



Transhumance in Himalayas: Relationship between Occupations, Culture and Ecology

Keya Pandey⁵

Salz (1933) provides a discussion on the social activity 'occupation', which has various socio-cultural and economic dimensions in the modern society. He takes it to be a fact and refers to its evolution and history. **Walton (1933)** describes the economic organisation as a scheme of control and articulates the enterprises in an economic system. A system, which comprehends all usages and arrangements in a society. **Firth (1962)** provides an insight into the contributions of the German scholars towards the understanding of savage economic life. The article highlights the evolution of the economic anthropological studies. It underlines that though comparatively the economic aspect has been the last to receive attention from the anthropologist, yet in reality, it presents complex problems of vital concern for native welfare.

Firth (1929) has based his work on the theme of the problems of the economic aspect of life (especially primitive). He has examined the various institutions of the Maoris of New Zealand, who form an interesting example of environmental adjustment. **Majumdar (1937)** gives a clear narration of agriculture and allied activities as the economic basis of the Ho tribe and the hunting and fishing which occupy secondary but important position. It is a cultural study which emphasises upon the economic aspect and the associated policies and problems. The struggle with the natural set up & uncertain economy; the competition with another community are highlighted in the work as those factors which are beyond the control of Ho's.

Babe (1951) has given a detailed appraisal of Kamar economics. He observes the various economic patterns in the society from the efforts to arrange livelihood to the activities ascribed to an individual both based on age and the gender of the member. He comments that economic pursuits in this tribe are categorised and alien cultures have broken the virtual self-sufficiency of the tribe and is clearly visible in their concern for the present while they only minorly attend to futuristic approach. **Herskovits (1956)** specifically introduces the role of human economics - the associated shortcomings and the important aspects of simple societies and those of contemporary world. **Panda et al. (1977)** have discussed the complex network of economic relations with equally diverse activities from productive, distributive, managerial to those involving direct or indirect involvement. All categories of economic relationships being neither mutually exclusive nor parallel to one another.

⁵ Assistant professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Lucknow

Singh (1977) has presented a case study of Kodaku tribe in Madhya Pradesh, experiencing retrogressive change from food producers to gatherers. The author has observed the not so successful impact of various rehabilitation and development programs among the extremely poor people with hand to mouth economy. **Rizvi (1977)** has discussed the economy of hill Korwas of Surguja district, M.P. with the tables and statistics. **Torres (1978)** analyses the intricacies and aspects through cross-sectional data with a proper mention of various factors such as seasonal migration, commercialization etc. responsible as causes while others as by-products of the peasant populations' economic & demographic response to social changes and changes in rural economy.

Bliss et al. (1982) have studied the rural Indian markets. Their study aims at examining and developing theories relevant for the context of an Indian village. It suggests that the rural markets and the behaviour of those involved in them should be the centre of economic study in the poor countries. **Panda (1990)** considers his study to be a partly speculative exercise based on the attempt to reconstruct the past based on our experiences among the contemporary societies due to the non-availability of authentic information of that span of time. Without trying to speculate to present the exact chronology of events, he succeeds in highlighting the problems of tribal identity, tribal adjustment as also the rational attitude to be employed towards their problems. **Nag (1998)** has presented the economic study of the Baigas and the history of primitive economics.

Forsythe, Nancy et al. (2000) suggest the role of national and international agencies in assessing the part played by the gender issues like biases and inequalities in affecting the growth pace of the economic system. The study also declares that this is a burning issue for the contemporary studies.

Krishna (2002) provides a glimpse into the socio-economic set up of the various districts in Uttaranchal, India. The author makes valuable suggestions about the proper utilization of resources both natural & human. However, the absence of alternative economic opportunities resulting in out-migration of the population and the livelihood demands of the people in negative relation to their education leaves the reader wondering that in lieu of the ecological degradation & backward agrarian character of the state, is Uttaranchal economically viable?

MaUick (2003) has presented an analytical case study in a hill village of West Bengal describing how the traditional tribal occupations became a part of nationalized economy. The diverse factors responsible for economic hardships and those, which encourage the trend of, dispersed economic settlements.

Velayutham et al. (2005) have developed the concept of the translocal village as a subset of transnationalism to describe the highly circumscribed social relations that often emerge from small scale translocal rural villages. The author duo find the movement of the community in question interesting as the same in translocal practices is determined by a moral economy of obligations and responsibilities based on caste membership, which in turn is regulated by the gaze of fellow translocals.

Studies on Gaddis & other Himalayan Populations:

Khanka (1993) has presented a particularly documentative account in which the Kumaon Himalayas of the U.P. hills have been focused. The author attempts to examine the role of human resources & entrepreneurship in economic development in the hills with statistical figures and samples, which substantiate the significance of the effort.

Majumdar (1958) communicates the social attitudes of the various strata/groups in Indian villages especially those of North India. This book describes the silhouette of a village in U.P. highlighting the extent of social inequalities and demands of the customs during the

mid-20th century. **Shashi (1977)** has observed about the Gaddi tribe and various customs emphasising at the need for an encouraging but a patient and kind concern towards the simple people to enable them to adapt themselves to strange but promising modern ways.

Nag, **Aparajita (1988)** in her unpublished M.Phil report based on fieldwork explores the domain of tribal economy in Himachal Pradesh with the economic interactions and differences between the various H.P. tribes. The study is supplemented by adequate statistical figures. **Gillin (1996)** has presented the study of maladjustments within the various systems of a society. He mentions that the failure of the economic organisation in a society upsets the arrangements between the members in every aspect of their life and they are doomed to suffer the dilemma of unemployment.

Kishtwaria et al. (1998) has presented a study directed to determine to the impact of economic activities of Gaddi women. Market Alternative Individual Function Cost (MAIFC) methods, multiple regression method, purposive -cum- random sampling methods have been put to use.

Doshi et al. (2001) provide a well-structured presentation of the tribal economy. The study emphasises that the economic set up of a tribal society has various implications and that the former forms an integral part of the latter.

CULTURAL STUDIES

Knopf (1976) has discussed in a chapter that the resources required to support human life have to be obtained by application of wisdom and skills. **Yidarthi et al. (1976)** present the various researches carried out in the Himalayan region, thus it presents a good review of the various efforts put in by different agencies to review the Himalayan Anthropology. **Sharma (1992)** details the history of the Gaddi tribe in his unpublished fieldwork thesis. He has discussed their status as the Scheduled Tribe and has made observations about the impact of hanging world scenario on Gaddi tradition.

Sharma, et al. (1998) give a detailed account of the evolution of tribal studies; Himalayan anthropology, tribal ecology, present day ecological concerns and the social costs, which have to be borne by the forest dwellers. It also underscores the tribal predicament on the background of Thane forests-as a case study. **Sharma (1999) & (2001)** has made an attempt to trace the origin, history, and development of folk dances of Chamba. The author has also discussed the setback to the folk culture all over the country due to modern ways of life and the contemporary ways of these traditional styles being presented by new public and private vocational institutions. **Manna, Samita (2003)** has studied three tribes' viz., Lodhas, Munda, and Santhals from the border Bengal. She aims at highlighting that traditional wisdom and knowledge often restore the cultural heritage thus establishing the identity of the group. The impact of alternative and modern means on traditional medicine has also been emphasised upon. **Negi (2003)** deals with the traditional beliefs and customs being practiced in the central Himalayas. The study attempts to bring out the inherent environmental principles behind these practices.

Eisenstadt (2005) has tried to study the effects of modernity's cultural and political program on the conduction of collective identities. The author ponders on the approaches to realize social reconstruction and stresses the impact of transformation in the notion of modernities through social reform and social change for the expansion of society and civilization. **Ferrarotti (2005)** traces the process of encounter between Greco-Roman, Christian, and Islamic cultures, which have represented reciprocal interpenetration and interfertilisation in forms of ideas, values and have given birth to a rich cultural communication between the West & the East. **Kramvig (2005)** argues that there is a need for an opening up of concepts such as ethnicity and identity to encompass differences and

antagonisms, both analytically and politically. He presents the concept of ethnicity in mixed communities in the Arctic region as dynamic.

Ghurye (1961) argues that though caste is not occupational in origin, yet the dimensions of an analysis change when the context is that of Indian castes and Occupation. The author has made efforts to delineate the caste equations in an ancient Indian society with occupational valuation.

Singh, Nandita (1997) has based the study on fieldwork conducted in a Munda village in Khunti sub-division, Ranchi. The work is a description of an instance of exploitation within the tribe and throws light on the disillusionment that all land alienation is the handiwork of outsiders. It also exhumes the interpersonal conflicts resulting from it, finally suggesting alternatives for eradication of the problem.

Joshi, Gopa (1993) has set the focus of her study around the eight districts of Uttarakhand region of the Himalayas. She aims at studying the position of Bhotia women in this region the economy of which is conditioned by its geography, natural resources, climate.

Kapoor (1993) describes a picturesque account of the Gaddi customs, customary laws, the importance of the geophysical features of the area in framing the prevalent customs & practices. He concludes with a modern outlook providing helpful suggestions for securing the identity of the tribe. **Sharma, et al. (1997)** emphasizes on the fact that dress habits have relevance to the religious beliefs and faith of people. In this work, the costumes of the tribes like, Gaddi, Gujjar, and Pangwal have been described. **Verma (2002)** has given an account of the socio-cultural composition of Himachal Pradesh. **Handa (2005)** is a sincere effort to project the physiographic, ethnographic details of Bharmaur along with the socio-political scenario.

Bailey (1957) presents the study of Bisipara village in Orissa, eastern part of India. He describes this land-based economy from a sociological perspective. All together, it is a good effort displaying the various social aspects in their economic association to land and property. **Majumdar (1962)** has presented an outstanding piece of work. A monograph in its constitution, it clearly straightens out the various socio-economic and other cultural aspects among the Jaunsar-Bawar. He disentangles the various webs of a quality research and provides a lucid insight into the cultural set-up and the nuances of the activities. **Bradfield (1973)** has presented a good account of the economic cycle of the area with the social activities in a village of Black Mesa - a plateau between basins of the Little Colorado and the San-Juan rivers.

Vithal (1992) attempts to highlight the nomadic life of one of the primitive tribal groups- Chenchus. The study is accentuated on the primary data, case studies, and field observations. However, the socio-economic profile of the tribe in question along with census and other secondary data are given due credence in preparing this essay. He also tries to analyse the impact of rehabilitation programs launched by the government & hence the process of transformation because of various government schemes executed for their upliftment.

Monga, Anupama (1989) has discussed the status of Gaddi women in various socio-economic aspects of their life in her unpublished field work report. **Ghatak (1993)** has presented an ethnographic study of which all study villages are uni-ethnic. Bhoksas -a Patrilineal, immigrant tribe face various problems due to a transformed economy from a forest dwelling to an agricultural community. The author recommends their amelioration from an anthropological point of view. **Ahiuwalia (1998)** has tried to give deep insight into the backbone of the Himachal Pradesh economy, the various factors responsible to see it

bloom over the past years and the brief history of the state with some remarkable achievements.

ECOLOGY:

Majumdar (1944) has discussed the economy and social vigilance of various tribe's viz., Korwas, Tharus, and Khasa in U.P. **Firth (1956)** has provided an insight into the general relationship of environment to human behaviour. He has explored the material side of human life especially that of the 'primitives' and argues that their economic organisation is not the outcome of their material wants and individual efforts rather a socialized response.

Mohan (1959) has presented a study based on his field investigation made in systematically surveyed 10 villages of Sauria Pahariyas. The work is focused at the investigation of those aspects of their economy, which have had a lasting impact on the entire set up. He suggests that a proper implementation of government schemes may decrease the influence of Mahajans, which shall be for the better of the Pahariyas. **Sarkar (2003)** highlights the close-relationship of hunters and gatherers with the forest. The study is about the Birhor tribe known for their wandering habits and the famous monkey-hunt with forest ecology in the background. Birhors have developed a well-knit life in a particular cultural pattern. However, their dissociation with the forests later and the failure of government induced rehabilitation programs is a setback to the cultural traditions.

Bhasin, Veena (1988) has made an elaborate description of the various economic pursuits, importance of livestock, and the role of various members of the society in those activities. **Bhasin, Veena (1990)** highlights the interrelation between the health, settlement pattern, and lifestyle. The various physiographic, medical, and socio-cultural factors, which determine the afore-mentioned traits, have been discussed. The reader gains an insight as to how humans adjust, exploit, and adore their environment and how issues regarding health are not incidental but related to our habits and our habitat. **Kapoor (1993)** gauges the mobility forced upon the Bhotia traders by climate and the role of socio-economic factors determining the agglomerated type of settlement. The study emphasizes on the fact that since the Chinese occupation of Tibet, trade, which formed the main source of their livelihood, has come to an end, thus greatly influencing their practice of transhumance. **Raha et al. (1994)** have highlighted the various economic traditions in Himalayan geography. They have mentioned a few tribes as Bakerwals, Rajis etc. and have attempted to highlight the features of distinction prevalent between two groups of the same ethnic stock.

Gouri; Mudgal et al. (2004) present a study initiated for a research project. They explore the socio-economic groups in Himachal Pradesh; the present access to forestlands and development of forest goods and services and suggest certain measures for effective governance. **Jaglan et al. (2006)** have discussed that Gaddis have changed their traditional cropping pattern from local cultivars to remunerative crops. The study shows significant spatial variations in cropping pattern during the periods; 1974-'77 and 1998-2000. **Axxelby (2007)** looks at the effects of the state intervention on the contemporary workings of systems of common use and management of natural resources. Specifically he focuses on the case of nomadic Gaddi shepherds & official attempts to regulate their access to grazing pastures in the Indian Himalayas.

MulUn, Molly.H (1999) directly engages moral and political concerns about animals. The author looks at human-animal relationships in dynamic terms. **Kupsala, Saara & Tuomivaara, Salla (2005)** make an effort to map out a new research about the sociology of human-animal relations; the opportunities and challenges it offers to sociology and the key questions and theoretical approaches in this field. **MIGRATION**

Thurnwald (1933) gives a summarizing account of the most common types of nomadic practices. Not only are the types defined but also their lifestyle and the evolutionary process for the same is examined. **Kulischer (1962)** asserts that the migratory movements are essentially an outcome of the population pressure and the resources of the area. The latter factors are said to be directly related to one another. **Spencer (1970)** deals with the humanistic perspective of the phenomena of migration. **Prasartkul (1978)** has discussed migration as one of the components of population change, its implications in social and economic development regarding such population movements and population distribution for facilitating the socio-economic planning in the country. **Doshi (1990)** has discussed the ethnic aspects of tribal stratification of the Bhils of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan and the traditional Bhil concepts towards their social bonds and issues like migration etc. It is an attempt to highlight the historical origins of the tribal society. **Cliggett, Lisa (2000)** has very appropriately touched the social aspect of migration, the push and pull factors and the role of social structure along with the emotional responses liable for such a complex process.

Datta(2003) attempts to project the interrelationship between socio-economic factors and their role in inducing migratory phenomena. **ShivaaKumar(2003)** has aimed at highlighting the various factors exerting multifarious influence on not only the nature and extent of the migration process but also the problems such a process poses and the possible solutions or alternatives opted by the migrant substantiated by some concrete facts and observations.

Deshingkar, Priya & Grimm (2004) addresses internal voluntary migration for paid work. The paper does not include forced displacement and relocation of people or the nomadic livelihood systems, transhumant graziers. However, includes both permanent and temporary types of migration. The authors conclude that failure in understanding mobility and migrations results in proper implementation of policies and programs, which otherwise can help to maximize the benefits of multi-locational livelihood strategies.

Kwong; Putt, kuntaia-Lahiri & Samanta, Gopa; Rajan; LiangnUiu (2004) have studied the subject of migration in their respective fields. Their papers address the impact and changes following the process of migration on the working class; woman and children in particular. **Oseila, Filippo et al. (2004)** present 13 ethnographic studies of international and intra-national migration in South Asia. The work demonstrates the variety, complexity, and highly contextualized nature of cultures of migration. The outstanding feature of these studies compiled together is the thorough ethnographic and historical research conducted by the contributors. **Sabry, Tarik (2005)** explores the symbolic dimensions of emigration by enquiring into the relationship between emigration as asocial phenomenon in Morocco, and Moroccan popular culture. The article argues that emigration in Morocco is not an isolated social phenomenon, but a pervasive part of the make up of its popular culture.

Tucker (1986) discusses the role of British from 1850 until Independence in controlling and restricting grazing by Gaddi herds to foster natural regeneration of trees. The study assesses the establishment of Indian Forest Service, the tensions between peasants and shepherds which earlier arose out of the codification of British land tenure system and later again in the present time.

Bhasin, Veena (1996) has studied the various socio-cultural aspects of the three tribes Changpas of Ladakh, Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh & Bhutias of Sikkim. **Verma (1996)** has reported the significant phase of transition of the colourful Himalayan tribe Gaddi. He has lucidly covered all the facets of their socio-cultural and economic life. The study is not only an enriching experience for the reader but also shall help the administrators in contributing to the assimilation of various tribal communities in national mainstream. **Bora (1997)** projects a direct relation between the processes of characteristic high rural-urban male

dominated out-migration in the country especially the hill regions and the responsible geographical and human 'push factors'. **Hoon, Vineeta (1997)** considers the understanding of the livelihood-environment relationship to be indispensable and emphasizes the need for the study of different world communities with different strategies like transhumance and pastoralism as indigenous procedures for natural resource utilization and to combat untoward situations. **Chakravarty-Kaul, Minoti (1998)** maps the nature of customary usage on the pastoral commons. The study assesses the claims of the Gaddi shepherds to both horizontal & vertical access to pastoral resources in mountains and examines the relations between these institutions, human & natural ecology. **Seth (1998)** has made an attempt to analyse the interaction of various ecological factors in Alpine ecosystem. The study also establishes the need of scientific management of Alpine ecosystems with due reference to the grazing activities of the livestock owned by the transhumant or nomadic tribes dependent on the local environment.

Misri (2003) has discussed the considerable decline in the number of pastoral nomads with changing times. He has confined his study to Gaddi herders, who rear their livestock under a well-defined migratory system. He has discussed the considerable decline in the number of pastoral nomads with changing times.

Gaddis of Bharmaur live in the lap of nature which nourishes them and has blessed them generously with beauty, health and wealth.....wealth of livestock, of simple ambitions and of culture so distinct which not only has always invited attention of scholars and tourists but also has remained the hub of various activities. Those areas providing natural pastures, suitable environment for livestock- rearing have given rise to domestication of animals and to observe a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life. This is true in case of Gujjars, Bakerwals, Jadhs, Bhotias, Changpas, Sherdukpens^Y and Gaddis who with several other tribes have developed themselves into transhumant societies.

The main purpose of economic enquiry in the Gaddi community is not to assess their living standards on modern economic scale with a mere intention of providing figures to a statistical data. Rather it is intended towards the study of the volume and nature of production, the real incomes of the individuals and to adjudge those resources including the human labour, as a means to generate those incomes and hence to add meaning and significance to the concept of local 'standard of living' (economically better off). The field area Bharmaur is one of the notified tribal areas of the state and is largely inhabited by the Gaddi tribal community. Having a low resource base and fragile ecosystem, Bharmaur supports only 37,320 persons i.e., 20 persons/sq.km.⁷¹

GADDI OCCUPATIONS

The Gaddi economy is geared to the satisfaction of the basic fall into the broad category of production, consumption agro-pastoral economy since whatever they produce is generally consumed. This economy is based on mutual relations; this becomes even more important since they are a community which has adapted itself to various occupations. They practice mixed economy. According to a broad overview the economic pursuits of the community can be classified as- Agriculturists (inclusive of horticulturists, beekeepers, vegetable cultivators etc.), Pastoralists, Government servants. Businessmen. The artisan group is present in the area and Gaddis do interact with them but they are non-Gaddis Scheduled Caste groups. Hence, this economic category has been separately explained under

^Y The Sherdukpen are an ethnic group in Bomdila- the headquarters of West Kameng district in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. They are the Sherdukpen are agriculturists, although hunting and traditional fishing methods are practised as well. Using simple tools, both shifting and permanent farming methods are used, and livestock such as ponies, cows, goats, sheep, fowls and bullocks are kept. ⁷¹ Census of India, 2001

caste based economic pursuits (inclusive of Gaddi as well non-Gaddi population). The major occupational categories which are found in the study area have been mentioned in the below table.

GADDI OCCUPATIONS

S.No.	Name of the Occupation	Status of the Owner	
1.	Agriculture	Cultivator of land	
2.	Horticulture	Beekeepers & emerging Floriculturists	
3.	Vegetable Cultivation	Commercial Production	Growers and Sellers
		Production for Self Consumption	Growers and Consumers
4.	Pastoralism	'Mahlundi'	The Sheep master
		'Pohals'	Hired herdmen
5.	'Zamindaari' ⁷³	'Zamindars' i.e. owners of large plots of land supporting a mixed economy.	
6.	Government Job	Clerical and Class 4 employees and a few Class 1 officers.	
7.	Letting house on rent-cum agriculture	'Maalik-e-makaan' who let out rooms for rent and cultivate land.	
8.	Hotel business	Hoteliers who own small restaurants cum hotels.	
9.	Priest -hood-cum-shop keeping	Hereditary caretakers appointed for temple worship	
10.	Chela-ship	Gods men	

Agriculturists:

The people who till and plough the land for various crops. Few of them own sizeable land piece while still others may own a plot either just managing to fulfill the demands of a family or falling a little short. Mostly this category engages itself into other supplementary and better income generating pursuits. This, however, depends on the size of the family and the working force (it will be discussed in detail in the following chapter).

Pastoralists:

Mahlundi's

These sheep men are the owners of the livestock and are mostly engaged in rearing the animals. These farmers not only herd, guard and tend the sheep but also breed and raise the livestock. In pristine times these 'Mahlundi's' used to take their livestock to the pastures and came back to their homes only once in a year. They usually formed a group of three to four owners with a flock of around 250 to 300 sheep and goats. One or two male members were left at home to take care of the elderly people, women, and children. In those times since agricultural technology was not advanced as it is today and the terrain in Bharmaur was even much worse to rule out any dependence on agricultural produce it was only subsistence level. This change of interest is only a recent development.

Now-a-days, there is a decline in the pastoral interest among Gaddis. Most of the younger generation are either inclined towards service or towards business, however, in all the villages studied during the research work quite a few people mostly old can be found continuing the tradition. They are often accompanied by those young Gaddis either who to take up pastoralism or who could not be occupied with some gainful pursuit. These are all boys usually in the age -group of 13 to 16 years. Girls do not accompany the male members

⁷³ The term is being used in the local parlance.

of the family to the pastures. They stay with their animals and during bad weather; they take shelter under rocks or trees while animals are left in the open. When the 'Mahlundi's' are pre-occupied with some other activity, Now-a-days, they hire 'pohals' to take the animals to the pastures.

'Pohals'

These are hired herdsmen who go to the forests in the 'dhars' (the higher mountain ranges) with the livestock which they collect from all over the village, while coming back they bring firewood with them. They may be hired at any point of time when the livestock owner is busy with other activities. Sometimes those owners who have developed other business as well appoint the 'pohaT for given period of the year and the 'pohal' is expected to come twice or every month and provide fodder and salt to the animals and take them to the pastures.

For the service the 'pohals' are paid in cash or kind as per the agreement between the 'pohaf and the owner. Usually, they demand a few kilograms of maize and other grains individual per day, a few liters of milk from the goat or sheep, a woolen cloth 'paltu', pair of protective farmer's shoes and a blanket with two sheep, goats in addition to the payment in cash for the firewood. They ask for the 'pattu' and shoes with blanket because these are very important protective measures for them while they spend long time in pastures amid rains and snow. Gradually, these 'pohals' also develop a small herd of livestock from the animals they receive as a remuneration for their services. Thus, a new branch of 'Mahlundi's' come into existence and the practice goes on.

Government Job:

Gaddis have not confined themselves to their pristine engagements and are open for a job in the government department. Now-a-days, this trend has become much popular and it is expected that in near future the total population in government jobs may exceed the present percentage of population relying on the agriculture or pastoralism as a means of livelihood. This attraction towards government jobs is due to the prestige that is attached with it, the various incentives, good salary, and comfortable routine as compared to that of an agriculturist / pastoralist and the security for the later part of their life when they become old.

Horticulture:

Great many achievements have been made in this art of garden cultivation. The Horticulture Department of Bharmaur was established in the year 1996. This field offers great opportunities to the farmers as they not only make an alternative to overcome the losses in agriculture but also it generates greater money than the agricultural produces. Almost every Gaddi household owns big or small piece of land with minimum one to three trees to a maximum of 150 trees or above. Thus, the climate naturally is conducive for horticulture and the methods and technologies, which have been introduced by the government to enhance productivity and grow other food crops than apple, which is the favourite here. Bee keeping, extraction, processing of honey, floriculture and finally marketing the produce through the horticulture department is another potential source of better income and greater employment opportunities.

Vegetable Cultivators:

With congenial climatic and field conditions, cultivation of off-season vegetables is possible along with those which find an all the year round growth. However, these cultivators can be categorized as follows. Firstly, as those who produce vegetables for commercial purpose and transport them to the local markets. Secondly, there are some villages where vegetables are grown to mete put the demand for self-consumption. They

even offer to share their produce with those families, which do not have an appreciable produce.

Zamindars:

This category is different from the zamindars of the plains and the other parts of the country. The landlords of plains were the revenue farmers granted big land tracts by the Hindu Rajas and the Mughal Emperors *in lieu* of the services offered to the King and they later became the proprietors of the land and paid tax to the Government of British India.

In the present time, 'Zamindaari'⁷⁴ system is not in vogue, but when the Gaddi 'zamindars' are being mentioned it is with respect to the size of the land they hold and is distinct from the system mentioned above. Gaddi 'Zamindars' are the earliest settlers in the area. With the increasing demands of the family gradually, greater areas of land were acquired and cultivated. With limited arable land, those who possessed land in big measures became more influential over others. The governments concern arose with the increasing population, the development of tourism and hence the pressure on land. It attempted with land-ceiling programmes to consolidate the land holdings. As a result, the cultivators became the owners of land and those who already possessed bigger plots were called 'Zamindars'. Hence, Gaddi zamindars are those modern farmers who own big landholdings and cultivate their land through hired labourers using new techniques.

Although almost all castes and communities whether Scheduled or non- Scheduled hold big or small land pieces to support a living, yet in this study the emphasis is laid on the Gaddi landholders. The tenants are the poor Gaddis. The labourers from Nepal who come in search of job to make a living are also hired to clean and level the land. The members of a 'Zamindar' family are engaged in other pursuits since tenants do agricultural practices and the owners share the profit. With good money to spend, they can afford a better 'education and living standard that is why they occupy a place as the elite group among Gaddi families.

With enough money, bigger land holdings and a few members operating their own business they have also become resourceful and hence they often contest for the post of 'Pradhan' or 'up-Pradhan' (village Headman or Deputy Head man respectively). Those who win find a political base and in many cases for a few years, one or the other member held the post until they lose the elections.

Hoteliers and Landlords-cum Agriculturists:

There are many people who have constructed two to three storied restaurant-cum-hotels, which they get registered by the concerned government department. Those Gaddis who have big houses use a few rooms as rented accommodation. Usually these hotels and rooms are given to government servants who come on transfer, the tourists, pilgrims, and the excursion groups can be well accommodated in the Guesthouses. Although there are not too many hotels yet, the income generated through these hotels and guesthouses is much higher than that from agriculture or even the monthly salary of a government servant. This is not an exclusive business class rather many government servants (both retired and those in active service), agriculturists etc, have stepped into this mode of supplementing their income.

⁷⁴ Although Government of India has abolished the Zamindaari system, yet Gaddi people are still using this terminology, therefore, we have retained these terms.

Priests:

Due to the famous Mani-Mahesh procession, which is organized in the month of July-August during the Radha ashtami festival⁶ (the birth celebrations of Shri Radha ji -the beloved of Lord Krishna), the area has become a great tourist spot. There are about 95 Gaddi and non-Gaddi Brahman families in the area who have been engaged in the age-old practice of priest hood: worshipping and acting as a medium between the deities and the worshippers. They are remunerated for the service. These families have been offering their services since several generations. Now with the increasing number of priests, they have evolved a system of allotting shares in services and remuneration to each one of them. This rotatory system becomes more prominent during the Mani-Mahesh 'yatra' procession when there is a great influx of tourists and pilgrims.

One of the head priest reported that during a particular priest' duty in the temple whatever 'chadava'(offerings) is made to the lord shall belong to the priest and he shall be entitled for all cash and kind contributed by the pilgrims on that day at the time of his turn. Further, distant contributions can also be made through money orders in favour of the priest to whom they were the '*yajmans*' (clients) during their visit. The influential priests own several shops in the temple complex and these are run by the members of their family. They sell religious material, from books to beads; the pious '*raam-nami*' (cloth with the names of Lord Rama and mother Sita printed all over).

Now-a-days, they have also opened P.C.O's (Public Call Offices) and stationary divisions within the same shop in the temple premises. They own agricultural fields and can be said to be one of those groups in the area who are rich & influential. They do not pay tax because the income they make from temple service is undisclosed. The Government is well aware of the surplus riches these priests enjoy. To control an unreasonable pleasure in the name of religion, which tends to create unequal concentration of money in the community, a proposal has been introduced. This proposal recommends starting a trust to function as a controller of all income inflow and resources related to the temple shall be under its supervision. This is intended to prevent any misuse of the contributions made by the pilgrims. Concerned government departments will control membership of the trust⁷⁶.

SUBSIDIARY ACTIVITIES:

Agriculture and shepherding are the age-old practices, which carry universal acceptance amongst all irrespective of their caste. Agriculture still remains the chief component of the Gaddi economy and almost every caste-group owns land although, whether it is enough to make a living or just manages a subsistence level existence depends on the size and productivity of the land and also the size of the family the land supports. It was found during the study that those Gaddi families who own small plots of agricultural land grow small quantity of vegetables, cereals etc. It is sometimes sufficient for their consumption for large part of the year and sometimes when it is insufficient, they buy them along with ration from market. The money required for such transactions is generated from the subsidiary activities.

⁶ it begins from a temple complex named 'Chaurasi' after 84 shrines. 'Lingas' of yogis, now temples of a few minor and major deities have also been constructed in addition to the original 84.

SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

S.no	Occupational Status and Activities	
1	Shop keepers	They are general merchants, owners of Photo studios stationary shops, fast food restaurant, woollens etc.
2	Shop assistants	They help at government and private shops.
3	Pony owners	Who give ponies to transporters for hire.
4	'Baagwan' Orchard Guards	Hired care takers of the orchards
5	'mistri' Masons	They build houses.
6	'darjee' Tailors	They prepare different types of dresses
7	Labour	They help in miscellaneous jobs.
8	Poultry owners & fishermen	They keep poultry and sell fish.

The shops in the market area (both the Chaurasi bazaar and that near the Patti village) can be found adjacent to one another due to shortage of space. Hence, any big showrooms are absent. Working in proximity to one another, the owners have good relations. The fathers have opened most of the shops for their sons to establish them financially. The heads of the family (generally fathers) usually are affluent agriculturists or government servants or are priests in the 'Chaurasi' temple complex.

Most of the boys who run these shops have quit their studies and started earning after their tenth standard examinations. They now plan to continue as businesspersons and expand it later in other ventures. Only a few use the income from the shop as a pocket money to fund their studies and to support the family. They work as sellers and get their supplies of goods from such far off places like Simla, Pathankot, and Jalandhar

Shop Assistants:

These people are not necessarily Gaddi. They may come from any caste or community except those who work as 'pohals' and pastoralist because they do not have enough time to stay stationed for long and this job requires sedentary habit. These assistants can be of any age from as small as 10 years old boy to a youth of 25 years of age. This source of income helps them to support the earnings from the main occupations like agriculture. In case of government shops, a shop attendant is appointed on a monthly salary, who takes care of the shop, maintains an entry of the total transactions made. The government provides the entire supply requested by the attendant. Small Lorries and trucks are the most common means to transport the items. Sometimes, small quantity of articles are brought by the owner himself either on his private cab or by bus.

Pony Owners:

This is not a full time occupation in the real sense of the term. It is an extra source of income, which supplements their income from agricultural activities.

'Baagwan' Orchard Guard:

Those Gaddis who work as caretakers or guards for the orchards are called 'Baagwan'. Since the region has a wide fruit variety, most of the time the orchards are replete with the respective crops. There are many human and animal elements, which can harm orchards like Bear, thieves etc against whom the orchards are to be guarded. The 'Baagwans' are appointed by the owner of the land be it the Gaddi who owns it or the contractor who purchases the crop of a particular season. They are expected to prevent theft and damage to

the crop by any agency. Individually, the 'Baagwan' also owns some agricultural land, which is cultivated by his family members.

Mason / 'mistrf:

Gaddi and even the non-Gaddi usually built their own houses in the area due to the high rates of labour. When a house is under construction every body from the village tries to contribute his help in whichever capacity it is possible. The wooden houses have been in use since the olden times, but the 'Pucca' houses (made with bricks and cement) are preferred now- a- days, as these have become a social status symbol and can be constructed with the skilled masons deployed from the nearby Panchayat blocks. These 'masons' also have their agricultural lands and this is not a full time occupation.

Tailor:

There are both male and female tailors. Whosoever is interested may train the other members of the community. The customer provides all the cloth and other material required for the dress. They also have some agriculture land in their family

Labourer:

They are hired either by local contractors, 'zamindars'' or by government departments to execute the work of carrying the load on their back and transporting it to those places where vehicles cannot reach. Now-a-days, when there is loss in agriculture due to bad weather they prefer this occupation although very reluctantly.

Poultry owners & Fishermen:

They buy hens from the lower areas like Chamba, Pathankot and sell them either to those people who are interested in breeding the hens for eggs etc. or to those who are butchers and sell meat. Some of them catch fishes from 'Kharamukh' (the point which marks the confluence of 'buddhal nallah' with the river Ravi). These two subsidiary occupations are in their infancy. Their main occupation still remains to be agro-pastoral ism.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF GADDI CASTES

Although the Gaddi Brahmans and Rajput do not recognize them as a member of their community, yet the outsiders treat them as Gaddis since they live in the same area. The Gaddi Brahmans and Rajput do not use the term 'shudra' for the other castes which are considered to be 'Tow' rather they are referred to as 'chanals' (the impure or the unclean people) or 'bita' (low- born). During their summer residence in Bharmaur, they observe restrictions on caste-interactions like the Sippi, Rihara castes are not invited to participate in the marriage ceremonies or to interdine with the Brahmans and Rajput. While, during the winters they migrate to lower areas together and provide cooperation.

OCCUPATION OF GADDI CASTES

S.no	Occupational Groups	Caste ⁷⁸	Occupation
1	'mahlundi'	Gaddi Brahmin/Gaddi Rajput	These are 'owner-shepherds'.
2	'pohals'	Sippi	These are 'hired shepherds'
3	'chelas'	Sippi	Gods men
4 A)	'Purohit'	Brah mans	Members of a clean caste but are called 'achharaj' since they perform funeral rituals.
B)	Pundits	Brahmans	They perform the marriage ceremonies

			and organize 'dhams'(religious feasts)
5	'Pujaris'	Brahmans	These propitiate the village and caste deities.
6	Carpenters 'tarkhan'	Sippi	Craftsmen of wood.
7	Plough makers	Sippi	They are known as 'halia'.
8	Blacksmiths 'Lohar'	Sippi	Iron workers.
9	Gold smiths & Silversmiths 'Sunar'	Rihara	Craftsmen of gold and silver objects.
10	Musicians	Rihara	They play & make musical instruments.
		Sippi	Invited to play instruments only during some special occasions.
11	Magicians	Sippi	Practice black and white magic.
12	Basketeers 'dumna-damna'	Haadi	Prepare baskets.
		Rihara	Provide leaf plates for marriage feasts.
13	Weavers	Kolis/ Gaddi	Weave blankets and shawls.
14	Tailors	Any caste (mostly Gaddi)	Prepare dresses.
15	Barbers	Sippi	Cut hair.
16	Cobblers 'mochi'	Non-Gaddi	Make shoes.
18	Scavengers	Non-Gaddi	Serve municipality
19	Labourers	Sippi	Give manual labour in miscellaneous activities.
20	Local Money Lenders 'Mahajans'	Non -Gaddi	The traditional moneylenders

'MAHLUNDI': These are the 'Owner shepherds' and may be found in any caste. Anyone who owns a sizeable population of 50 or more livestock hires a 'pohal*' to manage it and to graze the animal.

'POHAL': These are the 'hired shepherds'. Earlier they used to migrate with the Rajput men. They were allowed to drink, eat and smoke with the Rajput while they were in the pastures. This interaction, however, was not possible within the village.

'CHELAS': Both 'pohals' and 'chelas' are invariably from the Sippi caste. These 'chelas' are said to be the gods men who act as a medium between the lord and the worshipper.

PUROHIT, 'PUNDITS', and 'PUJARIS': The 'charaj/ 'achharaj' Brahmins or 'purohit' are called upon to perform the cremation ceremonies and other funerary rites. The 'pundits' are those Brahmins who organize 'dhams' (the collective religious feasts) and other marriage

ceremonies. They charge their services in 'mans' and quintals (terms used for monetary rewards) The 'Pujaris' have already been discussed under the title 'priesthood' earlier.

Gold smiths & Silversmiths:

The Gaddis are very fond of jewellery and they do not need a special occasion to decorate themselves. Their gold and silver ornaments are expensive and heavy and do not just have a monetary value but also emotional, social and traditional importance. With the increasing interaction with the working groups of outsiders i.e. those who come to Bharmaur for only a few months annually as labourers to earn money, the number of thefts in Gaddi houses has also increased. This according to them is done by the outsiders. In order to lessen the frequency of such cases the Gaddi women in particular have become fond of the artificial sets which are available at almost negligible price when compared to the cost of their silver and gold ornaments which are now worn only occasionally. This, however, causes great loss to the silversmith community.

Musicians:

Among Gaddis, every function be it related to birth, marriage or any pilgrimage is accompanied by musical notes. Riharas of Goshan/ Goson village are famous in the area for their skill over the instruments. They prepare excellent flutes which is also an accessory of a Gaddi shepherd. Always a Sippi musician is invited in a Gaddi household to play an instrument in a wedding feast etc. Though no plausible reason could be provided for such a preference, yet it was said that it was an age-old tradition and due to the divine powers Lord Shiva bestowed upon the Sippis, their presence becomes auspicious.

Basketweavers:

Basketry is an exclusive art of Haadi /Haali. Usually, members in every community know small basket making but when there is a need for larger quantity, the Haadi's/ Haali are contacted for the supply of durable baskets against cash payment. They prepare various kinds of baskets, which are woven, coiled, & matted. Chief among them are 'Karandi', 'Chhabadi'.

However, the use of baskets has become very limited in the villages, which are situated near the market or roadside as compared to those, which are located lower in the valley near the Haadi hamlets. Firstly, the contemporary vessels made of metals like brass, copper and steel come in all shapes and sizes. Secondly, they last longer, their upkeep is easier. Also the 'Haadi' people have also started availing of the reservations in the Government jobs so their participation in basketry is gradually decreasing. The long or round leaf plates, which are used to feast the guests during a wedding or after 'dham' (the collective religious feast), are provided by the 'Riharas' of Guggu village. They are specialized in preparing these leaf plates.

Weavers: There is no separate caste as that of weavers in the Gaddi community. Hence, either the Kolis⁷⁹ who have come from other places or the Gaddi families themselves weave knit different items.

Cobblers, Tailors, Barbers & Scavengers:

A few cobblers were found in the market area, but they came from the plains and settled here. The tailors prepare different types of dresses for marriage; for chelas;

⁷⁹ Kolis are not considered Gaddi. They are the weaving caste described as a Scheduled caste and are found scattered in various hill areas of northern India. They are different from the caste tribe 'Koli' of western India of uncertain origin. They form the main part of inferior agricultural population of Gujarat. The latter also extend in Konkan and Deccan.

pohals common Gaddi coats and coats for people who work in Government offices. Most of the barbers in the area were Sippis, according to the local people the 'higher castes'

give a special status to Sippi people, hence it is the latter who are allowed to cut the hair and nail of their 'upper caste' clients. Gaddi people have a complete knowledge of the procedure regarding the preparation of pots and their polishing, smoothing, varnishing and finally their decoration. Now-a-days, municipal corporation has appointed sweepers to clean the roads, earlier the menial castes were made to clean the roads and the fields. All the washing in each household is done among Gaddis by the house-wife and the girls so no separate washer men caste is found. Thus, there is no separate caste of potters, washer men and scavengers among the Gaddis.

Labourers:

Earlier, due to rigid restrictions on caste-interactions only Sippis were allowed to work within the villages. However, now-a-days, at the first place Gaddis are not readily interested to work as labourers, but they may do so for a government project. On the other hand the members of the castes which are called the non-Gaddis or the so called 'low-castes' still prefer to work as contract labourers or wage labourers or as agricultural labourers. As agricultural labourers, they usually get money in return for their manual labour but sometimes they may be paid with a small share in agricultural produce.

'Mahajan' /Local money lender:

They are non-Gaddi local moneylenders and are in minority. Earlier the Gaddis used to mortgage their land, houses, or any other form of property to the local Mahajans at whatever rate the lender of money proposed. The Gaddis, although occasionally, even today go to these Mahajans, yet there is a growing number who use the banking facilities for the purpose. Further, there was not found any caste-based occupational specialization though there was enough inter-caste occupational interdependence evident. One factor that can be said to have played a major role in developing such a scenario is the geographical isolation the members of the community must have experienced during the initial years of their coming to Bharmaur and nearby areas. With the remotest means of communication and transport an immediate support and relief in various areas of interest section of the society learned the various arts of preparing items of daily use, various means of production etc. though to make it an occupation or not was up to their will and the circumstances that faced them.

This chapter introduces the economy of the Gaddi people of Bharmaur, who practice a mixed economy. They have been conferred the status of a Scheduled Tribe by the Constitution of India. There are certain special provisions made for them which the people have started benefiting from, hence their occupations broadly present a mosaic of agriculturists, pastoralists, government servants complemented by subsidiary activities as shop-keepers, tailors, orchard guards etc. Although caste-based occupational specialization is not the inherent feature of Gaddi community, yet a system of cooperation has become an identity of the people and caste both Gaddi as well as non-gaddi. This system is either based on reciprocating the kind of help or making payments in cash and kind.

The introduction of such an inter-caste occupational dependence can be attributed to the harsh climate and their seasonal movement both. Initially, when the pastoralists were in the pastures for most part of the year, their families were exclusively dependent for help and assistance, on their relatives & neighbours. Gradually, when other alternative means of livelihood by way of government efforts and culture-contact through print media, tourism etc seeped in this part of the country many others moved out in search of jobs and better education. Although they follow some of the caste prohibitions especially with regard to commensality, yet they consider it as their obligation to help each other in day-to-day activities as it is difficult to live in a harsh climate. Thus, this community of Gaddi people presents a profile of a tribal society with a well-adjusted economy with some stratified occupations.

REFERENCES

- Bliss, C.J. et al. 1982; *Palampur; The Economy of an Indian Village*, New Delhi; Delhi Oxford University Press.
- Firth, Raymond 1929; *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*; E.C; George Routledge & Sons Ltd.
- Firth, Raymond 1962; "Primitive Economics," *Britannica Encyclopedia*; Aylesbury & Slough; Hazel Watson & Viney Ltd.
- Forsythe, Nancy et al. 2000; "Gender Inequalities & Economic Growth: A Longitudinal Evaluation", *Economic Development & Cultural Change*, 48(3); The University Of Chicago Press.
- Herskovits, Melville..!. 1956; *Man & his Works*; New York; Alfred. A. Knopf Inc.
- Krishna, Sridhar 2002; "Economic Profile of Uttaranchal" in *Economic & Political Weekly*, XXXVII(19);Bombay; Sameeksha Trust Publication.
- Majumdar, D.N. 1937; *A Tribe in Transition*; Bombay; Longman Green & Co.Ltd
- Mallick, Ayub 2003; "Tribal Economy & its Patterns of Transformation at Kanksa in Burdwan district, West Bengal: Some Observations", *Man in India*, 83(1& 2);New Delhi; Sage Publications Pvt.Ltd.
- Nag, D.S. 1998; *Tribal Economy*; New Delhi; Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh.
- RizvL B.R. 1977; "The Hill Korwa-A Study in Ethno economy"-Ajit.K.Danda (*ed.y.Tribat Situation in Northeast Surguja*; Calcutta; The Pooran Press.
- Singh, Bageshwar 1977; "Gathering economy of Kodaku : A Case study"-Ajit.K.Danda (*ed.):Tribal Situation in North-East Surguja*; Calcutta; The Pooran Press.
- Salz, Arthur 1933; "Occupation", *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, XI-XII; New York; The MacMillan Company.
- Velayuthan, Selvaraj 2005; "Moral Economies of a Translocal Village : Obligation & Shame Among South Indian Transnational Migrants", *Sociological Abstracts*, (4); USA, Cambridge Scientific Abstracts.