number of the people in the Bagri community . Bagri people they had strong faith in evil eye, evil eye was a very important aspects of the cultural setting of Bagri. An attitude is a predisposition to think, feel and perceive certain Statements and issues. The researcher had collected data on people's attitude about traditional and modern healing practices on that community.



(Source field data)

Data shows that health seeking behavior in Bagri community is changing from traditional to modern. In the past, a traditional mode of the treatment was very popular and common among the Bagri people. But now they give preference to seek medical treatment in contrast to Spiritual treatment, home remedies, etc. In past spiritual treatment was one of the important categories of traditional mode of the treatment. It included them *Pothi*, shrine, pooja etc, but now they similarly fatalistic attitude, magic and superstition beliefs, e.g. evil eye also played an integral role with respect to the health seeking behavior of the people. Data shows that the majority of the people are in the favors of the modern health practices. A female respondent said that:

We cannot wait for death, so we have to go to the doctor for the betterment of the health. Another female said that:

I always prefer allopathic cure, the reason is that when doctors do checkup with their apparatus, then we feel satisfied and because of using apparatus they know for what type of disease, what sort of tablet and medicines should be given to the patient. It is a scientific way of treatment. In all other modes of the treatment, we cannot know whether healer is aware of the disease or not. We prefer it and feel satisfied because the modern mode of treatment is accurate and reliable.

In the past, they had strongly believed on *Pothi* still this believes system exists. One of my respondents was the view that:

Beliefs about health and illness have elements of both modern, modern and traditional concepts related health and illness. One of respondent was of the view that:

People who adopt a modern mode of the treatment are primarily those who can afford this treatment financially or they are entitled in the government hospitals. Similarly, people who themselves cannot afford modern treatment, but are supported financially by their relative. The other reason for the performance of modern modes of the treatment is that, there are people who did not get relief by using traditional treatment so they has to go for the modern treatment.

Awareness is another factor that determines which mode of treatment a person will opt for. Usually the people who are using modern mode of the treatment have some source of awareness of modern treatment either through education, contract through urban centers, through media or simply through conversation with the neighboring people. At the same time there are people

who avoided traditional treatment due to too many abstentions and preventive measure. (Homeopathic, Hakeem treatment). Thus, they seek allopathic modern treatment.

Another reason for adopting modern mode of the treatment in the Bagri community, because we also see the impact of modernization. Modernization is the process of the development and because of its health seeking behavior of the Bagri, they are going to change from traditional to modern treatment.

### 7.6. Case study 1

C is four years old; he has 3 sisters and one brother. His father is driver; they belong to lower class of Bagri community. Her mother told me, from the birth time he is in poor health. He has problem in breathing. I was worried for him, because everyone such as doctors, relatives said, he has Savvier Tb. His treatment of Tb continued till three months but he was in same condition. Then I went to the other doctor, he said he is fine he has no Tb but he is suffering from asthma, this is genetically transformed from the family. He asked me any one in your family has asthma disease, I said yes; her grandfather and cousin have savvier asthma. Doctor said in that case he is suffering from asthma, don't be worried for him when he grows to be elder, he will be fine. Just avoid the oily things rice, and junk foods.

I try to avoid recommended things by doctor, but he is a child he takes junk foods and rice etc. in season, winter and summer he always suffered from poor health. Everyone knows his condition from birth date to till a time, then friends and relatives told me different home remedies, I try to make all home remedies for my child.

- *Desi Aano* (pure Egg) and honey, without fry or boiled I give him, he cried but for medication I forced him.
- I used few pieces of *KakhranJo manhaaro* (yellow jackets, yellow wasp), in a bowl and mix with water. I gave him in morning time for 40 days.
- The one kg leafs of *safaida or baidmushaq tree* (leafs of *Eucalyptus citriodora*) and one kg water, then boiled on wooden hearth, after that we can use for forty days in the morning time.
- Grind the olive leaf and used in daily routine.

- A stick of *Paan* (betel), *Dalchini* , *Gulkand* (rose petal jam) with water, keep in bowl and mix with each other, then boiled the mix material for 50 minutes after that asthma patient can use in night time.

Now with the bless of our devta he is fine, now I don't west money in medical treatment. When he has problem in breathing I used home remedies.

### 7.7. Case study

A was suffering from kidney stone disease from the adulthood. He used medical treatment, his disease not cured. The Dr said, because of infection your kidney has been felt. We will remove your kidney. I was very worried about disease Muslim friends suggested me to go Saeed Mussani, that your disease will be healed. I went to the shrine of Saeed Mussani I saw dream the yang men with white dress like Doctors, and cures the patients through operation. It's only through the operation that one can uproot the disease from the body forever. The saint knows everything and can see transparently through one's body. Like X-ray machine and can gauge what it that afflicts the body and the soul is. Even the diseases which don't appear on X-ray machine and belie the brilliant of doctors are not hidden from this greatest of the doctor.

He was of the view that, I have been healed by the Muslim saint, he describe that they have clearly seen the injection, cotton , scissors, stitches and medicine used during the operation performed in their *Dawan* (dream whereby the saint visit the devotees). He said I was crying out of unbearable pain in his kidney, he visited by the saint, in this dream and was injected on his kidney and got healed. For me he is greatest doctor and even the doctors in London even cannot equal him. Who perform operation without anesthesia and leaves no trace of the disease in the body to grow again.

The shrine of Saeed Mussani is not traditionally referred as a Dargah but it is reffered as a hospital. Not simply as a hospital, but like a medical complex where every type of disease is cured. This medical complex is not merely restricted to specific disease and patients, but accommodates every type of patient and disease. It is popularly believed that method of healing at the shrine of Saeedi Mussani is via an operation. It is the most common term used at the shrine and the most dominant metaphor used at shrine for healing method. The person who is ill and is waiting to be healed narrates that; he is waiting for his number for operation. And the cases which are miraculously healed explain that the saint performed an operation and they got healed.

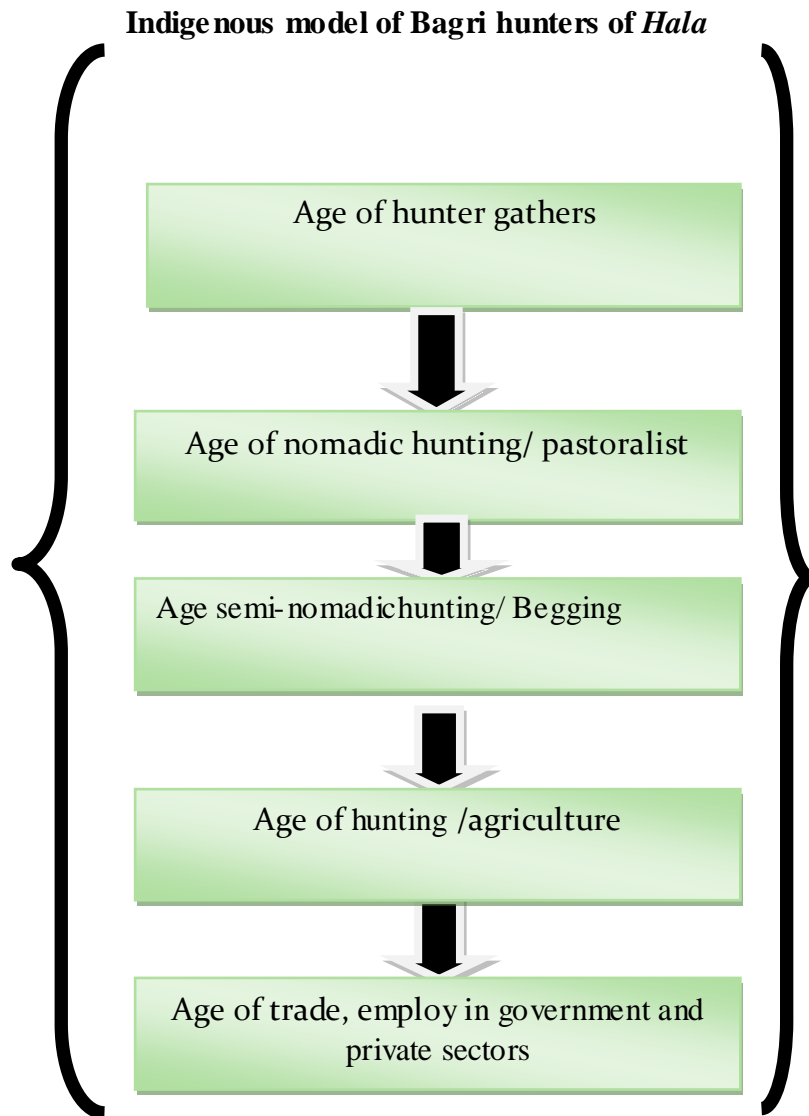
## CHAPTER 8

### Theoretical Discourse

On the basis of current research I have cited the work of Adam Smith which helps me to draw the picture from the transition of Bagri community from hunting and gathering to sedentarization. In above discussion I have mentioned that Bagri community evolved through the different stages, they claim to be hunter and gatherers, and now they are permanent settled in different region of Pakistan and India. On the basis of topic, I cited the theory of Adam Smith entitled Socio-cultural theory of evolution; it's also called the 4th age theory. The Four stage theory was published in 1776, in the book of *The Wealth of Nations* (Pocock, 1999,).

In the light of above discussion Adam Smith theory seems relevant to my research work. But my work is somehow different to the work of Adam Smith. He divided the chronological development of communities into the four sequential stages shown in Figure. Probably to make it easy he described these stages as ages. He assumed that each stage followed the other in the sequence indicated in Figure but that not all communities would evolve past the early stages. Their prospects for transiting to stages later than that of HGs depended on their natural resource endowments.

Similarly the Bagri community has been developed in the same sequence, but there is change is that they are still attached with their traditional way of hunting. In all stages they grow up, but spiritually and culturally there are attached to hunting practices. Correspondingly, Bagri community changes through these stages. Bagri claims that our ancestors were fully engaged in hunting, then we become nomads and practice hunting and pastoralist, after that we engaged in agriculture still almost Bagri population work in agriculture, as well as new generation are interested in trade, jobs. Economically Bagri have changed, they get more income in other fields.



(Source field data)

The diagram examines the Bagri community has adopted the changes but still they are attached to their traditional way of hunting. The indigenous model of hunting show that 1<sup>st</sup> stage was hunting, after that they adopt domestication of animal, as well as attached to hunting. The 3rd stage shows that begging and hunting; in 4th stage they engage in agriculture and hunting. 5th Stage shows that Bagri is not fully espousing the globalization, some population of Bagri is doing trade including hunting and agriculture. The diagram shows that Bagri is living in global village but still they are practicing ancestral tradition. Now a day's they performed hunting not for survival but they are interested to eat animal flesh. In past hunting being the favorite

occupation among the tribe, it fulfils major part of their basic necessities such as diet. Besides, Every Bagri community eats the meat of pigs, it's religiously compulsory to eat flesh of pigs. After that they become the Bagri, otherwise they are not considering as Bagri. The meat of pigs is religiously sacred for Bagri religion. Therefore, still Bagri attached with hunting them never miss the opportunity of hunting of the pigs. The concept of headmen is also used by Bagri community. But in their own language they called as Shikari Punch.

After hunting Bagri involved in begging, it provides an extra income. Usually women, children and old people go into the nearby cities and villages to collect money, sweets and old clothes from door to door or from shop to shop. Young people, however, labor in the town market places where they load and unload grain or other articles. After begging cultivation is another source of food production, hunting and begging do not yield sufficient mean of enable them to meet the needs of the day, therefore, they borrow land from the local muslin landlords, and cultivate vegetable and fruits. They live in Kacha area, where they cultivate the land on tenancy, after the end of the crop seasons; they shift their settlements in the pakka area. They usually live in the outskirts of cities and villages, where from they can approach the market places and bazaars to sell their vegetables.

In current research I have also cited the work of Bettinger which help me to draw the picture of the Bagri community about their sedentarization. For this study I used the push model of Sedentism. An example of the push model is presented by Bettinger (1999). Sedentism is an important area of study in modern anthropology and archaeology, because the transition from a mobile lifestyle of living in permanent villages is seen as one of the key changes in the history of humanity (Ames 1991). Edwards states that Sedentism is when the "greater part of the population of a community resides perennially at one settlement" (1989:9). Hitchcock sees Sedentism when the people "remain residually stationary year-round" (1987:384). Kelly takes a more process approach in arguing group is "less mobile than previously" becoming "increasingly sedentary over time" (1995:148).

Therefore, the reasons one would be mobile to take advantage of temporal and especially spatial variations in resource abundance are not present. Under these conditions, it is more economically expensive to be mobile than it is to be sedentary. Bettinger argues that the motivating force behind the transition from a mobile to a sedentary settlement pattern for the pre-Contact groups

living in the Inyo-Mono region of California is population growth. This growth caused groups to avoid moving to distant resource patches when local resources became scarce because it was assumed that other groups were already utilizing these resources. Since groups were staying in a smaller area, they started to take advantage of a wider variety of resources that may not have been collected in the past (Bettinger 1999).

Kelly argues that variations in subsistence strategies result from "the economic decision-making process of hunter-gathers as they are confronted by a set of resources, a process that enables them to choose between resources depending on their goals" (1995:108). He utilizes an optimal foraging model to explain these decisions, arguing that hunter-gatherer groups should stop moving residences "if the anticipated return rate of the next patch minus the cost of moving is greater than the anticipated return rate of the patch currently occupied" (Kelly 1995:152). In other words, he sees Sedentism as the "product of local abundance in a context of regional scarcity" (Kelly 1995:152). He also acknowledges the "domino effect" the movement towards a sedentary settlement pattern can have within a region, where certain.

In the light of the above discussion of Push model by Bettinger, his work seems relevant to my research work. The transition in Bagri from hunting and gathering to sedentarization, based on four categories, such as hunting, nomadic, semi nomadic and sedentarization. Bagri transition from mobile to sedentary highly effect on their living way of life. These Socio-cultural changes have had erratic impacts on Bagri community to adapt the mode of changes. Due to acculturation Bagri community has adopted the changes in their settlement patterns but still few inhabitants of Bagri community are spiritually and culturally attached to their traditional way of hunting. They claims that our ancestors were fully engage in hunting till 1985, after that they became nomads and practice hunting and begging, nowadays almost population of Bagri community involve in agriculture, as well as new generation are interested in trade, and other jobs. Economically they have changed their economy which is also going under the process of transformation from pre-dominantly hunting to cultivation.

The Bagri community socially emotionally is being influenced by the sedentary group through a functional interaction with the Muslim landlords and Bania. With the economic development and increased social interaction with the sedentary population, they have adopted some changes in their living standard. They lived in three types of settlements such as *Pakka Kacha* and Jhopra



(hut settlement). In a few years ago all populations of Bagri lived in huts. Due to acculturation some changes occur in their settlement patterns. In above, discussion I have mentioned that Bagri community evolved from different stages, current few inhabitants of Bagri community survive in huts, and other population lives in *Kacha* and *Pakka* houses. In Bagri community Settlement is necessarily escorted by a reassembling of the family unit. The increasing density in the human habitat certainly changes the surrounding landscape and eventually uses of hunting and gathering, pressure on proximate forest resources. The rapid decline of nearest resources has to be rewarded by seasonal migrations or more distant hunting and gathering expeditions.

When Bagri they were not sedentary, the move from one place to another place, the decision regarding to the migration of the band are made by the *Punch* (headmen) after consulting other active members of the band. He calls a meeting and decides the routes and places for new settlements. Now 75% of the population of Bagri community are permanently settled in different region of Sindh, and 25% population is still nomads, they perform seasonally, migration to a different area. Sedentary ways of life of the Bagri community are not a relatively recent adaptation. This is gradual change still few population are not fully adopt the changes.

In other words Bagri interaction with the environment and the surroundings settled populations adapting to the new situation which is turning into new strategies of survival.

## CHAPTER 9

### Summary and Conclusion

The present study was conducted among the Bagri community vagrant Hindu of *Sindh*. They are scattered in different parts of the province. Their major settlements are near Sukkur, *Hala*, Hyderabad, Khairpur, Panu Aaqil, Mithi, Umarkot, and Ghotki. For conducting the research work, I selected *Hala* as a research locale, where the Bagri settlement has existed for many years. *Hala* is divided in two parts on the basis of topography and this effected migratory movement of the Bagri community. These two parts of the area are *Kacha* and *Pakka*. *Kacha* is that part of the region, which is situated close to the river bank. *Pakka* is situated near to market and bazaar. Bagri live in *Kacha* area during the crop season, here they do some cultivation and hunt some time. After the crop season they migrate to *Pakka* area which is irrigated. Still migration of the Bagri people is confined between these two zones. During the crop season during November and March, they live in *Kacha* area, where they cultivate the land on tenancy, after the end of the crop seasons, they shift their settlements in the *Pakka* area. They usually live in the outskirts of cities and villages, where from they can approach the market places and bazaars to sell their vegetables.

As regards the origin of the Bagri there are many myths. Each myth gives variant details; however, they seem to be aboriginal people who were turned into out-castes the incoming invaders of prehistory, who drove them into the unsettled area. They after leaving their ancestral abode adopted a mobile way of life and were scattered throughout Thar Desert, which constitutes a large portion of *Sindh* in Pakistan and Rajasthan in India. Bagri were living in the Great Indian Desert since ages and here they can only get wild foods that they gather mainly through hunting. They are still maintaining this traditional mode of life. As soon as they left their native homes, and become vagrant and move from place to place in search of food. Mostly Bagri instigated to live near to the forest and the river for their natural habit. Where they live in the thatched huts, for their livelihoods they used different techniques which include hunting, seasonal cultivation, and begging.

Bagri community has been associated with hunting occupation for decades. Ecological conditions have exerted a great impact in shaping their culture and lifestyle. The Bagri people give great importance to hunting knowledge. They learn it through enculturation from their

ancestors. This knowledge is visible in different forms such as foot tracing, recognizing the animal sounds, knowing of the forest routes, making effective hunting groups, local idioms of hunting, the perils of animal, defend from animal, capturing of animal, net making reaping of hunting tools. These various forms can not be studied in isolation from their cultural values and norms. Certain proverbs and taboos are the guiding principles of these hunters.

For Bagri, hunting is the preferred mode of subsistence. Leaving aside the cow they eat every type of flesh. Beef avoidance is due to their Hindustic belief that the cow is sacred and equivalent to the mother deity. They hunt wolves, jackals, foxes, lizards; particularly etc. in past hunting being the favorite occupation among the tribes as explained by the Sahlins (1972) hunting is the affluent nature of the economy. Similar the Bagri economy to a certain extent, It fulfills major part of their basic necessities such as diet. Besides, it provides them living. After 1965, Bagri were dying because of the poverty, they had nothing to eat, they adopt the ancestor's occupation of hunting, they hunt the different wild animal for their survivals, Now 25% of Bagri community in *Sindh* still performed the hunting. The Bagri lived in the forest still they are engaged in hunting and those Bagri they are permanent settled in different region of *Sindh*, they got an invitation from the forest Bagri's for hunting. Bagri went for hunting to remember their ancestral occupation. Bagri community has considerable knowledge about access to the game. A Bagri can tell the kind of the animal by looking just at its footsteps and direction of movement. He can tell about its sex and state of pregnancy as well.

As I observed, they have a primitive life style based on low level of technology, they used primitive tools and fairly rudimentary techniques in getting their food. In hunting they use Iron made leg snares, exes, hand axes, digging exes' wooden clubs, knives, strikes and dogs. Their characteristic feature is lizard hunting, which is identical with the Waghri of Gujarat India. They hunt in the summers, but the general season of hunting is winter. The animals hunted include fox, Cat, jackals, pig-and Goah, big lizard. When Bagri hunt animal in the forest then they don't share of that animal in the forest because it is just like a sacred place for them. They also perform various rituals to show unity and solidarity among themselves. There are some myths about hunting, Noor (Squire ) Cutting the route of Bagri from the front, then, they consider our hunting trip will be remain unsuccessful, on the other hand, Titer (Partridge) is considered as an auspicious bird. They think when this bird sings, then their hunting trip will be more successful and get more hunts. Making of nets and maintenance of hunting tools requires great skill and

occupational experience which is learnt by these hunters through a continuous process of training. They show great emotional attachment with these tools. They consider these tools are the source of their income and food. Sometime they decorate the tools and paint with beautiful colors.

These hunters always work in groups. These groups have close relationships with each other. Members of the hunting groups abide by certain rule and principles which are used as a guide for them. There is a systematic division of labor among them. Every member is assigned certain tasks according to his skills and experiences. The Wise, the knowledgeable and experienced hunter selected by the leader (chief) of the hunting group. In Bagri community meat is shared most commonly when the hunt is abundant. When they hunt more than their own use they give it to the kin and friends as a gift. When the abundance of game is required, it is divided among them according to rules of reciprocity which are among the Eskimos. First of all hunting- party divided among its members, then each hunter distributes his part as , he takes the best part of the kill, then gives to other band members who helps him in chopping at the settlements. Then he gives a good part to his parents and uncles, then to parents in laws if they are near settlements. Then brothers, cousins and to the punch. The last they give to the visitors and other families are interested to eat the animal flesh.

Bagri community was fully engaged in hunting till the period of 1980, after that, everyone settled in different region of *Sindh*, some are engaged in, begging, cultivation and other occupation. Now Bagri is not wasting time to search, the hunt, now everyone is busy in their life, if they saw the animals, such as pigs, jackals then they started hunting there because they are interested to eat animal flesh , but not fully depending on hunting. In Bagri community hunting is decreasing day by day because of deforestation and waste desolate land prepared for agriculture purpose and owner of these land they don't give permission for hunting . In current time 25% Bagri is engaged in hunting and 75% are not in favor of the hunting. Mostly Bagri left the hunting for this reason, when Bagri work on land, then landlord does not allow to use their utensils, even they drunk water through their hands. Everyone felt hat and not interested to sit with them , unfortunately any Muslim, sits they felt smell from Bagri's , subsequently Muslim ignored and said we feltthe smell from you , kindly sit outside .That time we felt shame because they were refused by the Muslims in every situation.

Now mostly Bagri think, now we are happy in our life, we don't have need for hunting. Our ancestor practiced hunting because of the poverty, those people performed hunt, and they have more time, now we don't have time for hunting but religiously some time we practice hunting. In Bagri community hunting practices consider it as an integral part of their common cultural heritage. It enlivens their past tradition and customs. People try to practice and transfer it to their next generation. After hunting Bagri involved in begging, it provides an extra income. Usually women, children and old people go into the nearby cities and villages to collect money, sweets and old clothes from door to door or from shop to shop. Young people, however, labor in the towns, market places where they load and unload grain or other articles.

Among the Bagri, cultivation is another source of food production, hunting and begging does not yield sufficient mean to enable them to meet the needs of the day, therefore, they borrow land from the local muslin landlords, and cultivate vegetable and fruits. These lands are usually located along the bank of the river. They made huts on that land. They were not a sedentary people, but now 75% of Bagri populations in *Hala* are the sedentists. The important source of water among them is the river Indus. It flows southerly in general, but in the specific area its flow is westward. It's obvious play a great role in the Bagri economy; it is the only source of water for cultivation. They cultivate edible and short term crops which include watermelon, peanuts, and vegetables. They cultivated with the method of *Khada* and *Nali*. The former is very common and the latter is rare, because the implements and technology not used by the Bagri. They use their own traditional method of the cultivation. *Khada* which is very common is done by the spades, hand axes and bowls. Spandrels are used to dig the ground till the water table is reached and hand axes are used to make pits to put in the seeds. The Bagri are the landless and take the land on a temporary tenancy from the local landlords.

The division of the labor among the Bagri is mostly based on the sex and age differences. Men are the hunters and cultivators; women are beggars, house workers as well as helps to their husband in cultivation. Children up to 15 years learn begging by from their mothers. The male children up to 15 years learn hunting and cultivation in the supervision of their elders. Female children up to 15 learn the housework by helping their mothers in the huts. When the youngsters are married, they become the members of the new family, they participated in cultivation and hunting and female they engaged in cultivation and domestic works. Their whole system of distribution and consumption based on the *Thoro* (gift and ceremonial exchange), which is

distributed during the marriage ceremonies particularly but generally on visits. They share the crop yield along with sharing out the meat hunted. They exchange gifts and counter gifts on marriage in the form of Niendro and Mani. Niendro is present in the form of the cash or kind of marriage given to the celebration household heads and Mani is the Feast has given to the invited *Mitrmitre* (household representatives who participated *Thoro*) as a counter gift.

The Bagri social organization is based on the clan organization the whole tribe is divided into nine bands called the *Paro*. These *Paros* are socially stratified in Bagri society. Chuhan and Dhabi are the upper bands, while Kori, Roda and Pamanwara are the lowest and Saroki, Punmarr, Dhamdaro and Wadyaro are middle in the hierarchy. Each *Paro* is a Patri-clan like the Dhabi, *Paro* Chuhan *Paro*. They are totally exogamous but within tribe they are endogamous. Their political situation is based on the band organization like other hunting and gathering communities. Just like Eskimos, Andaman Islanders, Australian aborigines, and Kung Bushmen, they live in tiny groups, called the bands. Each band has chief men is called a punch. A punch is a person of renown like the big men of the Gururumba. But is usually drawn from the inheritor of the previous punch. The Punch is considered as an authorized leader of the band. The exercises authority and influence over his own band. The authority and decision making on the tribal level is run by the councils of nine bands. They gain the renown by their personal qualities of inheritor of old punch.

The importance of the kinship becomes evident and plays an important role in the resolution of the conflicts. The councils of the nine Punch's bridges and resolves the conflicts at the band level and the inert *Paro* level. This is a comprised of the representatives of the bands, *Paro*. This arrangement saves the tribe from disunity and maintains its solidarity. And it is by the means of kinship, that band punches are selected from the individuals genealogically linked with the previous punch. The Bagri kinship terminology is a generational system like the Hawaiians. As regards the marriage rules, the Bagri is tribally endogamous where is band exogamy is the basic principle among their *Paros*. They never marry in their own band considering each other as classificatory brothers and sisters. Consanguinal families of their mother's are also avoided for the purpose of marriage. Marriage is performed in a set of ceremonies and rituals. A different ritual performed by parents on their children, wedding, which includes **Kando** (invitation) **Gana** (destining of twisted thread around the wrist of the bride and groom), **Vatno** rubbing of mixed color on the body of the bride and groom, **Mani** (feast ), **Phareys** (rounds of fore), and

***Ikrar***(promise).In Bagri tribe they have a concept of bride price. There is a hierarchy between white and black if the girl is white, then her price will be more than from the black the bride. The amount of the bride price goes to the bride's father. Among the Bagri divorce price is also paid when a women demands for divorce. It is usually exorbitant as compared to their bride price and is paid to the women's fathers.

Religion among the Bagri is based on the pluralistic beliefs. They practice Hinduism combined with certain elements of the worship. They worship of Hindu deities such as Rama, Krishna, Kali Devi, Sita Devi, and natural objects like the Sun, the Moon, the Cow, and Piple tree as well as worshiped along with the Sikh deities like Guru Nanak. They believe in Gita and Guru Grant Sahib. And respect the Holy Quran of the muslims. Nonetheless, they are more close to Bania (a member of the Hindu trader caste) then other religious leaders of Sikhism ad Islam. The Bania gives them religious leadership by performing their rituals and ceremonial on different occasions such as ***Chatti***, (the naming ceremony), ***Jhand*** (first hair -cut), ***Jania*** (thread ceremony centered on the membership of the religion), wedding rites like ***Phareys*** (rounds), ***Bhajan*** (religious songs of joy), ***Ikrar*** (promise of the bride and groom to each other in front of the Gita). And death rites,***Diva***(burning of the lamp), ***Kai*** (cafan), ***Kaandi*** (lifting the death to the burning place). There is no special category or class of individuals among the Bagri which leads their religious ceremonies or functions, nor does the traditional Hindu Brahman guide them, but a Bania leads their ceremonies of initiation and of other sorts.

The Bania does not live within the community, but his services requested from his home in the nearby towns. They are considered untouchable among the other Hindus; they are considered as a Shudhar class. They are not allowed to enter in temple of other high castes in *Hala*. They make their own temples in their own settlements. They also believe that Rama and Rahim (Allah) were brothers. They believe that Rama is a *creature* and Rahim is the most *merciful*. They believe that Rama and Rahim become angry with each other and Guru Nanak tried to settle them. In short, their belief system presents the picture of a family in the sky who is ruling on the whole India spiritually.

The ecology, both social and natural, also helped the fabrication of the particular type of social organization; socially they are being influenced by the sedentary group through a functional interaction with the Muslim landlords and Bania. Nonetheless, a considerable margin remains

between the Bagri and the Bania and also between the Muslim and the Bagri due to their untouchable status. With the economic development and increased social interaction with the sedentary population their kinship may accept some modification. One of such indication is that they have stratified selling the surpluses which they use to share among themselves before. Secondly, they may adopt any singular concept out of the sympathize belief system, which will be the source of their amalgamation with the sedentary population.

### **Conclusion:**

The purpose of the research was to find out the transition of the Bagri community from hunting to sedentarization. Bagri is a scheduled caste, community of Sindh. Bagri community has been associated with indigenous knowledge of hunting and gathering. The research concluded that Bagri is marginalized ethnic community of Sindh. History shows that they were Aboriginal hunter and gathers of India. They migrated one place to another place to search for the hunt.

Keeping in view, the hypothesis of the research we come to know about fundamental factors of the presence of indigenous knowledge of hunting and gathering. The research clearly supports the first point of the hypothesis that, Hunting knowledge is the cultural heritage of the Bagri tribe. Which they endured from their ancestors. Religiously and culturally they are attached with hunting, Bagri claims to be Hindu by religion, but in practice they don't strictly adhere to *Hindu* doctrines, especially as related to the diet. Leaving aside the cow they eat every type of flesh. Beef avoidance is due to their Hindus belief that the cow is sacred and equivalent to the mother deity. They hunt wolves, jackals, foxes, lizards; particularly etc. the research revealed that in Bagri religion, its obligatory to eating pork's of animals. Every inhabitant of the Bagricommunity eats the meat of pigs, it's religiously compulsory to eat flesh of pigs. After that they become the Bagri, otherwise they are not considered as Bagri. The meat of pigs is religiously sacred for Bagri religion. Therefore, still Bagri attached with hunting, they never miss the opportunity of hunting the pigs.

The research clearly supports the second point of the hypothesis that, The economy of Bagri community is changing through different diversifications. Their economy, which is also going under the process of change from pre-dominantly hunting to cultivation. In past Bagri were fully engaged in hunting and gathering, but now, they engaged in primary agriculture, begging, wage



labor and as well as such diverse economic practices as robbery, etc. Moreover, with the economic development and increased social interaction with the sedentary population, they have adopted some changes in their living standard. Bagri transition from mobile to sedentary highly effect on their settlement patterns. There are commonly three types of dwelling pattern found in Bagri community, such as *Pakka Kacha* and *Jhopra* (hut settlement). In a few years ago all populations of Bagri community lived in huts. Due to acculturation some changes occur in their settlement patterns.

## Glossary

Local Term	English Equivalents or descriptions
<b>Amanti</b>	Arbitrator
<b>Awaz</b>	Sound
<b>Aghni</b>	Sacred Fire
<b>Anghar</b>	Coal
<b>Ashnan</b>	Bath
<b>Aadat on</b>	Characteristic
<b>Akhoon</b>	October
<b>Bania</b>	Member of Trading Hindu Caste
<b>Banga</b>	Sharing
<b>Badroon</b>	August
<b>Below</b>	Forest
<b>Brahango</b>	Long Jump
<b>Bhagavad Gita</b>	Sacred Book of Hinduism
<b>Bhog</b>	Offering the Foods to Deities By Putting In Fire
<b>Bund</b>	Dam
<b>Bhajan</b>	Hindu Religious Song, Sung In Praise Of Deities
<b>Bhopo</b>	A Local Shaman
<b>Bradari</b>	Traditional Kinship Group
<b>Coro</b>	Ceremony of Rubbing Flour on the Body of Bride and
<b>Chhallo</b>	Ring
<b>Chatti</b>	The Naming Ceremony After Six Days of Childs Birth

<b>Chatro</b>	April
<b>Charbi</b>	Fat
<b>Chamto</b>	Iron Lope
<b>Chaki</b>	Flour Mil
<b>Chara Ghan</b>	Hunting Place
<b>Chamro</b>	Skin Of Animal
<b>Diva</b>	Burning of the Lamp,
<b>Divali</b>	Lighting Festival
<b>Dupata</b>	Wrapper
<b>Dhoti</b>	Piece Of Cloth Wrapped Around the Waist Like Sarong
<b>Dahgha</b>	Capturing Iron Strip In Trap
<b>Dapho</b>	Bow
<b>Dhamako</b>	Sound Maker
<b>Dabli</b>	Box
<b>Ghagra</b>	Petticoat
<b>Ghee</b>	Purified Butter
<b>Gudri</b>	A Beg Used In Begging
<b>Grugranth Sahib</b>	Holy Book of Sikhism
<b>Gana</b>	Fasting of Twisted Thread Groom
<b>Gutko</b>	Strings Which is Used In Mesh
<b>Goah</b>	Crocodile/lizard
<b>Gider</b>	Jackal
<b>Goth</b>	Village

<b>Gauon</b>	Cow
<b>Gash</b>	Donkey
<b>GangleSower</b>	Wild Boar
<b>Gosht</b>	Meat
<b>Hari</b>	A <i>Sindhi</i> Term For Sharecropper
<b>Hada</b>	Bones
<b>Har</b>	May
<b>Ikrar</b>	Promise of Bride and Groom In Front of Gita
<b>Jati</b>	Ancestral Sub Caste System In Hindu Culture
<b>Jhand</b>	First Hair -Cuts
<b>Jania</b>	Thread Ceremony Centered on the Membership of the Religion
<b>Jung Bilow</b>	Jungle Cat
<b>Jhopra</b>	Straw Huts
<b>Jhalan</b>	Capture
<b>Jhona</b>	Shikari Retired Hunter
<b>Jath</b>	July
<b>Gughartoo</b>	Proverb
<b>Katkali</b>	December
<b>Kai</b>	Cafan
<b>Kandhi</b>	Person Who Lift the Dead Body
<b>Kando</b>	Wedding Ceremony
<b>Kandan WariSerh</b>	Parqu Poine

<b>Lorho</b>	Hedge
<b>Kuhari</b>	Axe
<b>Korki</b>	Trap
<b>Kahanabadosh</b>	Vagrant
<b>Lomri</b>	Fox
<b>Mani</b>	Feast On Marriage
<b>Mitrmitre</b>	Household Who Participate In <i>Thoro</i>
<b>Mundro</b>	Ring
<b>Mahu</b>	February
<b>Magar</b>	November
<b>Nali</b>	Method Of Cultivation
<b>Niendro</b>	Amount Of Money Given To The Marriage Celebration to the
<b>Pakka House</b>	House Made of Baked Bricks and Cement
<b>Panchayat</b>	The Decision-Making Body Consisting Of Several Kinship
<b>Parartina</b>	Group
	Praying to Bhagwan By Singing Or Chanting Sacred Hymns
	Or Mantras
<b>Pareee</b>	Foot Tracer
<b>Pharays</b>	Rounds
<b>Punjore</b>	Hunting Net
<b>Phase</b>	Iron Stick
<b>Punch</b>	Leader
<b>Pothi</b>	Turban and Dupata of Devta or Devti

<b>Poh</b>	January
<b>Phagan</b>	March
<b>RawatiGun</b>	Indigenous Knowledge
<b>Rambo</b>	Bow
<b>Satis</b>	Seven Female Goddesses Worshipped By Dalit Communities
<b>Shahar</b>	A Term In <i>Sindhi</i> For ‘City’
<b>Shikari</b>	Hunter
<b>Shikar</b>	Hunting
<b>Soo-ur</b>	Pig
<b>Sang</b>	Horn
<b>Smbo</b>	Raso
<b>Sanger</b>	Loose Trouser
<b>Shalwar</b>	Iron Lope
<b>Sanskrit</b>	Old Hindu Sacred Book
<b>Sarad</b>	A Language
<b>Sat-Sung</b>	A Festival of Ancestor Remembrance
<b>Sanho</b>	Thinner
<b>Thlho</b>	Thicker
<b>Tai Garo</b>	Big Iron Needle
<b>Tari</b>	Make Notice and Clapping
<b>Tale,Buj</b>	Wood
<b>Untouchable</b>	Those Falling In Sudras are Categorized as Untouchables
<b>Vatno</b>	Gift And Ceremonial Exchange

<b>Wirt</b>	A Festival In the Begging of the Bagri Year
<b>Wah</b>	October
<b>Wahahi</b>	June
<b>Wadero</b>	Village Headman Called As Landlord
<b>Wayo Mandal</b>	Tree
<b>Zamidars</b>	A <i>Sindhi</i> Term For Landlord and, or Land-Owner
<b>Ze ban</b>	Iron Strip In Trap, Which Holding Piece Of Meat

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