

**An Ethnographic Study of Kehal
Community with Special Emphasis
On their Economy**

*A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of Masters of
Social Science in Anthropology.*



**By
MUHAMMAD ISHAQ**

**Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad, Pakistan**

2009



Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
(Department of Anthropology)

Final Approval of Thesis

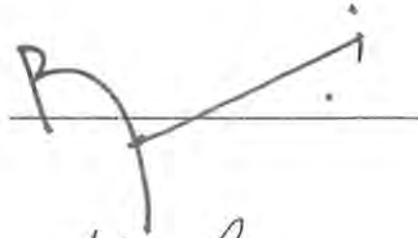
This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Muhammad Ishaq S/o Malik Rabnawaz. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the Degree of "M.Sc in Anthropology".

Committee

1. Ms. Aneela Sultana
Supervisor



2. Dr. Abdul Waheed Rana
External Examiner



3. Prof. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman
Chairman



DEDICATED TO

MY DEAREST LATE FATHER

MY MOTHER

MY BROTHERS

AND MY WHOLE FAMILY

Acknowledgment

I am really feel heartfelt gratitude and gratefulness to Allah Almighty for the kindest help bestowed to me during my field work in making research presentable.

I sincerely express my admiration and regards to Maam Aneela Sultana whose vigilance and supervision I was benefited a lot during my field work. Her help and guidance made me able to complete this thesis in such a short period of time. It is hard fact and I must confess that without her help and encouragement it would not have been possible for me to complete this thesis in a presentable form.

I am also thankful to other faculty members including Prof. Dr. Hafeez-Ur-Rehman Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, Prof. Dr. Waheed Chaudary, Dr. Anwar Iqbal Shaheen, Madam Meena, Sir Tariq Mehmood, Sir Sofyan Abid, Sir Bilal, Sir Adnan Qureshi and Madam Nazia Rafiq from whom I got a lot of knowledge and guidance during my degree of Anthropology.

I am thankful to my mother from whom I learnt about traditions and customs. I am thankful to my brothers such as Mohammad Iqbal Hussain, Mohammad Altaf Hussain, Mohammad Abdullah, Mohammad Zubair and Mohammad Ashfaq. I am thankful to my sister whose prayers are always with me. I am thankful to and love my all nephews and nieces; they helped me and encouraged me during my field work. I am thankful to my cousin Zawar Saleem Akhtar and his son Tahir Saleem; they introduced me in the community and helped me during my field work. I am very thankful to drugs inspector Umar Farooq Dr. Ashu Lal Faqueer and with their help and guidance I was able to complete this thesis.

I am very thankful to my seniors especially Sir Mushtaq Gadi lecturer of Quaid-i-Azam university, Majid Hussain, Mian Manzar Abbas, Naveed Lashri, Ashiq Ansri, Ghulam Ali Wako and Humyyan khan.

I am very thankful to my friend Syed Mohsin Shah, Abrar Hussain, Mohammad Inran Akhtar, Mohammad Solemn Tariq, Malik Sofyan, Mujtaba Shah, Khalil Ahmed Kharral, Naseer Ahmed Kharral, Mumtaz Ahmed Kharral, Mohammad Ishaq Mochi, Qari Amir and our dearest friend late Abdul Aziz Mochi. He was a great source of poetry, wisdom and knowledge and as well as a source of entertainment in our village. Aziz really we missed you and love you. Allah Almighty may give him paradise.

I am thankful to the head of the community Ameer Mohammad, my key informants Mohammad Ashraf, Abdul Ghfoor, Nasim Mai and other community members who cooperated with me and provide me all the necessary information during my field work and always welcomed me in the community where I never felt as a stranger.

Many thanks to my classmates among them; I am deeply impressed by Mohammad Khan Kalyani. It's my luck that during my university time I met with a simple, great, sincere, smiling face, straightforward and hilarious friend. I learnt and enjoy much more in his company not only hostel but also in class room. Above all he supported me morally and encouraged me during the time of my troubles. I have no words that I write down about him so simple Khan... ..you are unforgettable and I love you.

I am very to my first friend and class fellow of Quaid-i-Azam University Mohammad Amjad Kaveesh, wadro Hassan Mahar, Adnan Hussain, Mehr Sadiq, Maijid Hussain (source of entertainmet) Umair Amjid, Rabia Naseer Khan, Akram Ali Otho (Marks junior)Nadia khalaq, Nizam-ud-Din, Mehr-u-Nisa, Zara, Javid Ali Bhutto, Imad-ud-Din, Ajmal Kakar, Abdul Majid Khan and Muhammad Yaseen.

I am very thankful to my juniors like Ahmed Faraz, Hafiz Hassan Saeed Ghauri, Wasim Jatoie, Faisal Naveed, Farhan Qadeer, Liaqat Ali, Waqas Mahra, Mughees, Mujtaba, Qaswar Abbas, Tahir Abbas and others.

Muhammad Ishaq

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Chapter No.1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Normally men live in a society as in the physical world without reflecting on cultural diversity all over the globe or components of any particular culture but as physical scientists, have gone beyond common man's experience in order to gain a better understanding of physical universe, social scientists have also tried to gain a deeper and more systematic knowledge of societies than their members themselves have because very often it happens to be the case that members of a particular society act in a particular way in a given situation because it is essential for their existence but while following a particular pattern of action they are not aware of the complication normative pattern they are creating.

According to Saraiki Dictionary written by Mohammad Saad Ullah Khan Khitran the word "*Kehal*" means a fisherman, people who keeps on moving from one place to another. *Kehal*, the ancient riverine people, who since the dawn of human civilization have sought livelihood from this broad, freshwater artery (line) which runs through almost the entire length of this country like a gigantic python, feeding all on its way as a mother feeds her children. Dusky to brown and sun-burnt in complexion, the *Kehals* stand guard on their river boats, watching the rippling (waves) currents, mud banks of the river Indus. uncomb hair, beards and in appearance, walrus mustached while the vibrant youth has athletic, muscular bodies. The river runs in the blood of these true sons of the soil and they know the mighty river Indus inside out. Their kids swim like tadpoles in the turbid water of this river, naked and happy. It is a rare pleasure to be with this special breed of people who are so-well versed in their crafts, they comb the gloomy or dark depths of the river like professional swimmer for a respectable living without the help of inflated tubes, goat skins (*Sanaddare* in a local language) or life jackets. Sometimes they follow the river upstream and downstream but never give it up such is their nomadic nature. Their mother tongue is Saraiki. They are followers of *Imam Shafi*. *Kehal* community settles on the eastern bank of the Indus River. It is living almost twenty kilometers away from Karor city. The rise and fall of the Indus River affects on their settlement, social, economic and cultural life of the *Kehal* community.

Ritualistic performances and ceremonies are other major focus of my study that these rituals incorporate individuals, giving them a common group identity and show the cultural integrity. Fishing communities have rich cultures where we can find considerable number of such rituals related to their occupation and every day life. I have tried to explore the implicit meanings and functions of such rituals in fishermen community of *Kehal*. I have looked at this from anthropological aspect that how these people conceive them from the local point of view.

To conduct my present research work, I selected the fishermen community of *Kehal* which is situated in village Shinah walla, Tehsil Karor Lal Eason, District Layyah, Punjab. This fishermen community provided me a lot of information regarding their belief system, socio and political organization, traditional knowledge and specifically economic system.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The field research conducted during the summer semester of 2008. A glance at the problem would take it clear that there are some important terms in it namely ethnography, social and political organization, marriage and pattern of marriage, food pattern i.e. eating of tortoise and the economy of *Kehal* community. In social organization kinship is the study how society deals with the basic facts of life namely parenthood, socialization sibling ship. Marriage is often defined as a publicly recognized and culturally sanctioned union between two members of opposite sex. On the other hand, a limited number of ends including child-bearing, economic partnership between husbands and wife and the formation of alliances between kin groups are characteristic of marriage in a great many societies. During the time of the current research an attempt has been made to: Provide a comprehensive picture of *Kehal* community encompassing all spheres of life namely political, economic, religious, and legal and social. Explain the organizational principle of kinship among these people. Highlight the prevailing pattern of marriage among *Kehal*. Elaborate the food pattern of the *Kehal* i.e. eating of tortoise. Lastly, I explain the economic system of *Kehal* community.

The relationship among fishermen and contractor who bounded them by the dint of his capital.

1.3. Objectives of the Research

Following was the objectives of the research:

1. To get the first hand information about the *Kehals* community.
2. To know about their birth, marriage and death rituals.
3. To know their power structure or political organization.
4. To know about their belief system and religious attributes document their food pattern.
5. To explore their traditional economic activities and its contribution in their economy.

1.4. Literature Review

For any anthropological literature review plays very important role. It helps to anticipate common problems in research context. Through literature review we can find and select appropriate measurement instruments. We can use the prior experiences of other anthropologists to avoid common mistakes and pitfalls. My research was ethnographic. The term ethnography means "a portrait of a people". Ethnography is an anthropologist who attempts at least in part of his professional work to record and describe the culturally significant behavior of a particular society. An ethnography requires a long period of intimate study and residence in a small, well defined community, knowledge of spoken language and the employment of a wide range of observational techniques including prolonged face to face contact with members of the local group, direct participant in some of that group activities and a greater emphasis on intensive work with informants than on the use of documentary or survey data used non-specifically. Ethnography is the discipline concerned with producing such culture descriptions with a regional reference, the term designates either the way in which ethnography is conceived and practiced in the area or the collective or comparative treatment of the ethnographies written about the peoples living in the region. Conklin and Frake write in the encyclopedia of social sciences (1964:174). Ideally, "ethnography

constitutes the rules for producing, anticipating and interpreting appropriate cultural behaviors in given settings.

It was A.F.C. Wallace (1964:174) who first observed that ethnographic research is like weather reporting, it has to be repeated at intervals if we wish to learn about dynamics of cultural systems. The strategy of ethnography like that of natural history is to approach general knowledge by building up a large series of case studies, which can then inductively be compared and contrasted with one another.

The basic style of ethnography developed out of this stress on field study. Ethnographic research thus came to consist of case studies of one social unit, usually a small scale society, a foraging band, a pastoral tribe, a historical chiefdom, etc. The cumulative efforts of ethnographers to go beyond the uncritical narrative and rambling presentation of assumed cultural details have focused on determining what constitutes a valid cultural description, on developing a theory that permits evaluation of alternative descriptions, and on formulating methods that may be most effective in deriving general statements from recorded observations. According to Felix M. Keesing (1958), ethnography is the description of custom that is a local way of life.

Being a student of anthropology my intention as an ethnographer was to obtain detailed, systematically collected facts about the culture under study and thus contribute to the general knowledge about a *Kehal community* located in the southern Punjab. Anthropology has traditionally been the study of primitive societies and cultures. Many anthropologists have conducted their fieldwork among the hunting and gathering societies. Among these societies are; the Eskimos, the Algonkian and Athabascans of Canada, the Shoshone of Great Basin, the Indians of Tierra del Fuego, the Pygmies of Malay Peninsula and the Andaman Islanders. (Elman R. Service, 1966: 4).

They have given revealing accounts about the social, political, religious and economic life of the people in the band level of society. There are some common characteristics in

all these spheres of life the people in band level of society, which set them apart from the other levels of society. As Elman R. says;

"All the hunting gathering societies have some characteristics in common that serve to set them apart from tribal and other higher levels of society. Most obvious and perhaps most crucial in its effect on the culture generally is the nomadic required for the foraging and the length of their travels, but all the band societies move sometime and the people themselves must carry their worldly things."

(Elman R, 1966: 7)

Thus nomadic way of life or mobility from one place to another is a basic element in the definition of the band level of society. However, according to the dictionary of anthropology,

"A hunting band claims territory which it defends against trespassers. Permanent settlement is possible for agricultural bands if an area's resources can be relied on".

(Dictionary of Anthropology, 1970: 59)

While defining band, the dictionary has put more emphasis on the internal social structure of the group. Its says,

"A band is found among people whose techniques have not advanced much beyond hunting and gathering. An average band may have between 50 to 150 members. The internal structure is simple. Often a tribe will comprise of serial bands----- The band is likely to have a headman to differentiate between the bands in its tribe and those of other tribes. The band is held together as a result of living together rather than by kinship."

(Dictionary of Anthropology, 1970: 59)

Besides the bands of hunters and gathers, there are other people too who live the nomadic way of life. These are the Gypsies of central Asia and the pastoralists of Asia and Africa. Pastoralists are the people who keep large flocks of animal and move from one pasture to another along with their animal. They do not have permanent settlements. Like the bands of hunters and gathers, the pastoralists also identify themselves with the land they

occupy, only temporarily. Richard Tapper, commenting on the social significance of the nomadic way of life, wrote,

"The social significance of the nomadic way of life is that it gives the opportunity for continual choice and change in residential association, an opportunity inherently denied to settled people".

(Richard Tapper, 1979:2)

However, the pastoralists, unlike the bands of hunters and gatherers, have greater tendency toward settling down on one particular place and they encounter less social barrier in this process because they already have moveable property in shape of large flocks of cattle, which can be exchanged for land. Fredrick Barth did his fieldwork among the pastoralists of Persia he states,

"The nomad entering the lass of petty landlords thus does not meet any strong social barrier; by virtue of simple fact of title to land he exercises full privileges as the member of the land owning class. These are considerable vis-à-vis tenants, his title gives him the right freely to dispose of his land- the peasants have traditional usufruct right and in fact no legal security of tenure."

(Fredrick Barth, 1961:104)

Many anthropologists (such as Thomas. M, Fraser Jr. Acheson, Byron, Gisli Palsson have done their field works in different fishing communities documenting the traditional knowledge about their occupation. As posy writes;

"Anthropologists have made considerable contributions to the growing respect for traditional knowledge (traditional ecological knowledge, local knowledge etc) through cognitive, ecological, ethno taxonomic and ethno biological studies. Folk taxonomies for example have shown to share the principles of western science and often exceed them in details morphological, behavioral and utilitarian features. Myths have also been shown to encode environmental knowledge systematically at a theoretical level".

(Posy, 1998: 241)

As my research work was done in fishing community of *Kahal*, I found that these people regard this knowledge of environment, fishing, making nets and boats vital for their survival. They consider it rational way of living with nature as Sillitoe says;

"Indigenous knowledge often facilitates people's skillful management of their resources. People carry knowledge and transfer it between generations, using idioms alien to science, featuring symbols, myths, rites and so on".

(Sillitoe, 1998: 227)

These people pay great heed to preserve indigenous knowledge because they think that if they do not do this it would be lost and could not be transferred to next generations. If we analyze the above statement in context of history we come to know that such type of knowledge has remained vulnerable to loss during colonial periods in different parts of world. Many colonial governments imposed their own rules and regulations ignoring the indigenous knowledge of local people. As De Walt says;

"While it is true that an extensive body of knowledge has often been ignored, if not eliminated, in the course of western expansion and domination. There may be good grounds for attempting recapture and preserve what remains for such knowledge. For one thing the reference to the "indigenous" and traditional in such contexts tends to reproduce the boundaries of colonial world; much like earlier notions of the "native" and "primitive". Such terms are not only loaded with value terms of colonial discourse as Levi Straus argued long ago (1972) but they are also fraught with ambiguity"

(Walt, 1994: 123)

Kahal (fishermen) of village shinah Walla try to preserve this knowledge through transferring it to young generations by oral traditions. Young fishermen learn all these skills and techniques which help them in predicting weather, knowing about tidal currents or catching fish by doing practical work with their elders at the river. The old people who have considerable knowledge impart it to young fishermen as Lucas has mentioned this thing

"Indigenous cultures around the world have a profound and sophisticated knowledge of native species and habits within their domains, knowledge of which western science continues to remain largely ignorant but in case of language of oral traditions conveyed by them their preservation is particularly important. One of the last persons with detailed knowledge dies; it can survive subsequently in desiccated form"

(Lucas, 1996: 103)

Young fishermen always obtain the help from retired fishermen during my research work I met many experienced fishermen who did not do any work at the river but they helped the young ones in every way. They told, any things about weather forecasting, seasonal variations, various species of fishes, laying nets etc. to the young fishermen as Durenberger and Paulson have written that

"one young skipper asked a retired skipper, for whom he had worked as a deckhand, where he should go in future and the ex-skipper gave the young a lesson in laying nets on a difficult spot where tidal currents were strong on rocky bottom. Having retired from "game" he felt it safe to give friend valuable information in preparation of nets, the timings of fish according to tides and the location of gear by the use of land marks"

(Durenberger; Paulson, 1976: 219)

This fishermen knowledge is based on decades of observations and experience. During my research work I found that all local fishermen were not experts. Some fishermen knew the habits of fishes better than others. Some were more familiar with local waters; even some fishermen were hired because of their knowledge and skills at fishing guide the young ones to know about the fishing skills. Robben mentions this thing as

"Fishermen place much emphasis on autonomy and independence. A young man who works alongside experienced fishermen can soon acquire enough fishing gear knowledge and the knowledge of sea, is able to fish independently. He will be capable of locating the coastal fishing grounds, mending his nets and catching bait"

(Robben, 1979: 881)

Fishing skills of every seasoned fisherman have great impact on success of fishing trip. It is who makes the decisions of laying nets, going in particular directions and guiding all the crewmen in every respect. As Byron writes;

"Differential success is primarily due to marked difference in fishing skill, success of the crew in economic terms, depends almost on the skipper's "nose" his ability to make correct guesses about where to find fish"

(Byron, 1980: 228)

Many of the anthropologists are of the view that differential success is primarily due to marked differences in fishing skills. During my interviews from the fishermen I found that there was some kind of difference in fishing skills of fishermen but also observed similar success techniques in them as James Acheson says,

"Despite the difficulties of studying fishing skills, there is growing body of literature on the subject which demonstrates that in many fishing societies the kinds of skills necessary for success are very much the same. Obviously fishermen must know how to operate and maintain his boat and equipment".

(Aches, 1981: 290)

In land environment is totally different from marine environment but there are still variations found in it. As one fisherman said that temperature of water varies according to depth and distance from bank. They also said that due to difference in temperature fish resides at different places in the river and it also changes its location due to seasonal variations round the year. Needha also points out that

"While aquatic environment tend to have grater uniformity than terrestrial environment of similar extent. It should not be concluded that productive fishing sights are distributed evenly throughout large bodies of water. On close examination, local variations in productivity are quite evident even in small streams, lakes or shore areas where they may be produced by variations in depth, temperature, nature of bottom deposit, movement (tides, currents and streams velocity of flow) and shore conditions same

river at stations a few miles apart may be deep, clear, cold, shallow, muddy and warm"

(Needham, 1938: 148)

Environment has great impact on gender role differentiation of this particular society. Women of the *Kehals* community, peel of *jheengas* (kind of small fish) and remain active in household economy, while men go for fishing in the river. Many people of *Kehal* community always prefer one day fishing because they consider that by doing one day fishing they can return to their homes and can participate in their daily life activities. As Robben again says,

"Fisher man remark that they value their short fishing trips highly because it allow them to participate actively in the daily life household activities and be present in case of domestic crises".

(Robbon, 1979: 881)

These people think that "one day fishing" is more easy and free of any risks at river because in one day fishing fishermen do not go far away in the river and return in short time. As John Poggie mentions,

"A day fisherman who goes out for one day at a time feels more secure than a tripper who spends from two to eleven days at river. The greater amount of risk associated with trip fishing results in greater anxieties which is lessened by more extensive ritual behavior".

(Poggie, 1980: 125)

But fishermen who go to river on long fishing trips such as for ten or fifteen days, it causes health problems for them. The families of such people also wait for them very impatiently. As Saucer mentions,

"The fact many fishermen work long hours on crowded bots in an all male environment far from home causes physical and psychological problems for them and their families whom they are separated. More important, it forces both fishermen and their families to play roles that are often not standard in the culture from which they come"

(Poggie, 1980: 125)

Rituals are mechanisms by which performer attempts to convey information to the observer. They have different meanings and functions. According to Valeri,

"Rituals are practices in which the participants do not believe themselves to be the authors of what they do believing in state that their ritual significance is authorized prescribed by a superior authority".

(Valeri, 1982: 2)

Fishing is a very dangerous occupation in which people also loss their lives. They say that we play with our lives when going to the river. These rituals provide some kind of security and protection to them from external dangers. As Horton says,

"A number of social scientist has pointed out that in situations in which there is doubt, uncertainty and risks ritual practices abound".

(Horton, 1960: 18)

In terms of economic and political organization, they catch fish not only for themselves but also for the contractor who is the holder of economic and political power and has domain over the fishing area. Thus, the structural position of the fishermen, *Kehals* is similar to that of agrarian peasantry. The fishermen of South Thailand, Thomas. Frazer states;

"Fishing in the water of South China sea and the Gulf of Thailand is considered to be the only important occupation even though it is largely a seasonal occupation, and directly involves only able-bodies males. Fishing, boats, prices, nets and other topics related to fishing are upper most in the minds of the members of the community, men women and children, at all times".

(Frazer, 1966: 8)

According to James Frazer Jr, among the fishermen of South Thailand,

"The basic social and economic unit in coastal Malay village is nuclear family. At times the nuclear family is subordinated to other groups for special activities such as Kembong fishing and rice transplantation and harvesting, but these larger units are at best temporary and unstable: "

(Frazer, 1966: 26)

Selling the fish and its marketing is an important aspect of the fishermen's life and it also varies from place to place. Frazer Jr, on the subject, says,

"In general village women sell fish directly to one of four Chinese dealers. The prices they get from these dealers are not as good as they would get in the open market; however, here they are able to sell their whole load at once rather than piecemeal at retail. If the catch is unusually small, the somewhat higher retail prices may induce women to establish their stalls outside the municipal market and sell their fish directly to the consumer."

(Frazer, 1966: 12)

They are engaged with this profession from generation to generation, so here we find the element of professional inheritance. In professional inheritance if a father engaged with fishing then this profession will have been adopted by his son, so the same profession runs generation to generation. The feelings of low and high are also created by these hated professions. On the one hand, some professions are regarded as hateful and on the other hand their doers are also hated.

Caste system in Pakistan exists strongly and especially in Punjab where social infrastructure did not change still now like thousand year old plough. If *Kehal* are living below the poverty line it is their caste and profession because social status relies on caste and caste relies on status, in other words both rely on each other but in different ways. The caste system divides the whole society into a larger number of hereditary groups distinguished from one another and connected together by three characteristics;

- i. Separation in matters of marriage and contact whether direct or indirect (food)
- ii. Division of labor, each group having, in theory or by tradition, a profession from which their members can depart only within certain limits.
- iii. Hierarchy which makes the groups as relatively superior or inferior to one another;

(Homo Hierarchicus, 1970: 2)

The definition indicates the main apparent characteristics of the system.

In the light of above discussion we find the same situation of lower classes of Pakistan, *Kehal* community is one of them. In my perspective, there should be no caste column in any government form or paper. To ask about caste, to tell about caste must be declared a crime under laws. Rituals in this community also serve other functions to show solidarity and unity among people. As Kluckhom says,

"Rituals satisfy group identical and closely related needs of individuals. They are the cultural forms of defining individual behaviors which are adoptive or adjective responses. They are adoptive from the point of view of society in that they promote social solidarity, enhance integration of society by providing formalized statements of its ultimate value, attitudes and afford a means for transmission of much of the culture with little loss of content thus protecting cultural continuity and stabilizing the society".

(Kluckholm, 1942: 65)

Nowadays technological equipments are being used in fish catching practices, such as cranes, motor engines, generators, and machine made nets. Many people who have come from other areas and basically are not fishermen heavily depend on technology. They do not have any reliable knowledge about river water, weather forecasting, tidal currents etc. they also do not know about certain basic skills and techniques used in fish catching. Paulson also mentions this thing as,

"The problematic nature of technology and its relation to the person is well captured in the Icelandic distinction sometimes made between those who fish "by skills" and those who fish "by force" (literally, with power). In former case, typically involving in experienced fish skipper, dexterity and alertness to the tasks at hand are of primary importance; in the latter case, usually that of a novice, it is technology that counts".

(Paulson, 1979: 10)

These people look at the river great respect and consider it the source of their livelihood. They symbolize it in different the excessive use of these machine-

made nets and motor engines has given much loss to fish and has also increased pollution in the river.

1.5. Research Methodology

In simple terms the essence of research methodology lies in seeking answers to the following basic question: How can we find “true and useful information about a particular domain of phenomena in our universe? This fundamental question involves two closely related problems.

1. How can we personally investigate some domain of phenomena in order to obtain true and useful information's?
2. How can we know, with some assurance what other persons (researchers) mean when they assert propositions, about information, and how can we judge whether to believe them? (Pelto)

The first problem directs our attention to the techniques and conditions necessary for exploration of our phenomenal world. If we wish, for example, to gain some new information about stellar bodies and their behavior, it is likely that a telescope would be a handy tool in this search for information. When it comes to studying human behavior, the matter of research instruments is a little different. Most primary data in social sciences comes from three sources:

1. Directly observing human behavior.
2. Listing to and noting the contents of human speech, and
3. Examining the products of human behavior particularly those products found in archives, museums, records and libraries.

In general the social sciences differ from other scientific fields in that primary data gathering is usually possible without the aid, of highly specialized instruments.

“Methodology, then, refers to the structure of procedures and transformational rules whereby the scientist shifts information ns up and down this ladder of abstraction in order to produce and organize increased knowledge”.

(P.J. Pelto, G.H. Pelto, 1978:2)

Thus defined, “methodology” can be distinguished from, “research techniques” in that the latter term is useful for referring to the pragmatic of primary data collection, whereas methodology denotes the “logic-in –use” involved in selecting particular observational techniques of data gathering cannot be entirely separated from the examination of their logic-in-use. Any methodological discussion then must include some reference to techniques.

According to above explanation an anthropologist like me who intend to find out their complete social and cultural structure has to adopt the methodology to observe every event every social activity in its cultural context. So when I was in field I adopted the methodology to observe every event as it is occurring. So methodology was structural functionalism, that my observation for each event was that it represents the culture as a whole.

Every scientific has set of rules and procedures, which have to be followed for conducting an effective research. Anthropology is a discipline, which has multiple instruments to carry out research. Research methodology consists of the research techniques, which are used for date collection. I used these methods including the quantitative and qualitative applications. These anthropological methods and their applications are given below:

1.5.1. Rapport building

Rapport building is the first stage of anthropological fieldwork. Rapport building provided manifesto to make good interaction with the local people and to select informants and key informants. Rapport building was used as to get insight of matters during intervening session. The respondents are helpful in getting necessary information required by the researcher.

Defining rapport building, Jaspal Singh in his article says,

"The researcher has to enter his field carefully. Mistake in entry may endanger his success in the field. Proper entry facilitates rapport. Important persons who stand at entry points to the field are called gatekeepers. Those in authority do not like outsiders to poke their nose in 'their' domain."

(Guru Nanak 1988: 84)

It is the most reliable and authentic technique in the anthropological research. Though this place was not far away from my village but I had no prior with any person of that community. So first of all I entered into the community through the reference of a friend. In beginning they were avoiding to me but I informally met with people and also started to wear local dress *Shlwar* and *Qameez*, grew my beard and mingled with them so that they do not perceive me as a stranger. In this way they became familiar to me. I establish contacts with the important persons of community. Because they were not outspoken but calm so it be some time, to build rapport with them. This process of rapport building was done on daily basis interacting with the community members especially filling the census forms. This not only helped me to be closer with the respondents but also provided sufficient time to get adjusted in the field.

1.5.2. Participant Observation

Participant observation involves living for an extended period with the people to know them, and share their experiences as far as possible. Participant observation is one of the most important techniques in qualitative research. It is very difficult to evaluate that what has happened why and how things happened, from the stand point of participants. According to Bernard Russell,

"Participant observation is the foundation of cultural anthropology. It includes getting close to the people and making them feel comfortable enough with you so that one can observe and record information about their lives".

(Bernard Russell, 1994: 136)

That is why I participated in daily activities, observing the behavior of group

of the children and systematically recorded these observations. With the help of participation observation I was able to dig out the socio-economic study of the community. Without this it was impossible to trace out the working conditions, timings, and wages criterion. Participant observation provided with a platform for understanding and recording the events in the locale and also enabled me become a part of the community to some extent. Mostly data for the research was collected by this method

During my research work I participated in their daily life activities. When these people went for fishing I would always be with them. I observed them how they lay nets in the water and when draw them out. Due to being with them all time I also observed how notice the rise and fall of water tides. I observed and participated that how women cutting the *lai* plants and made baskets in front of their Kulies.

1.5.3. Key informant

A key informant is a person with whom researcher has exchange of view, conversation and interviews, interacting over extended period of time. Key informants are those few individuals of the community under study who provide the investigators with detailed knowledge and information. Key informant plays an important role in the anthropological research. A key informant is a person who has a good deal of knowledge about their people.

"Key informant interviewing is used to best advantage when it is closely integrated with participant observation"(Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 74)

Though key informant technique is very useful but it requires a great deal of skill on the part of researcher to find out the reality of the statement made by informant, which may vary from purely subjective statement. During my research work I selected five key informants named, Ghulam Mohammad, head of the community, 65 years old, Ghfoor Ahmad 24 years old, Mohammad Ashraf 45 years old, Masi Bakhoo 55 years old, Nasim Mai 33

years old.

1.5.4. Schedule and Interviews

According to Alam;

"A Schedule is a set of questions with structures answers to glade an investigator, observer, interviewer and researcher. It is plan or guide line for investigation". (Alam, 2002: 108)

Interview is the most common form of data collection. Interview may be defined as "information by informants" or if the researcher does the questioning in the situation which necessarily involves the directed interaction between himself and his subject during the data collection whether in a face to face situation or with the single individual or a group, this situation is known as interview? And schedule is a list of the planning, sequence and duration of the specific purpose.

I conducted the in-depth interviews along with the technique of open-ended questions that provided much qualitative data. Through these interviews; I went insight of the culture. These in-depth interviews were conducted to get required information. Total number of interviews I conducted from fishermen community of *Kehal* was seventy five. I interviewed from selected number of people suitable for my research topic. These people included laborers, captains, head of the *Kerries*, boat makers those who repaired the fishing tools and women. They belonged to different age groups I also did some interviews from children that how they learn catching fish, sailing boats and making nets. Many of respondents showed keen interest in response to my questions. These interviews provided me with a lot of information. I conducted 83 interviews from every household.

1.5.5. Focus Group Discussion

According to Bernard Russell;

"The focus group was tape and transcribed for analysis. It turned out that the information from the focus group duplicated much of the information gathered by other method used in the study" (Russell Bernard, 1994: 227)

During my research work I did twenty three focus group discussions with local people. Using this important method I got the chance of listening to different categories of people at one time. They shared their views about importance of their economy. Our focus group discussions always consisted of six to twelve people. Every one talked and participated to express his ideas about personal fishing expressions of his life. This method proved to very helpful in collecting and comparing the data. In focus group discussion six to twelve members of the community such as head of the community, youngsters, and old people and as well as with women I manage the focus group discussion on the matter of their economy. These focus group discussions conducted at the end of the research but with intervals. These focus group discussions were eight.

This type of group discussion allowed for having rich understanding of the participant's experiences and beliefs. Through this I was able to get the clear interpretation to what they said. I conducted informal group discussions with the members of the community. This was done just to get their inner view. This proves very helpful in getting information that is not possible in a formal discussion and interview. Obviously every one wants to enjoy his/her life in a normal way and these people feel deprived of such blessings. In the informal interviews people speak the language of their heart and give feelings that can not be given words.

1.5.6. Socio-economic and Census Survey Forms

According to Anwar Alam

"Census method refers to the complete enumeration of a universe. A universe may be place or a group of persons known as population. Data collection through census method provide enough opportunities to the investigator to have intensive study of the subject, being among the masses, the investigator gather a lot of information and acquires wide knowledge".

(Alam, 2002:65)

It is the useful technique for recording the statistical aspect of a community's life and to get the latest position of the community. With the usage of census forms I have collected quantitative and as well as qualitative data from the community members about the

field population e.g. ratio of males, females, different groups, occupations, educational level, religious sect. Census forms were also used to get basic information and all kind of required data containing the category of the age, Sex, income, number of members in the household, marital status, family types, economic activities, occupational skills and fishing equipments. There were 83 households where I conducted my survey. I used the simple random sampling during collecting the data through socio-economic census survey forms. This data was helpful to record the actual socio-economic picture of the community under study.

1.5.7. Sampling

This technique became helpful during the fieldwork in dividing the larger size of population into smaller one. As Goodi and Hatt say, *"a sample is the smaller representation of a large whole "*.

John Meadge says that,

"A sample is a part of the whole universe. In simple works, is the process of selecting a part of the whole universe or population in order to make simple and easier the whole investigation and study".
(Meadge, 1994:97)

Since it was impossible to study an entire population, I typically rely on sampling to acquire a section of the population to perform an experiment or observational study. It was important that the group selected be representative of the population, and not biased in a systematic manner.

I used different kinds of sampling. First of all used the simple random sampling for fulfilling the census forms and then in order to divide the population into different strata, the technique of stratified sampling used. Bernard Russell defined the stratified sampling as;

"Stratified sampling is done whenever it is likely that an important subpopulation will be under presented in a simple random sample".
(Russell, 1994: 84)

Stratified random sampling can also be called as proportional or quota random sampling, in which population is divided into sub groups and a sample is taken in each sub group.

1.5.8. Case Study Method

"Case study always helps to gain clear situation analysis. It is an empirical inquiry that investigates contemporary phenomena with its real life context, when boundaries between the context and the phenomena are not clearly evident and in which multiple source of evidence are used. Clearly a good case can illuminate the working of the social system in a way that a series of morphological statements can not achieve".

(Gluckman, 1961: 9)

A case study is a detailed record of the experiences of an individual or a series of events occurring within a given framework. In-depth case study method was very reliable in collecting qualitative data. This method gave holistic treatment of the subject, through the detailed examination and information gathered by different related persons were systemized with different levels of subject. I took related to the stated problem.

1.5.8. Archives

Researcher collected the data from different secondary like newspapers, District survey report, articles, and also took the help from the book "*Layyah the Tarikh*" information about the culture, beliefs, and the school of thought were collected from the key informants mentioned above. But my basic source of data collection was the primary data during fieldwork.

1.5.9. Daily dairy

According to Russell;

"A daily dairy on the other hand is personal you absolutely need a dairy in the field. It will help you deal with loneliness, fear and other emotions that make field work difficult. Your dairy will give you an outlet for writing things

that you do not want to become part of public record". (Russell, 1994: 184-187)

Daily dairy was used to write my own experience in the field and how I managed at such a new environment. This was needed because a field researcher can not write his own feeling regarding a situation in the field notes. Thus a daily dairy is needed.

1.5.10. Field Notes

In field notes I tried, best to record all the data collected during the field at daytime. Mostly I wrote my data after coming at the place where I was living. In the field notes, I recorded all the data systematically. This helped me a lot to analyze the data

1.5.11. Jotting

During my research in the field I had a jotting booklet which I always kept with me. It was very easy and comfortable to do jotting and then returning to my residence place I used to make field notes.

1.6.12. Log

Log is a pre-planning for future work. I also used to make questions and some kinds of preparations in advance before going to field. It facilitated me during conducting interviews and asking questions from my key informants and respondents.

1.5.13. Recorder

Tape recorder and videos were used to collect, analyze and record the required data and recorded the focus group discussion with its help and after that I analyzed required information. I recorded different group discussions and also conducted interviews. I was able to extract and get exact and the inner information.

1.5.14. Photography

I used this technique during the course of my research. I captured various scenes such as fishermen fishing in the river, busy in building boats, making nets, drying fish or sailing in water. These photos support my data and are the solid proof of my research work in the field. These photos taken at different places suggest that

how fishermen use their skills in their daily lives, in a different manner and style. By looking at these photos we can know the dress pattern, physical features and occupational activities of these people.

1.5.15. Probing

Probing is defined as:

"The technique used by the interview to stimulate the discussion and to obtain more information. A question has been asked and answer given. For any number of reasons, the answer may be inadequate and require the interview to seek more information to meet the survey objectives. Probing is the act of getting this additional information"

(Survey research center, interview's manual)

I also used the method of probing which was very useful. In other words probing is the way of getting additional information by repeating the respondent's statement without including direct questions.

1.6. Justification for Selecting the Locale

For conducting my research work I selected the locale of village *Shinah Walla*. There are certain reasons for choosing this village as my research locale. Firstly, this is fishermen community. There are many people having fishing as their main occupation. These people are engaged in this occupation from centuries dating back to 1600 A.D. secondly, this village is situated near the bank of the river and has different ecological conditions as compared to the other fishing areas of Pakistan. Life in such area is much influenced and shaped by its environment forces.

1.7. Significance of the Study

The life and beauty of neglected sections of our society in rural far-flung areas important, because they form the shaped of our wider national culture. The socio-economic conditions and the historic memories, evolving into the folk traditions giving to the culture the indigenous character, are the essential ingredients of any

study aimed at finding our folk cultural heritage. As it is true that in any existing economy, modes of production are the corresponding social relations at the supernatural level i.e. ideology, culture, political institutions, value systems and sets of beliefs etc. the objective of present study is to find the traces of our folk heritage back in its proper context of social relations on the pages of history.

Man's course of life has been mould at all stages in his career under the influence of surrounding natural and physical phenomena; the flora and fauna constituting his means of subsistence have profoundly affected his manner of living within the circle of almost all human society, whether savage tribes or civilized countries, there exist old beliefs, old customs, old memories, which are relics of an unrecorded past.

These very important facts introduce us to the study what has conventionally been termed folklore, but there is also one important fact that "a state of mind exists which is capable of generating fresh beliefs in explanation of newly observed phenomena, and peculiarly open to receive any fanciful explanations offered by any particular section of the society or community. Thus in addition to the traditional belief or custom arising from a mythic interpretation of known historical or natural events".

The present study is done from an ethnographic point of view but obviously not forgetting the physical and natural aspects which are very important to be able to make an ultimate analysis. A fishermen's life tied with water all through his living, involving the risks and moment of excitements in the adventurism of earning, provides an interesting subject of cultural study. His attitude towards life with mixed optimism and pessimism and a tinge of quietism and fatalism is direct outcome of his life style and pattern. A peculiar type of values and beliefs are formed. Superstitions are one characteristic, folk story; songs, legends and other past heritages develop into a more or less tangible present and can be very useful in the ultimate analysis of problem knowing and problem-solving oriented studies in the socio-economic and political fields of a wider community, that is, the nation at large. Fishermen's still primitive environment influencing his socio-

economic behavior and the effects of his exposure to modern life are the main components of this descriptive ethnographic study undertaken at the Indus River.

The Government has introduced very few development schemes and in the community where I conducted my fieldwork, no developmental work has been done for the last decades. They have no school, no hospital, dispensaries and doctors. So after conducting my field work in that area I came to know the problems the villagers encounter over there in their daily life. By this study we can find out their solutions and save fishing from its declining state. This research would be helpful for certain government policies to benefit the local people living in this fishermen community of *Kahal*.

1.8. The Locale

For conducting my research work I selected the fishermen community of village *Shinah Walla*, which is situated at the bank of Indus River, district Layyah, Punjab Pakistan. This community is at the distance of twelve kilometers from karor Lal Eason city. The people have been living in this village from time immemorial. Fishermen associated with the fishing occupation have their specific cultural identity and value system. They share common history, traditions and ecological conditions.

Chapter NO.2

Village Profile

2.1. Introduction

Even the very initial and simple description of any human society would be incomplete without the discussion of location and natural environment. This alone being reasons enough for social anthropologists to start their work with the knowledge of geographic setting of the research area. An Eskimo was once reported to have said that;

*"No bears have come because there is no ice, and
there is no ice because there is no wind and there is
no wind because we have offended the powers"*
(Lienhardt .Godfrey:33)

Another important factor in this context is that social relations are influenced by environment. This general rule is more precisely applicable to people with little technological control over nature who must adapt themselves immediately to its demands, for instance a year of bad rains ruining the harvest and bringing famine may demand of a community to live scattered among more fortunate neighbors or start living amidst foreigners. Such changes affect many social relationships. Moreover the study of natural environment is necessary because it influences patterns of diet, occupation, settlement and like. Therefore most of today's modern anthropological studies start with an observation of these geographical and environmental features and their consequent effects on the general life pattern of the community.

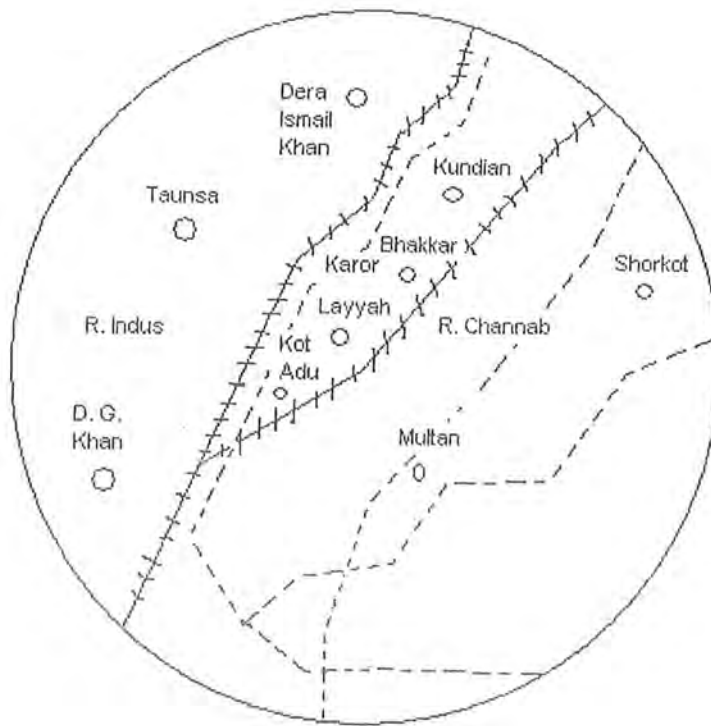
2.2. District Name

"*Layyah*" derives its name from a wild short statured shrub of fuel-wood commonly known as Layyan (Tamarisk dieica). Since the area was first covered by the *Layyan* (shrubs), this name was accorded by the local population. The district name is spelled as Leiah. Layyah was given status of district on July 1, 1982, prior to that it was a Tehsil of Musaffargarh district.

2.3. Historical Background of the Layyah

In the past, area of this district remained under Hindu Kingdom of Sindh. For sometime it remained under the rule of Arab conquerors that held Multan as well as Sindh. During

Layyah: the larger setting within
the province of Punjab



14th century conflict between *Sumros* and other tribes did not allow local population to establish. After this period of anarchy, the area of Layyah district became subject to the Governors of *Mankera* who were locally known as Nawabs of the *Thal*.

In 1550 Kamal Khan Mirrani Baloch founded Layyah. The towns of Naushera and Kot Sultan were also founded during the same period by four sons of Ghazi Khan. The Miranis were finally ousted from Layyah in about 1620 A.D. Layyah remained a part of the Mughal empire till the invasion of Nadir Shah in A.D. 1738. Subsequently this area remained with Jaskanis. They continued to hold Layyah up to 1787 A.D. under a sort of authority exercised by Kaura Mall, Governor of Multan.

Abdul Nabi Serai entered a league with turbulent Sarganis and in 1789 marched against Layyah. Serai's rule was very short as it lasted for three years only but it ended the line of Jaskanis.

Nawab Muhammad khan Saddoai, a cousin of Muzaffar khan Nawab of Multan, was appointed Governor of the whole Sindh-Sagar from the Indus to Chenab. He defeated Abdul Nabi Serai and ousted him after a fight. Saddozi was conferred the name of Sarbuland Khan and the Governor of Dera Ismail khan in addition to what he already held by king Zaman Shah. It is he who is referred to as Nawab of *Thal*. After the death of Nawab of *Thal*, 1821, Ranjit Singh sent a large force and captured the towns of Layyah Bhakkar, khangarh at Maujgarh (now Chaubara sub-division).

By 1837, Layyah became a part of united kingdom of Diwan Sawan-Mal (died in 1844) Governor of Multan. The Sikh rule ended in Layyah area in 1848 by the campaign of Herbert Edwards, then Assistant to Resident of Lahore. On 29th March, 1849, with the annexation of Punjab to British Empire, Layyah which was a district at that time also became a part of it. Since then Layyah remained under the control of British government till 1947¹.

2.4. Location

Layyah district falls in newly created civil division of Dera Ghazi khan. It lies between 30-45 degree to 31-24 north latitudes and 70-40 degree to 71-50 east longitudes.

¹ District Census Report, 1998.

It consists of a semi rectangular block of sandy land between the Indus and Chenab rivers in Sindh Sagar Doaba.

2.5. Boundaries

In its north the newly established district of Bhakkar which was formally a sub division of Mianwali district. River Indus runs in its west across ~~in its west across~~ which lies district of Dera Ghazi Khan. District Jhang lies in the east and district in the south.

2.6. Area

Total area of the district is 6,291 square kilometers divide into three sub sub-division of *Layyah*, *Karor Lal Esan* and *Chubara* with 722 revenue estates. It is 88 kilometers wide from east to west and 71.5 kilometers long from north to south.

2.7. Topography and physical features

2.7.1. Topography

Most of the area of the district lies between the Indus and the Chenab. The Indus River flows along the western boundary of Layyah district. On the northern boundary of the district the *Thal* desert rises above the Indus River in a steep cliff bout 6 meters in height. In Layyah district the *Thal* is classified as the *Thal kalan* and the *Thal Jandi*. The riverine part of the district may be sub-divided into three zones. The first is a narrow strip along the Indus where the summer floods are so high that no *Kharif* crops can be grown while the Rabi can be matured with well-irrigation. Outside this zone is a second tract where floods are not very high and a little inferior *Kharif* crops can be grown in the high lands. In the third zone the flood water of the river is brought for irrigation through inundation canals of which the heads are situated on some creeks. Except for the strip of land along the Indus River, the whole of the area was a desert until the construction of the *Thal* canal, from Jhang Barrage at *Kalabagh* on Indus River. Some of the areas formerly covered with sand dunes have been developed by the *Thal* Development Authority.

Layyah falls in sub-tropical continental plain zone of climate map of Pakistan. Therefore, the summer days are very hot and winter is cold. In this area wind pressure goes up to 30.2 inches (1,017.4 milibars) in winter season while it is 20.4 inches (994.7 milibars) in

summer months. Main controlling factors which shape locale climate and weather pattern are:

- General nature of the area i.e. plain in absolute terms.
- Average height above sea-level is 1,525 meters.
- Average west-east gradient is 8 to 16 centimeters per kilometer.
- River effect is quite conspicuous.
- Peculiar configuration of land is gives vast scope for weather forces i.e. wind temperature in stratosphere etc. to play freely.

Distance from the Arabian Sea is more than 700 kilometers.

Dust-storms are common in the months of May, June and July. Some times they begin earlier and last longer. Colonization of the area, ever-increasing vegetation, forest, canal-side plantation and such other factors has reduced intensity and frequency of the dust-storms. Rains, normally preceded by thunderstorm, are very in nature. Some times hail storms damaged crops.

2.7.2. Physical features

The most conspicuous features resulting in charming scenery of the area are creek, *Dhand* and nullahs of river Indus in the west. Lush-green crops, and forests in the irrigate tract of *Thal* and *Barani* crops of sandy desert. Numerous canal channels add to the attractive face of the area. Local scenery is varied multiple faces. Which are peculiar to the plains of the Punjab?

2.8. Flora

The flora of the district is important. Local irrigation has played a very vital role for the growth of Shesham tree (*Dalbergia sissoo*) every where in the district. It has its important role in local economy, commerce and trade. *Kikar* (*Acacia arabica*) is also found in the district. Its wood is used as fuel. Agricultural implements are also made of *Kikar* wood. The *Sharin* (*Albizzia lebbek*) is found rarely. The *Jand* or *kana* (*Prosopis spicigera*) is the commonest tree in this area. The *Rakhs* are full of it. It is generally saluted because young

branches are cut and used as fodder (known locally as *Langi*) for goats and sheep. This tree is considered to be useful for daily life of agricultural families. *Beri* (*Zizyphus jayaba*) is a common tree of generally large size. Its fruit (*Ber*) is eaten by people with charm and attraction. *Ber* is dried also. The *Lai* (*Tamarix gallica*) called *Pilchhi* and *Jhau* grows wildly and spontaneously where ever river water approaches. It is very commonly food along the riverines. It has variety of uses for local people. Its use, as fuel food wood, has now considerably decreased as it is being used for basket making and lining of wells etc.

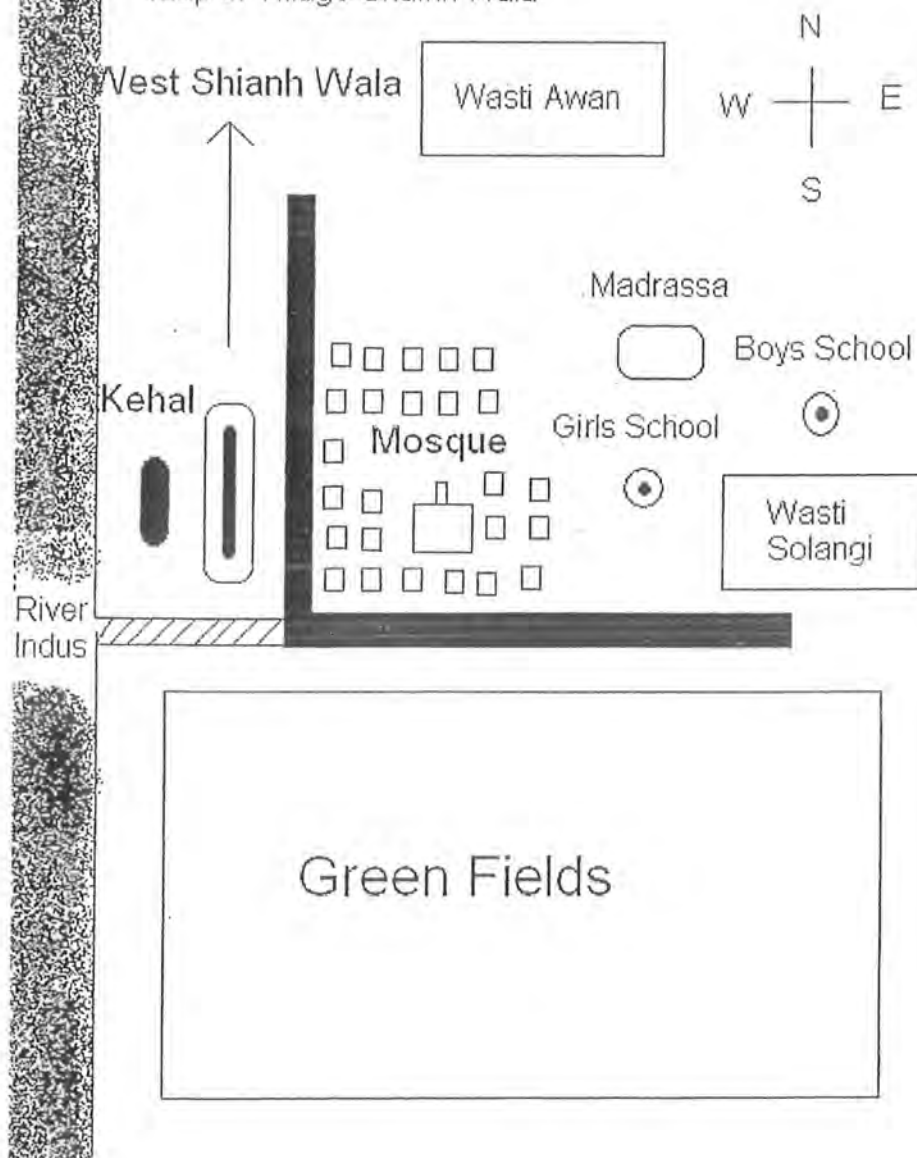
2.9. Fauna

Wolves and wild pigs are found almost every where in the district especially on the banks of the river Indus and forests. The only deer in the district are *Parah* or hog-deer and the ravine deer called *Hiran* or *Chinkara* found in Chaubara sub-division waste lands. Hare are found commonly in river inundated strips, which are relatively higher than the surroundings. Jackals and foxes are common in plantation and in the crops along the canals. Hedge-he locally called *Jhah* is frequently found. The birds such as dove, hoopoe, sparrow, wood picker, peegit, sandpiper, pelican, Indian snake bird, lark, kite, parrot, Butch bird, king row, swallow, king fisher egrat and pady bir admadvat, owl, goat sucker, *Kurb*, *shikra*, *laGhar*, *char chuheranan* (Bheri), *karwanak*, *dhing*, *Bulbul* (nightingale), *Piddi*, *Dhuri*, *Chhapk Tilyar* and *Traka* are also found. Game birds of the area include *Talur* (sand grouse), Quail, and partridges or *Titter* (black and brown). Quails arrive in great numbers in March and September but soon disappear. Wild goose, mallard, the spotted billed duck, hanjhal, gadwall, duck, Boar, the marble-backed duck and many others are also.

2.10. Historical Background of the Village Shinah Walla

Village has no written record of history. The village came into existence from the time immemorial. It is said that the village was settled more than nine hundred years ago. First settlers in the village the people who belonged to the castes of Isra and Khokar. The word "Shinah" literally means lion in Saraiki and also Punjabi language. It is said that the present place where village is located, here a lion sat in the forest, so this place is known as "Shinah Walla". Another opinion is that here the buffaloes of the villager's grazed, one day a *Shinah* (lion) attacked on their buffaloes then villagers attacked on lion and

Map of Village Shainh Wala



consequently killed the lion therefore this village famous firstly as "*Shinah mar* " and then eventually become to be known as *Shinah walla*.

2.11.1 Access to the Village

The village is clearly divided into three portions. The major portions of the village that lies on the right side of the *pakka* road. The straight road along which the village is situated runs to Karor Lal Eason and Wara Seharian, to east and north are respectively. This road breaking off on the way to village Laskani Walla and *wasti* Qazi to the south and the same road when running toward east turns north and leading to *wasti* Inayat Shah and *wasti* Mohsin Shah. On the west of village, a *Kacha* road leads to *maghrabi Shinah Walla*(*Kehal* community) and Indus River.

In older time horses and camels were used for the transportation which has now been replaced by the modern vehicles. *Wagons* (van) from village go to Inayat Shah passing through other villages and reached the city. The other road which is very near to the Indus River but vehicles are not go there, during the rain this road become muddy and slippery and it is difficult for a vehicle to run on this road, even pedestrian can not walk on this road.

2.11.2. Location

Shinah Walla is situated near the eastern bank of the Indus River. It is about 12 kilometers away from the Karor Lal city in western side and from district Layyah 41 kilometers in north-west side. From Karor Lal Eason city, a *Pakka* road leads to the village. The village is situated in downward area. The river water flowing nearly every year especially in summer season, several houses affected by floods and crops also.

The village is clearly divided into three portions. The major portions of the village that lies on the right side of the *Pakka* road, called *Wada Shinah Walla*. In the north *Wasti Awan* is situated and the west, *Hafiz abad* (new settlement of the village here Boys Middle School and Girls Middle are located) and *Wasti Solangi* is located. In the west *Maghrabi Shinah Walla* is located where *Kehal* community is settled and near this *Wasti*, Indus River is flowing with pump and show. In north of the village *Dahpi* and *Wara Seharian* are located while in the south, *Wasti Bahaar Shah* and village "*Laskni Walla*" situated. In the east of *Shinah Walla* village "*Inayat Shah*" is located.

2.11.3. Climate

The climate of the village is cold and bracing during the winter months, the coldest months are December and January. In summer the heat is stifling and aggravated by numerous dust storms but less than sandy areas of district. Hot winds locally known as “lu” increase the discomfort and are often reported to have spoiled and ruined the crop of cultivable land of sandy area. In the evening, the area where river flows around it become comfortable and people especially hunters lying on sandy area or wetted area. In winter season owing to coldest “korra” snow like falls on here and there due to this *kora* no one dared to walk on bared-footed while it affected the crops of wheat and grass. Fog prevailed here and there.

2.11.4. Rainfall

The amount of rainfall received in the village is scanty. The occurrence of rainfall has changing pattern from year to year. The distribution and incidence of rainfall is quite regular i.e. it goes along the seasons. Quantity is not much. Average annual rainfall does not exceed 18.7 centimeters of which main downpours are experienced in summer months. Aerial distribution of rainfall is not so clear. It always follows thunder. In April, hail –storms are frequent and quite intense. July and August are the rainiest months while October and November are the driest ones.

2.12. Ethnic Composition of Village Population

Total population of the village is 1860 inhabitants of which 926 are males and 934 are females. The total number of households was 386².

Table No.2.1

Gender-wise Distribution of the Population of the Village

Number of H.H	Total Population	Male adult & children	Female adult & children
386	1860	926	934

² Census office of Layyah, Village: Influential person.

Population of the village “*Shinah Walla*” is divided into different identifiable groups which may be labeled on the basis of castes or ethnic groups. Each ethnic group was different due to its occupation or characteristics. All these ethnic groups may be categorized into three types on the basis of land holding and occupation. They are include

Table No. 2.2
Ethnic-wise population of the village

Total No. of Houses: 386

Total Population: 1860

Grouping	Main Castes	No. of houses	Percentage
Landing holding castes	Isra	179	46.37
	Khokar	60	15.54
	Maytla	50	12.95
	Awan	7	1.81
	<i>Kurai</i>	3	0.77
Landless castes group A	Sayed	10	2.59
	Sial	4	1.03
Landless castes group B	Machi	17	4.40
	Mochi	15	3.88
	Lohar	13	3.36
	Lorry	5	1.29
	<i>Nai</i>	10	2.59
	Dhobi	5	1.29
	Tarkhan	4	10.36
	Mirasi	3	0.77
	Telli	1	0.25

		386	
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Source: Census office of Layyah, village influential person.

- i) Land holding or agricultural ethnic group.
- ii) Landless ethnic group.
- iii) *Kamies*.

2.12.1. Land holding Ethnic Castes

In this category *Isra*, *Khokar*, *Maytla* and *Kurai* are included. They are:

a. *Isra*

This was the main caste or ethnic group in the village which basically own land. This was a dominant ethnic group and had most of the population which comprised 46 percent of the entire population of the village. They assumed that they were from a single ancestor who had been settled in the village from the time immemorial. Their basic occupation is of agriculturist. The *Bazurgs*(old men) of this caste informed me that “when *Hazrat Ali Rajan* came from *Uch Sharif* in *wasti Rajan Shah*, by preaching of that saint *Isra* accepted Islam. In village politics they play a important role, in last election, union *nazim* and two members of union council were elected from this caste.

b. *Khokar*

Second important ethnic group is “*Khokar*”. *Isra* and *Khokar* accepted Islam together by the preaching of *Hazrat Ali Rajan*. They both own land and were mainly owner cultivators and graze buffaloes in river delta (bait). Due to inheritance, and sub-division of land and *dha*(land sliding of land due to flood) there were some families who became poor or smaller land holders. In consequences the male persons had to migrate to work in the cities as laborers and in business or service.

c. *Maytla*

Third important caste of this village was “*Maytla*”. They came in this village from Multan and Sahiwal from the time immemorial. Basically, they have own land and engage with agriculture. They are very hard working people and work their land themselves. Consequently they produce the better production of crops.

d. Kurai

Another group had land was “Kurai”. They came from Baluchistan firstly settled in Dera Ismail Khan, and then some families of this caste settled in this village from the time of immemorial. They were engaged with agriculture and have more livestock.

2.12.2. Landless castes of the village

These castes do not own land in the village but they still enjoyed good status because they are considered more respectable in the village. These castes are *Sayed* and *Sial*. They are:

a. Syed

Syed is religious and most respective ethnic group of the village. They trace their ancestry from “*Hazrat Fatima*’ (R.A), daughter of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In this village traditionally they depend upon the receiving of the money via “*nazro-niyaz*” (as a gift in the form of kind or money). People from in and outside the village; visit them to get *dam-drood* and amulet or *taweez* to fulfill their desires. They present to the *Syed* in cash or in kind. Sometimes they pay at the same time but others make commitments to pay in future and after the fulfillment of their wishes. There is no shrine in the village, so these *Syed* families depend upon the earning from “*taweez*”. Although they have no won land which was a symbol of prestige in the village community but they still enjoyed a high status due to their religious ancestor. They were believed to have descended from a sacred family so; they were much respected by the village.

b. Sial

They have no land but they are respected by the villagers. They accepted Islam by the preaching of *Hazrat Karor Lal Eason*. They came from *Jhang* and *Shorkot* in this village.

Table No.2.3
Village Occupation by Occupation

Sr. No.	Occupation	Workers	Percentage
1	Agricultural landowner	198	32.00
2	Merchant, Businessman	7	1.16
3	Service in army	30	4.98
4	Service in police	2	0.33
5	Government service	5	0.83
6	Other wages	200	34.00
7	Overseas	115	19.10
8	Elsewhere in Pakistan	45	7.47
	Total	602	100

They informed me their ancestors had own land but due to *dha* (land sliding of the land due to river) their totally land came under the river water. Now, they are doing works such as horse riding, traditional healing etc.

2.12.3. Kamies

There are identifiable ethnic groups which were categorized as *Kamies*. Almost all of them perform, or were performing traditional occupations on the basis of *Sepi* which is the complex relationship between the *Kamies* and land agriculturist in this system the *Kamies* perform the work and services for which they were paid at the time of harvesting in kind. Some families of the *Kamies* are not performing their traditional occupation and had adopted other non-kammi occupations but still they were included in that ethnic group. They are included because their fore-fathers were doing that crust which is

bounded by the social system of marriage in family. They were bound to marry within their respective ethnic group. So each group was a social unit. These ethnic groups are as under:

a. Machi

By occupation they bake *roties* at the occasions of marriages and death, despite this occupation they catch fish and sell in the market. Their occupation was not based on *sepi* system; rather they are paid in kind as *ata* (flour) and cash at the end of work. They are also endogamous and perform marriage in the group. They are easily recognized in village community by their dark color like South Africans, and their typical gestures.

b. Mochi

Their traditional occupation is their shoe-making or repairing shoes. They have also *sepi* relationship for their services. Traditionally they made new shoes and also mending work as *Olaag* system but now new shoes were made and only mending was made by the Mochi on *Sepi*. He received the leather free of cost of the dead animals or animals slaughter on the life-cycle ceremonies. At that time he made one or two pairs of shoes free to the family from which he got the leather-skin free. There are fifteen families living in the village. Out of them ten families live on *sepi* system while other five do new work making new shoes on payment. This is also an ethnic group which has lower status as compared to other *kamies* and sometimes they are humiliated by calling *chammars* (unclean).

c. Lohar

Lohar is an ethnic group; they make and repair agricultural tools and implements such as plough, knives, water tape etc. There are thirteen families of Lohars, live in this village. Almost all the families were engaged in their traditional occupation. These families have *sepi* relations and got remuneration by making and repairing agricultural tools at the time of harvesting.



Plate No.2.1 Lohar is making agricultural tools for farmer.

d. Lorry

This is the ethnic group of the village their fore-father become Muslim at the time of partition. Most of them migrated from this village to India. Now, some of their families making sweet locally known as "*lorrian alley mithai*". Most of them have adopted the occupation of brick making. They work as the laborer on the bricks- oven. They make the *kachi* bricks by the clay and made the heaps. When the heap was ready, it became the property of the owner of *bhatta* even if it is ruined by the rain. Most of the *Lorry* takes their wives and children to work with them. If some *lorry* take debts from any person and if debt was not returned back, to some *bhatta* owner and compelled to work under him until the debt was declared.

e. Nai

Traditional occupation of *Nai* was hair cutting and giving shapes of their "*Sepi*". He is paid like other *kamies* at the time of harvesting season. In addition his normal activities of hair cutting or shaving, he performed certain important services at the time of life cycle ceremonies. He is a messenger and takes messages of his "*Zamindar*" in the village and outside the village. Information regarding all important events, which are communicated by the *Nai* who work as a special messenger. *Nai* is considering being an intelligent

person in the village due to his dealing with various families of the village and outside. On all types of ceremonies, the food is cooked by the *Nai*. *Nai* also performed the minor surgery such as circumcision. His wife works on the special occasions like her husband in the house of her "*Zamindar*".

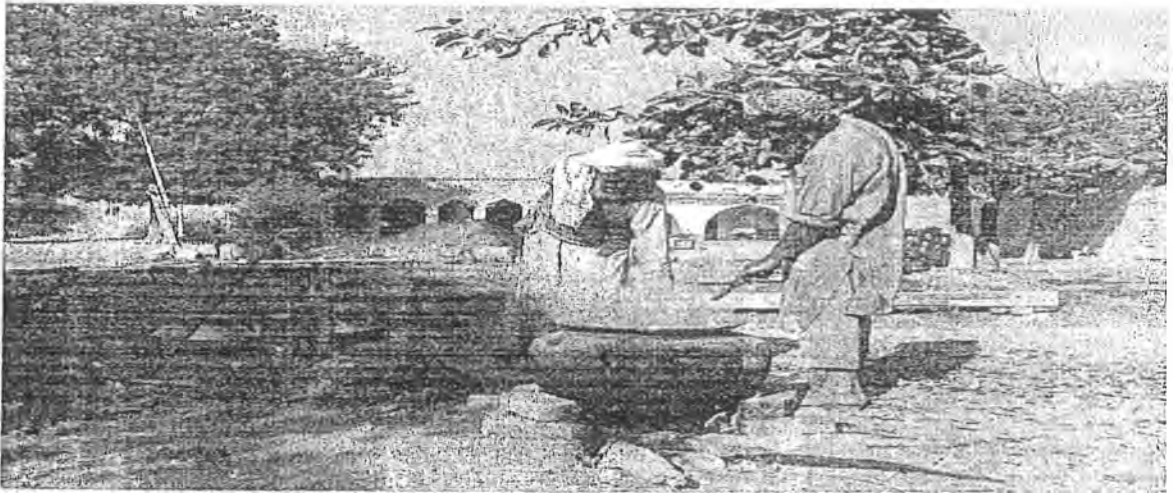


Plate No.2. 2 Nai is preparing occasional meal.

f. Dhobi

This ethnic group is involved in occupation of sewing. The word "*Dhobi*" in other areas is known as washer man, but here it is used in the sense of tailor. There are five families of *Dhobies*, in which two were working in the village while others work in *Karor Lal Eason*. They sewed the clothes under '*sepi*' system in the village while on cash outside the village. They also married within their group and due to less family in the village; their filial relation is spread into other villages of the area. On the occasion of marriages they not only prepaid the clothes for bride and bridegroom but also help in the decoration of dowry.

g. Tarkhan Carpenter

They make and repaired agricultural tools and implements. *Tarkhan* made and repaired the wooden implements. Others than agricultural implements, they made items used as the households such as *charpai*, *Peerhi*, *Doi*, *Doors* etc. Some of them were engaged in the construction work and known as *Mistries* (mason). These families have *sepi* relations with the villagers particularly.

h. Mirasi

This is also important groups among *Kamies* of the village who do not produce anything but provide their services on different occasions. Their main job is beating the drums and playing other musical instruments at the time of marriage. Usually remuneration of their service is paid at the time of marriage in the shape of *Vail*. They have a *sepi* relationship only to the extent that they are paid cash at the harvest time.

i. Teli

There is only one *Teli* living in the village "Shinah Walla". Traditional occupation of this ethnic group is to press the oil seeds and prepare oil and *Khal* for their *Zamindar*. Usually they are paid in kind (oil, *Khal*). A number of families of this group have migrated to other cities. The only family left in the village has a flour-mill (*Chakki*).

As stated earlier these all *Kamies* are in *sepi* relations with the land owing agricultural families. All of these *Kamies* have *sepi* a system of exchange of their services and product without making remuneration to each other. A *Nai* works for a *Mochi* who reciprocates to him by repairing his shoes and no by payment in cash or Kind. Similar is the case among other *Kammi* groups.

2.13. Culture

2.13.I. Dress pattern

Different dresses are used according to the sex, age and status. Traditionally male and female wear *Kameez* and *Dhoti*, with the exception of design and color in *Kameez* and *Doopatta* females, there is no difference between male and female dress. Female has a *Doopatta* on her head while male has a *Chadar* on his shoulder. But in the course of time, the pattern of dress is changing and now the young ladies wear *Shalwar* and *Kameez*, while the older females are observed in the same traditional dress. Same is the case with the male. Young boys from the early age of schooling are dressed in *Shalwar* and *Kameez* and same is adopted by the young men of the village, who, mostly outside the village for the purpose of education or work.

Special female dress comprises of *Kameez*, *Shalwar* or *Dhoti* and *Doopatta* or sometimes *Chaddar*, which cover the head and breast. It is only *purda* of a woman which is

observed in village, she wears *Burqa*. Traditionally she wears *khoosa* made by the village *Mochi*, specially meant for the female. Now-a-days sandal, plastic sleepers and shoes are used. This is the ordinary dress in which dull colors are used by the women to become attractive.

Other than dress, woman decorates herself by using bangles, *Murkiyan*, nose pin, *teeka*, finger rings, hair pins, necklaces etc. A significant item in the female dress is the *Gutt or Pranda* which is known as the symbol of dignity of a woman. The *Gutt* are made of thread in many colors. They are decorated by pearls at the end of by the knot. Usually the *Gutt* for old woman is black color and in case of young woman, it is in many colors.

Males wear *Kameez* and *Dhoti* or *Kameez* and *Shalwar*. Specially all of them have a *Chadar* on their shoulders which have so many functions. According to one informant, it is used for covering head and faces to save from cold and heat, to save from rain and also is used as a mat for sitting and sleeping in the fields. It is especially useful to wrap the head and vital parts of the body at the time of conflict, bringing fodders and fuel and for many other purposes.

A change has occurred in the dress of young men who are either working in the cities. They have wearing western dress, pants and fast colored and printed shirts. Some of the boys also long hair. Some of them show themselves a hero by wearing chain in neck or hand and colorful finger-rings, and by using colorful glasses. Hair style in case of male and female both does not differ from that of other areas of the Punjab.

2.13.2. Food pattern

Most of the food in the village may be categorized into two types. One is daily food and other is special or ceremonial food.

i. Daily

Traditionally the breakfast or *Nerharn* is comprised of *Lasi* or *Dhai* with the *Roties* of late night or fresh *Paratha*. But now the tea is added in the breakfast and is taken after taking *Lasi*. Sometimes, when there is no *Lasi*, people use pickle in their breakfast.

Lunch is taken at 10: am to 12: am noon. Lunch includes the *roties*, *lassi*, pickle and sometimes curries (remaining of last night)

The dinner is taken soon after the sun set following the *Nemashan* means *Magrib* prayer. It includes curry and *roties*, vegetable, usually potatoes and spinach are used in curry. Meat is rarely cooked. Although the people have chicken but they cook them occasionally, especially if the person is sick to energize him or when the chicken is sick, for not letting it go waste. Pulses are used for curry in routine cooking. All these foods are poor from the nutritional point of view but these are just to fill in the stomach. Fruits are used rarely, but whenever a man from city comes to the village, he brings some seasonal fruits. Most of the fruits are taken by children as a special thing.

ii. Occasional

The second category of food is cooked as special occasions on marriages, deaths, festivals, *Wanger*, circumcision and some other special functions. On these occasions' meat and dish *Halva* is cooked. The special prepared food are eaten in more quantity than ordinary food and usually the person take many plates of *halve* and meat in such a manner as if he cannot do without eating. It is great opportunity for him to take as much as he can. Usually there is competition of eating among persons on special occasions.

2.14. Life- cycle ceremonies

Life-cycle ceremonies are performed on different occasions of happiness and sorrow in the village. These ceremonies may be categorized into four types.

These ceremonies are important because they not only describe the different big interval of the life but it is important due to social relations. These ceremonies are not only important for the person concerning but the society and groups and create cohesiveness within the groups. Sometimes conflicts are created in the society or resolved due to these ceremonies. These ceremonies show the structure and pattern of behavior of society.

2.14.1. Birth

Birth ceremony: Special ceremonies are arranged at the birth of the child, special for the male child. When the male child is born, it is occasion of great pleasure for the husband and wife both. Male gets inheritance while the position of female is recognized in the house of husband. Sweet (*Gur* and *Batasha*) are distributed by the parents. Maternal grand-parents bring the things used for the boy such as small coat, cloths, toys etc. This

pleasure is shown by the parent for seven days. At the seventh day of birth, the hair of the child is shaved by the barber, and the same is given to child's father sister. *Nai* gets money in cash or kind from relatives of mother as well as father side. Two goats are slaughtered and are cooked and distributed among the relatives. This ceremony is called *Haqeeqa* ceremony. *Mochi* brings a leather piece and stitches it with the door and receives money from parents. The tailor brings traditional type of parrot made of paper and clothes.

2.14.2. Circumcision

Circumcision is another important change in the life of the male child and in the village community. It is obligatory for a Muslim male child to be circumcised according to the Islamic teachings, child should be circumcised at the ninth day of the birth. This is called "*Turhawa*" literally means to purify. As the Muslims of indo-Pak were living with the Hindus and they have adopted many norms of them.

Nai is called for circumcision, usually the mother's brother (*Mamoon*) carries the child before the *Pirahain* other relatives stand around the child, child is asked to look upward to something while *Pirahain* perform the circumcision by a sharp knife. The other relative give money to the child, usually near relatives give more money.

A feast is arranged in which meat, beef is cooked and the relatives' participation is invited. They bring gifts along with money and sweet for the child.

2.14.3. Marriage ceremonies

Marriage ceremonies are most important ceremonies in the life-cycle. Marriage is the occasions in which a person is on the peak of his life and the ceremonies celebrated on the occasion are of great rejoice. All ceremonies celebrated on the occasion show the joy of the participants. It is the occasion on which the role and status of a person, male or female is changed.

Marriage leads to the making of a family or extension of the family. Marriage is the bond which legalizes the sex relations of the male and female which are otherwise strictly prohibited. It is a license or permission to establish relation between male and female also legalizing the children inheritors born as the result of it. So, this permission is a great source of happiness for the spouses in which their basic human desire is fulfilled.

Other participants specially the parents of the male are happy that in result of the marriage they are able to continue their heir. The female's parents are happy that they fulfill their duty of marrying their daughter which is considered a burden for prestige after she is grown up.

Marriage is a series of ceremonies which status from *betrothal* to the *Rukhsati*. Marriage process begins with the visits from side of the male to the house of female. The male parents sometimes ask directly or through a middle man for the marriage. If both parties agreed, a date for ceremony of betrothal is fixed. In old times betrothal was made at an early age while recently betrothal ceremonies take place before one to three years of gap in marriage. The male side goes along with relatives and birthday members to the house of female. This ceremony may be called a mini-marriage. Participants of both families sit on the cots. There is a *Gup-Shup*(chit-chat) between them. A *Hukka* is served by *Mirasi* with some introduction; *Dua-e-Khair* is made which means the celebration of betrothal. Soon after the *Dua-e-Khair*, *Nai* distribute the *Gur* among the participants. Two water colors which are made by the female side are poured on the members who come from male side. A manifestation of joke is shown by the participants of both sides. These jokes are made verbally as well as physically. This ceremony binds the two families with the affinal relationship. After this ceremony made usually does not go in the house of female.

When *Nikha* is performed, on this occasion there is some distribution of local sweet (*Batasha*) but it is not like the *betrothal*. After the *Nikah* the spouses become legally and religiously husband and wife but not socially. Social or cultural marriage takes place when female moves to live with the male as wife. This is the most rejoice and important ceremony which begins with marriage procession *Barat*, relatives and accompanying the male spouse go to the house of female. Actually before *Barat* there are certain ceremonies such as *Mehendi* etc. which are firmly introduced by both families.

On the day of *Barat*, a share is bound on the fact of groom by his sister who is paid some money as her right. A recent phenomenon of garlanding the groom with currency notes has been introduced. Traditionally, a groom should go or lead the *Barat* on the horse while all other participants are on foot. Before riding on the horse, the groom visits

mosque around the village which is thought sacred at the beginning of this holy task. When he is about to ride on the horse, a female relative usually the sister puts the grains to the horse. She is paid for her services by the groom. Drum beating is present on every ceremony. Mirasi beats the drum and plays some other musical instrument and receives *Vail* by the participants.

Procession starts from the house of groom and making round of the village approaches the house of the bride. On the way much *Patakh* and guns are fired which make a great noise in the village. Usually the procession takes place in the day time. At the house the procession is received by relatives of bride. The participants served meal, tea etc. in the house of bride. A lot of joking takes place in two sides. They also exchange abuses as a matter of joy which is not felt by any of them. If not performed before, *Nikah* is performed in which male is asked to recite the six *Kalmas* as a religious requirement. He is asked by the *Molvi* to accept the daughter of so and so as his wife. After the three times of saying and acceptance the *Nikah* is confirmed religious by the male. At that time female is also asked only to give consent to accept the groom by her relative, who feed back by the *Molvi* about the consent and beings to offer the *Nikah*. A *Nikah* registration has been introduced by the government via *Nikah* registrar who is legally obligated to record the marriage. In this register all the particulars of male and female with their witness and advocate are written and signed. Meal is served after the *Nikah* ceremony which consists on meat and people eat it like the enemies of it. Several other ceremonies take place during the time of stay of *Barat*, which include milk presentation by the sister of bride, or other close relatives.

Dowry, are the part of economic transaction which are presented to the new couple being married. Dowry consist of the things of daily use of a family such as cots, chairs, cloths, pots etc. from the bride family to their daughter which are taken with her new house or in the house of her husband's family. After the performance of all these ceremonies and display of dowry, female departs from her family with tears in her eyes. The other members of bride family also try to bring tears in their eyes to show their affection and love with their daughter who is leaving the native house to adjust herself in a new setting.

She is taken in a *Doli* picked by near relatives of the bride. At the arrival of the groom's house she is received well and given some money as a reception. The second day of marriage, a feast is arranged by the groom family call as *Walima* in which the relatives and relatives of bride are invited. This feast also consist on the same dishes of meat, rice etc. At the evening bride and groom, both return to the house of bride's parents from where they return back to their house after living two days. Then a chain of invitations of meals are offered by the relatives of both side of family which introduced the both spouses to the each relative one by one.

2.14.4. Death

Death is ceremony of sorrow which shows the life cycle end of a person. On the death occasion, a person departs from the family members for ever to other world and creates some gap of relationship which make a loss to a family. At the time of death the most affected persons are kith and kin who feel a great loss. The affected ones are his children (daughter, son) and wife, and in case of minor's death, the parents. Death occurs of the all ages but intensity of sorrow differs from the age, sex and relationship.

Death occurs due to discuss which are attempt to be cure by traditional methods and techniques but when a person dies by a natural death, it is said that his days from the heaven finished and he must return to his commitment made him at the time of birth. When a person dies, his family members began weeping aloud whatever the time may be. By listen the news of death weeping noise, neighbors and other villagers come to the house where death has occurred. News of death spreads from house to house and it is duty of a person who knows about the death to tell others who do not know the individual. It is obligatory for adult male and female to go to the house where death has occurred as and when they hear about it.

Females of the village gather in the house and sit near the deceased person on mat. The relatives of deceased weep with loud voices which is called Bain. In this Ban, they narrate the characteristics of the dead person and loss occurred due to his or her death. The nearer females open their hair and weep aloud by waving their hands. In case of murder, accident or unexpected death, there is display of maximum sorrow by the females and males. The near kith and kin stay with the cot of the dead body and weep

aloud. After the introduction of loud-speaker, the death announcement is made through it. *Kamies* are gathered and sent to other villages and cities where the family has relationships. If a person is out of the country or in a city away, a person is sent to call him on telephone and in sometime he is telegraphed.

When all the relatives, specially the near kith and kin of the dead are reached the burial ceremony is performed. Usually in summer, the dead body is not kept more than one day and in winter one and half day. Before the burial bathing of dead is taken place the *Khadim* of the mosque on the instruction of *Molvi* gives bath to the dead body. Female dead body is bathed by the females of *Khadim* and Imam. After the bathing coffin which consists of three white sheets and in case of female five pieces are prepared. Coffin is usually provided by the maternal side of the deceased. When the dead person funeral lifted on the shoulders of four persons, there is great hue and cry of females. The male carry the dead body and the procession proceed to graveyard where the *Namaz-e-Janaza* is performed. On the way of procession recite *Kalma-Tayyaba* in loud-voice. *Namaz-e-Janaza* is offered by the males only led by *Molvi* sahib. Dead body is put in the grave and filled with the earth by putting pitchers above the dead body. They return back after burial, a feast called *Mukan* the *Roties* is arranged for the guests. People offer *Fatiha* every days.

2.15. Belief System

All population of village *Shinah Walla* belongs to the Islamic religion. The entire population follows *Suni* sect and who perform different ritual and acts according to their sect. But the main thing which is observed in the village is their belief and practices. We may say it is a main tradition coupled with sub tradition. The main tradition is the Islam or the Muslim religion has presented as a whole and the sub tradition is conversion of the religious practices according to the local environment and customs. Some local customs has been synchronized to adjust into the Islamic system.

People believe in one God but they believe that difference *Pirs* dead or alive who are near the God can also help in the loss. Show their attachment with them, they visit to them and to the shrines. They are all superstitious and believe in them. To approach the

supernatural two approaches are used by the village community members. One is direct or prayer approach in which the person perform prayers five times and appeal the supernatural to fulfill their. *Molvi* of mosque is the leader who leads such prayers. The second approach is to contact the God through some middle man who is religious or sacred person and due to his sacredness he has direct contact with the god. The people respect that man whether living or dead. The leader of this approach is *pir* or shrine. Many local belief and practices are shared and that are the belief in *Peer* and shrine superstitions and *Jin -Bhoot*.

2. 15.1. Pir and Shrine

Pirs are the living persons who are believed to have some power or special contact with God due to which they can help their followers to solve their daily problems. People pay a visit to them and ask *Hajat* from them which are believed to be fulfilled and *Pir* prays for them. These *Pirs* act in two methods, one is verbal and the other is written to solve the problems. The verbal is *Dam-Darood* which is offered by *Pir* on or for the person while the *Taweez* are written on slips to solve any problem. There are two types of *Taweez*, one is for binding around the neck or the arm and the other is stirred in the water to drink. These *Pirs* are paid in cash and kind at the time of visits of *Murrid* and the after the fulfillment of their desires.

Shrines are the grave of dead *Pirs* who are believed as blessed of dead *Pirs* who are believed as blessed with power to help in solving the problem people pay visits on these *ziyarats* and shrines fulfill to their material desires and specially to cure diseases. Each grave is supposed to fulfill one or more purposes. These are three big multi-functional shrines situated in different areas near the village and in other village where the people of this villages go to fulfill there desires. Shrine of “*Hazrat Lal Eason*” which is situated in *Karor Lal Eason* twelve kilometers away from “*Shinah Walla*” is famous for the fulfillment of *Mannat* has been achieved. Every year in August or September on the occasion of *Urs* held on this shrine, in which, drums are beaten.

2.15.2. Belief on Evil-Eye

It would be difficult to find a more superstitious people in the world than the illiterate residents of the village. With the exception of few educated and sensible person majority of literate people with orthodox approach believed in various kinds of activities Jins, evil eyes and many other superstitious concepts. It is commonly believes that "*Sapda Dangha Bachda Hey, Nazar Da Danghia Nahi Bachda*" (the snake bitten survives but one who is affected evil eyes cannot). Generally, the disease and which are not cure by due to poor diagnosis, lack of proper medical treatment or poverty, are suppose to be the acts of *Jins*. Like wise the marital disputes and unpleasant situations caused by miss appropriation of facts, irrational attitudes at scientific approach towards problems of practical life attributed to evil eyes of the *Jin*. This is actually a result of escapism that had its deep roots in the local mental and psychological set up. *Bilani Du Phull* is a charm to win the heart of a girl friend. The price paid for an amulet called *Mokh*. The people of strong believers of omens also.

2.16. Basic Amenities

Community according to Weber's New World Dictionary is defined as:

"All the people who living together as a small social unit within a large one having interest and work closely associated because of common tradition or political economic advantage".

Therefore community consists of a number of family units residing in a particular area having common interest and value systems.

2.17. Educational Facilities

Education plays a vital role in the development of a community. Educational level also reflects the living pattern and standard of the people. Raising education standard mean putting a social group on development path. There are two middle schools in the village, one for boys and other one is for girls. The Boys' School is more than thirty years old while the Girls School recently established. After secondary education, the boys have to go *Karor Lal Eason* twelve kilometers away from the village. However, there is no Girls' High School near by the village, so girls had to sit in the house.

Education for boys is considered good and fruitful but for the girls it is thought that when girls will be educated, they will write love letters and will become morally corrupt. Teachers in the school are not enough and these teachers want to work on near their on locality. Usually teachers take domestic work from the students. School boys are often seen bringing fodder from the field for their teacher's animals. Religious education is also important in the sense that male and female should learn Holy Quran.

Table No. 2.4
Educational Percentage

Sr. No.	Education	Literate individuals	Percentage
1	Nil	810	43.54
2	Less than Prime	671	36.07
3	Prime	368	19.78
4	Middle	8	0.43
5	High	-	0.43
6	Intermediate	1	0.05
7	B.A	1	0.05
8	M.A	1	0.05

Source: Village school's records and influential person.

2.18. Health

Health is not much cared in the village. A person is given treatment when he gets a disease. Preventive measures to control the diseases are not considered important and the ammonization of the children are not felt necessary. Three types of treatment is done to a patient. One is herbal in which the *Hakeems* prepare the medicine by using of allopathic way of treatment. Second is allopathic in which the modern medicines are used. The MBBS doctors are in city but a dispenser in nearby village, who practices allopathic way of treatment. He gives the pills and injects the people according to his own knowledge. There is such dispenser in the village. In serious cases the patient are taken to the district hospital.

The third way of treatment is spiritual healing via *Dam*, *Darood*, *Taweez*, *Pirs* and *Ziyarat*. *Molvi* are the agent of this type of treatment. Malaria, diarrhea, rheumatism and eye and ear diseases are common. There are two midwives who deal all the cases of childbirth and in case of serious, the patient is referred to Nishtar Hospital Multan. The population generally enjoys good health. This is mainly because of the arduous life in the village. They are normally of middle height, about 5 feet 6 inches and characterized by a dark-brown complexion, blackish brown eyes, a thick and flat nose and coarse features. The body is well built; the chest and arms are proportionately well developed but the calf muscles are not common. The inhabitants of Bait have a better physique than others.

2.19. Mosques

In the village majority of the population belong to the "Sunni" sect. there is one "Jamia" mosque, and three small mosques. Religious education is also important to the children in these institutions.

2.20. Community Center

There is no community center in the village, so the people have to face a lot of problems regarding their different social issues. Now the local government is taking initiative to construct a community center.

2.21. Market

In the village, there is only one market which is highly sufficient in order to meet the needs of that area. This market lies in the south to main road. Most of the people of that area are associated with this market regarding with this market their economic circumstances

2. 22. Media

Newspaper are available every where in this area whether office or house. Television and Radio are the most popular and media used for information, news etc. Television for providing the highly recreational resort is an important source. Now a day cable system has changed the trend so every where people are engaged watching movies and other programs.

2.23. Games

All communities, no matter how busy and laborious a life they lead indulge in some form of games and recreation for relaxation, and the people of this village are no exceptions to this rule, the games most enjoyed by children, boys and men., *Chiddae* or marbles. Tree climbing competitions, Catching partridges or other birds from nearby jungle in the month of March and May, hunting of wild animals, *Kabadi* which is a variation of prisoner's base, *Gabbi*, play in moon light, *Kut Mar*. Children play this game with ball, *Paisa* (which is a form of gambling, *Chla-Poch*, volley ball and cricket

2.24. Recreational Facilities

Despite of the Television and Radios there are many other recreational activities like games and other pursuits. Children used to fly the kite, as kite flying is best pursuit of the villagers. Man other games are also played in which football, hockey and cricket are prominent.

2.25. Political set up

Regarding political set up the main system of justice based upon the "*Sath*" or "*Panchayat*" solves the property and all other problems related to basic human rights or routine wise small problems. Head of the "*Sath*" is called "*Malik*" who is considered all in all in making all the decisions about the quarrels and setting minor and major disputes.

The head of the "*Sath*" is usually nominated with the help of *Baradri* system. Village *Shinah Walla* is the part of large political system of the area. Like other peasant communities village is not sufficient political unit but most of the decision imposed from out side the village, and village is controlled by the police, court and the other department s of the Government. In the village there are political leaders and power agents who play the intermediary role between the villagers and local agents having two edges swords which works both for the Government and for the people. Govt or the outer structure could not appoint a force in every village to maintain law and order. So, the need of people is to improve law and order situation. Village people who are mostly illiterate, have less knowledge of the remaining world and need some person to work on their

behalf to deal with government institutions. These local leaders of the village are helpful in this respect.

Traditionally, the government since the time of British Government has appointed the village head man locally called *Numberdar* for this purpose. These formal leaders played a great role in this regard but after the introduction of the local bodies, some new leadership, farers councilors, lady councilors has been introduced. They have performed some function of the head man of the village in the course of time other informal leadership evolved in the village.

Larger political system exists in the area which has created a system of alliances and opposition on the higher level. In village, power and prestige is gained not only by force but also by influence. These leaders do not have any force to recognize their authority. They exploited the villagers by creating and involving the conflicts and after obliging them through help shown in the court or police station. A person having more land or respectable position such as the office of the *Numberdar* or councilor can enforce his political position.

2.26. Social organization

According to Firth:

"Social organization is viewed as being composed of social interaction in which people exercise choices and make decision".

(Firth, 1971: 70)

Social organization always refers the pattern of interaction among the member of groups, society and culture. Steward's thought of social organization, democracy and level of integration as sub sets of culture traits. Harris sees interrelations of different aspects of social organization that are systematic relations between the different kinds of groups, networks, status, and role. Family is the basic unit of the society where people live and share common ancestry, blood and legal relationship, family play an important and key role in the social network.

2.26.1. The family

The family is a social group characterized by economic residence, economic cooperation. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults.

Murdock defines the family as,

"The social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and (have) one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults".

(Murdock, 1949:1)

In joint *Kehal* community is a group of intimate people. When relationships are developed through either blood or marriage, they give rise to emotional involvement. In this community most of the families are nuclear than joint families, they prefer to form nuclear social group because in this community, family is the unit of production and every family member is human capital. The whole family work together due to poverty line, every family member has to earn for him and for the family. They live and nuclear family system.

a. Extended family

Extended family refers to family structure that extends beyond the nuclear family. Within the extended family may be a multiple number of nuclear family groupings. Sometimes consanguine families and joint families are used interchangeably with extended families. The consanguine family refers to the joining of nuclear families on the basis of blood relationships or on the basis of descent from the same ancestors so that several generations of offspring are included within one family unit as in extended family. Some families are composed linked through siblings but without their parents because parents are dead or sometime one of them is dead. For instance such a family may consist of two or more than two married brothers, their wives and their children. Sometimes unmarried sisters may also live with their brothers as dependent on them socially and not infrequently economically too In the village such families are less rather than nuclear families.

b. Joint Family System

In encyclopedia of anthropology joint family is defined as;

"A joint family is a vertically extended family joining three generations: parents and the families of some of their children".

(Encyclopedia of Anthropology).

In the village joint family system is common. It consist of a married couple, one or more of their married sons, other unmarried children whether taking independent in economic. Some joint families are sometimes quite large comprising more than twenty members and more than three nuclear families and width three generations. In this sort of joint family living pattern their houses are linked with each other and indicates a residence unit, with one common guest common identical distance from the residence area.

c. Nuclear family

Nuclear and conjugal families refer to the family unit in its smallest form. Generally it includes the husband, wife and their immediate children. The terms nuclear and conjugal are at times used interchangeably; however, the conjugal family must include a husband and wife. A nuclear family may or may not include the marriage parents but consists of any two or more persons related to one another by blood, marriage or adoption, assuming they are of the same or adjoining generation. Thus a brother and sister or a single parent and child are nuclear families but would not technically speaking, be conjugal families. In the village nuclear families are less than extended and joint families.

2.26.2. Relationship between Husband and Wife

The relationship between husband and wife is very traditional and has certain limitations like they can not sit on bed or *Charpi* especially in front of their parents or parent-in-laws. According to the present research, both the husband and wife follow the same way of living life as they saw their parents follow. Usually no importance is given to females including wives in the decision making of different kinds. Men who follow his wife in all matters of life, in the village consider him not good and called such a person *Run Mureed* (followers of woman). But during the decision of marriages, the husbands ask their wives and consider their suggestion or interest.

2.26.3. Relationship between Father and Children

The relationship between father and children in the village is formal. Children especially daughters are highly obedient to their fathers. In most of the cases, they fear their father so much that they avoid coming in front of them. On the other hand, some are comparatively attached to their father. The person who has more number of sons is considered as luckier, and socially strong. Sons support their parents in their old age locally it's called *bachtry thay tay dukray gay*

2.27. Residential Pattern

The village is spread over twenty acres of the land which is low lying and often disrupted by the annually flood. The village is divided into four *Wasties* known by their names. In each *Wasti* there is a mosque which organizes the *Wasto* as a sub community of the village. All the families of the sub community by their *Jamia* mosque. Only one *Jamia* mosque in the village where villagers offered prayers, *Jumma* and *Eids* prayers. The mosque is the place not only for spiritual cleanliness but physical also. The mail member of the *Wasti* gather for prayers five times a day which provides them a forum for exchange of views.

The streets of the village are mainly *kachas* except two, which are recently made by the councilors living in the village, through local parties and rural development department. There is no specific arrangement for the out flow of the water and in rainy season all *Katcha* streets become muddy and it is quiet difficult walk across. In absence of necessary outlet for rainy are daily used water, one can see muddy streets growing into a nursery for mosquitoes. Like other villages of the area, there is a small multi functional *Chapper*, whose benefits are better known to the village community members. According to informants the daily and rainy water is stored in it for irrigation at odd times. This *Chappar* in the village helps the cattle, especially buffaloes, to rest in it in the summer season when its black skin absorbs the sun- rays and is forced to take refuge some muddy, water place especially in the river. Men and women sit in the *Chappar* in summer season. Like streets, *Chappar* is also a breeding place for mosquitoes and flies, which generates number of disease s both for human being and animals.

Wasties are further sub divided into houses resided by human beings and domestic cattle called *Chownk* or *Dera*. There are two types of houses one is especially for human beings and other for animals. But only the affluent families have both types of houses. Majority of the families keep their animals in the same house and a portion is used for the cattle house known as *Bhana* is usually *Katcha*. Some times a shelter, a known as *Chappar*, made of *Sarkandas* is also used for cattle.

Most of the houses of the village are *Kkatchas* but the rich families have *Pakka* houses, with kiln bricks and cemented walls. *Katcha* houses are made of wooden beams and *Katcha* bricks. A house usually has one big room, which is finely decorated by putting utensils on the cornice of the walls. Usually one married spouse allotted is given one such room, where bride keeps and decorate utensils and other things of her dowry. All the family members, parents and children, sleep in this big room. There is a small room attached with the big rooms known as *Kothi*, which is used as the store room in ordinary days. Usually deliveries are made in this small room. A small room is used as a kitchen in winter, while cooking is made in the courtyard in summer. There is a room which is meant for grain storage but in many houses no such room exists for this purpose and *Pallas* are made for the storage of the grain.

Some houses have verandas which is a place for sleeping in the rainy season and resting place in the days of summer season. Houses have flat roofs which are used for night sleeping during summer season. Courtyard is a very important in the living pattern in the village. Most of the activities take place in the court yard. During the day women gather in the court yard for knitting, and sewing and doing their house hold work under the shady trees in the courtyard. The same compound is used for similar activities in the winter when leaves of the trees have fallen. Other activities making butter and *Lassi*, children bathing, washing of clothes, fodder cutting etc. take place in the court yard.

Traditionally no ventilation system is maintained in the construction of the house. Now a day some people are making windows, such innovations are restricted to guest rooms which are also a recent innovation. Construction of a *Baithak* is a recent development introduced by the urbanized family before this all villagers used a *Dera* commonly at any

time. Almost all the houses are surrounded by the *Pardah* walls or constructed in a manner that back side of the rooms becomes the *Pardah* walls. Construction is made in line and court yard in front of the rooms. Usually common main gate is use for people and the cattle. The process of constructive of *Kacha* houses into pakkah houses has been accelerated due to increasing the income of the villagers and modernity. People spend most of their money on the construction of pakkah houses.

Some houses of made flush system. Apart from making new houses, modern appliances and decoration pieces have been set in the houses.

Table No 2. 5
Percentage of the Types of Houses

Sr. No.	Types of House	Total Number	Percentage
1	Pakka	56	14.50
2	Semi Pakka	11.6	30.05
3	Kacha	2.14	55.44
4	Total Houses	386	100.00

2.28. Land Use Patter

The total area of the village is 1960³ acres. It is divided into two main categories

- Mazora
- Gair Mazora

a. Mazora

Mazora is the land which is used for cultivation. Further more the *Mazora* is divided into tow forms I. *Khoi* is irrigated by wells and tube wells. ii. *Baiti* is irrigated by river water or dampness or some times irrigated by rain falls. The *Mazora* land is 1056 acres, in which *Khoi* is 500 acres while *Baiti* is 556 acres

b. Gair Mazora

It is divided into two kinds, one is *Sunj* (barren) and other is *Abadi Deh*. *Sunj* Barren) that type of land which is not use for cultivation. This type of land can be sandy or may have

³ Village Patwari

water logging or salinity or in the Indus River. This type of land seldom cultivated the total *Sunj* land is 904 acres. *Abadi Deh* It is the land which cannot be used for cultivation in any way. This is the land which is covered by houses, shops, schools, mosques etc. the total area of this type of land is forty two acres.

2.29. Agriculture

Agriculture is main economic activity of the people of the village out of 386 families 299 are land owners, while remaining are land less. All the land is cultivated but due to problems of water logging and salinity, yields have decreased and land owners have some other business as alternative i.e. Constructor or migrated abroad. Although the village is situated near the Indus River.

Table No.2.6
Annual Cycle of Sowing and Harvesting

Harvest	Crops	Sowing	Harvesting
Kharif	Rice	1 July to 15 Aug	15 Nov to 30 Nov
	Masoor	7 “ “ 15 “	15 Sep to 30 Sep
	Sugar-Cane	7 “ “ 15 “	7 “ “ 30 “
	Jawar	8 “ “ 20 “	15 “ “ 15 Nov
	Bajra	8 “ “ 15 “	15 “ “ 15 Nov
	Alsi	8 “ “ 31 “	15 “ “ 15 “
Rabi	Wheat	10 Oct to 30 NOV	1 May 30 May
	Brasoca	7 Oct to 30 OCT	1 Mar TO 30 Mar
	Moth	7 “ “ 30 “	1 “ “ 30 “
	Till	1 “ “ 30 “	1 May “ 15 “

But no canal in the village so, it cannot get water of the river for irrigation. Wooden implement is used for plowing with help of Oxen and camels and some traditional tools and means are used for agriculture. But in the recent time Tractors have been brought by the Zamindars. The owners of the tractors plough their own land and others on payment.

Both *Desi* (like *Gober* of animals) and fertilizer are use to increase the production. Area near the village is more fertile. The area near the Indus River is more fertile due to river soil and it's per acre yield is high than other lands. Two types of crops are sown. One is called *Kharif* which is summer crops and the other is *Rabi* crop which is winter sowing crop. In Rabi wheat, *Sarson*, *Moth*, *Moh*, *Till*, or sown while in *Kharif* crop like rice, *Masoor*, sugarcane, *Bajra*, cotton etc.

When the crop is ready for harvesting it is reaped through the collective effort of the number of persons of the village. Some times a *Wangar* is called for this purpose. After reaping, it is gather to the place for threshing. Both type of threshing, modern as well as traditional is available in the village. After the threshing the grain stored in *Pallas* but now in *pakka* rooms and use through out the years. If there is need of grains at the end of the year then people borrow it from each other rather than buying. For the borrowing they use home made measurement and modern tools of measurement such as *Topa*(equal to two kilograms of wheat) that is traditional measurement of kinds. One forth of the *Topa* called *Propi*. Fifty *Topa* make one *Bori* as equal to hundred kilograms. But now totally people use the modern method of measurement. Such as hang *Kandas*, Pedestrian *Kandas* and also electronics.

2.30. Irrigation System

Irrigation system plays a vital role in agriculture. Canal system of Pakistan is considered well in the world but unfortunately in this village there is canal. Agriculturists have to face many difficulties to irrigate their crops especially in summer season. Therefore, the only sources of irrigation are tube wells working with the help of peter diesel engine. In older times people irrigated their crops with the help of well. Modern system is faster than older system but very expensive.

2.31. Livestock

Live stock is very important in the community of the village. The live stock is not only a property but their uses are many fold. They are used in agricultural labor, loading and giving the milk. Cow, oxen, buffaloes, goats, sheep, and horses are kept as a livestock. Being the riverine village there are more buffaloes then cows. Green fodder is very important in the livestock who give milk.

Chapter No 3

Social and Political Organization

3.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with details related with the social and political organization. This chapter contains information related to the kinship of *Kehal* community. Marriage pattern of *Kehal* community prevails in the community and ceremonies of marriage. Their birth and death rituals such as *Janati Dam*, *Akari Darya Tobi* etc. and also food pattern especially belief of eating the tortoise. At the end this chapter deals with the power and political structure of *Kehal* community.

3.2. Social Organization of Kehal

Kehal social organization is much defined as they strictly follow the rule of endogamy. They get marry their offspring within their cast and even within their own community, Malinowski had defined as;

"Social organization in terms of the purposive manner in which human act upon their environment in order to satisfy".

(Malinowski, 1948:234)

Another definition of social organization is given by Radcliff Brown,

"Social organization as the arrangement of roles associated with the statuses which constitute the social structure".

(Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology)

Social organization always refers the pattern of interaction among the member of groups, society and culture. *Kehal* give great importance to their kin relatives and a patrilineal system exists among them. They trace their genealogy from male side. But importance is also given maternal relatives. Male dominant society exists in *Kehal*. They prefer to arrange marriages in the community. Another important pillar to understand the social organization of any community is the family structure of that specific community. Family is the basic unit of the society where people live and share common ancestry, blood and legal relationship, family play an important and key role in the social network.

3.3. Kinship

Kinship is a relationship between any entities that share a genealogical origin, through biological, cultural, or historical descent. In anthropology the kinship system includes people related both by descent and marriage while usage in biology includes descent and mating. Human kinship relations through marriage are commonly called "affinity" in contrast to "descent". Although the two may overlap in marriages among those of common descent. The basic components of the kinship system in every society are marriage, family, post marital residence, the incest taboo descent. In short we say kinship is the relationship or the connection between individuals by blood, marriage, nature or adoption.

*"The relation between kin, i.e. persons related by real, putative or fictive consanguinity."*¹

(Fox Robin, 1967: 143)

Kehal have very close relationship between cousins. Cousins are always treated as real siblings and no difference is made between cousins. After marriage neolocal and patrilocal rule of residence is practiced. Among *Kehal* the membership is determined by patrilineal descent that is traced through the male line. Property is usually passed from father to son. Parents have main responsibility and duty to advices, support, look after and protect their children carefully. In return children are expected to reverse their parents. A brother has also responsibility to help their sisters in their troubles.

3.3.1. The family

The family is a social group characterized by economic residence, economic cooperation. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults. Murdock defines the family as,

"The social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two of whom maintain a socially approval sexual relationship and (have) one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults".

(Murdock, 1949:1)

Kehal community is a group of intimate people. When relationships are developed through either blood or marriage, they give rise to emotional involvement. In this

community most of the families are nuclear than joint families, they prefer to form nuclear social group because in this community, family is the unit of production and every family member is human capital. The whole family work together due to poverty line, every family member has to earn for him and for the family. They live in extended family, joint family and nuclear family system. Nuclear family system is common in this community then j

3.3.2. Extended family

Extended family refers to family structure that extends beyond the nuclear family. Within the extended family may be a multiple number of nuclear family groupings. Sometimes consanguine families and joint families are used interchangeably with extended families. The consanguine family refers to the joining of nuclear families on the basis of blood relationships or on the basis of descent from the same ancestors so that several generations of offspring are included within one family unit as in extended family. In *Kahal* community extended families are less rather than joint families and nuclear families.

3.3.3. Joint family system

In anthropological definition of joint family defined as;

"A joint family joining three generations: parents and the families of some of their children".

(Encyclopedia of Anthropology)

Joint family consist of a married couple, one or more of their married sons, other unmarried children whether taking independent fishing share from the mutual hunt, or not but living in same boat and sharing a joint income and property. Such joint families are sometimes quite large comprising more than twenty members and more than three nuclear families and with three generation. In this sort of joint family living pattern their houses are linked with each other and indicate a residence unit. In *Kahal* community there is no strong concept of joint family system. In my locale, there joint families. As in joint family, old parents live with their married children and grand children and the authority rests with the head of the household.

3.3.4. Nuclear family

Nuclear and conjugal families refer to the family unit in its smallest form. Generally it includes the husband, wife and their immediate children. The terms nuclear and conjugal are at times used interchangeably; however, the conjugal family must include a husband and wife. A nuclear family may or may not include the marriage parents but consists of any two or more persons related to one another by blood, marriage or adoption, assuming they are of the same or adjoining generation. Thus a brother and sister or a single parent and child are nuclear families but would not technically speaking, be conjugal families. In *Kehal* community most families are comprises of nuclear families. The respondents of research area expressed their inclination to form a nuclear family because of disputes among daughter-in-laws and mother-in-law. New married spouses try to establish their own independent household free from any interference of elder of joint family.

3.3.5. Relationship between husband and wife

The relationship between husband and wife is very traditional and has certain limitations like they can not sit on bed or *Charpi* especially in front of their parents or parent-in-laws. According to the present research, both the husband and wife follow the same way of living life as they saw their parents follow. Usually no importance is given to females including wives in the decision making of different kinds. Men who follow his wife in all matters of life in *Kehal* community consider him not good and called such a person *Run Mureed* (followers of woman). But during the decision of marriages, the husbands ask their wives and consider their suggestion or interest.

3.3.6. Relationship between father and children

The relationship between father and children among *Kehal* is formal. Children especially daughters are highly obedient to their fathers. In most of the cases, they fear their father so much that they avoid coming in front of them. On the other hand, some are comparatively attached to their father. My respondents named Sakena Mai gave comments about the birth of girl "*Dhee Allah Sain de Rahmat hay per aa rahmat unday* (Allah) *kool he rahway*". It means the birth of female is blessing of God but its up bringing is very difficult. The person who has more number of sons is considered as

luckier, and socially strong. Sons support their parents in their old age locally it's called *bachtry thay tay dukray gay*.

3.4. Marriage

"Marriage is often defined as a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are recognized legitimate offspring of both parents".

(Notes and queries of Anthropology; 1951)

This definition stresses the legalization of sexual relations along with emphasizing the process of reproduction. I, too, hold these to be essential composing elements of marriage, but this definition has not got universal applicability since in many societies there is a difference between pater and genitor, but in the *Kehal* context it would suffice, since no such distinction is made. However, marriage is not limited to the above mentioned two functions only but also includes ends like economic partnership between spouses and formation of political alliances between kin groups.

The first step that a research worker must take while pursuing studies in kinship is to find out the kinship terminology because the people refer to their relatives provides the research worker with information about other aspects of behavior and social organization. The particular combinations of kin terms that people employ are not accidental. Nomenclature systems exhibit an internal logic and consistency such that, given certain bits of information, one can predict other attributes of the system as well as cultural behavior and social organization. Discussing the importance of collecting native kinship terminology and analyzing it, Lienhardt says;

"It would be regarded as an unfriendly gesture, among many peoples, not to use the appropriate term of relationships in saluting a remote kinsmen, and by the use of a particular term, that he expects from his to whom it is addressed a part, at least of the approved behavior associated with all kin of that category".

(Lienhardt, Godfrey 1979:108)

It reveals how the people concerned see the world of their social relationships, keeping the above in mind, the description of *Kahal* Kinship has been attempted by providing a table of *Kahal* Kinship terminology.

Table No.3.1

Patri Relatives

Generation	Relationship	Term of Ref	Term of Add
Ego’s generation	Z	<i>Bahen</i>	<i>Addi</i>
	BR (elder)	<i>Bhai</i>	<i>Adda, Lala</i>
	DS	<i>Dhotra</i>	Name
	DD	<i>Dhotri</i>	Name

Matrilateral Kin

Generation	Relationship	Term of Ref	Term of Add
Generation+2	MM	<i>Nani</i>	<i>Nani or Ama Bhuddi</i>
	MF	<i>Nana</i>	<i>Nana or Baba Bhudda</i>
Generation+1	M	<i>Ai</i>	<i>Ai/Amma</i>
	MB	<i>Mama</i>	<i>Mama</i>
	MBW	<i>Mami</i>	<i>Mami</i>
	MZ	<i>Masi</i>	<i>Masi</i>

	MZH	<i>Masar</i>	<i>Masor</i>
Ego's Generation	MBS	<i>Malwaar</i>	Nmae
	MBD	<i>Malwaar</i>	Name
	MZS	<i>Masat</i>	Name
	MZD	<i>Masat</i>	Name

Affinal Kin (Ego Male)

Generation	Relationship	Term of Ref	Term of Add
Generation + 1	WF	<i>Sohara</i>	<i>Chacha</i>
	WM	<i>Sas</i>	<i>Chachi</i> or <i>chachi</i>
Ego's Generation	WB	<i>Saala</i>	Name
	WBW	<i>Sallae ki Teemi</i>	Name
	(Younger) B	<i>Bhra</i>	Name
	(EL) BW	<i>Bharjai</i>	<i>Bharjai</i>
	(YG) BW	<i>Bharjai</i>	Name
	ZH	<i>Bhanwaya</i>	Name
Generation + 1	F	<i>Baba</i>	<i>Bab/Aba</i>
	FZ	<i>Bua</i>	<i>Bua</i>
	FZH	<i>Bua de Gharwlla</i>	<i>Phophar</i>
	FB (Elder)	<i>Chacha wada</i>	<i>Chacha</i>
	FBW	<i>Cahchi wadi</i>	<i>Chachi</i>
	FB (yg)	<i>Chacha Neka</i>	<i>Chacha</i>
	FBW	<i>Chachi Neki</i>	<i>Chachi</i>
Generation + 2	FF	<i>Dada</i>	<i>Dada</i>
	FM	<i>Dadi</i>	<i>Dadi</i>

Generation – 1	S	<i>Putr</i>	Name
	SW	<i>Nuhon/Bahu</i>	Name
	D	<i>Dhi</i>	Name
	DH	<i>Jamatra name</i>	Name
	BS	<i>Bhatriga</i>	Name
	BD	<i>Bhtrigee</i>	Name
	ZS	<i>Bhanaja</i>	Name
	ZD	<i>Bhanagee</i>	Name

Affinal Kin (Ego Male)

Generation	Relationship	Term of Ref	Term of Add
Generation – 2	SS	<i>Potra</i>	Name
	SD	<i>Potri</i>	Name
	WZ	<i>Saali</i>	Name
	WZH	<i>Saali da</i> <i>Gharwalla</i>	Name
	W	<i>Zaal, Ran</i> <i>Sawani, Gharally</i>	Name

Affinal Kin (Female Ego)

Generation	Relationship	Term of Ref	Term of Add
Generation + 1	HF	<i>Sohara / Susar</i>	<i>Chacha</i>
	HM	<i>Sas</i>	<i>Chachi</i>
Ego's Generation	HB (yg)	<i>Dever</i>	Name
	HB (elder)	<i>Wada Dever</i>	Name
	ABW	<i>Deverani</i>	Name
	HBW	<i>Deverani</i>	Name
	HZ	<i>Nanan</i>	Name

	HZH	<i>Nand da Gharwalla</i>	Name
	H	<i>Tera Bhai or Shano or Gamu de piu</i>	<i>Gmaa da piu</i>

Source: union council of Bait Shinah Walla.

Descent group in any society is formed by a group of people who claim to have descended from the same ancestor. A society is called patrilineal, matrilineal or cognatic depending on the reckoning of relatives to form descent groups. The descent pattern is the source of determination of people to whom property, rank and authority will pass and the assignment of membership in kinship groups. The family name travels from father to son who is obvious from their concept of "*Peehri*" which all of my respondents said were a group of people who could prove themselves of having descended from the several *Peehri* or generations back through fathers. The identity of a person in this community is due to his *Peehri*. Male members of the community carry and continue the name of a *Peehri* and not the female members, because one gets membership in the *Peehri* due to his father and not due to his mother. Thus the organizational principle of *Peehri* shows that *Kehal* are patrilineal as far as the transmission of name is concerned. However, about 1/3rd of the people of the community, as I was told by my respondents, are such who have not taken their name father's "*Peehri*". This includes:

- a. The taken-in-children or those off shoots of a person who are born out of a *Maskeen* whom he marries to save the honor of the "*Peehri*". Such women are never called wives but "taken-in-women", the native term for such women being "*Rakhnay Rali*".
- b. Children adopted due to non-payment of bride price in case of "*Takkae* marriage".

In case of *Takke* or *Takka* marriages the groom makes half of the payment before marriage to the bride's father or brother as the situation demands and the other half has to

be paid within the first year to marriage. In case the groom cannot pay, the first child of the couple is taken away by the bride's father or older brother, whoever would have received the bride-price in case the payment is made. Such children, as my data shows, are secondary members of the community, who leave their "*Peehri*" name and rights and do not get them either in the adopting *Peehri*. Practically speaking, these children are without in identity. It is also considered a loss and insult for the actual *Peehri* of such children, therefore to avoid this, bride-price is almost always paid during the first year of the marriage by the boy even if he has to beg, borrow or steal.

3.5. Pattern of Marriages

My data reveals that there are five distinct types of marriages practiced among *Kehal*.

3.5.1. Watta Satta (Exchange Marriage)

It involves an exchange of women between two families. In this form of marriage a pair of siblings of opposite sex. The term *Watta* means "to exchange" and the term *satta* means "gamble". The very name suggests that it's like a "gamble" in which both the couples adjust well among themselves and with the in-laws, then one obtains a life long relationship of love and mutual help; but if any one of the two couples does not adjust and end up in a divorce then the other family is divorced, too, and as a consequence along with having a broken home, one loses a support and protection group.

3.5.2. Takka Marriage

It is the one in which one woman is exchanged as in *Watta* instead the groom pays a settled amount of money in return for the girl. In case the girl is the eldest child or the only daughter, half of the money thus paid spent on her wedding and the other half is kept by the father. Otherwise it is taken the girl, who keeps half with him and spends half on the wedding ceremony.

3.5.3. Dhta Putrata Marriage

This is different from *takkae* marriage, in this type of marriage all expenses bear the bridegroom even till the dowry. This kind of marriage, a very small percentage of marriages in the *Kehal* community fell in this category.

3.5.4. Allah Nami Marriage

It is the mode of marriage in which on return is demanded by or given to the girl's family as a payment or otherwise. During my field work women of Allah *Nami* Marriage, I observed that such kind of women not so beautiful and not skilled in baskets weaving and their husband were aged than women.

3.5.5. Ghar Jmatra Marriage

The *Ghar jawatra* type of marriages in which the husband starts to live with his affline, is not an occasional occurring as it is the case in the wider society. The strategy to recruit *Ghar-jawatra* in the wider society is generally employed when ever there is a structural need to continue the agnatic line in the absence of the sons. But in the *Kehal* society, it is the status of a marriage rule unlike the wider society, the concept of shame is not associated with it. Although, my main concern is with the *Kehal* society, it will also be interesting to point out that the common existence in all the mobile group i.e. *Iuris*, *Mor* etc and constitutes an important mode of exchange.

Table No.3.2
Pattern of Marriage
Total Married Couple 83

Sr. No	Type of marriage	Number	Percentage
1	Watta Satta	35	42
2	Takka Marriage	05	06
3	Allah Nami	07	08
4	Dhta Putrata	30	36
5	Ghar Jmatra	06	07
	Total	83	100

Source: socio economic and census survey form

3.6. Criteria for the Choice of Bride

When choosing a bride, *Kehal* keep the following points in mind:

- The bride should most preferably be one's MZD or FBD, or any from matrilineally, related families. However, if this is not possible then they try to find a bride from any other "*Kerri*".
- The bride is to be a virgin; divorce is never accepted as a first wife. The bride should not be more than 22 years of age because then her reproductive powers are considered to have decreased.

3.7. Criteria for the Choice of Groom

When choosing a bride, *Kehal* keep the following points in mind:

- Should be one's MZS, MBS or any other preferable related person or member of any other *Kerri* than one's own?
- Groom preferably should not be the youngest son, because in that case he is required to live with his parents and support them.
- Should be healthy and capable of fishing and other work.
- Be economically stable enough to pay substantial bride wealth in case of *Takka* marriages and to support and raise a family.
- Must have a *Keshta* and nets for fishing.

3.8. Marriage and Economics

Marriage among *Kehal* is not only a kinship based institution but has a strong economic side to it, too. All forms of marriages prevalent among *Kehal* involve an economic transaction in one form or another. Women are treated as bought and sold commodities. In *Watta* marriages the two parties can be viewed as two groups indulging in a business transaction, in which a woman is bought and payment made in the shape of another woman. Cases where such payments are not possible the women are taken and a substantial amount of money is paid to the women's relatives ranging from 15000 to 20,000 rupees this is called *Takka* marriage.

In the other type of marriage, referred to in the previous text as dual marriage, two sisters are married to two brothers. Bride wealth is paid by the bride sister who is already

married to the elder brother of the groom. This is so because such marriages are usually initiated by bride's elder sister in order to secure her position.

The type of marriage called "*Allah Nami* Marriage" occurs not very frequently. It is a form of marriage which involves no transfer of money. It normally takes place when widows or divorcees or not so beautiful, very poor are being married or in case of *maskeens* being married to some one already married. Looking at such cases one can see that although no price is being paid in these cases, it is a business between wife givers and takers because it is actually a very carefully calculated bargain aimed at achieving benefit on part of both parties. The wife giver are getting rid of an economic liability i.e. a widowed woman or a divorced woman and the wife takers are obtaining a woman who would reproduce, help manage the house, even work and these services they get without any investment. Similarly in case of *maskeen* the wife givers are marrying off a girl who cannot be married otherwise and she stayed in her natal home, the news that she is not a virgin could bring disgraces to the family and the divorced or widower who marries such a girl gets a housekeeper without any investment.

3.9. Marriage Preferences

The direct marriage exchange in which a man gets a wife by exchanging his real sister for another man's real sister is evaluated as an ideal marriage type on the *Kehal* society. The local name for this kind of marriage is *Watta-satta*. *Kehal* express this marriage ideal in the daily conversation, especially sitting around fireplace at the time of evening. They try to itemize the benefits of *Watta-satta* marriage.

Watta-satta is, as state, the marital relations between different *Keries*. Addingly, the exchange of personnel is considered as a superior mode of exchange rather than the exchange of goods and money this nation contributes a lot in the enshrining of the *Watta-Satta* type of marriage. Another parallel ideal in marriage exchange is marrying with close relatives, especially the marriage with multilateral cross cousins. It is actually thought of a strategy to minimize the risk involve in the most marriage exchange. This kind of marriage grants more guarantees for the "repayment" of the future marital debts. For, it is difficult to compel a distant relative to pay the debt. A limited number of reactions might be born against them. All the *Keries* are politically autonomous to make

different choices in spouse selection power of authority does not exist at public sphere. Because of the unique way of life i.e. wandering, the absence of authority at the public realm gets the complete form in the *Kehal* society. Also, it is considered easier to negotiate with close relatives rather than the setting matter with the distant relatives or with the strangers at all. Mostly they state that they “feel” comfortable with the close relative because they are like us and from us moreover, the marriage with the close relative is believed the most successful for the husband and wife have a prior knowledge and experience of each other.

When *Kehal* express that such and such marriages are the ideal, they are only mentioning of the way things ought to be the way marriages ought to be in general. But the reality is not ideal. The ideal is commonly subjugated by the pragmatic choices and ends. There is a remarkable difference between the *Kehal* ideal and their pragmatic over the ideal is embedded on the *Kehal* social structure. The salient characteristics of the *Kehal* social structure are the short-term, social relations and the immediate return on labor, which is in turn, closely pertinent with the former characteristic.

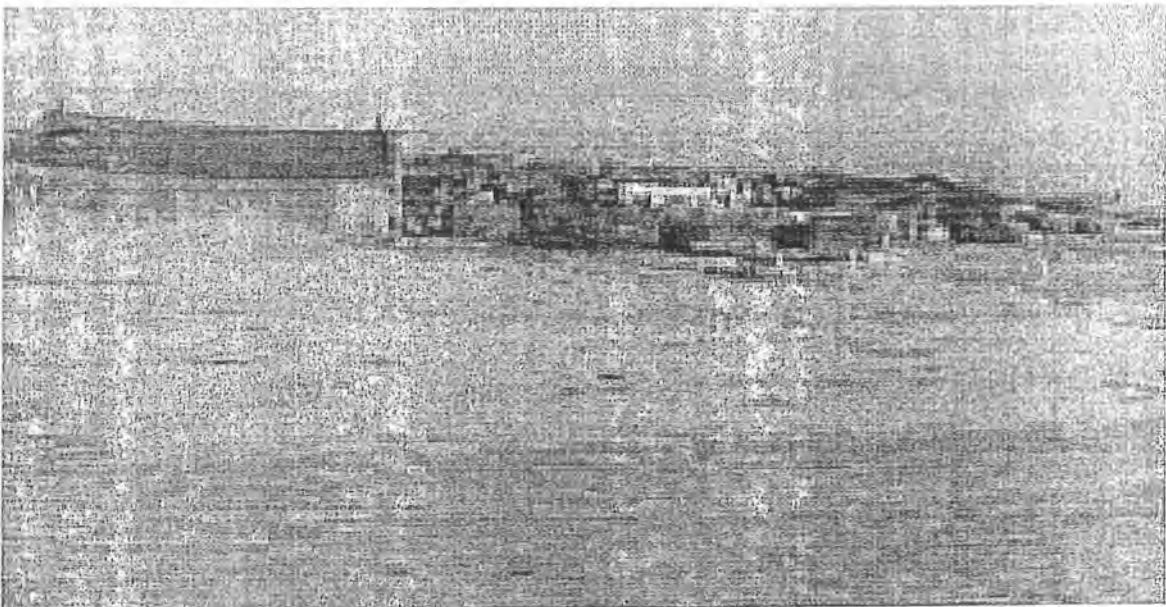


Plate No.3.1 An overview of Kehal Kerri.

The spatial dispersion and lineage scattering are the most important causes of the short-term relationships. All the *Kerries* have to disperse into jungles at the bank of the river.

This dispersion becomes as an independent variable and imposes certain conditions over the social relations the time durations in social relations is the most important and effective conditions. All the exchanges and reciprocities ought to be completed in a very short-term. While, the principle of immediate-return on labor is the result of the *Kehal* mode of livelihood, that is, the hunting and gathering with the skilled craft of basket making. It makes them least dependent on each other. Every, Kerri can easily collect and gather the *Kanbhs* or Lai and hunt the fish. The division of labor among *Kehal* is very simple. The only sphere of cooperation is the selling out of the baskets and fishing.

The least availability of these social mechanisms in *Kehal* society is resulted into the absence of the systems of rights and obligations defining the relationships between different kinds of social persons in the *Kehal* society. The short-term relationships and immediate return on labor make the *Kehal* people more pragmatic (relating to society) in their choice. However, there is a notable tendency of the mystifying of these pragmatic choices and decisions through ideational and normative statements.

Another marriage ideal that is marrying with the close relatives also shows a noteworthy clash with the actual situation of the total marriage sample. The only marriage was noted in which both husband and wife had close agnation. By analyzing these two main marriage preferences, (i.e. marriage by bride price and marriage with the distant relatives), the causes behind them are the following:

The preference for marriage by bride price might be interrelated by with that of low density population. The scarcity of personnel might pursue to adopt an alternative strategy, that is, having marriage through payment of the bride price to the wife givers. Particular when there is an evident trend among the *Kehal* people to try their utmost to keep the daughter in their natal household by bringing the *Ghar-jamatras*, the importance of bride price is automatically increased. Second, though it is true that in many cases the bride price is not paid at one time, it constitutes the short term relationship. These relations, especially short-term sister exchanges involve less risks than the delayed exchange. Because in cases sister are not enough mature to be married, so that bride price payment is a suitable alternative for obtaining wife of brother. Besides, the disproportion of the family members sex might be another cause this also demonstrates the maximizing

attitudes in which the short and immediate exchange is preferred rather than a long and delayed exchange.

The preference to marry with distant relatives or with previously unknown *kerries* might be to increase *Kerri's* pool of affine, allowing a network with a greater geographical range the alliance with more distant *kerries* might be mad etc. get such advantages such as the hospitality on various river routes or in certain big cities or to have one's close affine cities or to have one's close affine dispersed in order to have a wider range of individuals in one's affinal relationships.

3.10. Rights of Women

Rights in the women of *Kerri* are partly a matter of marriage rules and partly a strategic issue in the *Kehal* society. In general women are assumed to be possessed by the whole *Kerri* but the right of the unmarried oldest brother in the disposed of the sister is specifically preferable. This preference is based on the principal that senior men of the *Kerri* ought to marry off first, and because he has cared for his sister and given her food etc. but, on the practical level, there are manifold hurdles involved in the process of the allocation of rights in the women of *Kerri*. The marriage linked brother has to confront kinds of problems and challenges. Usually, the father and the rest of *Kerri* strives to keep the girl with themselves, their interest is mainly lie in bringing of *Ghar-jematra* who can be helpful for them in many respects. Thus, the off-hand attempts are made to settle-down the problem can be solved in many ways. If, the marriage is direct-sister exchange, the marriage linked brother compensates the father and the rest of the *Kerri*, in the form of money or the services of a limited period. Another difficulty which he has to face is to find a suitable groom equally acceptable to the sister, for women are rarely by standers and have an active role in the decision making process.

By the sister exchange (*Watta-satta*) or bride prices, *Kehal* tend to transform most of the marriages into direct exchange. But, the form and content may vary. Marriage is actually exchange of the women's reproductive power or planting material among *Kehal*. Thus, bride wealth is a compensation of the loss which has to bear the wife give. Beside it, any individual or group who has contributed in the upbringing of the girl has a right to share

of that bride wealth. The share is claimed accordingly in the proportion of input, invested in the nourishing and upbringing of the girls. Especially, the matter becomes more complex in the case of *Ghar-jamatra*. He resides with the agnates of his wife and shares food, residence hunting expeditions and makes baskets with them. It generally leads to plural claims. It is resolved some how by the division of girls, if they are more than one, or agreed distribution of the money obtained via bride-price. All such quarrels are actually settled down by individual manipulation is a principal condition for the success in these cases. If the actor employ more reasonable strategies, he will get more advantages.

3.11. Ceremonies of Marriage and Betrothal

The term betrothal is defined as “to promise or contract in order to marriage”. Betrothal is a contract generally between the parents of the boy and girl. The perpetual tutelage of woman is strongly asserted in *Kehal* and so at no age can a woman enter into a contract regarding her own marriage. If a contract of betrothal be evoked at the request from girl's guardians, they have to return the clothes and ornaments presented to the girl at the time of formal engagement and also pay up any other expenses which the boy side might have incurred at the time of betrothal. If, on the contrary, the boy's guardians move to have the contract set aside, they cannot recover clothes etc. presented to the girl but are not liable to any damages.

Cases of breach of contract of marriage are thus treated from a purely business point of view. The boy's side spends money on the engagement ceremony and is entitled to recover it, if the other side fails to abide by the contract. In case of *Watta* marriages the break up of one betrothal finishes all other contracts dependent etc.

After a few days this betrothal function of engagement is healed when bridegroom and his friends take following clothes to the bride: a sheet called *bhocchan* or *chunni*, a shirt called *choli*, a shalwar. The bridegroom accompanies his friends. The following ornaments are also given: a pair of *kangans* or bracelets, a solid necklace of silver called *hassi*, ring called *mundri* or sort of shield on it. The *kangans* and *hassi* may be omitted but a *mundri* and *pathi* are essential and no engagement is complete without a *mundri*.

3.11.1. Fixing the Marriage of Date

The actual marriage usually takes place after six or two years of the engagement ceremony. Before marriage ceremony, grooms parents and relatives go to brides parents and fixed the marriage date with according to moon date and knot the black thread according to 60 days if marriage will be held after seven days or fifteen days then become the knot of seven or fifteen, as day passed as knot untied even the fixed day come and final knot he united its called *Gandheen*

3.11.2. Kaandha (Message of Invitation)

After fixing the marriage date, messages of invitation or *Kandhay* commenced by brother of groom to relatives and friends. It is compulsory to give *Kandha* through grooms brother or messenger if forget any relatives it means the relations between them are ended. They told me that even now-a-days a message of marriage sends via phone but in our community message of invitation or *Kandha* send by man.

3.11.3. Jagay de or Aagay de Ratt or Mail

Before the one day of marriage almost all close and remote relatives come where marriage is going to be held. This night is very particular because this night all women, children and girls singing and dancing especially when the grooms sister nephew, niece make the sign of *Hina* on the lady finger of groom and received gift in cash.

Same like do men especially youngsters all the night singing and dancing its called *Chownki* Almost these youngster go to listen at 3:00am. This night newla and snake fight each other this fight is interesting. In this community a particular have a newla and snake. Before the one day of marriage a few women go to bride's house and fulfill the custom of *Taill Lawan* these women take oil with them, this oil poured into the head of bride, her younger brother then *gur* distribute among the children.

3.11.4. The Ceremonies of Marriage Consist of two Parts

1. The *Nikah* or wedding ceremony according to Mohammedan ritual.
2. The ceremonies which are not connected with religious rites, these are all known by the name of *Sagan*. Some of them designate the concept of male superiority and dominance. Other is connected with the personal adornment of the bride.

Four or seven days before wedding the bride has her plaits opened and this ceremony is called *Meendian*. On this occasion the bride's friends usually seven open up her plaits, take off all her jewelry and put oil in her hair amidst lots of singing put oil in her hair amidst jewelry, and put oil in her hair amidst lots of singing and dancing which continues for almost the whole night. After a bride has had her hair undone, she is sit in a corner of the *kuli* where no one but one of her of the *Kuli* where no one but one of her best friends stays with her.

Usually marriage procession go to the bride's house by boats, during this journey in boats men and women singing and dancing If bride's *kuli* is near then journey of boats is essential When this procession reach at the place then women join the women of bride and relatives of bride receive the groom. On the day of actual marriage the bridegroom's family sends bridal dress to the bride's place consists of red *Chunni*, *Choli* And *Ghaghara*, the bride's family send groom's dress to the groom's place consists of *Pag*, *Kurta*, *Tahmat Or Dhada*, and pair of shoes.

Nikah is recited and performed which is strange as according to the Muslim and Pakistani standard *Nikah* is performed at the bride's place. This custom of taking the bride to the groom's place in spite of her protests before *Nikah* in my opinion is an indication of male dominance and aggression. *Nikah* is performed by the Mullah, groom accepted the bride after this three or two men go to bride and asks her will if she say yes its ok, if she say no refused then on gun point she have to say yes, in any case if she say yes, then men (eyewitness) come back and tell the Mullah then *Nikah* is completed.

After *Nikah*, the bridegroom and his relatives and friends set out for the bride's place and all the way they sing and dance. At the threshold of the bride's household is inverted a *Chunni* or lid of *Ghara* unearthen which some money ranging from 10 to 20 rupee is hidden, before entering the groom steps on the lid and breaks it. The breaking of *Chunni* represents the demolition of last defenses of the bride's family and show the power of groom when groom enter in the *kuli*, over the cot (which is unweave) put the beautiful bed sheet and pillow, groom sit on the cot and face on the ground, then young girls and boys laughed at him. Then groom sits near the bride, she presents her closed fists in which is a lump of *gur*. After struggling he forces it from her and his victory is complete.

Until now the bride has her face covered with her *Chunni*. Now, the groom's companion or *Sabala*. Places a Quran before the bride and she covers her face with her hands. The bride groom then forces her hands off her face and it is expected of the bride to cast a glance first on Quran and then on the groom.

3.11.5. Razzek Wandran

Bride scattered the lump of wheat before leaving her parents house. Bride's *Bhra* (brother, *bhra* mean, and weight picker). Carry his sister (bride) to the boat where groom sits near the bride, holding the *kulhari*, *Talwar* or any thing of iron, it means groom protect the bride honor and this thing saved from evil-eye and *jin-Bhoot*.

After this the bride is taken by bride groom to his place and she stays there for a few days which are called *Satovara*. After this she returns to her parents place for a day or two and is again taken back by her husband, who comes to pick her up.

3.11.6. Mohari Napai

When bride reached at the house of her husband before enter is the *kuli* (huts) she hold a beam of *kuli*'s door, when her-in-law or father-in-law give gift then she enter in the *kuli*.

3.12. Food Pattern⁸¹

Actually they are followers of Imam Shafi. According to Imam Shafi followings are *Halal*; flesh of the *sisar* or long nosed fish, crocodile, lizard. In Quran there are four things that clearly declared *Haram* firstly, dead body of Halal animals. Secondly, the blood in flow is *Haram*. Thirdly, meat of pig. Fourth, animal that slaughter without reciting the name of Allah. Besides this Holy prophet Hazrat Mohammad (PBUH) included other animals that are *Haram* ravenous animals such as lion, tiger, wolf etc. about some animals there is conflicts among Ulema of Feqha according to Hanfee ulema only fish is Halal among the animals of river or sea while according to Shafi Ulema all the animals of river are Halal except river's pig, river's dog etc.

Denzil Ibbotson wrote in his book entitled "A glossary of the tribes and casts of Punjab and NWFP Province" about tortoise eating of *Kehal* in these words:

"The Kehal claim to be the earliest converts to Islam between Kalabagh and Karachi, but profess to follow Imam Shafi and eat unclean animals".

(Denzil Ibbotson: 486)

According to Denzil Ibbotson tortoise, they used for eating and argued according to Imam *Shafi* their meat is *Halal*. During in depth interviews they professed, we eat tortoise because it is *Halal* at the time of need, we headed from our ancestors that someone (*Shafi*) said to us reptiles animals are *Halal* so *Kachus* or *Qummi* are *Halal*. They did not easily professed that we are eating tortoise because villagers belong to other sects of Islam like *Shia* and *Sunnis* and they considered them untouchable owing to eating of tortoises. So, *Kehal* did not easily professed the eating of tortoise especially if, any villagers along with me, the reason is that they wanted to save themselves from villagers harness and other factor is that they dependent on local *zamindar* for *Lai* and hunting of fish.

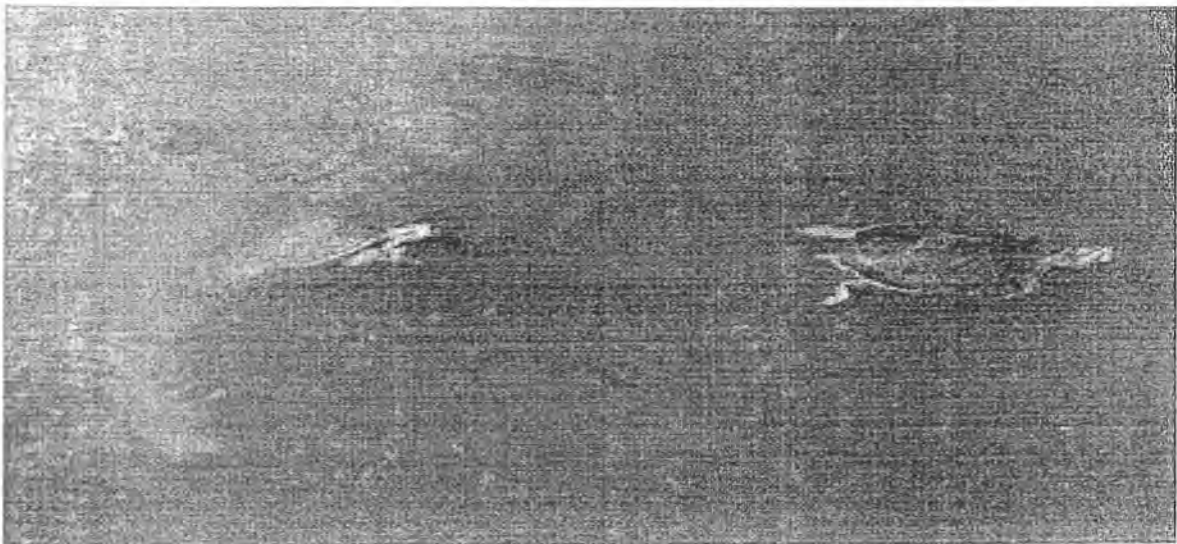


Plate No.3.2 Tortoise in the river.

Mushtaq Gadi, conducted his research in *Kehal* and published his paper with the cooperation of *Sangi* Development Foundation entitled unheard indigenous voice: "The Kihals in Pakistan". Mushtaq wrote their eating of tortoise.

"Kehal also eat sisar (croidle) and Kumi (Tortoise) which are considered taboo in mainstream society".

According to Mushtaq Gadi Sahib they eat tortoise while mainstream society considered taboo the eating of tortoise. So, other societies hated them and treated with them as animals, at marriages. I saw myself that *Kehal* men and women saw the meal as dogs and cats when villagers eaten the meat then rest of meat gave them in their own pots nobody

ready to sat with them, they sat on they ground before people of this village and eat the meal. The main reason is their eating of tortoise.

3. 12.1. Breeds of Tortoise

Breeds of tortoise like *Chitra*, *Sawa*, *Mori*, etc.

According to them *Chitra* is very tasty and easily catch. Beat the tortoise with the help of wood and iron rod. After an hour tortoise become senseless for ever. All *Astwa* (shell of tortoises) clean and meat put an aside. They dry its "*Astwa*" for daily use like drinking water etc. firstly boil it, boiling process take 5 to 6 hours.

Them they cooked it, use less ghee. Remain warm them in winter season and increase their capacity of working. The male have a longer tail than female. Kachus (Tortise) eat grass, vegetables, hens and fruits like "*Pind*" (Date fruits). Mating during the rainy season *Hater* and *Sawan*.

The eggs, in clutches varying in number from three to seven, are laid in a pit dug by the female with her hind back feet, the soil being wet her urine. Eggs or clutches have been laid in Mar, April, June, October and November. A female may bay more than one "*Pur*" or clutch in a season. The hard-shelled eggs are white, matt surfaced and range in size from 40 x 35 to 51 x 37 mm. incubation may take from 47 days to 147 days for eggs of the same clutch (pur). It takes about twenty-four hours for the young to surface after hatching. With in a week of birth the young start waking and eating, eat same food as the adult. Maturity is attained in abut two years.

3.12.2. Process of Catching the Tortoise

Tortoises are caught in the following way:

A back-water or pool which forms a branch of the main stream is chosen and a heavy net, in which is a large opening, is placed across its mouth. A putrescent carcass or fish bones are placed in the pool as bait, and four *Kahal* lie in the river. When the tortoise is seen inside the pool two of the hunters rush to close the hole in the net, while the other two drive the animal into it, or harass it until it is tired out, when it is speared and killed.

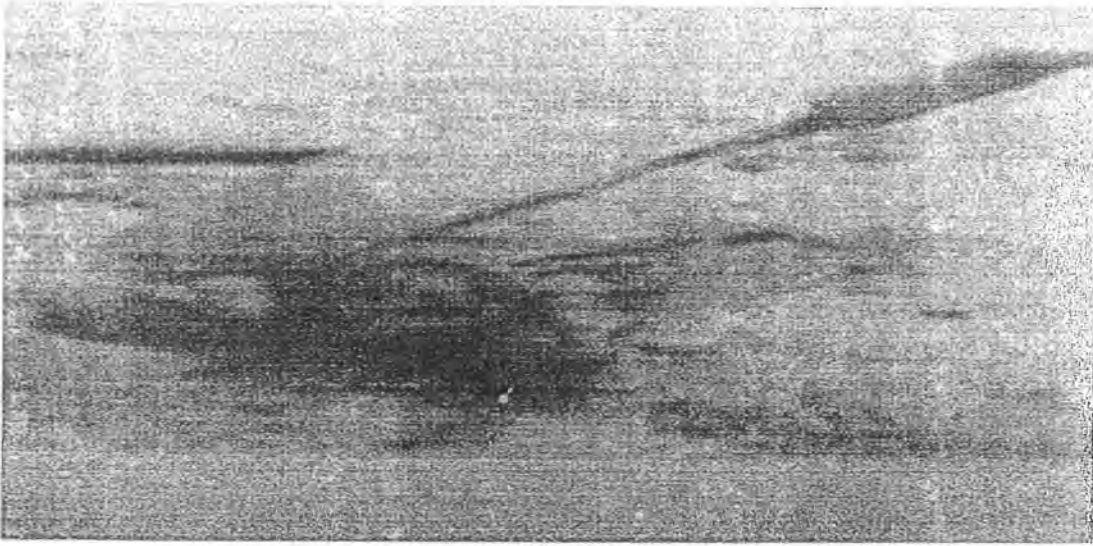


Plate No.3.3. A view of beating the tortoise.

Occasionally a man is bitten but fatal bites are very rare. Tortoises are killed in a similar way. Sometimes in shallow pools nets are necessary, and in the cold season when tortoises, and large fish lie concealed in the mud at the bottom of the shallow streams and back-waters the *Kehal* prod it with their spears and kill the tortoises before they are escape. Tortoises are sometimes caught by stirring up the mud until they float half-dead on the surface.

They caught tortoises with the help of different tools like *Kundi*, *Rach* (net), *Teend*. The places of *Kachu* (tortoise) in the place of muddy water, they catch it with the help of “*Sang*”. They struck the *sang* in the mud when they feel it struck the right place, take out from the mud (*Khbhan*). They do not slaughter the tortoises but also beat with *sota* (Special tool of wood) when tortoise die, meat the inside of the shell

3.13. Death

The corpse is placed on a *Charpai* or *Khtra* (cot) in the *kuli* or *waira* (courtyard) of the house of the deceased and word is sent to the whole community about the incident. The dead person’s members (only one women and in case of the deceased being married his afinal relations (only women) are also included stand around the *Charpai* in a circle and start knocking or beating their breasts and crying loudly. This crying out aloud with actions is called *bain* or *warin*. It is considered to be a sin it is carried on, slowly and

gradually the rest of the women present join in, too. This *bain* session continues till midnight.

3.13.1. Akhari Daryai Tobi (Washing of the corpse)

The corpse after the first half hour of *bain* is lifted from the *Charpai* and in case of a man is given a bath by the men and in case of a women by the mother, sisters or *masi*(moz). The corpse carries to the river and given a bath in the river three time its call *akhari Daryai Tobi*. After the bath a very strong smelling scent "*campher*" called *kafoor* by the community dwellers), is applied on the corpse.

3.13.2. Placing the Kafen

After the washing of the corpse it is dressed in a white piece of cloth called *Kafen*. Only the face remaining exposed .The corpse is placed on the *Charpai* again and over it is spread a cloth with the *kalmia* written on it. Community members give the piece of cloth called *Ucchar*; it is given to *Kumhar* after burry the dead body. If a boy or girl dies ranging age from one year to seven years old give the *Kafen* of *lai* plants and buried near the bank of the river. They think they are innocent and no need of proper *Kafen* and ferries come down and bring them to the sky.

After putting the *Kafen* on, the body remains the cot for another hour, so that all of the community members can see the face of the deceased for the last time. During this last of women reach their climax. Then the charpoy s lifted by the brothers and paternal uncles of the deceased and taken to the graveyard (no permanent graveyard of this community buries their dead bodies in the graveyard of other communities).

3.13.3. Janti Dam (Funeral Prayer)

Janati *Dam* is defined as a funeral prayer in *Kehal* community is offered in one's life. It is a mythological term which is associated with *Kehal*. It is said that from the time immemorial this myth originated. *Kehal* believe that there are some personalities those are called "*Maingee*" have strong connection with the supernatural being. These "*Maingee*" have revelation power which depicts the things before happening. These "*Maingee*" have strong influence of religious among *Kehal*. It might be true in past but in

the current scenario the descendants of "*Maingee*" have been starting looting these innocent *Kehal* for long time. They claim that they have spiritual powers like their ancestors have. They say we have revealed a power which is named as '*Janati Dam*'. They demanded money or other goods in kind of returning of *Janati Dam*'. They insist if *Kehal* Give them enough they will read strongest kind of *Dam*'. There are three kinds of *Dam* i.e.

i. So Walla Janati Dam

This *Dam* has the ability to put the soul of living person after death directly in paradise.

ii. Panjah Walla Janati Dam

It is second category of *Janati Dam*, the characteristics of this *Dam* is that, if someone pays to "*Maingee*" fifty rupees, "*Maingee*" gives him such recitation with claim or guarantee that your soul will be at the approach of paradise boundary?

iii. Apani Qismat alla Janati Dam

This is the lowest category of *Janati Dam*. In this category if someone cannot afford more than fifty rupees they are insisted to give at least some money at every cost. The *Dam* which is given in return of this money is considered that this will take the soul of living person between the paradise and hell. If he will lucky, he will be send to paradise, he will be unlucky, then go to hell. This *Janati Dam* is the usual process which takes place in harvesting season.

Maingee comes in the community regularly after one year, he offer their funeral prayer before death. *Maingee* sahib sit in the sacred or *Pak* place in front of *Maingee* a particular person sits; behind the *Maingee* some other people sit and remain silent then *Maingee* recite the funeral *Dua*. This kind of funeral prayer perhaps only in this community. When this particular person die then after washing the corpse, buried this person in the graveyard. In case of winter season, corpse remain fresh but incase of summer corpse is not remain fresh, the reason is that to reach in the graveyard not easy task due to river. Nobody has food that night and no food is cooked in the house of the deceased on the following day either. The deceased relative cooks food for the bereaved family at his own

place and sends it over and offers tea to those who come to offer condolence. This food is usually called *Mukan de Roties* and visits of condolence called *Mukan*

3.14. Belief System

3.14.1 Introduction

The term belief has been defined by the chambers twentieth century dictionary as faith or opinion or doctrine believed by any one, according to William James belief is "faith in something about which theoretic doubt is still possible".(James.32).The test of belief is the willingness to act on the part of the believers; therefore belief is readiness to act, the prosperous issue of which is not certified to the actors in advance.

All human societies irrespective of the degree of material and social advancement have a set of beliefs which provide the community with the knowledge of man's place in nature and a general character of behavior in the realm of sacred and profane. The belief system of any society also provides the members with the principles of symbolic thought and action. It is often thought that belief can only be discussed within the domain of religious activity, this however is erroneous, (mistaken) as almost all societies hold some beliefs which have religious sanctions along with others which are secular in nature. It is from this perspective that the belief system of *Kehal* will be viewed in the forthcoming pages or text. However before I will like to collaborate on the connotations held by the terms scared and secular.

"Scared beliefs represents highly intense, moral, emotional and non-empirical ideas that ordinary understanding and control".

(Williams: 1970: 356)

Those beliefs fall into the realm of scared which are;

- a. Connected with the origin, existence and powers of the members of pantheons (Sacred places) of supernatural beings comprising the cosmology of a religion or, in other words, which spring from the world view held by a society.
- b. Which exist as a consequence of faith in the power of these cosmological creatures to bring about changes in the universe?

Secular beliefs on the other hand are those which do not have any god or other religious figures or objects i.e. angels, scripture etc as their basis.

3.14.2. Religious Belief

a. Basic Elements of Religions

In all religions the idea of sacredness is present in one form or other. The term sacred indicates intensified, emotional moral and unscientific ideas man holds about phenomena he cannot understand or offer a logical explanation for. Religion spells out for every community the objects which are sacred and ought to be worshipped and this is precisely what provides religion with the power it wields. Religions, with a few exceptions, comprise of ideas about supernatural, this conception of supernatural varies in different religions. In some it is a force in other it may be personified being, and in still others, it may be conceived as a spirit having the form of animals. No matter how the supernatural is conceived the members of a society always view them as underlying and influencing the natural. The religious beliefs of *Kehal* would be viewed keeping within the broader framework of two main components of religion namely cosmology and values which are briefly defined in the following text as given by Turner (1972)

b. Cosmology

By cosmology is meant a pantheon of supernatural beings and forces which are believed to have the power of altering social process in the world of natural phenomena very often a hierarchy is created with this the power designated to every member, be it a force or a being. Under this heading also included are the body of myths which are an account of historical happenings which are believed to be the basis of present hierarchy. Moreover cosmology also encompasses beliefs about levels of existence outside the natural world technically known as "substantive beliefs"

c. Values

Values when referred to in the context of religion tell the followers what is right and wrong and evil and non-evil. Most frequently religious values are expressed in a religious code, examples of which are the famous ten commandments of Christianity. The religious

values provide the society with an outline into which are people fit their secular values and around which the societies from their normative structure.

3.14.3. Religious Beliefs of Kehal (Ideal)

All the *Kehal* in the village are Muslims and they belong to sects of Islam namely *Shafi* followers of *Imam Shafi*. However, what is noteworthy here is the fact that in the realm of religion there is a vast difference between the ideal and real patterns of behavior. The former being the mental picture of religion that *Kehal* have or in other words it comprises of what *Kehal* think and say they believe in and the later being what they are actually doing when it comes to the practice of religion. At an ideal level their belief is as follows.

I. Cosmology

The nature of supernatural:-

- i. One God is the creator of the world and universe.
- ii. Angels:

Supernatural being having the power of flight. They are believed to be made of divine light called "*Noor*". Four of the most important angles are *Jibrial*, *Mekail*, *Izrail* and *Israfil* who are assigned the job of bringing God's message to prophet Muhammad (PBUH), looking after the system of rains and welfare of the crops, taking out the soul of a human being from his body at the time of death and blowing of horn at the doom's day respectively. It is also believed that two angles are attached to every human being namely *Munkar* and *Nakeer* who keep an account of all the good and bad deeds committed by him throughout the day. All of these angles are under the absolute control of God and under no circumstances can work contrary to God's will.

II. Shaitan

According to the myth, *Shaitan* was originally an angel but when God created man he ordered all angels to bow before the new creation, all others did so with the exception of *shaitan* who considered the act highly degrading. God got annoyed and ordered him out of his circle and cursed him. Ever since *shaitan* is believed to exist on earth instigating man to commit sins and indulge in evil doing levels and beings of religious.

III. Belief at Actual Level (Practice of Islam)

Consists of God called “Allah” who is the most powerful and supreme. Angels whose duty is to pray and carry out the administrative duties designed to them by Allah and prophets who are the people chosen by God to preach His message to the world. The greatest of them being prophet Muhammad (PBUH) of *Makkah* who is followed by the entire Muslim Community of the globe.

IV. Substantive Belief

It includes notions of life after death. For those who have led their lives in accordance with the principles of Islam, there is heaven or *Janat* and for those who have led sinful lives, there is hell or *Douzak*. There also is a concept of immortality and reunion with God which the very pious and religious people can achieve.

V. Myths

The religious myths in Islam are codified in the Holy Book Quran. The most often discussed myths are:-

- Muhammad (PBUH) going to the cave of *Ohad*, where *Jibrial* brought God’s message to him.
- The story of Muhammad (PBUH) being lifted over to the heavens where he met God.
- Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) breaking the moon in two halves with the movement of his finger.

VI. Values

Values of the religion which this community professes to follow, namely Islam, are spelled out in Quran and Hadith or the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). These values stress humility, justice, learning and brotherhood, great stress is placed on the maintenance of an equilibrium between “this worldly and other worldly” activities. Values and ethics are spelled out very clearly through the chapters of the Quran which provides a general outline for a Muslim’s way of life.

VII. Practice of Islam Belief at Actual Level

In the realm of religious behavior, as already mentioned. There is a marked difference in what these people say they believe in and what they are actually doing. This difference in belief and practice will be discussed in this portion. Their lack of interest in the teachings of Islam is also evident from the low percentage of the total population who can recite Quran, the Holy Book. My census forms show that only of the total population can recite the Holy Quran. Their ignorance of the basic principles of the religions is evident from the practice of remarrying a girl to another person without getting divorce form the first husband or betrothoal. There were only five such cases in this particular village but the *Maulana*

3.14.4. Modern or Secular Beliefs

In the proceeding text those beliefs of *KEHAL* are examined which have some religious sanction to them. However, it should be kept in mind that sacred and supernatural cannot always be considered synonymous under the present sub heading those beliefs of *KEHAL* will be examined which are concerned with the supernatural but have no religious or sacred quality to them. These beliefs of *Kehal* are as follows.

i. Nazar: (Evil Eye)

They have a very firm belief that make children are (Victim) susceptible to "*Nazar*" or evil eye of a jealous acquaintance or relative. Therefore to protect them, they often put a black spot on foreheads of make children, which they say renders the "*Nazar*" useless. It is precisely due to this fear of evil eye, that a male child is not shown to anyone this before twenty one days after birth, which they say is the period of danger because it is on the tenth day that the child's protection fairy comes down to the earth, which protects him throughout life. These twenty one days of segregation are called *Rakh*. It is because of their firm belief in the phenomena of Nazar that the following phrase is often repeated.

"Nang da dangach bach wanda"

"nazar da kata bachda nai"

It means the snake bitten escapes but he who fall a victim to the evil eye escapes not. By chance, if the person of *Nazar* sees the beautiful and healthy child after his departure, the moth of child pick the soil (*Khak*) of the person of *Nazar* and throw it in the fireplace. Another, *Rakh* is that the mother of child revolve the red chili (not grind) around the head

of the child seven times and then it throw in the fireplace in fire, after burning, if smell of chili it mean child save from *Nazar*. If not smell of chili it means child is fall on *Nazar*.

This community usually buries their children near the bank of the river not in the graveyard, because they belief fairies come down to the earth and pick and children to the Sky.

ii. Death of Lai Plants

Although the general area of river Indus in hot, therefore plants and trees of all types especially Lai is very important. It is generally believed that if a menstruating or pregnant woman goes near a young plant, it burns down, and if a fruit tree burns down before attaining its full growth, it brings hard luck to the members of the family. Cutting of Lai without need they think it is a sin.

iii. Till

The concept of *tilla* is another superstitions belief among *Kehal* By *tilla* they mean a male child who is born after the birth of three consecutive daughters and such a child is considered to *Manhoos*. A till is a supposed to bring back although a male child is normally an occasion for great rejoicing, in case of *tilla* the family mourns and is joined by friends and relatives in the process.

These superstitions have some functions also in their daily life but these are more beliefs. In some superstitions fore casting is made such as if comb is fallen, crowing of the crow on the *kuli* or wall or falling down the bite foretell that guests are coming. Similarly continued winking of right eye means that some good thing will happen while winking of left eye means some thing bad will future. If some one put a sleeper on the other sleeper by chance it is considered that he will have to go on a journey. They believe that lending process should not be done on Tuesday and Thursday.

They believe that children should not plant the plants especially fruit plants, because the child who planted the plant never sit in its shadow and never eat its fruits and die. Incase of eclipses of moon and sun, rain, storm, mother's brother and sister's son not sleep together or in a *Kuli* and cannot go on journey together. And pregnant women cannot go out from the camp. They believe if some one go out from home calling back is not good

thing. And if someone going on journey and he drink the water from own water tap it means he never back alive therefore, they avoid from drinking of water as well as.

iv. Jin Bhoot

Jin-Bhoot is much believed in the community. They believe that this create true is more powerful than human beings and they live like human beings. These *Jins* are believed to get married and have children. Sometimes if a power son makes a loss to a *Jin* or his family he would suffer through the hands of the *Jin*. It is believed that sometimes *jin* falls in love with the girls and due to *jin* those girls make hysterical activities. Sometime these *jins* demand meet by girls and sometime wanted to go to shrine for *Zayarat*.

If a *jin* attacked on any women or man then he demanded meet by particular person or wanted to go to shrine for *Zayarat*.

v. Amulets (Taweez)

Kahal believe in amulets and obtain them for numerous problems. These *Taweez* are taken either from village *Molvi* or from the keepers of the shrines. These are three types of amulets namely.

i. Rakhi

Rakhi is obtained for any disease spread in sheep, goats or any other type of economic loss the family might be facing.

ii. Charpi

It is taken by families who face problems like having a case filed against them in council. Therefore, it is taken to make the council of elders (their local body of justice) to decide any internal disputes in their favor.

iii. Phull

Phull is most common and most frequently taken type of amulet, for *Phulls* are taken for a number of objectives. Ranging from destroying one's enemy which usually includes one's brother and '*bharjai*' (for a man) to trivial thing like succeeding in a love affair etc.

i) **Bilani da Phull (beloved)**

bilani da phull is a charm to win the heart of one's husband. the price paid for an amulet is called *mokh or mokhwa*. another very frequently taken amulet is that fore "night scare". babies are thought to be scared while sleeping and to overcome this, amulets are taken.

ii. **Chikun/batun**

Another very strong superstitions belief is that if an ill wisher gets any of the *chikun* (a specially prepared mixture of mustard oil, wheat and turmeric subbed on the bodies of brides to enhance their beauty) and burns it, he will cause disunion between the newly wed couple and for this purpose *chikun* used by brides is disposed off very carefully.

iii. **Spirits**

It is widely believed fact that spirits enter the bodies of women and cause all sorts of sickness to the victim. *Molvi* and shrine keepers are often called to drive these spirits away from humans and for this service they are paid well. Difference types of spirits that possess people are iare mentioned in previous text.

iv. **Jadoo**

Jadoo or Magic is also widely believed in. amulets obtained from *Molvies* and *Pirs* but one way of *Jadoo* which has been described under the sub-heading of *Phull*. *Jadoo* is also done by reciting some verses of Quran on the hair clippings of the person for whom it is meant. The strongest and most effective form of *Jadoo* is that which is performed by reciting some verses (told by *Molvis*) on a dirty menstruation cloth of a woman and burying this cloth along with different items prescribed by the *Molvi* in the graveyard.

Jadoo is used for a wide variety of purposes ranging from obtaining success in love affairs to destroying one's rivals and popular aim for which *Jadoo* is used were.

- To harm one's husband's brother and his family because of being direct enemies and rivals.
- To keep one's husband under one's control so that he gives all that he earns to his wife and not to his parents or others and does not flirt around

3.14.5. Rituals

Rituals create the sense of solidarity and unity among fishermen community. They provide the cultural solutions of the problems which they face. These rituals supply people with fixed points in the world of bewildering change and disappointment. They exist as institutionalized means of restoring the individuals to full rapport with universe, nature and their own society. As Cluckholm says;

“Rituals provide systematic protections against supernatural dangers, the threats of ill-health and of physical environment, anti social tensions and pressures of more powerful society”

(Kluckholm, 1942: 77)

These rituals reinforce system of fishermen and show their cultural identity. Fishermen celebrate various rituals at different occasions such as net making, boating building etc. Along with fishing rituals other rituals are related to marriages, births and deaths.

a. Rituals of Fishing

There is close relationship between fishing activities and the rituals performed by the fishermen. These rituals greatly affect the size of fish catch, success or failure of the fishing expedition, and life span of nets and boats. They reduce the anxieties of fishermen, facing dangers of river. These rituals express the belief system of people which they are retaining from centuries. I have attempted to analyze the effects of performance of these rituals upon the organization of crew groups and their work patterns. These rituals vary according to the nature of situation in which they are performed, whether it is manufacturing or launching of boat, making nets, facing storm or going to remote places in the river. Now it is easy to classify any particular ritual under one or another of the headings.

These rituals give people a kind of high standard of living. They provide an opportunity for the members of community to give them the sense of solidarity oneness. The boundaries of distinction and discrimination between rich and poor, or laborer or captain are no more found in these rituals. Ritual system calls for greater amount of work to be performed by all types of individuals. Some of the important rituals related to fishing are described as below.

b. Rituals of Boat Making

A boat plays very important role in the life of these fishermen. It is their companion in the long journey in the river. Therefore they call it their *saathi*(companion). They show deep emotional attachment with it. They also take its great care as if it were a living thing. Making of boat is a miraculous achievement for the fishermen. They adorn it with best carvings and colors. One feels great love and admiration for one's boat when it is constructed. They also express certain beliefs, hopes and desires for the success and long life of the boat. It is the thing of beauty for both of its owner and maker.

Certain rituals are performed by the fishermen when they are going to make any new boat. These boats are always built at specific places, set apart from their homes. When any fishermen want to have a new boat, he gives order for its making to the boat craftsman. According to my key informant Ashraf Ali "when that craftsman lays the foundation of boat some type of rituals performed is done by the family of its owner and boat owner's family invites female relatives to their home". This individual is given some days before its celebration. When these women come to participate in these celebrations they are served with sweet rice and tea. They say congratulation to the wife or mother of boat owner. They show great happiness and sometimes sing songs and perform dance. The friends and male relatives of the boat owner congratulate the head of family for getting new boat. Children also show great pleasure and particular in these rituals. At the evening time when women have done all these things, then they return to their homes.

According to my key informants, these rituals give long age to boat and avoid any kind of danger in the river. They also believe that by performing these rituals they get some sort of solace which lowers the constant threat, by the river, to their lives. These rituals also carry the implicit meanings of social unity and solidarity among its community members.

c. Boat Launching

These are of great importance than those of boat making. When boat is completely built then first it is immersed in water for two or three days. This is done because the small holes, which are left during its construction, are filled as wood increase its size in water. Then it is taken out from water and dried for some days. When it is completely dry, then

painter decorates it for water launching ceremony. He paints different types of flowers, fish species, water scenes or birds on its front and back sides. Upper edges of the boat are also painted to make it look more beautiful. This decoration time period is of great importance for the family of boat owner. Writing about this same ceremony Malinowsky says;

"Soon after the painting and adorning of canoe, a date is fixed for the ceremonial launching and trial run, the tasaoria festivities, as they are called. Word is passed to the chiefs and the headmen of the neighboring village".

(Malinowski, 1979:147)

When all the work is finished the boat owner invites his friends and relatives to participate in boat's water launching ceremony. The date is fixed by the boat owner and *Bhaag Wand* (Head of community) is called as the chief guest of the ceremony. All the friends and relatives of boat owner bring *Pag, Hars* (garlands). They knot these clothes with boat with string. Before launching boat in the water, *Gharoo* (boat maker) is called to hit the boat on its right side with his hammer for three times. It is considered as a compulsory act and then all these gifts are unknotted and given to *Gharoo*. After doing this, all people pull the boat into the river water with help of strong ropes. All people observe this moment of boat launching with keen interest and feel great enjoyment. When everything is done then people say congratulations to the boat owner and then he distributes sweets and date palms among the people present there.

This ceremony is also celebrated in boat owners home. Women are invited there for singing and dancing. According to my key informants Naseem Mai "these women sprinkle water over the head of wife, sisters or mother of boat owner". Sweet rice are cooked and served to these women. These fishermen celebrate this ritual according to their financial position or social status. If boat owner is financially sound, then he celebrates it with great pomp and show or vice versa. These people believe that the performance of this ritual helps them to cope with the dangers of the river in courageous and brave manner. It satisfies the psychological needs of the community and rouses great interest in them. It brings an aesthetic effect to the community people. It also brings sense

of safety and good results for the owner and crewmen. It reduces the high risk and any type of uncertainty during fish expedition in the river.

d. Rituals of the Saints

When boat launching ceremony is done then motor machine is fixed in the boat and after two three days, a group of some twelve to fifteen fishermen go to some specific saint in that newly made boat. They go there for praying before starting that boat for fishing purposes on regular basis. They consider this ritual necessary for fish catching practices. When they go to the saint they carry different things such as, sweets, *chador* of green or red color, flag and rice. On their way to the saint they sing different songs, do jokes and make great fun of one another. They recall past events and humorous stories of their life. Each member of the group takes active part in the gossip and shares his ideas and personal experiences related to the daily life activities at the river. At the time when they reach the saint, first they hoist flag over the there and place green, black or red *Chadar* on the shrine of that saint. They always prefer to go to those saints who are buried near the river. These people offer prayers over there and then distribute sweets and cooked rice among them. This group of people remains there far at least four to six hours. When they return from the saint and reach the bank of the river, other members assemble there to receive them. After the performance of this ceremony boat starts to work regularly in the river.

e. Rituals of Avoidance

These rituals are performed when any difficult situation arises or some intimidating weather is forecasted by the experienced fishermen. Through these rituals they relieve their tensions and anxieties. These rituals also create social solidarity and influence the fishermen behavior in certain fearful conditions; these rituals make the belief system of these people more strong and bring them to the normal condition. According to my key informant Manzran Mai; "When there is any unfavorable weather situation in the river and the fishermen have not come back then their families anxiously wait and pray for them" they often pray to God and saints. In addition to this they also do some ritualistic performances to avoid such conditions and bake *Lolas* (sweet bread) and then distribute

them among the relatives in such situations of uncertainty and tension. They also give away corn by placing their right hands on it. It weighs about one kilogram. Another act is also performed in which *Ghlaf* (covering cloth of Quran). All these things are done until fishermen return to their homes. When these fishermen reach their homes these women unknot *ghlaf* of *Quran Sharif* and again distribute sweets among the people. Women, children and all men become very happy; they all kiss and hug them. One or two days after this ritual, they also cook rice and invite their relatives and friends to participate. According to my key informant, "These rituals are the source of solace for the people. And they think that by performing these rituals their lives remain safe and sound at the river"

3.15. Power and Political Structure

"Power is a social process it refers to the ability or the process by which such ability is implemented by one individual or group produces the behavior of others or produces a desired reaction in them".

(Encyclopedia of Anthropology, (1976: 314)

This definition encompasses and envelopes various types of power i.e. political, economic, religious etc. which is suggestive of the fact that power is something present in all spheres of life. There are schools of thought regarding the determination of the sources of power. However, this is agreed upon fact that the study of power and politics is the study of influence and influential. The influential according to less well as those who get the most of what there is to get" he has classified available values as deference, income safety and those who get most of these as per him are elite, the(Lasswell Harold:13). So much is generally agreed upon by different schools of political thinkers. However, deterrence may not go to the rich and safety many not go to the rich and safety many not go to the distinguished, different results may be obtained by the use of different cratered of influence and power considered by different scientists. Radcliff Brown has defined power systems as;

"The systems for the maintenance of establishment of social order within a territorial framework, by the organized exercise of coercive authority via of physical force".

(Radcliff-Brown and Evans Pritchard: 1940:14)

Schapera on the other hand disagrees with Radcliff-Brown's view by saying in studying

"Power organizations, we have, to study in fact, the whole system of communal leadership and all power functions of leaders, and in this context such activities as the organization of religious ceremonies or collective hunts or the concentration and redistribution of wealth are as relevant as the administration of justice for comparative purposes".

(Schapera, 1956:218-19)

This definition stresses on religious rites and access to wealth as the sources of power in a society. Writers like Wheeler assert that basis of power in any given milieu is in the claim to distinct territories geographically (G.C. Wheeler, 1970 in Tribe and inter-tribal relations in Australia) while others like Turner argue that

"The basis of power in small societies is in social territory and not geographical territory comprised of those kin groups in a band or village willing to take orders from a headman", according to Turner the bases of a leader's power of decision making is authority rather than threats of physical coercion.

(Turner Jonathan, 1972: 268-69)

I belong to this school of thought which considers authority and not physical coercion to be the basis of power, I further hold that authority (ability to control others by virtue of office) and influence (ability to control without office) are the actual components of power.

3.16. Power Structure of Kehal

Keeping in accordance with this perception of power and to facilitate the reading of the text, the power structure as found in my field has been broken up in two levels:-

- Power at the level of community level
- Power at the level of family and work group.

First we discuss about the power at the level of community level.

3.16.1. Power at the Community Level

The natural question that follows here is that why this particular division, the reason being that to me power is bi-faceted namely,

- Ability to control others by virtue of office.
- Ability to control other without office.

My filed investigation shows that important decision in the lives of *Kehal* fall in two broad categories.

- In the economic sphere, and while making marriages.
- In cases of thefts, murders, divorces, division of moveable property.

In case of decisions falling under the first category power is exerted without office while in case of those falling in the second category power is exercised by virtue of office. Therefore in order to understand the decision making process in this society keeping within my precautionary frame work of power this dual division has been made.

3.16.2. Power at the Level of Family

When an individual is said to yield power in a given milieu, be it a family or a community it logically follows that he is granted the sanction to make decisions vital to the social group. Thus power gives rise to the emergence of one or a couple of decision making statuses in any situation. In order of these decision making statuses to be maintained or stabilized they must rest on authority. The intent of the current sub-heading is to see which person or persons have the ultimate authority within *Kehal* family to make the major decisions. The major domains, in which a family needs to make such decisions, are:

- a. Economic Sphere
- b. Marriage

a. Economic Sphere

The previous text enables us to say that economic activities of the *Kehal* can be divided into two categories, namely:

1. Females Activities

a. Baskets weaving

The nominal productive unit in this community is a single household or family. By nominal productive unit is meant here the smallest group which together to produce economic assets and shares those assets.

There are two forms of family structures in this community.

- a. Nuclear Family
- b. Extended family:

The decisions that each of these families has to make before pursuing work anywhere are as follows:-

- Where work opportunity is available and whose family go for work.
- Who will go for asking *Lai* from local *zamindars*
- Who and how many are going to work on the site.

In case more than one opportunity is available, it is the father who makes the decision as to which site the family would work on in case of nuclear families and the married son with whom it old parents might be living in case of stem families. In such families, although there are parents living with their youngest son and his family, the official head of the family is the son since he is actively involved in pursuit of economic gain.

In case of work of baskets weaving under going on and the time of *Bhanoot* come or if a family could not complete work due to any compulsion such as disease, death etc. then a few families join to make one single larger work group. This work group is formed by the combination of females. In other words a man forms his extended work group ether with the family of one of his *tabar* members of with the family of one of his wife's brothers most preferably his wife's *walta* or *takka* brother. In either of these cases then the choice of the site is decided by a consensus of the heads of the families which join to make this work group.

Once the head of the family or families have decided upon the work site, the next decision to be make is about the members of the family or work group who will actually work on the site. Children and very old people cannot work (children commence work at

the age of 5 and old people work till 65 to 70 and above and at times women cannot work under certain circumstances like pregnancy etc. This decision is also made by the head of the family or cooperating families who also decide as to what other activities would be carried on by those exempted from work to contribute towards the economic well being of the group (nets weaving, work at *zamindar* for asking *Lai*).

ii. Male Activities

a. Fishing Activities

The economic activities discussed in the context of decision, so far where those that dimmed at fishing or concerned with fishing *Kehal* pursue some economic enterprises which were based on short term payments which based on fishing and baskets weaving, these short term relations based on *Bhanoot* system. The major decisions that a family living off fishing has to make are as follows:-

- a. Whom to enter into a joint work in case of any difficulties
- b. Whom is to keep as witnesses of contract (*Bhanoot*)
- c. What amount to lie out as the initial investment?

b. Marriage

Besides the economic aspect of life the other important sphere of decision making at family level is marriage. The major decisions to be made here are:-

- a. Choice of the spouse
- b. Decision regarding the form of marriage.

a. Choice of the Spouse

In case of a boy's marriage the major decision making figure is the boy himself because via marriage he is supposed to:

Great a pocket of socio political strength and alliance as opposed to his brothers who are his natural rivals. However it should noted here that although the ultimate decision is that of the boy, his father is consulted on the issue and his opinion carries a lot of weight, the reason being that along with creating a personal alliance group for the groom, the affinal

family of a person also serves as a political support group for his father and other members of the *sanj* tries to bring harm to them subject to the condition that the aggressor is not one of the groom's family members.

b. Decision regarding the form of Marriage

In case of a girl's marriage the person who has the almost final say in the decision is the older brother because he is the natural patron of that girl throughout life according to the norms of the community. However, in case of the daughter being the eldest child or being the only female child her protector and patron is the father and after his death the youngest son with whom the father lives. Therefore, the powers of decision of her marriage rest with the father. As far as the decision regarding the form of marriage is concerned the same principles operate which have been discussed with reference to choice of spouse for the same reasons.

3.17. Power at Community Level

The intent of examining power at village level is to bring forth why people in this community abide by the decisions of those who occupy leadership positions i.e. the study of political system prevalent in the society and to study who forms the local polity and on what grounds.

Political organization according to Haviland is the system of social relationships that provides for the coordination and regulation of behavior in so far as that behavior is related to the maintenance of public order (Haviland: 1973:342-42) political system is an instrument which operates to integrate and stabilize a social order and fights disintegrative forces.

The socio political system existing among *Kahal* is what is known in anthropology as "Uncentralized political system" as opposed to "centralized political systems" i.e. Chiefdoms and states. The basis of *Kahal* political organization being kinship and descent rather than any fixed government as much. Among *Kahal* the seat from where the political authority springs is a lineage, therefore, I would call their system the "lineage system". However, before given my reasons for calling it a lineage system, it is called for here to discuss the views of some of the authors who have dealt with the issue of lineage organization.

Shusky when discussing lineage and lineage systems says that "technically a lineage consists of two or more generations of people consanguineously related through one sex. Thus a man and his children or a woman and her children form a lineage" (Shusky; 1965:65, in manual for kinship analysis). The author has called this unit a "minimal lineage", he further on asserts that with the passage of generation the lineage membership increases and the resultant expanded group is called "a major segment" by him. According to Shusky if these major segments combine owing to the fact that they can trace common ancestry, the consequent unit is a "maximal lineage". Thus as per his analysis societies possessing lineage organization are structured around the three units mentioned above. While discussing the role of these lineages in the political milieu Shusky says,

"Each lineage operates as a corporate unit, and its individual members have legal or political status only as members of the group; lineages therefore are often the foundation of political organization"

(Shusky 1965:65)

The same author is reported to have said that lineages often serve as instruments of enforcing common interests through religion thus many a times political and religious systems are integrated through lineage structure. Numerous anthropological researches have discovered that decent principles dictate a great deal of behavior and orders institutionalized forms of interaction on domestic and jurally political level. In the allocation of juro-political status to its members, societies differ in the way in which rights and duties are allocated, which in turn depends on the dichotomization of a person's kinsmen into those who are his group and those who are not. It is here that the lineage principle comes into play. Discussing this issue Fortes asserts that every lineage has some rights and obligations with some duties and offices thus the members wish to ensure that they will not be lost to their lineage, thus they try to maintain the perpetuity of the lineage (Fortes, 1953, American Anthropologists 1955: 17-14). When discussing lineage organization in the context of working of jural-political sphere, Fortes says,

"The lineage has the identity of a single individual when viewed from outside or in relation to the jural-political sphere".

(Fortes, 1959:25 "Man" Nos. 309, 331)

Evans Pritchard has done extensive ethnographic work on the Nuer, which gives a clear elegant picture of the social structure of a transhumant *sudanic* society where the lineage principle dominates and determines social role as per his research. (Evans Pritchard; 1940: pp.198, 110) a person belonged to a series of groups, all agnatic allies formed, arranged in pyramidal form on different levels of inclusion. A Nuer belonged to a minimal lineage a minor segment, a major segment, a maximal segment, clan and ultimately a tribe. Elaborating upon the importance of lineages in the Nuer society Pritchard states that lineages in Nuer are corporate in the sense that land is allocated to tribes or sections of tribe, but ownership is expressed in terms of clans and lineages. (Evans Pritchard, 1940: 16)

Decent theorists feel generally that in every sphere of social life the lineage principle is primary and deciding. It is also believed that domestic relations are to a great extent affixed by the presence of the lineage. Evans Pritchard for one view religion and cult as by products of lineal social organization for in his opinion cosmological ideas are derived from the social structure (Pritchard Evans: 1953),(American Anthropologist; 1955: 201-214)In this writing he makes and stresses the point that cult activities are arranged and carried out in terms of groupings made up on the principles of kinship and political organization derived from the lineage. Morals are based upon the lineage principle. This particular aspect is also stressed by Fortes.(Pritchard Evans 1949: 97).

Marshall Sahlins has discussed lineage organization at length and during the course of discussion says that very often lineage principle serves as a political ideology in major residential groups. It is a way of phrasing political alignments and making political differentiation. It is a character of group rights and an expression of group solidarity and finite beyond relating man to man within the group, the descent and lineage ideology makes connections at a higher level. It stipulates the group's relations or lack of relations to other groups". (Sahlins; 1968: 54-55)

Discussing the segmentary lineage systems in the same work Sahlins asserts that it is decentralized and egalitarian in which the lineage segments are not ranked like a conical élan system and no standing organization leadership exists above the level of autonomous minimal segment. The superstructure of lineage relations above the minimal segment is

only an alliance network, brought into play during conflicts between the functioning minimal groups. Although *Kehal* as a tribe are divided into many lineages the total member of which I do not know because there is no written record, this particular village was divided into four *Kerries*. Shusky's modal of fits in with their system. The *Kehal* family fits in the description of Shusky's minimal lineage. The *Sanj or Shareeka* which is three generations of patrilineally related corroborates with what shusky call his major segment and *Kerries* among *Kehal* fits into the modal of his maximal lineage.

In order to capture and put forth the essence of the *Kehal* polity an attempt has been made to isolate the key dimensions of the existing polity. The scheme of dimensions presented by Turner in his book "Patterns of social organization" has been utilized for this purpose which are:-

- i. The locus (exact place) of power and decision-making in a society.
- ii. The sphere of power and decision making.
- iii. The basis of power and decision making.
- iv. The acquisition of power and decision-making prerogatives.
(Power or authority gifted from God or society)

i. The Locus of Power and Decision-Making in a Society

This includes an explanation of:

- a. What statuses hold power and are entitled to make decisions.
- b. How many of these statuses are present in the society.
- c. Along what organizational principles are these decision-making personalities arranged.

Some decisions in the said community have to be made at the level of family which has been discussed in the previous text, but those decisions operated in a very limited sphere. For the imposition of control outside these spheres and to punish deviants from the normative pattern of the community, there is a council formed from within the community called "*WADRAN DE SANGAT*" which literally means "friendship of elders". This "*WADRAN DE SANGAT*" (Panchayat) called meeting for resolved the conflicts called in indigenous term "*SATH*". This *wadra sangat* or *Wadran de Sangat* or council of

elders *Bazurgs* comprises of EIGHT, two members from four *Kerries*. These members are elected by the entire community. The criteria for the selection of members are that, members should be wise, neutral, social, no conflicts with others, experts in counting, brave and to some extent economically sound. The election and selection of the members of council after three years before commenced the season of fishing and baskets weaving its head called *BGHA-WAND*. The *LAMBERDAR* of this community selected this council after every year before commencing the season of earning. The *Lambedar* control the community disputes with other communities and also deals with *Bhanoti* concern matter of fishing and baskets. *KEHAL* consider it to be an insult to go to civil courts and Police station with their external and internal disputes, therefore all intra-community conflicts are sorted out by the local council.

ii. The Sphere of Power and Decision-making

An elaboration on this point would mean an explanation of the jurisdiction or sphere of control which the power bearing statuses handle. The power bearing statuses in the case make up the council of elders within whose jurisdiction fall cases pertaining to theft, murder, divorce, illegal sexual relation and division of moveable property.

The principal on which the cases presented to the council are decided as "*Wadara Sangat*". However, in cases when after hearing the case, the opinion of the council is divided equally on bother sides.

a. Theft

The usual punishment for stealing was a fine, worth the value of the stolen objects which is affixed by the *wadra sangat* council. In cases where there arose doubt about the guilt of the suspect, money was kept on the Holy Quran and if *apalant* was sure that he had the right person picked it up. It is believed that if a person has false claims and fined the wrong person (*BAY GUNAH*) he falls victim to *QURAN DI MAR* or the curse of the Holly Book of *Quran Majeed*.

b. Murder

In cases of murder the culprits family was made to pay the amount of money settled by the council to the family of deceased. The amount to be paid is settled by the consultation and agreement of the latter. In case the family of the deceased did not wish to receive

money, they could ask the murderer's father to give them one or two daughters in marriage without any payment or exchange of any nature is called *Wani*. Other than receiving money or wives from the culprits family a third option has available to the grieved family namely to kill the murderer and vindicate the *damage*. As per my information collected from in-depth and general interviews this happened very seldom, only one time in the past 60 years in the under study group.

c. Divorce

There are five distinct types of marriages being practiced in the community, namely. *Watta satta*, *taka/takae marriage* *Allah nami*, and *Dhta putrata marriage*, in this community a man has the right of divorce his wife, if

- She cannot bear any children within 5 years of marriage.
- If this affianl family lets him down in course of inter-community or intra-community dispute by offering support to his opponents.
- If his wife refuses to work and contribute towards the family economy.

In case of *Allah Nami* marriage which do not involve an exchange of women a payment of bride prices, which is normally contracted by a man to.

Save the honor of his lineage by marrying his paternal cousin, who can not be married otherwise due to being a, or publicity known to have lost her virginity before marriage or to avoid the danger of being given away to some one in marriage in the payment of a murder. Marry a widow or a divorce for a second marriage after the death of his first wife.

In both of the above cases it is the groom who is doing a favor to the bride's family by marrying their daughter who could have been a liability for her brothers and natal family; he can divorce the woman or remarry any time without being answerable to anyone, without having to pay any *damages* to anyone whatsoever. Instead in this form of marriage the bride's family which is indebted to the groom for having contracted the

marriage are in a subordinate position vis-à-vis the groom and are bound by the society law to offer unconditioned support to him in all times.

However, it is not the same in case of *Watta* marriage because it involve a direct exchange of sisters between two men and exchange of women among two families and “if a man divorces his wife for any other reason then the three mentioned on the page, the case goes into the council of elders where both parties are represented by those present at the time of and members of the *kerri* and the council has the authority ordering the groom to pay a certain amount of to the bride’s people as *damages* and orders the divorce’s *Watta* brother to take full responsibility of the divorcee in life to come, and permits him to divorce his wife too if he chooses to without having to pay any *damages*, which is normally done.

In cases of a *Watta* marriage being dissolved on the grounds of any of the three reasons mentioned in the previous text no body pays any *damages* to any one but according to the local concept of honor the *Watta* brother of the divorced woman also divorcees his wife and is ordered by the council to take the responsibility of the divorced sister both economically and socially and also that of her kids. Since divorce in a *Watta* marriage results in a double divorce and not only break up two families but it also means taking up economic burden of a family not one’s own, both men concerned (those who are *Watta* brother in laws who are *Watta* brother in laws to each other) always try to avoid it and patch any differences up when they arise, owing to which the rate of divorce is lowest in *Watta* marriage.

Case Study No.1

Name: Liaqat

Age: 15y

Sex: male

Liaqat Hessian is fifteen years old. Six months before he married his cousin. She was fourteen years old.His *Watta* sister died after two month. Liaqat’s wife is fourteen years old. She is beautiful and attractive. Liaqat have to go outside for fishing and his father is forty five years old remain in the house for household work. After one month of marriage Liaqat’s wife begin to quarrel on trifle things every day and often went away her parents

house. Liaqat told me this behavior of my wife was not good for me and as well as my parents. Almost four to six times I went her parents house (my paternal uncle) for resolving the conflicts. One day my father and I went to her parents' house that day she totally refused that I can not go to my husband's house. I induced her again and again but she gave me a flat refusal.

After a few days, news spread in the village that Allah Wasyya wanted to intercourse his daughter-in-law (his nieces). When I heard this news I thought how is it possible? First time I thought this is propaganda against our family and as well as my wife. I was much worried. My wife's parents sent a man he met my father and discussed this problem. In the evening when I came back from my fishing trip my father informed me about this issue, my father began weeping bitterly and I also. This is very shameful for my father and our family.

At last this case taken to *Wadran de Sangat*. Lumberdar Mohammad Ashraf discuss this issue with my father and me and as well as girl's family. Girl told her mother that I could not go there at any cost. Our Lumberdar reached a point that this problem will be discussed in *Wadran de Sangat*. So, *Baghag wand* called me and my father, and from other side girl's brothers. First of all, *Wadran de Sangat* heard the problems from both side one by one. Consequently, they decided Mohammad Liaqat should divorced her wife because in such a circumstances settled of disputes is impossible. Maingee called the Liaqat, he sat in front of Maingee. Maingee said him you say one by one that I divorce my wife, Liaqat three time say this sentence.



Plate No.3.4 The boy who divorced his wife

In *takka* marriage if a man divorcees or tries to divorce his wife for any one of the three sanctioned reasons he can do so without having to pay any *damages* and in point of fact his wife's *takka* brother has to make payments for not being able to kept their side of the contract which is $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the price he has received out of his sister's *takka* at the time of her marriage, the exact amount being fixed by the council, however, when a groom tries to divorce his wife for reason other than those allowed by the society he is made to pay money to the bride's people as fixed by the council. Some rules are applicable to the divorces in case of dual marriage since these are *takka* marriages too expect the fact that it involves the divorce of two women (the sister married to two brothers) this the council is the body that settles cases of divorces on the basis of merits and type of marriage contracted in the light of the reasons for divorce and statement of witnesses.

3.17.1. Division of Property

The property that *Kehal* possess is

- a. Boats
- b. Jewellery
- c. Sheep and goats
- d. tools of fishing

Out of Boards owned by one person are divided between his sons each one getting his share at the time of his marriage. At the marriage of every son, he gets enough money to build one *kuli* to live on with his family. Any deviance from this pattern of inheritance can be challenged in the council and elders adjusted over it. All property divided the head of the family when his son married except jewelry, it is divided when all brothers married then parent divided it among their sons equally but daughter is deprived from her parent's property like other mainstream societies of Pakistan.

iii. The Basis of Power and Decision Making

Under this sub-heading fall questions like:

- i. What kind of power is possessed by the polity?
- ii. Why a few positions in the society are granted the power to make decisions for the entire society?

Although the society under discussion lacks a written code of law, there are very clearly spelled out unwritten laws in the society which have been discussed in previous text. These laws have their basis in the normative structure of the society. The council or "*Wadran de Sangat*" is authorized to decide matters of vital value in the society. The council also has the power of making the deviants to the law absolute outcastes, by ordering the community to boycott the deviant at all levels of social life. The council of elders also has the authority of expelling the deviant from his or her lineage.

vi. The Acquisition of power and Decision Making Prerogatives

Under this sub-heading fall questions like:

- I. How are the leaders of the society brought into the seat of leadership?
- II. Do leaders snatch it by mere force or are they elected by mutual agreement.

In the under study society leadership is pushed up by a mechanism. I would call democratic, no coercion or force is used to acquire political leadership in the community. The sole politico-legal body in the society as mentioned else-where is the council of elders which comprises of eight persons two from each Kerri.

These representatives are nominated and elected from between their lineage or group and only those people are sent up to the council who are supported by the entire community.

If there appears a difference of opinion on the selection of a particular person elders of the lineage try to convince the opposite section by argument and if they can not do so a new name is suggested. However, there are times that the consensus of the entire *Kerri* can not be obtained.

These elections however do not comprise of ballot boxes or voting as we know them, it so happens that the each *Kerri* gets together at a spot, meets discusses and tries to reach a solution. Each *Kerri* sends two members for *Wadran de Sangat*, these meetings at times extend over many days before a decision is taken. When all members selected and elected then they take a power of decisions of all kinds. Being an occasion for political activity these meetings also serve as a means of expressing annoyances and grudges people have nursed against each other for sometimes because this expression is required in order that the group reach a consensus. The election and selection for the *Kerri* representatives to form the council are held after intervals of three years, while the selection and election of a *Numberdar* from among the council members takes place every year. The reason for electing the *Numberdar* every year according to my observation and opinion being:

Lumberdar or Numberdar is a very important person in the council for two reasons firstly in case the opinion of the council gets divided equally for and against the accused in the particular case presented in the council. Although *Numberdar* selected by *Wadran de Sangat*. Secondly, the *Numberdar* who represents *Kehal* and serves as a medium between *Kehal* and local authorities. Therefore, by holding selections for the *Numberdar* after a short period of one year the society provides its members with an opportunity to discard him if his performance becomes biased towards one band or group (*Kerri*). The fact that the *Numberdar* knows that he can lose his office like this, serves as a sort of a check on his self and prevent him from indulging into any great misuse of power. However, there is a greater and stronger reason for this too that being the fact that this cycle of election provides equal opportunities to four *kerries* residing in the community to obtain the supreme position in the society because as per my information normally people do not choose the same man, for the office of *Numberdar* for two consecutive years thus this system balances the power distribution in the community

Chapter No 4

Economic Organization

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the economic activities of *Kehal* community. In beginning, this chapter gives information about marine fishing and inland fishing, after this different equipment that used in catching fish such as *Keshta* (small boat), *Kur*, net etc. Men of *Kehal* community engaged with fishing while women are involved in baskets making. This chapter contains information related to relationships among crew members sharing system of their economy and division of labor. Their contract with the contractor and how the contractor exploited these innocent people? It also takes into consideration different proverbs, taboos and their perception about the Indus River.

Table No.4.1
Population Break-up in terms of Gender
Total Population: 545

Gender	Total Male and Female	Percentage
Male	287	52.66%
Female	258	47.34%
Total	545	100.00%

Source: Socio-Economic Census Survey

4.2. Fishing

Although fishing is only a minor sector of the Pakistani economy, constituting 0.3 per cent of the GNP, it is the traditional means of livelihood for about 400, 000 Pakistanis. Of all the economic activities its contribution to the GNP is least. Despite the small contribution fishing makes to the country s economy, the export of fish and fish product is thriving, constituting 2 per cent of the total value of the country s exports

"The total nominal fish catch has increased from 40,000 tones in 1947 to 590,000 tones in 2000. The nominal catch comprises the

commercial, industrial and subsistence catches. The subsistence catch refers to the fish caught and consumed by fishermen on board their vessels or by their families, as well as those fish caught by anglers for sport. The subsistence catch is estimated to be about 10 percent of the total catch. Till 1960, production was quite low. Since 1970, however, it has substantially increased."

(Fazle Karim, 2006: 74)

There are two main sources of fish in Pakistan marine and inland.

4.2.1. Marine Fisheries

In economy of Pakistan marine fisheries have great a contribution. According to Fazle Karim;

"The marine fisheries are much more important than the inland fisheries. Generally, the share of the marine fisheries is more than 70 per cent of the total catch. Marine fishing is carried out along the coastal waters of Sindh and Baluchistan, the former being more productive in terms of quantity. The Sindh coast accounts for 70 per cent of the total marine catch although it constitutes only 33 per cent of Pakistan's coast. The Baluchistan coast, on the other hand, constitutes 67 per cent of the country's coast but produce only 30 per cent of the marine catch. The Sindh coast has the advantage of a wider continental shelf (about 130 kilometers wide as against Baluchistan's 30 to 50 kilometers)".

(Fazle Karim, 2006: 74)

It also has the additional advantage of being fed by the Indus River, which brings with it a sufficient quantity of fish food. Mangroves along the Sindh coast act as breeding ground for fish and shrimps. Although the Baluchistan coast is also fed by a number of streams, including the Hub, Porali, Hingol and Dasht, they are relatively small and therefore not very rich in fish food. The leanest period for the fish catch is between June and July, which is the breeding season. This period has been officially declared closed for fishing to enable fish to reproduce in sufficient quantities for the main fishing season.

4.2.2. Inland Fisheries

Although In land fisheries have less contribution in Pakistan's economy than marine fisheries. According to Fazle Karim;

"Inland fisheries produce about 26 per cent of Pakistan's total fish catch. Sources of fish include rivers, dams, ponds, canals and lakes. The province of Sindh accounts for more than 60 per cent of the inland fish catch, followed by Punjab at 39 per cent and the NWFP at 1 per cent. The drier province of Balochistan has virtually no inland fishing"

(Fazle Karim, 2006:75)

In Sindh, the Indus River is important for inland fishing. Besides Manchhar Lake, Kinjhar Lake and Chotiari Dam (SanGhar) are important areas of inland fishing in Sindh. In Punjab, fishing is done in large streams and canals. In addition, Mangla Dam, Chashma Barrag and other water bodies are utilized for inland fishing. In Punjab, carp species dominate the fish catch. Some exotic species like *Gulfam* and *Mujhid* have also been introduced.

4.3. Economic Organization among Kehal

And it is with this definition that economy has been viewed in this chapter which is divided in two parts, the first being comprised of a descriptive account of two types of economic activities i.e. fishing and baskets weaving.

Despite the debate and the variability of approaches offered by scholars to study economic system at cross-cultural level economy can be defined broadly as an institution as;

"An inter-related pervasive, relatively stable cluster of statuses, general norms and role behaviors revolving around the gathering of resources and distribution of goods and services".

(Turner, 1972: 22)

To understand the economic organization one must understand the true meaning of economy. According to Dalton,

"An economy is defined as a set of institutionalized activities which combine natural resources, human labor and technology to acquire produce, distribute material goods and specialized services in a structured repetitive fashion".

(Dalton, 1969: 87)

4.4. The River and the Forest

The river and the forest dominate the most of the *Kehal* social life. They pervade all aspects of *Kehal* life, social and cosmological as well as technological. As boundary markers, the connecting links between *Kerrie's* and local groups and the most obvious landmarks in the environment, they are the principal means by which people orient themselves, give directions and describe themselves.

The resources of river vary from one place to another as does the social value of different sites, especially in terms of different sites of distance from head waters, barrages, and dams. At the same time, other factors, especially arrangements with the local host population, roads and railways, influence the nature and intensity of *Kerries* exploitations is fishing and baskets weaving. Economy has been viewed is in this text which is divided into two parts, the first being comprised of a descriptive account of fishing and the second part is comprised of baskets weaving. Firstly, I would discuss the fishing activities of *Kehal* community they are;

4.5. Fishing Activities

4.6. Equipment Used In Fishing

Fishermen of *Kehal* community used different equipments, skills and techniques for catching fish. They make various types of nets and boats for each separate kind of species of fish and fishing expedition.

4.6.1. Fishing Boats

The boat plays a very important role in the life of fishermen. It is considered as source of income and livelihood. Fishermen show great emotional attachment with it. They consider it as their companion when they go for fishing in the river. It helps them in dangerous situations and solves their difficulties. Very far and distant areas of the river are covered by this boat. Fishermen learn the skill of making and sailing it from their elders at the age of seven to ten years. The person who sail the boat locally called *Naik*(captain).

4.6.2. Bayrre (big boat)

Bayrre is used especially used for journey or trade purpose. People carried different types of items and materials on this boat to various areas. It also took months to reach these countries. People carried their food items, beds, and other useful materials along themselves in this kind of boat. In addition to this they also carried cattle, buffalos and goats of the villagers. The *bayrre* is larger in size than the *Kishta* (small boat used for fishing) the maximum size of *bayrre* is 15 *Haths* i.e. 36 feet long. A houseboat has three major parts. These are *Agal*, *Pechal* and *Tal*. *Agal* is the front portion of the boat and is commonly used for keeping firewood and stoves.

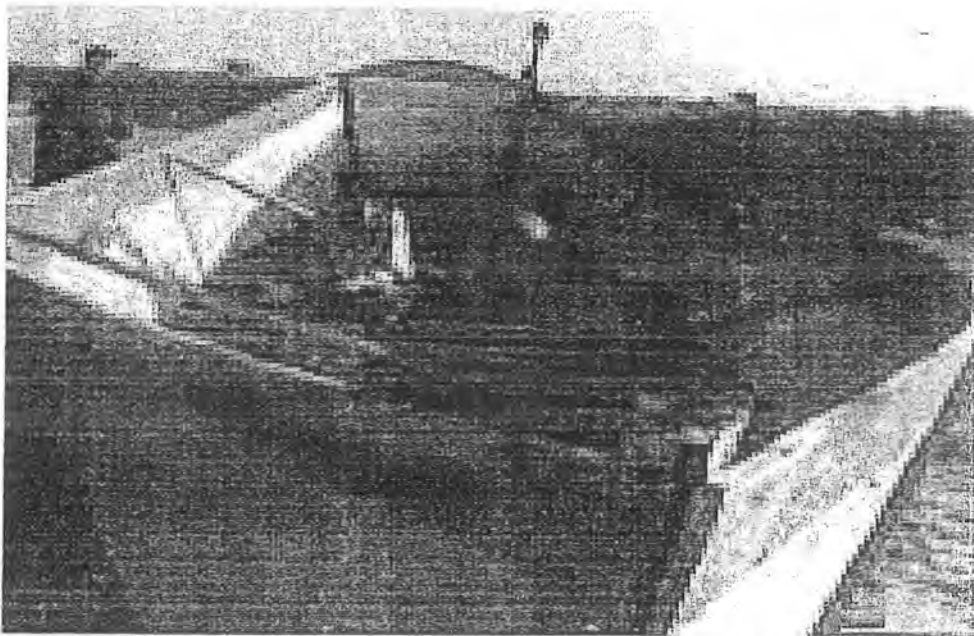


Plate No.4.1 Gharoos (boat makers) manufacturing is bayrre (big boat)

The back portion of boat is known as *Pechal* and it is commonly used for keeping nets in the winter. In summer, however, all the cooking is done in this portion. The central portion of the boat is called *Tal*. This portion maximum breadth, almost 12 feet for a 36 feet long boat. This portion is kept very clean and no body can enter in it with his or her shoes on. On its sides, under the front and back portions there are two compartments, these res used for keeping utensils, consumable items, clothes and blankets?

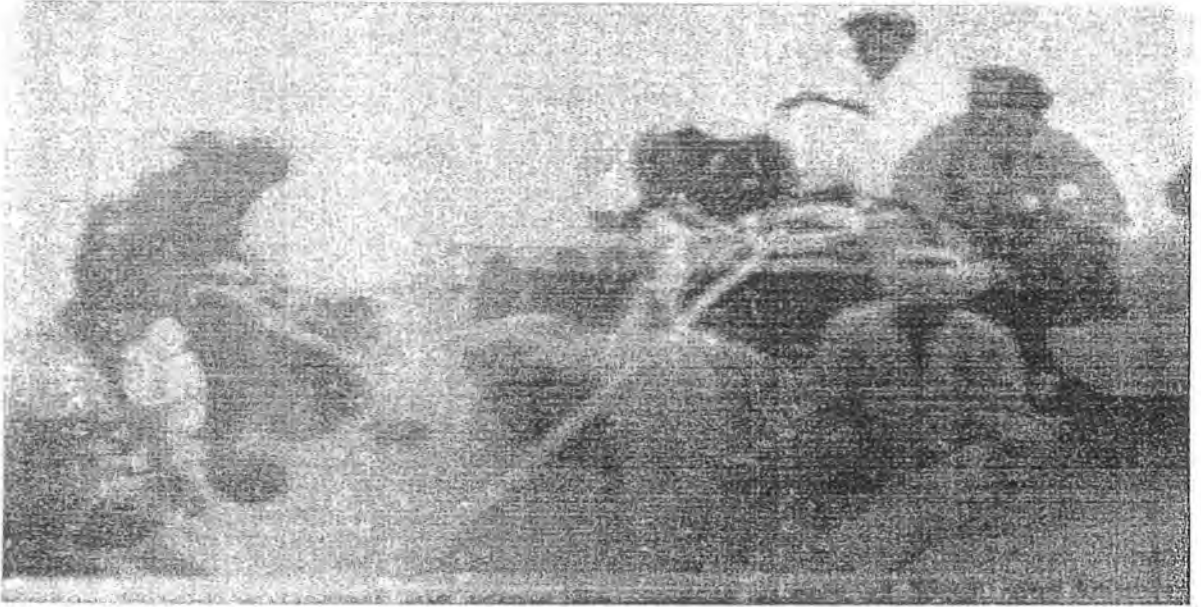
Another important part of the boathouse, which is lacking in most of the fishing boats, is the roof. This stands on four pillars, two in the front and other two on the backside. It is made of straw, spread on a frame wood. This roof is very strong and durable. nets are kept and clothes are dried on it. In summer season, the *Kehal* family sleeps on the roof. They also say prayers on it. In winter the roofs are used for common sitting in the sun if winds are not blowing.

The pillars of the roof, on the front side, are connected to each other with a wall like structure of wood with shelves on its interior side. These shelves are used to decorate pots and utensils on them. The shelves are further decorated by the painting of flowers of different colors and different species of fish. A similar structure can be seen on the backside of the boat that connects the back pillars, its shelves are used for keeping clothes. The sail called *Sirh* in the native language, is an important part of a houseboat, it is made up of thick cloth sheet and helps the movement of the boat with the direction of the wind.

In winter the central portion or *Tal* of the houseboat is covered from all sides with the help of plastic sheets and all the members of a household sleep in it. In summer, however, some of the young male members of the household sleep in the fishing boats. Goats and hens are also kept in the houseboats while moving in the water from one place to another.

4.6.3. Kishta (fishing boat)

These boats are small in size and they were made especially for fish catching practices. The local people also called them as *Kishta*. The size of the fishing boats also varies from boat to boat. The maximum size of fishing in this settlement is 18 feet long and the minimum is 8 feet.



**Plate No. 4.2. Fishermen are going to long fishing trip in Keshta
(small fishing boat)**

i. Size of Fishing Boats and Their Ownership by Kerries

The style of construction of the fishing boats is same as the houseboats except that many fishing boats do not have roofs on them. The fishing boats as well as the houseboats are constructed at the bank of the river. The *Gharro* made these boats with his team of helpers, comprising of three to four persons.

ii. Oiling of Boat

Fishermen oil the boats when they are built completely and they also oil them after fifteen or twenty days for fish catching in the river. They think that oil makes boat more strong and stable. It also protects boat from water effect and any kind of erosion. Before oiling, the boat is dried for at least one or two days so that it may absorb oil properly. If it is a large boat or launch then its oiling can take ten to fifteen days. According to my respondents, in past, fishermen used fish oil by heating it on fire but now a day they use mustered oil with help of some piece of cloth. Oil also produces glittering and shining on boat surface.

4.6.4. Kundi

It is the simplest equipment used for catching fish. It comprises of a steal hook of one and a half inches size and a thread of maximum length and thread tied with stick, its lengthly one meter to two meter and used a *Kana* near the hook. When this *Kundi* sank in the water it means fish caught with *Kundi* fish. The *Kahal* very little put earthworms or *Punga*(very small fish)of fish in the hook and threw it in the water with one end of the thread in fisherman's hand. Usually, this *Kundi* used boys and people these who had not fishing boats, they could use not fishing boats, sand they could use it day and night. Only one fish can be caught at a time with *Kundi*. The hook and the thread are available in the market. It is noticeable here that in off season fishing only with *Kundi* is allowed.

4.6.5. Kur

This is unique equipment for catching fish found among the *Kahal*. It comprises of about five square feet of net with the small holes or *Ghar* of one to one and half inches and six to eight wood sticks of about five to six feet length.

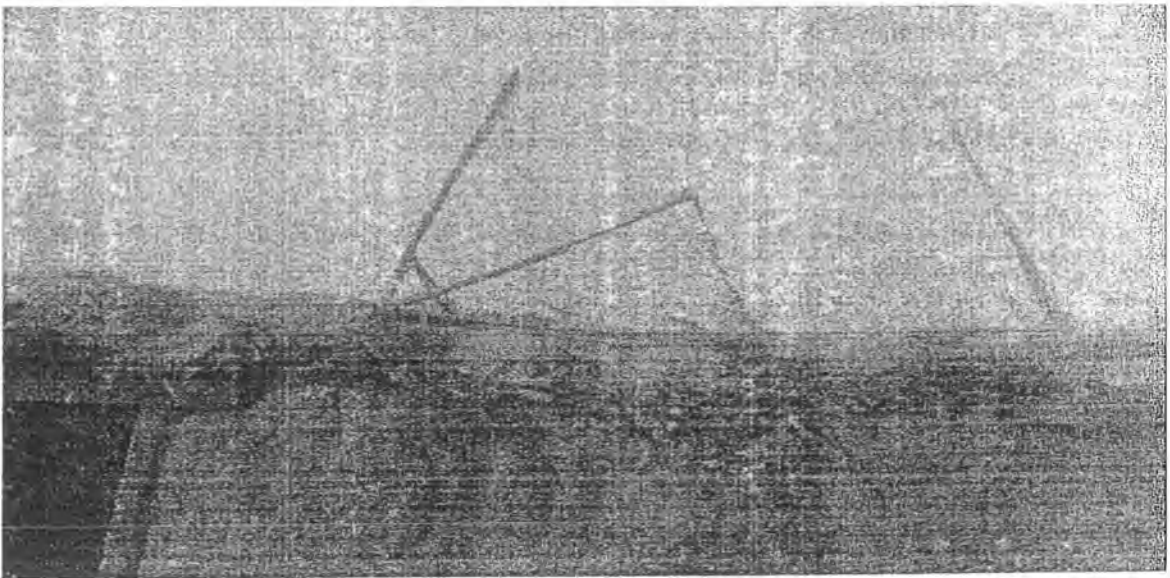


Plate No. 4.3.A fishing tool locally called kur.

Three or four stickers are tied together tightly at one end while the other ends are kept open in different directions with sticks between them at one end while the other ends are kept open in different directions with sticks between them at right angle. The net is tied to the base of the cone and the whole thing now is called a *Kur*.

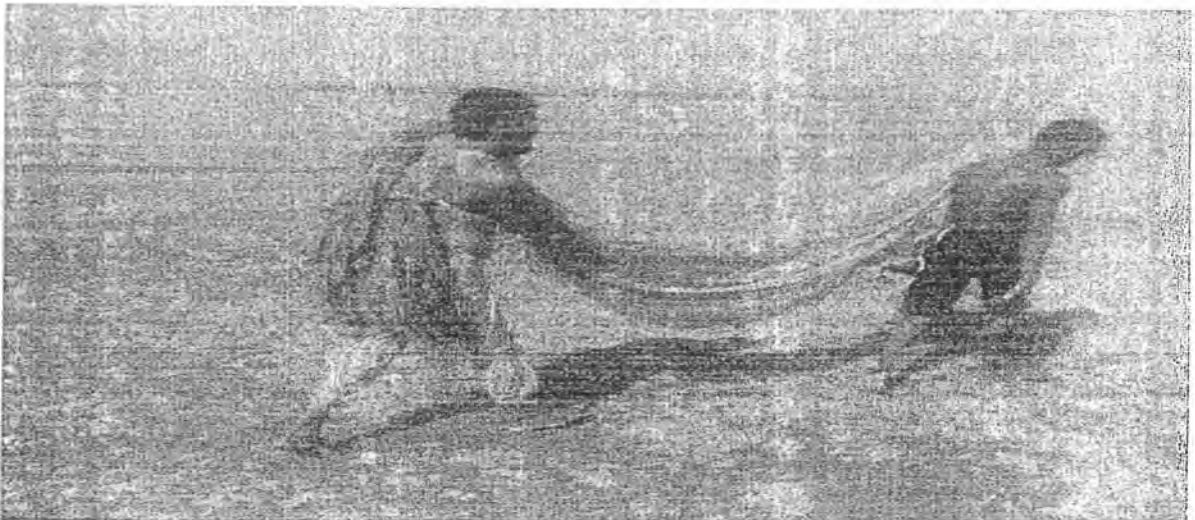
The *Kur* are prepared at home by the *Kahal* them they are not available in the market. Every *Kahal*'s household had one or two *Kur*, at least children while sitting inside the boat used them for catching fish. This used almost throughout the season especially where water is low. It is gamed too the bottom of shallow water and secures what ever fish are inside. It is proved the most effective fishing weapon in the ponds situated near the river course.

4.6.6. Satu¹²⁴

The costly net called "*Satu Jal*" it used that kind of water where bushes and woods in water. This is very unique fishing tool of fisher community of *Kahal*

4.6.7. Nets (*Rach*)¹²⁵

There are two native terms used for fishing nets. Fishing net while it is outside the water is called as *Rach*. When fishing net is installed inside water for catching fish then it is termed as a *Patta*. There are no different terms for smaller or large size nets. This is made of several nets fastened together.



Platc No.4.4.fishermen carries the net.

The total number of nets in the community is eight hundred and forty. There are various types of nets with respect to the total length and the size of the hole termed as *Ghar* in native language. The length of nets ranges from 20-30 meters while the size to the whole (*Ghar*) is between two square inches to six square inches. Maximum width for a net is between 50 to 10 meters.

Different types of nets are used at different purposes e.g. the nets with grater with are specified for different for deeper waters and the nets. With smaller holes are put behind the nets with larger holes to trap the escaped smaller fish. Small weights of iron called *Thkeys* are tied to the bottom end to the net at different places so that it reaches the surface under the water. Similarly, pieces of floating foam are tied to the upper end of the net to keep it floating on the surface of water. Behind the nets one or two men wade in the water, they cleaned the nets if any kind to9 woods the nets if any kind of woods with nets. Different household own different numbers of net. While the maximum number of nets owned by a single household.

Nets are bought mainly from a shop in *Layyah* city. Sometime they went to Karachi for purchasing the qualitative nets or threads. The *Kehal* themselves also make small nets with the threads bought from the market but these nets with the threads bought from the market but these nets are not comparable in quality to those purchased from the market.

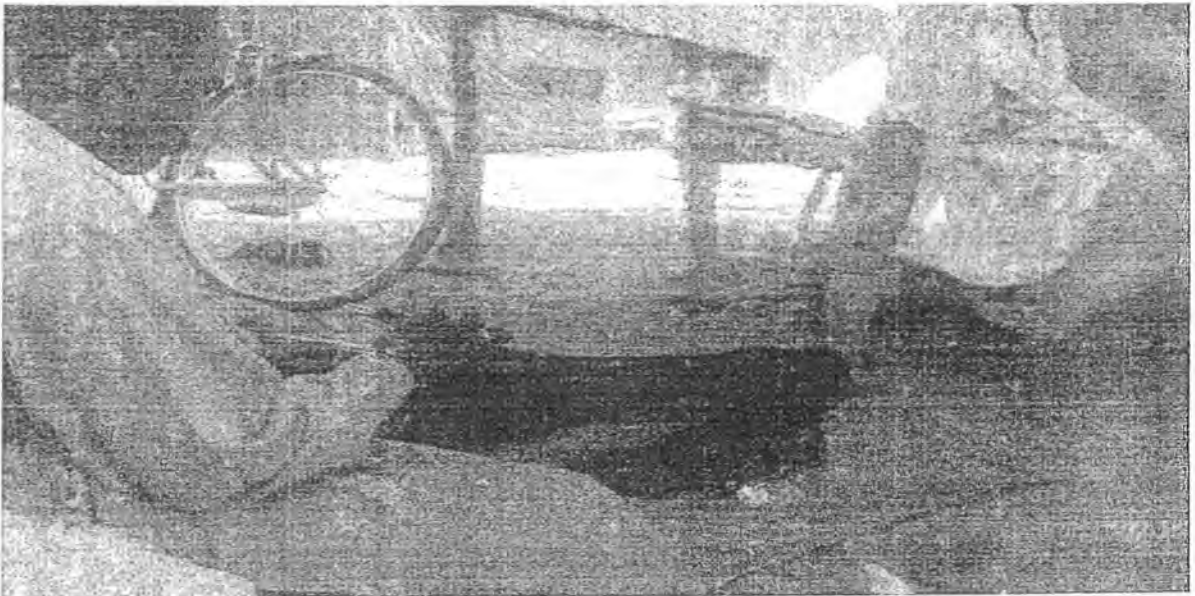


Plate No.4.5.A fishermen making a new net.

Mostly *Kehal* said to me, the nets we weave themselves are more durable rather than purchased from market. However the repairing of nets thoroughly done by them or sometime children and women repaired cleaned and dried the nets after fishing. A net gets damaged when some large fish escapes from it by tearing it or of some shrubs in the

water get trapped in the net and it is pulled forcefully. Men and women equally participate in repairing the net.

4.6.8. Teend

"Teend" literally means long thing or lengthy, *Teend* made to joint the 40 to 50 *Kundies* on a long thread. This is commonly used in fishing especially people those who had not fishing boats then they used *Teend* for caught fish. Usually, *Teend* used at night because animals did not disturb it. Mostly used in summer season because where they used it there they had to sleep at least two or four men to check it. In winter season they used it but less than other equipments. They tied with *Teend* 5 to 10 *Dana* stick of *lai* 4 to 8 meters long). These *Danas* keep floating and signified it especially when water is following at high level.

4.7. Fish

Fish is an animal mostly acceptable for consumption by the people all over the world. Fish serves as major source of food for survival. About one and half million people are directly involved in fishing activities, supporting their families and making earnings. The fishermen of *Kehal* community consider fishing not only the source of their food but as the part of their life. We find several depictions of fish in their homes as well as on boats. According to Sahrai;

"It is also interesting to find fish scales and figures painted on pottery belongings to almost all the pre and proto historic sites, as old as 4000 B.C, in Sindh and outside, connected with the Indus valley civilization. Similarly we find certain things most probably indicating fish on a number of seals. Fish figures have been observed on wooden doors and combs made of wood; bear this figure. The Indus river boat makers used to carve fish on the panels of living chambers, though unfortunately this art is now disappearing on account of lack of our interest."

(Sahrai, 1997: 114)

There are many proverbs, idioms, phrases and very interesting references in our Saraiki folklore and poetry about fish. Saraiki classical poet khawaja Fareed has written some *surs* about these fishermen and their lifestyle. He has portrayed their life activities and the hazards which they face in river in a very interesting way.

4.7.1. Different Species of Fish

There are different kinds of fish that found in the Indus river among them *SinGhara* (Macrones Dor) *Malhir* (Macrones tangara) *Khagar* (Macrones cavasies) *Khagga* which is also called tri kanda (Macrones carieo) *Ahi* (Pesudotropics alherinadaes) *Dhungna* (Pseudotropics garua) *Dimman* (Collichrous Chieckra) *Ghoghum* (Callechrous Lemaarlatus) *Malli* (Wollago ottu) *Dahi* (Labeo calbasu) *Surihan* (Labeo cursa), *Thails* (*Cattla buechanani*), *Mori or Morki* (*Cirrhina marigals*) *Sohin* (*Orrhina reba*) *Drura* (*Burbus chrosopters*). According to Punjab fisheries department, the hunting of Dolphin (bullahn) fish is illegal. The people of *Kehal* community consider some fishes more beautiful in comparison to others. They use them as decoration show pieces in huts and depict them on the walls of the huts.



Bullhan (Dolphin) in the hand of fisherman

4.8. Crew Groups of Fishermen

There are specific crew groups in this fishermen community. Every crew group has general set of rules. There are particular tasks which are given to catch member of the crew. Number of these members varies according to the size of boat and the type of net used for fish. Such as there are 35 to 40 people in the crew going to the river on big boat while there are only 6 to 8 members, fishing in small boat called *Keshta*. Similarly if these fishermen are using nets then crew would consist of only 10 to 12 members.

Members of crew group show great unity and cooperation with each other. Leader of the group is called captain. Now it is the duty of captain to lead and guide all the members. In critical situation every member of the crew obeys the instructions of captain. Captain can not achieve considerable success unless he has good crew members. According to my key informant Mohammad Ashraf “experienced crew always gets a lot of fish from the river in a short time in comparison to inexperienced one. Successful fishing is only possible due to good relationships among the crewmen”.



Plate No.4.6.Crew groups of fishermen, with researcher and Bhanoti (contractor with reddish hair)

These crew members consist specially of the friends. Some fishing crews go on long expeditions of weeks or months while there are others who go on one day fishing.

4.9. Weather Forecasting

These fishermen forecast weather through native knowledge which they have developed from their practical experience at the river. If there is any uncertainty of weather prediction, then these fishermen rely on certain signs and objects which indicate about weather forecasting. Following objects and signs are used by fishermen to predict about weather.

4.9.1. Direction from Sun

Fishermen also observe sun when they go on fishing expedition. According to my respondents *Chacha Hassu* if any storm is expected to come then sun emits blue color

rays of light. These rays are seen only at the time of sunrise and sun set but they disappear when sun moves high on sky. These rays of lights indicate that storm can come within twenty four hours. These rays have special directions when they are emitted from sun. If they are directed towards north then storm will also come from north or if they are directed towards south then storm will come from that side. For instance one of my respondents named Katu who had remained as captain of his crew said that one day he was returning from the river very early in the morning.

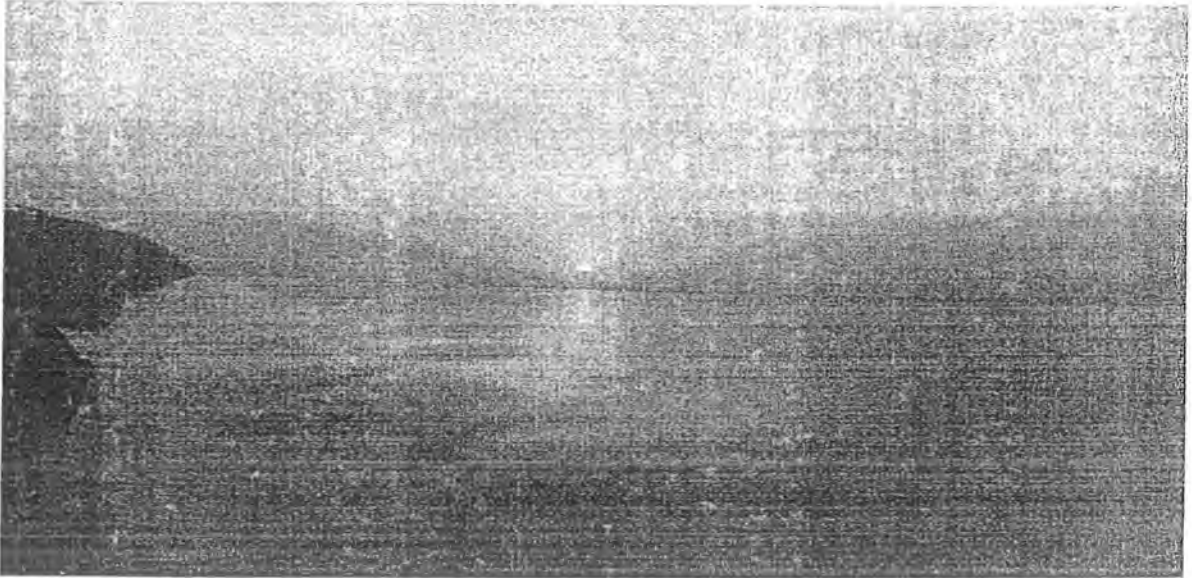


Plate No.4.7.A scene of sun setting in Indus river, Sun generally use for the direction for the fishermen.

It was about 5 am. He saw that when sun was rising from east it emitted some rays of blue color. He thought that it is sign of storm and he told about it to his crew members. They also noticed these rays and expected that storm would come within twenty hours. Then he said that it was about 10 pm at night that storm came and caused damage to various boats fishing in the river but it did not cause any loss of human life. This storm along with rain lasted for two hours and then decreased its strength.

4.9.2. Moon

Moon is also used to predict about weather. These fishermen say that it helps us to forecast about storm or rain. According to my respondents named Karayla, age 45 years, said when dust-shaped sphere is formed around the moon then it is expected that after 1 or 2 days there would be storm or heavy rain. He also said that dust-shaped sphere

remains over until storm or rain comes. But when they (storm or rain) come then that dust-shaped sphere vanishes away. These fishermen always notice the moon when they go to the river for catching fish. For example my key informants Manjha said that one day he was in the river along with his crew group. He was also the captain of his crew. It was about 11 pm when he looked at moon. He saw that a dust-shaped sphere was formed over there. He told his crew group that there would come storm after 1 or 2 days so they should not go farther in the river and return to bank as soon as possible. Then all the crew members decided to come back. According to him, on their way to bank they met to other crew groups and told them about signs of coming storm. Some crew groups believed it whereas others declined to come back. Now it was about 12 o' clock of the second night when heavy storm with rain came and caused huge damage to the boat of that crew group.

4.9.3. Dolphin fish

There is one special type of fish called as dolphin fish that can indicate about coming of storm. According to some respondents when there is any storm or heavy rain then this fish jumps out of the water and becomes completely visible to the viewer. But in normal situation it does not jump so high in the river. It continues to jump until storm comes. When fishermen see this fish doing jumps then they perceive that there is some storm to come after 6 or 7 hours. This fish always remains in groups.

4.9.4. River Birds

Through these river birds fishermen predict about weather. These river birds come from different countries of world such as Kenya and Russia in winter season. After this season they return to their original places. They mostly reside in the trees in the river. These birds remain always in locks. Many people catch and use them as food. These birds look like dives in color. Normal weight of this bird is about 1 to 5 kg. when any storm is expected to come then these birds form very large circles and fly high over the river. In normal situation they do not make any such circles. According to my respondents these birds do this at least six hours before the coming of storm.

4.9.5. Water Bubbles

Water bubbles are another source of weather forecasting. These bubbles indicate about coming of storm. According to one respondent Ghulam Mohammad when any storm comes then bubbles emerges all over the river water. They are seen as surface of water but these bubbles are never observed in ordinary situations. Some other types of bubbles are also formed by fish but they vary from storm bubbles in size but great in number. When these bubbles appear all over the river then it is believed that storm may come between 8 to 12 hours. If these bubbles appear frequently then it is believed that storm can be very violent.

4.10. Fishing Grounds Allocated By Punjab Government to Bhanuty (contractor)

Before the government rules and regulations for fishing, the *Kehal* were free to catch fish in every season. Now, according to Punjab government rules and regulations there are four fishing grounds that allotted to contractor of *Kehal* of community. These grounds or area locally known as *Bet* these grounds are *Chanra alla bet*, *Langra all bet*, *mouza Basera* and *Isra alla Bet* allocated for fishing in the season of 2008-2009.

They have further divided the mainstream river into many smaller fishing grounds on seasonal basis, which appear and disappear with the high and low level of water in the river, is low and many small islands appear in the mainstream.

4.11. Season of Catching Fishing

Most of the fish catch in winter season i.e. the months of November, December, January, February, and March. In these months the flow of water in the river is low and many fishing grounds appear in the river, while in summer months i.e. the months of high flow of water, it is relatively not easy for the *Kehal* to catch fish because many temporary fishing grounds disappear in this season. Moreover, in winter, the demand of fish is greater in the market than in summer season.

According to the regulations imposed by Punjab Fisheries Department, fishing at large scale i.e. by using nets, can be done only in nine months of the year which are from 1st September to 31st may every year.



Plate No.4.8.Man goes with the net, the season of fishing start from the September to April.

In other three months of the year fishing with nets is banned. These months are called as the season of ban or *bandi Da* Season in indigenous language. In these months, however, fishing at non-commercial level with the help of *Kundi* is allowed. Only specific types of fish like *Dhambhra* and *khaga* that eat their own and other fish's eggs and larvae are allowed to be caught in off-season. The type of fish called *Malli* that does not eat the eggs and larva of its own and other fish.

The endangered species, dolphin or Indus Blind Fish, is the only of fish that is banned for fishing in every season. The Fisheries Department, which has its regional in office in Layyah district, makes sure that the ban in off-season is strictly observed. For this purpose, its employees keep on patrolling in the river. *Kehal* follow the ban they do not catch fish with nets in off-season. The contractor neither asks them nor do they do this by their own will. Thus in off-season months, there are no regular fishing expeditions. Most of the times all the *Kehal* sit idle on their on their boats or they repair their nets. They try to catch fish only for their own consumption by putting *Kundi* just near to their households and that also does not come daily. In this season also, the contractor demands fish from them and for this purpose he sends some *Kehal* on expedition to catch fish with *Kundi* at a place where fish has gathered.

During fishing season the fishing activities go on almost daily. However, the month from November to December is the time of extremer fishing activity and the largest amount of fish are caught in these months. From 20 December to the middle of February the weather conditions become severe and it is hard to spend more time inside the cold water. Thus the average production of fish during this period of time is comparatively low. After that from mid February to the end of May, the fishing activity increase again but the production of fish is not comparable to that in the first phase i.e. from November to December.

4.12. Process of Catching Fish

There are two types of fishing trips expeditions in relation to the distance *Kehal* had to cover from their settlements the fishing grounds and the time taken for a particular expedition. These are short or one day trip or expeditions locally called it that take a time period from two days to one week or more. The short or one day expeditions are confined to a limited area of river with in a range of about 5 to 15 kilometers from the present location of the settlement. This area with no fixed boundary has two natural water reservoirs and many seasonal hunting grounds in the main river stream. These fishing grounds are at a distance that *Kehal* can easily manage to reach in their fishing boats, do some fishing and come back to their houses (*Kulies*) with in a time less than 10 to 15 hours.

To cover the area beyond the range of short expeditions the *Kehal* had to go on long expeditions. These long expeditions may extend from two to eight days. Depending upon the distance they had to cover to reach a particular fishing ground. In long expeditions most of the time is spent in reaching the fishing grounds in the fishing boats, while the fish catching process. It self takes only eight to ten hours.

In the beginning of the season i.e. September first week, the *Kehal* first of all install nets on the mouth of two water reservoir, so that the fish inside the reservoir that increased its quantity during the breeding season in last three months can not come out in the open river. These nets remain there till the end of the season on 31st may. The *Kehal* then start with short expeditions in the nearer fishing grounds. Their settlement is located on the

mouth of one of the reservoir so the very first fishing ground for the season is this reservoir.



Plate No.4.9.Fishermen spreading the net before pulling it in the river.

Gradually, they move northwards, southwards, Eastwards (western bank) for their expeditions in the fishing boats while their *Kulies* at same place in the settlement near the village. The expeditions now start getting longer as they have to cover longer distance to reach the next fishing ground. In longer expeditions they try to cover as many fishing grounds as possible in one trip or expeditions. The longest expedition can take from the longest expedition can take from ten to fifteen days, out of which almost half of the time is spent in sailing the fishing boats from one place to another with the end of the longest expedition to the most far off fishing ground one round of expeditions finishes and the *Kehal* start again with the short expedition in the vicinity of the *Kulies*. Thus a circular movement of *Kehal* in their fishing boats continues throughout the fishing season.

The selection of a fishing ground or grounds for expedition is not arbitrary. The *Kehal* follow a set pattern of expedition is not arbitrary. The *Kehal* follow a set pattern of expedition every year. They start with fishing in the reservoirs and gradually move towards four directions till the end of the area under their jurisdiction covering all the

fishing grounds in their way. However if there is any change in this pattern or selection or leaving a particular fishing ground it can come through out two means. Firstly, the *Bhanoti* or *Darugha* inform him about the presence of fish at some particular place in the river the *Bhanoti* or contractor orders *Kahal* to move to that place for fishing on the basis of this information. Secondly, the *Kahal* themselves suggest to the contractor that they can catch greater amount of fish by leaving a particular fishing ground for the time being or fishing twice in it in the same round of expeditions. In any way however the *Bhunntir* and sometime his agents have to be kept aware of the schedule of fishing expedition and it can be followed only by their consent.

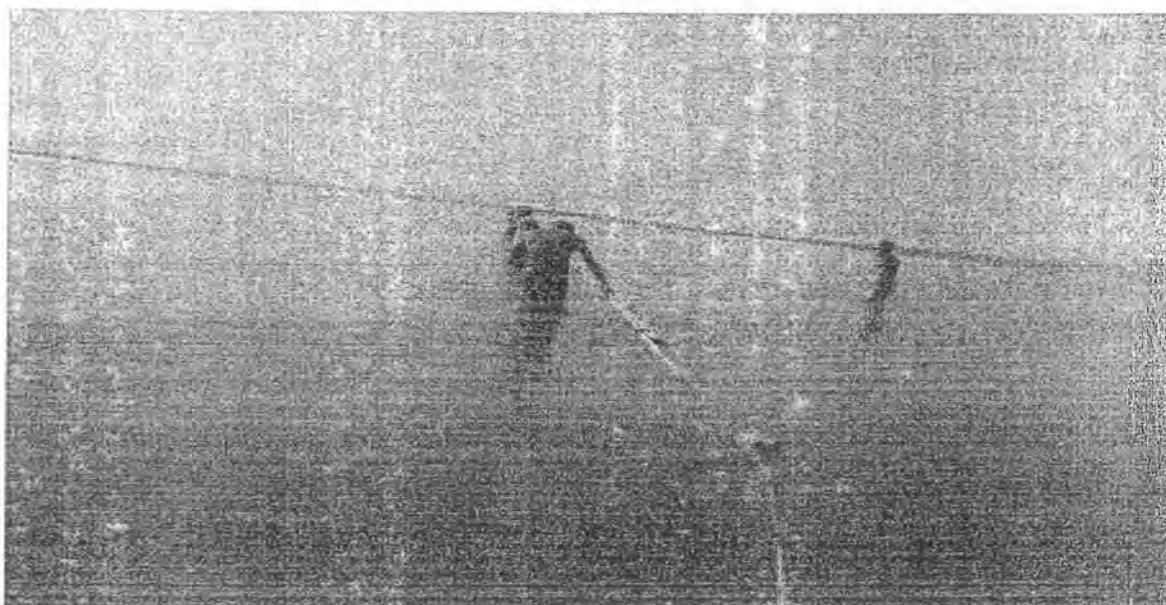


Plate No.4.10.Fishermen are catching fish with the help of net.

Kahal men and children take part in shorter and specially the one day expeditions. Soon as the expeditions become longer, the adult men young boys seven to 15 ages take part in this type to longer trip then they come back in the settlement among women and children. Similarly in shorter expeditions maximum number of boats including both the fishing boats and houseboats or "*Barri*" take part in the expedition, while in longer expedition while in longer expedition only a few fishing boats take part. This is so because it is easier to move small fishing boats to the nearer fishing ground and move them back to the settlement. Those *Kahal* who do not have their own fishing boats join who have own

fishing boats or separately catch fish by *Kur*, nets and *Kundies*. While on longer expeditions, these *Kehal* prefer accompanying some other *Kehal* in their fishing boats than taking their own fishing boats to the expedition of fishing trip.

The *Kehal* do not sail their boats at night they said it is dangerous because of two reasons firstly, the boat may come across a *Ghamargher*, or a water whirl and damage itself. There is a even a disk of sailing the boat in the *Ghamargher*. And secondly there are greater chances of encountering Allah *lok*, the spirits while journeying at night. So the *Kehal* always try to reach a fishing ground either with the appearing of the morning star (i.e. about three or four hours before the sunrise) at the day of fishing or they reach the fishing ground in the evening a day before for short expeditions they start their journey at these times while for long expeditions they may start the journey at any time of day, usually in early hours.



Plate No.4.11.Two setting the wooden beams for catching fish.

At time of starting a journey Ameir Muhammad the head of the one *Kerri*, gets at the *Agal* , the front portion of his boat and asks those who had go on the journey to get ready. He speaks in a high pitched vice to make sure that everybody listens to him. Preparing for an expedition commonly includes loading nets and other equipments of fishing on the fishing on the fishing boats. For longer expeditions they also take with

them the necessary items of consumption, every body brings his own share of these things Radio sets and warm clothes and shawls are also a necessary part of the luggage. For cooking the stoves and utensils are already there in the fishing boats while the firewood is collected from the jungle. This general preparation is accompanied by a noise made by all *Kahal* men and children. They are telling asking advising, suggesting and reminding to each other. Leaving behind this noise the *Kahal* set out for yet another expedition.

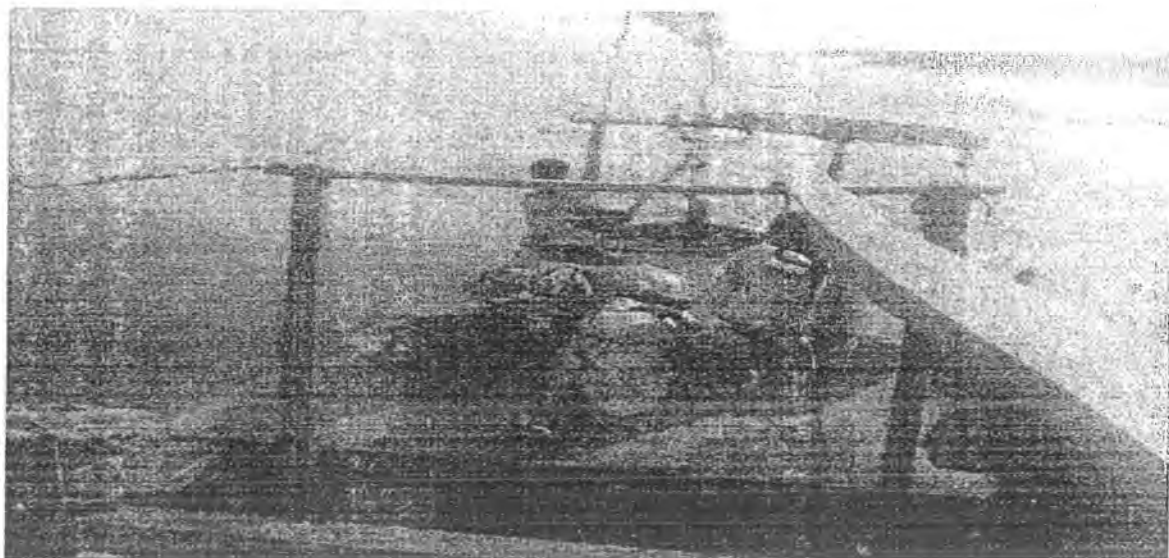


Plate No.4.12.Fishermen is taking rest coming back from the fishing trip.

The process of catching the fish starts with the appearance of the morning star. The *Kahal* reach a particular fishing ground either at the time or in the evening a day before. They have already tied their smaller nets to each other to form two larger net of length equal to the breadth of the water passage these two nets or more than two at two ends of the fishing ground at right angle to the direct ion of flow of water. The distance between two nets depends upon the breadth of the water passage and the number of adult men participating in that particular day's labor. Greater the breadth of the water passage lesser is the distance between two nets. Usually for two hundred meters wide water passage the distance between two nets is kept equal to eight to nine hundred meters.

Putting the nets in the water very early in the morning, first of all they eat gur to warm up their bodies, they starts their work when the stars are still there in the sky. The nets are

kept in the fishing boats and two persons throw them in the water while crossing the water passage at right angle to the direction of its flow. The *Kahal* in this way installs two large nets at some distance from each other. These nets are tied to supports on both sides on the banks. This process takes one to two hours at maximum. After that 8 to 10 men on both ends of the northern net start pulling it towards south in the direction of the flow of water. They pull these nets with the help of long ropes tied to each end of the net. The *Kahal* repeat this process periodically with a rest of 20-25 minutes in between.



Plate No.4.13.Researcher and fisher boy taking tea during the long fishing trip.

The southern end on the other hand, remains in its place. A number of fishing boats are tied to this net throughout its length. Meanwhile, two or three fishing boats remain inside the area between two nets, the men nets are pulled properly. They also provide a means of communication between the *Kahal* on both ends of the net, who are pulling it.

The process of pulling one of the nets goes on throughout the day. It can take from eight to ten hours in its completion depending upon the area they have to cover with their nets and the number communal labors participating in that day's labor. As the two nets come closer to each other the area in which the fish is trapped decreases and the density of fish in this area increases. This results into an increase in the fish catching activity by the young boys, fishing with *Kurh* at the southern net. Eventually when two nets come closer

their ends on one side are tied to each other. Thus forming a single large net with its both ends on the same bank. This net, now, encircles the area of the water locally called it *WallaDdayna* in which the fish is trapped. The *Kehal* pull the net towards the bank now and the fish trapped inside the circle tries to come out and gets caught in the net. If necessary, another net with smaller holes or *Ghar* is also put behind to catch the fish that had escaped from the first net either by jumping over or by tearing it. The nets are then pulled out to the bank and fish trapped in them is taken out and put into large jute bags.

During the whole process, one of the *Bhanoti*'s agents remains with every *Kerri*, the head of the settlement, looking after all the fishing activity. The *Kehal* take break only for prayers lunch and smoking *Hooka*. After lunch (sometime, they do not eat lunch only take tea), they do not any meals before finishing their work rather they take it only after they have handed over the fish to the agents of the *Bhanoti*, the whole process, usually, finishes before sunset, however it can take longer and may finish at 7:00 pm or 8:00pm at night. Whatsoever, they cannot leave the finishing process incomplete; they have to finish it by working continuously, matter what time it takes. Work such as caring the fishing tools nets, *Kur* do young boys while cleaning the tools do the children. Fishing boats sail the children during fishing. Coming back in their tents, they eat meals, chit-chat sing dance; discuss the matter of daily's work etc.

4.13. Process of Fish handed over to the Bhanoti

At the fishing ends, the total amount of fish caught is measured by the *Kehal* themselves in the presence of the *Bhanoti* or his agent, who supervises the whole process of measurement. He also writes down the amount of fish caught in different accounts like that of communal labor and household labor and the names of those who participated in that day's communal labor. The agent also writes the number of fishing boats and nets, which were used in that day's fishing and the names of their owners (hunters).

Meanwhile, some zamindars agents or other local men also arrive there these local men have some prior acquaintance with *Kehal* (*Kehal*'s *lai* dependent on them) and the basis of this, they expect fish from the *Kehal*. They may have acquaintance with the agent but only the *Kehal* can give fish to them and the *Kehal* can only request his for that. The

Kehal then put the fish into large bags or bori and carry these bags on their shoulders or the fishing boat to load them on the vehicle arrives at the nearest possible point to the fishing ground. The agents of Bhnnatri (contractor) then take this fish to the fish market in the city.

4.14. The Accounts for Fish caught

The agents of the contractor maintain account for every *Kehal*'s household. There are two types of entries in these accounts. Firstly, the amount of fish that the *Kehal* catch for the contractor through communal labor and household labor and secondly, the amount loans and credits that the *Kehal* receive from the contractor in different forms, for different purposes and on different occasions. At the end of every month, the contractor do all the calculations and tell the *Kehal* whether their loans had increased, decreased or remain in their accounts.

The *Kehal* are in an unwritten agreement with the contractor, according to which they contractor, according to which they get rupees per Kg for the total amount of fish, they catch for the contractor. According to the agreement or *Bhanoot* the contractor has to assure them that no other party cannot fish in the river of this river on commercial basis while, *Kehal* assure to the contractor that they will not sell the fish to other person or party.

The contractor maintains their records in the register about the total fishing activity. This includes,

1. The member of expenses in a month and their days and dates.
2. The names of those *Kehal* who participated in communal labor.
3. The names of those households that participated in fishing usually the name of head of the family.
4. The number of boats and nets used in communal fishing and the names of their owners.
5. The total amount of fish caught in an expedition.
6. The amount of fish caught through communal labor.
7. The amount of fish caught by every household separately.

The records in these different accounts are maintained on daily basis. At the end of every month, the contractor's against do all the calculations on the basis of this record.

4.15. Sharing System

There is sharing system in these crew groups. This share system also varies according to the type of net and boat used by the crew groups. There can be three possible shares in the fish catch. They are 1. Owner of the net and boat. 2 laborers who have no own boat. 3 captains. The total amount for fish caught through communal labor as well as by individual household are written in their accounts straight way. While the money for the fish caught through communal labor is divided into two equal parts. One portion goes for the boats used in that day's labor and the other portion is equally divided on the men and boats that participated in that days labor. Money is divided equally for larger and smaller nets as well as for the larger and smaller nets as well as for the larger and smaller boats and younger and older men.

4.16. Division of Labor in Crew Groups

Every crew group consists of two types of people who are called captain, laborer. They are distinguished according to the nature of their work and the tasks assigned to them. Different types of roles and the nature of their work is described as below. Captain is the leader of his crew group. A good captain needs a disciplined crew but he also needs to be friendly with those who work with them. During fishing expedition the relationship between captain and his crew members tends to be authoritarian and rigid one. Good captain always gets stable crew members and decide to catch fish independently. He also negotiates with his crew members in times of difficulty. He has full decision making power. He decides where they should go and catch fish. He keeps in mind the weather and location of fish, based on his previous experiences. He makes very close observations of water and depth of the river. He also shares his daily fishing experiences with other fishermen because there are obvious benefits of cooperation with them. In that way he can get information about fish migration that he could not acquire on his own expedition. He mostly gets two or three shares. He has also high social status and is respected by the community people. One can become captain not on the basis of his age but due to one's sharp foresight and great practical experience and skill. Laborers do different types of

works while fishing in the river. They mostly set and draw the nets from water. They oil boats, repair the nets, cook food and clean food pots. And such other types of manual works are done by them.

4.17. The Bhanoot Extended For Different Purposes

The only source of loans for the *Kehal*, outside their community, is the *Bhanoti*. They also take loans from each other but only in small amounts often less than one or two hundred rupees. Such loans are given only in the time of dire need for a short period of three to five days. The loan from the contractor does not only come in form of cash (cash money in case of emergency) but it also comes in the form of consumable goods, the services of *Pirs*, kamies and the nets and boats.

4.17.1. Purchasing the Food items

The *Kehal* purchase their food items on week or before the week. The food items include pulses, sugar, gur, floor, ghee, rice, tobacco, tea etc. they buy these entire things from the shops in nearby village *Shinah Walla*. The contractor orders the shopkeepers open the account of *Kehal*. Four *Kerrie's* buy commodities of life from these shops even clothes, shoes etc. The contractor has specified these shops for them and they take food items from here without any immediate payment. These shopkeepers have maintained separate accounts for every *Kehal* household and he is paid by the contractor or his agent writes these payments, in the accounts of *Kehal* with the contractor.

In case of long trip of fishing and baskets they buy the food items for fifteen days or more than fifteen days all *Kehal* are illiterate and never check their accounts therefore their accounts on the will of shopkeeper. I observed when *Kehal* buy things, shopkeepers overcharge on per kg according to the rate of present market rate. *Kehal* do not know but their God knows. One *Kehal* told me with a sigh, we can make progress only by education.

4.17.2. Medical Treatment

The contractor has specified a clinic in the village, run by a dispenser, for the treatment of villagers and also *Kehal*. The *Kehal* can get treatment for diseases from this clinic without any payment. The contractor pays this dispenser for their treatment at the end of every month and this money is written in their accounts with the contractor. However the

treatment at this clinic is not always satisfactory. The *Kehal* have to visit government hospital or MBBS doctors in the city in case of serious disease or complications in delivery. They need money for that and for buying medicine. So they ask the contractor for money. The contractor gives them loan after deep scrutiny about the seriousness of disease and the requirements.

4.17.3. Boats and Nets

All the boats and nets that the *Kehal* have are their own property. The boats are manufactured at the bank of the river. The *Ghatro* (carpenter) is a native of the same area. He manufactures boats with a team of his helpers. A houseboat of thirty-five and a half feet size costs from sixty thousand to seventy thousand rupees depending upon the quality of wood used in its construction the wood and the other equipment for making a boat is arranged by the carpenter himself. It takes from three to four months for making a houseboat and a little lesser time for making of a fishing boat.

If a *Kehal* feels that he needs a fishing boat or nets, he goes to the contractor and requests him for that. The contractor then ordered to *Ghatro* to make a boat for that *Kehal* and pays him in the form of small installments.

The *Kehal* buy the fishing equipments such as nets and ropes from the Multan city when nets are needed by some *Kehal*, he demands money for that from the contractor. The contractor does not give money directly to the *Kehal*, despite; he sends one of his agents with him to that particular shop, for buying the nets and ropes.

4.17.4. Marriage and other Ceremonies

The ceremonies arranged at circumcision and marriage involves a celebration of equal magnitude. In fact, the native term for circumcision, *turhawa* itself reveals the similarities between the marriage celebration and the celebrations on the occasion of concussion. The *Kehal* invite all their relatives, who are also *Kehal* on marriages as well as on the occasion of circumcision. The ceremony continues for two days. A sitting arrangement on the Island is done by brining *shamiana* and *Dari* from the village. A professional cook or *Nai* is arranged from the nearby village for cooking the meals for the guests. Similarly, they also invite the *Miarsi* (Drumbeater) from a neighboring village. The main entertainment on the *Kehal* marriage is watching movies on CD, so they also arrange for

it from some video center in the city or the neighboring villages. They arrange *chowmki*, a programmed of singing and dancing.

The contractor pays to all these people the shopkeeper, the *Nai*, the drumbeater, the video centre owner and the *Molvi* for *nikah*. Dowry is not very common among the *Kehal* only a few items like a metal box called *trung*, and a few clothes, and utensils are given to the bride. Besides this the contractor also gives some cash money to the households of the groom and the bride for the marriage.

Dowry is not very common among the *Kehal* only a few item like a metal box called *Trung*, and a few clothes, and utensils are given to the bride. In some cases the bride's family gives a few ornaments of silver to her. They collect these items over a period of time. An amount of money for *Haq Mehr* is orally mentioned before three eyewitnesses. The ratio of divorces is very low in the community because of endogamy and exchange marriages.

At the end of a marriage ceremony, when all the guests are about to leave, they gather near the *kuli* of the groom's father. He presents before them the calculations about all the expenses of marriage. The total amount is then divided on the number of married men who attend the ceremony. These married men, termed as *nikah* for this article purpose, contribute their share of money instantly after marriage and give the total amount to the father of the groom. Commonly, the share of the *nikah* is between fifty to hundred rupees its called "*Neendar*" gift in the form of cash money).

4.18. Total Production of Fish

The total production of fish for a day depends upon a particular fishing ground, the number of laborers and the number of boats and nets used in that day's fishing. In the months of season it may range from 15 to 20 kilograms per day. While in off season months the fishing activity is almost zero. The amount mentioned above is the sum of the amount caught through communal labor and household labor; however the greater amount of fish comes from the communal labor.

There are several different types of fish caught by these *Kehal* such as fish like *SinGhura* (Macrones Do) and *Dhambhra* are sold at very high prices in the market, sometimes as

high as 250 rupees per kg. No such differentiation is made while writing the amount of fish in the accounts *Kehal*. They are paid equally for all types of fish; they catch, with a ratio of 30 rupees per kg. This ratio was set only one year ago after many years of pleading by the *Kehal* before the contractor. Before that, this ratio used to 30 rupees per kg. To set this ratio is strictly a matter between the *Kehal* and the contractor. They government, the fisheries department or any other part has never interfered in that neither the *Kehal* have ever dared to ask anybody for interference.

In the off season months the production of fish is very little because legally the *Kehal* cannot fish with net due to restrictions by the government. However, occasionally the contractor sends some *Kehal* to some particular fishing ground to catch fish with *Kundi* the contractor orders such expedition on the basis of his information that fish has gathered at a particular place.

The *Kehal* prefer staying in their temporary tents or houseboats than going out for fishing with *Kundi* because the chances for fish with the *Kundi* are very low. However, if they are able to catch fish in surplus to their own consumption needs, this fish belongs to the contractor even in off season. The *Kehal* can not sell this fish on their own for themselves. Instead they have to hand it over to the agents of the contractor who visit them almost daily in their settlement.

In season as well as in off season many people from the adjoining villages and the city visit the *Kehal* to buy fish, because it is fresh there. According to the rules the *Kehal* can sell the fish to these people on market rates, but they have to give this money to the agent of the contractor. The agent then write down the amount of money with a ratio of 1500 rupees per kg for the total amount of fish sold. If any *Kehal* breaks this rule and sells the fish whether in season or in off season with out the knowledge of the agents, he has to pay the find.

The *Kehal* generally do not break this rule. There have been only five cases for last one year in which five young *Kehal* men were caught selling fish on different occasions. However, the elder *Kehal* including Ghazi *Kehal* and others members of *wadra sangat*, requested the contractor to forgive them and not to fine them. Thus they were not finding.

The large amount of fine 1500 rupees/kg on selling fish illicitly is in fact, a pressure device to discourage *Kehal* from doing that, than being practically applicable.

4.19. Payments of Fishing

The process of catching fish from the river involves a combination of several things. These are, firstly the presence of fishing grounds, secondly, the labor force and thirdly the fishing equipment like boats and nets. The last two belong to the *Kehal* as they are themselves the labor force and the nets and boats are their own property. However, the third thing i.e. the fishing grounds which comprise of the whole area of the river, legally does not belong to them. In *Kehal* worldview, although, it is a natural asset and should belong to the people who inhabit it. Instead of that a third person i.e. the contractor, who has nothing to do with the river has got all the rights of fishing in it. This person, the contractor, appropriates the maximum share from the total production of fish.

The money for the total amount of fish caught through communal labor is divided on the laborers, the boats and the nets that participated in the day's labor. It is divided in a way that those households that have greater number of household labor, fishing nets and boats, get the maximum share. Moreover such household are able to catch greater amount of fish at household's level as well, because of the availability of two or more fishing boats. Thus they get greater share of money in their accounts in this way too.

Case Study No.2

Name: Mohammad Ashraf

Age: 35 years

Literary status: Nil

Marital status: Married

Amount of loan: 7000

Reason of loan: Sickness of son

Duration of contract: One year

One of respondent Mr. Ashraf was 35 years old. His mainly work is fish catching. He said, my son was patient of asthma. He went for his cure at many shrines but no avail. He went to village *Hakeem*, he gave the medicine of fever but my son was not the patient of fever. Consequently, he reached in serious condition and I had to go to city

for his medicine. I got money from contractor of fish without any fixing the price of fish as per kg, in the season of fishing he purchased fish from me at the price of 18 rupees per kg. Our contract (*Bhanoot*) was one year after one year could not pay the loan. So contract had been prolonged. We work for contractor not ourselves.

Case Study No.3

Name: Mohammad Ghfoor

Age: 25 year

Literary status: Nil

Marital status: Married

Amount of loan: 5000

Reason of loan: Purchasing of fishing tools

Duration of loan: Three year

One of key informants Mohammad Ghfoor was 25 years old. He said, I lived with parents due to household quarrels my father separated me. I began to live with my family in my huts isolated. I had to need of some fishing tools. He requested from my father that give me some money but no avail. Consequently, I had to take loan from contractor of fish. He gave me 5000 for purchasing fishing nets. I went to Multan for purchasing the fishing equipment. He said to me with sigh that contractor gave me payment at this condition that he will return this money in the form of fish within three years and fixes the price of fish 18 rupees as per kg. Ghfoor is very happy that now he had new equipment of fishing, no matter what price he will have to pay. Now, he and his son 7 year old catching fish for earning livelihood for his family.

Case study No.4

Name: Katu

Age: 50 year

Literary status: Nil

Marital status: Married

Amount of loan: 17000

Reason of loan: Marriage of son and daughter

Duration of loan: Two years

One of respondent named Katu said to me, that I have to marry my son and daughter. I had a need of money to give dowry my daughter and other expenses of marriage. So, I took loan from contractor. Contractor gave me loan, at the condition that you have to pay this debt in the form of fish. He was fixing the price of fish as per Kg in advance at the rate of 18 rupees. After marriage my son became the patient of cancer. In this situation I had to take another loan from the same contractor. He gave me loan but this time the terms and condition of loan was different. The contractor address to me in harsh tone and said the price of fish as per Kg will be 12 rupees. Another condition was that if I left the area of this fishing then you have to join other contractor, he will give me your loan. I accepted all his terms and conditions due to compulsion the sickness of my son. New contractor worked with us two year. At the end he escaped from this area without paying our rest of payment except loan. Katu said to me, with sigh "that in domes day our Allah return this money in double and he will go to hell because he sucked our blood".

4.20. Proverbs

Proverbs have an important cultural significance in the fisherman community of *Kahal*.

In Oxford Advance Learners Dictionary proverb defines as;

"A well known phrase or sentence that gives advice or says something that is generally true".

(Oxford Dictionary, 2005:1215)

These proverbs are also the part of indigenous knowledge which is transferred from one generation to the next. People quote these proverbs in their daily life and even in deciding their problems. They them to support their views or ideas about the social issues or natural phenomena. Some of the important often used by the fishermen are given as below.

4.20.1. Fishing is caught with God's will

These people believe that God is the supreme authority who controls every living and non living thing of the whole universe. They think that if someone is catching fish in a short time and in great amount then it is because of the fact God is happy with him. Many fishermen who go to the river for catching fish, some times return empty handed. But many times they catch fish within a few hours in a very large number. They also believe that it is because of God's will that fish is caught so easily in their nets.

4.20.2. He is a man but not a fish

This proverb is often used by this fishermen community in their every day conversation. They also quote it their formal or informal meetings. These people think that fish lives in water and satisfies its food needs from the river. Fish can go whenever it wants to. In comparison to fish, man not only needs food but it has many other desires to fulfill. He has certain belief system and social and mental fulfillments which make his way of life totally different from fish.

4.20.3. God gives food to every fisherman

These people are happy with their fishing occupation instead of the problems created by the government and natural conditions. It is the firm belief of these people that they can never remain hungry until this river is full of water resources. They think that fishermen who are poor have also equal access to these river resources. God provides them food in the form of fish. They consider fish as the beauty of nature. These people look never disappointed and face every challenge of life in brave manner. They consider fishing as the dangerous occupation but according to them God is there to help in difficult situations

4.20.4. First fish is not the last fish

Where these fishermen go to the river to catch fish they look always optimistic about their fishing success. The first fish which is caught in the net makes them happy. They believe that the beginning of success and it develops further hope in them for catching more fish. If any of the crew members says that it is the last fish then he is admonished and scolded by the crew leader.

4.21. Local Version of Symbolic Representation of the River

The river is one of the greatest gifts of nature to these people. The tides, deepness and beauty of the river are the source of attraction for these people. It provides livelihood in shape of fish to the millions of fishermen across the world. It is full of ample and moribund resources. If we look at the river from historical perspective, we find that it has been worshiped by many peoples of the ancient world. In addition to this it has remained main source of food for the people.

People who are living very close to the river look at it beyond its obvious existence. They attach different meanings to it. They use various metaphorical representations due to its varied functions. River is symbolically represented in different forms by the people of *Kahal* community. It has been described as below.

4.21.1. River is our mother

These people also resemble river with mother. According to my respondents as mother gives milk to their children so similarly river gives its milk in shape of fish to these fishermen and that is why they call themselves as children of river. They also say that child depends on his mother for only limited period of time but they rely on river for whole of their lives. It is the river which gives them food and caters their economic needs. They show great respect and reverence to it because of these emotional attachments.

4.21.2. River is our king

These people often consider river as their king. They think that as king has full power and authority to decide what he should do, so similarity these fishermen when go to river, they remain there at its mercy. Its deep bottom, powerful tidal currents and strength leave these fishermen important. They call fishing as very dangerous occupation, full of risks and threats to their life. When they are in the sea they consider themselves as very tiny things in such a big and awful world. The metaphor of king also shows the submission of fishermen to its powers and strength.

4.21.3. River is our Land

These people consider river as their land. They think that as farmers work in land and it yields crops to them, so like that we also toil in the river and get the crops in the form of fish. They also think that as different seasons of the year. When farmer plants seeds in the fields then he waits until they are ripen and then harvests them. So similarly in the month of May and June fish lays eggs in river, then these people do not fishing for at least two months of June and July. They think that small fish should grow and increase in number and when they become older, then they should go there and catch them.

4.21.4. River becomes Young

These people interpret river not in the terms of its age but in the context of its power and strength. June River becomes young with great vigor and vitality. During these days it has great force and becomes uncontrollable for these fishermen. According to my key informant Mohammad Ghafoor "many of the worse accidents occur during these days". That is why people often avoid going for fishing in these months. While in other Months River remains calm and serene. Officially, government also bans fishing in these two months.

4.22. Taboos

Taboos are basically about the prohibited acts or things which people are prevented to do in their daily life. These acts differentiate between right and wrong or good and bad. They are considered as ingredients of one's culture. People consider these taboos as guiding principles for their life. They have specific meanings and their use is greatly emphasized by the members of the society. Following taboos are strongly observed by the people of this fisherman community.

4.22.1. Prohibition of Slippers or Shoes on Boats and Nets

These people fishing occupation as sacred one and slippers or shoes are thought to be impure or polluted things in their culture. A true fisherman will never wear them when going to river to catch fish. It is their firm belief that polluted things should never be mixed with pure one. They consider fishing as the source of their livelihood, as fish is considered as important part of their life. So these people when go to river in any season, whether it is summer or winter, always are bare footed. If any fisherman wears them on boat or put them on nets, then he is strongly criticized and admonished. They always keep nets at safe places that no one might touch them with his feet.

4.22.2. Not to throw litter in river

These people never throw any polluted or rotten things in the river water. They think that if any fisherman would cast away such things in water then it will get polluted and become harmful for the fish. When these people go to open river on very long expeditions, they catch small fish in great number. Then they do not throw it back in

water but take them back to bank of the river and place it in open land. They say that if we throw these things in water then they will create pollution in the river and fish will move away from that area. So because of these bad consequences, throwing of unwanted things creates problems and therefore it is strongly prohibited by the fishermen.

4.22.3. Ill Person should not go on fishing expedition

Crewmen going to the river on their fishing expedition are very careful about the health of their members. If any of the crew members, whether he is laborer or captain, does not feel well then they do not take him to river. According to these people health has great impact on the success or failure of fishing expedition and the size of fish catch. As fishing is considered very strenuous and hardworking occupation so they always prefer healthy members. It is a great rule of the crew that if one of its members does not go to fishing expedition because of his health problem then he is given his due share. They also said that if ill person goes with them then he creates a lot of problems for other crew men. That is why they think that he should remain at home and take rest.

4.22.4. People do not go to the river on some special days

There are certain days when fishing in the river is not considered as good by this fishermen community. They believe that if any fisherman who goes to catch fish on these days may face bad consequences. They always tell various stories related to different accidents in the river about the people who go on these days. These days are 27th of *Ramzan*, 7th to 10th *Moharam*, *Eid* ceremonies, Friday and the day of death of any family member or close relative of the fisherman. According to my respondents and key informant Ghulam Ghazi "these days signify the religious and ethical importance of such occasions for these people". However in some cases poor fishermen go to river to catch fish. This fish catching is not for the purpose of any financial gain but is done for catching their food needs.

4.23. Role of Women in the Household Economy

Every society assigns certain roles to males and females. These roles become more significant in the domain of production, because the most important role of a society is the fulfillment of the biological needs of its members.

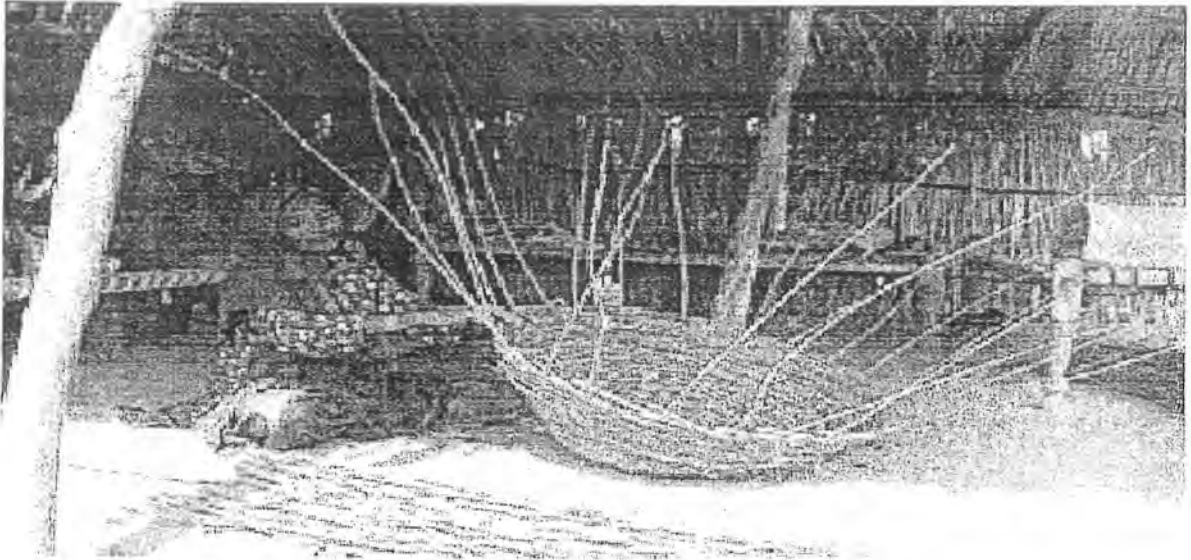


Plate No.4.14.A woman is making basket in her hut.

In traditional societies where there is an extensive need for labor force, men and women perform specialized roles. In the Indo- Pakistan sub-continent, traditional societies needed a large human force, especially when it was not mechanized. Hence we find role specification of men and women in the agricultural societies of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In this part of chapter, I will mention the specified roles women play in the community which is a typical community in transition like other communities of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Like all the fishermen communities in the world, women of *Kehal* community are also playing vital role in the economic endeavors. The women's role is very important at domestic level. The role of women in economic organization can be divided into four parts which further clarify the importance in economy setup in the Indus River.

4.23.1. Domestic Activities

"As a folk concept domestic refers to those activities associated with the households further more it can note female activities, more than male activities".

(Bender, 1967: 70)

And a domestic group is a group of relatives who normally share a residence. The household usually acts to fulfill the functions of providing food and shelter and bringing

up the children. In a household all members share the activities. From centuries women have their domain in the home. Even after the changes which have materially affected the role of women at home remains the sole sphere of women activities.

4.23.2. Daily Activities

Following are the household activities performed by women. Cleaning of huts is always the responsibility of females, particularly the girls of the family within the age group of ten to fifteen years. Sweeping and dusting is always done just after sunrise. Cooking is done in two to three phases' breakfast especially in summer, launch, and dinner. Early in the morning the first task by them is the kneading of the flour so that a good *rootli* can be made. After breakfast lunch is cooked. Lunch takes place at 12 o'clock. *Rooties* are baked on *tanoor* in summer season. During winter *roties* are baked on *tava*. For dinner the routine is same like lunch. After breakfast and cleaning of house, utensils are washed. Although dishes are washed after every meal, the number of pots in the morning is larger. The washing of utensils is also the responsibility of young girls of the family. In some houses some middle aged women do this job themselves because they do not have girls of their own to handle this task. Clothes are washed daily in all households of the village. It is also responsibility of young girls of the family. Young children change clothes daily. This huge bundle of clothes is washed by young girls and also women. Mostly families have seven to eight children. Mother could not look after a large number of children so she takes help from elder children. Young females often carry their brothers and sisters.

4.23.3. Agricultural Activities on Seasonal Basis

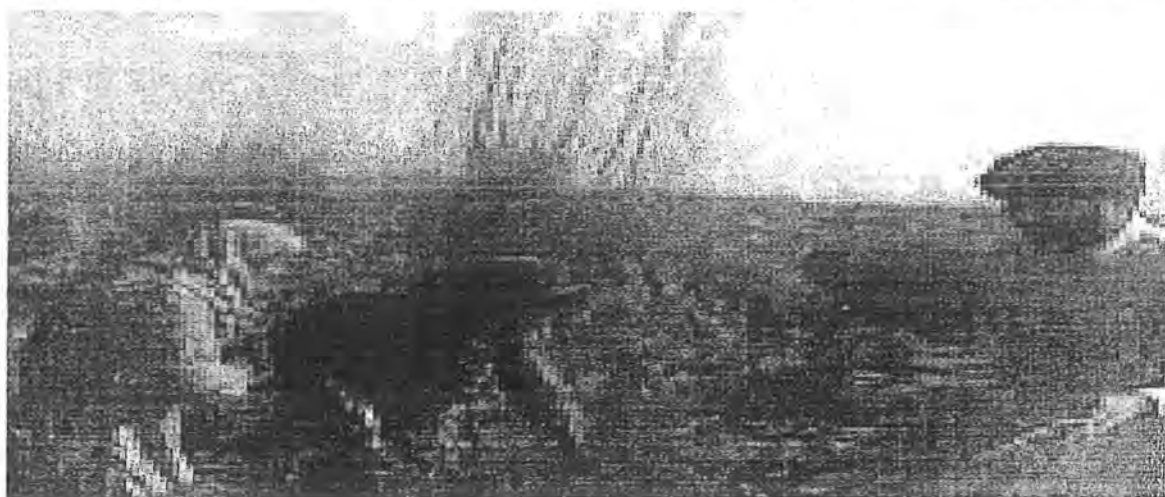
For agricultural activities, females go with their partners for sowing and reaping of crops. They also help them in harvesting of crops. Without women it is impossible for men to run the household expenses, by harvesting the crop these women almost stock the grain. So females prove their importance in many fields which show they are unavoidable.

Baisakh (Apr 15 to May 15) is considered the most hectic month of a farmer's calendar. Wheat harvesting begins in this month. *Kehal's* women free from baskets weaving so they harvest the wheat crops of farmers on the basis of reciprocity. This month brings intensive work for women; especially these women have to spend ten to twelve hours a

day in the fields so as to fully participate in the harvesting. Old ladies unable to do the handwork in the field, with the assistance of children usually prepare meals. Women were reported to work hard and fast to finish this tough job as soon as possible as they have to look after their houses, too. For this work women wear loose and old clothes because they tear when soaked with sweat and dust. These activities are rarely connected with market economy. The work that women do is for subsistence, entirely for their own families.

4.23.4. Collection of Lai Plants from the river delta

For weaving baskets women also collect bushes and branches of *lai* plants. They selected the area of *lai* plants on permission of local zamindars. Often the *Kehal* women work for zamindars in return of *lai* plants. They cut the branches and carry big loads of it on their shoulders to their huts. These branches are dried in the sun and their leaves are removed. They neatly cut the dried branches into small pieces and make small bundles of branches.



**PlateNo.4.15. Researcher is participating of cutting the Lai plant with
Kehal women**

Before making the baskets branches are wet in the water. This work usually done by girls while young girls and women making the baskets.

Case Study No.5

Name: Khamesan

Age: 50 year

Literary status: Nil

Marital status: Widow

One of my respondents *Mai Khamesan* said to me, I have four sons and one daughter. Three sons and one daughter are married and living with their families. My younger son is twelve years old. I am old therefore not fully capable for collecting the *Lai* plants. My elder son offered me that you live with us because you are old. *Khamesan* said to me I do not like rely on others especially daughter-in-laws. I like that I should earn my bread and butter my own hands so we have to face many difficulties for earning livelihood. First I and my younger son visit many *Zamindars* for asking about the area of *Lai*. *Zamindars* are not willing to giving us field of the *Lai* plant. One *Zamindar* named *Haji Khan* Give permission to us for cutting the *Lai*, on this condition that you and your son collect my mustard field of two acre. We worked two weeks but at the end he gave us a flat refusal that I will use this *Lai* my personal use of *Bhatta* I and my son are helpless. We are not such a position that we take any action against this *Zamindar*. Now, our case in the court of Allah Almighty. Our Allah one day punished him but when? Baskets making is our own source of livelihood.

4.23.5. The Basket Weaving

Both fishing and basket making are the main source of income in the *Kehal* economy. Despite the fact that their importance has been tended to decrease they constitute the main portion of the *Kehal* subsistence. Their importance is evident by the fact that more than half of the year is being spent in this activity. Here a short account of them is given in the following.

Both women and children remain busy in the basket making after the gathering and collecting *Li* or *Kanbhs*. It is responsibility of women asking the *Lai* from local *Zamindars*. After asking the field of *Lai*, both women and female children cutting the *Lai*, clean the *Lai*, carry it from one place to another usually do this work children and young girls. They cutting the *Lai* till ten days to fifty days then they began to weave baskets.

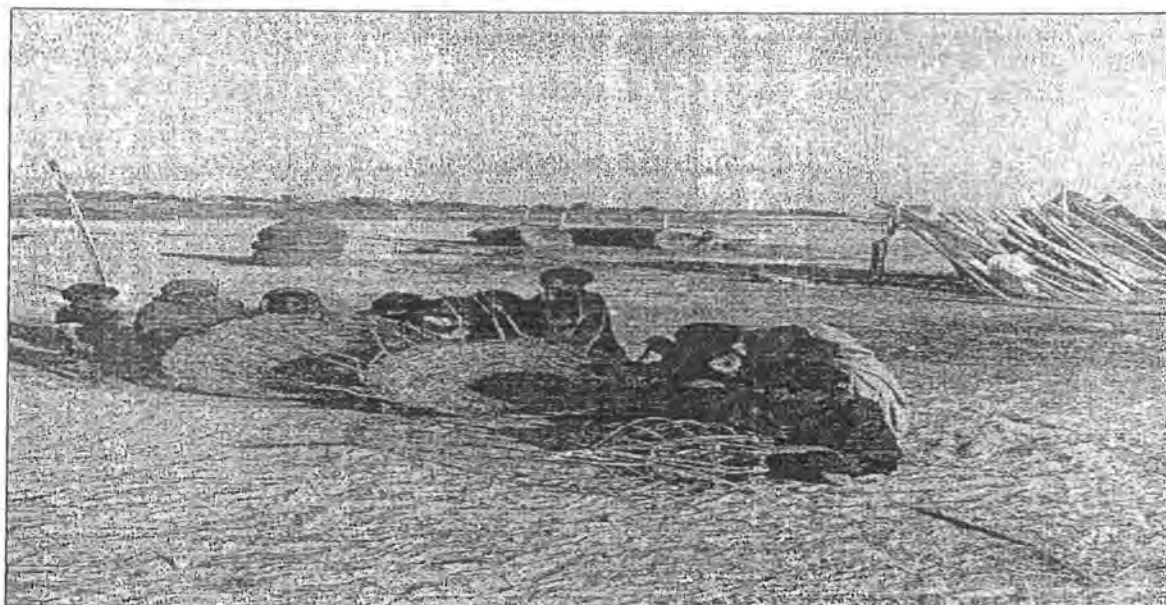


Plate No.4.16.Children are making baskets with Lai plants

First of all, they put the *Lai* in the water two to three hours, then women and young girls sit in front of their *Kulies* and make the basket while children carry the *Lai* from water to the place of baskets making. Women and young girls instruct their children that how to make the basket. Usually a woman or young girls make the basket from the beginning while the rest of work done the children herself. Children from five to eleven years old look busy in this work. The training duration from one year to two years.

My key informants Nasim Mai told me that children work very well and produce more baskets. Both women and children weave the baskets from morning to evening only the break of lunch. They prepare various kind and size of the baskets. But, the general classification is of two types. one is called the *Tookra* i.e. the big size of basket used to engage the hens or to put things under it for safety, while they other is called *Tookri* i.e. the small size of basket used in the daily work and put fruits etc. yet, some very small size of basket are also made for the children. But they usually make or weave basket in order to sell the baskets differently but, at the occasion for their sale, the whole *Kehal* community handed over the *Bhanoti* or contractor.

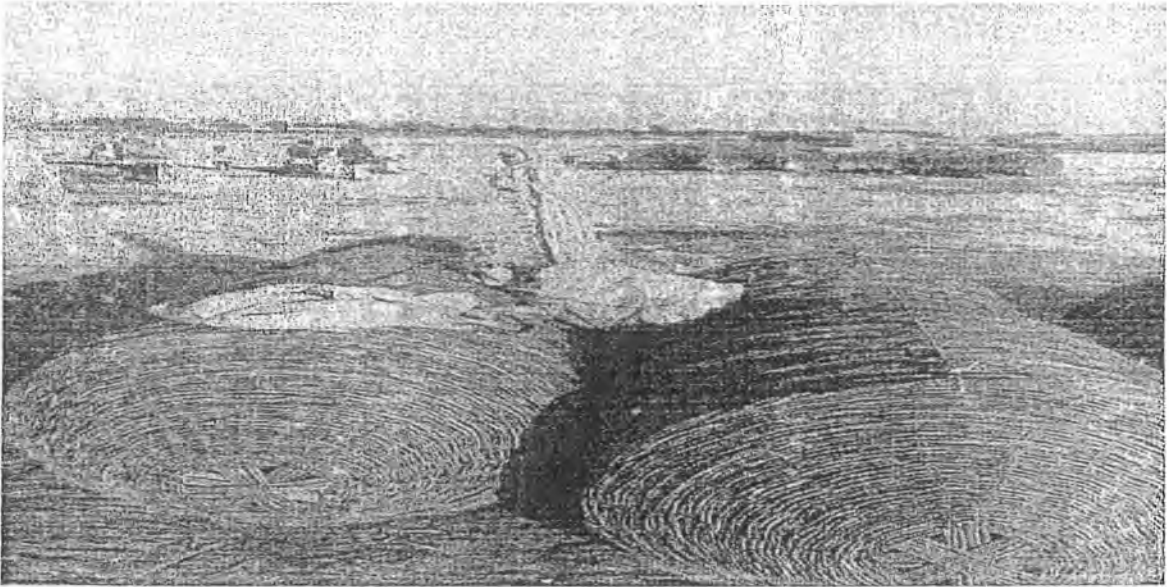


Plate No.4.17.Finishes baskets goods are ready for supply

Number of Baskets made by every household. How many baskets make a women per day rely on *Lai* but production of baskets was 5 baskets as per day. Every family produces 300 to 500 baskets in a season. They do not sell their baskets in the market but make a *Bhanoot* in every season, fixed the price of baskets and number of baskets in a season and furthermore they have to fulfill the "*Mall*" baskets in a targeted time otherwise price of baskets decrease. All of the women informed me that we give the baskets in time. In last year, two families not in a position that they give basket in time so, other women cooperate with them. Therefore, they saved from "*Chati*" means double number of baskets.

Case Study No.6

Name: Bashran

Age: 30 year

Literary status: Nil

Marital status: Married

Reason of loan: Ornaments

Amount of loan: 1500

Duration of loan: One year

One of my respondents Bashran Mai said to me, she is widow and four children, three girls and one boy. She informed me that my sisters went to marriage ceremony of our relatives where they lost the silver ornaments that I borrowed from villager's woman. She demanded her ornaments. So we have to take loan from *Bhanoti* to fulfill this loss. He gave us loan but fixing the price of baskets in advance as per twelve rupees. we work from dawn to dusk, but in return got very little money in a season that is not enough for our family. When there is no season of baskets we have to get money in advance from *Bhanoti*, he fixed the price of baskets according to his own will. She told me I know each and everything but in off-season we have no money to eat. We have to remain hunger. Our life like slaves, we work for others (*Bhanoti*).

Case Study No.7

Name: Pari Mai

Age: 25 year

Literary status: Nil

Marital status: Married

Reason of Loan: Damage of baskets

Amount of loan: 2500

Duration of loan: One and half year

One of my respondents named Pari said to me,. with a sigh that recently she gave baskets to contractor but contractor was not willing to give payment. I went her house three times but he told me that his *Mall* (baskets) were damaged, and not sold not in the market, now you should accept half payment of baskets. She told me it is not our responsibility either basket sold in the market or not. I have to take loan from *Bhanoti*. He gave us advance payment as a loan but not return our previous payment.

4.24. The Principles of Kehal Economy

Like the marring society the *Kehal* social system works on three types of opposition that is mainly: sharing, exchange and commerce. These three opposition are so much significant and regularity because of their principal role in the social reproduction. They constitute the basic terms for the creation of different forms of relatedness.

Sharing is basically the concern of intra-kerri relationship. We can observe it in the sharing of food, hunting, rights in women property, fishing etc. in short; it structures all the basic relations of the intra-kerri level. It also regulates the daily affairs of the *Kehal* life; while on the other hand, exchange is the relationship between different Kerries and local groups. Thus affine exchanges in the *Kehal* society perform two main functions. One, it defines the difference between different Kerries and local groups, and the other, it does simultaneously unify them by the rules of reciprocity. Actually, the principle of exchange has an overwhelming position in the *Kehal* social life. The reproduction of Kerries and local groups seem impossible without an extensive network of exchange. Commerce is the relationship between the *Kehal* people and outsiders, that is, those who do not participate in the kinship of sharing and exchange. Commerce as a social antedates contact with the peasant population or the urban people. *Kehal* people are always engaged in the trade of baskets and fishing. What is now significant is that commerce is becoming more important with passing years and is part and product of the incremental commercialization of *Kehal* local economy.

Chapter No. 5

Summary and Conclusion

According to Saraiki Dictionary written by Mohammad Saad Ullah Khan Khitran the word "*Kehal*" means a fisherman, people who keeps on moving from one place to another. *Kehal*, the ancient riverine people, who since the dawn of human civilization have sought livelihood from this broad, freshwater artery (line) which runs through almost the entire length of this country like a gigantic python, feeding all on its way as a mother feeds her children. Dusky to brown and sun-burnt in complexion, the *Kehal* stand guard on their river boats, watching the rippling (waves) currents, mud banks of the river Indus. uncomb hair, beards and in appearance, walrus mustached while the vibrant youth has athletic, muscular bodies. The river runs in the blood of these true sons of the soil and they know the mighty river Indus inside out.

They follow the river upstream and downstream but never give it up such is their nomadic nature. Their mother tongue is Saraiki. They are followers of *Imam Shafi*. *Kehal* community settles on the eastern bank of the Indus River. This community living in village *Shinah Walla*, Layyah. The rise and fall of the Indus River affects on their settlement, social, economic and cultural life of the *Kehal* community.

The *Kehal* lead a nomadic life. They migrate from one place to another according to the fishing contract and availability of *Lai* plants. There are four *Kerries* (band like) in this community. These *Kerries* have different name according to their forefather. They have strong inter-community relationship. They marry in own *Kerries* . in *Kehal* community early age marring is common. In this community different form of have exist such as *Watta Satta*, *Allah Nami*, *Ghar Jamatra*, *Taka* etc. but common of marriage is *Watta Satta* (exchange marriage).

Their rituals of death are particular that not exist in other communities. For instance, they give the *Kafen* of *Lai* plants to children those who die before adulthood and buried at the bank of the river. The unique thing in this community is *Janati Dam* it means offering funeral prayer before death by

Maingee (traditional *Molvi*). *Kahal* food pattern is eating of tortoise is common while this thing consider taboo in other communities. They are the followers of Imam Shafi and according to Fiqah of Imam the tortoise is Halal. Their political structure is very strong in the community. A *Wadran de Sangat* (council of elders) handle all the matters, such as quarrels, theft, economically etc. this comprise eight members two from each *Kerries*. The head of this community called *Bhag Wand*.

Ritualistic performances and ceremonies are other major focus of my study that these rituals incorporate individuals, giving them a common group identity and show the cultural integrity. Fishing communities have rich cultures where we can find considerable number of such rituals related to their occupation and every day life. I have tried to explore the implicit meanings and functions of such rituals in fishermen community of *Kahal*. I have looked at this from anthropological aspect that how these people conceive them from the local point of view.

Due to living near the Indus River since decades there have been developed a close relationship between people and their environment. These people can not be separated from their social, cultural, religious and economic institutions. It has a great contribution in shaping all these things. Indigenous knowledge available to these people is not present in the pure form but it can be seen in certain taboos, proverbs, idioms, local expressions, rituals, ceremonies, folksongs, poetry and art. Fishermen of *Kahal* community always attach certain meanings to things such as water, boat, nets, fish and art. Understanding of all these things presents their world view and knowledge of conceptualization about nature.

Rituals and taboos are also used as important concepts in the present research work. Many rituals are performed by these people mostly during net making and boat launching. Whenever there is any new boat built. It is usually launched at a fixed date and other neighboring peoples are invited to participate in ceremony which is performed by the owner of boat. Writing about people of Trobriand Island Malinowsky

says “soon after the painting and adorning of canoe, a date is fixed for ceremonial launching and trial run”.(Malinowski, 1979: 147).

These fishermen also use specific expression for the river and fish. They regard the river as their mother and king. They also use various metaphors for it. There are found various fish depictions on boats and walls of their houses. They consider fish as part of their life. They can also understand its language. They know how to locate it and when not to catch it. Fish satisfies not only the food needs of the people but it is also the main source of their income.

Their main occupation is fishing while their females making the baskets. They are not selling the fish and baskets in the market directly. They contract with contractor for selling fish and baskets. Usually they fix the advance prices of fish as per Kg and baskets before commencing the season. The contractor exploited them fully. He bounded them giving advance payment in the form of loan because they have no other source only taking the loan.

For catching fish these people have formed special crew groups. They follow general set of rules formed by these people. Every member of the group is assigned certain tasks which vary according to the experience and the skill of its member. Head of the group is called captain while others are known as laborers. They perform different works. Every laborer is bound to obey the order of captain. There prevails a sharing system in these crew groups. They all divide the catch in equal parts according to the number of crew members.

Fishermen of *Kehal* community use different types of nets for catching fish. They always make nets keeping in mind the size of fish and the type of season, for instance, fishermen use *Rach* in winter season and *Kundi* in summer season. They consider these nets source of income and precious asset. Making of nets is considered as a special skill. Most of the nets are made by fishermen in summer season. Net makers use important tools for net making.

Fishermen also use different boats in fish catching practices. They show great emotional attachment with them. They consider them as their companions in short and long expeditions and as well as during flooding. They depict various types of birds and beautiful fish on boats. They decorate them with different types of colored clothes and different colors of flags especially black color of flag. There are two types of boat in *Kehal* community which are known as *Keshta* (small boat or fishing boat) and *barri* (large boat)

They have the knowledge of forecasting the weather and this knowledge transferred generation to generation. They develop this knowledge through practical experience at the river. They use it in predicating about rain, storm or any changes in weather. For forecasting the weather these fishermen depend on certain objects, such as river birds, dolphin fish, moon, sun, and water bubbles. These natural sources of information are very useful for these fishermen. Some objects are helpful during the day time while others at night. When any storm is expected to come then river birds make big groups and fly high in sky.

Summing up the present study, the main findings are given in the following. The overall economic accumulation is very low in *Kehal* community. The low level of economic accumulation is the result of the spatial dispersion, weakened control over the physical resources, relative marginalization from the mainstream society, absence of landed property etc. besides it, *Kehal* do not have political structure at the public level which, in turn, is thought of necessary to gain economic and social stability of the *Kehal* society. As a response to this uncertainty of the social structure, *Kehal* have devised certain strategies to intact their social organization. First, *Kehal* circulate both women and men to regulate the social relations among different local groups. Secondly, the different types of marriage and their amount of money. It might be in thousand rupees. It is actually a strategy to keep the social relations intact through the indebtedness. Thirdly, the participation in the rites of marriage of each others is compulsory in the *Kehal* society. Every one who can not participate in these rites would be atomically excluded from the social universe. These strategies are actually aimed at the social reproduction. By these processes and strategies, *Kehal* conform and renew the social

relations of the different spheres in the social organization. At the end in my point of view it is duty of state that provides them mobile education immediate, mobile facility of treatment as well as provide them loan without interest so that they become economically sound.

GLOSSARY

Aazan	Muslim call for prayers.
AllahNami	In the name of God (applied to the form of marriage) which does not involve any material exchange for the girl.
Aagal	The front of portion of a boat
Allah lok	The spirit being.
Akhari Daryai tobi	Lliterally mean washing the crops in the river.
Bandi da mosam	The season of ban on fishing.
Bain	Act of crying aloud on deaths
Bahen	Sister.
Bhatriga	Nephew.
Bhatrigee	Niece.
Ber	A small, round, red fruit borne by a wild tree.
Bharjai	Brother's wife.
Bhai	Brother.
Bhag wand	Head of the council.
Bhanoti	Contractor.
Bhanoot	Contract.
Bhoclian	A three yard piece of cloth used for covering head
By women.	
Bua	Father's sister.
Chunni	A piece of cloth used for covering head by females.
Charpai	cot.
Cholli	A shirt worn by women.
Chaliswan	A mouning session held forty days after the death of a person by Shia and Sunni muslims.
Chunni	Lid of a water pitcher.

Chapper	Wood shed.
Douzakh	Hell.
Dha	The land sliding process of land due to
water,	
Dhotra	grandson.
Dhotri	Granddaughter.
Dhta Putrata	Literally mean bear the expenses of
	marriage of bride and groom.
Ghar	Literal meaning is that of a home. Here
	used to refer to the hole of the net.
Hath	Unit of measurement equivalent to two
and a half	
Kandha	Invitation of marriage.
feet.	
Kerri or	
Peehri	The group of patrilineally related
	people who can trace their descent
	from the same man.
Kundi	A fishing equipment with a hook and
	thread.
Kur	A fishing equipment.
Dua kher	Prayer
Dever	Husband's younger brother.
Dhobi	washerman.
Faqirs	Holy men, not interested in worldly
activities.	
Gur	Small brown lumps made after
cooking the juice of	
the sugar.	
Ghara	Water Pitcher.
Gharwalla	Husband.

Gharjamatra	A man who comes to live with his wife's folk.
Hawai chappal	Slippers made out of sponge.
Jataki Juti	A hand sewn shoe made out of skin by cobblers.
Janat	Paradise.
Janati Dam	A funeral prayer before death.
Jadoo	Magic.
Jhand Lahawan	The act of shaving off the first hair of a new born..
Jeth	Husband's elder brother.
Kagal	A tall growing, wild variety of grass.
Kana	Straw
Kachu	Tortise.
Kurtas	A knee long, loose shirt worn by men.
Kishta	Small fishing boat.
Kabadi	A game.
Kafen	A whit sheet in which Muslims wrap their dead before burying.
Layyan	Tamarisk dieica or plant that used for making askets
Lu	Hot wind
Lohar	Blacksmith.
Masat	Cousin.
Manhoos	A cursed person or object, capable of bringing bad
Luck.	
Malwaar	Mother's brother's son (cousin)
Mail	The day before actual marriage.
Mokh	Money paid to shrine keepers or pir for obtaining

Amulets.	
Masi	Mother's sister.
Manat de jhand lahawani	Act of shaving off the head of a new born at the Particular shrine where parents had promised to do before the child was born.
Maskeen	A girl whose parents die.
Masar	Husband of mother's sister.
Mirasi	Drum beater.
Mochi	Cobbler.
Nai	Barber.
Nani	Grandmother.
Nana	Grandfather.
Napak	Filthy.
Nazar	Evil-eye.
Pataka	Literally meaning a turban, here it is used to symbolise
Peechal	The back side of the boat.
Pirs	Saints.
Pind	Date.
Phull	Amulets obtained for a variety of
problems.	
Pacchawan	Condolence visits paid to the family of a dead Person.
Pirahan	An ethnic group which lives off the trade of Performing circumcision of babies for the locals.
Quran	The holy book of muslims.
Rach	Net
Roti	Baked bread made out of wheat, round in shape.
Rakh	Act of segregating a male child and his mother for ten days after birth.

Rakhi	An amulet obtained for diseases of animals and economic losses.
Sanaddare	Life jackets for swimming.
Sath	Panchayt.
Shisham	A very tall tree often found in Punjab.
Shirk	Act of giving status equal to God to any being, or object.
Shinah mar	Lion hunter.
Sohara	Father in law.
Soim	Mourning ceremony held three days after the death of a person by majority of muslims.
Sagan	Wedding rites.
Sabala	The best friend of the groom who stays by his side through out the wedding.
Sas	Mother-in-law.
Saala	Brother-in-law.
Sepi	The relationship between landlord and lower professional ethnic group.
Tahli	A particular tree, having a very cool shade.
Takka	Money.
Tal	The middle or central part of the boat.
Tehbunds	A whit sheet, tied around the waist by men, worn in place of pajamas.
Takkae	Money.
Teend	A fishing tool.
Turhawa	Circumcision of male child.
Thali	Plate.

Ucchar	A piece of black cloth used to cover the dead body when it is taken from the house to graveyard.
Wadran de Sangat	Council of elders
Watta	Exchange.
Waira	Compound of house
Watta satta	Exchange marriage.

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Interview Schedule

1. Name
2. Age
3. Marital status-----
 - a. Married b. unmarried
4. If married, age at the time of marriage-----
5. Education Status-----
 - a. Illiterate status b. Literate
 - i. primary ii. Middle iii. Higher
6. Father or Husband's occupation -----
 - a. Fishing b. Any other
7. Total income of seasonal-----
8. Type of family-----
 - a. Nuclear Family b. Joint Family c. Extended Family.
9. Total family members-----
10. Duration of marriage-----
11. Number of children born-----
12. Who controls the family matters in the house?
 - a. Husband b. Mother-in- law c. wife
13. If female contributes in the household economy, how they manage household work?
 - a. They fulfill their task before or after leaving for fields.
 - b. Any helper works for them
14. Women do field work willingly?
 - a. Family Pressure
 - b. Economic needs
15. How much they receive in return of work?
 - a. Much
 - b. Less
16. If less, why don't they give up the job?
 - a. Due to family pressure

- b. because of limited options available
 - c. Need of money for their security
 - d. because they do it willingly.
17. Is there any change in status by the fact they are adding to the economy of the family?
18. Legal rights are given or not?
19. In your opinion what is right of a girl at the time of marriage?
20. At the time of marriage what kind of the marriage do the people?
- a. Forced marriage-----
 - b. Arrange marriage-----
 - c. Love marriage-----
21. Do you have concept of exchange marriage?
22. Do you arrange the marriage within caste?
23. If yes what are the reason?
24. In your point what should be qualities of in a girl at the time of marriage?
25. Do you allow children to get love marriage?
26. Is it necessary to give the dowry to the bride?
27. In seeking the marital partner for your children is wealth consider more important?
28. In your point of view what is the ideal difference in age between husband and wife?
29. In your point of view what is the important purpose of marriage?
- a. Satisfaction of sex
 - b. Procreation of children
 - c. Fulfilling of religious duty
 - d. To acquire a women to do work
 - e. Any other specify
30. What is the important lesson you give to your son or daughter at the time of marriage?

31. What is your opinion about the early marriages?
32. Do you demand money or land in the return of your daughter or sister marriage?
33. Do you offer prayers regularly?
34. Can you read your Holy Book?
35. Do you visit the mosque?
36. Do you attend the religious gatherings regularly?
37. Do you follow the Imam Shafi?
38. What kind of food you prefer?
39. How do you discriminate between Halal and Haram?
40. Do you eat all the type of fish?
41. Do you eat tortoise?
42. How do you cook it?
43. What is the concept of reptiles' animals in religion?
44. What is your concept about dolphin?
45. How your economic activities are perceived by the other people of the area?
46. Are you compelled to do this occupation?
47. What are the main income periods?
48. What are the problems within the community?
49. Do you use addiction?
50. Are your parents alive?
51. Who motivated in this profession?
52. Do you want to leave this profession?
53. If you leave this profession what would you prefer to do?
54. Do you have any inferiority complex?
55. What are opinions of other people about you?
56. What kind of health facilities is available in your locality?
57. What kind of diseases you have?