

**DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE TRANS-
HUMANS: A CASE STUDY OF GUJJAR BAKARWALS OF
POONCH DISTRICT IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR**

A Dissertation Submitted

To

Sikkim University



In Partial fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy

By

Arshad Ahmed

Department of Geography

School of Human Sciences

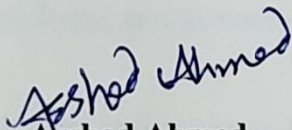
Sikkim University

January, 2021

Date: 19/01/2021

DECLARATION

I, **Arshad Ahmed**, hereby declare that the research work embodied in the dissertation titled "**Dimensions of Social Change Among the Trans-humans: A case Study of Gujjar Bakarwals of Poonch District in Jammu and Kashmir**" submitted to Sikkim University for the award of the **Degree of Master of Philosophy**, is my original work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.


Arshad Ahmed

Roll Number: 19MPGP01

Registration Number: 19/M.Phil. /GOG/01

Name of the Department: Geography

Name of the School: Human Sciences

ल, सामदुर, तादोंग - 737102
6, सिक्किम, भारत
03592-251212, 251415, 251656
फ़ोन - 251067
वेबसाइट - www.cus.ac.in



6th Mile, Samdur, Tadong-737102
Gangtok, Sikkim, India
Ph. 03592-251212, 251415, 251656
Telefax : 251067
Website : www.cus.ac.in

सिक्किम विश्वविद्यालय SIKKIM UNIVERSITY

(भारत के संसद के अधिनियम द्वारा वर्ष 2007 में स्थापित और नैक (एनएएसी) द्वारा वर्ष 2015 में प्रत्यायित केंद्रीय विश्वविद्यालय)
(A central university established by an Act of Parliament of India in 2007 and accredited by NAAC in 2015)

Date: 19/01/2021

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Dissertation titled “**Dimensions of Social Change Among the Trans-humans: A case Study of Gujjar Bakarwals of Poonch District in Jammu and Kashmir**” submitted to Sikkim University for the partial fulfillment of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** in the Department of Geography, embodies the result of bonafide research work carried out by **Arshad Ahmed** under our guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associateship and fellowship.

All the assistance and the help received during the course of investigation have been duly acknowledge by him.

We recommend this thesis to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dr. Sohel Firdos

(Supervisor)

Associate Professor

Department of Geography

School of Human Sciences

Dr. Sohel Firdos

(Head of the Department)

Associate Professor

Department of Geography

School of Human Science

इल, सामदुर, तादोंग - 737102
क, सिक्किम, भारत
03592-251212, 251415, 251656
क्स - 251067
इट - www.cus.ac.in



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**“Dimensions of Social Change Among the Trans-humans: A case Study of
Gujjar Bakarwals of Poonch District in Jammu and Kashmir”**

Submitted by *Arshad Ahmed* under the supervision of *Dr. Sohel Firdos* (Associate Professor, Department of Geography, School of Human Sciences, Sikkim University)

Arshad Ahmed
Signature of the Scholar

Sohel Firdos
Countersigned by Supervisor

A. Chandel
Vetted by Librarian

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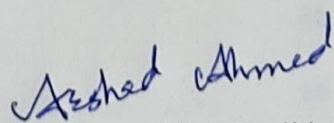
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Date: 19/01/2021

Place: Gangtok


Signature of the Candidate

Name: - Arshad Ahmed

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ABBREVIATION

A.B.D.I	Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Institute
A.S.R.	Archeological Survey Report
B.R.O.	Border Road Organization
C.G.I.	Corrugated Galvanized Iron
D.F.I.D.	The Department of International Development
E.H.I.	Early History of India
E.U.	European Union
F.A.O.	Food and Agriculture Organization
G.I.S.	Geographical Information System
I.A.	Indian Antiquary
I.H.G.	Indian Historical Quarterly
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Asiatic Society Bengal
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
J.D.L.	Journal Department of Letters
J.G.R.S.	Journal of Gujarat Royal Society
J.R.A.S.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
L.O.C.	Line of Control
N.G.O.	Non-Governmental Organization
P.M.G.S.Y.	Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Adhochalanalo	Seminomadic
Ajri	A paid Shepherd who tends the flock of others.
Ajricontract	ShepherdingContract
Al-akkad	The promised to wed when all the dues have beenpaid
Amiri	Richness
BasanAlo	Nomadic/sedentary
Bagdi	Dried inmilk
Bhandi	A place where animals are kept duringwinter
Bandara	A plantspecie
Baya	Stamped Nika at theweeding
Beasa	A plant species in the summerpastures
Bello	A plantspecie
Berry	A plantspecie
Biran	A kind of nutritious grass in summerpastures
Bodokar	Gujjar Bakarwals traditional liftingstone
Bharat	A plant species in summerpastures
Buri	A kind of disease in which the tongue of the animalswells
Burj	A plant species in Summerpasture
Cacho	gastric worms
Cauchy	dermatitis
Chalanalo	A nomadicfamily
Chanscar	A plantspecie
Charagah	Pastureland

Chatwal	A nutritious grass specie in summerpastures
Cheney	A nutritious grass specie in summerpastures
Choran	A nutritious grass specie in summerpastures
Chowdhary	A gift given to headman of the group as a token of respect
Dadaputre	Lineage kinshipgroup/grandparents
Daliya	The animals are given food which is made of maize and wheat
Della	A nutritious grass specie in summerpasture
Dhera	A household orfamily
Dod	Nutrition plant species in summerpasture
Dost	Friend
Dua	Prayers
Duphera	The bride eventually returns togroom
Dhara	A temporary hut built in summerpastures
Dhoks	Summerpastures
Fodi	A kind of disease in which tongue swells and bowls appear on mouth
GayaGojra	marginalpeople
Garib	A poor family in terms of economicstatus
Garibi	Poverty ofimpoverishment
Gharandas	A plantspecie
Godari	Nutrition lush green grass species in summerpastures
Gushtaba	Kashmiri fooddishes
Ingo	A king poison grass, species which causes dysentery andkills the animals
Jodhar	Nutrition lush green grass species in summerpastures

Kafila	A group of families migrating together during annual migration (convoy)
Kennethy	A plant specie
Kaladi	A plant specie
Kanes	A plant species found in summer pasture
Kanals	A <i>kanal</i> is a unit of area used in parts of Jammu and Kashmir
Karkoi	A plant specie
Kebab	Kashmiri food dishes
Khar-pench	Informal leader of the Gujjar Bakarwals <i>Kafila</i>
Kher	A plant specie
Khatopeato	Middle people
Kotha	A structure of mud and stones with flat roofs made for living
Korma	Kashmiri food dishes
Khtam	Religious festival
Kushi	A kind of skin disease
Kuth	Nutritious grass species in summer pastures
Khatri	Nutritious lush green grass species in summer pastures
Lafaz	Engagement promise
Lambardar	Formal headman of a group of families
Lhasaari	A plant specie
Lasura	A plant specie
Loi	A woolen blanket
Mael	A disease in which blood passes through urine
Mai	Tuberculosis
Mahar	Money fixed at the time of marriage

Maldar	A rich family in terms of economic status
Marg	Alpine pastures
Manganai	Engagement
Mokhar	A kind of disease in which footswells
Mohari	A poisonous grass species
Molvi	A ritual man
Mukdam	Headman of a group
Niyaz	An offering made at religious place
Nikah	A marriage ceremony
Noaroz	A festival at the beginning of spring season.
Pag	Turban
<i>Panch</i>	Member of the tribal council
Pandara	A plant species
Pari	swelling of the tongue and boxes of the mouth
Pattu	A small woolen blanket
Patjhard	Autumn season
Pir	Holy man
Plar	A species of nutritious grass in summer pastures
Puri	tongue swollen
Purochalanalo	Fully nomadic
Rahan-Alo	A settled family
Rasto	The route of annual migration
Rah	Applies well in the route of Gujjar Bakarwals
Ratanzogduti	A medicinal plant
Resta	Kashmiri food dishes

Roznamoha	A daily diary
Roganjosh	Kashmiri food dishes
Ruksati	A ceremony after marriage/ The 1 st departure of the bride for her husband house for one week
Sargarda	Headman of a group
Sagan	The ceremony ends at the end of the marriage, marking the bride's chance to visit her birth home in the future
Salnei	A species of poisonous grass
Sari	A kind of disease in which the mouth and ears swell
Sardiyonkicharagah	Winter pasture
SatBurg	A plant species in summer pastures
Satmon	The bride returns to her parents as a virgin
Sunthu	A plant species
Taman	A plant species in winter areas whose leaves are given as food to the pregnant sheep and goats
Tabakmaz	Kashmiri food dishes
Tareri	A species of nutritious grass in summer pastures
Tala	A plant species
Thandi	Small pox (disease)
Vaisakhi	A festival celebrated in the month of <i>Vaisakh</i> , on 13 th April every year
Wazwan	Kashmiri food dishes
Yakhini	Kashmiri food dishes
Zamindars	Agriculturists
Ziarat	Pilgrimage to a holy shrine

Zirga/Kachari

A tribal council(Panchayat)

CHAPTER I

AGENDA-SETTING OF RESEARCH

Introduction

Since thousands of years, humans have been living as a part of natural ecosystem, causing disturbances to various degrees and still maintaining a sustainable relationship with their environment (Chandran, 2002). Grazing land is mainly used for livestock rearing in a widespread use. For 100 to 200 million people worldwide this trend has continuously followed as a part of social, economic and cultural lifestyle for transhumance in the recent time also (Nusrat, 2012). Comprehensive animal husbandry production system covers approximately 25% of the Earth's land surface. There are many shepherds originated in Africa. But grazing is similarly prevalent in dry and sub-moist areas of Europe and South America, South and East Asia, Middle East (FAO, 2011). However, its reputation has been dumbfounding throughout its long history, and its practitioners have been marginalized by sedentary farmers and urban residents. Pastoralist societies rise and fall, spilt into isolated families, or established empires around the world, and were regularly proclaimed in the face of diametrically opposite evidence of their persistence (Blench,2001).

Although forage systems have great diversity, they generally have the characteristics of low population density, high mobility and vitality, Complex information systems, and spatial knowledge. Pastoral societies are also often marginalized socially, politically, and economically (Smith, 2010). Nevertheless, they contribute significantly to national economies, achieving development goals, and maintaining the ecosystem of pastures (Blench, 2001). As a pasture user who relies on multiple ecosystem services (such as food, forage, and water), shepherds have a unique

understanding of how to maintain a balance between conservation and sustainable use (Smith, 2010).

Pastoral, as an adaptation strategy, is based on the three main resources of fauna, pasture, and water (Negi, 1995). Normally, livestock can be bought and pasture and water can be used. This requires seasonal migration of pastoralists, known as trans-humans. Seasonal migrations usually take place between two locations, which are predetermined and marked as pasture and water availability. Therefore, Trans-humans is a particular form of need for adaptive measures on the part of the nomadic population, and it differs to some extent from nomadic hunters and gatherers, who are always on the move and will not periodically return to earlier locations.

There are two types of pastoralism, trans-humans and nomadic. Trans-human's herders follow a cyclical migration pattern, distinguishing between settlement areas with fixed/temporary huts. Compared with nomads, trans-humans generally dependent to some extent on the food of its animals. They often grow vegetables on a small scale in their settlement areas (Hesse and Odhiambo, 2006). Pastoral nomads follow a seasonal migration pattern that may differ from year to year. The time and destination of migration mainly depend on the discovery of water and forage (Jahnke, 1982).

Gujjar Bakarwals inhabits a large part of North India over this entire region. Contemporary economic strategies in the region range from fully sedentary agriculture to fully animal husbandry, depending on the area and part of the Gujjar Bakarwals community. The Jammu and Kashmir consist only of the settled semi-nomadic Gujjar Bakarwals groups. The sedentary groups of Gujjar Bakarwals have settled there in most of the villages in the region from which the annual routes of their

migration pass. The sedentary groups claim to be a common and secondary lineage. The settled population of the Gujjar Bakarwals has recently emerged. Most of them have recently settled after 1947 and some time ago. It is understood that the Gujjar Bakarwals in the side valleys of Erin, Madhumati, Sindh, Lidar, and Bring have observed the newly inhabited population of the Gujjar Bakarwals origin.

In this context, present research is trying to understand the different dimension of social change among the trans-humans of Gujjar Bakarwals. These indigenous groups interact closely with a specific resource system and develop complex practice. The Gujjar Bakarwals have been adapted for living together and are capable of dealing with economic activities. They are already familiar with uncertainty and change. This study considers the dimensions of social change among the Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir.

Literature Review

At least in the Indian context, studies on trans-humans or nomadic pastoralism have not yet been established. However, many Indian and foreign scholars talked about the transition in many communities in different parts of India to its various aspects of history, culture, customary law, social, religious, economic, political, practices and languages far as work in the present study area is concerned, no study has been conducted specifically on the pastoralism of Jammu and Kashmir. There are many reasons why they are still largely isolated from the national mainstream and are not reported by print or electronic media due to the remoteness of their residence, which has restricted people to explore a society in this particular aspect.

Pastoral Nomadism- Trans-humans

Humans have referred to the “spatial mobility” practice related to various types of production activities known as nomads and classified according to their profession. (Kant, 1961) pointed out that nomadism in the broadest sense is an uncertain term. It covers all kind of lifestyles and all types of migration. Nomads have categorized the themes based on (1) the true nomads, (ii) semi-nomads, (iii) semi-sedentary nomads on the basis of “space mobility” in relation to the nature and degree of nomadism, i.e., economic activities (Bacon,1954).

Rafiullah (1966), observed that Neolithic people in the arid and semi-arid regions of the Middle East forced sheep and goat herds into the mountain pasture when feed was scarce on the plains. In the following period, a group of people adopted the best practice for this purpose that kept themselves active with the herd as the season changed. As the season changes, this transition between permanent villages and shepherd’s temporary camps, and livestock change as well and this is known as transhumance.

Riuz and Ruiz (1986), defined trans-humans as a mobility strategy that includes the regular seasonal migration of livestock between summer and winter pastures, which can adapt to climate change and matching seasonal peaks in the presence of grazing land with grazing pressure.

In the Aude Valley in the south of France, trans-humans have played an important role in modernity and history. The region offers a diversity of classical geographical position, various relaxations, and a variety of micro-environments conducive to the adoption of the highland as a major economic strategy (Baticle,1974).

Geddes (1983), suggested that trans-human's herders appeared at the intersection of the Mesolithic and Neolithic. With the increasing importance of local grains during the Neolithic period, more suitable farmland in the lowlands and middle altitude areas was brought for cultivation. He believes that ancient hunters and early surviving farmers involved indigenous migratory animals in the seasonal development of land and resources. He also pointed out that livestock would then become a co-lander. In lowlands areas, the abundance and quality of available natural feeds are reduced, so by the end of summer, the nutritional value of livestock is low. Due to above mentioned constraints, the culture of transhumance movement to the highlands may have developed.

Halstead (1981), claimed that widespread cultivation production overuses highland pastures in a trans-human's manner. Trans-humans should only be practiced by a large number of herds to be fed continuously in the plain or highland and depends on large-scale openness in both lowland and upland areas (Halstead, 1990). This requires maintaining large tracts of recreational land suitable for grazing in lowland areas and urban markets or similar herder's shops.

Kavoori (1999), conducted a study of pastoralists herders in western Rajasthan, examine the ecological basis of trans-human's pastoralism and found that the future of trans-human's pastoralism still depends on its relationships with the wider economy, country and society. He discovered that the practice of trans-humans in western Rajasthan was a very modern phenomena, far beyond a survival limited to its own past.

Trans-humans Sedentarization

Dong et al.(2011), have described nomadic, semi-nomadic and trans-human's pastoralism are excellent examples of livelihoods strategies based on mobility. However, despite the recognized adaptability to mobility, pastoral challenges are encountered in the context of global change. Pastoral nomadic practice and other pastoralists mobility strategies are decreasing throughout the world. This decline is due to a various factor such as gradual integration to the open market worldwide economy, sedentary, institutional restrictions and policies affecting lifestyle of the nomads (Galvin, 2009). Besides these factors, the determinants of global ecological changes, like changing land use, climate have challenged practitioners to recognize their socio-cultural, economics and ecological assets in order to sustain and protect mobile pastoral people around the world (Nori and Davis,2007).

Nori and Gemini (2011), stated that the Common Agriculture Policy is expected to support grazing land which is mainly excepted as a sustainable friendly practice for the environment. The European Union recognizes that it is mostly significant to conservation and has been described as the ecological backbone of Europe.

Nimir-Fuller et al. (2012), pointed out that the pastoral cultural customs and pasture management systems need to be appropriately understood by decision makers and development practitioners, otherwise the policy is based on major misunderstanding about border degradation and overgrazing, which will have a negative impact on herders.

Rozas et al. (2012), analysed that the change of the Spanish road link in the 1980 and integration of Spain into the European Union along with economic development made herd transportation an economical and more suitable choice for the herders. As a

result of the concentration and immobilization of shepherds, reduced competition and increased production costs and European Union subsidies led to an increase in the proportion of their earning (Garcia-Martinez et al., 2009). In 1980 maximum shepherds adopted trans-humans on foot, and therefore trans-humans abandoned rail and truck transport mainly in Spain (Ruiz and Ruiz, 1986, Manzano et al., 2010).

Namge et al. (2013) pointed out that extremely low temperatures, lack of pastures and insufficient livestock feed, which led to high animal mortality are the main factors causing southward migration. In winters, villages that are extremely cold with adverse climatic conditions because of snow and frost, and the temperature at night often drops below zero during such time no forage are available for the animals to graze. It is common for livestock that they do not get sufficient forage during winter. The shepherds report that severe cold has also reduced the milkproduction.

In early 1990, the National Railway Company when abolished training of livestock's, this trend of livestock migration caused by walking reached its peak (Bacaicoa et al., 1993). At the time, some shepherds continued walking to the transit primarily for reasons of economic and cultural identity. Nearly 10% of revenue was recovered from transportation costs and hiking was revived, revived and their permeability identification trans-humans and some herders were recently re-introduced on foot trans-humans due to increase in the cost of production in items like as oil and feed (Elisa et al., 2013).

Galvin (2009), stated that the decrease in nomadic practice and other mobility-based settling practices is due to various factors such as gradual integration into the worldwide free economy, sedentary policy, and the resulting nomadic way of institutional restrictions. These factors, along with other factors like driversof

worldwide environmental changes: climatic change and changes in land use pattern, challenges practitioners in recognizing their social, cultural, economic and environmental assets in order to maintain and protect herders worldwide.

Manzano et al. (2010), pointed out that when the availability of natural resources varies greatly over time and space, people's livelihood is adapted to those areas based on livestock movement because periodic movement has led to grazing on the carrying capacity of pastures optimization of pressure was allowed. Historically, mobile grazing has been the main type of highland livestock management strategy.

Karder et al. (1959), believes that nomadic herding was done through mastering the ecological problems of prairie life in economics, including many animal species, and these animals are spatially limited in the way of movement and tent survival. This was not proven before the second millennium BC. Due to environmental factors, the nomadic shepherd is a special way of life, and the evolution of the character from took three to four thousand years, given the dominance of animals, possibly in the 5th millennium BC. The dominance of steppe environment meant nomadic periods; seasonal resource scarcity and annual evacuation, which allowed a period of replenishment.

Although nomadic, it moves periodically, returning to previous sites that have become permanent, and have become seasonal areas. Their periodic movement is beneficial because it allows time to replenish and preserve rural trans-human's resources. For a few people, they can also choose to attract "unreserved resources". The seasonal periodic travel and modes of resource utilization have been put into trans-human's population in a nomadic state on the one hand, and a partially or moderately sedentary on the other (Negi, 1995).

R.P. Khatana (1992), his excellent research work based on the basis of extensive fieldwork from 1973 to 1982 in Jammu and Kashmir. He studied the society and economy of the trans-human's habitat in a very comprehensive way. The book "Tribal migration in Himalayan frontier centers around patterns of trans-humans with special reference to Gujjar Bakarwals transhumance economy of the Jammu and Kashmir. He critically analyzed nomadism, pastoralism, nomadic pastoralism, and transhumance and explains the various reasons for the tribal migration in these areas. The migration schedule, folk songs and appendices of tribal history are also examined here. He studied how geology affects lifestyles and livelihood patterns, while Gujjar Bakarwals kept a huge herd of goats and sheep (due to the most common livestock there) and Gujjar in Himachal Pradesh, they largely keep buffaloes and very few goats and sheep in their herds. However, Khatana work is largely cantered around modern Gujjar Bakarwals and does not provide insights into their status and position in the colonial period. However, this is a great study and helps us understand the migration pattern of the Gujjar Bakarwals in Jammu and Kashmir. In particular, the study is useful for understanding the migration pattern of the Gujjar Bakarwals. His pioneering work will be very useful for those dealing with the problems of the Himalayas and the Himalayan Borders.

Through a review of the aforementioned literature and from the structural point of view, it can be said that pastoral systems are expressed through three main variables, namely human, animal and pasture. The main function of trans-humans is to manage livestock and rangelands in relations to humans with better economic conditions and to maintain the balance ecological habitat of livestock and pasture.

Trans-humans in Jammu and Kashmir

Warikoo(2000), constitutes a significant portion of the population of Jammu and Kashmir. Even after fifty years of independence, this third ethnic segments of the population have been neglected. It cannot be assumed that thousands of years have passed without remote contact with the Gujjar Bakarwals community. At the rest of the world entered the new millennium with hope and light, he was surprised to see that the Gujjar Bakarwals remained unaware of the tragedy that was painful for them and still rely on trans-human's activities to survive.

Sofi (2013), believes that trans-humans Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir abandoned the traditional occupation and settled due to dearth of pasture, access to health facilities, education and a volatile political environment. He further pointed out that the changes in structures of the economy due trade liberalization has changed the Gujjar Bakarwals structures of the family, and some changes have taken place in marriage and kinship. In fact, when it comes to change, it has positive as well as negative effects. Similarly, the changes in the subsistence patterns and structures of economic conditions of Bakarwals have also brought both things together. On the one side, it threatened its culture due to the prosecution and assimilation process, and on the other side, it provides many services, amenities and improved the standard of living.

Tufail (2012), found that the economy of Gujjar Bakarwals has shifted from animal husbandry to other occupations in the past few years. In the past, majority of the residents of Gujjar Bakarwals were nomadic but nowadays, the circumstances have changed due to the settlement of most people. The expectations of the people in the Gujjar Bakarwals community are usually related to the herds of sheep and goat and

their product. Due to this situation that the herd is the primary resources of production in the trans-human's community of Gujjar Bakarwals. The goal of each owner is usually aiming to raise as much as sheep and goat as possible.

Gooch (1992), suggests that the Gujjar in the Northern Himalayan regions in India relies on the practice of trans-humans for their survival. They mainly depend on forest resources for mainly to feed livestock and buffaloes. However, due to the government strict regulations on the use of forest resources, trans-human's practices have mainly reduced, and the deep burden of most herds has gradually increase.

Sharma (2009), in her book "The Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir teased through nomadism" examines the Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir herding sheep, goat and buffalos. She mainly described the nomads in the community, their religion, language, their social association, folklore, material culture, material of development, authentic beliefs and indigenous knowledge, gender relations, power and reciprocity, and the nature of the catalogue. As well as evidence from change, with the aim of explaining to the reader about the fragility of their lives and wonderful vitality and gracefulness. Gujjar Bakarwals migrate each year to the Kashmir valley through the rebellion that stirred Pir-Panjal from the hills of the Jammu region, beyond the highland pastures of the Greater Himalaya to herd sheep, goats and buffalos.

Thus, while illuminating the ecological conditions in the high steppe that both the tribes inhabit, it can be concluded that sheep and goat adapt poorly to dry mountainous regions; in respect to aridity, the record of horses is somewhat better than that of cattle. Not only the environment plays a major role in selecting the species, but cultural factors also play a majorrole.

Lastly, taking the various factors to explain the livelihood of the pastoralism, it can be concluded that the social organization among the pastoralists also differs in different areas and under such circumstances, pastoral communities has developed sophisticated knowledge systems that provide examples for sensible land use, herd rearing and social organization.

The above literature makes one familiar with the area which highlights the economic activities in various segments of space. It gives a brief understanding on the human-animal relationships; equally, it focuses on sedentarization of economic activities across various segments of time and space of Gujjar Bakarwals community. It attempts to frame the human-animal relationship with a notion of “co-construction”. In this process, humans have developed association with many types of animals; for example, with the dog, he developed master-slave relationship. He tamed and domesticated wild animals and came to acquire control over many species which changed the hunter into a tenderer of flocks and the herder. This relationship between human beings and animals showed a remarkable ability to live in partnership among themselves. However, this relationship developed in various stages, which has been pointed out by a number of scholars on the subject. In an attempt to bridge the literature gap that exists with regard to Gujjar Bakarwals’ specific experience of man-animal relationship, this study will help to understand the economic activities and dimensions of social change among the trans-human’s Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir.

Assistance schemes for the development of Gujjar Bakarwals in Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir

The Following are the various assistance programmes for the development of Gujjar Bakarwals in Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir.

Tribal Sub-Plan: The stratagem of tribal sub-plan was introduced during the period 1990-1991 after declaring some ethnic group in union territory of Jammu and Kashmir as Scheduled Tribes (ST). TSP strategy plays special attention to tribal development that's its socio-economic status is improved.

Ashram Schools in Tribal Sub Plan Areas: This is centrally funded scheme that was initiated in 1990-91 and extended to Jammu and Kashmir. Its purpose is also to expand educational facilities, such as building residential schools for the Scheduled tribe (Gujjar Bakarwals). The program provides funding for the construction of the school building from first standard to high school education, including the construction of hostels for student and faculty.

Advisory Board for Gujjar Bakarwals: Jammu and Kashmir Social Welfare Advisory Board was established in 1995 to assist the central social welfare board in implementing social welfare programs and expanding and improving social welfare services. The Sub-Plan of Gujjar Bakarwals is implemented through the State Advisory Board to develop and upgrade the Gujjar Bakarwals.

Grants under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution: Each year, the state government is allocated funds to pay for the scheduled area of the development plan that the state government may adopt to promote the welfare of the scheduled tribe and improve the level of administrative management.

The objective is to promote the welfare of Scheduled Tribes (Gujjar Bakarwals) and better administration of Scheduled Areas.

Construction of hostels for Gujjar Bakarwals Boys / Girls Students: In order to prevent exploitation and promote and protect socioeconomic and educationally weaker section, special attention has been paid to their educational interests. Hostels for Gujjar Bakarwals boys / girls are constructed is governed by two central funding schemes shared by the central and the state governments on a 50:50basis.

From the above literature review and various programmes and policies taken by the central and state government still the Gujjar Bakarwals tribes are economically backward section of the Jammu and Kashmir. It is mainly because not proper execution of the schemes and programs taken by the government which reach only to a small section of asociety.

Statement of theProblem:

The pattern of pastoral economy has been undergoing drastic changes during the last several decades as most of them shifted to other economic activities in the urban and suburban areas. The Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the many such communities who have shifted from traditional pastoral life to sedentary agriculture. Cultivation along with pastoralism is the new life style of the Gujjar Bakarwals today. This process of transition has also led to associated changes in the economic activities and various segments of space. Secondly, Gujjar Bakarwals were notified as a Scheduled Tribe in 1989 and this new status along with its policies of protection through reservation has opened up new avenues for development (Sofi, 2013).

The economic resource of Gujjar Bakarwals is traditionally mostly dependent on herding and selling of livestock, but the selling price of the animal products is usually not comparable with their cost of production. As such they get lower prices for their products from the traders and consumers. Livestock plays an important role in the trans-human's economy. But they have to purchase articles of daily use at high price from the market due to the lack of proper market place and transportation means. Thus, they suffer economically as consumer as well as producer. The Government has been trying to sedentarization of these communities of the traditional breeders, without providing them alternative economic activity in which they can be absorbed. The animal husbandry has been considered by planners to be a supplementary source of income in the agriculture economy and very little importance has been attached to it in development plans and its implementation.

Major economic activities in the mountainous region are revived around nomadism, pastoralism and terraced cultivation. As the mountains form the centrality of habitat, there has been a practice of shifting homestead from pastoral houses during summer to settlement near spring and streams during winter. This has altered conditions of the agrarian economy of the community. In recent times, the community is in a union territory of rapid transition internally as a result of change brought about externally.

The study is undertaken to understand and explain the different shades of economic contacts and resultant changes, which will be observed among the Gujjar Bakarwals community of Poonch district of Jammu and Kashmir. It is assumed that historically communities in this region have survived with their economic stratification through the process of sedentarization. A Geographical insight on the acculturation process would shed light on the question of how sedentarization of communities affected economic stratification of community members with time. Recent alterations in

economic activities as influenced by a changing market has shaped the socio-spatial relations of Gujjar Bakarwals community. The present work will attempt to analyze the responses of trans-human's communities to a changing environment in the mountains, through the mapping and understanding of dimensions of social change among the Gujjar Bakarwals in the Jammu and Kashmir brought about by sedentarization.

Objectives:-

1. To map the social change among the Gujjar Bakarwals by analysing the seasonal rhythm of economic activities.
2. To analyse the process of sedentarization and its implications.

Research Questions:-

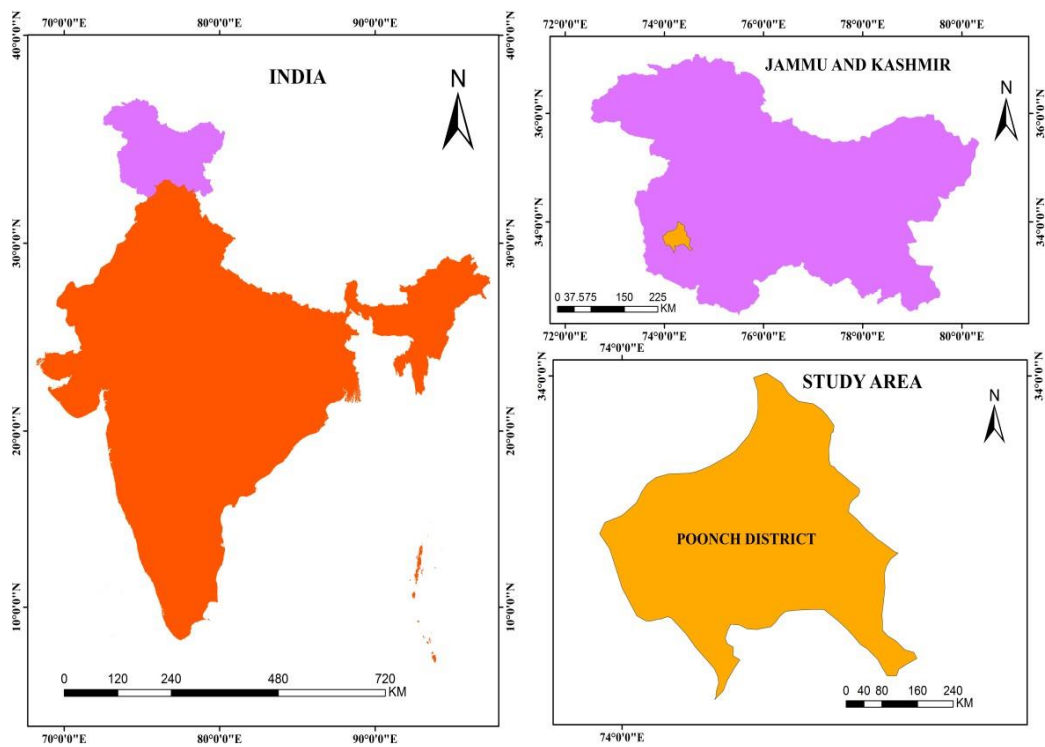
1. Has there been any variation in the seasonal rhythm in the recent year?
2. What is the factor influencing the process of sedentarization among the Gujjar Bakarwals?
3. How the process of economic stratification is operating with Gujjar Bakarwals?

The Study Area

The area of research study has been taken out from Poonch district of Jammu and Kashmir. It spread 33° 28' 08" & 34° 00' 28" North latitude and 73° 58' 52" to 74° 33' 12" East Longitude covering an area of 1674 km². Poonch district is one among 20 districts of Jammu and Kashmir. The official language of the district is Urdu, Gojri, Phari and Dogris are the local languages of this particular area. The Pooch district includes four tehsils: Mandi, Surankote, Haveli and Mendhar. There are 178 villages, among them 168 are inhabited and 10 uninhabited, 191 Panchayats and a Municipal

Committee. The height of the town is 3,287 feet above sea level. It is surrounded by the Line of Control from three sides and is separated from the valley of Kashmir by the mighty Pir-Panjal range in the north.

Map1.1 **Location of The StudyArea**



Source: ASTER GDEM, USGS. Acquisition date 15 March 2011

Data Base and Methods

The study adopts a mixed methodological framework where both the quantitative and qualitative approach have been used, and which includes primary as well as secondary source of data. Primary data has been collected through telephonic in-depth interview with key informants like village heads, Gram Panchayat and herders.

Sources of Secondary data and their availability

The secondary data have been study from the period of 2001-2011 from the various sources:

1. Census of India.
2. Livestock Population data.

Primary Data: Three kinds of tools have been used for capturing primary data

- Telephonic Interview
- seasonal calendar of economic activities
- Oral History

Telephonic interview: for the individual Gujjar Bakarwals to collect salient information related to transhumance have been detailed discussed below fig. 1.1.

Seasonal Calendar of Economic Activities: In the study the purpose is to learn about the changes in livelihoods over the year and Seasonal calendar have been used to acquire the knowledge about the changes in economic activities over the year.

Oral History: Oral histories of transhumance have been used to understand the changes in the community through time. The target groups for local histories have been the *Mukdam*¹, *Lambardar*², elderly person and herders to understand their origin, traditional way of living, rituals, beliefs and practice of transhumance community.

¹Headman of a group

²Formal headman of a group of families

Fig.1.1 Components of the telephonic interview

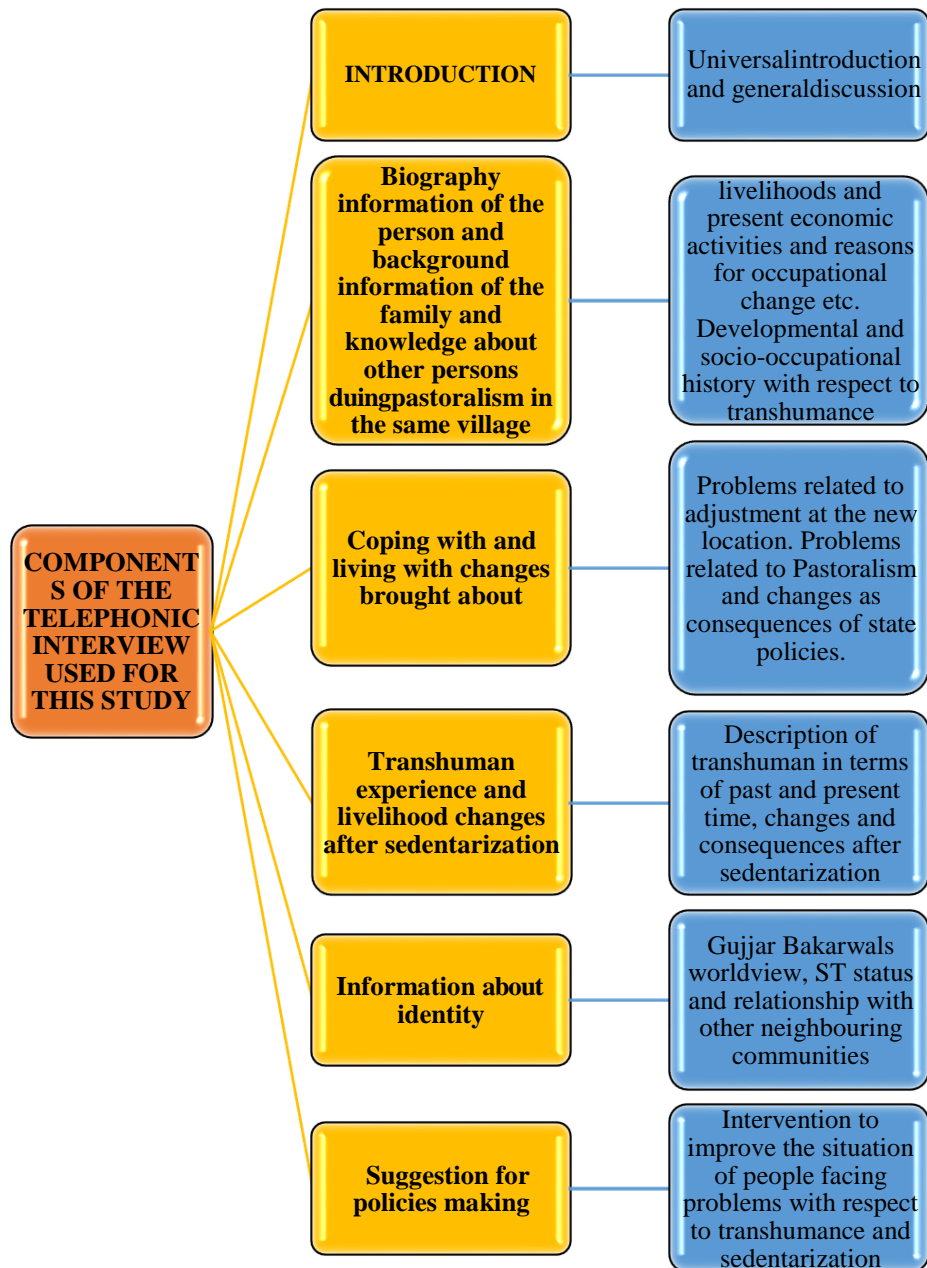


Fig. 1.1

Table 1.1: Objectives, Research questions, methods, Tools and Techniques

Objectives	Research Questions	Methods	Tools & Techniques
1. To map the social change among Gujjar Bakarwals by analyzing the seasonal rhythm of economic activities.	1. Has there been any variation in the seasonal rhythm in the recent year?	Telephonic Interview	In-depth interviews (Oral histories/ Socio-Spatial relation)
		Seasonal Calendar	Interviews Schedule/ questionnaire The collected data have been helping to plot the seasonal rhythm maps/route
2. To analyse the process of sedentarization and its implications.	3. How the process of economic stratification is operating with Gujjar Bakarwals?	Telephonic Interview	In-depth interviews (Local histories/ Socio-spatial relation)
	4. What are the factors influencing the process of sedentarization among Gujjar Bakarwals?		Interviews Schedule/ questionnaire

Table 1.2: Distribution of Scheduled Tribe Population across various Blocks in Poonch

District/Block	Total Population	Scheduled Tribe Population	Percentage (ST)
District Poonch	476,835	176,101	36.93
Haveli	83,600	39,973	47.81
Mandi	77,947	18,378	23.57
Mendhar	116,972	49,056	41.93
Balakote	24,394	5,933	24.93
Surankote	90,298	45,537	50.42
Bufliaz	50,027	13,903	27.79

Source: District Census Handbook Poonch, 2011

Selection of the Village

The study covered one block out of six, on the basis of population. The study was conducted based on the highest populated village in the block through purposive sampling. From this selected village, 50 samples were covered to conduct the present

study from *Gursahivillage*. Since the researcher is unable to travel to field area due to the coronavirus pandemic situation, telephonic interviews would be conducted instead of field-based questionnaire survey by the researcher. The respondents have consisted of village head, Gram Panchayat members and herders. An in-depth interview with the respondents related to various segments of space, economic stratification, the process of sedentarization, seasonal rhythm and ritual of Gujjar Bakarwals communities have elucidated the objectives of the study.

Table 1.3: Sample of the selected in the study

District	Block	Village	Total Gujjar Bakarwals population	Total noof Household	No. of Telephonic Interviews
Poonch	Mendhar	Gursahi	5468	2030	50

Source: District Census Handbook Poonch, 2011

Analysis of the Data

The ecological response to Gujjar Bakarwals activities is studied through the telephonic survey. The economic response to Gujjar Bakarwals particularly relating to the seasonal rhythm of economic activities will be measured in terms of household, per units of production for productive asset groups. The process of sedentarization has been analysed in appropriate tables, diagrams and maps for better understanding of the transhumance habitat, economy and society. Microsoft office excel has been used to create descriptive statistics like table, chart, graph from the data set to visualize and interpret it. Arc GIS, Coral draw has been used for the problem's zones, seasonal route, migration map, diagrams and profiles will be generated to explain the migration phenomena at different levels.

2 Organisation of the Study

Chapters Descriptions

Chapter1 Agenda-Setting of Research

Chapter2 Spatio-temporal context of Trans-humans

Chapter3 Characteristics of Seasonal migration

Chapter4 Sedentarization of the Gujjar Bakarwals: Cause and consequences

Chapter5 Summary and Conclusion

CHAPTER II

SPATIO-TEMPORAL CONTEXT OF TRANS-HUMANS

INTRODUCTION

Transhumance amongst the Gujjar Bakarwals is considered a response by pastoralism to climatic and topographic restrictions, to preserve their flocks according to their climatic tolerance and to improve pastures use. As a result of this effort, there is a fluctuation across time and space or in a periodic circulation in the spatiotemporal continuity (Qazi, 2005). Time scales of nomadism among the Gujjar Bakarwals may vary from a long-term cycle consisting of a number of years, to the daytime cycle or the annual cycle. Although it is economically necessary for the trans-humans Gujjar Bakarwals to move with their herds to areas suitable for grazing in each season, it is obvious from the following considerations that the migration has a greater value. This explains the spatiotemporal changes in reference to migration. Considering the above methods, the research in this chapter is planned first to understand the nature and characteristics of Gujjar Bakarwals across seasonal rhythm, followed by space and finally in a spatiotemporal continuity.

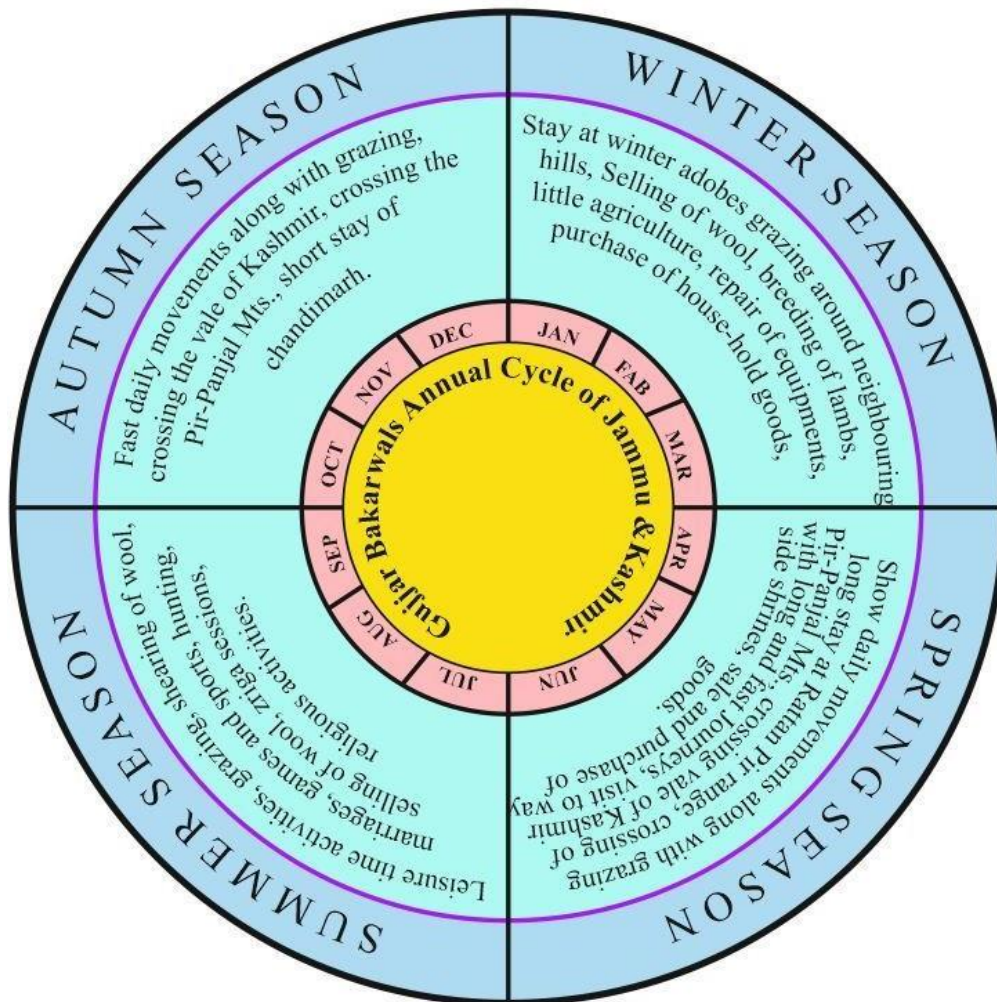
Gujjar Bakarwals resource management and yearly cycle

Annual migration pattern of Gujjar Bakarwals is similar among winter and summer pastures throughout the study areas, and such migration where there is a fluctuation between permanent and temporary settlements among herds and herders is known as trans-humans (Dhar, 2009).

Fig. No. 2.1 below shows the yearly migration and resource management of Gujjar Bakarwals in the study area. Seasonal migration and the manner of alternate use of

resources has placed trans-humans in a position of being nomads on the one side and practicing sedentarization on the other. During the summer seasons, they move from

Fig. 2.1 Annual cycle of trans-humans Gujjar Bakarwals in study area



drier and hotter areas to humid and cold regions. During the winter season, this migration is reversed. These seasonal cyclic migrations allow the renewal of resources, particularly grasses in the form of fodder and water (Chakrabarti,2011).

Gujjar Bakarwals follow the annual trans-human’s system in which sheep and goats play a major role in grazing. Therefore, as (Gimenez, 2006) stated, “by acting, shepherds can access new pastures in terms of feed amount and quality change with

usage, weather, climate and space". One important aspect observed among the Gujjar Bakarwals of Gursahi Village is that they do not move in any direction of their own free will, they are always following a certain *rah*¹(road) and travel gradually towards the summer pasture at higher elevations and reach certain points. Same thing happens when Gujjar Bakarwals arrive to winter pastures at low elevations. This planning has been done on the basis of two reasons, firstly, during the summer grazing period at higher elevation it provides new grasses in the pastures for livestock, and secondly, the local people have to grow food and save it for winter graze at low elevations for theirflocks.

Seasonal migration of Gujjar Bakarwals:-

During the winter from mid-November to mid-March, the Gujjar Bakarwals live in their permanent settlements at an elevation of 890 to 1612 metre above sea level. The permanent settlement area consists of 15 to 30 *Dhera*², where children or old people who cannot stand or work hard at higher elevations stay throughout the year. As the temperature rises in mid-April, Gujjar Bakarwals begin to migrate to higher pastures. On average, the use time of summer pasture is May to September, and the use time of winter pasture is November to March. The transportation time from winter to summer and vice versa generally takes approximately 10-15 days for both sides.

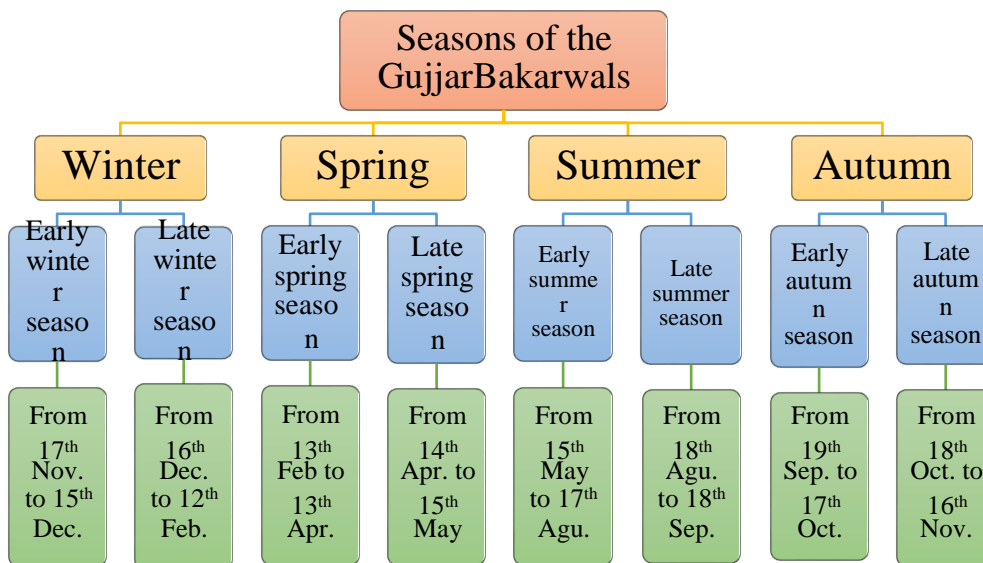
¹Fredrik Barth, 1961. Nomads of South Persia, Oslo University Press. Page 5. The native concept of the *il-rah*, "The tribal road". Applies well in the route of transhuman Gujjar Bakarwals *rasto/rah*.

²*Dhera* is the domestic unit of Gujjar Bakarwals and they counted their number and described their pastoralism and transhuman based on the *Dhera*. Usually, when a person establishes an independent family, and this usually happens after he gets married. Therefore, each son will establish his own *Dhera* when they get married. *Dhera* usually consists of four to five family members.

Chowdhary³Fasil Aziz, the 45-year-old Gujjar Bakarwals men describes the seasonal rhythm and various related activities.

“The journey of the Gujjar Bakarwals can be divided into four seasons. They are given below table2.1.

Table no 2.1. Seasons of the Gujjar Bakarwals of the study area.



Source: Chart prepared by author after taking information from telephonic interview with Fasil Aziz and other Gujjar Bakarwals who were interviewed.

In winter season and before the snowfall, the Gujjar Bakarwals return to the Mendhar valley. Five to six months later, they leave for the higher elevation where the summer pastures are located and stay there for 2-3 months. Furthermore, after this, Gujjar Bakarwals move to even higher altitudes in the mountains for another 2-3 months and stay in temporary huts. The farewell party is organized and well planned, with many ceremonies such as *Dua*(prayers), *Khtamand Niyaz*. They return to their permanent village before the snowfall begins. As winter season begins, the Gujjar Bakarwals descend from the mountains with their Sheep and Goats. The families come out and

³The headman of the community as a gifted for the high reputation.

welcome them. Children are happy to see their parents, brothers and sisters. Gujjar Bakarwals will stay at *Kotha* for the next two to three months.”

Another adult from Gujjar Bakarwals community Amjid Mushafi who is 30 years old provided information about the various activities involved in the seasonal migration, which can be quoted as follows:

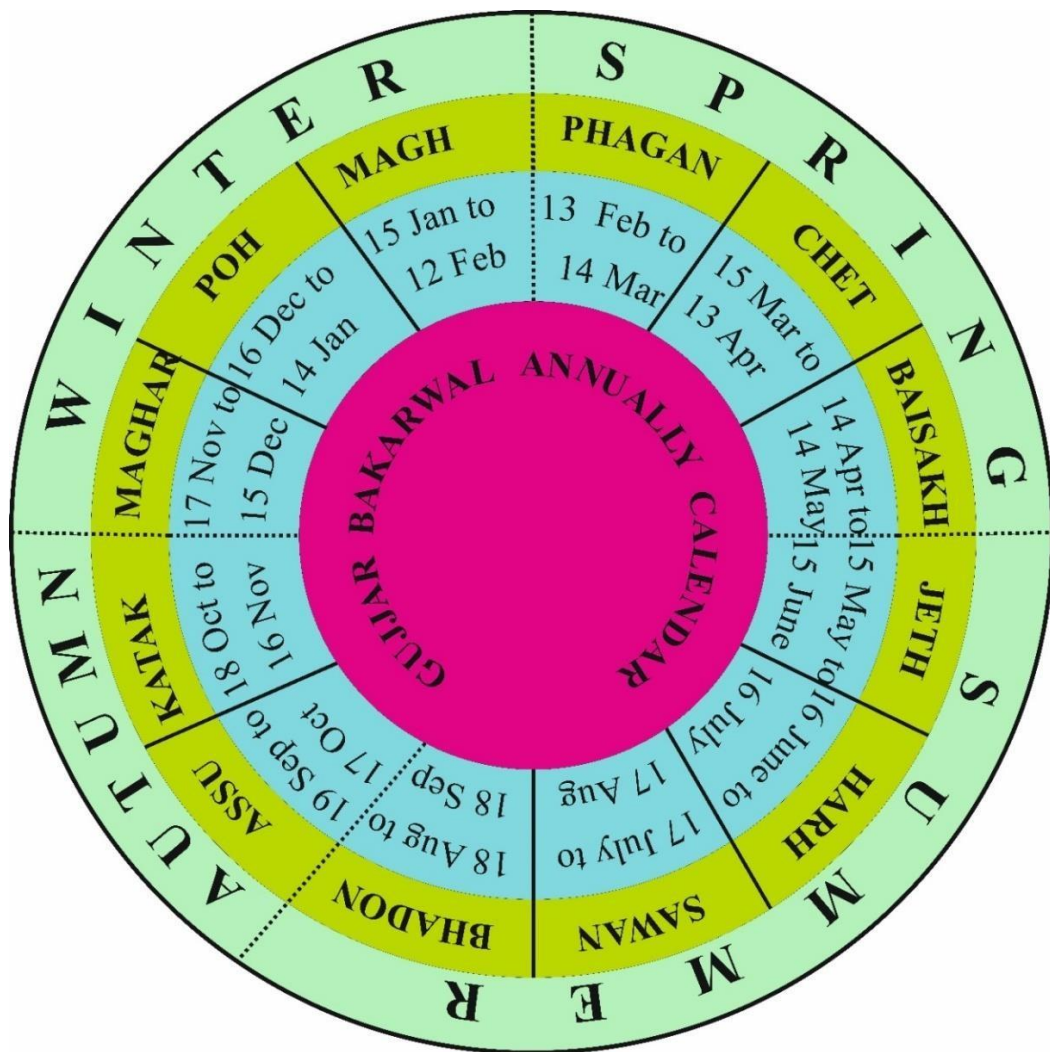
“It's time to go to a higher elevation. The Summer is coming to a close. We now have Mughal roads to facilitate loading and unloading. We no more carry luggage on our own, but on horses and cattle. At the end of the road, just like we've been doing since a long time, we load our supplies on horses and cattle. Some breeds of sheep and goats are suitable only for a specific climate. Some lambs cannot make the journey on their own and hence need to be carried. They fall ill, shed their wools and even die. Such livestock are kept away from the healthy sheep and goat and also buffaloes, because the ticks on them can endanger the lives of these animals. After spending 2-3 months in the grazing pastures, they then descend to low altitudes. In the evening, the lambs are separated from the herd. After milking in the morning, the lambs are released along with the flock. Sometimes lambs are given milk twice a day. After the grazing process is over, the animals move towards areas with a lower altitude. During the winter months until March, lush green grass and water are scarce. During this time, we spend most of our time at the *Dhera* while the animals are left to graze the pastures. Every once in a while, we call for the sheep and goats using the ancient practice of communicating with the animals using different sounds. This keeps them from going far and reminds them of who their owners are”.

Yearly cycle of the Gujjar Bakarwals

The migration of Gujjar Bakarwals is a permanent process that develops along an environmentally determined habitat on a temporary basis (Tufail, 2014). The duration of stay in a particular habitat is a response to seasonal rhythms. Therefore, an annual behavioural pattern based on distribution of time is created and it is measured according to the linear calendar system shown in Fig.2.2.

Based on the information collected through telephonic interview, a typical year for the Gujjar Bakarwals may be divided into four main divisions represented below:

Fig. 2.2 Gujjar Bakarwals annually calendar in the study area



Winter season: The winter season is the hardest part of the year for Gujjar Bakarwals, which remains in these months on the slopes of the outer mountainous area, bordered by the middle mountain range in the north and the piedmont plain in the south. These hills are located at an elevation of 580 to 1,590 meters above sea level.

Gujjar Bakarwals spend all of the winter here, taking care of their herds. Sheep and goats are taken out for grazing every-day. Throughout this season, vegetation either dormant dead and animals mainly live on stored shrub leaves or dry grass. The extreme cold temperature (which freeze almost at night) paralyze the southern pastures. They move the animals towards at an elevation of 810 to 1,590 meters above sea level.

This season strategy is to have adult goats and sheep's in *Bhandi*⁴ at night to sit firmly to protect animals from the cold through housing, setting up shelters for lambs and children in *Kotha*⁵ and providing blankets and gowns for buffalos. And compensating for the lack of grazing land by feeding goats, sheep and buffalos with bush leaves and grain hay from limited local agriculture. Goats and sheep are pregnant during this season. *Taman*⁶ leaves are bought from the trees of local landlords and handed over to them given below fig. 2.4. It is a time of winter rains, with snowfall up to an elevation of 2,160 meters above sea level. Food production is currently rare, so Gujjar Bakarwals depends on grains purchased from the local landlords.

Spring season: The lambing period of sheep and goats begins in March and young goats and sheep need more care. There are few activities seen in this

⁴Place where buffalos, sheep and goats are kept in winter season.

⁵The stones and mud structure with a flat roof are used for living.

⁶A kind of plant whose leaves are given as nutrition to pregnant Ewes, sheep-goats during the rainy season.

season. They celebrate *Noaroz*⁷(Equinox in the spring). After *Vaisakhi*⁸celebration in the month of April they begin to move towards the summer pastures. *Vaisakhi* is very important to them, as it is marking the beginning of the main migration in spring and therefore truly marking the beginning of the New Year in a very real sense. Spring migration is very important in the annually cycle of the Gujjar Bakarwals.

In the first part of the spring sees the emergence of lush green grass sprout due to the high temperature. The relative availability of grazing varies from Pir-Panjal to Gurez in the valley of Kashmir. Pastures in the Mendhar valley are depleted due to overgrazing in a relatively short period of time. Gujjar Bakarwals spring strategy is to move to the *Dhoks*⁹and *Marg*¹⁰. The various groups of pastoralists start moving north towards pastures of the Pir-Panjal Mountains in month of April.

The second part of the spring season indicates the depletion of grasslands in the Pir-Panjal region. At the same time, the semi-sedentary Gujjar Bakarwals in the middle mountainous region, also approaches the same area with their buffalo herds. As these pastures are depleted more quickly due to the higher density of animal populations, the Gujjar Bakarwals are transported by herds through the JaranWaliGali across the Pir-Panjal mountain ranges of the Kashmir valley. During this time, they continue to move and regularly pass through a series of areas in the form of household. The factors affecting spring migration in different regions are snowfall, temperature, precipitation, soil, grassland, water supply, animal diseases, population and relationship with strangers.

⁷Festival at the starting of the spring pasture.

⁸There referenced in this folk song is *Vaisakh*. The highlight of this months is that the flowering of flowers, leaves and branches fill the brain peculiar smell. Bird chirping and soft sounds fill the air in forest lands and shows. Summer season show the sound of greenery. Now it's time to leave for summer pasture.

⁹Summer pastures

¹⁰Alpine pastures

Summer season: During this season, Gujjar Bakarwals perform important socio-economics activities. In July to September, they settled at their designated grazing and almost touch the snow line in folk over the rich grazing of the Great Himalayan ridges at an elevation of 2,160 to 4,830 meters above sealevel.

They live in *Dhara*¹¹ and spend their time on making spiked handicrafts (woven ropes and cords for their use to pack tents and luggage). They also rotate wool, knitting *pattu*¹² and *loi*¹³. They collect herbs, find fur, and also collect musk. Some engage in timber hunting in the woods, while others do duty as a porter to tourists near tourist resorts. The summer season also features various social events and celebration, such as weeding and religiousceremonies.

The late summer season indicates a brief migration towards pastures on cliffs located along the Gorez valley. This short-term summer migration is quite different from the previously mentioned migration. Gujjar Bakarwals families stay in the *Dhara* on the summer pastures assigned to them. Only a group of young shepherds gather and organize this migration activity for several days. Some days they migrating around the northern side of the slope of the Gorez Valley and returning to their designated resort. The purpose of this short journey to take advantage of some good grasslands that can be reached.

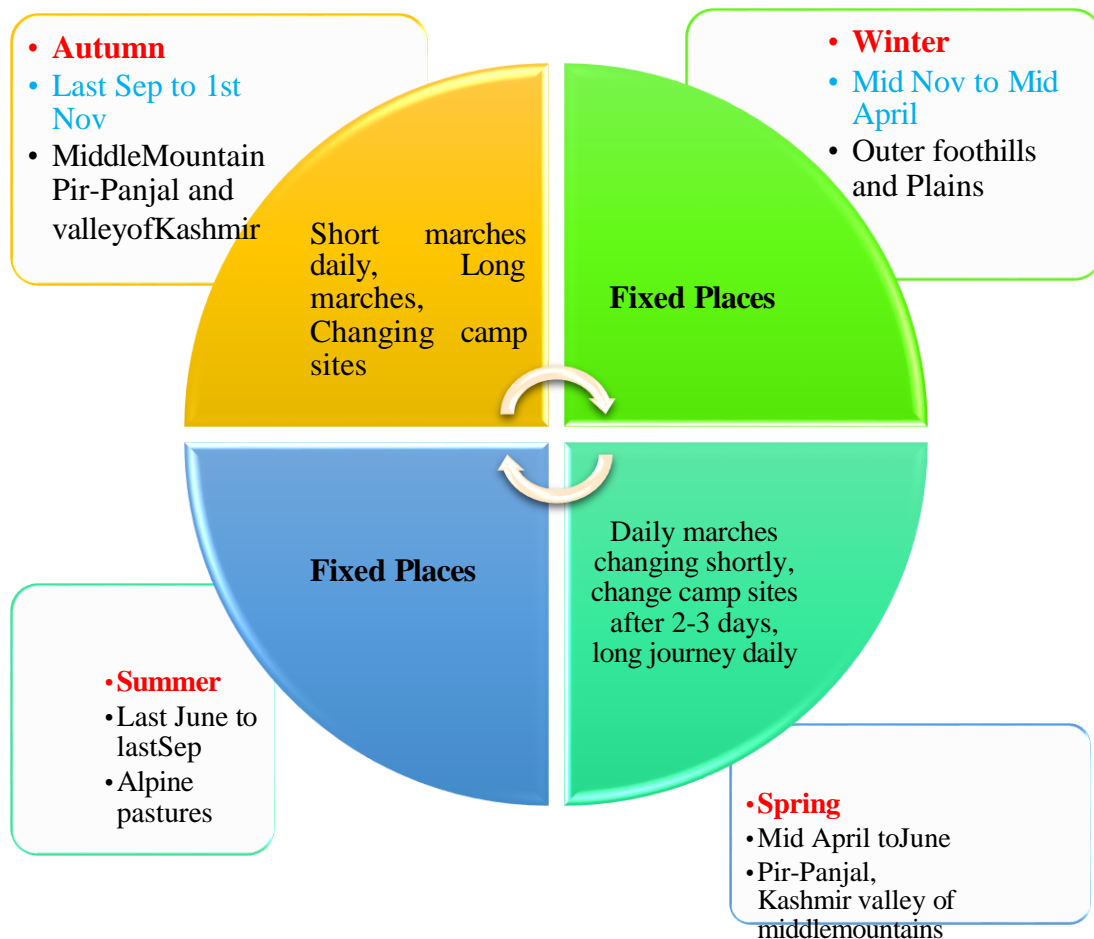
Golden autumn season: The golden autumn season begins with snowfall at high elevations. Gujjar Bakarwals begin to move towards lower elevations. They crossed the Himalayas and occupied the slope above the side valley facing the Kashmir valley. After staying for two weeks, they moved towards the Kashmir Valley. ThereturntothewinterresortsisfasterthantheKashmirValleyandthey

¹¹Temporary hut built during the summer season.

¹²Small woolen blanket.

¹³Woolen blanket.

often have to pass through the passes of the Pir-Panjal, and snow usually blocks the corridors during this season. They drove at high speeds and made long journeys, hoping to cross the Pir-Panjal range before snowfall. After passing the Pir-Panjal Mountains, they stayed for a few days in the middle pastures of the Pir-kimarg, Chittapani, Dudwali, Janjwali, Bela, and then began to slowly move southward. From here it is divided into different groups and scattered throughout the winter area. The factors affecting autumn migrations in different topographic regions are similar, these have been previously described in the case of spring migration.



2.3 Gujjar Bakarwals in space: In the earlier section, we looked at the activities of Gujjar Bakarwals from the perspective of time. Now we are trying to view these activities in the context of space. The oscillation zone of Gujjar Bakarwals is almost a

rectangular strip of lands consisting of a straight line from Nowshera to Mendhar, and a straight line from drawn in the northern mountains of the valley of Kashmir to Himalayas. On this land, these Gujjar Bakarwals plan their movements in space according to a set schedule.

Gujjar Bakarwals related activities in space are based on the use of natural pasturage. These pasturages are seasonal and separate from each other. On the land used by transhumance, various regions have successfully provided in the north, and pasturages are accessible in south throughout the winter. Winter weather is generally bad all the time, but their stub-chopped fields become available for grazing, as the value of natural fertilizer has been recognized. Therefore, scattered landowners are encouraged Gujjar Bakarwals graze their herds in the fields of cultivated and fallow. In the summer months, there are usable grasslands found in the Himalayan regions along the Kashmir valley. Understanding of the pattern of fluctuations and land use in space is facilitated by the local concept of summerpastures, winter pastures and route of migration.

Rangelands of winter

The winter resorts of transhumance are located on Shivalik's or outer mountains, bordered by the central mountain in north and piedmont plains in south, in forests extending from Nowshera to Mendhar.

The terrain of the area is rugged and mountainous, with various kinds of shrubs and herbs grazing by sheep's and goats everywhere. These mountain ranges at the elevation of 810 to 2,380 meters above sea level. Seasonal torrents have severed the deep and steep ravine pillars at the edges in this area. The whole area is undulating rocky. There is considerable erosion of soil on the slope.

The climate is cold in winter, but there is little snowfall in the northern regions. From December to March there is mild and occasional rainfall. But in summer, the temperature is so high that it almost becomes unbearable. In the rainy season, the temperature can be acceptable, but the heavy rainfalls and flooding in rivers restricts movement. Transhumance winter resorts are cold, with plenty of shrubs and moderate water supplies from winter rains local streams and water sources. The main sources of feed supply in winter are shrubs, (*Berry, Chanscar, Psikund, Bandara, Sunthu, Taman, Khair, Tala, Lhasaari, Kaladi, Gharandas, Lasura, Kennethy and Bello*)¹⁴.

During this season the functional is in the form of community structure of domestic units. These domestic units settled in a stable place where they have homes are located. Only in a small valley or on cliffs where there is water and an area of land is available, and where a little bit of maize is cultivated. Small grain cultivation is associated with grazing.

There are few religious, cultural and social activities are carried out in this area. The animals roam from one hill to another and up and down the slope in a range of approximately 7th to 14th kilometres. During the daytime, rise and fall occurs on the slopes almost every day. Although the space of these trips is limited, they are more or less regular and limited in space, but they are more or less regular and periodic and can be considered as local migration within the winter range area. These areas of periodic day and night movement can extend approximately 7th to 14th kilometres around their permanent homes.

During this season animals are not free from diseases. Animals suffer from a variety of diseases, such as foot swelling (*Mokhar*), smallpox (*Thandi*), dried in milk (*Bagdi*),

¹⁴Nutrition grass and plant species in the winter pastures.

mouth and ear swelling (*Sari*), swelling of the tongue and boxes of the mouth (*Pari*), tongue swollen (*Puri*), tuberculosis (*Mai*), gastric worms (*Cacho*), dermatitis (*Cauchy*).

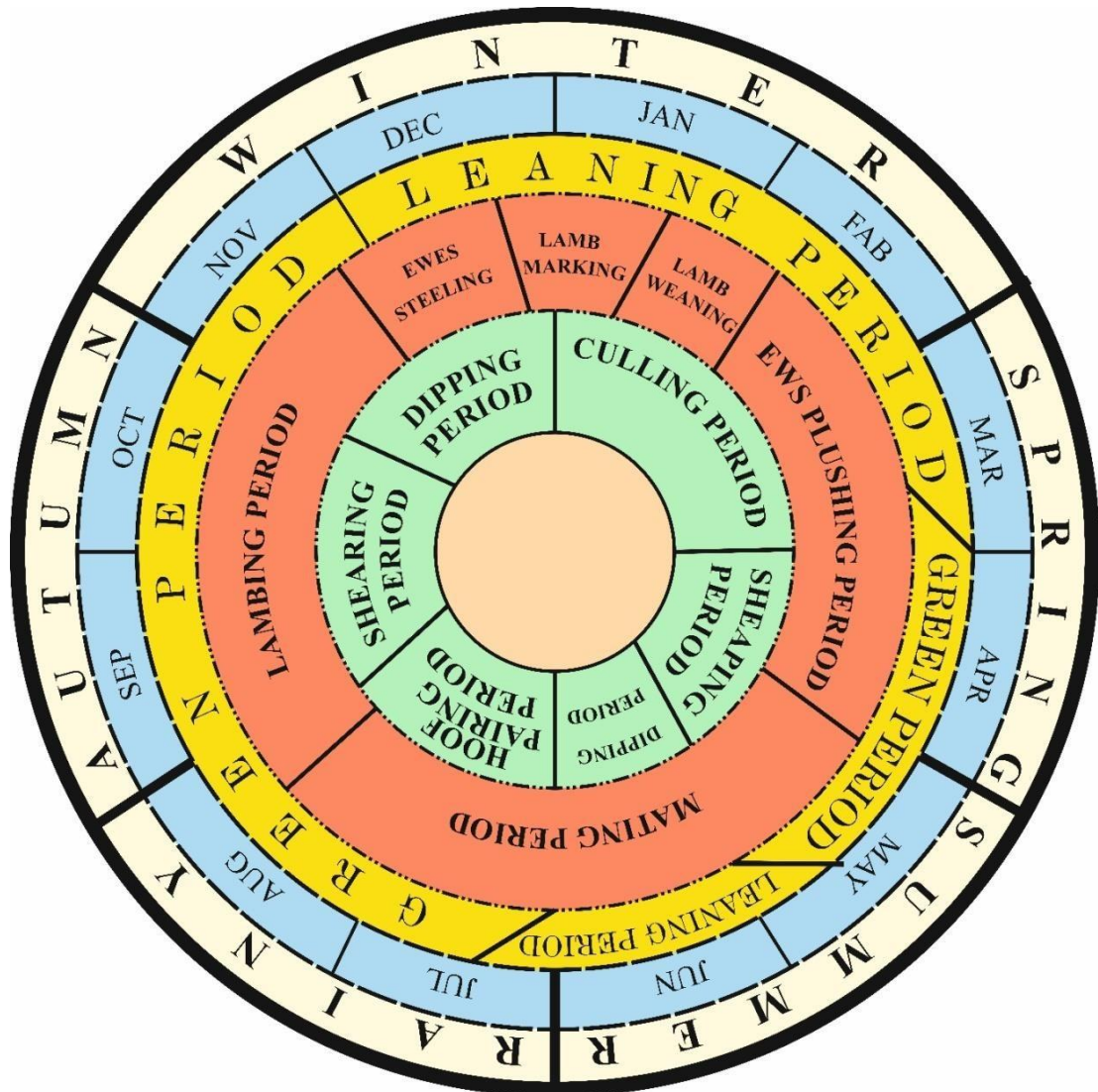
The community near the winter pasture is the semi-permanent Gujjar Bakarwals, which is engaged in cattle rearing as well as agriculture.

In addition to small-scale grain farming, Gujjar Bakarwals do manual work for local farmers, and provide the workforce for the construction of roads and buildings. Others are engaged in some animal trade and paid work in neighbouring towns. Women revolve the wool, weave *Loi* and *Patu* (Blankets).

During the winter pastures, sheep wool pruning shears time is around the late March and early April. In these winter pasturages, the lambing period lasts from February to March given above figure 1.3. Most of the rangelands available here are controlled by the villagers, and they are contracted with cash payment during the specified season. The usable land itself is unevenly distributed between non-cultivated hillsides, shrubland and vast fallow land. By the end of April, winter pastures range everywhere are finished. Before that, Gujjar Bakarwals start migration to summer pastures.

This is to avoid hardships that remain in winter pastures after crops have grown. During this season, it is difficult to keep their herds away from the cultivated areas, and there is a high risk of conflict with villagers and farmers. If they stay in the winter pasture area for too long. Fear of conflict and claims of damage also played a managerial role to prevent the occupation of pastures over which occupants have no property rights, and which they tend to overexploit.

Fig. 2.3 Gujjar Bakarwals Sheep-Goats Gestation cycle



Summerpastures

The *Dhokof* Gujjar Bakarwals are found in the mountains of the Himalayas in the northeast, north and northwest of the Kashmir Valley. The main grazing lands are Kishtwar Marg, WardwanMarg,Nowshera, Gorez Marg, Talel Marg, Sonamarg, JamiyanGali, Tang Marg and Maru Marg.

The terrain of this area is mountainous in character at an elevation of 2,160 to 4,830 meters above sea level, near the snow line with steep slopes and occasionally tops are flat. During the winter season, these regions are remaining covered with snow.

However, the temperature in summer is quite suitable. The effect of monsoon is negligible in this region. Drainage and water supplies from melting snow or from glaciers and availability of many tarns provide water for animals as well as for humans.

There are some poisonous herbs that are harmful to animals. But animals avoid these grasses intuitively and instinctively, such as (*Ingo, Salneiand Mohari*)¹⁵. With snow melting, many kinds of nutritious grasses emerge from the ground. These grasses are the main source for sheep grazing, such as, (*Chatwal, Jodhar, Tareri, Della, Cheney, Plar, Kuth, Khatri, Choran, Biran, and Godari*)¹⁶. The main shrubs, whose leaves provide nutrients for goats, are (*Bharat, Battal, Burj, Beasa, Kanes, Kher, Sat Burg and Dod*)¹⁷.

During the summer season, the functional community structure consists of different domestic units, spread in all directions on the pasture. They built shelters and huts in flat areas available on the slope and lived-in fixed places. Most social, cultural and religious activities such as weddings are carried out on summer pastures. Under the care of shepherds, these animals roam from one pasture to another up and down the valley slopes and across the grassland in a range of about 7 to 14 kilometers. The diurnal migration or local movement to areas around the region is regular and periodic which are controlled by temperature, rainfall and slight changes in grass and water availability. There are various animal diseases in the summer season. The main diseases are bleeding through the urine and dysentery. They boil Rattan Jog herbs in milk and give them local medicine, which treatment animals.

¹⁵Poisonous grass species which cause dysentery and kills animals.

¹⁶Nutrition lush green grass species in summer pastures.

¹⁷Nutrition plant species in summer pastures.

Apart from grazing, other economic activities are wool shearing, weaving, spinning, timber, forest gathering, hunting, road labour, and provision mules for tourists visiting these areas in the summer. Here, two shearing is done one at the end of June when coming from winter pastures and the other when returning from the winter pasture at the end of September.

The migration route

Route of Migration is a traditional migratory route, on which every transhumance travel during seasonal migration. This route of migration connects the passes through different topographic regions. During the spring and autumn season, Gujjar Bakarwals are taken on these *rah*. It also has its traditional departure timetable and duration of occupation of various regions, as well as a combination of *rah* and timetables, which describes the location of transhumance at different times in the annual cycle and constitute the route of that transhumance.

Gujjar Bakarwals regards this route as its property. Their right to pass through the roads is recognized by the local population and authorities for uncultivated land and graze their herds outside the cultivated areas. The route of the transhumance is determined by existing pastures, while the timetable depends on maturation of various pasture and movement to other pasture. It, thus, follows that the rights claimed a route does not imply exclusive right to any place throughout the year, and nothing interferes with different times. The effectiveness of a high quality of route is determined in terms of the shortest distance between summer and winter pastures having sufficient pasture, free from the threat of natural disasters, the market towns on route and an agriculture area on it.

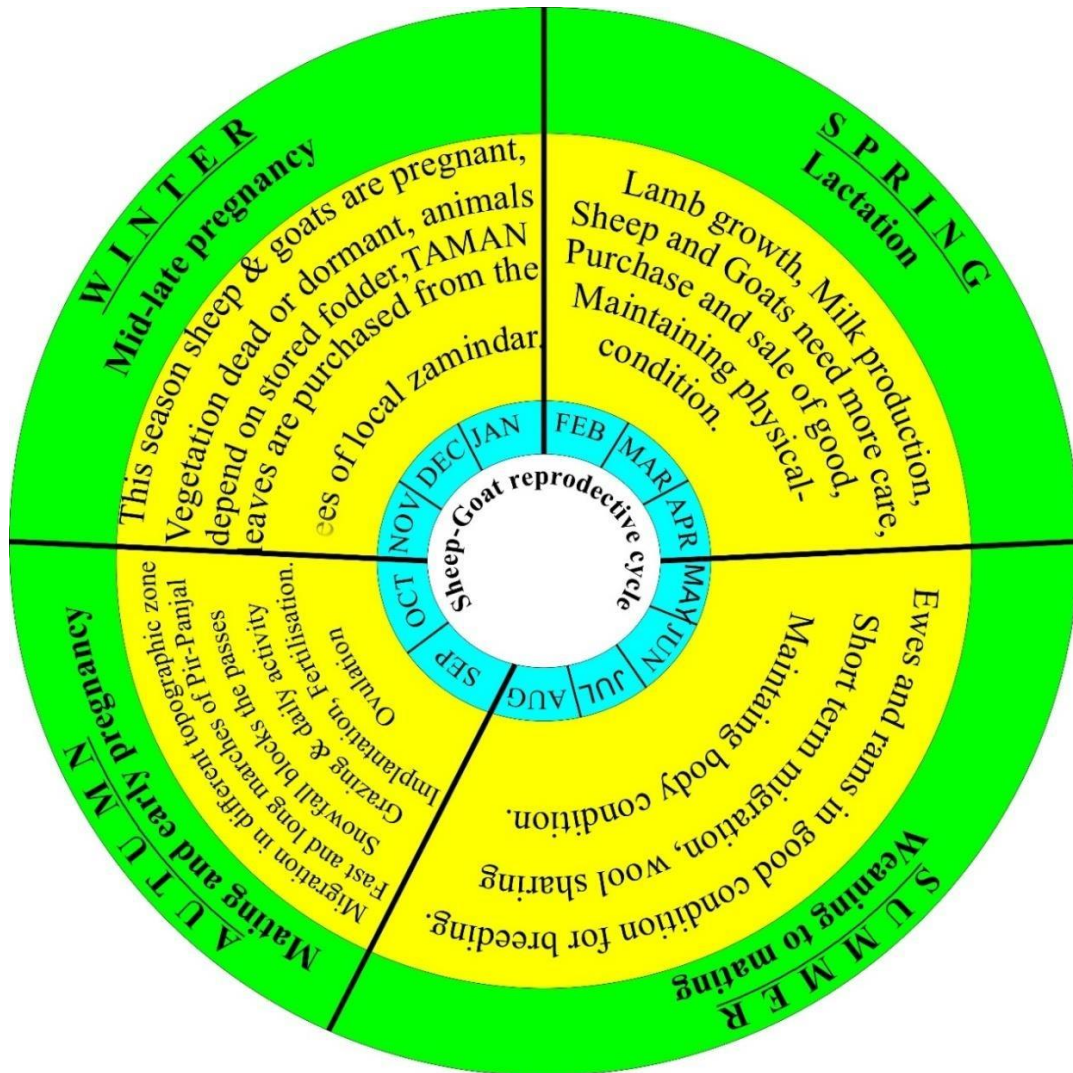
Event calendar in the continuity of spatio-temporal on the oscillating route

The migration patterns that trans-humans adopted in this mountainous region of Pir-Panjal enables their goats and sheep to conserve not through the absorptive capacity of any particular pasture but through the successive exploitation of rangelands at climatically different altitude areas. Thus, the areas that trans-humans crossed is highly ecologically diverse. Each year the Gujjar Bakarwals passes through the winter neighborhoods in the outer hills at the elevation of 880 to 2,380 meter above sea level, through the fertile valleys of the middle mountains ranges of Pir-Panjal pass, JamiyaGali, Budhil pass, Darhal pass, Rupari pass, Banihal pass, Bafleyaz, Chandimarh. The Pir-Panjal Crossings pass through the basin, which passes over at an elevation of 3,112 meter above sea level and then proceed to the side valleys. Passing through the narrow lanes of the side valley, in summer they reach the Great Himalayan slopes for grassland. During the spring and autumn seasons, Gujjar Bakarwals is temporally relief for a short spend of time. But in winter resorts and summer resorts they migrate to fulfil the needs of their animals through these oscillation route, and plan its event calendar according to the following temporal and spatial continuity.

The outer hills of the winter season

In this physiographic region, trans-humans only during winters stays grazing their flocks in the forest's divisions of Surankote, Poonch, MendharSaghra, Thanamandi and Nowshera. They are distributed on the slopes between the lower elevation, which vary from mid-November to mid-April. From mid-November to mid-December in early winter season, the flock of transhumance grazes around at an elevation of 1,590 meters above sea level. As the winter season progresses, they gradually and slowly

Fig. 2.4 Gujjar Bakarwals Sheep's and Goats reproductive cycle



move down to an altitude of 580 meter above the sea level. Most of shelters and huts are located near at an altitude of 580 meter above the sea level. These *Dhara*(shelters) are the center of their winter activities. In December and January, the flocks move downwards below at an altitude of 580 meter above the sea level under the care of the shepherds when snowfall, severe cold winds and winter rains lash the higher areas. In March, the flocks are moved again at an elevation of 580 to 1,590 meters above sea level. From March to the middle of April, Gujjar Bakarwals around these shelters and huts stayed at an elevation of 580 to 1,590 meters above sea level. During the winter season, the small grain cultivation around *Dhara* is practiced by some

Gujjar Bakarwals either on lease or on their own small terraces on the slopes. The lambing in this season which requires constant care of animals is a reason enough to remain around *Dharagiven* below fig.2.4. When the temperatures become intolerable after mid-April, they begin to leave this area to the north.

Middle mountain narrow fertile valleys of spring and autumnseason

In the last quarter of April, they move northward from the outer hills through the fertile and well-cultivated valleys of the middle mountain. The movements are along the valley beds and on the cultivated areas. The villagers put resisted to their movements. Hostilities and animal thefts by villagers of Gujjar Bakarwals are quite common. There are many grazing problems. It is difficult to keep their flocks away from the cultivated areas during this season, and cultivation in this season is also difficult, and the route is too much long in these narrow fertile valleys of the middle mountains. Therefore, they move quickly and travel at an appropriate length each day to reach the pasture in the middle mountain range at an elevation of 2,395 meters above sealevel.

Middle mountains spring and autumnseason

By the first quarter of May, all Gujjar Bakarwals transhumance reach the middle mountain slopes of JaranWaliGali, Deera Ki Gali, Pir-Panjal pass, JamiyaGali, Budhil pass, Darhal pass, Rupari pass, Banihal pass, Bafleyaz, Chandimarh. During this season, Grass is found on these slopes. They graze their animals for 15 to 20 days and use these pastures. Here, they are waiting for the opening of Pir-Panjal passes, which is still blocked by heavy winter snow.

During the return journey from summer pastures, they once again stayed on these slopes for 15 to 20 days and grazing their flocks, and in the last quarter of October, where grass is available again after the monsoon.

Table: 2.2 The Movement and Duration of Stay of the Gujjar Bakarwals in Different Seasons at Different Elevations of Poonch

Seasons	Month of the year	Locality	No of stay or marches	Occupancy of no of months or days
Winter	From mid-November to mid-April	Shivalik's (winter pastures) altitude up to 1000 Mts	Stay at fixed places	5 months (<i>Manghar, Poh, Magh, Phagan, Chet</i>)
Spring	From mid-April to last quarter of April	Valley of the Shivalik's and Sub-Himalayan zone (intervening pastures) altitude 1000 – 1300 m	Daily marches with short journeys	7-8 days (<i>Baisakh</i>)
	Last quarter of April to mid-june	Sub-Himalayan zone (intervening pastures) altitude 1300 – 2700 m	Change in camping sites after every two to three days for grazing	15-20 days (<i>Baisakh</i>)
Summer	Mid-May to last quarter of September	Pir-Panjaj zone (summer pastures) altitude 2700-3700 m	Stay at fixed place.	4.5 months (<i>Jeth, harh, Sawan, Bhadon-Assu</i>)
Autumn	Last quarter of September to mid-October	Pir-Panjaj zone (summer pastures) altitude 2700-3200 m	Daily marches	5-7 days (<i>Assu</i>)
	Mid October to last quarter of October	Pir- Panjal zone (summer pastures) altitude 2700-3200 m	Daily marches with long journeys.	3-4 days (<i>Katak</i>)
	Last quarter of October to first quarter of November	Sub-Himalayan zone (intervening pastures) altitude 1300 – 2700 m	Change in camping sites	7-10 days (<i>Katak</i>)
	First quarter of November to mid of November	Valley of the Shivalik's and sub-Himalayan zone (intervening pastures) altitude 1000 – 1300 m	Daily marches	7-8 days(<i>Katak</i>)

Pir-Panjal mountain region spring and autumn season

At the end of May, Gujjar Bakarwals left the middle pasture at an elevation of 2,395 meters above sea level and move towards the Pir-Panjal pass at an altitude of 3,080 meters above the sea level. Nature is very hostile here. Sudden snowfalls, hailstorms, landslides, rain, snowflakes, rock falls and floods in streams take many lives each year. The rugged slopes and lack of grass increase their misery. Along the deep gorge with ice-cold water, the route is narrow and there is no shelter. Gujjar Bakarwals trans-humans never thoughts of camping outdoors in these valleys, they always take shelter in the cave of some safe banks, or scrape out, walls in, and some are ready under a solid hard rock. They built long bridges between these rivers in many places. They cross the Pir-Panjal range in a long and fast journey that starts in the early hours of the day. The Pir-Panjal range is covered with snow. It is very difficult to pass over the snow, especially near the pass created difficulties. When crossing the main pass, trans-humans sent three or four shepherds with sticks in their hands at the head of the march and were then chased by ponies to make a path on the snow. Other members of the Gujjar Bakarwals follow them. They install small columns of snow here and there all the way through the guide in the event of fog or snow blocking the path.

In fact, it is the most dangerous part of the migration channels. After crossing the pass, they rest on the slopes of the Pir-Panjal passes for about two to four days at an elevation of about 3,080 meters above sea level. Departures are sometimes delayed due to rain and hail-storm. The edge of the valley of Kashmir is famous for stealing animals by Kashmiri population. The Kashmiri people take out stones from the slope because of which there is erosion of rocks from above and when trans-humans run here and there for safety, they steal their animals. In this region, there are gangs of Kashmiris who steal animals and are connected with local police. In many cases, such

types of conflicts delay the departure time. Here, firewood is collected from the forest to be used when passing through the Kashmir valley, where firewood is not available.

During the autumn season in October, the region is again crossed during the return journey from the summer pastures. They quickly crossed the Pir-Panjal pass for fear of snowfall and reached at an elevation of 3,080 meters above sea level. Due to the constant fear of rain, hail and unseasonal snowfall, the journey in these months is very difficult with few stops.

Kashmir valley spring and autumn season

Every year until the last quarter of May, all groups of trans-humans arrive the grasslands of the Kashmir from slopes of the Pir-Panjal Mountains. In most regions of the valley of Kashmir, the fields are sown till the end of May, which is also the time of trans-humans passes through across the valley towards their summer pastures. Kashmiri farmers do not allow them to cross their fields because they fear that they will harm their fields. Conflicts between farmers and trans-humans are very common. Here the animals are dragged very carefully through narrow lanes, so as not to damage the crops. They crossed the Kashmir valley very quickly and long journey. This is not a favourable region for them, and it has caused the problems of shortage and resistance to pasture from Kashmiri farmers. After crossing this region, they reached the other side of the Kashmir valley and from there they spread in small groups and enter the next area of the side valleys. Returning from summer pastures, they crossed the region again during the autumn season in mid-October. It is the harvesting season in the Kashmir valley. The fields are harvested. The Kashmiri farmers welcome their stay in the fields for the purpose of composting and do not constitute resistance on their way as they do in the case of the journey towards the

summer pastures. After passing this region in the autumn season, they enter the Pir-Panjaj region and crossed the pass.

The side valley of spring and autumnseason

These valleys provide cultivation facilities from May to September, and most Gujjar Bakarwals trans-humans have their fields on the slopes and maize cultivation in these valleys. On their way to summer pastures in the last quarter of May, they move to the side valleys. Others have purchased variable-sized lands for agricultural purposes. The altitude of these land ranges from 2,160 meters to 2,395 meters above sea level. Some people have built good houses on their fields. They live in this area for sedentary activities for about nine to eleven days and purchase provisions for use in summer pastures. During this period, the animals are locally grazed on the slopes. One or two family members reside in these areas and the rest of their family members move along with flocks of animals to the summer pasture. Once again, in the last quarter of September (the autumn season), they descend to an elevation of 2,395 meters above sea level of summer pastures in the thesis valleys, whose crops are ready for harvest this month. They harvest the crops and help gather grass and tree leaves for the consumption of animals of these family members, who will stay here in the winter season. Here they also await harvesting in Kashmir main valley so that fields and routes can be used for the return journey, delaying departure by 10 to 20 days.

Summer season in theHimalayas

They occupied this region in the first quarter of June. They moved further north along the narrow lanes at an elevation of 2440 meters to 3335 meters above sea level. They divide themselves into grazing groups and move into daily marches with short

schedules. They graze on the slope facing the Valley of Kashmir for 6 to 8 days, then cross the Himalayan Pass and occupy the northern slope. Mountain Passes at an altitude of 3660 to 4270 meters above the sea level. These passes are covered with snow even in summer, it is difficult to cross these passes. In this region, a large number of people and animals have suffered severe losses. In the early hours of the day before the sun rises, they cross through the zone of passes with a long and fast journey.

They settle in the pastures they designated in June and stay there throughout the summer. They build *Dharawith* at an elevation of 2,160 meters above the sea level in flat areas situated on the mountain slopes or ridges. Until the first quarter of September, they graze their animals locally from all directions. In the first quarter of September, the shepherds make a short trip north of the summer bases for grazing purposes.

Wool shearing is done twice in this region, one at the time of arrival and the other during return which enrooted they sell. Women folk spinning wool, weaving *loiand pattu*. Folk men collect medicinal plants, fur and deer musk. Some of them hunt wild animals and collect skins for sell to Valley of Kashmir merchants.

After spending the entire summer season, they begin their return journey through the same migration channel in the last quarter of September. This migration is known as autumn migration. They cross the Great Himalayan Pass with a rapid march and in two or three days reach at an elevation of about 2,160 meters above the sea level on the slope facing the Kashmir valley. The animals are grazing for approximately 15 to 20 days at an elevation of about 2,160 meters above sealevel.

Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, we first saw that the Gujjar Bakarwals plan their activities in four main time periods, namely, Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn season. Second, Gujjar Bakarwals move through the rangelands of winter, route of migration, outer hills of the winter season, middle mountain narrow fertile valleys of spring and autumn season, Pir-Panjal mountain region, Kashmir valley and summer season in the Himalayas. It is noted in the above discussion, they stayed outer hills in winter season. In this time, they crossed various areas on the migration routes, and their movement were not only controlled by the passing of time, but also adjusted their daily travel by crossing the spatial area according to the ecological situations. From mid-June to mid-September grazing on *Dhoks* from a fixed point in the Gurez valley. During in October, they start again to return to winter pastures with the migration route and arrived there before November every year. Therefore, the limiting factor for the highlanders of Gujjar Bakarwals is availability of pastures. Which is controlled by temperature and rainfall in time and space. The short spring season brings moderate temperatures in the mid-mountain regions that melt snow and produce abundant and other herbaceous plants. But at the end of April pastures are drying up and running out, the Gujjar Bakarwals is once again preparing to migrate to the next available area. Therefore, the seasonal scarcity of pastures from one region to another. It is evident from the above analysis that the variability in pastures depending on the topography and climatic in different regions promotes their migration. If the nature of their oscillations is observed as a whole, their activities are related to the two-time cycle in physical environments, namely the spring and autumn migration. The planning of these Gujjar Bakarwals annual and daily activity in space and time will be seen in the fluctuation in the spatio-temporal context.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF SEASONAL MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the social aspects of the Gujjar Bakarwals, specifically with regard to their migratory route that crosses the Pir-Panjal range, a diary is kept as a record by the check post maintained by the army, police and forest department in order to account for the individuals who have crossed the check post from low altitude area to high altitude area mainly for grazing purposes.

The daily patterns of the movement carried out by Gujjar Bakarwals depends on the daily working hours, which directly affects the decisions to move or stay somewhere during migration. These are especially important in case of the times of ascent, packing, departure, and arrival. The length of the trek depends directly on the conditions and situations encountered on a particular day. The researchers' aim here is to design relatively objective measures to evaluate the response of Gujjar Bakarwals in specific geographic areas that witness their migration yearly.

The hypothesis is that these times mentioned above reflect the mental state of the group that is on the move, in addition to intervening and changing natural barriers due to random and unpredictable factors. If there is an early wake, there will be a faster gathering, early departure, late arrival, and long walks when passing through a specific geographic area. This, in turn, would indicate that the area is not suitable for herds. This area can be categorized as the region of maximum stress. Causes of stress in various geographical areas seen during movement include accidents, unavailability of fodder, missing animals, births of new animals, deaths, poisonous grasses, threat of

wild animals, animal thefts, field crops of other communities, bribes, landslides, hail, rain, and snowfall.

Table: 3.1 The nature of the problems and regulatory measures during the seasonal migration of the Gujjar Bakarwals

Regions	Problems	Regulatory measure
Winter bases to intervening pastures	Animal thefts by villagers, damage to the crops, feud with the villagers. Conflict with the other moving Gujjar Bakarwals people (Fodder Problem).	Move daily in short distance one after the other in small groups. Graze animals on the slopes of the ridges on both the sides of the route.
Intervening pastures	Inter Gujjar Bakarwals conflicts and rivalries over these pastures. Animal thefts by mixing each other's animals, wild animals.	Guard the animals in the night from animal lifters and wild animals. All groups collect here one after the other. Prepare and purchase provisions for the next journey, feed salt to the animals.
Pir-Panjaj zone	Difficult terrain, rain, hail, snow, rock, avalanches steep, slippery slopes, narrow gorges, no fodder available, fear of loss of man and animals, snow over the pass, traffic congestion, no halting place (Fodder problems).	Move in convoy, build log bridges, help each other in case of emergency, move in long marches with very few halts. Groups move one after the other with a duration of one day.
Valley of Kashmir	Animal thefts, feud with the hostile Kashmiri villagers, no fire wood available, road accidents, damage to the crops of Kashmiri villagers of other communities.	Move daily in very long marches. Adopt various routes to cross the valley as quickly as they can. Also move at night.
Side valleys	Conflict over <i>Rakhs</i> (Grazing land), conflict with friends and relatives there.	Rest for a few days after long journeys; perform sedentary activities, collect supplies for the summer pastures.
Side valleys to summer resorts	Difficult terrain, with slopes of green grasses, rain, snow, hail and melting of snow causes difficulties sometimes.	Move leisurely, with slow and short marches. Follow different tracks in smaller groups and make full use of pastures.

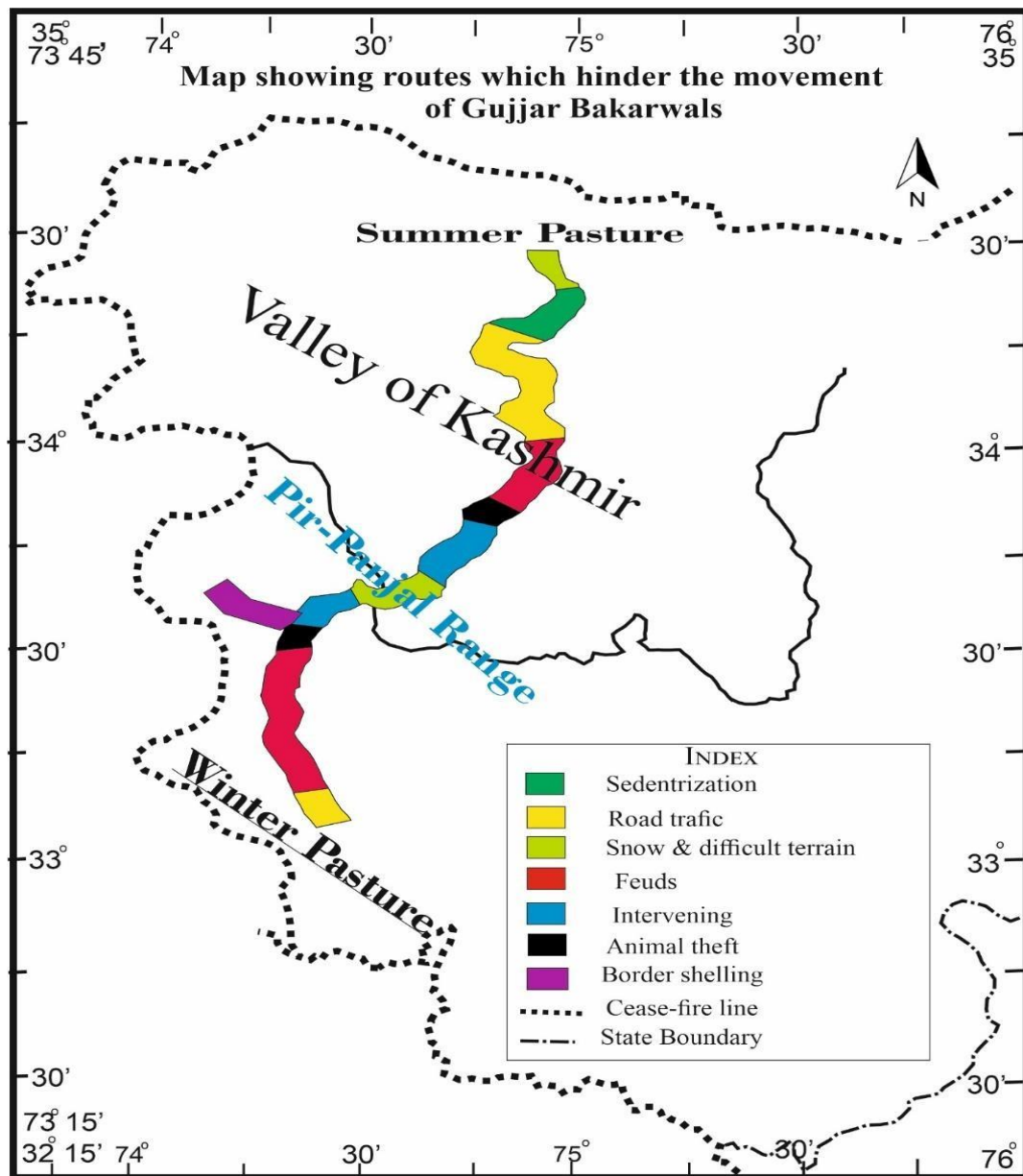
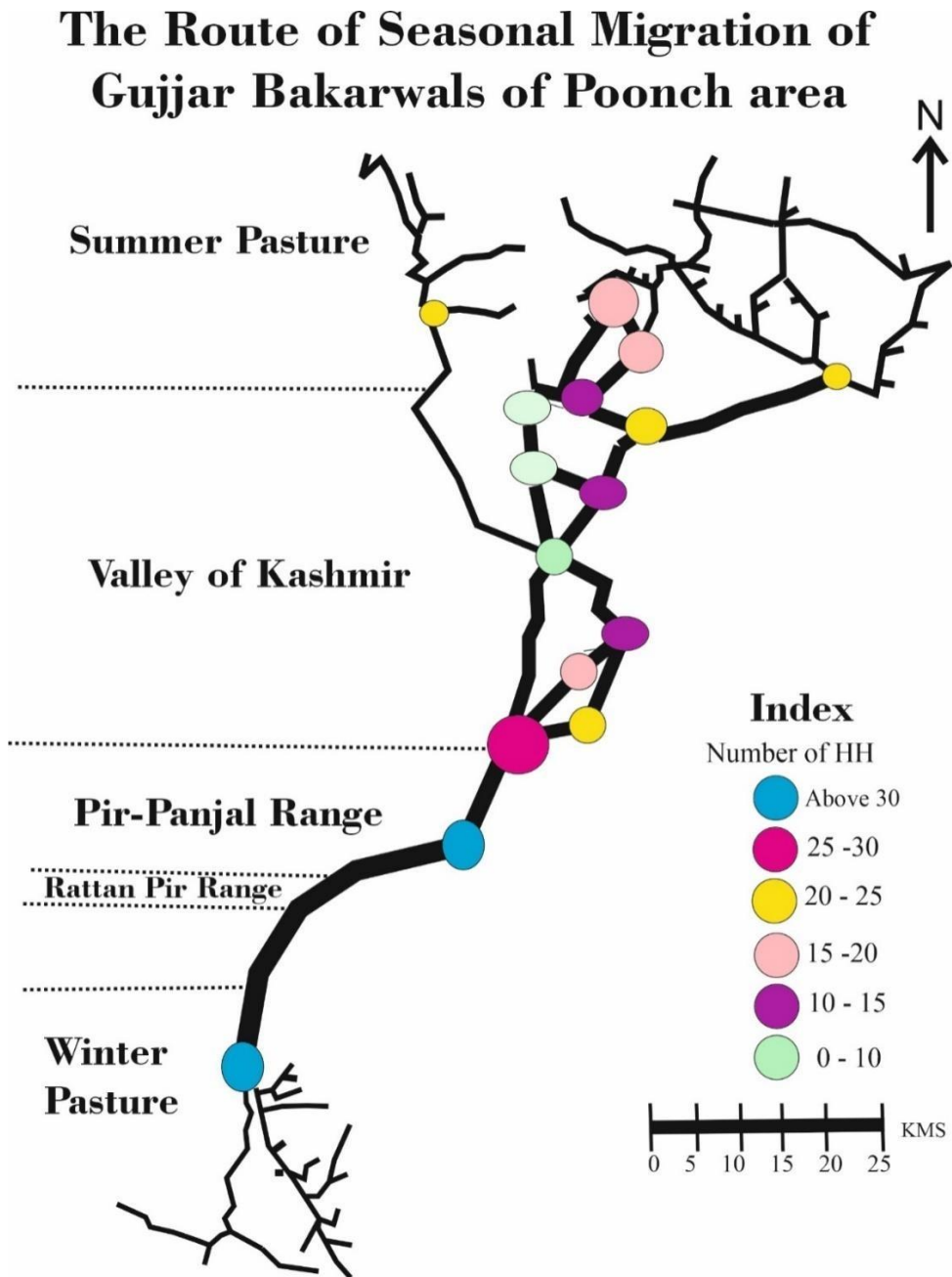


Fig 3.1

However, it should be noted that if Gujjar Bakarwals move on the slopes facing the intervening and summer pastures, then this pattern reflects excitement rather than tension. Waking up late, slow mobilization, late departure, slow and short marches are an expression of relaxation, safety, comfort, and convenience. Based on this assumption, qualitative behavioural patterns are represented in the form of migration charts for each year to explain the phenomenon of migration below.

Fig 3.2: The Route of Seasonal Migration of Gujjar Bakarwals of Poonch Area



Daily life activity of GujjarBakarwals

The activities of Gujjar Bakarwals revolve from dawn to dusk around sheep, goats, buffaloes and cattle, and these animals are their only source of livelihood. When they stay on the summer pasture, they can do milking, feeding, breeding, product manufacturing, shearing, and fodder gathering. When they settle in the winter

pastures, they engage in trade and barter with nearby areas. They are often seen to be involved in making traditional crafts such as ghee, selling milk, food storage, and other essential amenities for daily use through the use of locally available materials such as wood. The daily routine followed by the Gujjar Bakarwals during the summer stay at camp sites is given below Figure 3.3.

In winter, the activities related to livestock among the Gujjar Bakarwals is minimum, because the Gujjar Bakarwals allow animals to move freely and graze by themselves in the winter pasture near the village. The Gujjar Bakarwals visit their livestock once or twice daily, where the sheep and goats are released by making strange shrieking sounds. In response to the owner's voice, the animals begin to gather and are then provided with a mixture of salt and *daliya*. This works for tracking animals as well as for maintaining attachment to them. Gujjar Bakarwals live with their family, during this period.

In the absence of males, especially during the summer season, the women have full responsibilities for managing the family and they wilfully take decisions on all matters. However, when the male members return to their homes, after spending the summer days at higher altitudes, they undertake special responsibilities such as participating in village meeting and festivals on behalf of their families.

Some females of shepherd's family, who do not accompany to their males in summer season towards higher altitude areas, they participate in various family activities, such as spinning, weaving, washing, cooking, feeding children and making goods processing activities. Women are both selling and exchange of finished wool and processed milkproducts manufactured in neighbouring towns and villages in exchange for food grains, salt and other basic commodities.

<p>From morning 5:00 to 8:00 am</p> <p>(i) As soon as they get up, they make tea and after having tea, they go to the camp area where the herds are kept.</p> <p>(ii) Clean place for milking.</p> <p>(iii) Before milking, the milking animals are offered a concentrated mixture (daliya and salt).</p> <p>(iv) Feed the calves to suckle and then graze.</p>
<p>From 8:00 to 9:00 am</p> <p>(i) The herd is left to graze.</p> <p>(ii) Return to the campsite and have breakfast after cooking.</p>
<p>From 9:00 to 12:00 pm</p> <p>(I) They are busy processing products with the milk they have Collect in the morning.</p> <p>(ii) Then package the processed product. After preparing sufficient quantities of processed products, the people of Gujjar Bakarwals bring themselves or someone from their family to the market (for collect milk and milk products and supplement rations) for sale or barter Sell consumables such as salt, rice, sugar, etc.</p>
<p>From 12:00 to 5:00 pm</p> <p>(i) After having lunch, they do other necessary work.</p> <p>(ii) Return to attend the herd.</p> <p>(iii) Back to the camp, busy with family activities again.</p>
<p>From 5:00 to 7:00 pm</p> <p>(i) Cooking.</p> <p>(ii) Light enjoyment such as singing (shair_O-shairi)</p>
<p>From 7:00 to 9:00</p> <p>(I) After having meal, they retire for the night</p>

Daily life activity of Gujjar Bakakrwals

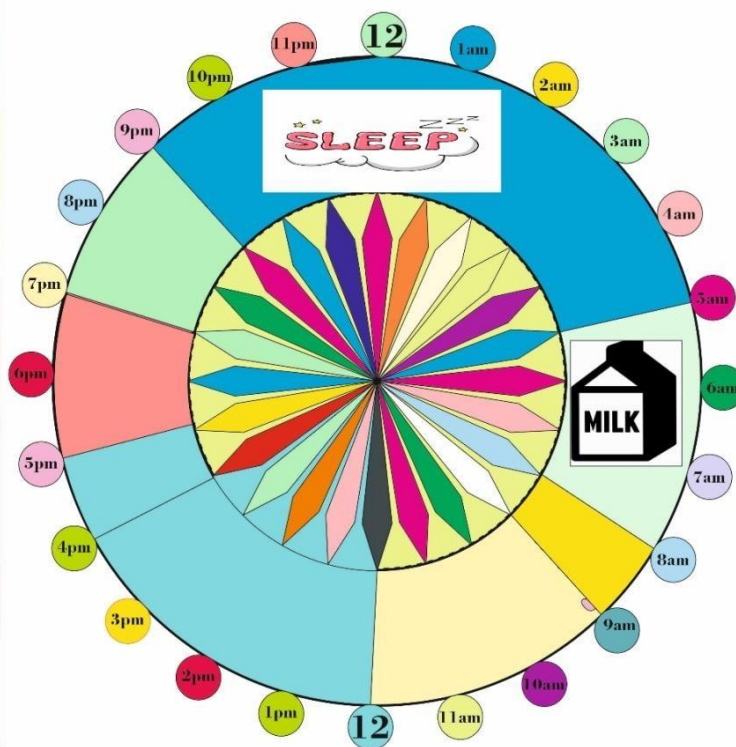


Fig3.3

Livestock Population1950-2011

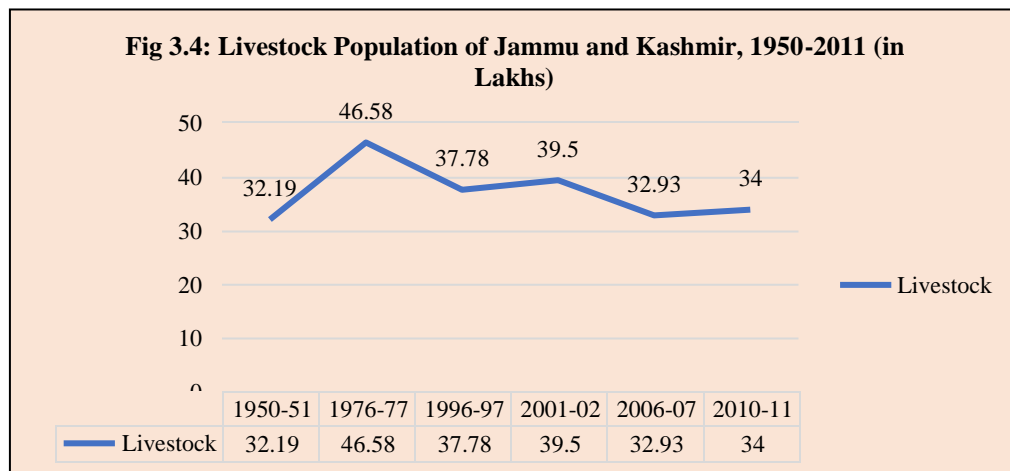
There has been a decrease in the population of animal, especially sheep's and goats. The fast declines in the number of cattle can be accredited to a variety of reasons, such as political unpredictability in area, the settlement of nomads, drought, changes in land use, competition for pasture and water. During repeated droughts year, water and pasture became restricted to livestock, and therefore their numbers are reduced due to reduced reproduction, deaths due to hunger, or the effects of migration. The union territory of Jammu and Kashmir has suffered a huge loss of livestock in the last few years due to the drastic changes in vegetation coverage due to the current lack of moisture.

Table 3.2: Livestock Population of the Jammu and Kashmir, 1950-2011 (in lakhs)

Livestock Population	1950-51	1976-77	1996-97	2001-02	2006-07	2010-11
	32.19	46.58	37.78	39.5	32.93	34.00

Source: *Livestock Census, Jammu and Kashmir*

The total animal husbandry population of Jammu and Kashmir in the year 1950-51 was 32.19 lakhs, and in 1976-77 it increased to 46.58 lakh. After this period, the animal husbandry economy was somewhat shattered, following the onset of militancy in the Jammu and Kashmir in 1989, the animal husbandry population continued to decline, and by 1996-97 it fell to 37.78 lakh. It increased to 39.5 lakh in 2001-02. In 2006-07, it again decreased to 32.93 lakh. In 2010-11, it increased to 34.00 lakh in Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, here we can say that due to the disturbance of the conditions in Jammu and Kashmir, the baseline time for the continued decline in livestock numbers is the 1990s.



Source: *Livestock Census, Jammu and Kashmir*

Distribution of Livestock

Table and graph show the district wise distribution of livestock in Jammu and Kashmir. With a few exceptions, each district shares of livestock varied significantly in 1992, 2003 and 2007, although the livestock concentration in each region changed

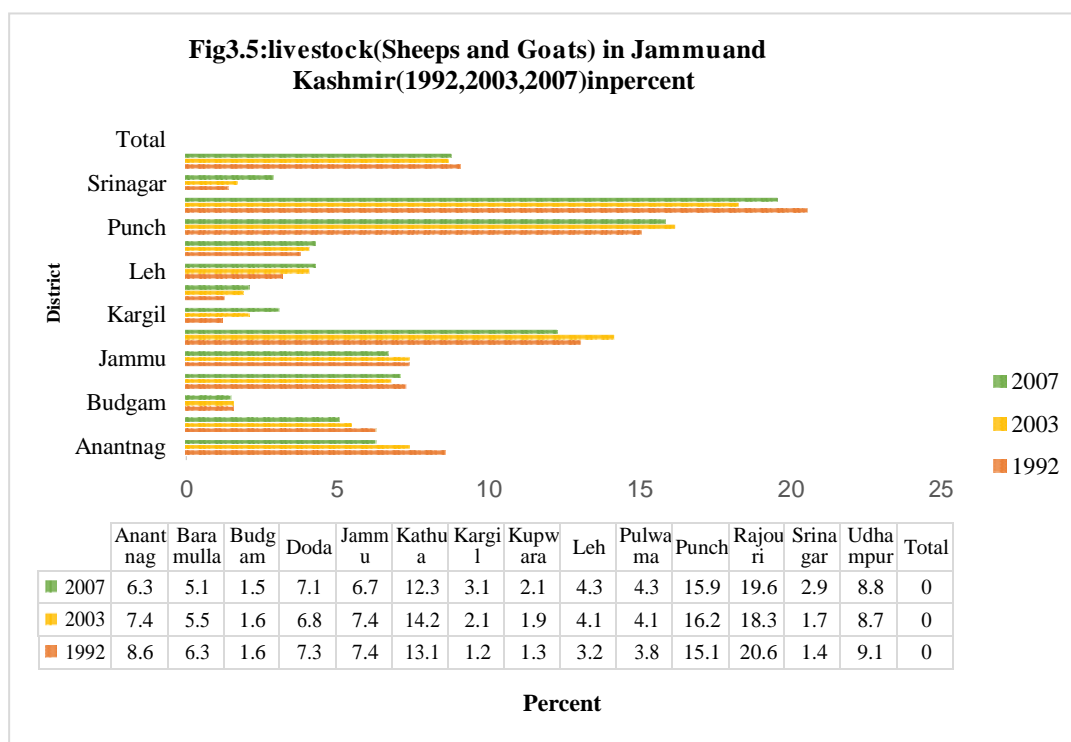
significantly. In 1992, 2003 & 2007, the higher proportion of livestock population (20.6%, 18.3% & 19.6% respectively) were concentrated in Rajouri district. The number of livestock in the Poonch district has (15.1%, 16.2% & 15.9%) in 1992, 2003 & 2007 respectively. These two districts share of livestock has increased, with the exception if 1992 to 2003. In the Jammu province, Poonch, Kathua, Doda, Udhampur and Rajouri districts have a high percentage of the total animal of total population in the Jammu and Kashmir due to the availability of their natural outlets and pasture land. However, it is surprising that Kashmir share of the Jammu and Kashmir animal population has decreased due to militancy. Livestock distribution in various district of the Kashmir province shows that Anantnag and Baramulla have a high portion than another district in the Kashmir province. Due to the favourable climate and altitude, the share of livestock in Ladakh has increased. These goats produce expensive wools called “Pashmina”, which encourage their most population in the Ladakh province.

Table 3.3: Livestock (Sheep's & Goats) in Jammu and Kashmir (1992, 2003, & 2007) in percent

District of Jammu and Kashmir	1992	2003	2007
Anantnag	8.6	7.4	6.3
Baramulla	6.3	5.5	5.1
Budgam	1.6	1.6	1.5
Doda	7.3	6.8	7.1
Jammu	7.4	7.4	6.7
Kathua	13.1	14.2	12.3
Kargil	1.2	2.1	3.1
Kupwara	1.3	1.9	2.1
Leh	3.2	4.1	4.3
Pulwama	3.8	4.1	4.3
Punch	15.1	16.2	15.9
Rajouri	20.6	18.3	19.6
Srinagar	1.4	1.7	2.9
Udhampur	9.1	8.7	8.8
Total	36,87,937	39,76,328	32,08,734

Source: *Livestock Census of Jammu and Kashmir, 1992, 2003 and 2007*

Growth of Livestock (Sheep's and Goats)



Source: *Livestock Census of Jammu and Kashmir, 1992, 2003 and 2007*

Livestock growth in the Jammu and Kashmir, except for a few districts where the animal husbandry growth rate is negative. The growth rate of livestock in various districts showed considerable differences. The trend of increasing population of sheep and goats shows a consistent pattern. With the exception of Kashmir, the number of livestock is increasing in all regions, which indicates a decline. In the Jammu, there has been a positive increase in livestock populations in the Rajouri, Poonch and Udhampur areas.

Changes in The Gujjar Bakarwals Life

The change is understood as a change from traditional means of livelihood, religions and other social and cultural aspects of life. Every society traditional or modern, backward or forward, always undergoes a process of change. Change is inevitable and always occurs due to self-propelled forces. These changes can be technical,

organizational and ideological. Since change itself is a dynamic process, Gujjar Bakarwals community cannot forever be unaffected by the process of change. It has always happened in human society. Sometimes changes are rapid, and sometimes changes are gradual, and it is difficult for even members of society to notice it. Gujjar Bakarwals used to live in an isolated place, lacking modern facilities, and caring for livestock was their top priority. Most of life's needs came from the environment. With the changes in the surrounding environment of Gujjar Bakarwals has also changed. Over time, the Gujjar Bakarwals community, like other community, has changed in many ways.

Positive or negative change is an inevitable human development process. No community can be consistent with the culture or tradition of ancestors. The next generation is always different from its ancestors. Changes can be either in the form of improvement or classification, either due to external influences or changes in society itself. The life of Gujjar Bakarwals is not extraordinary. When appropriate, they brought many positive or negative changes.

The wider view around the perimeter

In recent decades the inhabited areas of the Gujjar Bakarwals have also been made aware of the influenced neighbouring residents as well as external visitors. The unique practice of nomadism in the highlands area have attracted various researchers and tourists to learn about their lifestyles. Many changes have been seen in their livelihoods with frequent visits to outsiders. With the emergence of neighbourhoods and the outside world, the society, economy and culture of the Gujjar Bakarwals are affected. They open up to other cultures and abandoning unhealthy customs. The interview with the local peoples of the Gujjar Bakarwals community during the

telephonic survey revealed that *Lambardariis* no longer practicing them. The traditional mobile management systems (*Mukadam*) were significantly affected by the introduction Panchayati Raj System. According to the Gujjar Bakarwals community by telephonic survey, all powers and functions of the *Mukadam* were transferred to the leaders of the Panchayats and *Lambardariis* no longer chooses *Mukadam* unlike the past. These changes have some implications for the Gujjar Bakarwals because they are adapting to globalization and modernizations process. The large influx external tourist will attract the attention of the government and later the development of transportations, communications, and infrastructure in the surrounding environment.

Housing patterns of the Gujjar Bakarwals

No fixed properties can be applied to the trans-humans Gujjar Bakarwals because it can have different shapes and different settlement patterns. In some regions, the Gujjar Bakarwals living in tent and move on fixed routes with animal and family. When the route among summer and winter pasture are fixed, they build huts in two places. In such a situation, only use the tent during migration. Among the Gujjar Bakarwals are the only people who do not have huts in migration places stayed in tents. At the presents time, these ancient tents have been replaced with plastic panels. In many places, especially in spring and autumn pastures surrounding villages, it is seen that even wooden plants and soil floor roofs are replaced by Corrugated Galvanized Iron (CGI) sheets. Settling along the roadside, Gujjar Bakarwals started building concrete-story houses, adding extra space for various family members. They also replaced ordinary plants roofs with light-coloured CGI (Corrugated Galvanized Iron) sheets.

The Food habits of the Gujjar Bakarwals

Traditionally, milk products constitute an important part of the Gujjar Bakarwals eating habits. Over time, people's interactions with other people have increased, and the influence of modernization has also significantly affected traditional eating habits. Although various eating habits persist, there are more modern eating habits on the market such as rice, dal, mustard oil, tea and so on.

Improvement in health care of the Gujjar Bakarwals

The transformation of the Gujjar Bakarwals community has been brought about by the establishment of health centres in remote village of *Gursahi* in Poonch district of Jammu and Kashmir. Gujjar Bakarwals fully believe in traditional customs for treating patients, with the introduction of hospitals, they have opened their doors and are applying for medical treatment. During the telephonic survey, it has been observed that both traditional customs and medical treatment coexisted among the Gujjar Bakarwals. They are concerned about the health of their children and taking advantage of governments free vaccines provided in a timely manner.

Improving other Facilities

Road connectivity development changed the transportation system from a heavy burden to modern vehicles. This has substantially improved the living circumstances of the Gujjar Bakarwals, but also minimized the role of livestock in the transportation system. Settlements are gradually descending on the roadside for easy access to various needs. Previously, the Gujjar Bakarwals families had fewer permanent settlements, but due to the improvement of road connectivity, more and more new permanent settlements have emerged, in *Gursahi* village. Many of them also started growing vegetables in low-altitude areas that we had not seen a few years ago. These

transformations can be attributed to peoples increasingly demand to improved modernization. The convenience of road connectivity provides them with an opportunity for a new economic form beyond trans-human's livelihoods. Traditional barter trade has changed significantly in the villages with better roads connections access to market (such as Mughal road). They noticed the different prices of goods in the market better than the traditional barter trade system.

In addition to the aforementioned changes, during the telephonic survey, other important changes are the use of battery-powered radios and cell phones. However, electrical asymmetry is a background for people. They depend on solar lights purchased from nearby markets. They are no longer isolated from the rest of the world, any more than they are connected through the use of various moderntools.

Other occupation of the GujjarBakarwals

In the old days, they were involved in trade activities in the winter, but now many Gujjar Bakarwals descend into low-altitude areas work in PMGSY (Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana) and BRO (Border Road Organization) on daily wage basis also in Department of Rural Works, also in military as porters and on horse caravans with tourists. The environmental factors associated with the economic reality push them out of their settlements for aliving.

Impact ontrading

The emergence of money economy has given them the greed to convert from traditional barter trade to market transactions. In addition, the sales of products are all done in cash. Today, transactions of animal products within and between villages are carried out according to market incentives by using money as an exchange tool. Therefore, it reduces the barter trade that is limited to remote and inaccessible areas.

However, the remote villages of *Gursahistill* use the traditional barter trade, as well as market-based transactions. Social change is necessary for progress or advancement, but also some changes are unhealthy for livelihood and continuity.

Development Initiative

It is said by the majority of the Gujjar Bakarwals that the economics and culture are rapidly disappearing these days. In this context, Gujjar Bakarwals shared an idea.

“The reason behind for the disappearance of the Gujjar Bakarwals economy is that the inhabited farmers and the villagers of the Gujjar Bakarwals have hardly got any grass to graze, as it is necessary to survive in difficult climatic conditions and the young generation has hardly shown interest in the herd rearing and also include social and economic reasons, one of them is the hope that the young generation can have a more relaxed and comfortable lifestyle”.

After realizing that their old traditional economy is in decline, the Gujjar Bakarwals are gradually trying to change their economics into something more stable. In many areas of the Gujjar Bakarwals settlement in Pir-Panjal region, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and some Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) have started several beneficial schemes to attract animal herders to pursue their sustainable economic development, such as the establishment of Animal and Sheep Husbandry, Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), which initiates basic infrastructure facilities in remote and inaccessible hilly areas, settlement of herders in the village, school, dispensary, etc. Road network developed by the government high altitude areas. Conversely, the government also faces difficulties in restricting political control over them, due to the nomadic nature of the transhumance groups. Under the above circumstance, Dhar, (2009) correctly pointed out, it is also a fact that all government's actions or plans have never had a 100% positive impact on pastoralists around the

world. Once the Iran govt. tried to settle the Brasseries, a herding community, but there was a shortage of wool and meat throughout Iran.

Case study I: - case study highlighting the changes in developmental paradigm among Gujjar Bakarwals

Case Study 1	Changes in Developmental Paradigm	Reasons
Respondent Name: Mohammad Hussain, Age – 58 Yrs., Village: <i>Gursahi</i>	1) Before many developmental activities occurred in the year 1991, the Gujjar Bakarwals people of Pir-Panjali region was not much known to the various organizations. There has been a lack of <u>modernization during this period</u> .	Their habitat was far from human intervention and isolated from mainstream or settled population. Gujjar Bakarwals lacked in the political knowledge and did not have a common voice to express their needs and fight for their own development. They didn't have strong social institutions to support their cause, mainly because they are constantly moving throughout the year.
	2) Gujjar Bakarwals were less receptive to gaining awareness about modern development, but now Gujjar Bakarwals have demanded the construction of roads for their villages to the government.	They have now gained political knowledge and have common societal platforms to articulate their needs regarding desired developmental activities. There are social institutions which have become a permanent feature of the community and help them voice their concerns.

In this case study, interviews are taken from Gujjar Bakarwals, who are in the transitional period between the traditional and the modernization, and sedentary in the villages and no longer participating in the pastoral profession and social and cultural activities. Alam Din (56), Shahzad Chowdhary (45) and Mohamed Nasar (52) shared their views on the development initiatives undertaken by various agencies, Alam Din said.

“Nowadays, distance is not a major problem. Within a second, we can hear the voices of friends, family and relatives, etc. There are various such examples. Science can do wonders, although government agencies, NGOs, has done great in the development of livelihood models of the Gujjar Bakarwals people, but I think they can do more. I

even met the tribal officer and shared my views on some development projects. These projects are very beneficial for the Gujjar Bakarwals, such as making scientific containers to preserve the natural aroma of the dairy milk by-products. The cream separator was distributed to Gujjar Bakarwals as a development initiative, Gujjar Bakarwals expressed as satisfaction, but ordinary people who are dissatisfied consumers due to different flavour and taste and ordinary people prefer handmade instead of cream separator. Therefore, prior to any schedule development implementation, a baseline survey should be conducted so that the programmed development can be more successful”.

Regarding the incentives being given to selected of the Gujjar Bakarwals and the future of the Gujjar Bakarwals, he believes,

“Every Gujjar Bakarwals family should be provided with incentives instead of providing only to the selected few Gujjar Bakarwals. There should be a crowd education camp about the importance and culture of cattle. Now the young generation does not care about livestock concerns such as difficult living condition. I abandoned the culture of Gujjar Bakarwals and now my older brother is raising my flocks. Livestock raisers are facing a changing environment. The problems of lack of education and medical facilities for themselves and livestock, lack of transportation, lack of suitable marketing opportunities for their produce, and lack of infrastructure in high-altitude areas. If all the factors mentioned are not resolved, then the future of Gujjar Bakarwals is not far away when we will study only in the books”.

The case studies above showed that it required streamlined planning from top to bottom with appropriate initiative and guidance. Individuals working for the welfare of societies should have a sense of commitment and human aspiration. It is impossible

to have only by the administrators. Therefore, it is necessary to attach great importance to various groups and organizations in cooperation with *Gursahivillage* for better development.

The case study also revealed the gap between the objectives and implementation of development programs in *Gursahivillage*. For example, some Gujjar Bakarwals people are not aware of development plans implemented by state and central governments, or some Gujjar Bakarwals people are not aware of the existence of developmental programmes. It is difficult to achieve better results without raising awareness among the Gujjar Bakarwals villages.

Most of the interviewees from the older generation and also heads of the household. They are confused to say whether they welcome this or not. In fact, most of them answered “I don’t know”. Those who cannot take advantage are not satisfied with this change. They expressed apprehension about the destruction of the pastureland with reluctant political power and the emerging tendency to use various false promises of development in the name of their community. On the other hand, the younger generation did not expect that this would adversely affect their social and cultural traditions.

In the context of continuing the education and their traditions of rearing cattle, almost all the Gujjar Bakarwals realized the importance of education, and all parents wanted to educate their children for greater comfort and better living by bringing their children in government and private jobs. In this context, Shahzad Chowdhary (45 years old) expressed his opinion on the importance of education as follows:

Now, if a person is educated, he can find a good job and make a lot of money. On the other hand, the life of the Gujjar Bakarwals is very difficult. I think education is

mandatory. Education provides you with many opportunities, a lucrative government contracts, and even good job opportunities.

Case studies highlighting the need and importance of education in present era among Gujjar Bakarwals

Case Studies	Need and Importance of Education	Reasons
Case Study 2 Respondent Name: Muhammad Aslam, Age – 22 Yrs., Village: <i>Gursahi</i>	1) I want to find a good job. This is possible only after I have been educated, otherwise I will have to do this (pastoral activities) throughout my life. (Highly significant emphasis on education)	This job, maintenance of cattle and related work is a difficult task.
Case Study 3 Respondent Name: Nasar Ahmed, Age – 39 Yrs., Village: <i>Gursahi</i>	1) Of course, education is the only tool to survive in this highly competitive world, but we must also pay attention to our culture and traditions. (Moderately significant and nuanced emphasis on education)	An urgent comprehensive study must be undertaken to identify and understand the impact of recent developments (including modern education) on Gujjar Bakarwals life and its impact on cultural identity, and measures taken to promote and preserve the unique and fragile culture and traditions of Gujjar Bakarwals.
Case Study 4 Respondent Name: Undisclosed, Age – Elderly shepherd, Village: <i>Gursahi</i>	1) I think the school education for my kids is not good. (Low emphasis and skepticism towards education)	If my kids are educated, they will be engaged in service and they won't stay with us, and also, we cannot provide tuition fees because of the high cost of education. Besides, we have nothing but a few flocks. Who will take care of flocks if we send them to school?

Muhammad Aslam (22 years old), one of the young Gujjar Bakarwals, shared his opinion of the importance of education, saying,

This job, maintenance of cattle and related work is a difficult task. I want to find a good job. This is possible only after I have been educated, otherwise I will have to do this for throughout my life.

When interviewed to Nasar Ahmed (39 years older), he suggested a fear of losing culture and tradition as well as importance of education,

Of course, education is the only tool to survive in this highly competitive world, but we must also pay attention to our culture and traditions. Therefore, an urgent comprehensive study must be undertaken to identify and understand the impact of recent development on Gujjar Bakarwals life, its reactions, cultural identity, and measures taken to promote and preserve the unique and fragile culture and traditions of Gujjar Bakarwals.

Very amazingly, a member of the Gujjar Bakarwals family, sharing their views against education, said,

I think the school education for my kids is not good because if my kids are educated, they will be engaged in service and they won't stay with us, and also, we cannot provide tuition fees because of the high cost of education. Besides, we have nothing but a few flocks. Who will take care of flocks if we send them to school?

From the above discussion, it can be said that without proper planning, the future continuation of Gujjar Bakarwals culture is uncertain. However, the truth that recently it has been noticed that the intervention of modern development, the Gujjar Bakarwals culture has begun to change rapidly. For example, it has been observed that a large part of the young generation is interested in luxury living, they are very reluctant to reveal their identity and most people prefer western cloths rather than their traditional dress.

CHAPTER IV

SEDENTARIZATION OF THE GUJJAR BAKARWALS:

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an analysis of the sedentarization process and its implications among the trans-humans Gujjar Bakarwals, and an in-depth understanding of its impact on society, especially in the field area. This section is based on data collected through a telephonic survey. It incorporates data on social differentiation, economic and livelihood to help understand the social change process of the Gujjar Bakarwals, thereby understanding the impact of sedentary on the Gujjar Bakarwals people in the field area. The chapter concludes with a discussion about marriages and modern political impact amongst the Gujjar Bakarwals community in the field area.

Sedentarization in a trans-human's society is a dynamic process in the continuity of the temporal and spatial of social and economic activities, including the changes in traditional production methods, the abandonment of migration, and the settlement in inappropriate places. The process begins when *Puro Chalan Alo* Gujjar Bakarwals (purely nomadic family), started rooting in the ground in any area in their oscillating channel, either due to acculturation or weakness. Over time, the dynamics of social and economic changes eventually lead to the adaptation of non-herd husbandry occupation, especially agriculture. This is the transition from one primary mode of production to another. There are following steps of this process.

1. Fully nomadic(*Puro-Chalan-Alo*)
2. Semi nomadic(*Adho-Chalan-Alo*)

3. Sedentary(*Basan-Alo*)

It can be necessary to point out that these stages are continuous. These differences are not a strict stereotypical separation between herders and agriculture or nomads and sedentary Gujjar Bakarwals, as both agriculture as well as pastoralism exist in the same households. The pastoral oriented Gujjar Bakarwals seem to cultivate as soon as an opportunity permits them, and those who have been sedentary through fertilization stay close to the shepherds and employ their surplus human strength to support pastoralism style. Social relationship between the two is very common.

Sedentarymechanism

This has led to some changes in their socio-economic behavior that are closely related to the concept of sedentary. And this idea culminates in the abandonment of some of them from the migrating lifestyle. The process of economic stratification naturally creates large variations in wealth and further results in economic polarization, which includes rich Gujjar Bakarwals to follows quite a different path towards sedentary than marginal ones. Therefore, changes in wealth are the main factor determines the speed of sedentary. The change in the economic situation forms the flow described by Willian Iron can be summarized as follows:

The poorest nomadic cannot make a living on the income of the herds, become wage workers in villages and forgo migration. Working for wages rather than grazing the declining herd leads to rapid disappearance of livestock and abandonment of migration. The wealth nomads follow a different settlement method. The wealthy nomads hired shepherds for managing their flocks if the size of flocks is larger. Those who have medium size of flocks they keep a portion of their herd under the care of pastoralists. But putting a part of the herd under the care of pastoralists leads to lower

returns because wages should be paid and the shearing tendency of the shepherds. Faced with diminishing returns of the herd, wealthy nomads tend to invest some of their wealth in the land that provides safer and better return. Thus, they become absentee landlords during the migration with their herd. Greater protection of the land and lower return from their herd, characterized by large herds caused these nomads to invest their earnings in acquiring wealth in the land. Therefore, as human wealth increased, greater and even greater attention to most of his wealth ultimately leads to his settlement.

Therefore, economic motivation, more opportunities for excess income investment and more amenities of sedentarization life, and future uncertainties about the pasture economy in the context of other economy are incidental factor that led to sedentary.

Sedentarization due to Amiri(Enrichment)

Gujjar Bakarwals a pastoral *Puro-Chalan-Alo*owns a private herd and community pastures in the *Kafilas* grazing area. In the grazing area of his convoys (*Kafilas*), he obtained rights at birth in the Dada-Putra (grandparents) pastures through the *Kafilas*(convoys) membership. As long as he owns these pastures, there is no limit to the number of livestock he can own these pastures. Therefore, the limiting factor of his income is the size of his herds that are privately owned. Any increase in them brings a huge return in the increasing profits obtained from community owned pastures.

He puts all his efforts and domestic work into the caring of his herd. Thus, there is an economically justified for the widespread interest in conservation and growth of welfare of the flock, and great emphasis is placed preserving it and postpone every slaughtering to take advantage from daily increase in weight growth and every season of increasing in number.

Once the number of the herd exceeds a certain limit necessary for their own and their family's livelihood, their growth rate tends to accelerate and after a series of good years, he becomes the owner of a large flock. A level is reached in herd expansion, when low returns are determined and management problems become more complex. He has to employ hired labor from part of his herd to professional shepherds under a seasonal contract for salaries on *ajri* contract. The hired shepherds do not take proper care as a result in poor health and low returns from the herd. At this stage, there is a trend to change in economic activities by shifting some of the capital from livestock to other fields, which brings higher margins and makes it easier for owners to avoid capital losses. First, he transforms some of his wealth into various forms of stored wealth common among the nomads, usually in the form of women Jewelry, transistors and rifles. In most cases, these elements are displayed as status symbols. But this form of wealth provides no economic return other than helping a person in times of need capital.

Second, the land is clearly alternative investment source that is unavoidable and also generates high rates in the forms of landlords rent. Thus, it is the typical pattern of the Gujjar Bakarwals rich (*maldar*) to transfer a portion of their wealth in the herd into land property. The land investment at this stage is not linked to settlement plans. At this stage, he begins to consult with those who have already bought land in *Kafilas*(convoys) to take advantage of their experience. He found that it was economically beneficial to transfer of capital from the herd to land ownership. When he is fully convinced and understood the investment benefits of the land ownership, he makes a decision to invest in the land.

The idea for this decision is not to quit migratory life, but to maximize their economic returns and secure security against capital losses. Land provides them with a safe store

of wealth and a significant annual income in agriculture products they need in their normal consumption patterns. This frees them from the need to buy these products, which tend to increase the growth rate of their flocks.

When a Gujjar Bakarwals have purchased a piece of land in a settlement, the family does not resort to agricultural practices. He prefers to rent it to the villagers under a standard lease on the areas and to get grain from it. This saves him from spending on such items, which increases the growth rate of his flock. As long as the disease does not severely affect their herds, “the process tends to accumulate, with a growing portion of the Gujjar Bakarwals wealth being deposited in the land”.

This changes their pattern of movement as it is considered more convenient to camp on one’s own land during seasonal migration. This trend leads to additional investment in the construction of a House (*Kotha*) on the land purchased to control agriculture practice. When he fully understands the benefits of land ownership and agriculture activities, he dedicates himself more effectively agricultural. Such a families are less interested in establishment the herd size. Instead, they prefer to create a stock of milch animals, which leads to changes in the size and structure of the animals owned by the family, and greater interest in agriculturepractice.

During this transition phase, the tendency to change the structure of the herd increases. The most important thing is to stop cutting the female lamb. In pursuing this trend, he changed the proportion of animals in favor of sheep. This is due to the fact that sheep provide a renewable resource of wool.

At this phase, when he earns more income from selling wool and getting sufficient grain from the land, there is a trend towards the cultivation of crops and the rearing of fodder based milch animals.

The aforementioned indicates are the purchase of land, reduced interest in the herd, and increased interest in cattle to a reduced in the traditional pattern of earning and a shift towards non pastoral economic activities such as agricultural, livestock trade and bovine products. Such families are now on the threshold of leaving a life of migration in favor of a sedentarization life. (Barth, 1960) said, “these interests abound in the land. The owner is motivating to oversee and control his property, so he tends more and more attracted to the many comforts and privileged positions of the sedentarization landowner. After a certain point in development has passed, and the disaster that hits the herd only serve to end his engagement in pastoral activities.

In recent times especially since the 1990, many Gujjar Bakarwals families have gone through these phases of development and eventually became sedentarization landlords in the villagers along the migration routes of their parents conveys (*Kafila*). When they get involved in agriculture, they undoubtedly give up the life of migration but they continue to participate in the life of the community of asponsor.

Sidentarization Due to Garibi (Impoverishment)

The process of settlement by the nomads of, poor Gujjar Bakarwals due to poverty is the opposite of the path followed by the rich Gujjar Bakarwals.

(Barth, 1960) has similar ideas about the process of sedentary due to poverty, which are summarized as follows; while the herd tends to be smooth and grazing due to the nomadic working in herding and grooming, accidents, pests and poor management may also have a negative effect on reducing herds over time, or the herder’s demands is too large and overtax her herd and resulting in a decrease in herds instead of accumulation.

The first step is from one year to the second year with huge debts to meet the family demands. A portion of the debt are repaid next year. To satisfy these debts and the constant demands of the family, the cattle herd are forced to invade his production capital, slaughter the ewes and sell the livestock. Once this downward spiral begins, despite all attempts to reduce consumption it accelerates, and the gap between the minimum consumption rate and the declining capital productivity will increase geometrically.

If there are no large herds under *Ajri* contracts, these families seek additional resources from their settled neighbors to increase their income. The seasonal supplementary occupations of this type are an agricultural worker in winter areas. This relationship with an agricultural neighbor established a close relationship with him, both personally and economically. This typically intensifies the rate of reeducation of the remaining nomads of the herd by interfering with the normal migration cycle, resulting in the loss of contract with a group of nomadic animals, increasing dependence on the source of income within the village, and ultimately integrating into a sedentarization communities' position in a property less village.

There are many factors which operate to prolong a poor pastoralist not leave a migration life. The poor people in the contracted later acquired a bride for their sons so that the demand for increased livestock were more limited. The poor people are also limit spending to limit demands for the herd.

Process of Sedentarization And Changes in Livelihood Strategies

The Gujjar Bakarwals has been experiencing a serious crisis for the past few decades, especially in terms of pasture and livestock management. In general, their centuries-old profession is facing survival threats. Although there are many reasons for the

crisis, the most important ones are the loss of pastures due to government encroachment and pasture closures, restrictions on seasonal migration imposed by the checking authorities and lack of basic facilities (Sofi, 2013).

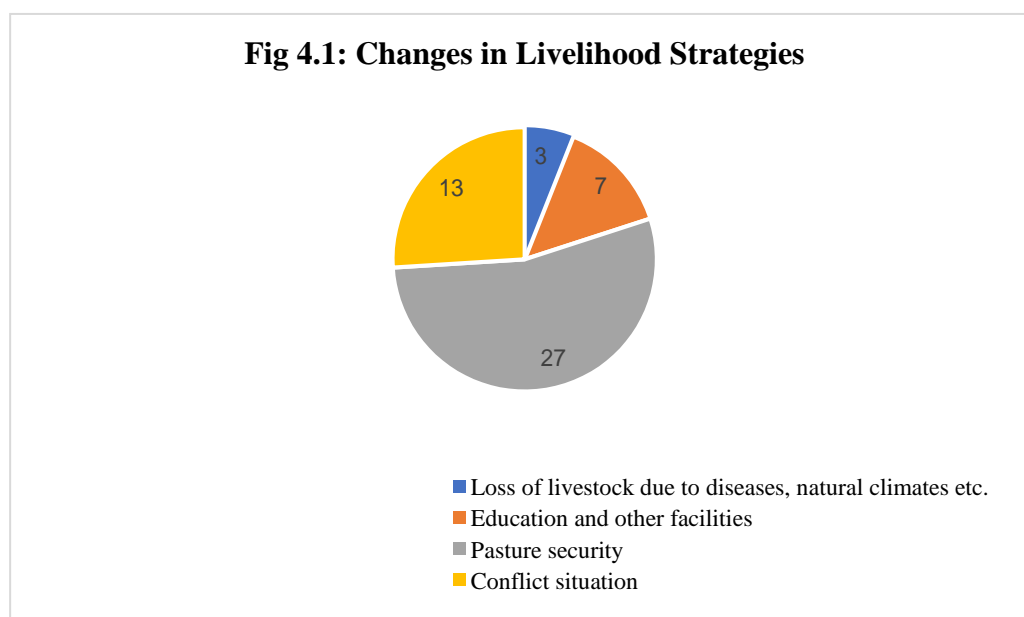
In the study area, more than half of all interviews (54.0%) believe that the loss of pasture is due to government closures and forest land encroachment is the main reason for them to settle and change their traditional occupation.

Table 4.1: Changes in Livelihood Strategies

Basic reasons to settle down	Frequency	Percent
Diseases, natural climates etc.	3	6.0
Education and other facilities	7	14.0
Pasture security	27	54.0
Conflict situation	13	26.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

Fig 4.1: Changes in Livelihood Strategies



Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

Due to the ongoing military conflict in Jammu and Kashmir, several pastures near to the LOC (Line of Control), the international border with Pakistan marked as

“forbidden” by the military and other security force after the eruption in 1990. In light of the fire and militants at the India-Pakistan border, Jammu and Kashmir security forces have imposed restrictions entry of the Gujjar Bakarwals in some *Dhoks* near the border in Rajouri, Poonch, Jammu, Baramulla, Kupwara, Kathua, Bandipura, Leh and Kargil. Because of these restrictions, the nomadic Gujjar Bakarwals people have suffered huge losses in their economics, culture and lifestyle.

In the last two decades of militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, many Gujjar Bakarwals have changed their summer pastures *Dhoks*. As most traditional pastures are affected by terrorism, they prefer to shift their pastures to far off and less affected areas. The terrorists forcibly extract livestock from the poor Gujjar Bakarwals. Since the beginning of hostilities in Jammu and Kashmir, the exploitation of the Gujjar Bakarwals reached the peak in the 1990.

The displacement of nomadic Gujjar Bakarwals can be regarded by many as secondary damage. This is indeed one of the contributing factors to the unrest in the area. Unrest in the area has led to multiple displacement (Gujjar Bakarwals, Kashmiri Pandits and other residents) in Jammu and Kashmir. They have been displaced either because of the external influence of the conflict in the form of India and Pakistan hostilities or the ongoing violent militancy in Jammu and Kashmir. However, the maximum perceptible category is the ensemble of Gujjar Bakarwals who follow the century old trans-humanspractice.

The ceasefire line between India and Pakistan cuts through vast areas of grassland, limiting mobile herds in the south and east. The war between Indo-Pak in 1965 and 1971, and the frequent military conflicts between these two-country caused more and more Gujjar Bakarwals to abandon their grazing lands and homes close to the

bordering areas. The Kargil War in 1999 and the ongoing armed conflict in Jammu and Kashmir intensified the situation and deprived the Gujjar Bakarwals of their pasture in Suru and Zanskar valleys. In addition, some decisions taken by the local state forest, soil conservation and wildlife departments for 'environmental reasons' have resulted in the loss of access to traditional grasslands. A total of 26.0% surveyed families in the study area claimed that the ongoing conflict situation was the primary reason for settlement.

The other main reason that the Gujjar Bakarwals cited as an incentive to adopt a sedentary lifestyle is the lack of education and other opportunities. Parents want their children to be highly educated so that they can enjoy a better economic life in the future. Similarly, other basic facilities such as lack of access to health facilities at high elevation also force the Gujjar Bakarwals to a sedentary way of life. In the telephonic survey, around 14 % of those interviewed said that the lack of access to basic opportunities and education is the main cause for sedentarization.

Change of Livelihoods

Most of the interviewees believe that their household income (and therefore financial capital) has increased because they have adopted a sedentary lifestyle. This growth is most obvious among people in the village of *Gurshai* where approximately 50 percent and 30 percent of the interviewees said that they now earn higher incomes from agriculture, labor and other activities, and therefore their financial conditions is better than before.

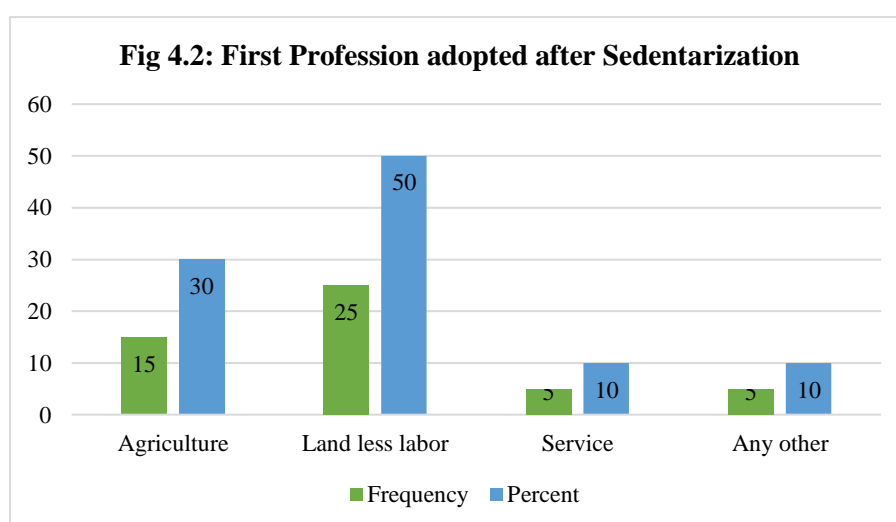
Decrease in flock size was an important determinant of livelihood change. Two main factors contributed to the decline. As first, when the Gujjar Bakarwals moved to new locations, they attempted to sell some of their shares to get cash to establish

themselves in new places. Some Gujjar Bakarwals sell part of their shares to obtain the financial capital needed for the trading business, while others buy lands to grow crops. Another factor that causes the size of the flock to decline is disease. Interviewees in the telephonic survey pointed out that a significant proportion of their livestock died of cattle diseases such as skin disease, swelling of the tongue and boxes of the mouth. Although Sher-e-Kashmir University of Agricultural Science and Technology (SKUST) rescued them by providing much-needed veterinary services, some Gujjar Bakarwals were unable to compensate for their losses and therefore had to change their economic base. Agriculture, primarily, the cultivation of crops became a new livelihoodbase.

Table 4.2: First Profession Adopted After Sedentarization

	Frequency	Percent
Agriculture	15	30.0
Land less labor	25	50.0
Service	5	10.0
Any other	5	10.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*



Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

Due to limited grazing area leading to an increase in crop cultivation, some Gujjar Bakarwals forced to adopt cropping as a means of livelihood. By using crops to supplement livestock resulted in these migrants obtaining agriculture land. It has been found that about 15 percent interviewees in the *Gurshaivillage* had obtained agriculture land to grow crops.

Table 4.3: Distribution of the respondents regarding use of modern traditional methods in case of their sickness

Sl. No	Methods	Frequency	Percentage
1	Modern hospital/dispensary	43	86.0 %
2	Traditional treatment	7	14.0 %
	Total	50	100.0%

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

Table 4.3 shows that 86.0% of the interviews prefer modern methods and dispensaries for treatment of any kind of disease or illness, while only 14.0 % respectively preferred traditional disease treatment methods. The table above shows that the majority of interviewees in the case of illness prefer modern hospitals and dispensaries. This table clearly shows that Gujjar Bakarwals believed that modern medicine is more effective in order to prevent illnesses. Therefore, they prefer modern mode of healthcare. This shows that they accept modernization as a development phenomenon.

Table 4.4: Health Conditions

GENERAL HEALTH THAT PRESENT		HEALTH WORKER VESTED IN HOUSES	
GOOD	36 (72.0%)	Yes	31 (62%)
POOR	14 (28%)	No	19 (38%)
Total	50 (100%)	Total	50 (100%)

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

Another change in their lives is the availability of social services. Approximately 72.0 % of those surveyed believe that their lives have changed due to the availability of

social services. This change is more evident in *Gurshai*village, in the nearest town of *Mendhar*, where services like hospital, school, and markets are available. These interviewees also emphasized that earlier such services were not easy for them to obtain.

The increase in possession of tangible assets by Gujjar Bakarwals in the *Gurshai*village shows that their purchasing power has increased after moving to these new locations. Tangible assets they identify and acquire are homes, agriculture land, basic amenities and household items. Many of these assets were previously not available to them. For example, most interviewees think they have better home now. According to observation, in the village under investigation, the Gujjar Bakarwals own concrete houses with metal roofs.

Because these herders are forced to engage in sedentary activities, agriculture became one of the most important economic activity, resulting in them being forced to obtain agriculture land. Gujjar Bakarwals grows food crops, especially maize, on these agriculture lands. Most interviewees believe that personal land ownerships are not common in winter areas. The personally owned small plots were the ones on which they built their *Kothas*. Therefore, land acquisition for most of these Gujjar Bakarwals was among the important changes they have experienced after they decide to settle in their current place.

Agricultural output is almost exclusively meant for household consumption. Some wealthy Gujjar Bakarwals produce agriculture products for the market. Another prominent case is that of the wealthy Gujjar Bakarwals in *Gurshai*village who own assets such as tractors used for agriculture. And it is said that the number of such farmers in the *Gurshai*village has increased. Some other Gujjar Bakarwals have

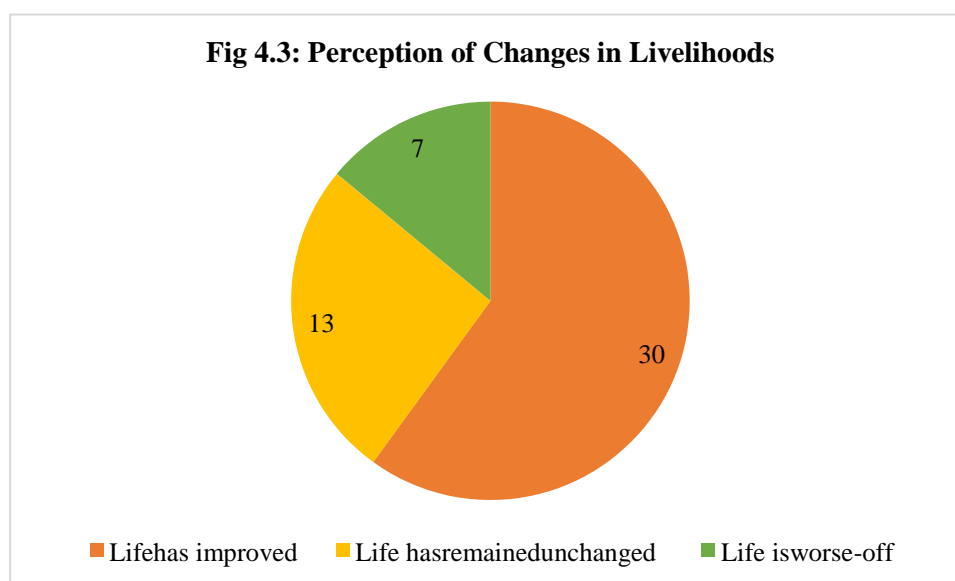
shops in their own village as well as other villages. Some Gujjar Bakarwals have shops in *Mendhartown*.

The settlement of Gujjar Bakarwals has had a different effect on different people within the community in the Gurshai village as explained in Table 4.5. For some people, life in the new area has become better, while life has become worse for others. In Gurshai village less than 14 % of interviews said their livelihoods deteriorated, while 26 % believed that their livestock had not changed. Also, 60 % of the interviews think their lives have improved. These differences can be explained in relation to the availability of various resources in the settlement area of the new village and the position of the settlement area relative to the road and the citycenter.

Table 4.5: PRECEPTION OF CHANGES IN LIVELIHOODS

	Frequency	Percent
Life has improved	30	60.0
Life has remained unchanged	13	26.0
Life is worse-off	7	14.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*



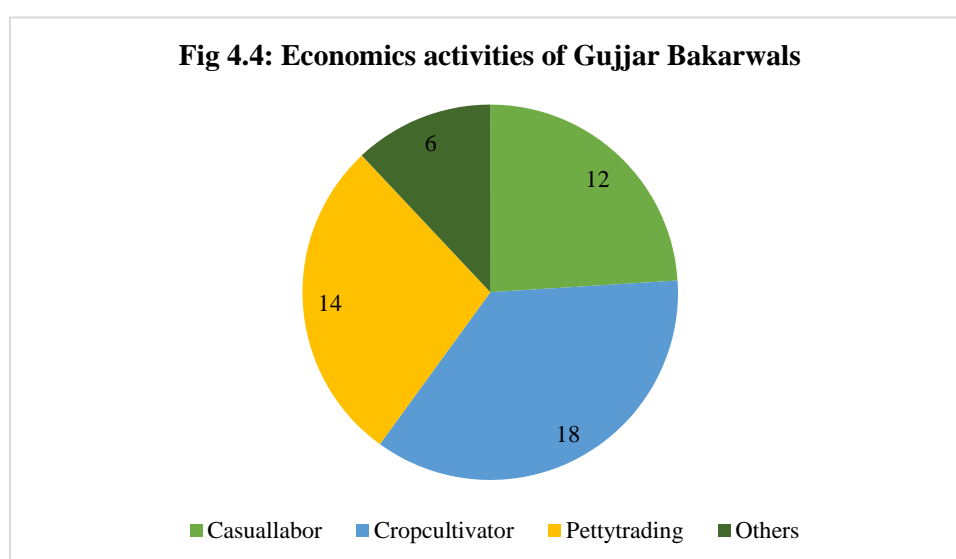
Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

Another way to examine the changes in the Gujjar Bakarwals strategy is to detect changes in the necessary activities of subsistence. The settlement process necessitates the Gujjar Bakarwals' families to adopt to new economic activities. In the telephonic survey, almost all the Gujjar Bakarwals believed that the nature of the economic activities they're engaged in had changed. There was a need for initiating new economic activities as well as providing extensions to some previously implemented activities. One of the most important changes in the livelihood pattern in newly settled areas is the adoption of petty trading. As shown in Table 4.6, this is particularly evident in *Gurshai* Village, which is close to *Mendhar* and *Poonch* townships. Similarly, most Gujjar Bakarwals in *Gurshai* village use crop cultivation as a basic economic activity.

Table 4.6: ECONOMICS ACTIVITIES OF GUJJAR BAKARWALS

	Frequency	Percent
Casual labor	12	24.0
Crop cultivator	18	36.0
Petty trading	14	28.0
Others	6	12.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*



Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

For most Gujjar Bakarwals, crop cultivation is not completely unfamiliar. However, there are constraints with regard to the scale of production and the variety of crops grown. Respondents in *Gurshaivillage* show an increase in cultivation of agricultural crops. However, the methods that increased crop production are still very primitive as compared to modern agricultural practices. Most people, especially the poor, generally use their hands for cultivation of crops and do not use any chemical fertilizers on their fields. The Gujjar Bakarwals grow a wide range of crop such as wheat, beans and maize.

Table 4.7: Change in occupational pattern

Change in occupation	Parental occupation	Occupation
Pastoral	41 (82%)	33 (66%)
Farmer	14 (28%)	24 (48%)
Domestic Labor	24 (48%)	39 (78%)
Govt. Employ	02 (4.0%)	09 (18%)
Any other	29 (58%)	37 (74%)

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

Table 4.7 show the changes in Gujjar Bakarwals occupation style. The table above shows that most of the interviewees parental occupational is pastorals work (82 %), while only 4 % of the interviewed parent were in the government service. The table above also show the occupation of the interviewees, because it has been observed that 78 % or the majority of the interviewees are engaged in domestic work, while 18% of the interviewees are in government service. The following table shows the changes that have been taking place day by day due to modernization and the transition of the Gujjar Bakarwals practicing traditional occupation from grazing and pastoralism to sedenterization.

Table 4.8: Distribution of Households by having each of Specified Assets

Assets	Frequency	Percentage
Chair	44	88.0
Furniture	45	90.0
Bed	47	94.0
Table	47	94.0
Watch	47	94.0
Electric Fan	19	38.0
T. V	7	14.0
Specify	32	64.0
Almira	25	50.0

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

A number of special assets can improve the standard of livings, as these assets have the ability to be owned and possessed directly by people. These assets include chairs, furniture, beds, tables, watch, electric fan, TV, specify Alimera. Table 4.8 shows that only 14% of interviewees owned TV sets, with the highest number of interviewees having access to bed, table and watch with 94.0 % followed by electric fan at 38.0%. This suggests that the Gujjar Bakarwals may not be highly educated but they still maintain a decent standard of living and are amenable to social changes.

Ownership of the land among the GujjarBakarwals

The fact that the Gujjar Bakarwals are nomads means that they did not initially own any landed property. However, after going through the sedentarization process, they began to own land and owned property according to the family's economic standards. The following table lists shown in the below table 4.9 the pattern of land ownership found among the Gujjar Bakarwals people in the *Gursahivillage*.

**Table 4.9: Ownership of the land among the Gujjar Bakarwals in the
*Gursahivillage***

Size of land holdings (in Kanal)	Frequency	Percent
1-5 KANAL	23	46.0
6-10 KANAL	13	26.0
11-15 KANAL	9	18.0
16-20 KANAL	5	10.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

After sedenterization, agriculture is the main occupation of the Gujjar Bakarwals people. The ownership of land for agriculture, however, is dependent directly on the economic level or household purchasing power. The greater the economic level, the greater the chance of ownership of the land. Since most people of the Gujjar Bakarwals are poor, they practice marginal agriculture and have small land holdings. The majority (46.0 %) of the population in the *Gursahivillage* are small and marginal farmers who own less than one *Kanal* to five *Kanals* of agriculture land. Only 10 % of the population owns more than 16-20 *kanals* of large agriculture land.

Changes in the social and economic structure of the Gujjar Bakarwals

The community of the Gujjar Bakarwals traditionally has been a pastoral one, with people's lives dependent upon the herd and its products. The goal of every family is to raise as many flocks as possible. This desire to possess a large number of sheep and goats is due to several factors. Sheep and Goats are considered a sign of wealth and the social status of a man depends on the size of his flock. The Gujjar Bakarwals make use of their animals' herd for the payment of bride-price. Before the wedding ceremony takes place, the bridegroom's family needs to ensure that they possess

enough livestock in order to pay the bride-price. A large number of herds are also kept as an economic protection against natural disasters, assuming that the more livestock a man had, the larger the number of people who are likely to survive a bad year. This desire to build large herds and differences in pastoral wealth are the main factors determining the higher or lower position of the household in the community (Henny, 1998). Social hierarchy is institutionalized using the strength of the herd and ownership of other livestock assets by a family which eventually leads to social and economic inequality.

Asset formation has played an important role in the structural change in Gujjar Bakarwals community. In this process, with the passage of time, superstructures with norms, values and traditions emerged. The structure further affected the status of individual and group in the social hierarchy of Gujjar Bakarwals community. Higher wealth is related to the combination of additional power and prestige or new social values and norms. It dominates the social change process and also connects the lives of the members of Gujjar Bakarwals community.

The relative strength of the herd and the ownership of different amounts of other livestock wealth have led to economic stratification. According to the strength and social position, (Khatana, 1992) classified the Gujjar Bakarwals community into four classes they are *Maldar*(Rich), *Khatopeato*(Middle), *Garib* (Poor) and *GavaGojra*(Marginal).

However, after the process of sedentarization, the entire situation has changed and the cash economy has started being highly valued. Households with higher income sources are associated with higher social position. Households with greater flock size during the period of trans-humans have sufficient opportunities to achieve higher

social position after the settlement process. This was also observed during the telephonic survey. However, in some cases, a poor household has undergone upward mobility and, in others, a wealthy household has shown a downward mobility after adopting the process of sedentarization. Two case studies conducted during the telephonic survey can further explain this phenomenon.

Case study 1: Mohd Aslam, 55-year-old Bakarwals belong to the *phambraKafila*. In 1990 he had only 45 cattle (sheep and goats) and three horses. Therefore, he did not have enough opportunities to support a family of seven – his wife and father, with four children. Therefore, he had to work as a contract labourer in order to support his family. In 1991, he sold livestock (sheep and goats) and brought 4 *Kanals* of land to settle in *Gursahi* village. They have three sons and a daughter. The eldest son joined the military, and one amongst the other two began working as a road labourer in *Mendhar*. A few years later, the youngest child also began a tea shop in *Mendhar*. Now, after almost three decades, he is in higher esteem and lives a very comfortable life compared to peers who still live as fringeherders.

2nd Case study: 40-year-old Nazeer Hussain belongs to Bania *Kafila*. In 2000, he bought the inheritance of 350 livestock and eight *kanals* of land from his father. He is from a family that is considered to belong to a very high social position. His father was a part of the convoy of *Mukadam* and is well respected. His father had a herd size of over 900, so he is economically very strong. Nazeer has three other brothers. When he separated from his family in 2000, he received about 350 cattle (sheep and Goats) from his father's herd as well as some land in the village of *Gursahi*. He settled there and decided to sell a part of his herd to start a small business (of wood) but he could not do much in this regard, so he sold the rest of the herd and opened a small shop in

the village. So far, this is his only source of income which is very little. He, therefore, belongs to the lower stratum in the village.

Sedentarization and Social Differentiation

In general, sedentarization has brought about overall transformation in the socio-economic condition of trans-humans. Human capital represents the knowledge, skills, labor abilities and good health that enable people to pursue and achieve various livelihood strategies. Domestically, human capital is a factor that determines the quantity and quality of available labor. It depends on family size, skill levels and health status (DFID, 1997).

There is no formal education in the majority of the population of adult Gujjar Bakarwals in *Gursahivillage*. However, most of the interviewees were first-generation learners and have been provided with the highest opportunity to participate in primary education. Now, most Gujjar Bakarwals children are going to school. Because of their sedentary lives, these achievements are possible.

Table 4.10: Feeding for the sheep and cattle

	Feed the flock	Animal for grazing in pasture	Involved in the processing of the wool
Son	5 (10.0%)	5 (10.0%)	5 (10.0%)
Self	11 (22.0%)	11 (22.0%)	11 (22.0%)
Any one of the family members	30 (60.0%)	30 (60.0%)	30 (60.0%)
Servant	4 (8.0%)	4 (8.0%)	4 (8.0%)
Total	50 (100.0%)	50 (100.0%)	50 (100.0%)

Source: *Telephonic Interview, 2020*

In terms of labor, human capital has undergone major changes. The wealthiest people among the Gujjar Bakarwals in *Gursahivillage* complained about the lack of labor, especially for herding. Telephonic data indicate that most young males in the *Gursahivillage* either engaged in non-pastoral activities or migrated to gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in search of work. This leads women and young girls to assume the task of grazing. The result is increased workload for women.

Marriage among the GujjarBakarwals

Marriage is traditionally a long, drawn-out process among Gujjar Bakarwals. The several elements found in the traditional marriage process in Gujjar Bakarwals are:

1. Engagement promise(*Lafaz*)
2. Engagement(*Manganai*)
3. The promised to wed when all the dues have been paid(*Al-akkad*)
4. Stamped Nika at the wedding(*Baya*)
5. The 1st departure of the bride for her husband's house for one week(*Ruksati*)
6. The bride returns to her parents as a virgin(*Satmon*)
7. The bride eventually returns to the groom(*Duphera*)
8. The ceremony ends at the end of the marriage, providing the bride with a chance to visit her birth home in the future(*Sagan*)

The Wedding ceremonies in the Gujjar Bakarwals last for two to four days, depending on the Gujjar Bakarwals family's financial situation. Even though all days come under the term marriage, this term is more particularly applicable to days when the marriage contract is read and the marriage contract is signed. The basic ceremonies last two days, after which there are additional days for festivals and joy. The first night of the two wedding days is called "*Mahindi-rat*". After performing this ritual,

other rituals of the first day are performed at the house of the bride and the groom. Basically, this ritual is a preparation and a sign of change in the first stage. The main reason for this change is the ritual of bathing which is given to the bride in the presence of her special close relatives and close friends. After the bath, the groom family sends new clothes, perfumes, ornaments and the bride wears these on that day. Although similar, it does not seem so complicated, the bathing and dressing ceremonies are held in the groom's house. After the ritual bath, the groom is shaved by an expert hairdresser. Later, one of his friend is selected by the groom as a special friend (Dost) to help him dress (weddingturban/pag).

Changes and continuity of the marriage system among the Gujjar Bakarwals

Over time and the result of the sedentary process, some changes have been seen in the marriage system among the Gujjar Bakarwals. The change in some key components is shown as follows:

1. A change in the time period between *Mangnai*(courtship/engagement) and the actual completion of *Ruksati*(Marriage).

Muhammad Riaz Poswal, 46 years old, was engaged in Autumn 1984 at the age of 15, but his father passed away the same year. The marriage was postponed for seven years. He was unable to pay Mehar in full because his father borrowed some loans, which Yaqoob repaid. As a result, his consequent marriage was postponed for nine years. Finally, in March 1993, they could hardly put together the necessary funds for the weddingceremony.

In some cases, the marriage was also postponed as Haji Palu, head of the *Gursahi* village said, because boys should establish a separate family after they get

married, and they cannot afford it. Under the circumstances, the marriage will be postponed for a period of time.

The average marriage age has increased after undergoing the process of sedentarization, and thus the period of difference between the engagement and marriage is gradually reduced. According to the telephonic survey of men aged 20 to 45 years regarding marriage after undergoing sedentarization process, maximum interviewees answered that the time between *Mangani*(engagement) and *Ruksati*(marriage) was less than two years. This change can be attributed to an increase in the age of wedding and improved economic conditions. The cultural influence of the local, non-tribal people of Kashmir cannot be ignored. Due to the increasing contacts among the two groups, these tribes have adopted some part of Kashmiriculture.

2. Ending the tradition of lifting the stone (*Bodokar*) and *Taman* ritual of Gujjar Bakarwals.

Bodokaris a most important part of the traditional marriage in Gujjar Bakarwals, and since the last few years, Gujjar Bakarwals no longer continue this practice. The younger generations do not like this, and they are now associated with humiliating the groom by asking them to do the stone lifting. Over the past 10 years, the married people among the Gujjar Bakarwals have replied in the telephone interview that they did not follow this tradition, and many even recalled that the bride family had decided this ritual would never be enforced.

Shahzad, 25 years old, got married in 2012. He insisted that such practice would not be adopted in order to obtain his wife. However, his cousin, by challenging him to lift the stone and making fun of his reluctance to do so, imparted a great insult to the groom and his contingent.

Likewise, another ritual known as *Taman* has now been abandoned. In this ritual, the members of the contingent that accompanies the groom are stopped near the bride's house and are asked to take down *Taman*, an object attached to a cloth hanging from a long stick. The men accompanying the groom must bring down the *Taman* with stones and sticks. This ceremony has also been abandoned because it has been regarded as a sign of disrespect to the groom and his coterie.

3. Serving *Wazwan* at the Marriage of the Gujjar Bakarwals *Wazwan* is a multi-tiered delicacy of Kashmiri cuisine, and its preparation is an art and a source of pride in Kashmiri culture and identity. Almost all dishes are based on lamb or chicken. Most important dishes are *Rogan Josh*, *Kebab*, *Resta*, *Tabak maz*, *Korma*, *Gushtaba*, *Yakhni* etc. This is an important part of Kashmiri wedding. Due to the spread of culture, Gujjar Bakarwals has adopted the practice of providing guests with *Wazwan* at marriage rituals in recent years. Earlier, Gujjar Bakarwals used to serve simple two or three dishes at weddings but now it is norm to provide *Wazwan* to all guests, especially for the upper-class people. People of the lower class must at least prepare these dishes for the groom party, if not for all the guests.

Changes in the political organization among the Gujjar Bakarwals (*Zirga/kachari*)

Gujjar Bakarwals traditionally had a well-established *Jirga* system, which is an important political organization of the Gujjar Bakarwals community. The entire Gujjar Bakarwals does not have a loyal *Jirga*, but each convoy had its own *Jirga*. It is led by *Mukdam/Lambardar*. Generally, the most senior member of the Gujjar Bakarwals community, usually with personal qualities such as truth, honesty, fairness and justice, is chosen as *Mukadam*. *Mukadam*'s position is not always necessarily

inherited. However, if a *Mukadam*'s son is considered to have his father's qualities, then when the father passes away or is too old to perform his duties, the son is likely to be recognized as his father's successor. In terms of power and authority in the Gujjar Bakarwals community, *Mukadamis* followed by *Kherpanch*. By comparison, *Kharpanch* has a younger age than *Mukadam*, usually in his forties. Among the Gujjar Bakarwals, a *Kherpanch* is followed by the *Sargarda* and according to tradition in the Gujjar Bakarwals, he is considered to be the high-ranking one. To achieve *Sargarda* status, a man must be able to perceive the welfare of others and should be somewhere between about thirty and forty years old. For a man to be a leader at any stage of the power ladder in Gujjar Bakarwals community, a person must always exhibit certain characteristics for a period of time: he must be seen as theistic, fair and honest, sincere, enthusiastic, and equally caring for the poor and the interests of the rich make decisions fairly (Rao, 1998).

Following the introduction of the Panchayati Raj system in Jammu and Kashmir, the traditional political organization of the Gujjar Bakarwals community has undergone tremendous changes. Due to the forces unleashed by the new political system, the traditional power structures have been challenged. Currently, the Gujjar Bakarwals do not have a head, but they elect a group of *panches*. Without consulting other *panches*, the Sarpanch will not be able to make any decisions independently.

Panchayat is responsible for the general development of specific villages at the micro level. It is responsible for maintaining the village roads, electrification of homes, water pumps and other facilities belonging to the village.

Panchayat also plays an important role in passing judgments in several civil issues such as disputes over land and property, family disputes, and other social, economic

and cultural aspects. The people are full of confidence in the verdict of their Panchayats. Hardly any case goes to the District Magistrates court.

In conclusion, the social, economic, cultural and political system of the Gujjar Bakarwals are changing rapidly. The structure and function of the family as an institution has changed. As a primary feature of the Gujjar Bakarwals, the *Deraor* nuclear family is replaced by a common or extended family structure. The result of sedentarization in economic structure can be attributed to this change in family structure. Similarly, the wedding system has also changed. The traditional system of marriage between Gujjar Bakarwals is rapidly changing according to the marriage customs of Kashmiris. Various elements of Kashmiri wedding have been adopted by these tribes because of their cultural ties with non-tribal Kashmiri population. The Kashmiri *wazwanis* now an important element in the wedding of Gujjar Bakarwals. The political structure of the Gujjar Bakarwals community has also changed. The traditional Jirga system has now been replaced by the modern Panchayet system. Therefore, we can conclude that the social dimension of the Gujjar Bakarwals is undergoing transformation.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Transhumance are considered a response by herders to topographic and climatic constraints, with the purpose of protecting flocks and optimizing the use of pastures based on their climate tolerance. This potential results in an oscillation in space over time or a cyclic movement in a continuum of space time. The time scale of trans-humans may change with the long-term cycles spanning several years; the annual cycle or the daily cycle. The term “space” refers to the different spatial regions or areas covered by the trans-humans in a migration ecosystem. The term “continuity” refers to the interconnection of two coordinates such that if one knows the location of a group of trans-humans, they also know the time of the year and vice versa.

The Gujjar Bakarwals are mainly nomadic herders raising goat and sheep in the higher elevation areas of the Himalayas in the summer and spend the winter in the plains and hills of the Shivalik. The Gujjar Bakarwals have a plan and strategy to undertake these activities. Firstly, Gujjar Bakarwals plan the activities in four main time periods; winter, spring, summer, and autumn. Secondly, they move through space and plan activities in the winter pastures on migration routes and summer pastures. From December to mid-April, they stay on the outer foothills (winter pastures). They plan their activities in the region according to the winter season requirements. From late April to the first week of July, they migrated with their herds towards the alpine pasture of the Himalayas. During this period of time, they have traversed various terrains on their migration routes. Their movements are not only controlled by the passage of time but also adjusted their daily travel by crossing the space area according to the environmental conditions. From June to September, they

graze alpine pasture of the Greater Himalayas from fixed location, and the movements of trans-humans are controlled by the passage of time and the use of space. In October, they again return to winter destinations and reach the outer mountainous region by November by the same route of migration. This cycle repeats once a year.

In this mountainous area, the way of movement, dispersion and gathering depends on the distance between seasonal pastures. The migration of humans and animals takes place in a fixed manner every year, often involving a change in altitude, as well as a response to changes in temperature as well as to a change in precipitation (snowfall).

They are distributed over large areas during winter and summer. However, during the migration, they come from camp groups known as convoys (*Kafilas*). These convoy groups follow their assigned routes, which are fixed for the group in summer season for summer pastures and during winter for winter pastures. The convoy (*Kafilas*) groups arrange their migration according to specific timetable along these routes.

The study observed dendritic pattern of convoys during the annual migration cycle, revealing ways to prevent groups of pastures from depleting in different season of the year. Families are spread over large areas in the summer and winter representing the roots and leaves of the dendritic pattern. Due to the limited carrying capacity of pastures, the decentralized model has been fully developed and is constrained by accepting practices. However, it can be seen that what can considered the roots of the spring migration tree becomes the leaves of the autumn migration tree and vice versa.

The trunks of the tree are the areas, where concentration is imposed by topographic constraints over a single route or mountain pass both during the during spring and autumn migration. The valley in the middle and the Pir-Panjaj mountain range represents tree trunks in dendritic patterns. In places where the flow of convoys and

the movements of the marching groups is interrupted by physical and climatic factors such as steep and slippery slopes, rock avalanches, narrow valleys, snowfall, hailstorm, strong winds, rain, conflict over crop damage, animal theft, blood feud with the villagers, accident, etc. The people of the convoy proceed to cross the sides of the mountain together, which requires a very high level of mutual help and cooperation. The valleys of Kashmir and side valleys represents tree branches and sub-branches of the dendritic pattern. The convoy members are spread here over many paths and branch paths, allowing for scattering in space, but this is very limited over time as these constitute mobility areas and not for seasonal settings.

From this point of view, migration in spring and autumn has different spatial characteristics. In the case of spring migration intensification, it comes in the earlier stage, followed by a low degree of dispersion and a high degree of dispersion. However, in the case autumn migration, a higher degree of dispersion follows a lower degree of dispersion and finally a higher degree of concentration. This process results in dispersal of winter pastures.

The changes in the pattern of lifestyle of the Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir have been seen. For centuries, the trans-humans traditions of these Gujjar Bakarwals are now on the verge of ending. They are now gradually settling into the plain areas along traditional migratory routes in the side valleys of Kashmir as well as in some parts of Jammu. This study covers the sedentary Gujjar Bakarwals of Poonch district.

In the village where my research is based, the primary reason for sedentary (among other things) has been expressed in interviewing as the loss of pasture due to the government closure of forests and the infringement of forests land by the general public. They limited their access to pastures, negatively affected impacted their

ancient livestock practice. As a result, these Gujjar Bakarwals are forced to change their traditional profession, livelihoods patterns, lifestyle, and settle permanently. Similarly, the lack of basic amenities and facilities like food, healthcare, education etc. and the constant political instability in the Jammu and Kashmir, have forced these Gujjar Bakarwals to sedentary lifestyle.

As a result, sedentary, various social change among the Gujjar Bakarwals have been observed with the passage of time. A particularly among the Gujjar Bakarwals studied, especially the change in the dressing style of the young generation, the penetration of “Kashmiri” in the language and, most importantly, their aspiration for Kashmiri culture can be described as culture change, and changed in the economy. Improving infrastructure, especially the introduction of the new technology, can be placed in the category of social change. These and other changes also occur internally over a period of time.

Changes in the economic structure of Gujjar Bakarwals have led to changes in the social structure, and especially the change in beliefs and values system. The structure of the family has changed, and Gujjar Bakarwals family which was previously predominantly nuclear in structure has been changed to either a combined or extended type. Resulting in changes in gender specific roles in family and interracial relationships. A change in the Gujjar Bakarwals marriage system has also been witnessed. The various traditional rituals and practices related to marriage were abandoned and replaced by new practices and rituals transmitted from the Kashmiri culture.

The different dimensions of social change, as discussed in detail, speak of the entire method of social change is a very complex phenomenon. Therefore, just knowing and

discussing a small part of society doesn't really help exploring the true connections. The reason is that, as discussed in the context of the Gujjar Bakarwals people, all aspects of society and culture jointly defend the change on the levels of process, reality, thought, and ideology.

The methodology used to study dimensions of social change among the trans-humans and determine the sources and forces of various changes that have been discussed provide methodology to understanding and analyzing the topic of research. Therefore, the various techniques have been adopted that are discussed at the appropriate location. The first chapter sets the context for the study and introduces the important concepts in understanding the dissertation. It includes a description of the problem, the research objectives, description methods and techniques for datacollection.

Sedentarization understanding and the process is an important aspect of changes among the Gujjar Bakarwals as discussed in the fourth chapter. The chapter provides an overview of the impact of the sedentarization process among the Gujjar Bakarwals in the study village and examines the social change among them by providing data on livelihoods, economic activities, and social differentiation. This chapter provides an overview of the sedentarization process among the Gujjar Bakarwals in general and particularly gives insight into its impact on community members in the study village. This chapter is based on data collecting telephonic survey. It provides insight into understanding the impact of sedentarization on the Gujjar Bakarwals in the study village by providing data on livelihoods, economics activities, social discrimination differentials. Therefore, the analysis helps to understanding the social change process the Gujjar Bakarwals is going through.

The study describes in detail the ever- changing family, marriage and political organization systems in the Gujjar Bakarwals, and provides a contextual description of the social change process brought about by the sedentarization process on the social structure of the Gujjar Bakarwals. The changing aspects of the social economic pattern, economic structure, social organization, education of the Gujjar Bakarwals has also been discussed in detail.

The main findings of the study are summarized as follows:

1. In village settled near the city centers, the process of change is more pronounced. This is due to the fact that this village has more economic development opportunities and ways than other inland village and village far from the city center, and they have more cultural connections with local people.
2. Most of the Gujjar Bakarwals are satisfied with the changed livelihood patterns (from nomadic to sedentary life).
3. Today, most members of the Gujjar Bakarwals family are engaged in farming as a means of earning a living.
4. The change in the pattern of the economy has an impact on the distribution of gender-specific roles in the family and intergenerational relations.
5. The strategy of changing livelihoods changed the composition of the Gujjar Bakarwal communities.
6. Due to the interaction with local non-tribal people, the traditional ritual and customs of the Gujjar Bakarwals marriage changed.
7. The Panchayati Raj system replaced the traditional tribal council *Jirga*.

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