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HANDICRAFT SURVEY REPORT :

PANJA DARI

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CENSUS OF INDIA—1981

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FOREWORD

The Indian handicrafts are known the world over for their rich variety, grace, elegance and skilled craftmanship. Nevertheless, a number of handicrafts because of their stiff competition with factory made products, non-availability of raw materials, exhorbitant increase in the manufacturing cost, lack of proper marketing facilities for finished products or due to a variety of other reasons have either become extinct or have reached the moribund stage. After independence, however a number of schemes were introduced by different government agencies for their growth and development but still this sudden impetus has helped only a few crafts to flourish and thereby become spinners of foreign exchange for the country.

Despite the unique position being enjoyed by the handicrafts especially in the realm of national economy, the general awareness among the people in the country about our crafts and craftsmen had been deplorably poor. Nothing was practically known about the commodities produced, techniques employed for the manufacture of different objects, raw materials used, their availability, methods adopted for the sale of finished products etc. An attempt was therefore made in connection with the 1961 Census to study about 150 crafts from different parts of the country with a view to provide basic information on those crafts which were selected for the study.

At the 1971 Census, the study on handicrafts was not taken up but this was again revived in connection with the 1981 Census. There has been, however, some difference between the studies taken up in connection with the Censuses of 1961 and 1981. While the 1961 studies have covered both rural and urban crafts, the 1981 studies have focussed their attention only on traditional rural based crafts. That apart, the 1981 studies besides touching upon those aspects which were covered under the 1961 series, have laid emphasis on matters that are vital for the revival of rural crafts and thereby for the rejuvenation of the economy of the region particularly the villages. This is in consonance with the policy of the government to give due importance to the rural sector with focus on employment intensive strategy of development in which next to agriculture, the small scale industries and handicrafts play a significant role.

The formats required for undertaking the study were formulated by Dr. K. P. Ittaman under the able guidance of

Dr. N. G. Nag, the then Deputy Registrar General, Social Studies Division. Dr. Ittaman who succeeded Dr. Nag as Deputy Registrar General, Social Studies Division co-ordinated the study undertaken in different States/Union Territories by the Directorates of Census Operations. The reports received from the Directorates were examined by Shri M. K. Jain, Senior Research Officer with the help of Smt. Suman Prashar, Assistant Director of Census Operations and the staff working under them. I am grateful to all of them for organising this study.

The present report is the outcome of a study undertaken on *Panja Dani* by the Directorate of Census Operations, Punjab. I have immense pleasure in acknowledging the services rendered by Shri J. C. Kalra and Shri R. K. Bhatia, Joint Director and Deputy Director respectively and their colleagues in the Census Directorate for bringing out this publication.

New Delhi,
the 1st June, 1988

V. S. VERMA,
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

The study was conducted in three villages : Majri in Rupnagar District, Samgoli in Patiala District and Sanghol in Ludhiana District of the state during the first half of 1986. The workers in these villages were predominantly from cultivator households. Even so, some of the women folk practised *Panja Dari* weaving when free from other work. Spinning and weaving were performed entirely by women. Lack of commensurate monetary return, want of adequate market facilities and difficulty in procuring raw materials pose some problems in the developments of the craft.

The data for this study was collected in four schedules : A, B, C and D. Schedule A was canvassed through various offices to collect basic information about the craft within and outside the state ; Schedule B termed as village schedule sought to collect various types of data on selected villages; Schedule C was termed as household schedule, which sought to collect information from households practising the craft in the villages; and Schedule D was canvassed amongst households who had since left the craft to ascertain their attitudes about the craft.

Photographic illustrations and sketches have been included to elaborate the techniques and stages of processes involved in the manufacture of the *dari*. Certain designs available in the village have particularly been added to provide a realistic picture of the craft.

The Social Studies Division of the office of the Registrar General India, offered useful suggestions to improve the draft report which were incorporated accordingly. I am thankful to Dr. K. P. Ittaman, Deputy Registrar General (Social Studies) for his guidance and Shri M. K. Jain, Senior Research Officer and his team of officers for scrutiny and valuable comments which made the monograph see the light of the day.

Shri Charan Singh, Investigator, assisted by Shri Malkit Singh, S.A. conducted the field work with zeal perseverance and tenacity during the turbulent times in the state. Shri Charan Singh prepared the draft of the monograph. S/Shri Malkit Singh, S.A. and R. P. Pathak, A.C. prepared the tables going into the study. The photographs, sketches were prepared by Shri Ravinder Pal Singh, Draftsman. The cover design was prepared by Shri Kulbir Singh, artist. The whole work of

inquiry and drafting has been carried out under my control and supervision. Shri R. K. Bhatia, Deputy Director and Shri G. S. Gill, Assistant Director have seen the monograph and assisted me in its editing and bringing out in the present form.

S/Shri Vinay Kumar, A.C. and Ashok Kumar, L.D.C. typed the draft of the report, and Shri Harcharan Singh Sudan looked to the printing of monograph. I thank them all.

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Chandigarh.
16th August, 1988.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRAFT

Introduction and history.

The study of rural arts and crafts in the state has remained a subject of callous interest to the art historians. Even the scholars of folklore gave a passive attention to such artefacts. Unlike in some parts of the Country, *Panja Dari* a beautiful creation of women of Punjab, is a bit steady craft. It is woven by women in many a households in the state when they are free from their household duties. Primarily it is surviving as it forms a part of *daj* (dowry) articles in rural areas according to traditional custom. Also handwoven cotton/woollen *daris* made by village women are a source of pride for the women of Punjab as these are liked even in foreign countries like U.K. and U.S.A. Analogous to this *Phulkari* (embroidered sheet) is another charming creation by the women in northern India, though it is on the verge of decline. Various designs of these artefacts are exhibited in state emporia as wall hangings. It is worth mentioning here that in village Majri under study the Sarvodaya leader, late Vinobha Bhave paid a visit on 3rd May, 1959. He came here on foot and exhorted the people to adopt spinning and weaving crafts and do their best for making every village a self sufficient unit. In the pre partition days Muslim *Julahas* (weavers) of this village used to weave *Khadar* (coarse cloth) and also *Panja daris* on order. After partition of the country in 1947 the craft suffered a set back from the commercial point of view as the Muslim skilled weavers migrated en block to Pakistan. Now the females have taken to *Dari* weaving at the instance of *Khadar Bhandars.*

With a view to promote handicrafts, village and other small scale industries, Boards and Commissions such as 'Khadi and Village Industries Commission', 'Handicraft Boards', 'Central Silk Board' and 'Coir Board' were established by the government. Apart from monitoring production and sale, these Boards/Commissions endeavour to arrange credit, training, marketing and export facilities for those engaged in handicrafts/small scale industries. Though the field of activities of the said Boards/Commissions is quite wide, the craft of *'Panja Dari'* hardly finds a significant place in the total set up of these institutions.

Technique of spinning and weaving of *Panja Dari* has been transferred from parent to Child through generations by word of mouth. Published material, on this aspect of the craft is hardly available. Under such circumstances it is difficult to trace exact time when and how this craft actually originated. It is thus pertinent to have a brief discussion on the history and inventions of the art of weaving in general as spinning and weaving of *Panja Dari* is a connected and evolved process of general weaving. It is said that weaving is as old as spider's web where from the primitive man learnt the technique and reached the present stage of sophisticated textiles by process of evolution. Weaving thus has its own history. Cloth was woven out of flax, vegetable fibres, wool, hair; baskets out of reads twigs and bags from various fibres. The primitive man started protecting himself against cold and sun by using dressed skins of animals. Later on garments woven out of linen or later wool also came into vogue.

"In the first place a suitable material was needed, a fibrous substance that would yield long threads. The neolithic villages on the Fayum lake were already using flax. They must have selected this from all other plants and begun to cultivate it deliberately in addition to growing cereals. Another variety of flax may have been discovered and grown in Asia. A local European flax was cultivated and utilized in Switzerland in neolithic times.

Other materials must have been tried. Cotton was certainly being grown in Indus Valley soon after 3,000 B.C. Wool, as already noted, was used in Mesopotamia about the same time. Before wool-bearing sheep had been produced by selective breeding, the hair of sheep and goats may have served for the production of a sort of cloth, since hair can be woven. A textile industry thus not only requires the knowledge of special substance like flax, cotton, and wool, but also the breeding of special animals and the cultivation of particular plants".[1]

Weaving is actually associated with advanced cultures and "Cotton is King" so goes a popular saving. Raising of silk is a further advancement. It was after sixth century A.D. that Greeks succeeded in raising silk and road of silk

1. Gordon Childe, V., "Man Makes Himself" p.94 Watts & Co. London, 1956.

is regarded a road of civilization. Previously strips of cloth say 5-6 inches wide were woven and sewn together to form cloth. Now cloth 4- -6 feet wide or even more can be produced by using recently introduced looms. Thus a uniformly twisted continuous long thread is a prerequisite and no regular weaving is possible without better perfected thread than the shorter twisted one. Weaving is pricipally associated more or less with cotton growing belts, and its diffusion, takes place from such centres at least. It had been only occasionally adopted by forest cultivators.

"Weaving is found among the lower cultivators on the fringes of higher civilizations. In grass-lands, and even in arid regions, it is favoured by the opportunity of growing textile material itself or for gathering the fibrous parts of wild plants and trees. The relations with the North African and Mediterranean areas of higher civilizations implied by cotton growing and weaving in the western Sudan and those of the Pueblos and some other cultivators of the south-west with southern Mexico illustrate such extensions and the diffusion involved"[2].

For a regular weaving the dire need of long continuous thread was felt and this necessity led to inventing of spindle (Fig. 2).

"The desire to obtain a long fine thread of equal thickness required the invention of a new tool--the spindle. The simple stripping and cleaning of the fibres or, more technically, their scutching, and their loosening and straightening out, or carding are known to many cultures"[3].

With the passage of time the spindle became an important tool as the people began to settle down, which further led to the invention of spinning wheel, a cardinal contrivance in weaving industry.

A spindle is a sort of appliance having a small straight *salai* (needle) having a hook at upper end and a weight at lower. It is suspended to the spinning thread. By simple revolving of the needle the twisting of yarn becomes easier. After twisting certain length of yarn it is wound in the form of a reel at the lower end towards the whorl. It is generally known as *Takali*. In spinning wheel the spindle is revolved mechanically by means of a belt and pulley.

The spindle and spinning wheel have been shown pictorially by sketch and photograph in chapter IV ahead (Fig. 2 and plate 3.).

For a regular and continuous weaving the existence of thread better perfected than old shorter one i.e., uniformly twisted long one was necessary. To meet the challenge of the time the tool spindle was invented which helped to produce long and fine thread of uniform thickness. With the passage of time spindle became an indispensable tool in the process of weaving. Nameless inventors might have contributed towards the craft. Later on loom became a fairly elaborate contrivance in the textile industry. It is indeed a great triumph in industrial field. It is generally believed that at this point of time, when loom became fairly popular in the field of textile, the weaving of *dari* (carpet) came into prominance. *Dari* weaving is an evolved process of matting, where woof had to be passed over and under each warp either mechanically or with fingers i.e., it was inserted with fingers. Patterns were made by using thread of different colours. *Panja Dari,* is in-fact, is result of a process of weaving on a particular kind of gadget with a particular kind of fibre. Etymologically the name *'Panja'* is derived from human hand and is applied here for the tool which beats the wefts amongst the warps, while *'Dari'* stands for the mat. Whole processs of *Panja Dari* weaving could be split into three major stages as preparing the yarn, setting the *adda* (frame for Web) and weaving by beating wefts by *'Panja'* or *'Hathi'* (Comb). The whole process is carried but manually.

Craft centres

The Panja Dari handicraft is carried out almost in all the districts of the state, but the main centres have been reported in Hoshiarpur, Bathinda, Jalandhar; Ludhiana, Patiala, Rupnagar where 'Khadi Mandals' have set up there network of Bhandars (stores) to provide *'Dari'* weaving material to village women and to collect *daris* so prepared for disposal through emporia. Elsewhere the craft is carried out by village women mainly for their own domestic uses rather than as a means of livelihood.

The information regarding the places where craft centres are located in the state were collested through Director of Khadi and Village Industries Commission, who in turn procured the same from Khadi Mandals at Adampur, Nakodar and Dera Bassi vide the craft schedule. Craft centres producing *Panja Dari* alongwith tahsil

2. Daryll Forde, C. "Habitat Economy and Society" p. 383 Methuen & Co. London, 1953.
3 Lips, Julius E. "The origin of Things" p. 130 George G. Harrap & Co. London, 1949.

and district in which these are located are furnished below:—

Name of Place(s)	*Name of Tahsil*	*Name of District*
Bathinda	Bathinda	Bathinda
Hariana	Hoshiarpur	Hoshiarpur
Adampur	Jalandhar	Jalandhar
Nakodar	Nakodar	—do—
Jamshed	Jalandhar	—do—
Bilga	Phillaur	—do—
Phillaur	—do—	—do—
Goraya	—do—	—do—
Sanghol	Samrala	Ludhiana
Dera Bassi	Rajpura	Patiala
Kharar	Kharar	Rupnagar
Kurali	Kharar	—do—
Sohana	—do—	—do—
Rupnagar	Rupnagar	—do—

These centres primarily deal in cotton yarn products including *Panja Daris*. These Mandals have, their Bhandar branches or depots in surrounding villages. These institutions, are financed by Khadi and Village Industries Commission. In addition there are a couple of State Board financed institutions at Jalandhar, Majitha (Amritsar) and Mubarkpur (Patiala) which also deal in Khadi products. There are several other places in the state where main product is weaving of *Khadar* (coarse cloth); but production of *Panja dari* is insignificant there.

Some of the important craft centres outside the state where *Panja dari* handicraft is carried out are Hissar, Ambala and Karnal districts in Haryana state, Tonk district in Rajasthan, Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh, Sirmaur district in Himachal Pradesh, and Amravati and Nagpur in Maharashtra. The cotton and woollen *Panja Daris* prepared in villages of Bighar, Nangthala and Durjanpur villages of Hissar districts of Haryana and Kola ka Budh village of Sirmaur (H.P.) have won the distinction in weaving *daris*. The *Daris* prepared here in the form of wall hangings are said to have been exported to USA and U.K. The state Handicraft and Handloom Corporation is running a *dari* weaving centre at Nahan (Sirmaur) where artisans manufacture *Panja daris*, whereas carpet weaving is practised in all districts in Himachal Pradesh.

Communities associated

Traditionally Kabirpanthi or Julaha and Kori, Koli pursued the weaving of cloth, whereas their women folk helped in preparation of yarn by spinning wheels. In many a villages Adi-Dharmi, Ravidasi and Dhanak Scheduled Castes have also taken to the job of spinning and weaving as a means of earning livelihood. It is relevant to mention here that weaving of coarse cloth is their main job, but *Panja daris* are prepared only when there is a demand for this. The mill made products, however tend to thwart their attitudes towards weaving. Penja another community associated with the craft, was involved in carding of cotton for preparation of yarn, but presently cotton carding machine has come up in the villages. In fact people belonging to these communities are landless village dwellers working as agricultural labourers during peak seasons of sowing and harvesting of various crops and during lean period when there is no work in the fields to do they weave cloth/*Panja daris* to support their members of family. Intricate patterns produced by crafts-men of these communities are still available which now appear to be the object of antiquity. Like in every walk of life changes in attitudes of communities are taking place. Linkage by pucca road, to urban centres, availabilty of electricity, quick mode of transport, market, import of novelities, ordered administration have had varied impact on the way of life and traditional ethos. Twice born castes scarcely suffer from the stigma of taking to this occupation.

Working force

'*Panja Dari*' handicraft is an off shoot of *khadi*. The statistics relating exclusively to this handicraft-*Panja Dari* are not available in our census returns. These seem to be clubbed with variety of other products under cotton textiles. The strength of working force engaged exclusively in this craft over the state therefore seems indiscernible. The analysis has therefore been confined to this survey only.

According to *Khadi Mandal* at Adampur about 60 women are engaged in *Panja Dari* weaving on regular basis in Rupnagar district. Approximately an equal number of females are said to be separately engaged in *Panja Dari* weaving in Patiala and Ludhiana districts. During the present survey the villages of *Majri* (Rupnagar) *Samgoli* (Patiala) and Sanghol (Ludhiana) were studied for the purpose of *Panja Dari* handicraft as it is mainly carried on there. As per 1981 Census returns these villages have got the population of 1,761, 1,715 and 3,425 persons respectively and the number of main workers in these villages are 502 males and 11 females in Majri, 419 males and 12 females in Samgoli and 864 males and 28 females in Sanghol. From these three villages an overwhelming

majority is engaged either in agricultural pursuits viz. cultivation and agricultural labour or as other workers. Only 6 females were recorded to follow the household industry.

For the present survey a sample of 60 households all having some *Dari* weavers in them has been taken. These households comprise 204 workers. All the 87 (38 per cent) female workers are found engaged in *Dari* weaving whereas the remaining 117 male workers are engaged in different occupations. Child labour is conspicuous by its absence as none of the either sex below the age of 14 years is reported as a worker. This female participation in economic pursuits contradicts the census figures which is perhaps attributable to the counting of females as simply household workers at the time of enumeration as they take up the job of *Dari* weaving in their leisure time after mainly attending the household chores. Rajput community is the most dominating among the communities pursuing the craft under study. The castewise break-up of female workers engaged in *Panja Dari* in these three villages jointly is as follows :—

Name of caste/community	No. of females
Rajput	66
Brahaman	7
Tarkhan/Lohar	4
Nai (Barber)	2
Khatri	4
Balmiki	2
Teli	1
Bharbhunja (grain parcher)	1
Total ..	87

The above statement reveals that the castes traditionally involved in the craft are no more pursuing the craft. The Rajput and Brahaman castes who are now pursuing the craft are dominating in number and they both are known as 'twice born castes i.e. higher castes. It proves that there is hardly any stigma now associated with this craft. It is treated as clean occupation. Out of these 87 females 69 are in the young age-group 15—34, and 18 in the age-group of 35—59.

Craft objects

As per the *Khadi Mandal* at Adampur different types of *daris* produced are *'dari farsh', 'dari gulchaman', 'dari sulpher', 'dari galicha', 'dari gudda', 'dari jaldar', 'dari tassor', 'dari panja'* and *dari chittarkari'*, all except first one are used for bed. *'Dari farsh'* is usually meant for use in religious shrines for seating persons and also on special functions such as marriages and other social ceremonies. Another form of *'dari tapper'* is prepared for use in schools. The names of *daris* are significant by their use, material utilised and design or pattern prepared or technique employed in their weaving. The different patterns and quantity of production of *daris* procured by the *Khadi Mandal* located at Adampur during 1985-86 is furnished below :—

Different objects of Dari	*Approximate quanitity*
Dari Gulchaman	5761
Dari Farsh	3081
Dari Tassor	2746
Dari Tapper	2147
Dari Chittarkari	1969
Dari Panja	910
Dari Sulpher	814
Dari Gudda	808
Dari Jaldar	518
Dari Galicha	30

As reported, the production of *chittarkari daris* has been reduced by 15 percent as compared to the previous year due to increased demand of mill made carpets. The *daris* got prepared by Sutlej *Khadi Mandal* (Nakodar) in its jurisdiction were more or less similar but the actual number of *daris* prepared was not available, however, the money value of the objects approximated to Rs. 10 lakh. It is reported that the preparation of *Panja Dari* is on the decline as loom made *daris* are replacing the traditional one. Some other names of *daris* as *'dari fancy' 'dari borderdar' 'dari gulbahar', 'dari gulnar'* were reported to be woven. The length of daris varies from 180 cms. to 210 cms. and breadth varies from 90 cms. to 120 cms.

Disposal of Dari Products

The *daris* prepared by the rural weavers are sparingly carried to market or emporium directly by them. Nor are there private agencies in the form of local shopkeepers, 'arhtias' (commission agents), exporter or any co-operative society. The *Panja Daris* woven by rural females are disposed through Khadar Bhandar/ Khadi Mandals financed by 'Khadi and Village

Industries Commission' with its head office at Bombay. Under these *Khadi Mandals* two types of *daris* categorised as *'Panja Dari'* and *'Panja Dari Special'* are more commonly prepared in the villages under study. The "Khadi Lagat Parta Chart" specifying the schedule of rates and measures pertinent to Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Union Territory of Chandigarh is strictly adhered to within their respective jurisdictions. The finished products are collected weekly by workers of Khadi Mandals/Khadi Bhandars and brought to their sale depots. There the products are sold to customers on retail basis by the Khadi Mandal, Bhandar/Emporium. The Bhandars reported to derive commission at the rate of 9 per cent in the transaction. The finished products upto an extent say 90 per cent, as reported by the Bhandar authorities, are disposed by them.

Terms and transactions with weavers for products

The *dari* weaving women are supplied the raw material in the form of cotton yarn by the *Khadi Bhandar* authorities. The women return the newly woven *daris* to *Khadi Bhandar* and get their remuneration as laid down in the "Khadi Lagat Parta Chart" i.e. the rate prescribed by the Parman Pattar Samittee (Attestation Committee) 'Khadi and Village Industries Commission' Bombay. Some of them start right from cotton, while others start from the spun yarn. Obviously those who weave the *dari* starting from cotton, get more returns as the process of carding and spinning is also involved. The material in the form of cotton or yarn is given with 2.5. per cent in excess for allowing the wastage involved in the intermediary process. The finished products are received after strict matching with the specifications. All rates for spinning, dyeing, twisting, preparation of cords, labour involved etc. are specified in the chart and the emoluments are calculated accordingly. For the *Panja Dari* (Chittarkari) weighing about 4 kg. the total cost amounted to Rs. 158 and that for *Panja Dari* special the total cost was calculated to Rs. 113.90 *paise* whose weight approximates to 3 kg. It involves a labour ranging from 25 to 30 women hours. A *'Panja Dari'* weighing 4 kg. fetches Rs. 47 to the weaver and the *Panja Dari* special weighing 3 kg. fetches about Rs. 30. It covers the labour as well as dyeing charges whence only white yard is supplied to the weavers. Eight per cent of the wages are credited in the account pass books of individual weaver maintained by the Khadar Bhandar authorities. The Bhandar workers come to villages once a week to conduct transactions i.e. distributing raw material and collecting the finished products.

Attitudes and opinions of weavers

The *bunkers* (weavers) in these villages were emphatic in reporting that the remunerations are far inadeuate as compared to cost of dyeing the yarn and labour involved in weaving the *dari*. According to them the *Khadi Lagat Parta Chart* (schedule of cost rates and measure) have not been revised in relation to the cost of living. The weavers were also discouraged when the yarn spun by them was graded with an element of bias which affected the amount of remuneration being paid to them by Bhandar workers. Compelled by such biased gradation some of the spinners had left the job. Similarly at the time of matching the *Dari* with specifictations of the chart the element of bias is also reported. A *dari* having the deviation from the prescribed standard, is liable to be rejected, which the weaver has to dispose by other means or is compelled to keep for domestic purpose instead of getting appreciation for the standard type of craftsmanship. These weavers were of the opinion that if remunerations are raised adequately in parity with marked prices the production can be multiplied and more workers can be attracted towards this job. In one discussion they argued that a standard *dari* prepared by them is sold in market by Bhandar authorities for Rs. 175 for which the labour charges including the cost of dyeing was only Rs. 49 and Rs. 90 was the cost of yarn. Thus there is an appreciable margin of profit for *Mandal* authorities.

Another opinion they put forward for speeding up production is that it would be a relief to them if the Bhandar authorities provide them mill spun warps and dyed yarn for wefts which can save their part of labour and cost of dyeing which could also help in standardization of *dari* and would consequently add to production rate. The discrimination and irregularities in procuring material to the weavers and gradation of product need to be systematised so as to invigorate the craft.

In village Samgoli the weavers were more unhappy with the meagre returns for their work. It was reported that during 1985 a weaver's firm from Panipat had agreed with local weavers to lift *Panja Daris* prepared by them at the rate of Rs. 45 as labour charges per *dari* while the mill made warp and dyed yarn was to be provided by the firm. It was

appreciably accepted to be an adequate remuneration by the weavers. This system was reported to have worked for some time and this was thwarted due to certain reasons. Consequently the weavers became idle. Now several of the weavers are reluctant to take up the work again through *Khadi Bhandar* as the rate of labour is hardly comparable to that provided by that firm. They were of the opinion that if adequate remuneration for the labour involved in weaving are restored, more females can be attracted to take up the work. Some steps need to be taken lest the handicraft workers are discouraged to take the work half-heartedly and the handicraft faces a set back.

Channels of disposal of finished products

As reported by *Khadi Mandal* Adampur about 70 per cent of *daris* are disposed of within the state, 10 per cent each in Chandigarh and Himachal Pradesh whereas 5 per cent each in Delhi and Haryana, and their export to foreign countries was insignificant. The *Khadi Mandal* at Nakodar reported that about 50 per cent of the *daris* were disposed of within the state and rest were disposed of in states of Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh. Haryana and Union Territory of Delhi and nothing was exported outside the country. However, it was indicated that the production in the state was just enough to meet one fourth of the demand from outside. The demand for *Panja Dari* is somewhat checked as the factory or loom made product is a bit cheaper. However the *Panja Dari* being durable and fancy is also liked by the consumer. Nonetheless piling up the product, with the Bhandar authorities has not been reported from anywhere. If the production is increased there will be hardly any problem towards disposal.

Agencies engaged in development of craft

There are number of organisations to safeguard the development and functioning of various handicrafts in general. So far *Panja dari* craft is concerned there is hardly any agency in the state working exclusively for the development of this particular craft in rural areas. However, in the field of *Panja dari* weaving the contribution of Khadi and village Industries Commission through Khadi Mandals is reported to be of great value. Significantly the weavers themselves are responsible for working conditions and arranging for materials, implements, colours, the design and texture of their handicraft. The art of weaving has been passing on from mother to daughter and unlike neighbouring Haryana and Himachal States no specialised development facilities are reported in the state. In Haryana the District Rural Development Agency has set up their training centres at Bighar, Nagthala and Durjanpur villages. Similarly *dari* weaving training facilities are available at Nahan (H.P.) where an institute is run by State Handicraft and Handloom Corporation. None of the Khadi Mandals responsible for getting the work done in three villages of this study could give information regarding such developmental work being carried out in the state. However, it was reported by them that they face the problem of shortage of *bunkars* (weavers) and *Katis* (spinners). Inspite of that the attitude of the artisans doing *Panja Dari* was accommodating though at the same time there was a general complaint against low rate of payment in comparison to labour involved.

Co-operative societies associated with craft

There was hardly any co-operative society associated squarely with the *Panja Dari* work. The village women weave the *daris* of their own accord. Some of them weave for their own use whereas some weave to earn and augment household income just on simple contract with *Khadar Bhandars*. The females do this work in their leisure hours. Agriculture is the main and primary occupation of majority of the households under study and others are secondary and leisure time occupations. Apart this being secondary and leisure time occupation, the number of women engaged in this craft is small and that too is widely scattered. These are the main reasons of non-existence of co-operative societies in the state accociated with the craft.

Training Centres

As mentioned already, there is hardly any training centre for imparting training in *Panja Dari* weaving in the state either in rural or urban areas. The art and pattern of weaving has been transmitting from mother to daughter. Though there are some centres in the neighbouring state of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh yet the villagers would not like to send their daughters to the far off training centres. It revealed that if some training centre is opened in the village itself only then they would like to avail themselves and their daughters of the training facilities to learn the art.

Though there is no training centre in the state yet production centres do exist in the state. Four main centres dealing with the production of *Panja Dari* to a considerable extent are "Punjab Khadi Mandal, Adampur Doaba (Jalandhar)", "Sutlej Khadi Mandal,

Nakodar (Jalandhar)", "Khadi Gramudyog Karyakarta Sangh, Railway road Bathinda" and "Gramudyog Karyakarta Sangh, Dera Bassi (Patiala)". The first two were reported to have been established in 1969-70 whereas latter two were started in 1959-60. The branches of these production centres function in some of the surrounding villages where they endeavour to get *Panja Daris* woven by village women. The institutions are termed as *Mandals* (divisions) having the primary object of undertaking village development relating to promote Khadi Industries, hand spinning, hand weaving, to foster mutual co-operation, removal of untouchability, open production and training centres, inculcate co-operative working spirit without allegiance to any political organisation or trade union. These *Mandals* were established having multifarious objects in view, but it is observed that most of the objects remained as paper formality only.

The present monograph is thus a sort of study of the rural household craft. It has been observed that Khadar Bhandars give importance to production only whereas other aspects like training etc. remain almost ignored. Opening of training centres can throw up avenues for more employment and can help in wiping out poverty from villages to a considerable extent. There is a great demand for *Panja Dari*. If this craft is patronised by the government in the villages it can surely elevate their living conditions by providing work to the people.

CHAPTER II

CRAFTSMEN IN THEIR RURAL SETTING

General Particulars of villages-Locotion and amenities

For the purpose of present study the survey was conducted in three villages viz. Majri falling in Tahsil/Sub-Division Kharar of Rupnagar district, Samgoli in Rajpura tahsil/Sub-Division of Patiala district and Sanghol in Samrala Tahsil/Sub-Division of Ludhiana district. Apart from representing *Panja Dari* craft the selected villages vividly reveal landscape pattern alongwith socio-economic set-up of rural Punjab. The economy is predominantly agriculture oriented. The cultural ethos and techniques and tools employed are basically the same in these villages. The salient features of the villages under study are given below.

Village Majri

The village Majri for distinction known as Sialba Majri, with total area of 444 hectares is located on the link road branching off towards north from Chandigarh-Boothgarh-Kurali road. It had a population of 1761 as per 1981 census. It lies on the eastern fringe of the district and its distance approximates to 18 kms. from Chandigarh and 28 kms. from Rupnagar. It is located on the eastern bank of Sisswan stream separating it from village Sialba usually prefixed with it due to close vicinity to Sialba village. Situated in the plains the village is distantly located from effective urban centres easily approchable. Like other parts of Punjab the seasons alternate from winter to summer and the climate is usually temperate as is for the region. Monsoons generally set in from the end of June or early July and usually continue till the end of September during the year. Some winter rains are also experienced in the months of December and January. Though the village is situated in the foothills of Shiwalik yet area under forests is almost neglible.

For maintenance of law and order the village falls in the jurisdiction of Kurali Police Station which is 10 kms. away from the village. The Block Office, however, is situated within the village. A local panchayat also functions in the village. Facilities such as primary school, dispensary, maternity child welfare centre, post office, telephone, banking etc. exist within the village. The village is connected by all weather pucca road to the urban centres and neighbouring villages. It has got a bus stop from where Punjab Roadways and Chandigarh Transpost Undertaking buses play. The nearest railway station is at Kurali. The village has got the supply of electricity for all purposes. In addition to hand pumps and wells piped water supply is also available to the villagers. The middle school is located in the adjacent village Sialba, half-a-kilometer away. For secondary education children have to go to Kurali Town or Khizrabad village. The nearest degree college for females is at village Padiala at a distance of 14 kms. The facilities for higher education both in academic and technical fields are available at Chandigarh and Ropar.

Village Samgoli

The Samgoli village, having a total area of 663 hectares including 9 hectares under its habitation, comprising a population of 1715 as per 1981 census is situated at the border of Rajpura tahsil towards the east touching Haryana State boundary. The village is connected by link road with Dera Bassi and is at a distance of about 13 kms. from there. It is over 30 kms. from Chandigarh and about 42 kms. from Rajpura. Patiala, the district headquarters, is situated at a distance of about 70 kms. from here. For the purpose of maintaining law and order, it falls under the jursidiction of Dera Bassi Police Station. The terrain is undulating, bounded by a gorge at the eastern side. For agricultural pursuit, the area is almost *barani* (rainfed). It is situated away from the urban centre. In the matter of educational facilities the village has got a government high school with primary wing functioning separately on the premises. The nearest degree college is at Dera Bassi. A local dispensary renderes medical facilities to the villagers. Postal facilities have also been made available recently. The village is electrified. Facility of railway station is available at Lalru 14 kms. to the villagers. Telephone and banking facilities are also available at Dera Bassi. A local panchayat looks after the affairs of the village. Zemindars have to go to Dera Bassi

to dispose of their agricultural produce and purchase goods of daily consumption. As elsewhere, in the region the water supply is met by means of well, handpump and tap. Low irrigational facilities and undulating terrain are the main obstacles in the way of progressive farming.

Village Sanghol

The village Sanghol with its agrarian structure of economy and multi-ethnic character but having some functional difference, with a total areas of 854 hectares lies towards south of State highway, leading from Chandigarh to Ludhiana, at about one kilometer away on Sanghol-Khanna link road. This village is bigger both in size of area and population than the other two villages selected for the craft study. The area marked for village habitatior approximates to 15 hectares. It has a population of 3425 as per 1981 census. The habitation is located on a mound. The village is also known by a synonym "Ucha Pind" (upland village). The mound is believed to be the remains of an ancient culture of the *Baras,* the people flourishing contemporarily and later with Harapan civilization. It was reported that the deposits of *Bara* culture were dug at Sanghol for the first time lending support to the view that Sanghol was the centre of this culture. The ceramic remains were also found here. "The ceramic assemblage consists of Bara-ware"[4]. Further "The deposit above Late Harappan (Bara) habitation seems to be a pit having mixed up pottery of Bara.....The percentage of Bare-ware goes on decreasing as we move up. .."[5] It is also worth mentioning here "the period is contacted in all the cuttings and there is ample evidence that during the period of Late Kusanas and Guptas the city developed into a metropolis. There is clear evidence that during the time of Guptas Sanghol was the capital of some feudatory king or a provincial governor"[6]. From the archaeological remains found here, it appears that River Sutlej flowed nearby in those days which is now about 12 kilometers away from here. The dried bed of the river is still seen. Lateron, a more prosperous culture, perhaps of Kusanas in whose time *Stupas* (monasteries) were built, is also said to have prevailed here which is evidenced by *Stupas* recently dug out here. The excavations were started in 1968. Some of the archaeological remains are exhibited in a local museum maintained by the State Government. The archaeological survey of India has also opened an excavation site towards north of the village.

The village has a wide net work of infrastructural facilities like irrigation, electricity and transport facilities for agriculture. It is situated at a distance of 10 kms. from Morinda and 20 kms. from Khanna towns with which it is connected by pucca roads. Both have their impact on socio-cultural matrix of the village. The bus stop facility is locally available. The block development headquarters for the village is located at Samrala at a distance of 20 kms. on the highway. Ludhiana City the district headquarters, is about 45 kms. way from here. For maintenance of law and order people have to go to Khamanon Police Station at a distance of 7 kms. A local statutory panchayat looks after the general affairs of the village. The educational facilities from primary to secondary school are available within the village which has two high schools. The nearest degree college is at Fatehgarh Sahib at a distance of about 15 kms. from the village. Medical facilities are being rendered by a local hospital. Post office and telephone facilities are also available within the village. The telegraph facility is available at Morinda. Banking facility is however, locally available. The nearest railway station is at Morinda. The terrain is plain having tubewell and canal irrigation facilities. About 90 per cent of the land is under irrigation. For marketing of agricultural produce people make use of the local market. Some take their produce to Khamanon market. The things of daily consumption are available in local market. Tractor repair and servicing workshops are also functioning locally. Some of the villagers own vehicles namely trucks, cars, motorcycles, scooters, tractors. Some of the people have installed television sets.

Demographic particulars of the villages

The basic demographic particulars pertaining to the villages selected for the study are furnished in table II.1 as per the 1971 and 1981 Census data.

4 "Coins Seals and Sealings from Sanghol" Deptt. of Cultural Affairs, Archaeology and Museums-Punjab. p-3. Associated Printers, Chadigarh, 1986.

5. (*Ibid,* p. 5.)

6. (*Ibid,* p. 6).

TABLE II. 1

Distribution of population by sex, number of households, Scheduled Caste and area of the village at 1971 and 1981 Census.

Name of Village	Area in Hectares	Number of Households		Population				Scheduled Caste			
		1971	1981	1971		1981		1971		1981	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Majri	444	238	288	768	646	940	821	107	65	320	267
Samgoli	663	206	279	717	591	903	812	296	216	378	338
Sanghol	854	444	554	1499	1398	1780	1645	395	375	468	429

The basic population figures of the villages may be seen from above table which reveals the increasing trend over the decade 1971—81.

Further the salient demographic indicators such as growth rate, sex ratio, average household by size of population are furnished in table II. 2 below :—

TABLE II. 2

Sex ratio, Growth Rate and Household size

Name of the Village	Growth rate	Sex ratio		Average household Size	
		1971	1981	1971	1981
1	2	3	4	5	6
Majri	25·54	841	873	5·94	6·11
Samgoli	31·11	824	899	6·35	6·14
Sanghol	18·23	933	924	6·52	6·18

The figures reveal that during the decade the villages have shown a tendency towards high growth especially Samgoli village which is attributed to an influx of some scheduled caste households and some male labourers to the villages. The low sex ratio might have been due to immigration of male labourers to the villages and also due to natural factors. Amongst these three villages, Samgoli had the highest 42 per cent scheduled caste population, as per 1981 census. The percentage of scheduled caste population of Majri and Sanghol were 33 and 28 respectively. The increase in population seems to be fairly in consonance with important postulate that population growth rate varies inversely with literacy rate and income. The hypothesis that higher the literacy rate or income the lower is the population growth rate and vice versa holds good. In respect of literacy and labour force participation the relevant data is presented in table below :—

TABLE 11. 3

Literacy and labour force participation Rates and industrial classification of workers

Name of the Village	Literacy		Labour force participation 1981	Main workers (1981)						
	1971	1981		*Total main workers*		Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Household Industry, Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing and repairs	Other workers	Marginal workers
				M	F					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Majri	35·28	44·97	29·13	502	11	83	174	10	246	—
Samgoli	30·96	38·25	25·13	419	12	153	97	·7	174	9
Sanghol	33·34	45·13	26 04	864	28	142	220	120	410	1

From the table II.3 it is seen that Majri and Sanghol villages had higher percentages of literacy than Samgoli, at both the Censuses, whereas in the case of population growth Samgoli leads. Similarly Sanghol has the highest literacy in 1981 and it has got the lowest growth rate (18.23 per cent).

Socio-Ethnic Composition

A brief probe was also made in the socio ethnic structure of the villages during the survey. The list of communities together with their strength, respective number of households is furnished in Table II.4 ahead.

TABLE II.4

Number of households and population by caste/community in different villages under study

Serial No.	Name of community/Caste	Name of village by Number of households and population															
		Majri				*Samgoli*				*Sanghol*				*Total*			
		House-holds	P	M	F	House-holds	P	M	F	House-holds	P	M	F	House-holds	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	Ravidasi/Chamar (SC)	60	500	280	220	145	960	491	469	200	1065	554	511	405	2525	1325	1200
2	Rajput	70	420	240	180	75	550	270	280	100	550	290	260	245	1,520	800	720
3	Balmiki/Chura (SC)	25	150	85	65	30	160	85	75	100	530	269	261	155	840	439	401
4	Brahman	40	280	152	128	7	42	20	22	80	470	248	222	127	792	420	372
5	Lohar/Tarkhan	10	80	45	35	10	85	42	43	50	260	138	122	70	425	225	200
6	Bazigar (SC)	12	70	46	24	..	..	..	..	50	300	162	138	62	370	208	162
7	Khatri	1	7	3	4	..	..	..	..	50	250	136	114	51	257	139	118
8	Kahar	6	36	17	19	8	48	28	20	30	150	78	72	44	234	123	111
9	Jat	..	..	..	..	1	8	5	3	33	198	107	91	34	206	112	94
10	Teli	12	90	50	40	..	.	..	..	15	75	41	34	27	165	91	74
11	Nai/Barber	5	42	23	19	5	38	23	15	12	72	34	38	22	152	80	72
12	Bania	..	..	..	..	7	45	21	24	10	50	27	23	17	95	48	47
13	Penja	4	25	14	11	2	12	6	6	9	50	26	24	15	87	46	41
14	Saini	10	80	47	33	.	.	.		.	.	.	..	10	80	47	33
15	Kumhar	1	3	2	1	3	20	11	9	1	30	17	13	8	53	30	23
16	Gadaria	.		..	.	7	40	22	18	.		.	..	7	40	22	18
17	Chhumba	4	32	2	20									4	32	12	20
1	Sun		.	.		1	6	4	2	4	2	15		5	32	9	3
9	K .l	4	30	18	12				.				.	4	30	1	12
20	Bha hu	4	20	10	10		.	.	.	.			.	.	20	9	1
21	Mir si	1	10	6	4	.		..	.				..	1	10	6	4
22	Julcha (Muslim)	2	7	4	3									2	7	4	3
23	Nat (SC)	..		..	.	1		-	3	..	..		..	1	3	2	3
	Total	271	1,887	1 054	828	302	2,019	1,020	999	74	4,076	2,142	1,934	1,320	7,937	4,226	3,751

The above figures reveal that Sanghol the biggest of the three villages has Ravidasi/Chamar scheduled caste as numerically dominant. The above data corroborate the trend as shown by 1981 Census figures to a considerable extent.

The villages are composed of several communities/castes as indicated above. Further Ravidasi/Chamar, Rajput, Brahman, Balmiki/Chura and Lohar/Tarkhan are the main groups returned from the villages and females of these communities usually undertook the handicraft of *'Panja dari'* weaving i.e. the craftswomen belonged the mixed groups irrespective of any monopolistic caste boundaries. Broadly speaking the remaining communities are smaller in number and except *Kahar*, *Nai* (Barber), *Penja* and *Kumhar* the remaining communities are sparingly available in the three villages simultaneously. The enquiry into the settlement pattern of the villages with respect to ethnic composition revealed that *Balmiki/Chura*, *Ravidasi/Chamar*, *Bazigar*, *Mirasi Nat* etc. were residing on the outskirts of the villages on the northern fringe in Majri and Sanghol and on the western fringe in Samgoli. The other communities called *Swarna* castes were however, conglomerated in the village. The houses of crafts-women are scattered throughout the villages without any designed settlement pattern. Further, out of 1320 households in three villages 321 households belonged to Sikh religion returning their caste/communities as *Jat*, *Kahar*, *Lohar/Tarkhan*, *Ravidasi/Chamar and Balmiki/Chura* whereas 45 households belonging to Islam religion came of *Julaha*, *Mirasi*, *Penja* and *Teli* communities. Remaining about 72 per cent households belonged to Hindu religion. The shackles of social disability have very much loosened as compared to the past and people are aware of the fact that untouchability is an offence punishable under the law. Social distance between different communities has considerably narrowed down and no social fracture is observed in the villages. The villagers from all these villages returned Punjabi as their mother tongue.

Occupation-traditional/Non-traditional

With the expansion of infrastructure, especially in the form of net work of transport facilities, villages are no longer isolated. The changed contextual setting has its own bearing on the village communities.. The communities as far as occupational structure is concerned are dynamic rather than static, Traditionalism is giving way to modernism resulting in ideological and cultural changes and this process is assuming considerable dimension. Occupational mobility both horizontal and vertical is quite perceptible. The old cultural trends tend to follow new patterns and the ethos of social structure is tending to weaken the caste system which is primarily based on inequality. Previously the caste individuals were tied down to community or family occupation as moral imperative. In these villages occupational mobility away from the traditional occupation of the caste/community has been observed without provoking any moral jolt. It is seen to be going out of traditional orbit manywhere. Women. of those engaged in agricultural pursuits were observed to be resilient to adopt *dari* weaving which is non-traditional for them. These female *dari* weavers have been drawn out from their traditional occupation of cultivation, whereas several traditional weavers have altogether left the job and taken to other occupations such as labour or other services etc. Coming close to the path of modernization a functional transformation is seen to be taking place in the villages.

The occupational background of the persons belonging to different communities in the villages is furnished in the table below:—

TABLE 11.5

Distribution of households of different Castes/Communities by occupation

Serial No.	Caste/Community	Total No. of households	No. of households in different occupations							
			Cultivation	Trade and commerce	In crafts as Carpentry, Blacksmithy, Pottery, Jewellery, Tailoring and Weaving	Agr. and other labour	Scavenging cleaning	Water carrying	Oil Ghani	Other miscellaneous occupations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Ravidasi/Chamar (S.C.)	405	.	..	..	405	.	.	..	..
2	Rajput	245	245	..	..	..	.	..	..	..
3	Balmiki/Chura (S.C.)	155	.	.	..	.	155	..	..	..
4	Brahman	127	127	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Lohar/Tarkhan	70	..	..	70	..	.	.	.	..
6	Bazigar (S.C.)	62	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	62
7	Khatri	51	.	51	.		.	..	.	..
8	Kahar	44	..	.	.	..		44	.	..
9	Jat	34	34	.	.	..	..	.	..	..
10	Teli	27	..	..	.	..	..	..	27	..
11	Nai/Barber	22	..	.		..	.	..	..	22
12	Bania	17	..	17	..	..	..	..	.	..
13	Penja	15	.	..	..	..	..	..	.	15
14	Saini	10	10	.	.		..	..	..	..
15	Kumhar	8	..	..	8	..	.	..	..	.
16	Gadaria	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
17	Sunar	5	.	.	5	.		..	.	..
18	Chhimba	4	.	.	4	..		..	..	..
19	Kalal	4	..	..	..	..	.	.	..	4
20	Bharbhunja	4	..	4	..	..		..	..	..
21	Julaha (Muslim)	2	..	..	2	.	..	..	..	..
22	Mirasi	1	..	.			.	..	..	1
23	Nat (S.C)	1	..	..	.	..	.	..	..	1
	Total	1,320	416	72	89	405	155	44	27	112

Out of 1320 households in the three villages, 416 households reported cultivation as their traditional occupation. These belong to Rajput, Saini, Brahaman and Jat communities. Two households from Rajputs and one from Brahaman composed of exclusively female members adopted *panja dari* a non-traditional occupation, in order to augment their income. Households belonging to Khatri, Bania and Bharbhunja are reported to be engaged in trade and commerce activities. Households of Lohar/Tarkhan, Kumhar, Sunar, Chhimba are engaged in their respective traditional occupations of iron and wood work, pottery, jewellery and tailoring, respectively. Ravidasi/Chamar, Balmiki, Kahar, and Nai, are reported to be doing the jobs like agricultural labour/other services, scavenging and cleaning services water-carrying, and hair-cutting services etc., respectively, Bazigar, Teli, Penja and Gadaria were noted to be traditionally accobate/gymnasts, oil *ghani* workers, cotton carders and sheep/goat stock raisers respectively. Households of Kalal were in services, Julaha pursued their traditional weaving, and one household each of Nat and Mirasi were revealed to be traditionally musicians and lampooners and panegyrists. The economic structure of these villages was basically agrarian.

As already stated 20 households each were selected in the three villages whose member(s) are engaged in *Panjadari* weaving. None of the households' male member is engaged in this job. Incidentally it may also be mentioned here that in these villages the households engaged in this handicraft in order to augment household income range from 20 to 23 but selected for this survey are 20 households each. The data collected from the three villages depicting the salient features of craftswomen is furnished in the table II.6 below :

TABLE II.6

Distribution of populaton of selected households by ethnic group and workers in the selected villages

Serial No.	Name of caste/ community	Total No. of selected households	Total population	Name of village indicating No. of households and their population by sex										Total workers	
				Majri			*Samali*			*Sanghol*					
				Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F		M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		14	15
1	Rajput	45	362	15	60	71	19	85	79	11	36	31		95	66
2	Brahaman	4	34	2	4	6	1	4	5	1	5	10		4	7
3	Khatri	4	22	.	.	.	..	.		4	10	12		6	4
4	Tarkhan/Lohar	3	21	1	4	2	..	..	.	2	8	7		5	4
5	Balmiki (S.C.)	1	7	..	..	.		..	..	1	2	5		2	2
6	Teli	1	5			..			..		3	3		1	1
7	Nai	1	0	1	6	4			.			.		3	2
8	Bharbhunja	1	6	1	3	3						.		1	1
	Total	60	467	20	77	89	20	89	84	20	63	68		117	87

The above table reveals that amongst the 229 males there are 117 workers and amongst the 238 females, there are 87 workers comprising 51 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively. A bulk of the workers (95 males and 66 females belongs to Rajput community alone. As many as 22 male and 21 female workers belong to the remaining seven caste groups. Further the data regarding break up of workers and non-workers is furnished in the table II.7 as follow:

TABLE II. 7

Age and sex distribution of workers and non-workers

Age Group	Total Population			Workers			Non-Workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
0—14	149	80	69	..	..	.	149	80	69
15—34	176	75	101	118	49	69	58	26	32
35—59	111	59	52	76	58	18	35	1	34
60 & above	31	15	16	10	10	..	21	5	16
All ages	467	229	238	204	117	87	263	112	151

The table reveals that child labour is conspicuous by its absence and bulk of workers falls in younger (15—34) and middle (35—59) age groups and *dari* work has offered opportunities to the females to compete with their male counterparts to a considerable extent. Work participation shows a decline with coming of old age (60 and above). In continuation, the distribution of workers with reference to traditional and present day occupation classified by age groups is given in table II. 8 below :

TABLE II.8

Distribution of workers according to traditional and present occupation

Traditional Occupation	WORKERS PRESENTLY IN															
	Traditional Occupation						Dari Weaving				Services				Total	
	15- 34		35 59		60 & Above		15 34		35 -59		15 34		35- -59			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Cultivation	27	..	36	..	7	..	..	51	..	13	9	.	9	.	88	64
Agricultural Labour	1	.	2	.	..	.	..	3	.	.	2	..	.	.	5	3
Service	3	..	1	..		..		2	.	..	.	.	..	..	4	2
Shop keeping/business	1	..	7	..	1	..	..	4	..	4	.	..	..	..	9	8
Hair cutting	1	.	..	..	1	..	.	2	.	..	1	.	..	..	3	2
Wood/Iron, Machine repair work	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	.	..	..	3	2
Priesthood	..	.	..	.	..	..	..	.	..	1	.	.	..	.	..	1
Flour Mill (Atta Chakki)	1	.	1	..	.	..	..	2	..	..	..	.	..	.	2	2
Oil Ghani	..	.	1	..	.	.	.	1	..	.	..	.	..	..	1	1
Messenger/Watchman	1	..	1	..	.	..		2	.	..	..	.	..	..	2	2
Total of all	35	..	50	..	10	..	.	69	..	18	13	.	9	.	117	87

The distribution of workers into traditional and present occupation reveals that 93 males and 67 females were traditionally in agricultural pursuits. Break up into other occupational pursuits is apparent from the table. People are observed to be adopting some other occupation than the traditional one if that appears profitable. A horizontal mobility in occupation is perceptible though traditional occupation is still the fulcrum of their livelihood. Out of 117 male workers, 35 in age group (15--34) and 50 in age group (35—59) and 10 in age group (60 and above) still pursued their traditional occupation. From the age groups (15—34) and (35—59) the persons who got absorbed in services were 13 and 9 respectively. Noticeably from the age group (15—34) and (35- -59) years the females numbering 69 and 18 respectively had taken up *Panja-dari* handicraft being a gainful pursuit.

It was found that five out of 87 female workers were weaving *Panjadari* on seasonal basis whereas the remaining 82 females were doing on perennial basis.

Occupational diversity

The diversification of occupation was quite perceptible in case of 56 households out of a total of 60 households. Evidently diversification existed in households having two or more workers following different occupations. The households with better economic set-up and educated members were observed to be engaged in diversified pursuits as they are prone to deviate from traditional norms. The nature of occupational diversity among households having *dari* weaving occupation in common is furnished in the table II.9.

TABLE II 9
Number of households having diversified occupations

Serial No.	Description of Occupational Diversity	No. of households	Nature of combination	Workers P	Workers M	Workers F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	No occupational Diversity ..	4	Single	5	..	5
2	Cultivation- -*Dari* weaving ..	29	Double	145	80	65
3	Service—*Dari* weaving ..	6	Do			
4	Shopkeeping- -*Dari* weaving ..	6	Do			
5	Village worker (Watchman)—*Dari* weaving ..	1	Do			
6	Atta Chakki- -*Dari* weaving ..	1	Do			
7	Repair of sewing machine—*Dari* weaving ..	1	Do			
8	Oil Ghani—*Dari* weaving ..	1	Do			
9	Cultivation—service—*Dari* weaving ..	8	Triple	54	37	17
10	Carpenter- -Service—*Dari* weaving ..	1	Do			
11	Hair cutting- -Service -*Dari* weaving ..	1	Do			
12	Agricultural Labour —Service- -*Dari* weaving ..	1	Do			
	Total ..	60		204	117	87

From the above table it is apparent that in 45 households two different occupations were pursued by the members, in 11 households three different occupations were pursued whereas cultivation was the dominant occupation other than *dari* weaving craft. From amongst the remaining 4 households *dari* weaving was returned as the main occupational pursuit. The workers in a household if engaged in the occupation followed by the head of the household shows that such households have no occupational diversity. From the 60 sampled households in the survey amongst the three villages, in all there have been recorded exclusively 87 female *dari* weavers whose distribution by age-group is furnished in table below :

TABLE II. 10
Workers engaged in *Panja Dari* by age-groups.

Age group	Female workers
0—14	—
15--34	69
35—59	18
60 and Above	—
Total	87

It is evident from the above table that the *Panja dari* craft is an exclusive preserve of the females. Child labour is conspicuous by its absence and no elderly women from 60 + age group were doing this job probably due to weak eyesight of old women, though they render help in dyeing of yarn for weft strands.

Settlement pattern

Distribution of houses of craft worker was not found different from general settlement pattern of houses in the villages. In the settlement pattern the bond of caste/community group is found more stronger than that of occupation. The so called clean caste groups were usually scattered and conglomerated and usually inhabited higher portion of the village habitat whereas the scheduled castes were usually on the lower portion on the outer-fringes of the village habitation i.e. they were traditionally segregated. The houses and layout of the villages rarely followed any design or pattern. In social hierarchical order. *Brahman* caste group is recognised at the upper rung of the society, followed by *Rajput* and *Khatri* almost equated at the same social level. Then come the Lohar/Tarkhan, Nai and Bharbhunja social groups. They rarely suffer from any social disability. Inter-commensal relations were observed to exist amongst these caste groups. Earlier *Balmikis* were kept traditionally at some social distance in the villages from so called clean castes. They were observed to suffer from some amount of social disability but now it is perceptibly changing as compared to the past and the stigma of social disability is steadily evaporating.

Demographic profile of craft workers households

The population of 60 households having some member(s) doing *panjadari* work was recorded to be 467 persons comprising 229 males and 238 females giving thereby a sex ratio of 1,039 females per 1,000 males. As this craft is carried out exclusively by females it was observed that this craft is pursued generally in those households, where the number of females is comparatively higher. So much so in some households females outnumbered males. Highest sex ratio was returned in the age interval 15—19 having 30 males and 45 females but after this age-group number of females is usually lesser than male counterparts. One hundred males and 99 females from this segment were recorded to be married. None was reported to be "divorced or separated" and having an unspecified marital status. However, 4 males and 11 females were recorded as widowed

In the segment of sampled population under study 62.74 per cent were recorded as literates whereas for the total population of these villages the corresponding literacy percentage was 43.38 as per 1981 Census. The reason for higher literacy in sampled households is that these households comprise a major segment of socially advanced group of people i.e. Swarna Caste who seem to be struggling to compete with current tide of education in order to elevate their standard. Separately amongst males and females the corresponding percentages were 65.06 and 60.50 respectively.

The distribution of workers and non-workers classified by sex and educational level is given in Table II.11.

TABLE II.11

Distribution of workers and non-workers by sex and educational level

Educational level	Total		Workers		Non-Workers	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Illiterate	80	94	39	22	41	72
Literate without educational level	2	2	2	1	..	1
Primary or Junior basic	61	101	15	38	46	63
Middle	49	24	34	10	15	14
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	34	17	25	16	9	1
Graduate and above	3	..	2	..	1	..
Total	229	238	117	87	112	151

Of 467 persons 293 were literates. Amongst workers and non-workers the literacy percentage approximates to 70 and 57 respectively. "Primary or Junior Basic" was the dominant (34.69) per cent educational level. After the primary level there were more drop-outs from amongst the females as there were recorded 49 males and 24 females having studied upto middle standard i.e. females were reduced to about half of the male strength at this level of education. Similar trend was noticed at the attainment of next higher standard "Matric or Higher Secondary" where 34 males and 17 females had attained this educational level. In the higher level(s) of education only 2 males from Majri and one male from Sanghol have attained "Graduate and Above" level of education from this segment of population. In education there appears a good beginning but a poor goal at high level.

The distribution of households by religion, Caste/Community, mother tongue, sex and educational level of head of the household is furnished in table II.12 below.

TABLE II·12

Distribution of households by religion, caste/community, mother tongue, sex and educational level of head of household

Religion	Caste/Community	Mother Tongue of head of household		Educational level					
		Punjabi	Hindi	Illitrate	Literate without educational level	Primary or Jr. Basic	Middle	Matriculation	Graduate and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hindu	Rajput	43	2	27	..	3	9	5	1
	Khatri	4	..	..	1	..	2	1	..
	Brahman	4	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
	Tarkhan/Lohar	2	..	1	..	1	..	.	..
	Barber	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
	Bharbhunja	1	..	.	..	1	..	..	..
	Balmiki (S.C.)	1	..	1	..	.	..	..	..
Islam	Teli	1		1	.	..	..		..
Sikh	Tarkhan/Lohar	1	.	1	..		.	.	..
	Total	58	3	32	2	5	13	7	1

Out of these 60 households one head of household of Tarkhan/Lohar caste in Sanghol village belonged to Sikh religion, one to Muslim religion and the remaining 58 households belonging to 7 different communities as mentioned earlier, were professing Hindu religion. Except 2 heads of households in Majri returning Hindi as their mother tongue, the remaining 58 had returned "Punjabi" as their mother tongue. Two heads of households each in village Majri and Samgoli were females and in case of remaining 56 households the heads were invariably males. Amongst the 60 heads of households 32 were illiterate, 2 were literate without educational level, 5 had attained the level of "Primary or Junior basic", 13 had studied upto middle standard, 7 had studied upto matriculation standard and only one head of household in Majri Village had studied upto "Graduate and above" level. The composition of selected households by age and sex of heads of households is furnished in table below.

TABLE II.13

Distribution of households by age and sex of head of household and its composition by number of members

Age-Group of head of household	Number of heads of household by sex		Number of households having members								
	M	F	Single	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10--12	13 & above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Below 20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20—29	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..
30—39	4	2	..	..	..	3	1	1	..	..	1
40—49	23	1	..	..	4	..	..	13	4	2	1
50—59	12	..	..	1	..	3	2	3	2	1	..
60 and above	14	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	4	5
Total	56	4	..	1	4	7	4	21	9	7	7

The composition of selected households with respect to number of members in them revealed that there was no single member household. One household in Sanghol had two members. 4 households comprised 3 members, 7 had 4 members, 4 had 5 members, 21 had a composition ranging between 6-7 members, 9 had (8-9) members, 7 had (10-12) members and 7 had 13 and more members. From the four households where females were the heads of households one each had 3,4 and 5 members individually and fourth had 10-12 members on its strength. As many as 23 male heads and one female head fell in the age group (40—49) years. 12 male heads fell in the age interval (50--59) years, 14 males and one female heads fell in the age group (60 and above). Seven male and 2 female heads were in the age interval (20-39) years and none was in the interval below 20 years i.e. the main concentration was at the interval (40-49) years.

The composition of households by nature of relationship of members to head of the household was also examined in respect of the 60

households under study, which is furnished in the table II. 14.

TABLE II.14

Distribution of households by nature of relation of members to head of household and number of members

Serial No.	Nature of relation of members to head of household	No. of households	No. of members
1	2	3	4
1	Self	..	.
2	Self, spouse	1	2
3	Self, spouse, unmarried sons and daughters	26	162
4	Self, spouse, married sons and sons' wives with or without unmarried sons and daughters, sons' unmarried sons and daughters	20	199
5	Self spouse, married brother, brother's wife, with or without unmarried sons and daughters	1	16
6	Self, spouse, married brother, brother's wife, married son, son's wife with or without married sons/or daughter	..	..
7	Self (male) unmarried son/daughter	1	3
8	Self (female) unmarried son/daughter	3	12
9	Self, spouse with or without unmarried son/daughter and widowed father	1	3
10	Self, spouse, with or without unmarried son/daughter and widowed mother	1	8
11	Self (male) in unmarried brothers/sisters	..	..
12	Self, married brother, brother's wife, unmarried brothers sons/daughters widowed brother's wife	1	12
13	Self, spouse, married brother, brother's wife, sister, widowed mother and unmarried fathter's brother	2	16
14	Self, spouse, married brother, brother's wife, sister widowed mother	1	14
15	Self (male) unmarried brother's son/daughter	1	5
16	Self, spouse, sons and daughters, unmarried brother, brother's wife, brother's sons and daughters, widowed mother	1	15
	Total	60	467

From the above table it is apparent that maximum number of 26 were the nuclear families comprising 162 members, followed by 20 vertically extended families comprising 199 members. The households with combination of relations other than nuclear families or vertically extended families were sporadic and scattered few. The trend was dominant for nuclear households and lineally extended households. There is also noticed a trend towards fission of larger joint families. After the marriage the son tends to set-up his independent household. The households with larger number of members find it difficult to pull on.

The analysis of 60 heads of households with reference to the individual's place of birth revealed that 56 were born within the village. Out of 4 female heads of household one had migrated from urban area within the district, another one had migrated from rural area of Ludhiana district within the State, whereas one female each had migrated from rural area of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh States respectively.

Alienation from the craft—non-practising households

The data in respect of 5 households from each of the three selected villages who had since abandoned the craft was compiled and then consolidated. It is mentionable here that at least one member from these households practised the craft under study in memorable past. The distribution of population of these 15 households with reference to age, sex and marital status revealed that in age group (0—19) years all 22 males and 18 females were recorded as 'never married'. In the age group (20—44) years, 16 males and 14 females were enjoying

married life and 4 males and one female were recorded as 'never married'. Further in the age group (45 and above), 1 male was recorded as 'never married'. 9 males and 9 females were recorded as married, whereas 1 male and 3 females were recorded as widowed which accounts for the total 53 males and 45 females.

Out of the 15 heads of households who abandoned the craft due to one reason or the other, 13 were males and 2 females. Three belonged to Ravidasi Scheduled Caste, 4 to Rajput, one each to Brahman and Kahar castes all professed Hindu religion. Two belonged to Mohammedan religion. Two heads of households belonging to Tarkhan/Lohar caste, one each to Kabirpanthi/Julaha and Ravidasi scheduled castes professed Sikh religion.

The composition of households by number of members in them reveled that 4 households each had (6—7) and (10—12) members, two households each had got 4 and (8-9) members and 3 households had 2 members. Further 6 male heads of households were in the age group (60 and above), 3 male and 2 female heads were in the age group (50- -59) years 3 male heads were in the age group (40—49) year and only one male head was in the age group of (30- -39) years.

Further distribution of these 15 households by nature of relationship of members to head was examined which is furnished in the table II. 15.

TABLE II.15

Distribution of households by nature of relationship of members to head of household and number of members

Serial No.	Nature of relationship of members to head of household	Number of	
		Households	Members
1	2	3	4
1	Self	..	..
2	Self, spouse	2	4
3	Self, spouse, unmarried sons and daughters	1	4
4	Self, spouse, married son and son's wife with or without unmarried sons and daughters	7	61
5	Self (female), unmarried son/daughter	1	2
6	Self, spouse, with or without unmarried son/daughter and widowed father	1	7
7	Self, spouse with or without unmarried son/daughter and widowed mother	1	6
8	Self, male, married brother, brother's wife and brother's sons/daughters	1	4
9	Self (widowed female), married sons, son's wives, son's sons and daughters	1	10
	Total	15	98

The composition of households by nature of relation of members to heads of households reveals that maximum of 7 were the vertically extended families. Other types of combinations of relations were solitary few in these households. It was observed that larger families were breaking up into smaller nuclear or vertically extended nuclear ones.

The study of 15 households with reference to migration status of heads revealed that 13 male heads were the non-migrants i.e were born in the villages where study was conducted. One female head had migrated from rural area of Rupnagar district and another female head had migrated to the village from rural area of neighbouring Haryana State. The reason for migration in both these cases was marriage, and their stay here had exceeded twenty years.

The study of households who had left the craft with respect to their traditional occupation, religion, caste/community of the heads

revealed that 4 households of *Rajput* one each of *Brahman* and Kahar communities professing Hinduism were traditionally cultivators. Three households of *Ravidasi* (Hindu) and two households belonging to Islam were traditionally *bunkars* (weavers). One household of *Julaha/Kabirpanthi* professing Sikh religion was again a weaver. One household belonging to *Tarkhan/Lohar* caste and professing Sikh religion was traditionally a mason, and another of the same ethnic group and religion did the job of sinking handpumps. One household of *Ravidasi* Sikh was traditionally agricultural labourer.

Workers/Non-Workers

Out of total 98 persons comprising 53 males and 45 females in these 15 households as many as 32 males and 2 females were workers whereas, the remaining 21 males and 43 females were recorded as non-workers. In the age group (0—14) years all the 14 males and 13 females were non-workers. The break-up of working force in the higher age groups by sex and caste/community is furnished in the table II. 16.

TABLE II.16

Distribution of workers by Caste/Community sex and broad-age groups

Serial No.	Caste/Community	Total Workers		Workers in age group					
				15—34		35—39		60 +	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Rajput	7	1	4	..	2	1	1	..
2	Ravidasi (S.C.)	13	1	7	1	4	..	2	..
3	Tarkhan/Lohar	6	..	4	..	1	..	1	..
4	Brahman	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
5	Kahar	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
6	Mohammedan	3	..	..	..	2	..	1	..
7	Julaha/Kabirpanthi (S.C.)	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
	Total	32	2	15	1	11	1	6	..

Further the analysis of workers and non-workers among the 15 households by sex and enducational level showed that 15 male and 1 female workers and 14 male and 32 female non-workers were illiterate. Only one male worker was classified as 'literate without educational level'. Five males and 1 female workers, 4 male and 10 female non-workers had studied upto 'primary of junior basic' level. Seven male workers and one male and female each non-workers had attained the educational level as 'middle'. Three male workers and 2 male non-workers had studied upto 'matriculation and higher secondary' level. Only one male worker among them had studied upto 'graduation and above'.

An insight into the distribution of workers by traditional occupation and present occupation by sex and broad age-group revealed that 7 male workers returning cultivation as traditional occupation were also engaged in the same at the time of survey from whom 2 were in the age group (15—34) years, 4 in the age group (35—59) and one in the age group (60 and above). From the 3 female workers with 'cultivation' as traditional occupation, 2 in the age group (15—34) years were still cultivators and one in the age group (35—59) was engaged in dairy farming. From the 3 male workers returning masonry as traditional occupation one each in the age group (15—34) and (60 years and above) was still pursuing the same occupation whereas one in the former age-group was a factory worker. Three male workers, 2 in the age group (15—34) and one in the age group (35—59) were pursuing their traditional occupation of sinking handpumps. Further it is interesting to note that from 17 male workers returning the craft under study as their traditional occupation, one each

in the age group (15—34) and (35—59) years had adopted the loom for weaving checked *'Khesis'* Five in the age group (15—34) years and 4 in the age group (35—59) and 3 in the age group (60 +) had shifted to labour work. One each in the three broad age groups was engaged in tailoring, postal services, and masonry work. The single female worker in the age group (15—34) earned her livelihood by weaving *'Khesis'* with the help of loom. A diversified occupational mobility is apparent which is more horizontal than vertical.

Growth and development of craft in villages

A general view of history of weaving can be had by recapitulating the account given in the previous chapter. Regarding history of the origin of craft in these villages nothing particular has been revealed except that the technique of *panjadari* weaving has been transmitted since generations from mother to daughter. In the pre-partition days *Julaha/Kabirpanthi* and some Mohammadan communities were mainly associated with weaving handicraft. It was reported in Majri village that weaving as household industry was at its peack in mid-40s. Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave preached for bringing this household craft to the villages. In those days *Khadar* (coarse cloth) was woven more from the self spun yarn. With opening of *Khadi, Bhandars* some village girls/women have started weaving *Panja daris* for augmenting their household income. Rajput community is found to be more dominant amongst the village communities whose females have started weaving *daris,* as the females of *Rajput* community traditionally have an inhibition to go outside their houses for earning livelihood. The other castes whose females are less reluctant to go out for earning, are comparatively less associated with the handicraft. With the fast pace of urbanization accompanied by increasing cost of living and having no other option they have been attracted by this job as it can easily be carried on indoors. If the returns for the labour involved are suitably enhanced more females will be attracted towards this craft.

Facilities in the form of any co-operative societies or training-cum-production centres are lacking in the villages. Their creation will definitely give a boost to this craft.

CHAPTER III

PROCESS OF LEARNING

Basic requirement.

The weaving involves the fundamental elements, spun yarn, an *adda* (frame) to stretch warps, a device called *Rachh* (heddle) for separating and lifting alternate warps at one time for insertion of weft then beating of weft yarn directly across the warps by *Panja* or *hathi* (comb). The interlacing of warps and wefts at right angles is the main process of weaving. The straight line geometrical and square graphical designs are easier to weave than curved ones which proceed by minute steps across the rectangular web. The *panja dari* as observed has mainly remained women's occupation a stay at home activity. Only where weaving of *dari* became a gainful pursuit as an industry has been taken over by men with the help of loom and shuttle.

Learning and acquirement of skill.

The process of learning of this handicraft has been passing on from mother to child both in group and individual sense broadly on the conservative principle. The form of skill and knowledge which undoubtedly proved to be of importance to the people has been taught to the succeeding generation. This skill has been passing onwards through space and time and is an important constituent of civilization. In case of human being psychologically the mind has the power of conservation, a fundamental attribute essential for learning any skill and by virtue of which past is retained. The informants reported that adolescent girls were more receptive to learn the skill of weaving *panja dari* and the practice made them proficient in this art. The learning process starts from cotton ginning, carding, spinning, dyeing making 4--6 ply twisted cords for stretching on *adda*, 4—6 ply untwisted weft bobs or interlacing, preparing heddles for raising and pressing warps, beating the wefts with *panja* (comb). Making different designs on the *dari* as per certain specifications is the final stage of learning. All girls in this craft invariably were familiar with basic skill of spining though they get the ready made yarn through *Khadar Bhandu* . Their main jobs are preparing *dors* (cords), weft strands stretching the warps on *adda*, beating the inserted wefts with *panja* (comb). Perfection in this field rests on skilful and accurate movement of the fingers. Finger dexterity is skill which has to be learnt. The smooth sequence of thumb and finger movements when automatic and habitual becomes a basis for varied manipulations and design formation. All this depends on fundamental human trait. The ability to move the fingers and thumb in varying co-ordination and the tendency to vary uses of acquired skill largely in the spirit of play makes the whole technique fructify. The designs have been seen to be followed in memorised sequence without any written charts or catalogue.

"Trial and error" is the main step involved in learning process. The mother imparts instruction. The child finds best response or the way of acting and then concentrates on that step i.e. the learner repeats particular action. By trials the child finds right response that is, she learns to do things in right way. Through more and more practice she acquires familiarity with the skill and ultimately becomes habitual. Thus learning process has been a matter of selection of response to a situation which gives best results. Similar way of learning is true in realm of any handicraft. For developing the skill (convenience in doing something) the process involves important elements succinctly explained as.

The mother or elder sister acts as a teacher and rouses the urge of daughter or sister to use her instinctive energy. In a way aided by a purpose or goal or incentive the environment gives her the stimulus. By instruction imparted to her, she is motivated to act. The stimulation rouses her to action. The learning girl selects the hopeful and best purposes. Having selected the purpose behind, the girl acts for herself. She attempts something practical. It is just learning by doing practical simultaneously. She learns to insert the wefts with fingers as instructed. She judges if her practical action is right or wrong. If she considers that her practical action is wrong, then she makes new selection and fresh attempt. New action ensures until, she has right response. The novel response which solves the problem is adopted and established. The mother's help who is instructor for the skill is always available till she learns rightly. Having finally achieved the right response, she has then to exercise. She

learns to hold the *panja* (comb), insert the wefts of various colours in the sheds and beat them uniform and tight. The practice goes on under the supervision of the mother or sister. The girl then performs the skill independently without much effort and even without much thinking. As reported by experts if some wrong response is made the whole process has to be gone over again.

It sometimes becomes difficult to rectify wrongly done job. So a true sense of purpose has to be infused otherwise an adolescent girl may have to be cajoled or forced into work. She has to be prepared to undertake work even single handed.

Further, the learning of the craft depends on girl's awareness and sensation. The better the sensation, the better the perception of skill in her mind. From her perception, she broadens her intellect and invents new designs for her work. The knowledge gained by her is tested in action. Slowly and steadily it gets into her mind and the knowledge is assimilated and ultimately becomes a part of her mental stock. An accurate training of senses is also important. Accurate observation, not with eyes alone, but with all the senses is essential in a satisfactory learning process. All told, that those things which do not appeal to us and have nothing to do with us, we let go. The "purpose" does influence this whole process of learning. The skill of weaving *Panjadari* involves a sort of pragmatic learning i.e., learning through practical doing what may be called trial and error. Apart from "trial and error" some skills being pursued as part of culture in another society, are introduced by the introducer to a different society. It is then just borrowing the skill from one people by another. The introducer is not actually its inventor or originator. It is also a case of learning process and is known as "imitation." It is a bit easier to learn just by imitating. It is most common and important element in case of present handicraft. It depends on coming in contact with one another. Such phenomenon is met more in geographically contiguous areas. An incentive, a need or drive plays its essential role in borrowing a cultural innovation or skill. The handicraft is progressively learnt if it is accepted by the people and it serves their needs.

Girls are unaware of the laws of learning but practically the laws are being followed automatically in some form or the other to learn the technique. When the daughters are ready to learn, they make rapid gains in their learning. The exercise they make leads to perfection. When they prepare the *dari*, it brings them satisfaction which is an important factor in learning. The things or designs which they have learnt most recently, they can reproduce easily. It was reported that a teenaged girl learns the weaving process within a duration say 3 to 4 months. There were hardly any females in these villages who undertook the training in *dari* weaving from an Institute, neither any such facilities in the area were reported to be available. The girls were observed to be interested in undergoing specialised training especially for learning new decorative designs to be prepared by them if some arrangement for imparting it were made locally.

Period engaged in craft.

An inquiry was made as to how long the 87 female *dari* weavers were engaged in the craft and how they had acquired the skill with respect to relationship to the head of the household. Out of 34 females engaged in the craft for a duration less than 5 years, one was herself head, another one was wife of a head, 16 were related as daughters of heads, 7 were the son's wives, 4 were son's daughters, one was brother's wife and 4 were brother's daughters and all these 34 had learnt the skill invariably from their mothers. Out of 40 females engaged in the craft for about 5- 9 years, one was again herself head, 9 were wives, 17 were daughters, 6 were son's wives, 3 were son's daughters, and 4 were sisters of the heads From these, 38 had again been imparted training by their mothers whereas one son's wife was trained by her sister and another females being related as sister to the head had been imparted training by brother's wife. Out of twelve engaged in the craft from 10—20 years, 7 were wives, 2 were son's wives and 3 were brother's wives. Excepting one female related as brother's wife who underwent training through her sister, the remaining 11 got the training from mothers. A solitary female doing the job for over 20 years also learnt the skill of weaving from her mother. It is seen that majority of weavers were younger in age and mother happened to be the most dominant teacher of the daughter and they acquired the skill more in the preceding decade. They hardly had tried their hand on any other handicraft in addition to *panja dari*.

Duration of training.

The distribution of weavers by relationship to the head, person imparted training, duration

of training is furnished in the table below:—

TABLE—III.1

Distribution of persons engaged in craft by relationship to the head, person who imparted training and duration of training.

Relationship with the head	Number of persons engaged in craft	WHO IMPARTED TRAINING								
		Mother			Sister			Brother's wife		
		Less than 6 months	6 months to one year	More than one year	Less than 6 months	6 months to one year	More than one year	Less than 6 months	6 months to one year	More than one year
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Head (Self)	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	.	..	..
Wife	18	1	16	1	..	..	..	..	..	.
Daughter	33	6	25	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Son's wife	15	1	12	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Son's daughter	7	3	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brother's wife	4	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Brother's daughter	4	..	3	1	..	..	..	.	..	..
Sister	4	2	1	.	.	..	..	..	1	..
Total	87	13	63	8	.	2	..	..	1	..

From the table it is apparent that out of 84 females who took the training from their mothers, 13 learnt the skill within 6 months, 63 spent 6 months to one year whereas 8 spent over one year to acquire the requisite skill. It was a learning process at home free from any fear of punishment. It was rather in affectionate and leisurely manner and free from rigid time schedule. In case of 2 females who learnt the skill from sisters the period ranged from 6 months to one year. Solitary female who underwent training under her brother's wife also spent 6 months to one year to acquire the requisite skill. It is to be noted here that all the females learnt the weaving skill without paying any remuneration in cash or kind, rather it was in obligatory manner from the person who imparted the training. There were sparingly laid down any terms and conditions for learning the art of *dari* weaving. The daughters need not be afraid of making mistake or wasting some soot (yarn) while learning. Even if mother sometimes rebuked the child, it is taken mildly as it was for inculcating confidence and safeguarding against mistake. The rebuke was taken as an ally and not an enemy by the child. The mother not only imparted training in perfunctory manner but she alongwith her daughter entered into a spirit of game which made the task easier for the learner. The mother is always approachable by the learning child and this close connection has a telling effect on acquiring the art. The learning becomes more easy and successful when the attitude is joint one. A few

girls were said to be unintelligent and dreamy to learn this art and they were unable to achieve neatness and accuracy in their work. A neat and accurate work is assessed as upto the mark by Khadar Bhandar authorities in comparison to a slipshod job which is sometimes rejected by them. Clearance of *Panja Dari* by the Khadar Bhandar authorities is treated as a sort of examination by the new entrants to this handicraft.

Assessment of training.

An inquiry regarding assessment of training received by the persons related to the period engaged in the craft and intention to receive better training was made which is furnished in the table below:—

TABLE III.2

Distribution of trained persons by period engaged in the craft, and intention to receive better training

Period engaged in craft in years	No. of weavers engaged in the craft	Training is considered		Favouring	Not favouring better training due to	
		Adequate	Inadequate	Better training	Much engagement in household chores	Old age
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Less than 5	34	33	1	32	1	1
5—9	40	40	..	37	1	2
10—19	12	12	..	10	..	2
20+	1	1	..	1	..	..
Total	87	86	1	80	2	5

The attitude of weavers towards training is apparent by a glance at the table. In the first instance they showed contentment with whatever they could learn in traditional way. Only one female had reported the training as inadequate as she was fresh entrant. A further probe whether they favoured receiving better training, as many as 80 out of total 87 showed a preference to undergo better training if made available to them in the village. Two expressed unwillingness to undergo any better training as much of their time was spent in household chores. Five were unwilling to undertake better training due to old age factor. None of the parents favoured sending their females for training outside the village as they had strong inhibition for that. They showed ignorance about availability of better training facilities in the area. A study revealing the incidence of restrictions for imparting training to the persons by duration of engagement of household in the craft is given in the table below:—

TABLE III.3

Distribution of households reporting restrictions for imparting training to persons by duration of engagement of households in the craft

Period engaged in the craft (in years)	No. of households	Number of households reported	
		Restriction to impart training to other caste/ community members	No restriction to impart instruction
1	2	3	4
Less than 5	13	3	10
5—9	24	5	19
10—19	21	1	20
20—	2	2	.
Total	60	11	49

The 11 households expressed that they had inhibitations in imparting training to female member(s) of other caste/communities . These were the so called twice born caste households who were reluctant to mix with members of households thought by them to be of lower social status. Neither they want to learn the skill from them nor to teach them. Such households were recorded in villages of Majri and Samgoli. Majority of them were aware of untouchability Act but they were conditioned by age old social structure. About one fourth of Swarna Caste households were recorded to follow such restrictions. However it was observed that these restrictions are fast evaporating. All the females, however, had an appreciation for neat and accurate work accomplished by an individual irrespective of her caste/community. The prevalent pattern of acquirement of skill is also revealed by some biographical sketches recorded during the survey.

Case-I

Detailed information was asked from a few weavers concerning mainly process of learning. An unmarried girl weaver named P belonging to Rajput community was contacted at random, who was born in village Majri of Tahsil Kharar in Ropar district. She is the son's daughter of head, a retired school teacher. At the time of survey she was 21 and had passed her matriculation a couple of years ago. She has two sisters elder one being 23 and another of 18 years. Her father's sister was 22 years. All these girls were yet unmarried. She learnt the skill of weaving *dari* in her own home mainly from mother and sometimes from father's sister as well. In the beginning she used to prepare 4-5 ply warps from ordinary spun yarn. Her mother imparted instruction to her alongwith other two daughters to stretch the warps on *adda* i.e. stretching the web. Then the daughters were taught to insert weft in the shed created by raising and pressing the sets of warps and then beating the wefts. There was hit-and trial in the beginning for learning various pictorial designs. Sometimes mistakes were made and thus there resulted variation from the desired specification of a *dari*. She, even by such a set back rarely allowed her interest extinguish. In due course she acquired the skill as her mother wished her. She admits that her mother was untiresome to bring the lesson in her workable memory. Through her mother's continuous efforts for about six months all the three daughters acquired the practice to do the job independently. Now she is quite proficient in *dari* weaving. She helped by her other sisters sometimes weaves 6 *daris* in a month. Various designs, she reported, were *leharia* (wavy), *patti* (stripe), *phool-patte* (floral), *chirian da jaal* (net of sparows), *chitarkari* (checked), birds and small animals (refer to sketches in fig. 11 Chapter IV) or as laid down by *Khadar Bhandar* authorities. She has also learnt the skill of dyeing the yarn. She rarely has any catalogue of designs. She follows weaving various designs in a memorised way.

Through repetition all the sisters have gained sufficient experience and practice. She is confident that now they can even take up woollen *daris* if required. This skill has fostered in them a feeling that by this they can earn their livelihood. She took pride in saying that her work was assessed to be quite upto the mark by the Khadar Bhandar people. She reported that by weaving *daris*, they are augmenting the family income. She was planning to have a portable folding *adda* (frame) for stretching the web. She was however hesitant to go out for other job or undergo an advanced training in the profession.

Case-II

Another weaver contacted for detailed information again happened to be a Rajput girl named P daughter of Mr. M. of same village. She joined the school in her childhood and left it after passing middle standard examination from the local middle school. The parents were not interested to let her continue higher studies. After leaving the school she helped her mother in household chores and *dari* weaving in the house. She learnt the skill from her mother. In the beginning she used to spin yarn and then started preparing warps and wefts as instructed by her mother. Then she alongwith her mother used to sit on the *adda* and beat the wefts. She inculcated an interest in the job. Through mother's frank and free guidance, devoid of any fear, she picked up the skill after a couple of months. Her mother taught her the movement of 4 fingers for inserting wefts. She never attended any training Centre. She has purchased a portable *adda* (frame) of galvanised iron pipes. She takes the yarn from *Khadar Bhandar*. She prepares 5-6 *daris* a month with the help of her mother and augments the income of the family, by earning about Rs. 300 a month. She is doing the job for the last three years. Her house is a *kacha* as well as *pucca* mixed and facility of electricity is available. She can weave various designs as laid down by *Khadar Bhandar*. *Leharia* (wavy) and *Chitarkari* (checked) as indicated in sketch in Chapter IV are the popular ones. Green, red, yellow, white

are the predominant colours used in the *daris*. She was not much interested to undergo any advanced training in the art of weaving by going out of the village. She has also composed a few songs which she sings while doing the job. She felt contented with the job. Only thing she was complaining was the biased grading of the work and low rate of payment as compared to the amount of labour involved in the job.

Case-III

In village Samgoli Miss K daughter of widow P belonging to Rajput community was recorded as illiterate. She, from her early teens started helping her mother in ginning of cotton and spinning *soot* (yarn). She occasionally helped her mother in twisting of warps and dyeing of yarn for weaving *dari* and cross-weaving cots. She learnt the preparatory steps to be taken in order to stretch a *dari* web. The mother taught her preparing colours from the bark of trees and also the quantity of chemical colours required for dyeing *soot* (yarn). Similarly her elder sister had learnt the skill from her mother. She had the benefit of having two teachers i.e. mother and elder sister. She acquired the skill of stretching the *taana* (web) in 1980 alongwith her elder sister who has since been married. They were the first two sisters who undertook to weaving *daris* for household income. Economic stringencies forced these sisters to take the weaving work from Khadar Bhandar within village on contract basis. The *daris* woven by Miss K were simple *pattidar* (stripy) weighing about 3 Kgs. in weight having 3-4 colours only. She had learnt the job with interest, but it could not last later than 1985. The interest subsequently faded away on account of low remuneration incompatible with labour involved. She was doing the *dari* work only half heartedly and was thinking to abandon it altogether as she could make more money by attending to milch cattle. She expressed that her zeal in the job can be rejuvenated if some textile firm comes forward to take work from village girls at suitably enhanced rates for the labour input. She has the potential to work and is capable of weaving 4 standard, *daris* in a month which atleast should fetch her about Rs. 250 p. m. Several other girls of the village were also facing the same problem. Her activity is limited to own home. She never attended any training school.

Case-IV

One more weaver incidentally again an unmarried girl named U daughter of S belonging to Balmiki Scheduled Caste was contacted. She was born in Sanghol village. She joined the local school, but economic stringencies of the family did not allow her to continue her studies any further and she was compelled to give up educational pursuit though she was aware of facilities provided by the government to the scheduled caste students. She was 17 years at the time of survey. She started learning *dari* weaving handicraft under the sympathetic instruction of her mother. The learning in the home while doing practical work added to her gains in the skill. She started from dyeing of the yarn. She can also spin fine yarn with speed though, she uses mill spun and factory dyed yarn for weaving *daris*. She expressed that usually all the adolescent girls are capable of learning the handicraft but learning to incorporate various designs is a bit difficult and requires time and sharp memory to remember the combination of warps and wefts. The main technique taught to her was the use of four fingers of left hand for inserting wefts in the shed. She attended to *dari* work alongwith other household work. She reported that she also prepared *daris* of other households for presenting in *daj* (dowry) by them in exchange of moderate remuneration ranging from Rs. 35 to Rs. 40 a piece. She is able to weave four *daris* a month. She has got a *pucca* room with facility of electricity for doing the craft. Further she was of the opinion that winter season is more suited for the job and it can be attended even at night. She can incorporate designs as *Patti* (Stripe) *leharia* (weavy or serpentine) *Chitarkari* (checked), birds and animals (as referred in figure 11 in Chapter IV) as required by customer. She is quite conversant with the skill of weaving *dari*. She also showed that *shaneel* wefts could be used in place of soot (yarn) wefts. A *dari* prepared by her using *shaneel* wefts was very soft to touch. She stated that she could take up *dari* weaving on contract basis from *Khadar Bhandar* provided the incentives in terms of labour charges are in keeping with the work. In her neighbourhood, there were some who were operating looms weaving *Khes* by the mechanical contrivance using shuttle for inserting wefts. She also possesses an extra knowledge and can also work on the looms.

CHAPTER IV

MANUFACTURING PROCESS

Place of work

The weaving of *Panja daris* most commonly has been seen to be women's occupation and is a stay-at-home activity. The whole technique is confined to the four walls of the houses. Unlike the past, the mill spun yarn is readily available in bazaar, so the local spinning is giving way to the machine spun thread. *Daris* vary in size, but are generally made big enough for a bed. For stretching the *taana* (web) of a *dari*, the weaver requires a flat smooth space on the ground slightly larger than the size of intended *dari*. Usually a room of size 8-10 sq. meters area would suffice for an ordinary *dari* required for a bed. Some weavers in village Sanghol were observed weaving two *daris* at a time by stretching the joint *taana* of two *daris* linearly. In such cases length of the room required, varies from 6 to 8 meters and breadth from 2 to 3 meters. The web can be stretched in a room of above dimensions. Two weavers usually attend to a *dari* particularly at initial stage and the requisite space needed by them for stretching the warp and fixing the heddle and shed sticks obviously exceeds length and breadth of the *dari*. The weavers have sometime to move around the web for certain intermediary process, In case the web is stretched on a portable *adda* (frame) it can be shifted to any suitable place, may be outside the room, in the shade of a tree in the courtyard or backyard.

A glance into the data pertaining to households and persons engaged in the craft as related to place of work revealed that out of 87 total weavers, 83 were using a portion of their dwelling house as place of work i.e. their activity was confined to the premises itself. Four weavers were found engaged in the craft in places other than their dwellings i.e. doing it in neighbouring house. None of the weavers was found engaged either in any workshop or training-cum-production centres either owned by the households or by some other agencies. The craft was mainly confined to the individual households.

An inquiry was also made regarding households classified by sex and age-group of head of the household which is furnished in the table below:—

TABLE IV.1

Distribution of heads of households by broad age group and sex of heads

Sex	Age group of Heads				Total
M/F	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	
1	2	3	4	5	6
M		3	39	14	56
F		1	2	1	4
Total		4	41	15	60

It was observed that out of 60 heads of households, 56 were males and four were females. Heads of households usually belonged to elderly group of persons as excepting 4 all the remaining 56 were in the age group 35 and above. Some of the weavers were seen to be working in their dark and dingy rooms under unhygienic conditions. Their interest can be roused by providing congenial working conditions. If the interest of the weaver is protected by the government or any other trustworthy body, the craft can proceed to progressive threshold. The study of duration period of these workers who are engaged in the craft revealed that they picked up the craft mostly during the preceding decade because 74 of the workers were found to be engaged for a duration (0-9) years and 13 from these had picked up the craft over a decade ago.

Further it was also examined as to how far the place of work was from the house. The 83 weavers were recorded to work on the premises of their own dwelling houses and 4 were recorded to do the craft in the nearby dwellings owned by them or by their neighbours but these places of work were less than one Km. from their residence. So no specific mode of transport was either required or used by them to attend to their work. Further an inquiry was conducted to know the extent of congestion in the places of work i.e persons engaged in the craft by area occupied and number of persons working therein. The break up of households owing the place of work by area occupied and number of persons working therein is furnished in table IV.2 below: —

TABLE IV.2

Distribution of households classified by place of work, area occupied and number of persons working therein.

Place of work occupied by the household	Number of Households (Worker)	Number of households having working area and workers							
		6—10 Sq. meters		11—16 Sq. meters		17—24 Sq. meters		25 Sq. meters and above	
		Single	(2—5)	Single	(2—5)	Single	(2—5)	Single	(2—5)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Part of dwelling house ..	56	3	..	17	11	10	9	3	3
	(83)	(3)	(—)	(17)	(25)	(10)	(18)	(3)	(7)
Next door neighbours house	4	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..
	(4)	..	..	(2)	..	(2)	..	..	..
Total ..	60	3	..	19	11	12	9	3	3
	(87)	(3)	(—)	(19)	(25)	(12)	(18)	(3)	(7)

It is revealed that out of 56 households comprising 83 workers 3 households having 3 workers occupied an area 6-10 Sq. meters 17 households having single weaver and 11 households having 25 weavers in combinations of 2-5 persons were possessing 11-16 Sq. meters as place of work. Ten households having single workers in each and 9 households having 18 workers in combinations of 2-5 occupied a place measuring 17-24 Sq. meters. Three households each comprising 3 and 7 weavers the later in combinations of 2-5 possessed spacious working area measuring over 25 Sq. meters. It is to be noted that none of the weavers was found doing the craft in-space less than 6-10 Sq. meters and no where the group of persons attending to the craft jointly exceeded 5. Two each of the four households not having their own place of work in their dwellings were working in partnership with other household in areas 11-16 Sq. meters and 17-24 Sq. meters respectively and these four households had single weaver in them. The lack of proper space for the handicraft was a hurdle for these four female workers.

Problem regarding place of work

Apart from the above, the opinion of weavers regarding the place of work and related problems, were also recorded which are furnished in Table IV.3 below :

TABLE IV.3

Distribution of workers classified by area occupied and problem relating to place of work.

Place of work occupied by household	Number or workers	Area occupied and relevant problems faced by workers								
		6—10 *Sq. Mtr.*		11—16 *Sq. Mtr.*			17—24 *Sq. Mtr.*		25 *Mtrs. and above*	
		Adequate	Problem	Adequate	Kachcha House and no Electricity	Kachcha House, no electricity, lack of fresh air and light	Adequate	Kachcha House and no electricity	Adequate	Kachcha house and no electricity
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Part of dewelling house	83	3	..	37	3	2	26	2	8	2
Next door neighbour's house	4	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..
Total	87	3	..	39	3	2	28	2	8	2

Of the 83 workers, 3 working in 6—10 Sq. meters space, 37 working in 11—16 Sq. meters space, 26 working in 17—24 Sq. meters space and 8 working in more than 25 Sq. meters space reported the spaces adequate as these were built of pucca burnt bricks and had got the facility of electricity. Three persons doing the craft in 11—16 Sq. meters space, 2 each in 17—24 Sq. meters and more than 25 Sq. meters space reported that the spaces of work were inadequate as these were *kachcha* built (not cemented) and lacked the facility of electricity. Two workers doing the job in 11—16 Sq. meters, space, besides, having *kachcha* structures lacking electricity were also devoid of the provision for cross ventilation and sunlight. Two workers each working in the 11—16 Sq. meters and 17—24 Sq. meters in premises other than their dwelling reported that these places were adequate by virtue of their being *pucca* and facilitated with electricity. The floors of all the structures where *dari* work was going on were invariably *kachcha*. It was seen that the place where the handicraft is carried out is sparingly meant for this purpose alone but at the same time the room is also used for sleeping, dining, storing grains, keeping boxes containing household clothes etc. Provision of better environment for carrying out the craft has its own part to play for enhancing the product and is necessitated on health grounds.

Purity and pollution

Nothing is seen associated as contemptuous or derogatory with the *panja dari* weaving in these villages. In all these villages it were the women who do the job of weaving *daris*. It has fallen to their lot simply depending on difference in tempraments or on training or on accidents of opportunity or compelled by circumstantial demand. They themselves recognise it as *zanana* work (job of women). It is treated as a part of traditional status of women to weave *daris*. Practically it has become a part of descent with

females in their day to day life. The men are engaged in varied occupational pursuits. The engagement in craft hardly shows any impact to disturb status relationship of the society. Neither there is any stigma of pollution associated with its technology, handling tools or raw materials. The vertical social position of caste groups is somewhat traditionally determined irrespective of this craft. The socially layered groups have their predefined rights and obligations in the society. This craft is considered a clean occupation without slightest taboo against it.

Informants' views regarding purity/pollution associated with the craft by their religion, caste/community and head of the household revealed that all the 45 households of Rajputs, 4 each of Khatris, and Brahmans, 2 of Tarkhan/Lohar, one each of Nai, Bharbhunja, Balmiki belonging to Hindu religion, and one each of Tarkhan/Lohar and Teli belonging to Sikh and Islam religion respectively hardly reported any purity/pollution belief associated with the craft. They rather reported that it is a clean job and the *dari* is an important artefect to decorate the *sage* (bed). Heads of households irrespective of their age-group neither reported any belief associated with pollution/purity nor performed any ceremony in this regard. However, irrespective of their caste or community some of weavers refrained to start a fresh *dari taana* (web stretching), on Tuesdays though there was given no scientific basis for this. As in other walks of life they rather prefer to stretch it on Wednesday, which is thought to be an auspicious and enlightening one's wisdom. A lucky person's presence while starting the *taana* (web) and taking the first pick then and there is preferred, and these are their own beliefs.

Handicrafts objects

Under the handicraft "*Panja dari*" the main and sole object or article is *dari*, which we come across in these villages. The *daris* however vary in designs and size, but are usually made big enough for the bed i.e. the main purpose for which it is prepared is to spread it on the cot. The *daris* prepared by hand are regarded best and durable because in them the warp and weft are beaten quite compact with *Panja* (comb) and even water can't percolate easily through them. The designs on *daris* are of various categories; geometrical, floral, plant, birds, fish, human figures and animals and other pictorial representations of hypothetical nature usually with symmetrical borders. Some designs are represented in figure 11 ahead. *Daris* called *pattidar* (stripy) with simple multi-coloured stripes are more common as they are less time consuming compared to complicated designed ones. Other popular designs are *dari dabbidar* and *dari panja* special as per *Khadar Bhandar* nomenclature. Some other local names of designs were *marabba bandi*, (squarely demarcated) *tukari* (pyramid) *Ghobiphul* (Cauliflower) and *belanwali* (creepers). The *soft daris* are preferred to coarse *daris*, though the latter are more durable. Some girls in Sanghol village were seen using *shaneel* cloth weft and these *daris* are softer to touch and feel. By the technique of *Panja daris* some girls had reported that they prepare simple bags by folding and sewing a small woven piece at the borders. Some others reported that *assan* (dari piece for seating a single person) were also prepared for use in worshipping while propitiating or mollifying their gods and goddesses but these were for their personal use. In the villages of Sanghol and Samgoli majority of the *daris* were prepared for domestic purposes whereas in Majri village a higher proportion was woven for disposal through Khadar Bhandar on contract basis.

Items manufactured in a month and seasonal variations

A probe was also made regarding number of items manufactured in a month. impact of season as related to the educational level of the head of the household. The relevant data are furnished in table IV.4 below:—

TABLE IV.4

Distribution of households manufacturing *daris* by number of items manufactured in a month and views about impact of season as related to educational level of head of household

Educational level	No. of households, manufacturing daris	No. of *daris* manufactured in a month		No. of households reporting the seasonal impact as		
		Less than 5	5—9	Winter favourable	Summer favourable	No seasonal variations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Illiterate	32	26	6	11	1	20
Literates without educational level	2	2	..	1	..	1
Primary or Junior Basic	5	5	..	4	..	1
Middle	13	6	7	3	..	10
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	7	5	2	3	..	4
Graduate and above	1	..	1	..	..	1
Total	60	44	16	22	1	37

Of the 32 heads of households being illiterate 26 reported to weave less than 5 pieces in a month, 6 reported to weave 5—9 pieces in a month. Eleven reported winter season to be better suited for increase in production whereas one favoured summer season for increase and the 20 did not report variation in production as a result of season. Of the 2 heads of households being literates (without educational level) reported to be weaving less than 5 pieces a month and only one favoured winter season for enhancing the production and the other one did not report any variation. All the 5 heads having studied upto primary level reported to weave less than 5 pieces a month and 4 of them favoured winter season for increase of production and one did not report any change by season. Of the 13 heads having middle as their educational level, 6 reported to weave less than 5 *daris* a month and 7 reported to weave 5—9 *daris* a month and only 3 reported winter season to increase the production and 10 did not report effect of season. Of the 7 heads studied upto matriculation or Higher Secondary 5 reported to weave less than 5 pieces a month and 2 reported to weave 5—9 *daris* a month and only 3 reported that winter season was favourable for increase in production and 4 did not report the impact of season on production. Only one graduate head of household reported that the production of *daris* varied from 5—9 a month and kept silent about the impact of season on the production. Thus in all 44 heads of households reported to weave less than 5 *daris* a month and 16 reported to weave 5—9 *daris*. Out of total 60 households 22 favoured winter season to be better for increase in production whereas one favoured summer season and the remaining 37 scarcely reported any variation by virtue of season. It is somewhat discernible that with the increase in educational level the heads of households tend to produce more number of *daris* a month.

Raw material

The main raw material consumed in *panja dari* craft is cotton yarn. Chemical powder colour is another material used in this craft. About 100 grams. of *soda* (sodium carbonates) or *sult* (sodium chloride) is also required for dyeing *soot* (yarn) for one *dari*. In the past the yarn and colours were the local material, which are now being considerably replaced by market material. Now mill spun yarn is easily available in *bazaar*. The local processing of cotton and the *indigenous spinning* is losing its base. However, spinning was seen going on in a few household. *Khadar Bhandar* authorities are playing the major role of providing the spun yarn to weavers and ginned cotton wool to the willing *Kattis* (spinners). Yarn is imported to the villages by Khadar Bhandar. For the warp wet twisted yarn of 4-5 counts is used and for the weft again strands of 5-6 counts are used. If the weavers get the raw yarn from Khadar Bhandar they have to prepare the requisite warp and weft material themselves. The mill twisted warps are also available in half kg. reels. The synthetic chemical colours are purchased from the market. The *dari* weavers purchase these in small quantities as they can't afford expenditure on bulk quantities. Requisite quantity of sodium carbonate is also available with the local shop keepers. Blue, green, red and yellow are the main prescribed colours. The warp is invariably white in preparation of all *daris*, and they become invisible by way of thorough beating. Consumption of approximate proportion of colours and dyed yarn used for a standard *dari* of about 4 kg. weight as gathered in discussion with the weavers is furnished below:—

Colour	Weight of	
	Colour (in grams)	Weft strands (in Kgs.)
1	2	3
Blue	30	1·250
Green	10	0·500
Red	20	1·000
Yellow	10	0·500
Total	70	3·250

Apart from the dyed 3.250 Kgs. of weft strands, warp weighing from 700--800 gram. is used in one piece, thus approximating the total weight of *dari* as 4 kgs. Minor variations however are permissible. The weavers reported that yarn of traditional variety cotton grown in these villages was far superior to that available in the market and they joculary compared it as *desi ghee* is to hydrogenated vegetable oil. The thread counts in weft and warp are also determined by the degree of fineness of spun yarn. The superior quality of yarn is preferably used for preparing warp as these have to withstand the great stress and tension during the weaving process. It is to be noted that previously the weight of chemical colours was recorded in *tolas* and one *tola* approximates to 10 grams of weight. The quantity of colour varied from village to village depending upon its quality.

Some of the salient specifications marked in the *Khadi lagat parta Chart* (Khadi Schedule Cost Chart) for a couple of popular *daris* which were operative during 1985-86 as prescribed by Khadi and Village Industry Commission authorities are furnished below:

COLOURED DARIS

Kind of Cloth	Length in centimeters	Breadth in centimeters	Warp weft	Yarn No.	Yarn weight in Kgs. (weft/ Warp)	Total weight (Kgs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dari Panja special	202	110	9 9	8·10	2·500 / 0·500	3
Dari Dabbidar Panja	210	120	8 8	8·10	3·300 / 0·700	4

The cost of the *daris* is said to undergo revision subject to price of yarn and colours and similarly the rates of remuneration are also affected. In villages of Samgoli and Sanghol more of the *daris* were prepared for domestic purposes whereas in Majri a higher proportion was woven through *Khadar Bhandar*.

Average monthly consumption of raw material

The details regarding average consumption of raw materials and number of *daris* manufactured in a month classified by educational level of head of household in these villages are given in the table IV-5 below as reported by informants.

TABLE IV.5

Average consumption of raw material and number of *daris* prepared in a month classified by educational level of head of households

Educational level of head of household	Number of households manufacturing *daris*	Number of *daris* woven	Average monthly consumption of each raw material					
				Colours (in gms.)				
			Yarn warp/ weft Kgs.	Blue	Green	Red	Yellow	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Illiterate	32	118	410·000	4780	880	4090	290	10040
Literate without educational level	2	6	21·000	240	30	210	30	510
Primary or Junior basic	5	17	68·700	710	70	500	70	1350
Middle	13	55	212·500	1940	340	1540	340	4160
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	7	30	102·000	660	115	485	80	1340
Graduate and above	1	6	24·600	180	60	120	60	420
Total	60	232	838·800	8510	1495	6945	870	17820

In all 232 *daris* were prepared in a month by the 60 households spread over three villages. It is to be noted here that *daris* prepared in Majri village approximated to 4 kgm. each in weight whereas in other villages *daris* of lighter weight than this were also woven. It was complained that the colours were not always fast and they faded away by sun or got blurred after first washing of the *daris*. Sodium carbonate is used but it is a partial remedy against complaint.

Procurement of material

A probe was also made regarding places from where the requisite raw material is procured and the mode of its transport to the villages. The main item yarn/ginned cotton used for *dari* weaving was collected by the *bunkars* (weavers) from Khadar Bhandar stores set up in the villages and carried to their homes as head loads (Plate. 18). The Khadi Bhandar branch of *Punjab Khadi Mandal,* Adampur Doaba (Jalandhar) at Kurali was feeding the weavers in Majri and surrounding villages by regular supply of material. The material is carried by horse cart or sometimes even by Bus. The *Khadi Bhandar* branch of Sutlej Khadi Mandal (Nakodar) at Samrala was the supplier of yarn at Sanghol and it was transported to the village by Bus. Similarly "Gramudyog Karya-Karta Sangh" main branch at Dera Bassi supplied the material to its branch in village Samgoli for onward distribution amongst weavers and the mode of transport was bus. The problem faced by the weavers was that sometimes fine quality of yarn was not available with the local Bhandar (Store) and in such case they had to visit the main branches in urban centres which was time consuming and a costly affair.

Technique—tools/equipment

The technique of weaving *panja dari* includes preparation of yarn stretching the *taana* (web) on *adda* (frame), weaving and removing the woven *dari*. The stages and tools used are described in the paragraphs to follow :

(1) *Preparation of yarn (warp and weft)*

Originally cotton ginning was done in villages by local *velna* (plate. 1) which is being abandoned these days as ginned cotton is available. The contrivance consists of one wooden roller meshed by an iron roller by a gear which is rotated in reverse direction by means of a crank fitted to wooden roller. The old women usually do this job. The ginned cotton is carded by local *penja* (carder) by flicking with a bow called *tara* (Fig. 1 and Plate 2). The stretched string of the bow is a dried intestinal thong of goat which is repeatedly struck by *mogra* (wooden balled hammer). The carded cotton thus fluffed is taken into small pieces and rolled on pencil like rod by hand on a flat surface to prepare *poonis* (cocoons) measuring about 20—25 Cms. in length. These are then spun into thread reels. The traditional *takali* (spindle), (Fig. 2) having a spindle whorl at one end and a notch at the other is losing its use. *Charkha* (spinning wheel) as seen in plate 3 is still in use for spinning and winding of yarn concurrently. The spinning wheel is such a contrivance in which a moment of twisting is followed by another moment in which the length of yarn already spun is wound on the spindle (Plate. 4). It is a sort of spindle fitted horizontally between three vartical pegs on frame having a slit in the central peg for the passage of cord functioning like a belt passing round the wooden wheel in vertical plane and at the central cushioned part of the *takala* (spindle), which is absolutely straight with shining surface lest the thread should stick to it. The two spindle *charmakhs* (holders) are simply made of reed or grass which are occasionally oiled or greased for allowing free revolving of spindle. The *takala* measuring about 40 cms., in length has got a *damkara* (whorl) either of wood or card board to support the wound up reel of thread. The thread so spun goes on reeling. The cocoon or sausage of cotton wool is held in left hand. (Plate. 4). The wheel is revolved simply by right hand by way of crank. The wound yarn takes the shape of conical cob on the spindle. The cob so spun is taken off the *takala* by slightly sliding it out-wards. From these cobs are then made *uttis* (skeins) by using *teran* (reverse double T) instrument (refer fig. 3 and plate 5). A dozen of such cobs are wound in one *utti* (skein) till the *teran* is fully loaded. For preparation of warps the threads from 4-5 *uttis* (skein) or cobs are drawn together i.e. it is made 4-5 *laras* (counts) and this multiple strand is again wound on the *teran*. It can be made directly from cobs even. It is then removed and twisted wet by use of spinning wheel after soaking the skein in water and then the bobins or cobs are prepared for *taana* (web) to be mounted on the *adda* (frame). These days ready made warp reels are also available in market.

For dyeing the yarn for weft, the 4—6 ply skeins already prepared are immersed in a boiled solution of desired colour to which a small quantity of sodium carbonate or sodium chloride is added to make it fast. After a couple of hours the coloured strands of 4—6 counts are stirred well, and taken out for spreading apart in the

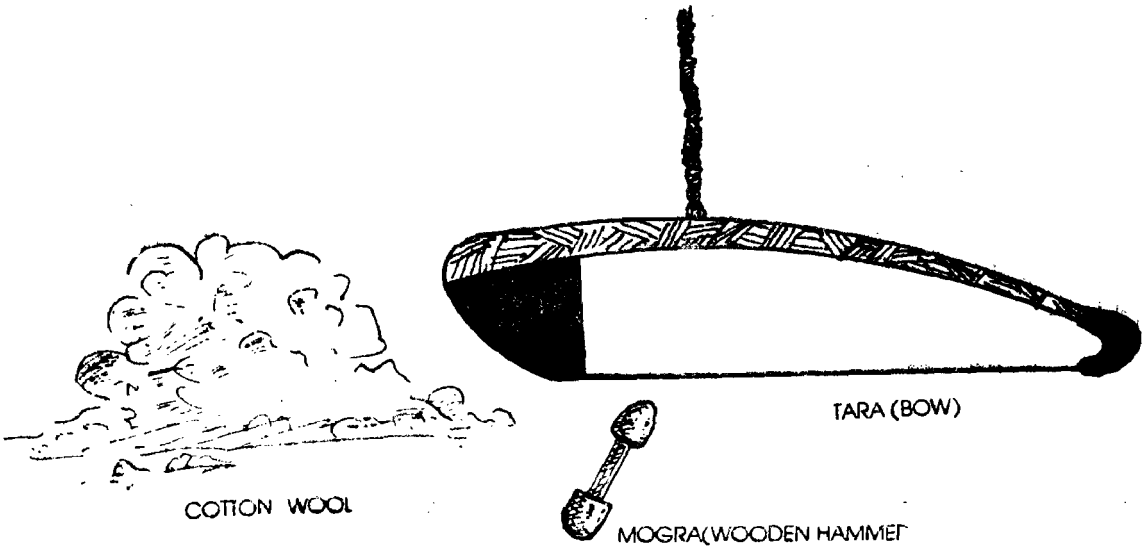


FIG 1.

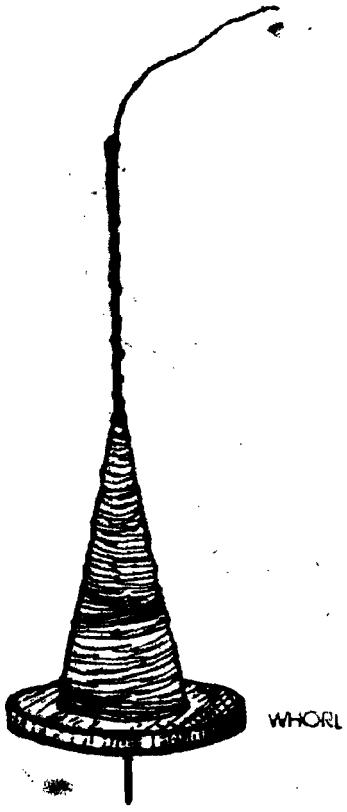


FIG. 2 TAKALI (SPINDLE)

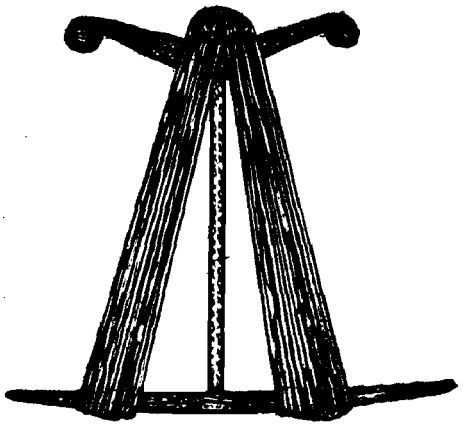


FIG. 3 TERAN (INSTRUMENT FOR PREPARING SKEINS)

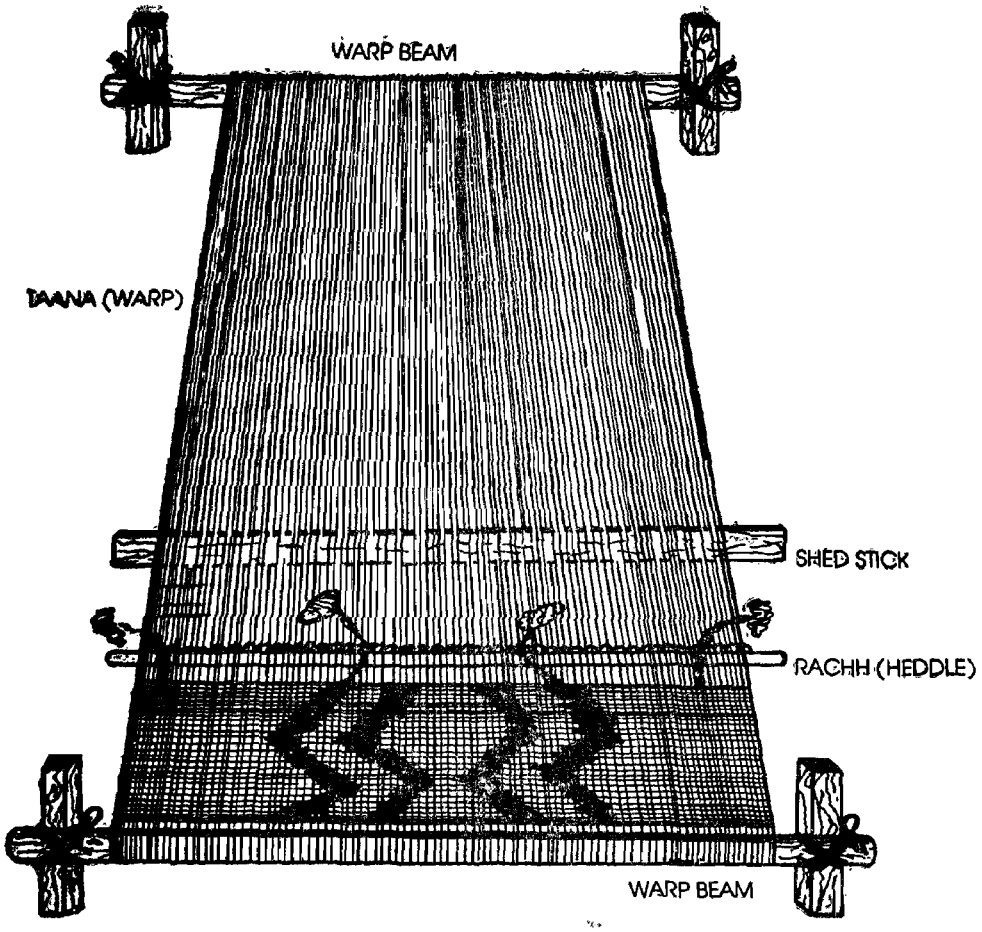


FIG. 4 STRETCHED TAANA FOR WEAVING



FIG. 5 PANJA OR HATHHI (COMB)

shade for drying lest the colour should fade away by sun (plate 6). When they are dried, the weft is ready to be used. They are made into small *guttis* (bobs) for easy passing of weft into the sheds by means of fingers.

(2) *Stretching the taana*

The *adda* (*frame*) hardly has any complicated structure. It has four fixed posts to hold warp beams covering a floor area of about 2.75 × 1.25 meters in the form of rectangle. First the warp beams are fastened to these pegs or some iron hooks cemented in the wall or floor. A layer of piece of cloth is rolled on these beams so that the warp may not wear away under regular tension. These beams are kept about 20 cms above the ground level in horizontal position (fig. 4 and plate 7). First the two *kannis* (marginal thick warp) having 6—8 warp cords twisted to-gether are stretched parallel at an equal distance to the desired breadth of the *dari* at both ends of the *adda*. The each set of *kanni* is run diagonally so as to create *sandh* (shed) at the centre. Next to this warping is taken up in similar manner and it is continuous. Here is needed the assistance of a companion. The helper may be a small girl or a boy. They both sit on either side of the warp beams with warp reels or balls, and warping is started from one side. The warp is stretched keeping in view the central *sandh* (shedding) i.e., the warp like *kanni* is also streched iagonally [Fig. 6(A)]. The front and back warps cross at centre to form the first *sandh* (shed). The number of warp cords were recorded to fluctuate from 150—200 on either side of the *taana* arranged parallel to each other approximately 6—10 mms, apart. The shorter the distance between warp the more compact is the *dari*. No shuttle is used in *Panja dari* handicraft. The warp cords may be understood to be divided into two sets forming the series i.e., 2, 4, 6, 8 and 1, 3, 5, 7, and these combinations operate as lower and upper sets. The main step here is the preparation for shedding. About 2-3 decades age each of the front and the back sets of warp were tied with loops fastened to two different bamboos to serve as heddles, locally called *rachh*. The loops have to be kept uniform and the length of bamboo is slightly more than width of the *dari*. These two heddles have to be kept in tension by another bamboo fixed between these two heddles at a height of about 2 feet from the ground. This bamboo is supported at each end by two legs along the length of the warp. It is locally called a *ghori* (mare) as it has four legs as a mare has. But now a days it has been made simple where each warp of upper set is made to pass through the loops fastened to *rachh* (heddle bar) just after stretching the *taana* and before inserting shed stick. This heddle bar consists of a number of loops, each loop encircling an individual warp cord, through its eye, so that the whole layer of warp cords remains intact for regulating the movement for creating the shed.

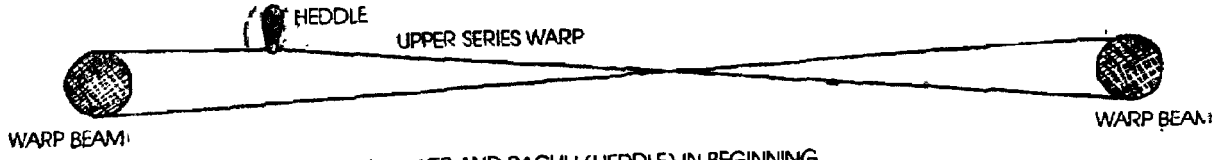


FIG 6.(A) WEB AND RACHH (HEDDLE) IN BEGINNING

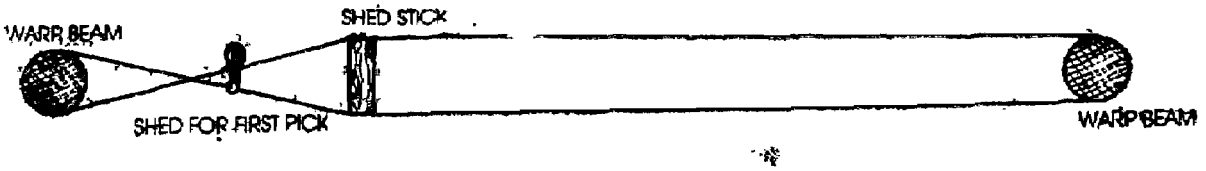


FIG. 6 (B) THE CENTRAL SHED SHIFTED TO EXTREME LEFT

Here in case of single bar heddle, there is meticulously a special lease-rod or shed stick of about 5 cms thickness (it is usually a rectangular bar) immediately after the heddle bar and central *sandh* (shed) beneath the free cords and over those which pass through the eyes of the heddle. With its help the central shed is shifted towards edge for first pick [Fig. 6(B).] The rectangular shed stick in horizontal and vertical position helps to change the relative position of even and odd warps to create shed and counter shed. If it is circular bar its to and fro movement with respect to the heddle serves the same purpose. The weft is guided by fingers through the shed of warps and each successive weft is termed as pick. This is brief arrangement required to produce shed and counter shed for inserting weft and then beating them which is illustrated in above figures. Insertion of weft strands is apparent in plates 9 to 11.

Further it may be added here that a long *taana* say about 16 ft. in length is also stretched in some houses where sufficient space is available and *dari* weaving is started from both the sides simultaneously. *Rachhs* (heddles) on either side have to be fixed as in case of single *dari*. The superflous warps remain in the centre. After the *daris* on either side are woven, the warp is cut from the centre. It saves the labour of stretching *taana* for second *dari* separately. In case of *taana* for two *daris*, two shed have to be created at centre by putting a stick in centre. Such webs were found in Sanghol village. In village Majri portable *addas* of galvanized iron pipes are the new innovations. The size of such *addas* is 9 ft. by 5 ft. and pipe of 4 cms. diameter is used in its frame. This type of *adda* rests on six vertical legs of about 8 inches height. These legs are of the same size of pipe. The edges of pipes on one side are slotted and near the slot are welded the nuts throgh which pass the bolts of half inch diameter. The warp-beams can be slided to and fro by way of tightening the bolts to give requisite tension to the warp. The edges of warp beam in front are flattened for movement into the slots. The *rachh* (heddle) is made to move on the longer pipes by means of semicircular sliding clamps on either side. On these clamps there are fixed alphabet T like supporters vertically. These are about 3 inches high above the piped frame on which rests the heddle. In the beginning the warp beam is fitted by way of welded L shaped sockets. One such frame was reported to cost Rs. 500. For illustration reference is made to fig. 7.

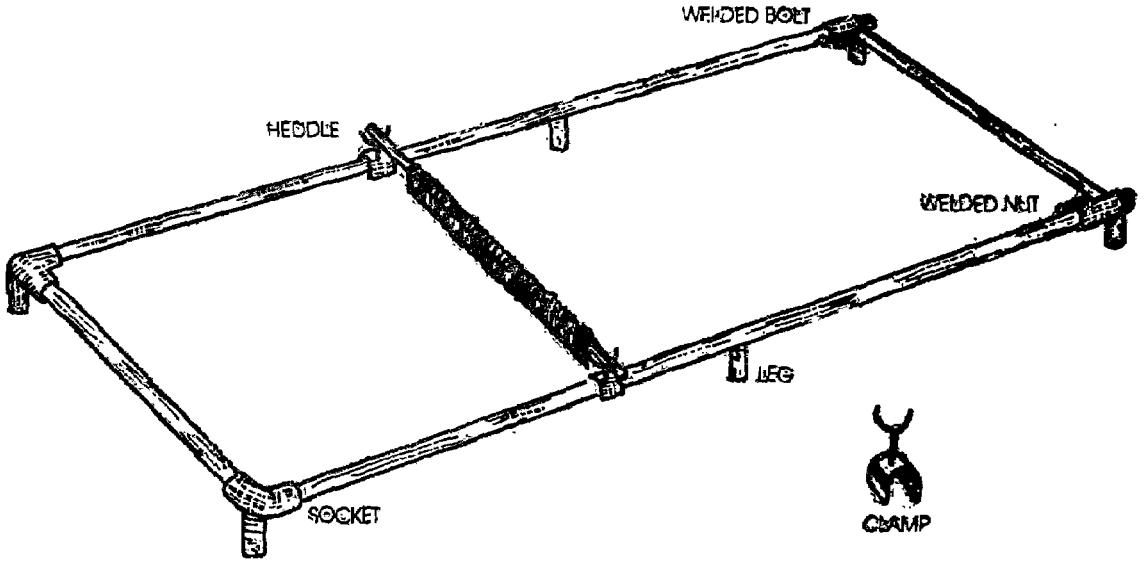


FIG. 7 PORTABLE ADDA (FRAME)

(3) *Weaving*

For the first pick, the cross in centre is brought to extreme end with the help of shed stick [Fig. 6(B)]. The first pick by inserting the *baana* or *petta* (weft) in the shed is brought close to warp beam on the *adda* by slowly beating with a *panja* (comb) as in (fig. 5 and plate 8). By passing the weft through shed created by up and down-movement of the shed stick some picks are taken in the same way and a little length is woven by beating the weft towands the starting [Figure 8(A) and 8(B).]. The process of weaving is thus set in progress. The details of single heddle system of weaving are given as follows:—



FIG. 8 (A) TENSION OF WARP RELEASED

The above figure illustrates the weaving with single heddle viewed from side. The heddle remains in constant position. When shed stick is in flat position the layer of warp threads falls down the odd threads and tension is released. When the shed stick is raised up-

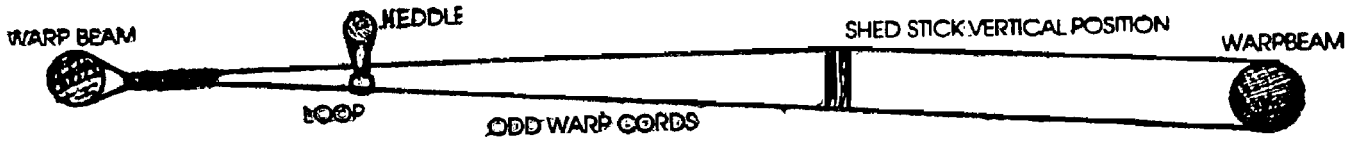


FIG. 8 (B) WARP IN TENSION

wards the layer of even threads is picked up-creating a counter shed. Each time the shed stick is raised or released, one pick of weft through the warp is shot. The main technique involved is to create shed and countershed for inserting the weft, whether it is by raising or lowering of heddle(s) or by relatively adjusting the position of shed stick. The relative position of two sets of warp can also be changed by mechanism of two heddles by using a *ghori* (mare) in centre. In simple *dari* weaving the warp and weft pass over and under each other (fig. 9) as in woven cloth illustrated below:

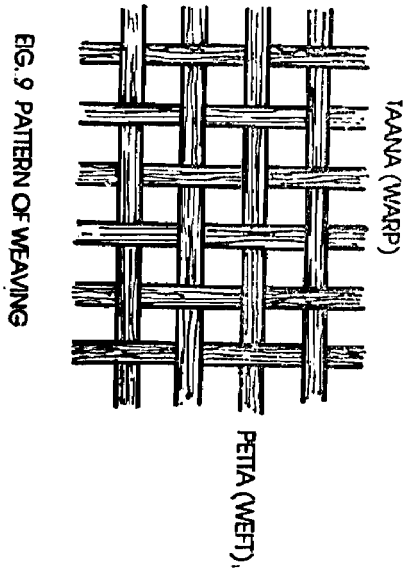


FIG. 9 PATTERN OF WEAVING

The weaver has *guttis* (balls) of different coloured strands of yarn. The strands of weft are threaded through warp with fingers and every time the weft are beaten by *panja* (comb). The process continues till the requisite length of *dari* is woven and desired design is achieved. The *panakh* or *gaj* (a wooden adjustable strip) referred in fig. 10 having metallic tooth on its either side is used to maintain uniform breadth of the *dari*.



FIG. 10. PANAKH OR GAJ (BREADTH REGULATING TOOL)

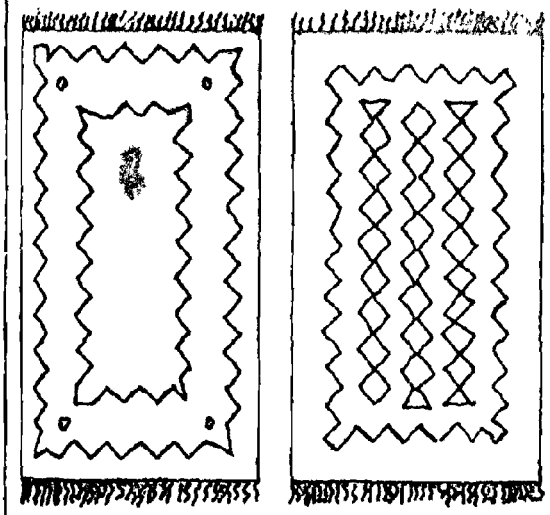
After weaving 3-4 inches it is moved on further parallel to the weft. After weaving a length of about one foot a wooden board is placed beneath the woven portion supported on bricks and touching the lower surface of the *dari*. The weaver girl sits on it comfortably. This board is used lest the woven piece or stretched web is torn off. She remains consantly watchful of every warp and meads it instant aneotsly, if any of the threads breaks any where, in a manner similar to a spider. Similar idea has been expressed by a poet in a stanza which is quoted here,

"Much like a subtle spider which doth sit,
In the middle of her web which spreadeth wide;
If aught do touch the utmost thread of it,
she feels it instantly on every side."[1]

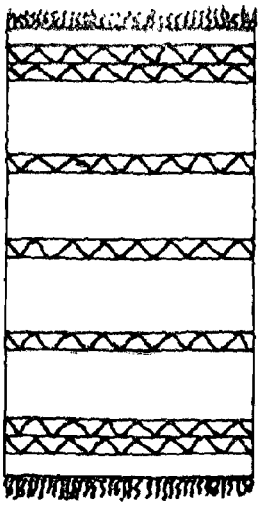
There were revealed certain songs which the weaver girls usually sing or murmur while spinning cotton yard and weaving *daris* which reveal the attitude, and notions associated with the craft. A few of these are cited as:—

"ਕੱਤ ਕੁੱਤ ਪੂਣੀਆਂ ਦਰੀ ਮੈਂ ਬਣਾਨੀਆਂ
ਸੋਹਣੇ ਸੋਹਣੇ ਵੀਰ ਹੇਠ ਮੈਂ ਵਿਛਾਨੀਆਂ,,
"Kat Kat poonian dari men banani aan"
"Sohne Sohne vire heth men wichhani aan"

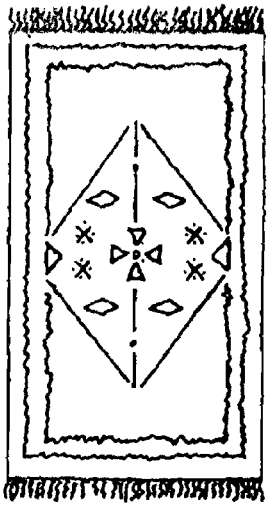
1. Davies Sir John, "Immortality of the Soul" quoted by Moorhead, J. K. & Lee Charles 'Dictionary of Quotations' Vol. I p. 72 J. M. Dent & Sons, London, reprinted 1932.



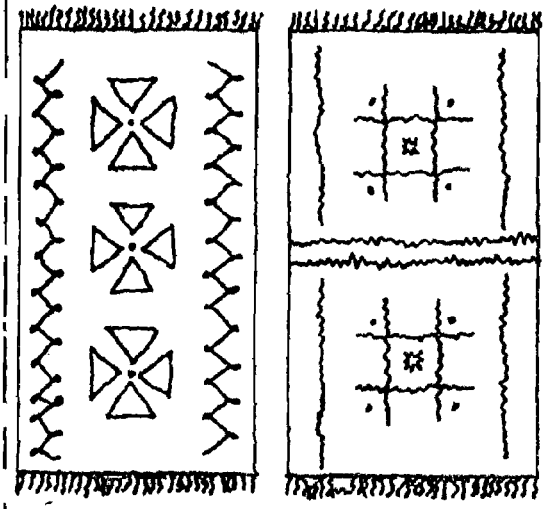
LEHARIA (WAVY OR SERPENTINE)



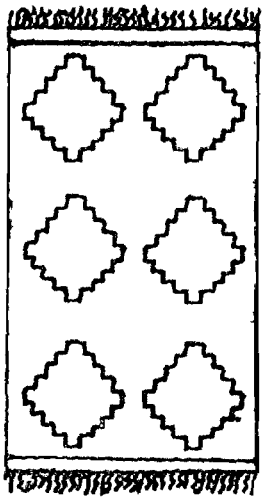
PATTIDAR (STRIPED)



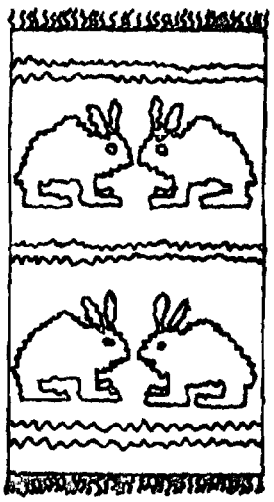
ORNATE



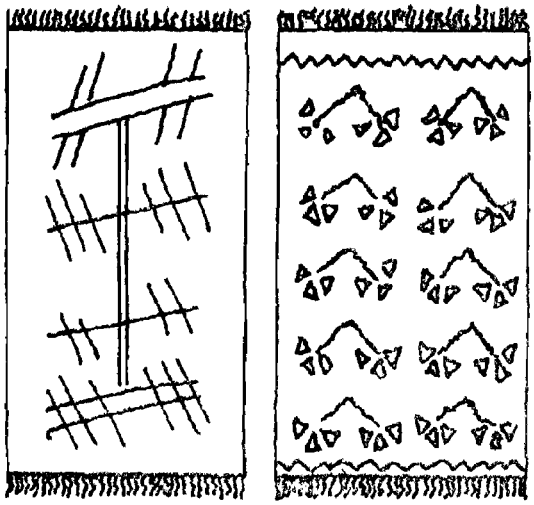
LEHARIA AND FLORAL



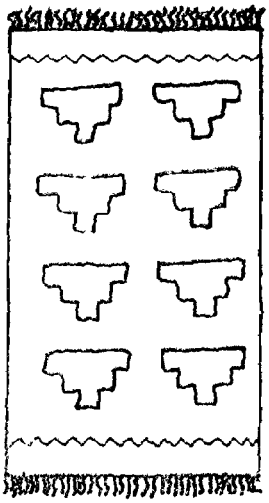
FLORAL



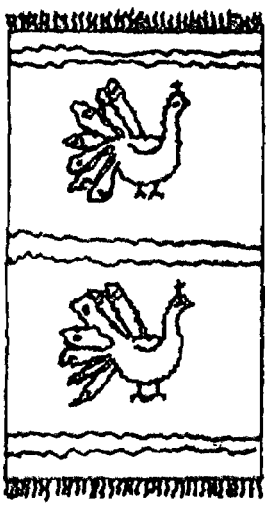
RABBIT



TELEVISION



TUKARIS (PYRAMIDS)



PEACOCK

Fig. 11



Plate No. 1 : Busy at traditional *Velna* (Cotton ginning machine)

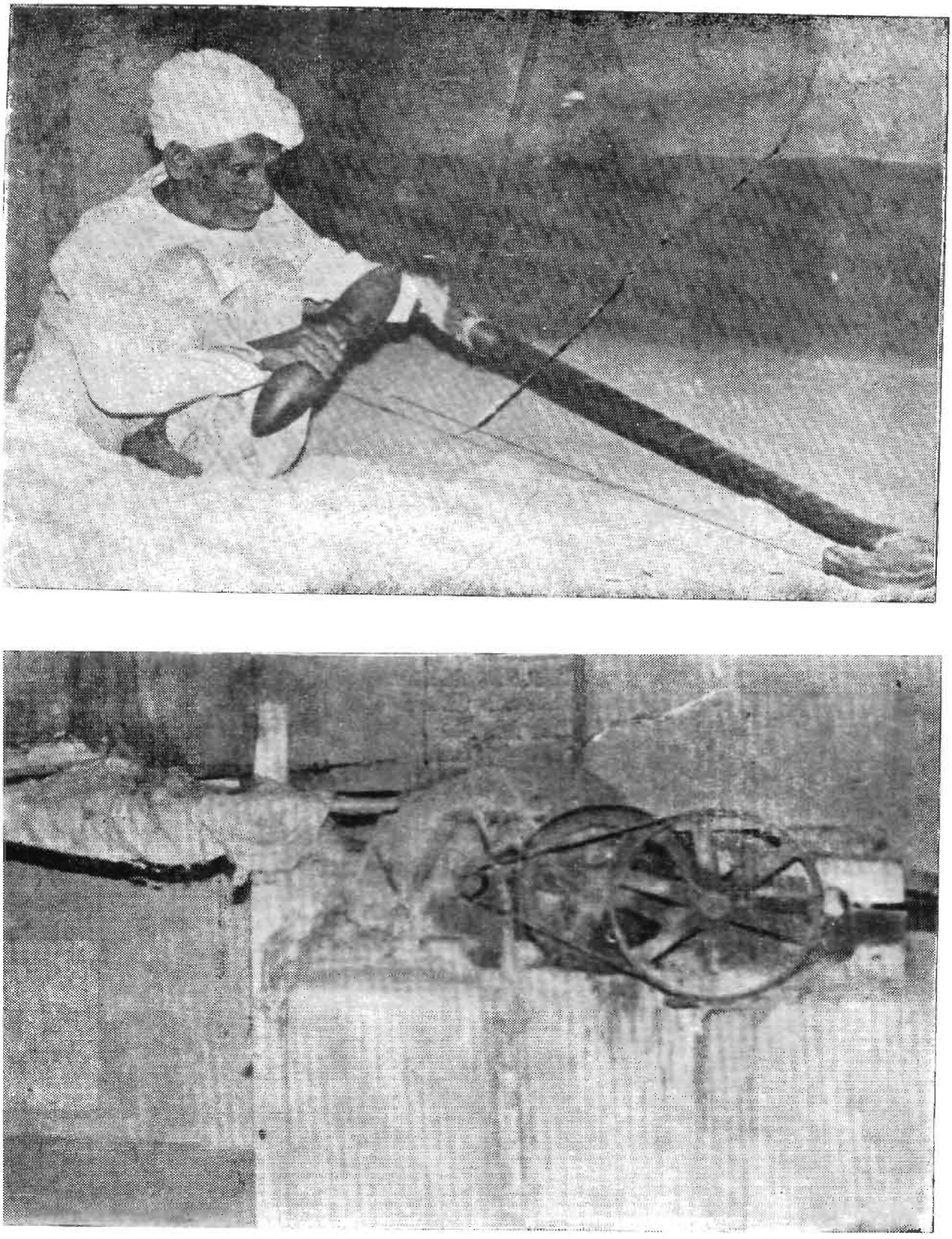


Plate No. 2 : Traditional *Tara* (bow) and modern machine for flicking cotton wool.

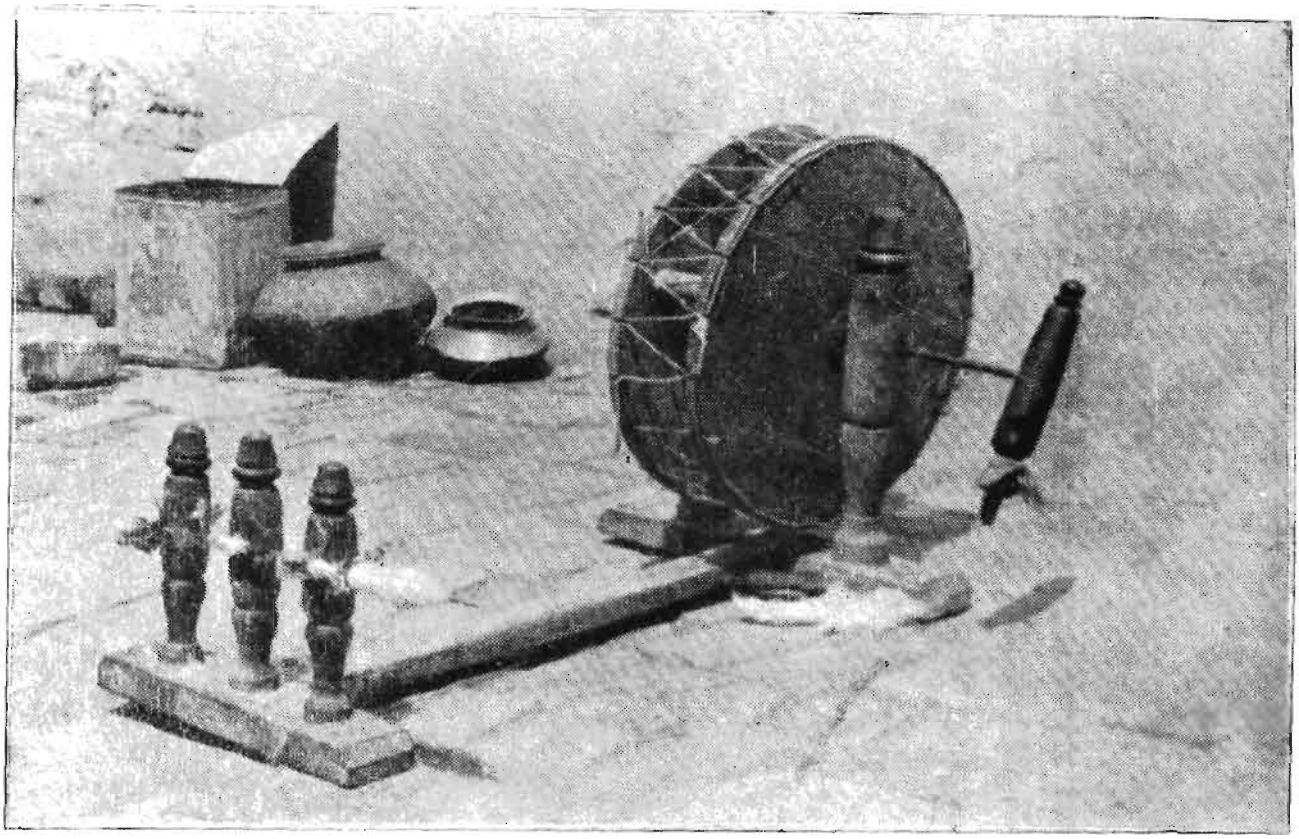


Plate No. 3 : Traditional *Charkha* (Spinning Wheel)

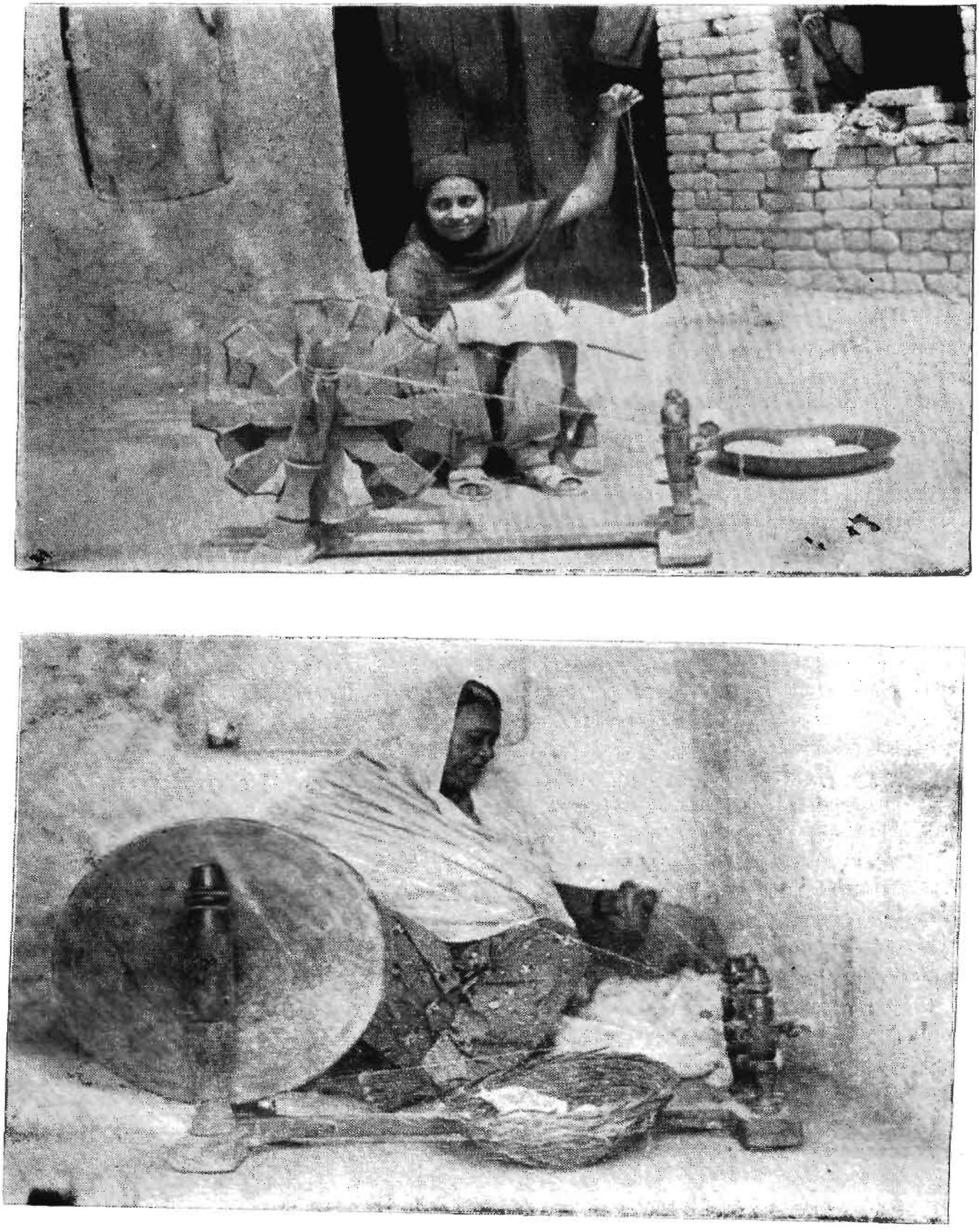


Plate No. 4 : Woman busy in spinning *soot* (yarn) at *Charkha* (Spinning wheel)



Plate No. 5 : Woman preparing skeins wth *Teran*

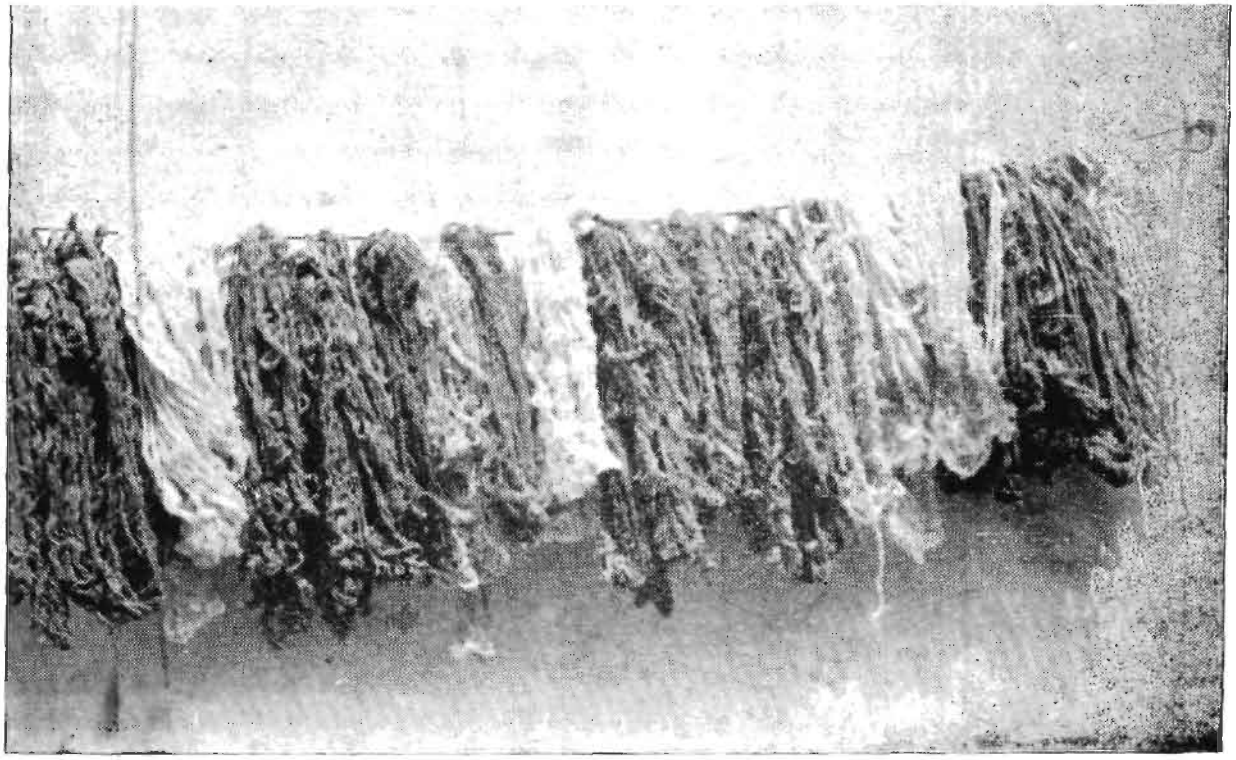
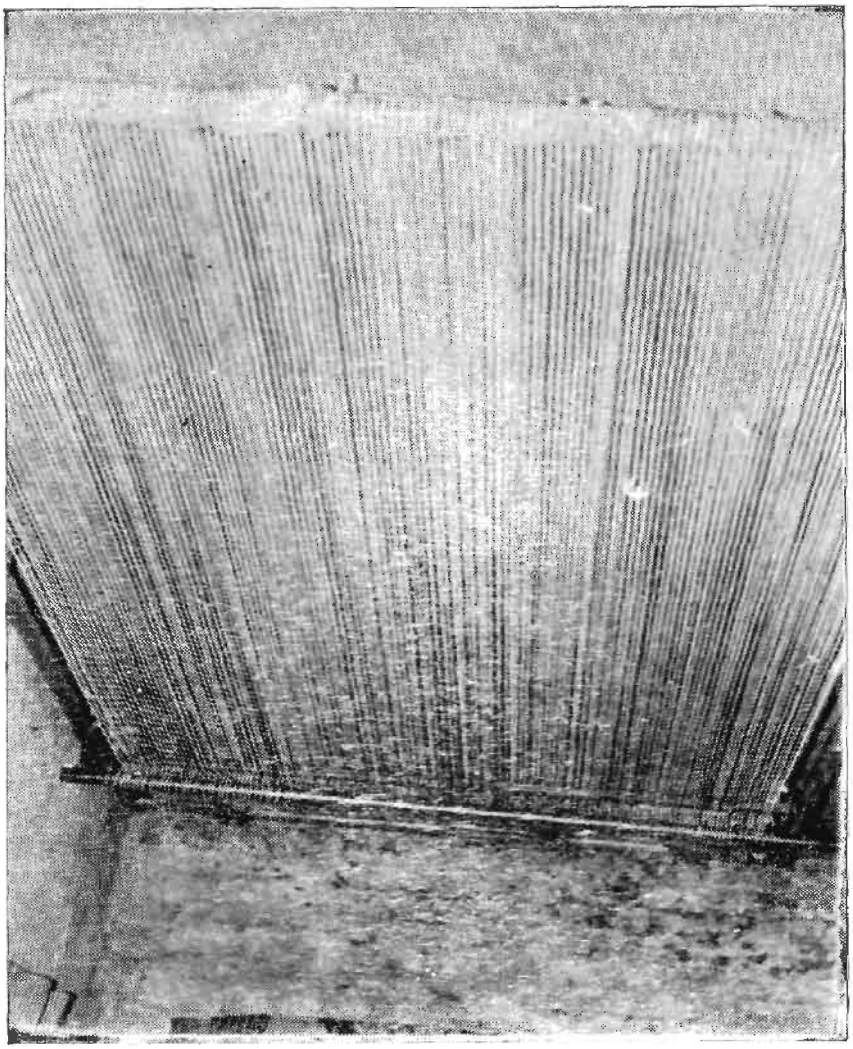




Plate No. 6 : Drying of dyed soot (yarn) for weft strands.



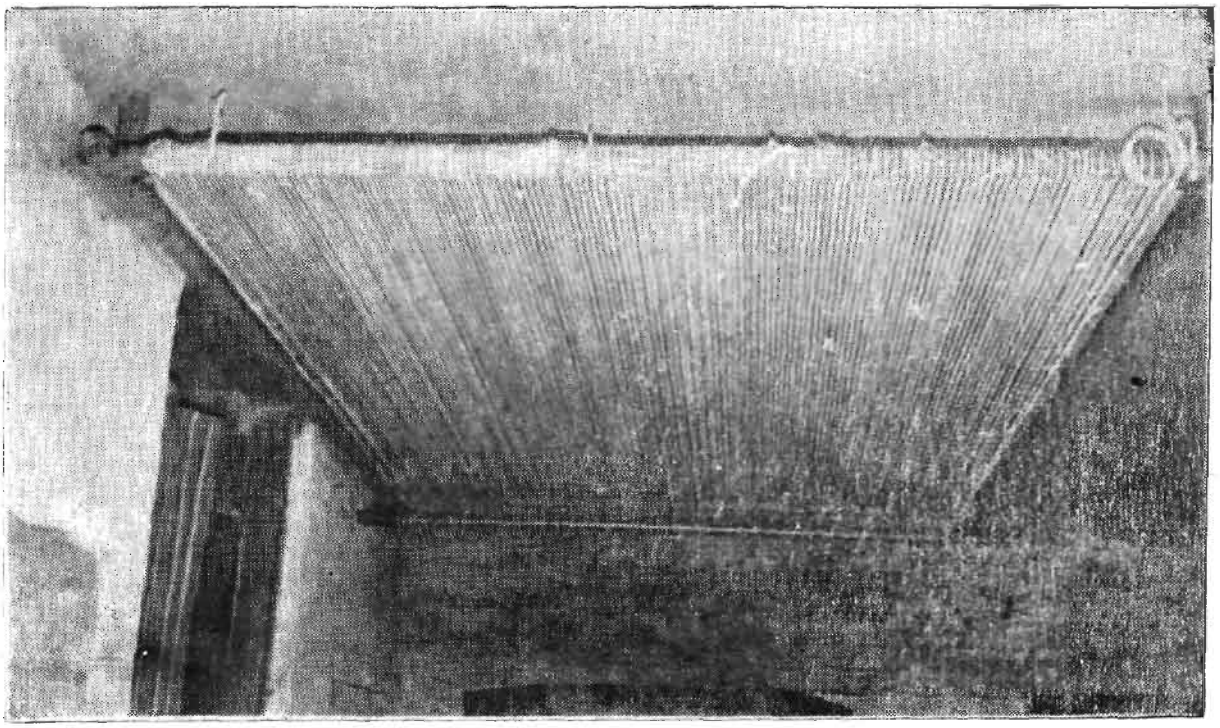


Plate No. 7 : A fully stretched *Taana* (web)

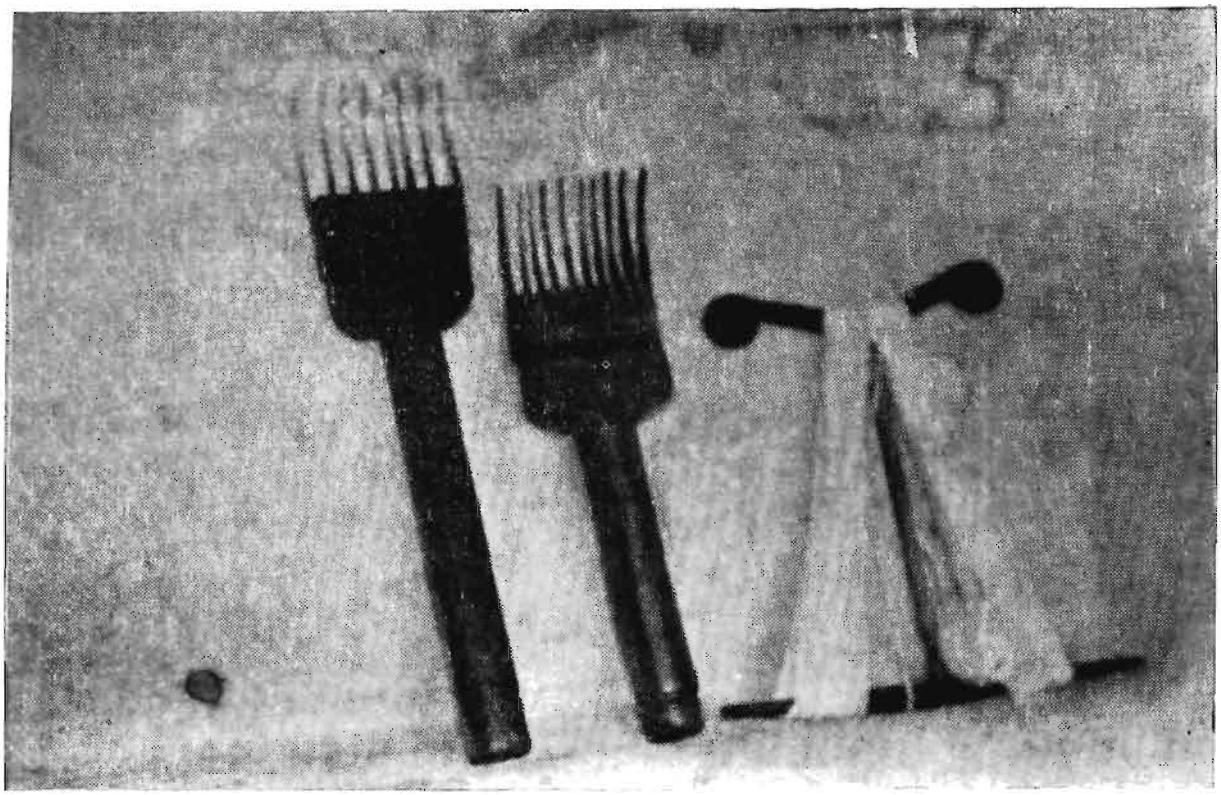
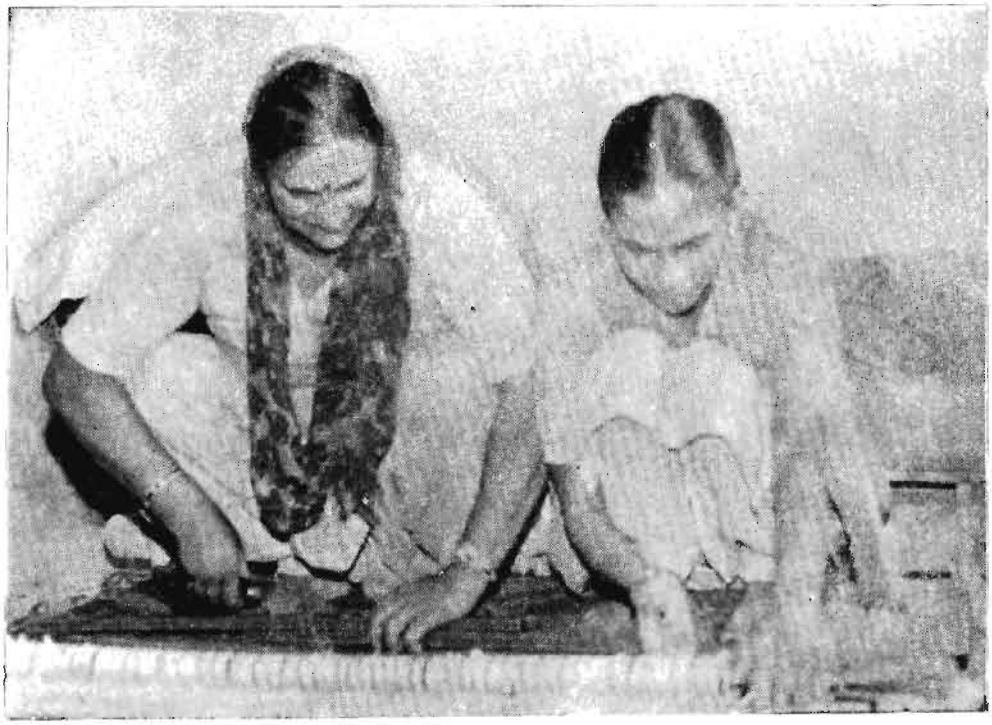


Plate No. 8 : *Panja* or *Hathhi* (a pronged comb) as well as *Teran*



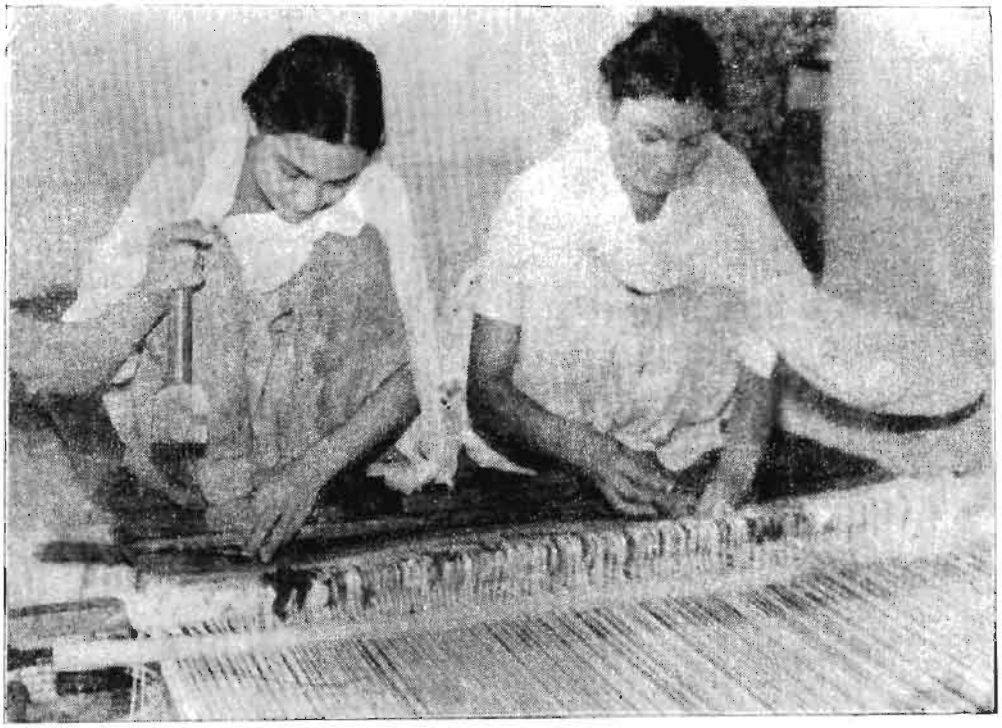


Plate No. 9 : Instructions to young girl for *dari* weaving. Creating the shed and beating of weft is also seen.





Plate No. 10 : Females busy in weaving *dari* at portable *adda* (frame).



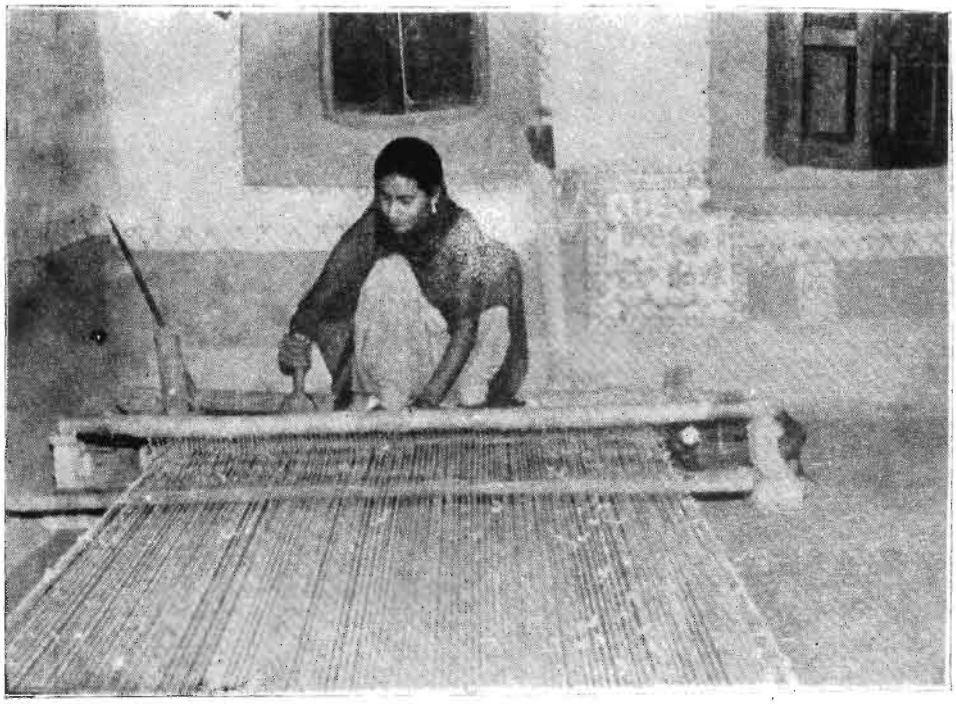
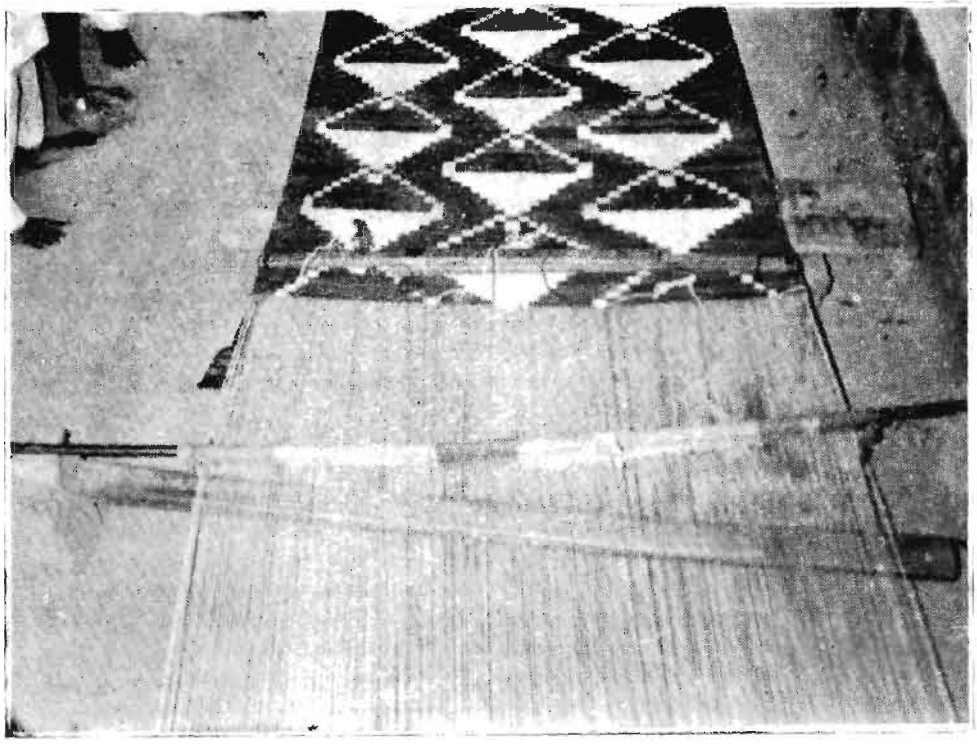
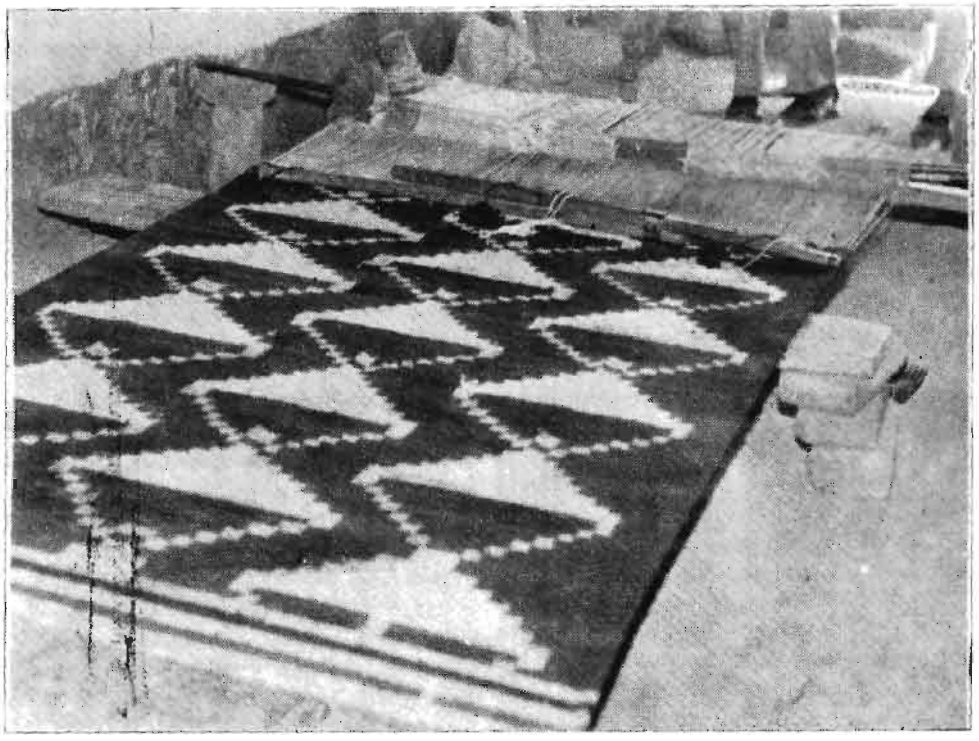
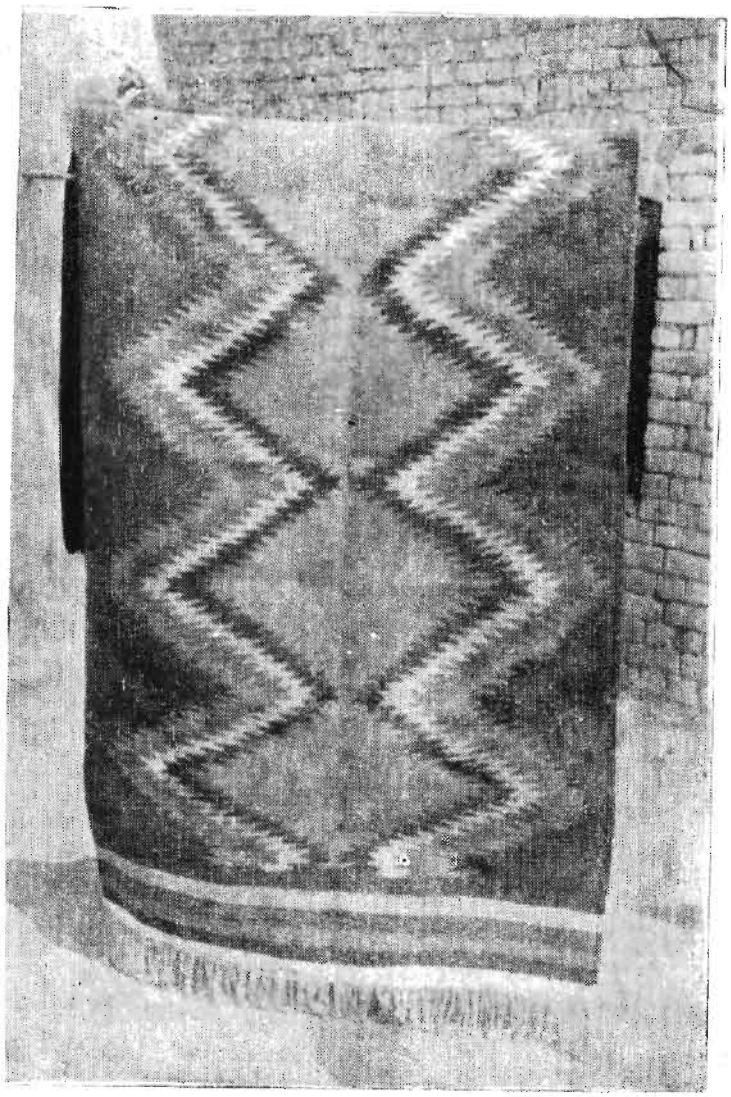


Plate No. 11 : Single female attending to weaving operation.





Flate No. 12 : A geometrical design reaching completion in the *dari*.



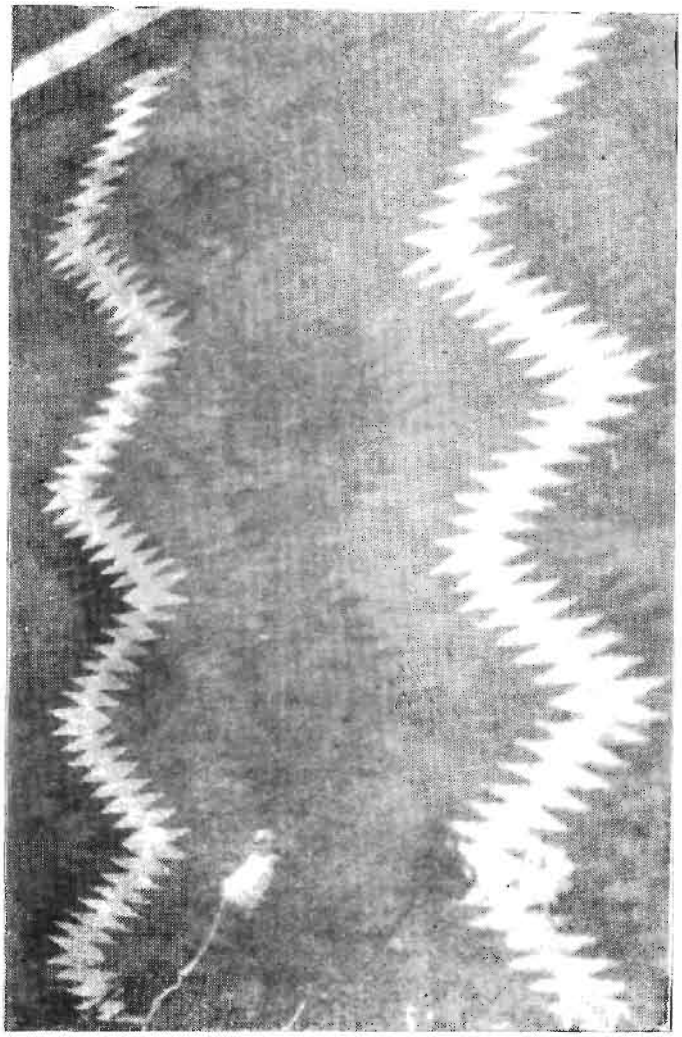
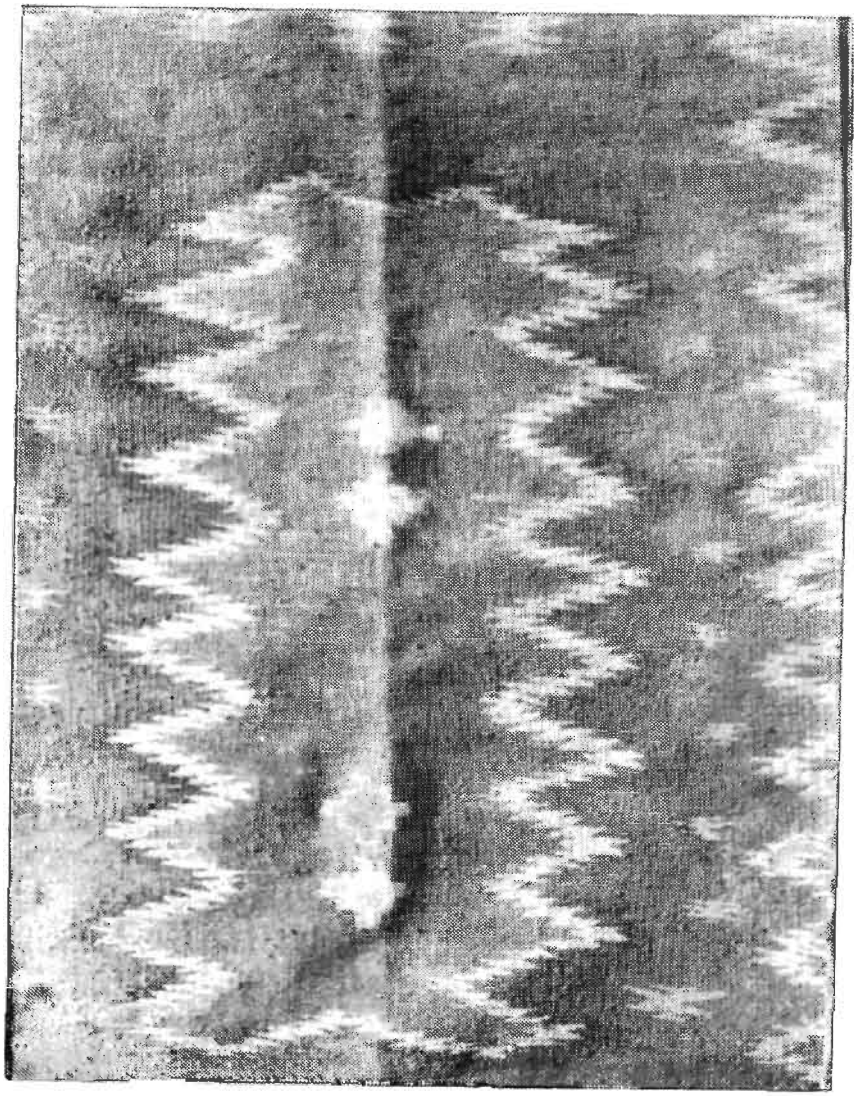


Plate No. 13 : *Leharia* (wavy) designs in woven *daris* as required by *Khadar Bhandar.*



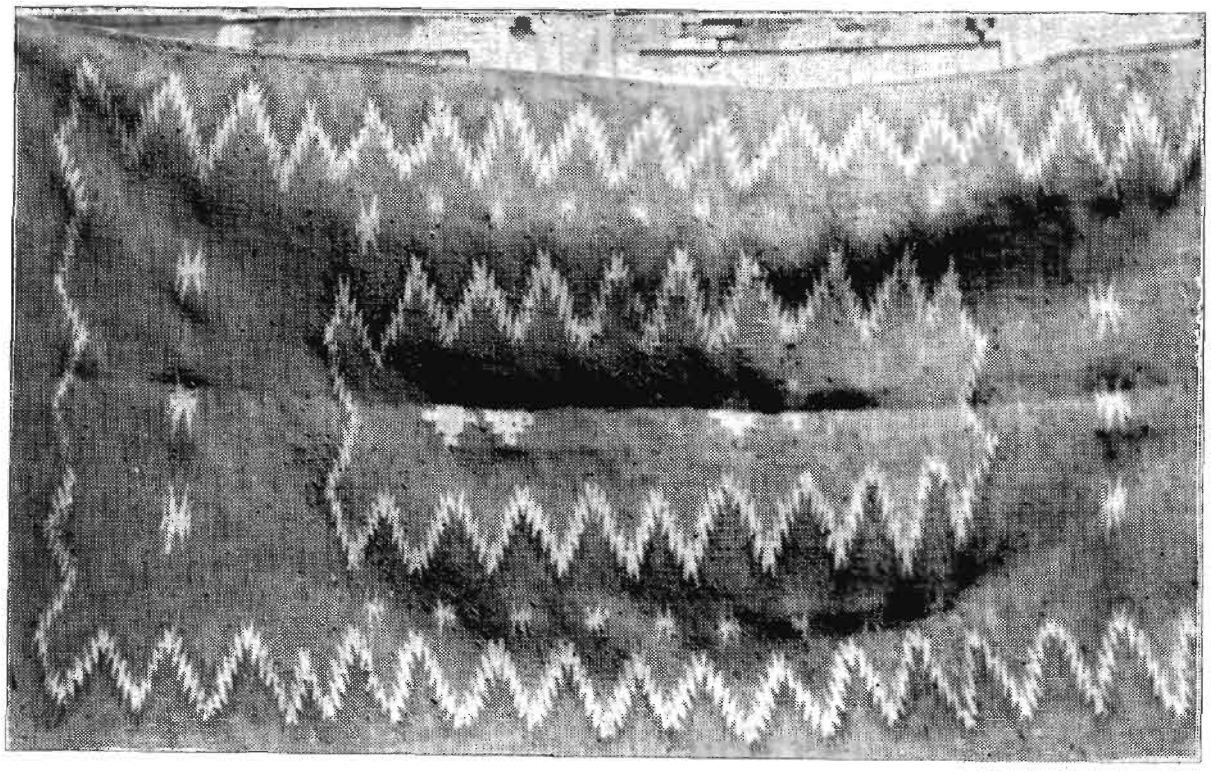
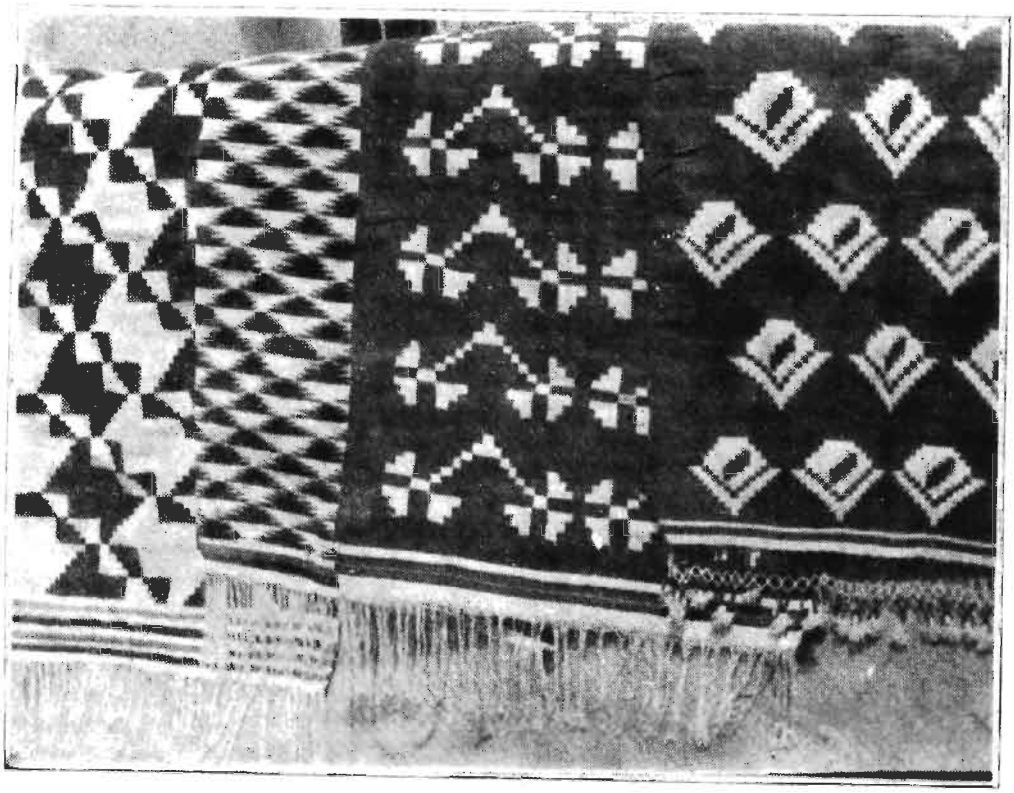


Plate No. 14 : Other *leharia* (wavy) designs in *daris*.



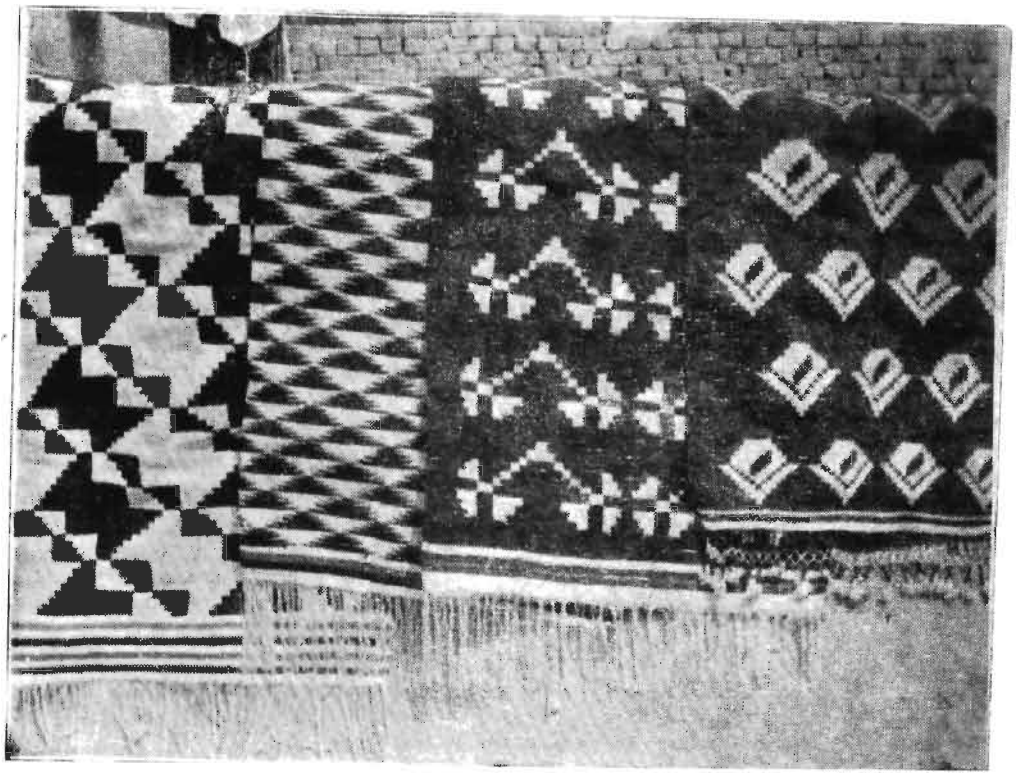


Plate No. 15 : *Daris* of various other prevalent designs in villages.

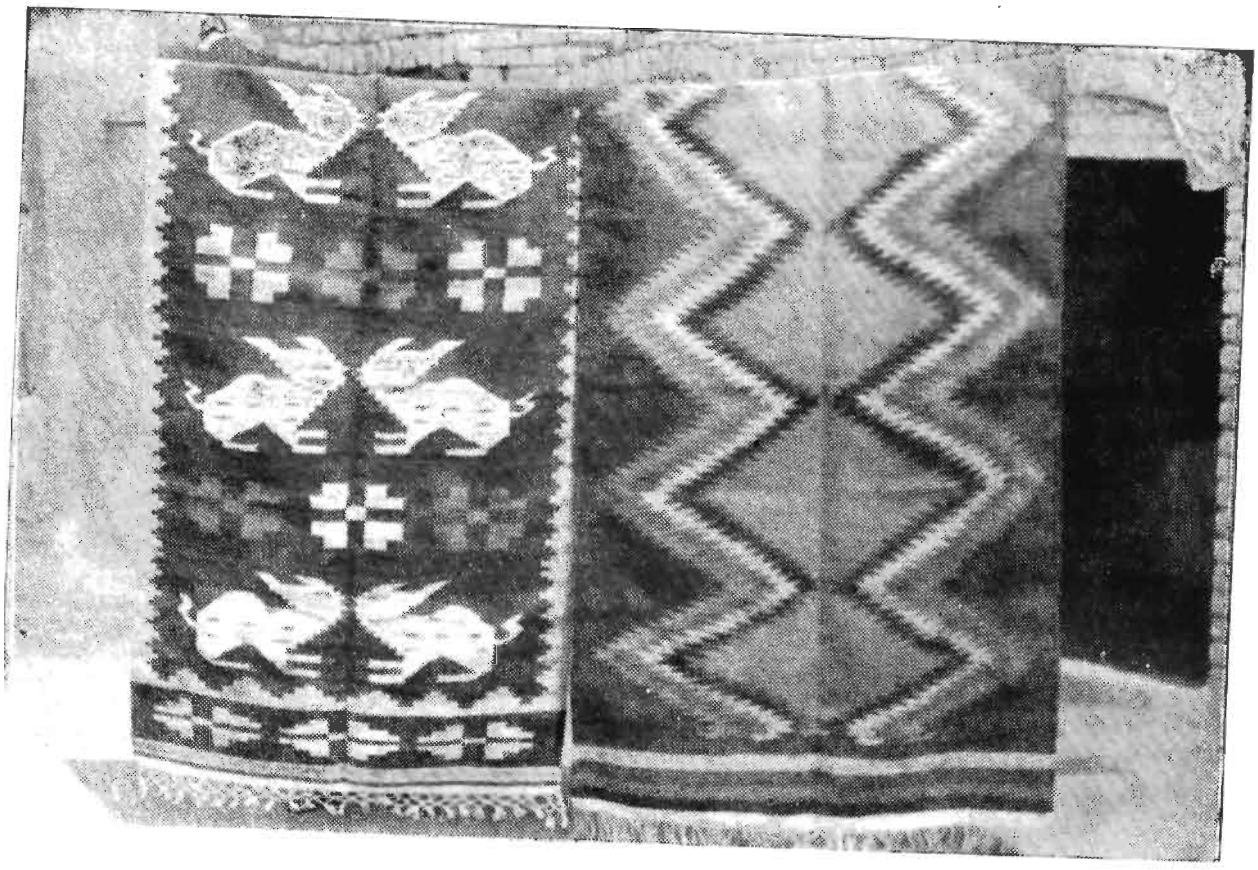


Plate No. 16 : *Daris* indicating rabbit and *Leharia* designs.

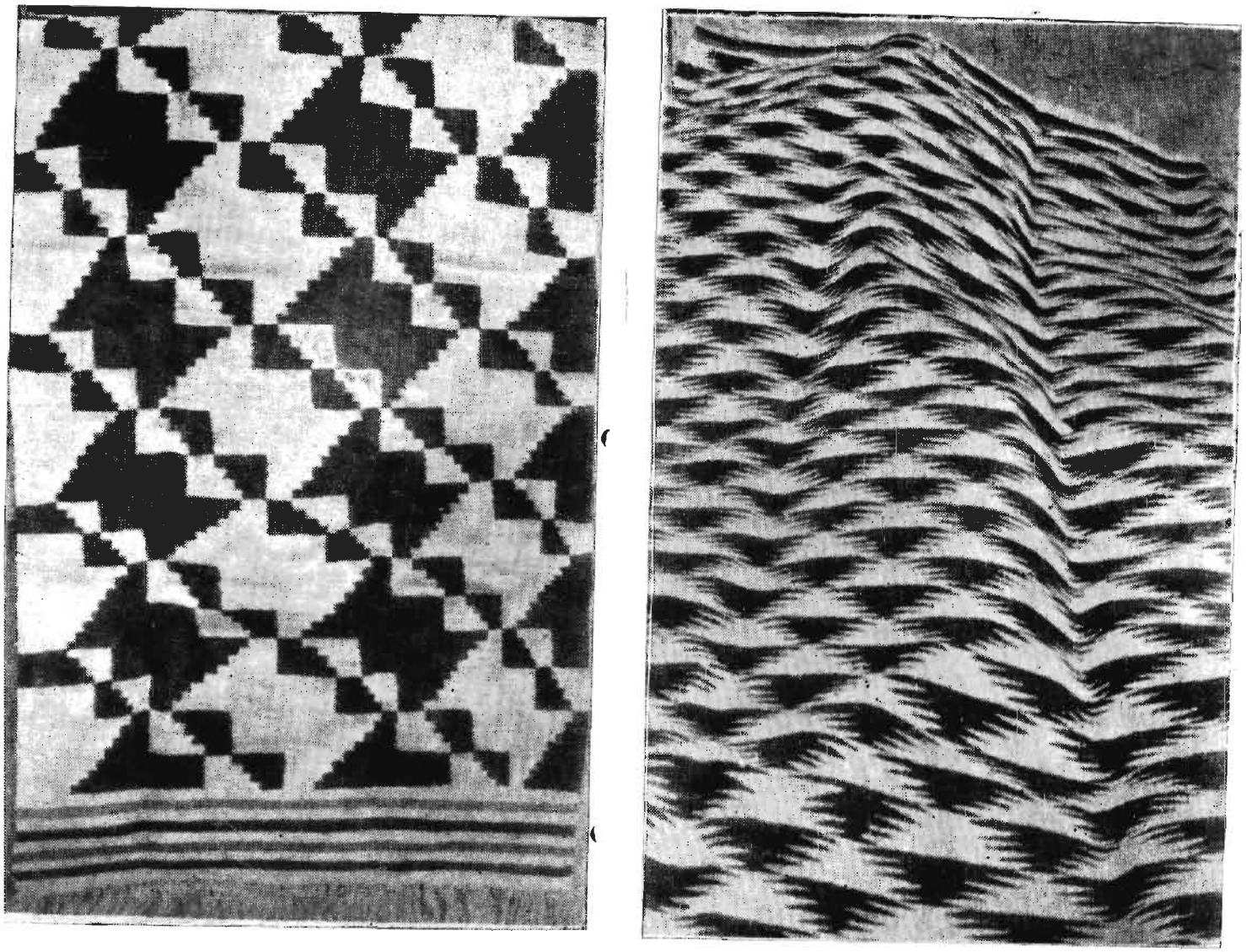


Plate No. 17 : More intricate design on *daris*.

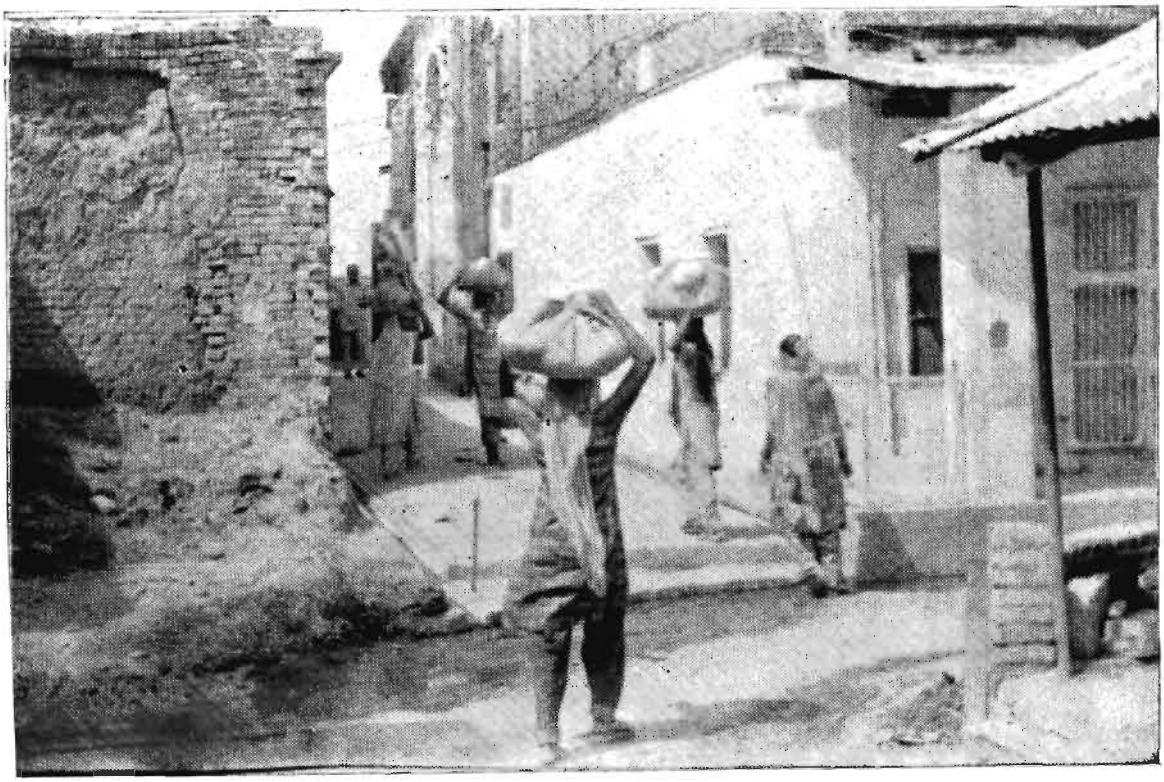


Plate No. 18 : Arrival and departure with headloads of *soot* (yarn) and woven *daris*.

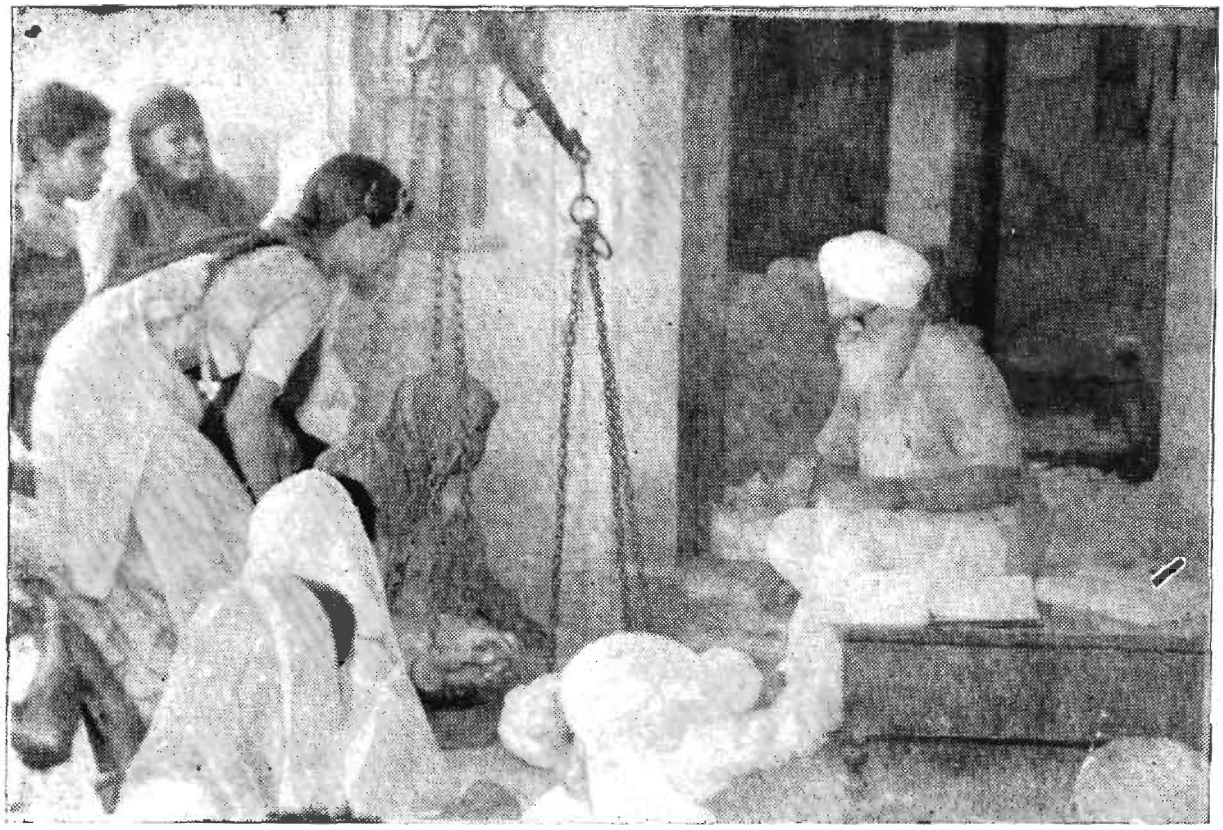


Plate No. 19 : Transactions-giving and taking of material at Khadar Bhandar.

The version of the vernacular couplet is "I prepare the *dari* by spinning sausages of cotton wool, so as to spread it for my handsome brother to be seated". While weaving the *dari* another gril was heared to sing another couplet in vernacular as :—

"बेकार जिन्दगी गुरु बिना दुनिया में अपना कोई नहीं
पटड़े के उपर माला धरी उसे फेरने वाला कोई नहीं
पटड़े के उपर गीता धरी पढ़ने वाला कोई नहीं"

"Bekar Zindgi guru bina duniya men apna koi nahin; "patre ke uper mala dhari use pherne wala koi nahin"
Patre ke uper gita dhari parhne wala koi nahin".

Briefly the version of the couplet may be taken to mean "the life is useless without guru and there is none to help us in the world. The beaded string is lying on the board and there is none to tell the beads and further that Gita is placed on the board but there is none to read it". These couplets reveal how busy, they remain to accomplish *dari* work, i.e. they are engrossed body and soul in the work. Similarly there were several folk songs related with *charkha* (spinning wheel) and *tana* (the web). The space hardly permits to narrate them here.

In these villages Single heddle system of weaving is more prevalent as it is quick and convenient but it causes more tension in warp. Two heddle system causes lesser tension in warps and it creates wider shed for inserting the weft.

The whole process of weaving involves creating the shed inserting the weft and then beating it with *panja* (comb). The *dari* is usually expected to reach its full length about 2 feet ahead of the front warp beam. When three fourths of *dari* is woven the upper and lower warp come so close that the weaver has to remain cautious to locate the shed and the pace of work retards. The end portion of the *dari* is also made symmetrical in design to the one started in the beginning. Towards the fringe end after the woven portion the warp is cut at a distance of about 4-5 inches with a pair of scissors. The tag ends of the weft on either side if any are also removed. The warp beam in the beginning is also removed, the warp is cut and the fringes of the warp are left loose.

All the 60 household heads reported the use of tools namely *charkha* (spinning wheel), *teran* (double T reversed) instrument *adda* (frame), *rachh* (heddle or loop bar), shed stick, *Panakh* or *gaj* (adjustable strip) and the *panja* or *hathi* (a pronged instrument resembling a comb). None of the households reported to have introduced any new techniques in the operation of the craft. However, it is to be noted that the traditional *velna* (cotton ginning contrivance) and *tara* (cotton carding stringed bow) have been replaced by power driven machines. A cotton wool carding machine was available in the villages (plate 2). Some of the designs on *daris* we came across were memorised by the weavers in terms of counts of warp and weft to be threaded with due care for the desired symmetry. A few of the designs are depicted in fig. 11.

All the weavers belonging to different castes/communities showed ignorance about any special myths or legends associated with *panja dari* handicraft. They simply followed designs prescribed by *Khadar Bhandars*. *Leharia* (Serpentine) designs both single and double as well as *patti* (stripes) were the more popularly demanded by *Khadar Bhandars*. No marks or names of the weavers are inserted on the *daris*. Eighteen of the households weaving *daris* reported that the designs introduced by *Khadar Bhandar* or the designs adopted by them as per liking of customers had been introduced earlier than 5 years, 30 had reported the introduction of same designs for 5—9 year and 12 had reported the introduction of such designs for the last over 10 years. In case some weft is threaded wrongly in ornamental designs, they create problem for the weavers. The weaver requires to have a lot of patience and perseverance in such cases. It may be added here that more complex and intricate designs may require more heddles for holding particular group of warp, and variety of coloured yarn which makes the task complicated and time consuming. The accompanying illustrative sketches and photographs reveal the tools, processes and designs involved in this handicraft in these villages.

CHAPTER V

MARKETING

Terms and conditions of preparation/transactions

The *daris* woven in the surveyed villages are sparingly taken to market by the weavers themselves. *Khadar Bhandar* in these villages get bulk of the *daris* prepared on contract basis and procure the *daris* from the local weavers. In the beginning the Kattis (spinners) and weavers have to deposit the money by weight of cotton wool or yarn taken from the *Khadar Bhandar* at the prevalent rates lest the individual should get slack in returning the spun yarn or woven *dari*. The name and address of the worker is entered in the register with signature for record. At the same time a Pass-Book of the account is issued to the worker. After preparing the *daris* the weavers bring them to the Khadi Bhandar and get the labour charges according to the rate chart certified by the Parman Pattar Sammittee Khadi and Village Industries Commission Bombay. About 2 per cent of the labour charges are withheld in the *Khadar Bhandar* office and entered into the pass book at such transactions. In lieu of labour charges in cash, they may get mustard oil, washing soap or *Khadar* (coarse) cloth or *Khesi* as they like. In this way the contract goes on. The Khadar *Bhandar* reported that 90 per cent of the product they dispose through retail sale outlet of their *Bhandars*. They carry these for further disposal at their emporia or *Bhandars* in the urban centres and thus cater to the local as well as outside demands. There is reported a great demand for products of this handicraft from outside which is difficult to meet fully.

As far as market in urban areas is concerned, it is wide enough with a network of rapid and universal communication and banking and credit facility now-a-days. It is actually the market which facilitates consumption of what goes into production. Principally, the market has a cardinal and determining influence on the affairs related to any production. If the produce ceases to be distributed among the customers through the market channel, properly, the production may have to be stopped and the worker may lose the livelihood. The *dari* weavers of these villages are not much allured by seeing a chance to make profit but pursue it primarily as it has a historical and traditional value associated with it, being an item of *daj* (dowry) given at the time of marriage of daughter and it is confined to home. Full time professionals are only a few. The handicraft is more a voluntary and leisure time task than a full time profession. Manual power is harnessed for this job. Their productive capacity is considerably limited due to the use of hand tools such as *Charkha, Panja, Adda* and a limited type of specialisation in the job. The effectiveness of their tools, durability of their houses, serviceability of their streets, paths, is also limited and they directly influence the production of craft. They scarcely dictate in precise manner, how their economy can prosper, except the emphasis they place on enhancing the labour charges adequately. By virtue of their skill they toil to create an environment which is a function of weaving technique and meagre resources at their disposal. The quality of *dari* also varies from village to village according to different type of yarn at hand and individual's proficiency and skill. The mill made or loom woven *daris* are less durable yet these hamper the progress of *panja dari* weaving.

As already mentioned there is neither any weaving centre nor co-operative society in the surveyed villages. The craft is just a household craft, whereas agriculture is the primary occupation of majority of these weavers. The craft is just an ancillary or peripheral one carried out in spare time as they are preoccupied with daily and seasonal work. Accumulation of *daris* whatever they weave is also difficult as there is hardly any long term planning. Energy and resources available are also not fully exploited with existing techniques. The male members of households rarely participate in the work of females doing *dari* weaving. Only, the female go to *Khadar Bhandar* to settle the transaction and accounts. The returns for the work scarcely commensurate with labour involved. Trade whatsoever goes on is only through the *Khadar Bhandar*. The *Khadi Mandal* branches provide raw material to *dari* weavers and yarn spinners. They return the finished product to *Khadi Bhandar* for further marketing. The weavers in Majri gave a good response to *Khadar Bhandar* but in other villages the functioning was not so encouraging. This may be due to good behaviour and effectiveness of *Khadar Bhandar* workers

visiting village Majri. Markets, *hats* (shops) or *melas* (fairs) whether periodical or seasonal are not held where the weavers may exhibit and sell their products.

Time spent vs. labour charges

The hired labour is scarcely employed in this handicraft. The question of *dari* weavers undergoing a loss does not arise. Their margin of profit however depends on the rate of payment for weaving a *dari*. It has been observed the payment is lesser than other types of labour rates in the area i.e. it is incommensurate with time spent in the job. The working cost of a *dari* weighing 4 kgs. including cost of dyeing (say Rs. 10) approximates to Rs. 47 as paid by *Khadar Bhandar*. On an average it takes 25 woman hours of labour of a fully trained weaver without rest. Thus it just approximates to Rs. 1.50 per hour, which is lesser than an ordinary labourer's wages. A less competent weaver can take even more time. The occasional help by another companion is also given in this work. They are therefore anxious for a proper wage system.

The *Khadi Bhandar Mandals* are financed by Khadi and Village Industries Commission with its headquarters at Bombay. The weights and measures of *dari* are also prescribed by Khadi and village Industries Commission. The schedule of rates of preparation of *dari* is given in "The Khadi Lagat Parta Chart". (The khadi cost schedule chart). The Khadi *Mandals* have their own sale depots/emporia. These are reported to charge a commission of 8-9 per cent in the transaction. The transactions are usually on cash basis. The weavers have a general complaint that their work is not adequately rewarded and sometimes a *dari* is rejected due to minor deviation from the specification laid down in the chart. Discouraged by such practices some spinners and weavers have abandoned the job. The weavers informed that if the work is suitably rewarded and remunerations are adequately raised it can attract other females to this craft. It was reported that a standard *dari* was sold for Rs. 175 at sale depot out of which Rs. 49 were paid as labour charges including cost of dyeing and Rs. 90 was reported as the cost of yarn thus revealing an appreciable margin. *Katti* (spinner) was paid Rs. 8.85 for spinning one kg. of *soot* (yarn) and the spun yarn was sold at the rate of Rs. 21.85 per kg. and cotton wool was available for Rs. 12 per kg. Slight variation was observed at different places.

Disposal of finished products

Other things being equal they rarely came across problem towards disposal of the standard product. Major proportion of *dari* product is disposed within the state itself. Outside demand is there which is difficult to meet. The weavers from the selected households or others as well hardly weave *daris* exclusively for sale. They also weave for their domestic purposes. Those who see some profit and are available to attend to weaving job, do weave for augmenting the income of household. It is therefore difficult to actually estimate the income derived by weaver(s) and village(s) individually or collectively. They rarely keep any record of quantity of finished products if any sold directly to local villagers. They do not maintain any account of margin of profit with respect to the channel through which their goods are disposed of. However an inquiry was made in the three villages amongst the weavers in the 60 households regarding details relating to production of *daris*. A table V.I giving the quantity of *daris* produced by the households is furnished below for the reader to get an estimate of earnings derived by the weavers by way of weaving the *daris* in their spare time at home and disposed through *Khadar Bhandar*.

TABLE V.1

Number of households manufacturing quantity of *Panja Daris* during the year, 1985-86 by caste/community and religious group

Caste/Community	Religion	Number of households manufacturing the *Panja dari*	Quantity (Pieces)
1	2	3	4
Rajput	Hindu	45	2,112
Khatri	Hindu	4	120
Brahman	Hindu	4	240
Lohar/Tarkhan	Hindu	2	60
Lohar/Tarkhan	Sikh	1	60
Nai (Barber)	Hindu	1	60
Bharbhunja	Hindu	1	48
Balmiki (S.C.)	Hindu	1	48
Teli	Islam	1	36
Total of all		60	2,784

The above table is self explanatory. The 2,784 pieces prepared in the year 1985-86 include *daris* of various dimensions and designs (plates 12—17) and figure 11. The *daris* weighing 4 kgs. each were said to be more than the lighter ones. In village Majri the heavier piece was more prevalent fetching Rs. 47 as labour charges. In Sanghol both types of *daris* weighing 4 kgs. and less were woven fetching labour charges of Rs. 47 and Rs. 37 respectively. In Samgoli the lighter piece weighing 2.5 kgs. to 3 kgs. fetched Rs. 27 to Rs. 37 as its labour, were prevalent. The weavers themselves arrange for the disposal of insignificantly few lighter weight *daris* in the village. The actual number of *daris* sold to communities of craftworkers and other could not be ascertained. When the *daris* in certain villages are not accepted by *Khadar Bhandar,* because of incongruity with specifications the weavers find difficulty in marketing the handicraft product as they rarely have any direct contact with emporia or exporters. It will give a boost to the craft, if some agencies come forward and agree for marketing the *daris* woven in the villages. Faced by inadequate marketing facilities unfavourable to them many a girl prefer to weave *daris* for family use only. But they are willing to use their weaving skill for augmenting the income of the household. With proper marketing facilities the traditional art can play a vital role in amelioration of the socio-economic aspect of the society. The females can augment family income by weaving during their spare time at home.

Potential for income and self employment

This craft can be made more income oriented by providing more technical know-how and marketing facilities as well as by raising their remuneration commensurate with labour input. The handicraft can become an important avenue for self employment scheme. The *Panja dari* handicraft ought to be encouraged even upto the far flung villages. The execution of successful working in village Majri speaks for evolving similar modes of material supply and collection of product i.e. arrangements need to be made for a regular and continuous supply of materials like yarn, both raw and mill made warp and dyed weft to the weavers. The woven *daris* should be collected by paying proper remuneration on the spot. A bit enhanced and instantaneous cash payment arrangement was followed in village Samgoli for a couple of months by a private agency which practically boosted the product but the agency discontinued it after sometime and many weavers again lapsed into idleness, as nobody else came to keep the tempo of progress on similar lines. The importance of the handicraft should be recognised by the government and development of its base in rural areas can be helpful in wiping out poverty to a considerable extent. Improved quality of *Panja Dari* is considered better than the loom made product. Consequently there is expected more demand for this durable artefact by those who can afford.

Question of demand

All the *Khadar Bhandar* depots in the villages reported that there is a good demand for *Panja dari* both from within and outside the state, which is difficult to be met due to limited production. The demand can only be met if more *daris* are woven and manufacturing can be invigorated by encouraging more and more weavers to take up this handicraft by providing adequate remuneration and allied facilities like supply of material and collecting the woven *daris*. The low remuneration was the main inherent obstacle in its progress and results in disgustful attitude of weavers. Through discussion with the weavers, it came to light that if proper supply of material and marketing opportunities are created and remuneration are equated befitting the work involved, the craft can improve and give more employment to the people there. There is a vital connection between work and remuneration. The craft if allowed to run in the present state will be an injustice. The remuneration should be increased in keeping with the work involved. Also steps need to be taken to improve the prevailing condition. The barriers need to be removed and further exploration made on merit.

CHAPTER VI

CRAFT AND EMPLOYMENT

Association of households with craft

In chapter one we have succinctly given an account of history of origin, decay and revival of the craft. The *dari* is woven almost in all villages of the state, though not necessarily for deriving income. The *dari* has been coming through ages as an artefact of traditional gift given in *daj* (dowry) at the marriage of daughter for domestic use.

Recently the rural women have started treating this craft as a source of income just to add to the economic pool of the household after attending to their household chores. They came to associate with this craft, when they visualised it as a source of income and were persuaded by the *Khadi Mandals* in the state. Some of them, compelled by economic stringencies, took to *dari* weaving. The boundaries of craft with respect to associated castes are not rigid but permeable and fuzzy. The adoption of craft rarely lowers the social prestige of the weaver. Amongst the three villages 87 females belonging to various castes were found doing the craft at the time of survey. Sixty-six or (three-fourth) of these belonged to Rajput caste alone. The remaining 21 weavers belonged to other seven caste groups and only one belonged to Balmiki scheduled caste. In all 60 households were selected in three villages where *dari* weaving craft was being carried out, at the time of survey. Apart from the selected households, there were some more households practising this handicraft in these villages at the time of survey.

Unemployment in sampled households

Probing inquiries were made regarding unemployed persons in these households in three villages alongwith relevant attributes for unemployment. Particulars of unemployed persons by age-group, duration of unemployment, experience and relationship with head of household are furnished in table VI.I below :

TABLE VI. 1

Distributions of unemployed persons in the households by relationship with the head, age-group, experience and duration of unemployment

Age group of unemployed persons	Relationship of unemployed person with head	Number of unemployed persons	Number of persons unemployed since, with and without experience and training.		
			1-2 years without experience/training	3 -5 years without experience/training	6 years, without experience/training
1	2	3	4	5	6
0—14	..	..	..	.. ..	..
15—34	Sons (6) Son's son (1) Brother's sons (2)	9	Sons (5) Son's son (1)	Son (1)	Brother's sons (2)
35-	..	..	..	.. .	..
Total	Sons (6) Son's son (1) Brother's sons (2)	9	Sons (5) Son's son (1)	Son (1)	Brother's sons (2)

It is revealed that in all 9 persons in the age group 15—34 were recorded as unemployed. Six of them were sons, 2 were brother's sons, and one was son's son by relationship to head. Six of these were idle for 1-2 years, one was idle for 3—5 years and 2 were idle for more than six years and all were invariably unexperienced and untrained. Educationally, of the six recorded as sons one each was primary and middle whereas remaining 4 had studied upto matriculation or higher secondary, two recorded as brother's sons were

illiterate and the one recorded as son's son had attained matriculation or higher secondary level. All 9 persons recorded as unemployed reported that they had least hope for getting an employment as they rarely received any call for the same. It is to be noted here that by employment they meant to be employed in some private or government establishment on monthly salary basis. None of them got any employment earlier, so question of discontinuation does not arise. They, however, might be attending to miscellaneous jobs at home i.e. they were in a sort of disguised employment. They were, however, available for certain type of employment for which unfortunately the opportunity was lacking.

Probe relating to the genesis of craft as a gainful activity in different corridors of time particularly prior to 1965 by number of the households and persons engaged in it was met with somewhat blurred picture. The young weavers could not reveal the corridorwise past events spaced by decades properly. We even met vague and evasive replies on this aspect. One thing on which a general consensus was reached is that majority of females adopted the craft through *dekha-dekhi* i.e. seeing and amulating other weaver fellows of the village. The economic stringency factor acted as a catalyst in the process. Copying by seeing others and economic stringencies are the two sides of the coin in this case. Some girls reported that the craft stood in good stead to rid them of idleness/unemployment and engaged them in gainful activity. They were affirmative that the craft is a sort of trigger for providing some economic uplift.

Craft through previous decades

An attempt was made to assess the potentialities of the craft for generating employment. The majority of weavers reported that they adopted the craft after 1965 for the sake of earning something as motivated by *Khadar Bhandar*. None of heads of households reported to have taken the craft before 1947 as a source of income due to absence of motivation and absence of marketing facility. Enquiry was made about the number of households and persons as well engaged in the craft in different decades thus the two indicators go hand in hand. Statistics in this respect reveal that out of 4 heads of households in the age group 15—34 years, 3 reported that more than 10 households were engaged in the craft during 1971—80 and the number of weavers then exceeded 20, whereas one head in the same age group again reported more than 10 households in the craft at the time of survey and persons engaged also exceeded 20. Out of 41 heads of households in age group 35—59 years, 8 reported more than 10 households, doing the job during 1961—70, 32 again reported more than 10 households during 1971—80, whereas one household again reported more than 10 households at the time of survey and reply regarding number of persons doing the work at the three consecutive periods was invariably more than 20. Out of 15 heads of households in the age group 60 and above one reported more than 10 households engaged in the craft during 1961—70, eleven reported more than 10 households engaged in this work during 1971—80, whereas 3 reported more than 10 households engaged in the craft at the time of survey. The number of persons engaged in the craft at the three consecutive periods was also invariably more than 20 in each case. All expressed ignorance about the engagement of households and or persons in the craft prior to decade 1961—70. It is evident from the replies of informants that the number of households and number of persons engaged in the craft during the past two decades has remained more or less static. Through discussion it emerged that some alienation is taking place from the craft. The number of girls leaving the job is said to have an edge over the new ones adopting the job. The algebraic sum of the two shows a negative sign. The increase in number of households and or persons is not appreciable due to low remunerations as well as non-availability of better quality ready made raw material in the villages. The lower prices of loom made *daris* also adversely affects the growth of the handicraft.

The inquiry into the way/method by which different households came to be associated with the craft revealed that weavers in 29 households adopted the craft through *dekha-dekhi* i.e. seeing members of other households doing this craft, weavers in 16 households adopted the craft forced by poor economic conditions, weavers, in 12 households adopted the handicraft by motivation to add to the income, whereas 3 households which had no male member were attracted by this handicraft as it was easily adoptable by female members as compared to other pursuits.

A probe was made regarding duration of period engaged in the craft since the memorable start of craft in the village as sort of gainful activity which is furnished ahead in the table VI. 2.

TABLE VI. 2

Distribution of households by period engaged in the craft since start of craft in the villages

Duration of period engaged in craft (in years)	Number of households in the craft	Households reporting start of the craft in the villages since			
		1956—70	1971—85	86 and onwards	Period not known
1	2	3	4	5	6
Less than 5	12	..	10	2	..
5—9	35	1	33	..	1
10—19	12	6	4	..	2
20+	1	1	..	..	..
Period not known		..	..	..	..
Total	60	8	47	2	3

It is evident from the table that the craft is primarily adopted after 1970 and as many as 35 out of 60 households were engaged in it for duration ranging from 5 to 9 years. It is thus of recent adoption. At the time of survey in the beginning of 1986 it was found that only two households had adopted the craft indicating lack of interest. It is also discernible from the table that as many as 57 households reported the start of the craft for the last less than 40 years and 3 showed ignorance in this matter.

Deteriorating/Disintegrating trend

An inquiry was made regarding reasons for disintegration of the handicraft by period. According to 34 households the craft showed a disintegrating trend for the last less than 5 years, 24 reported the craft to be disintegrating for the last 5—9 years and remaining 2 reported its decline for the last 10—19 years. For the disintegrating trend of the craft 39 households reported that the earnings were inadequate and were not commensurate with the labour involved in the weaving process i.e. the returns were too less. Thirteen of the households reported that their educated boys/girls showed indifference towards the craft and took it as just a pinch of salt. The remaining 8 households reported difficulty in getting good quality raw material including yarn and chemical colours and attributed the same towards disintegration of the craft. It is seen that the craft had somewhat progressed during the preceding decade and showed a declining trend at the time of survey, because the prices have shot up suddenly as compared to previous decade. Chemical colours have gone costly. The disintegration looms large due to inadequate remuneration compared to amount of labour involved more than to other factors. From the above revelation it may be inferred briefly that the disintegration is due to:—

(a) Inadequate remuneration for the work involved.

(b) Difficulty in procuring good quality raw material.

(c) Lack of interest by educated boys and girls.

Views of non-craftsmen

Households whose member(s) though in the past couple of decades or so practised the craft but were reported to have abandoned due to certain reasons, were also approached during the survey. Out of the 15 households so contacted the 6 households having given up the craft for the last less than 5 years 3 further reported incompatible wages for the hard labour involved, 2 gave protracted illness as the reason for forsaking the craft and solitary household reported that the craft was no more lucrative. From two households having abandoned the craft for the last 5—9 years one each gave incompatible returns and non-lucrative nature as the reasons. From 3 households having given up the craft for the last 10—19 years, 2 gave 'incompatible returns', and one advanced "poor rating or grading" of the woven material by *Khadar Bhandar* as the reason. From the 4 households having left the craft for 20 + years,

2 gave 'incompatible returns' while one each gave "non-lucrativeness" and migration of parents to Pakistan at the time of partition "as the reasons for abandoning the craft. The reasons like 'incompatible returns' and 'non-lucrativeness' come very close to each other conceptually. It thus precipitates that degeneration of the craft looms largely on lower, remuneration not squaring with the labour involved and it is the major barrier in its progress.

Further, occupation of the heads of households was also examined. Out of 15 heads of households 4 males were engaged in cultivation, 2 males each were engaged in weaving coarse cloth (Khesi or Khadar) and Rajgiri (masonry work), 4 males were doing labourer's job and one male was engaged in sinking handpumps, whereas 2 female heads were reported attending to agricultural pursuits. The breakup of heads of households by age-group showed that 7 males and 2 females were in the age group 35—59 years and 6 males were in the advanced age-group of sixty and above years. These households though had members conversant with art of weaving yet were neither practising it due to aforesaid reasons nor were contemplating to take up the craft as occupation.

Furthermore an inquiry was made to find as to why heads of households were disinterested in having their sons/daughters sticking to the craft of *dari* weaving and were inclined to engage them in occupation of their liking. The reasons advanced were more or less of the same type as mentioned earlier, where low income was the main theme of the reply. They rarely lost sight of state of imbalance between work involved and remuneration. Six heads of households complained that the craft was not lucrative for their children and five reported that their children can derive more income from other occupation(s), another one gave out 'less income' as the main reason i.e. replies from 12 converged to the theme of 'low income' and they expressed a negative attitude for its continuance on this account. They were rather emphatic to channelise natural aptitude and potentialities of children for more gainful pursuits. The whole toiling is always focussed to increase the income. One each reported that there is great 'competition' between manually woven and loom woven *daris*, and the job is 'monotonous and children hanker after white collar job' where as one head of household had no progeny. Information on reasons for prosperity/adversity of the craft was also collected from non-practising households. They were asked to advance primary and secondary reasons for degeneration of the craft. Of the 15 households 14 invariably gave "hard labour and less wages" as primary reason for degenracy or adversity of craft. From these 14, as many as 11 gave "lack of supply of material" one each gave "biased gradation of woven stuff" "inaptitude of younger generation and "lack of market facility" as secondary reason for adversity of craft. One head of household reported "smooth supply of material" and "fair transaction on spot" as primary and secondary reasons for prosperity of the cra t though the household was not practising the craft. All the 15 heads of households firstly suggested the measures as "increase in remuneration". Secondly 14 of them suggested supply of "ready made yarn" and one suggested "on the spot transaction in cash" preferably by government. The weavers were emphatic to declare that remedial measures be carried out.

Practising craft households

The households who had taken up the craft reported that it has resulted in an improvement of their economic status. Out of 60 heads of households 51 reported to have derived extra income, 8 were of the view that in addition to extra income the spare time was also gainfully utilised, a solitary widowed female derived her livelihood from this craft.

A searching probe was also made as to whether the heads of households wanted or not wanted to absorb their sons/daughters in the craft with germane reasons thereof. They were unwilling to put their sons in the craft, therefore, the replies mainly pertain to females. Out of total 60 heads of households, 32 favoured engaging them in the craft while 28 showed unwillingness. From 32 heads 27 reported that the craft helped in augmenting household income, 4 reported that it offered a chance of employment to females for utilizing their idle time whereas one reported it to be the only source of income. Of the 28 unwilling for absorption of their children in the craft 12 stated that returns were incommensurate with the work, 8 reported that craft does not suit their educated children, as even illiterate could do it, 6 reported that children reject the craft as it requires great patience and sitting capacity which stunts their physical growth. Two heads disfavoured it as they had no progeny Of the 60 households 20 had taken up the craft for less than 5 years, 27 for the last 5—9 years, 12 for the last 10—19 years and one had taken up for the last 20 and above years. The craft was scarcely followed by previous generation(s) as a source of earning livelihood. It is thus manifestly abvious that the craft has an important place in their economic life. Once the aforementioned

barriers are removed the craft has the scope for offering employment opportunities to a considerable number of females. Concluding, they have no idea of saying good bye to the craft. At the same time they neither have any other plan nor think to hit upon any for creating some other such village craft. It may be realised that the craft has an innate potential for employment of females and amelioration of their economic lot provided the remunerations are suitably enhanced. It is very likely that those who previously failed or could not succeed in establishing the craft or abandoned the craft would be eager to take up the craft afresh if prevailing conditions like inadequate remuneration, difficulty in procurement of raw material are remedied *mutatis mutandis* it will be a green pasture to those already engeged in it, and the craft can be saved from dying, cracking or crumbling.

An inquiry was also made from the households practising/not-practising the craft at the time of survey as to how the craft could be rejuvenated. All the households reported that for ultimate good of the craft the necessary and primary means were to enhance the labour charges per piece adequately and secondly ready made material like yarn in the form of warp and dyed weft strands be regularly made available to the weavers in villages, thus corroborating the above view. By these measures the obstacles in the way of development of the craft can be appreciably counteracted. The weavers themselves were passive and they hardly made any attempt to expand or rejuvenate the craft. By virtue of these measures, if carried out effectively and appropriately, many weavers haunted by trivial prestige reluctance would be tempted to retake the craft and its rejuvenation would be prodigious.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

On recapitulating from the preceding pages it is clear that *dari* making has its own grace, elegance and unique craftsmanship but it suffers on account of inadequate remuneration, lack of interest by educated children and non-availability of raw and ready made material and high cost of inputs going into its manufacturing together with lack of proper marketing facilities. Scheme has been introduced by Khadi and Village Industries Commission which has helped only marginally. It is found that the craft has scope for employment once the development measures like enhancement of remuneration, procurement of raw and ready made material are undertaken. The study of *Panja dari* was taken to throw light on the life of village society associated with craft. It also involves study of economic and social structure, marketing facilities persistence of traditional tools, desire for adoption of new innovations as well as scope for employment. Despite its being an important artefact, the general awareness of people about the craft had been poor. Nothing appreciable was known about raw materials used, their availability, techniques and tools employed for its manufacture. So these factors accounted for selection of *dari* weaving handicraft study by the census organisation. It has been characterised as rural based craft offering some gainful activity to sizeable segment of female population and is capable of offering more employment avenues to many others while discharging household duties, subject to creating adequate working conditions as mentioned earlier. The aspect that it has a potential for generating employment attracted the attention of the organisation for its detailed study. The study was conducted during the first half of 1986. The change in the functioning of the craft though slow and less perceptible makes it a subject of study so as to find out effective ways and means for its progress.

Regarding views of craftsmen about the craft as a source of livelihood, we came across two types of strata of informants, who expressed extreme views one disliking the craft without any concrete reasons and the others liking the craft upon certain cogent reasons. Both types of persons, however, have been found to have some symbolic connection with the craft in their unconscious and conscious minds. In the modicum of reality, the handicraft has entered the fringe of economic life of the people to a certain extent. In the past a *dari* in accordance with views of weavers, hardly played any significant role in earning livelihood as its weaving was confined to domestic uses only. The females used to weave and accumulate few *daris* in advance to be given in *daj* (dowry) to their daughters at their marriage. The informants admitted during the inquiry that they were ignorant of the aspect whether the handicraft is capable of augmenting the household income. The economic gains were thought just temporary and illusory. They were rather callous to cambat the economic backwardness through pursuing the craft vigorously. There were hardly any external agencies to provide them economic security by persuading them to adopt this craft or any other similar craft as a gainful activity. The individual struggle for reorientation of the craft was also least marked. There was no meaningful concerted programme, which could at least reduce their economic burden by engaging the females in such household craft. Now it has been realised how easily the craft can be pursued. This is an important change in this outlook. For the last two decades the females in many a household adopted the craft visualising some economic gain but the pursuit has been stunted a bit due mainly to inconsistency in remuneration and labour involved in preparation of *dari*. In entirety they have singled out remunerational incompatibility as the main reason for degeneracy of the craft.

Scope for development and potentiality to generate employment

They place more emphasis on increasing the remuneration for development of the craft. Once this anomaly in remuneration and work involved is removed the future of the craft will be bright, but how far the remuneration is to be increased requires a thorough calculation and periodic revision of payment for work on the basis of units of time spent by different persons involved *vis-a-vis* other such manual processes to accomplish it. This topic has been dealt with in detail in chapter IV also. The relative cost needs to be measured and exact equivalents are

to be found. There was a strong argument for proper wage system. This stimulus will keep them working. Another appendage to it as stressed by the proponents of the craft is the provision of ready made yarn in the form of warp and dyed weft strands to the weavers, to accelerate the development of craft radically as its preparation is regarded burdensome. This raw material is a pre-requisite to weaving *dari* and will add to the possibility of producing more in leasser time.

Disintegrating trend

The craft showed a disintegrating trend since the past one decade. Its development was hampered by trifold obstracle (i) low monetary returns, (ii) lack of interest by educated children, and (iii) difficulty in procuring raw material in the desired form, as reported by households doing the craft. Out of total 60 households practising the craft 32 favoured engaging their females in the craft, whereas 28 were unwilling to absorb them in the craft. Firstly majority of those favouring the absorption in the craft stated augmentation of household income whatsoever as the main reason, which appears quite logical and genuine. They were less thoughtful about the margin of gain. Secondly, apart from augmenting the household income, they had also reported that it is an indoor work suited particularly to Rajput females who are a bit frowned upon if they go out for work i.e. they have an inhibition to go out. It is also a socially recognised cultural trait of the community. An element of compulsion was also inherent in this aspect. Absence of co-operative society and training-cum-production Centre attribute towards degeneracy of craft. In contrast, those who were reluctant to engage their children in craft were losers in earning some income whatsoever on the main pretext of low returns though their interest was nostalgically introvert. They were of the view that full reward falls short of so much labour. It can be said with certainty that they will probably rethink in the matter once remuneration is raised. The heads of households who had abandoned the craft reported that they were disinterested in continuing the craft as they could achieve only partial fulfilment of their aims through this and invariably 'low income' was the main theme of their replies.

Occupational mobility

A horizontal occupational mobility was apparent as they wanted their sons/daughters to pursue occupations of their choice. The aim is more income oriented. Both internal and external forces are influencing the weavers. The disharmony between remuneration and work involved in weaving is deviating them otherway in the struggle for the more lucrative pursuits. There is scarcely noticed any re-orientation in their traditional pattern of working. They now have a lust for jobs in some government or semi-government department as there is no fear of loss of pay, whereas in the craft they work by fits and starts and the income is consequently erratic and meagre. External forces in the form of influence of outside cultures is also resulting in occupational mobility. Changes have been brought by outside civilizations revolutionising the way of life and beliefs of the people. They realise that people are now evaluated in terms of money and consequently they are adopting diversified fields of occupations to which they were initialy averse. The economic compulsion has a great momentum to influence the adoption of new occupations rather than clinging to the old non-lucrative one. The reservation for employment to scheduled caste communities under the constitution is another favourable factor influencing them to take up diversified fields of occupation through which they get regular income. New technical-know-how bringing the worker in contact with new markets, exploitation of new resources, calculated economic equivalents for work are quite helpful in expanding the scope for worker and may also encourage lineal occupational mobility.

Suggestions for development

The people practising the craft and belonging to various social and religious groupings tended to label the craft a non-lucrative due to non-availability of ready made yarn and dyed strands as well as remunerational disparity. For the development of the craft, enhancement of the remuneration, "regular supply of raw material", 'on the apot transactions' are some of the cardinal aspects as suggested by them. The development will mainly stand or fall on these determinants which need to be taken as a priority. Large number of the weavers had taken up the craft when faced by economic stringencies and to get rid of idleness. The start of the craft in the villages as a gainful activity goes back to last about 40 years, and it was not mainly traditional profession. The craft undoubtedly has a scope for offering employment to considerable number of females. The people are unwilling to get their male children diverted to this craft and they have a soft attitude towards females taking up the craft as it is an indoor work without least stigma of contempt or pollution.

Interestingly both segments of weavers one expressing satisfaction and the other to the contrary were still clinging to it on the convenient assumption 'something is better than nothing'. With the induction of proper wage system they will be mentally prepared to put in more efforts for expanding the work in the absence of any other such craft in these villages and it will prove to be a boon to them and to the country. If is predicted as a priori for rejuvenation and expansion of the craft. Those who had abandoned, or were deterred from pursuing the craft decade(s) ago expressed the reason for fall of the craft again by the catchwords like "low returns", "lack of ready made material", "biased rating of woven stuff" the first being the most cardinal. For developing the craft they also suggested supply of material by jeep/van on weekly days and spot transactions. Such steps would undoubtedly add to the efficacious functioning of the craft as they would save time and labour. Advancing some financial loans, subsidies, for purchase of necessary tools, portable *addas* (frames), *Panakhs*. , c. would be some other steps for giving boost to the craft.

common formula in the matter of proper wage system needs be evolved so that a justified and genuine regard is given to the weavers in accordance with the tide of time, as circumstances are continually changing. With this monograph as base or bench mark, more detailed search for measures and labour saving devices may be conducted for developing the craft and creating additional employment avenues.

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