



## Feeding the Tribal World of Gaddis: Anthropology of Agriculture

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### ABSTRACT

The economic importance of agriculture among the Gaddis is that it plays a main role in their subsistence level economy and they have made adjustments and modifications indigenous as well as modern to make maximum use of their land. Historical records show that during the days of Chamba being an erstwhile state all land belonged to the 'Raja' (ruler) of Chamba who gave the right to work on the land to the villagers (who were the commoners of his kingdom) to level it, to build retaining walls and to clear it of rocks, stones, weeds and trees. The individual could cultivate the tract only at the pleasure of the king. After Independence with the introduction of the concepts of ownership of land to the cultivator, the times have changed. There are no kings, no commoners. This is now a democratic country with the constitution proclaiming justice and equal opportunities to all but what remained unchanged was the approach towards agricultural technologies and the outlook towards the agriculturist. Over the years much has been done for the betterment of agriculture and the agriculturist.

**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 organization as a scheme of control and articulates the enterprises in an economic system. **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 emphasizes 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.

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**Herskovits (1956)** specifically introduces the role of human economics - the associated shortcomings and the important aspects of simple societies and those of contemporary world. **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.

**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 trans!ocalized 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.

### Land and the Gaddi

As regards Gaddi economy, it is important to have an insight into the relationship between a Gaddi and his land. Gaddis are small farmers and generally own up to 17 ft. to 18 ft. plots, not adequate to maintain a living. The field is usually fragmented into smaller plots.

The important field measurements are as follows:

<i>Gaddi measure of a piece of land</i>	<i>Common measure for a apiece of land</i>
1 acre	1bigha
1 acre	5 biswe
1 bigha (12 hectares)	25biswe

Sharma, 1999

12 kanaali =20 biswe; 'kanaali' is the smallest unit in the Gaddi agricultural jargon

However, it is not always the size of the field, which acts as a limiting factor for the proper and complete utilization of the land. There are a few restraints as follows:

#### **Natural aspects of Bharmaur-**

Bharmaur is situated in the Himalayan zone with fewer rains. The precipitation is mainly in the form of snow that remains for about 5 to 6 months. The southern aspect in which Bharmaur is located, has no moisture, less snowfall, less rainfall and hence less vegetation as compared to the northern aspect which has huge amount of moisture, good deep soil and great snowfall thus resulting in more vegetation. Above the height of 10,000 ft. lie the alpine pastures and further up are the rocky mountains. With good vegetation cover, the region supports livestock rearing. The slopes are not very suitable for cultivation of the land.

Terrace farming is an important example of permanent plough cultivation well adapted for hilly terrain. These terraces are formed of rocky soil as a result it is a tough job to level it. Further, whatever useful tillable soil is available is washed away during rains. To avoid this, *stonewall* of 4 ft. to 10 ft. height is erected at a few meters from the terraces. The distance and the height up to which the stone wall has to be erected depends on the number of fields. When the area receives rains, the soil and land erosion caused by the flush of water damages the fields so much that for the next cropping season it has to be worked upon again.

#### **Land Revenue**

There are 112 villages in Bharmaur tehsils of which 4 villages of the area of study viz, Sachuine, Dhadkautta, Gotru, Sawanpura were under the supervision of the Patwari who gave important information about the revenue history of the area along with the explanation of revenue procedure, the entries so made in detail. The Patwari and the Kanungo are authorised by the government to maintain a record of the land size and its respective holders in the entire area of their supervision which is known as '*halka*'. A revenue form is a list prepared out of short entries to highlight important information at a glance. According to the land laws a piece of land can be gifted to -

- a) Blood relatives (son's, daughters, brothers, sisters)
- b) The family priest (who is also a Gaddi) '*Kulpurohit*'.

The Attendancy Act, 1972 under section 104 makes it clear that the owner and the landholder cultivator were separate individuals. According to the Kanungo, later the cultivators of the land were considered to be the actual owners which, however, could not be implemented.

The details of the land and livestock are entered along with nine maps, which are known as '*shijra*' in the document called '*Hal kitab*'. However, in the present time only land record is mentioned and has only eight maps with the details of the total area, area cultivated, uncultivated area, and the total number of owners. The revenue is charged even if a land turns unproductive or barren i.e. '*banjar*'. The settlement officer fixes the revenue amount. In case a crop fails, the revenue amount to be deposited with the government shall incur loss to the farmer, so he may choose to surrender his land willingly to the government. Since there is no defined cause for the profit and loss from a land, no relief scheme has been planned but in case the crop fails due to a natural calamity, the revenue department is supposed to assess the nature of the loss and compensate them in accordance with the amount prescribed in the relief manual.

#### **Land Ceiling, Sale, and Purchase**

The ceiling on land size is a government motive to ensure equitable distribution of the cultivable plots of land among Gaddis. The sale and purchase of land in tribal areas is prohibited for the non-tribal population who, however, are allowed to set up their business

in the area but only as tenants. All kinds of sale and purchase of land in this area is registered in the revenue records and is usually associated with business activities (such as that related to hotels and restaurants) or as a rented accommodation (in private houses or guesthouses), the latter is the most preferred mode of income today.

It has been found that about 60% land in the area which values worth lakhs of rupees is now owned by Gaddis . The land is purchased at prices fixed by the government, which are revised every five years, and this, according to the local population, is said to be done in accordance with the law of the land but it largely confirms the share of government's profit. The Gaddi community members opine that they have been living in the area for past several years and it becomes their easementary right to use the land and forests in their region. Nevertheless, the government has started controlling the land economy by persuading them to accept the government's intervention as this will be beneficial to them since it will bring about an equitable distribution of land. Thus, all of them will have source for earning income.

Any action violating the law is punishable and hence they now have to seek prior permission for sale and purchase of land and the free use of some forests as well is prohibited without issuance of permits. According to them, in this way the government has started sharing the profits from the area.

In this context, the revision of land price every 5 years also reduces the possibility of the growth of the class of intermediaries who are interested in active land deals thus causing sudden price hikes and upsetting the economy. It was difficult during the course of this research work to make the better off members of this society to reveal the actual land size they own but it seems they try to bend the rules by employing pressure tactics, religious beliefs, and influence as a means.

Many small temples of local and popular deities were found constructed over the years in the name of some miraculous appearance of the lord from underneath the earth or in the name of appeasing a supernatural power. Once constructed these religious structures cannot be removed /demolished to utilize the area under it, these are erected not just to occupy the area, but they find multifaceted uses. The entire village very religiously devotes time, money and energy to construct them thus saving owners expenditure and adding to his popularity of one being bestowed with divine blessings to have discovered a religious icon near his/her place. Hence, be it for commercial purpose to popularise the structure as the one, a visit and donation to which fulfills all desires or be it personal, they can provide several reasons to justify their doing so. In this way for the ownership of land, they bend the rules and find a via media to remain in possession of excess land by constructing religious structures. The management of that area thus remains in their control. They exercise their politico-religious clout and economic power.

### **Recovery of Land**

Agriculture Recovery Act has authorised the Banks operating in the area and the Recovery Tehsildar to realise the loan on agriculture from a defaulter. The entire process has to be conducted without using force and any dispute in that matter shall be subjected to the honourable court for jurisdiction. If the bench presiding over the dispute issues orders to realise the property, it can be done through the 'auction' of the property or by confiscation '*kurki*'.

### **Importance of Land**

The importance of land is not just limited for housing or agriculture or to generate income, rather it plays an important role in confirming their status of being a Scheduled tribe. However, this cannot be generalized as in the case of the landowners of Hudsor village who are not listed as Scheduled Tribe despite the fact that they live in the Bharmaur region.

Though no specific reason could be suggested by the concerned authorities and the local population, yet a historical reason that seemed plausible for such an exclusion is that when in the past the area was declared as 'Scheduled Area' and the people as 'Scheduled Tribe', the priest families of the village Hudsor objected to consider themselves a 'tribe' fending pride in their high status.

Another reason can be that as these families do not put the title 'Gaddi' to their name hence, they have not been considered as a 'Scheduled Tribe'. However, now there is a change of scenario and interests. Having understood the importance and benefits associated with the ST status, the residents of the villages specially Hudsor and Ulansa are campaigning to get themselves registered as a Scheduled Tribe.

### TENANCY

Some of the Gaddis who are in government services and are transferred too often get lesser opportunity to look after their fields. Their children also are not available to assist since they study in schools away from Bharmaur. Hence, big landholders appoint tenants on their fields. This practice of sub-letting the field temporarily is called '*ghad per denain*' Gaddi language. The owner of the field, gets about half the share of the produce. After sowing the required quantity and quality of seeds, the sharing is made out of 'net produce'. This is beneficial to those in service as they sell their produce in their native places and bring money to the place of their stay and similarly to those who are always on the move i.e. the shepherds.

### FARMING

Being a hilly terrain, Bharmaur has less cultivable land area. In this context it can be quoted "Agriculture in H.P. means subsistence farming even so, it hardly suffices for the cultivars simple need working members of the land owners and tenants families pursued some subsidiary occupation to supplement the income from land. The scope for employment as agricultural labour being very little many of them have taken to rearing of sheep and goats."<sup>83</sup>

This is true among Gaddis as well. The marginal subsistence farmers particularly those in high altitude areas manage to be fully self-sufficient from agriculture for only about 2 to 6 months a year. Consequently, they rely on other livelihood strategies. The area is commonly replete with red and black soil. They practice dry terrace cultivation on steep hill slopes. Terracing makes plough agriculture possible by producing relatively level fields and minimizes erosion; it also enhances the productivity by conserving heat and moisture. Gaddi terms for the months of the year have been shown in the following table 1.1

**Table No 1.1 : NAMES OF GADDI MONTHS OF THE YEAR**

S.no.	Name of the month (English)	Name of the month (Hindi)	Name of the month (Gadiali)
1	January	Paush-Magh	<i>Paush-magh</i>
2	February	Magh-Phalgun	<i>Magh-phalgun</i>
3	March	Phalgun-Chaitra	<i>Phalgun-chaitra</i>
4	April	Chaitra-Vaisakh	<i>Chaitra-baisakh</i>

5	May	Vaisakh-Jyesth	<i>Baisakh-jeth</i>
6	June	Jyesth-Aashad	<i>Jeth-haad</i>
7	July	Aashad- Shraavan	<i>Haad-saund</i>
8	August	Shraavan-Bhadrapad	<i>Saund-bhaaru/bhadru</i>
9	September	Bhadrapad-Aashvin	<i>Bhadru-suj</i>
10	October	Aashvin-Kartik	<i>Suj-kaati</i>
11	November	Kartik-Margshrish	<i>Kaati-maghyar</i>
12	December	Margshrish-Paush	<i>Maghyar-pauh</i>

The agriculture is mainly rain fed. The sowing and harvesting periods vary with the variation in the altitude of the cultivated farms and the region has two distinct cropping seasons viz.

1- Summer crops- Commonly known as 'Kharif crops, these are called '*sairi*' in the Gaddi vernacular.

2- Winter crops- These are known as 'Rabi crops' and are called '*nihai*' in Gadiali. The sowing of summer crops i.e. Kharif /'*sairi*' in the region is done between the middle of April to the end of July and are harvested from October to November. The winter crops Rabi/ '*nihai*' is sown during September and October. The crops are harvested from late May to August. The region grows a variety of subtropical and temperate crops during these cropping seasons and some of them are very little known outside this agro-ecological region.

They experiment with the use of seeds. Before sowing them in the agriculture field they sow them in a small plot and use them only after the quality of seed satisfies them. The seeds are made available at subsidized rates to them by the State Agriculture Department at the government depots. They also procure seeds from the local traders who come usually from Chamba and nearby areas. Sometimes, the seeds of a previous crop, which performed well, are also stored to be used in the next cropping season.

**Table No 1.2 :Kharif and Rabi crops in Bharmaur-**

**KHARIF \* SAIRI'**

Activity	S.no.	Name of the crop		Botanical names of the crop
		English	Hindi /gadiali	
	1	Maize	Makka	<i>Zeamays</i>
	2	Tomato	Tamaater	<i>Lycopersiconescenlentiim</i>
	3	Potato	Aaloo	<i>Soianumtuberosum</i>
	4	Pumpkin	Kaddu/ sitaphal	<i>Curcurbitamoschata</i>
	5	Chilly	Talmirch /Pipdi	<i>Capsicum annum</i>
	6	Brinjal	Baigan/batta	<i>Lofanummelongena</i>

SOWING	7	Cabbage	Bandh gobi/pattagobhi	Brassies oleraccavar, Capitata
	8	Bottle Gourd	Lauki/gandoli	Laenariasiceraria
	9	Kidney bean	Raj man	Phaseolus vulgaris
	10	Black Mung Bean	Urd	Visnomuneo
	12	Mash Bean	'Moong'	Viana radiate
	13	French beans	'Faras bean'	Phaseolus vulgaris
	14	Underwood's spikemoss	'Seun'	SelaejnellaunderwoodiiHier on.
	15	Great millet	'Jowar'	Sorahum bicolor
	16	Bulrush/ spiked millet	'Bajra'	PermisetumTvphoides
	HARVESTING	17	'Ragi'	'Mundua'
18		Lady finger	Bhindt	Abelmoschusesculentus
19		Spinach	Palak	Spinaciaolerecea
20		Moth	Muth	Hvles lineate
21		Horsegram	Kulthi /Kulth	Dilichosbiflorus
22		Almond	Badaam	Prunusamvsdalus
23		Pear	Nashpati	Pvruscommunis
24		Apple	Seb	Malussvvespris
25		Plum	Aloobukara	Prunussalicina
26		Walnut	Akhrot	Jugiansnigra
27		Garlic	Lahsun	Allium tuberosum

**RABI 'NIHAI'**

Activity	S.no	Name of the crop		Scientific names of the crop
		English	Hindi/Gadiali	
SOWING	3	Wheat	Gehun /Gandam	Triticumaestivum
	2	Barley	Jau	HordeumVulaare

	3	<b>Onion</b>	<b>Piyaz/gandu</b>	Alh'umcepa
	4	<b>Garlic</b>	<b>Lahsun</b>	Allium tuberosum
	5	<b>'Auri'(saag)</b>		Bpinaciaoleracea
	6	<b>Mustard</b>	<b>'Sarson'</b>	Brassica campestris
	7	<b>Pea</b>	<b>Matar</b>	Vianaunsuiculata
<b>HARVESTING</b>	8	<b>Coriander</b>	<b>Dhaniya</b>	CoriandrumSativum
	9	<b>Gram</b>	<b>'Ghana'</b>	Cicerarietinum
	10	<b>Lentil</b>	<b>'Masoor'</b>	Lens culimaris

There is a wide variation between the months of sowing and harvesting the crops, which can be attributed to the variations in altitude and temperature. The traditional Kharif crops viz. 'Kodra' (*Paspalumscrobiculatum*): 'Chinae' (*Panicummiliaceum*): 'Bhrace' (*Fagopyrumesculentum*) grown during mid 1970's have now been replaced by cash crops mainly 'rajmah' and 'urd'. 'Kodra' etc. are now used as the coarse grains for home consumption since they do not provide enough profit. While, 'rajmah' and 'urd' fetch more money and have become more popular. The production of wheat cultivation has remained unchanged throughout. According to a study, which was conducted during the 1970's 1990's it, was found that wheat continues to occupy about one fourth of the total cropped area. However, maize cultivation in the region has declined slightly over this period. But the acreage of barley and other inferior cereals has declined significantly up to 10% and 9.08% respectively of the total cropped area in 1998-2001.

The Rabi crops outnumbered by the Kharif ones because by the time the sowing season for the former crops comes, there departure of Gaddis to lower areas is also scheduled since almost no agriculture is practiced due to heavy snowfall. The small field size in the rugged hilly terrain also restricts them. Hence, to make the maximum out of minimum they practice mixed farming and crop rotation.

**Table No 1.3 : CROPS IN MIXED FARMING:**

S.no	Name of the main crop		Name(in gadiaH)of the other crops
	English	Gadiali	
1	<b>Maize</b>	Makka	<i>Mah (pulse)</i>
2	<b>Maize</b>	Makka	<i>Rong;(pulse)</i> <i>Gandholif (vegetable)</i>
3	<b>Maize</b>	Makka	<i>Seun; French beans; Rong</i>
4	<b>Maize</b>	Makka	<i>Chaula</i>
5	<b>Mah</b>		<i>Chinae</i> <u>Panicum</u> <u>Miliaceum</u>
6	<b>Mah</b>		<i>Rong</i>
7	<b>Wheat</b>	Gandam	<i>Mah</i>
8	<b>Wheat</b>	Gandam	<i>Masoor</i>

- I. 'Chinae' followed by Wheat.
- II. Wheat followed by 'Chinae V 'PhullanV 'Bhrace' and 'Seun'.
- III. Maize followed by Wheat, Barley.
- IV. Maize followed by 'Masoor' (pulses).
- V. Barley followed by 'Mah'.

The influence of agro-climatic factors and accessibility on the cropping pattern is evident in the different areas of Bharmaur tehsil.

According to different studies on the agriculture and its produce in the area, the share of the pulses in the cropping pattern had started increasing since 1980V. By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, pulses (rajmah and urd) occupied about one fourth of total cropped area in the entire Bharmaur region. In its traditional cropping pattern, the share of non-food grain crops was negligible. Mainly during the two crop seasons, the change in the cropping pattern ensures the restoration of efficiency or the productive capacity of the field. As regards the mixed food crops, Gaddis prefer the combination of 'makka', 'mah', and 'rong' as the mixed crop as it offers maximum productivity and profit. Along the crop of Wheat, they also raise the crop of peas in the same field as coexistent or con-comittant crop.

### FARM ACTIVITY

#### Preparation of Field-

Every year stonewalls are constructed to protect erosion of soil. The numerous weeds etc. are cleared with the help of 'daraat' (sickle) and the earth is dug by 'kudaal' (iron-hoe). These grass and thorny weeds are spread over the entire field. On drying, they are burnt, as the ash so produced is believed to help in better growth and productivity of the crop.

#### MANURING

Now the field is manured with the cattle dung. The application of manure requires a lot of patience and hard work. The fields are best manured and cleared off the excrescences by the overnight grazing of the livestock.

In exchange of the service so offered the Shepherds (the 'pohals') are rewarded with some salt, grains (*jinus*) and sometimes the peasants help in transporting the '*chikka*' (i.e. the blankets, ropes etc. are carried by 'pohals' on their back) from one place to another but this service is possible only when there is adequate man-power in the peasants family. If the 'pohals' are not in the left having left for pastures, an alternative arrangement can be made by requesting the small flock owners in the village.

#### Types of Manuring

There are two types of manuring practices popular among the Gaddis. These have been depicted in the following table no 1.4.

**Table No 1.4: TYPES OF MANURE**

TRADITIONAL MANURE	S.No.	Name of the Manure
	1	Cattle dung manure
	2	Cattle dung manure mixed with foliage from leaves, grass and 'ash from hearth
	3	Cow dung manure mixed with urea for all types of fruits.

S.no	MODERN Fertilizers		
	Name of the Fertilizer	Name of the Crop	Time of application
1		Maize	March to April
2	123216 Super Phosphate	Potato	
3	Chan	Maize and Wheat	June to December
4	Newvon (poison to kill insects)	-	As and when required
5	Indofilm 45(A fertilizer mixed with Newvon)	Apple	

### TRADITIONAL MANURES-

In the traditional manuring system, usually the cattle dung is the chief component of manure, which finds an association with dried leaves, foliage in the fields and the 'chir' leaves, which are put in the cattle-byre. Apart from those practices mentioned in the table there is one peculiar Gaddi custom called '*Goth*' wherein the shepherds spend a night in the fields of the peasants whom they meet while enroute to pastures and also during their transhumance. The peasants provide salt, fodder for the animals, some clothes, grains, & food to the shepherds, who leave their '*dhan*' (popular Gaddi term for livestock) in the fields overnight when the animals graze and pass their waste clearing the weeds and providing natural manure to the soil. However, this cannot be a regular practice because it is only so when the shepherds pass through their fields and since in Bharmaur, there is a practice of grazing the livestock in the open, most of the dung and urine, which is possible to be used as manure, is wasted.

### MODERN FERTILIZERS-

About the government, induced programs to enhance use of the afore-mentioned manures it can be said that it is generally winning over the Gaddi confidence yet it needs to prove the potential so claimed of clearing weeds and pests and providing healthy crop.

### PLOUGHING

After manuring, the field is ploughed for the first time with a pair of ox. Usually fields in the area are small and located at slopes, the broad plots of land are very rarely found near the Gaddi houses. It was found during the study that those fields which lie in the proximity of a village are more productive and ploughing and manuring is also much convenient than elsewhere. This, however, could be attributed to the fact that frequent and easy visits are possible to these fields.

### First ploughing

The first ploughing is known as '*udhaarkarna*\Dxam%' the ploughing of the field the Gaddis keep scuffling and cleaning their fields. While, fields are readied they also arrange to assemble the parts of the plough '*haV*'. The material things and the shape and size of agricultural tools and implements required for other field works which the Gaddis use are not very uncommon among the people of other places all over the country, however, the nomenclature and cultural importance may show a different association in each society. The usual implements are sickle, types of iron-hoe ('*KudaaV*') etc.

### Second ploughing

Some of the Gaddi farmers believe that if a second ploughing is done before sowing the seeds, the fields will become more productive.

### SOWING

#### SOWING OF KHARIF CROPS:

By the month of April and May the first sowing is done for the crop of potato. By the end of the month in the period of 'baisa' maize is sown in the higher altitudes while, in the lower areas it is sown between May-June. This, however, is governed by the monsoon. A late monsoon delays the sowing of maize 'makka'. 'Rajmah' is a creeper and often it is sown along with maize since 'rajmah' grows and produces better. Sometimes, 'kakadf', bottle gourd ('gandol'), pumpkin ('kadoo') are also sown at the boundary of maize fields while 'bajarbhang' is sown at the boundary of a field of potato. Although potato, Seun, 'bajarbhang' may also be separately sown. After maize, Chinae ('chani') and 'Kodra' are sown. Mash / 'mah' i.e. urd is sown by the end of the month of 'jeth' i.e. end of May to the beginning of June. While, 'phullan' and 'bhrace' are sown in the last week of the month of 'haad' i.e. end of June -beginning of July.

#### SOWING OF RABI CROPS:

The crop of barley ('jau') takes a longer time to be ready for harvest and does not require pruning etc. The grains are ground to prepare 'sattu' (coarse flour) and fine flour of which chapattis are prepared. This flour is mixed with wheat flour to prepare 'berad' (a kind of thick chapatti). These grains are churned and a variety of local liquor is prepared. Although the crop of wheat takes longer time to be ready for harvest, yet it offers the maximum produce in Bharmaur and the Pangi area near it. The developed varieties of modern seeds are sown after a delay of few months but not in the areas of higher altitudes.

### PRUNING:

Pruning is an important step in the entire agricultural process. When the potato plant grows about two to three inches above the soil. The field is turned for the first time when the plants attain a height of up to 1 ft. it is covered with mud and the soil is turned for the second time. At this time, chemical fertilizers are applied in the field. The soil is turned twice for crops like Chinae, Mash/ mah while they do not prune the Phullan and Bhrace crops and even the soil is turned.

### HARVEST:

The period between the end of August and September is the prime for harvest. The potato crop is ready for harvest by this time and in the areas with a surplus maize production the corns are separated and left to dry over the roofs of the houses to preserve and store for winter consumption.

### Variety of cucumber

**Table No 1.5: Traditional Practices to Maintain Soil fertility**

S.n	Crop name	Month	Sown	Harvest
1	Wheat / Barley	October to November	+	
2	Wheat	June - July	-	+
3	Barley	May - June	-	+
4	Urd	June ~ July	+	-

5	Urd	October	-	+
Land is left fallow for some time especially for the period when gaddis migrate to lower areas. Only few fields are sown with winter wheat.				
6	Chinae, Chaula, Bhrace, Phullan, Kodra	June	+	-
	Chinae, Chaula, Bhrace, Phullan, Kodra	October- November	-	+
	Maize	April- May	+	-
9	Maize	October	-	+

#### FALLOWING

Due to regular and rigorous agricultural operations, the field potential in nourishing every crop equally is exhausted and it needs a proper rest period to reclaim its lost minerals and rejuvenate. Gaddis follow a very simple, traditional system of restoring the lost nutrients of the field and that is firstly, they follow mixed farming and rotate the crops in such a manner that between each sowing and harvest they get ample time to plough and manure the field. Secondly, between the winter and summer cropping season the land is left fallow for about 6 months since Gaddis are on a move and as the fields and pastures are covered by snow, there is enough time for the soil to gain the lost minerals and prepare itself for the next crop after the retreat of snow.

#### **Post - harvest**

The Gaddi people, whose fields yield good crops, assess their personal consumption need and if they find surplus produce, they prefer to sell it in the market either directly or through a '*thekedar*(contractor).

#### MODERN METHODS-

With the government intervention and consistent efforts to persuade them to use modern irrigational methods, the farmers of the villages lying in proximity to the market and the main road have agreed upon the proposal and new pipelines have been set from the main canals to the fields by the engineers. Although in villages like Malkhautta and Baadi which are situated at a higher altitude and closer to the springs '*kuhls*' are still in vogue and can be seen quite commonly. Though the '*kuhls*' lack the efficiency and approach of a water-pipe , yet having been prepared from wood these are biodegradable and their repair or replacement is easy unlike the water pipes which can only be tested and fixed by experts in plumbing.

#### MAIN CROPS

The major agricultural operations carried out during the Kharif and Rabi season is very important and has been mentioned in the table 1.6 and 1.7.

**Table No 1.6 : AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS -KHARIF**

Name of	Nature Of	Digging/	Sowing	Hand Weeding	Harvesting
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the crop	operation	Ploughing			
Kharif <b>MAIZE</b>	Turn	3 times	once	Once or twice	Once
	Duration	March /April	May /June	July/August	September/ October

Table No 1.7: AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS- RABI

Name of the crop	Nature Of operation	Digging/ Ploughing	Sowing	Hand Weeding	Harvesting and threshing
Rabi <b>WHEAT</b>	Turn	once	once	Not required	Once
	Duration	September /October	September /October	Not required	June/July

Wheat and Maize constitute the staple diet of Gaddis. Wheat is the prominent Rabi crop and after the first ploughing, no further scuffling of the field is required until the harvest. It provides highest produce. Maize is the leading Kharif crop for which field is ploughed thrice before sowing and during the showers in July-August.

Before the harvest, the field is manually weeded. However, not all crops require such a patient harvest. There are a few plants which can grow within a period of four weeks to two months as shown in the table 1.8

Table No 1.8: SHORT DURATION CULTIVARS-

Name of the crop	Duration
Carrot, radish, cucumber, bitter gourd, garlic, turnip	30 to 60 days
Coriander(can be grown in each crop season)	20 to 25 days

**IMPORTANT CROPS:**

There are a few crops, which are used as a multipurpose item and others which have different importance than others. These are listed as follows-

**Vegetables grown for**

<b>cattle</b>	<b>Pumpkin</b>
<b>Staple Gaddi diet</b>	<b>Wheat and Maize</b>
<b>Cash crop</b>	<b>Rajmah</b>

Pumpkin is grown as a vegetable to be provided as food to the animals while during, fasts it is cooked as a fruit for human intake. In this region 3 varieties of Rajmah are known which have been mentioned in the table 1.9

Table No 1.9: Varieties of Rajmah

S. no	Name of the variety	Colour	Size
1	Chitro. Kukti	White to light Brown	Medium

2	Local rajmah	Maroon	Small
3	Jwala	Maroon	Bigger than the other two.

Rajmah is the cash crop for the region and its proportion is higher in the lower areas of valley than the upper areas. The variety 'Jwala' is introduced in the region by the agricultural department. The agro-climatic conditions are congenial for the production of cash crops like off season vegetables, potato and ginger. The main vegetable grown in Bharmaur are mentioned in table no. 2.0-

**Table No 2.0: MAIN VEGETABLES IN BHARMAUR**

S.no	Name of the vegetable (English)	Name of the vegetable in gadiali	Name of the vegetable (Hindi)
1	Tomato	Tamaater	<i>Tamaater</i>
2	Potato	Aloo	<i>Aloo</i>
3	Pumpkin	Kadoo	<i>Kadoo</i>
4	Chilly	Pipdi/mirch	<i>Mirch</i>
5	Brinjal	Batta	<i>Baigan</i>
6	Peas	Matar	<i>Matar</i>
7	Cabbage	Pattagobhi	<i>Pattagobhi</i>
8	French beans	Faras bean	-
9	Gourd	Sandoti	<i>Lauki</i>
10	Turnip	Gugu!	<i>Shaljam</i>
11	Auri(saag)	-	-
12	Coriander	Dhaniya	<i>Dhaniya</i>
13	Mushroom	-	-
14	Lady finger	Bhindi	<i>Bhindi</i>
15	Radish	Mooli	<i>Mooli</i>
16	Carrot	Gajar	<i>Gajar</i>
17	Onion	Gandu	<i>Piyaz</i>

Vegetables which are widely cultivated and those which have a narrow area of cultivation are as follows-

S.no	By all	By a few
1	Tomato	Auri

2	Potato	French beans
3	Pumpkin	Peas
4	Chilly	Radish
5	Gourd	Carrot
6	Cabbage	Mushroom
7	Sarson(mustard)	Lady finger
8	-	Turnip

Rice, Wheat and Maize are the important cereal crops and the other members of the group have been shown in table 2.1.

**Table No 2.1 Cereals Cultivated**

S.no	By All	By a Few
1	Rajmah	Barley
2	Urd	Gram
3	Kulth	Chaula
4	Ramdana	Phullan
5	Maize	Methi
6	Moong	-
7	Chakor	-
8	Kodra	-
9	Masoor	-
10	Wheat	-

Crops, which are largely preferred for cultivation are Chaula, Seun, Chakor. The seeds of Chaula and Seun are separated from the husk and dried to form '*lados*\*' [small balls mixed with 'ghee' (clarified butter) to be consumed during fasts.] Chakor is used to prepare the local brew '*sur*', consumed by males above 40 years and females above 80 years of age. No particular reason could be assigned for such a prescribed age limit. Crops cultivated on large scale by a few are 'Phullan', 'Kesar' (saffron).

Phullan is sold to traders from Jalandhar, who then use it to prepare bread and biscuit. Kesar is not cultivated now a days since, not only does it need time and labour, but also is too expensive. The Agricultural Department introduced it at subsidised rates at about 50% of the market price. Like any other part in the country, there are limits of increasing the agricultural production through expansion of cultivable land in Himachal Pradesh as well. In Bharmaur a few varieties of crops which could sustain themselves in the harsh conditions and provide better production are mentioned in table 2.2 as follows-

**Table No 2.2: Crops introduced by Agriculture Department**

S.no	Name of the crop	Year of Introduction
1	Pea	1995
2	Cabbage	1984-1985
3	Chilly	1984-1985
4	Brinjal	1984-1985
5	Tomato	1984-1985
6	Onion	1984-1985
7	Garlic	1984-1985

### **DIVISION OF LABOUR**

Labour is not readily available in Gaddi society since everybody is engaged in the various agricultural and pastoral activities along with other occupations. Hence, to compensate this limitation of labourers, the members of each household help their co-villagers in one or the other activity. However, the physiological factors like, age, sex govern the task to be allotted. This has been separately mentioned in the categories as under-

#### **AGRICULTURE:**

All members of a family work in their field and the sons sow the seeds. The head/eldest male of the family harvests the crops which he properly arranges in bundles called '*khundu*'. These bundles are then carried back home by his wife or the eldest female, who also brings food for the members working on the field. Girls of the family, usually are not engaged on the field, yet at times they can be asked to clear the fields of the weeds with their friends or the younger siblings. However, there are certain prohibitions for women. The males exclusively do ploughing and harvesting of crop. During the period of menstruation the women are considered unclean and are prohibited from even touching the plough or crossing an unharvested field as these are supposed to loose their productivity.

#### **Reward for Labour-**

In earlier times, these people used to give the corn in exchange of work. Now- a-days, they give money in exchange of services to non-members of the family. Everybody cooperates since this activity is governed by the principle of reciprocity. They cooperate with one another to make the exchange of manual service among themselves easily available and thus encourage the practice of discharging the mutual obligations within the community.

### **RELIGION AND AGRICULTURE**

There are no exclusive Gaddi agricultural festivals. This aspect of their society fully reflects the festivals prevalent in the Hindu society. Except for the months of May and June, which are devoid of festivity the entire year in Bharmaur, whichever place they reside in is full of festivals. They sing and dance and celebrate the occasions and enjoy the life in the rugged terrain.

The members of each family take bath. Women clean the hearth or '*Chulha*'. It is then worshipped by offering groundnuts, '*revari*' (sweet prepared out of jaggery and '*tilV*' Sesame), '*chura*', '*songaT*' (instrument with which chela beat themselves; used in religious ceremonies by them), '*trishul*' (weapon of Lord Shiva) are also worshiped. They then perform '*yagyaV*' '*hawan*' (offerings made to sacred fire). In the evening they offer '*til*' (sesame), some rice and jaggery ('*gud*') in the fire of the '*hawan*' and dance and sing. After the celebrations, they eat and drink.

### **PATHRODU-**

Every time the cereals are harvested, they worship them.

BAISAKHI/ 'basoa'

This festival marks the time to harvest the crops and is celebrated in April. The entire community gathers at a place and worship major and minor gods of the Hindu pantheon. They arrange for the festival a month before and there are occasional singing and dancing programs.

SANKRAANTI-

This is one of the favourite festivals in the area. It marks the time for Gaddis to move to Bharmaur for their summer residence. They celebrate it enthusiastically by preparing potpourri 'khichadi' of rice and urd'mah'. They rejoice as they reach Bharmaur since they are back to their home and meet other members of their community after a long time.

TRANSHUMANCE AND AGRICULTURE

Gaddis and Transhumance have become synonymous to one another. Despite the fact that the younger generation does not have any intention to carry the age-old remarkable practice any further, the significance of this 'seasonal migration' hitherto remains unchallenged. Hence, it is in this respect that whenever and whatever is contributed to agriculture it is always in relation to the Gaddis migratory habit.

Thus, we may draw the following conclusions- the Gaddi people have been known the world wide as a transhumant population of Himachal Pradesh. Agriculture has been practiced by them as an occupation secondary to pastoralism. Their agricultural and pastoral activities have been so adroitly balanced that it became a way of life as transhumance. In the present time, however, as agriculture plays an important role in their subsistence level economy, indigenous and modern modifications have been made to make maximum out of this activity. With the increasing environmental concerns, the number of people engaged in pastoral activities is lesser than that before. With government efforts and culture contact the frequent out-migration of considerable Gaddis to areas with better opportunities, the Gaddi way of agriculture has continued showing a blend of sedentarized farming and transhumance.

The annual cycle of agriculture and related social activities have been shown in table nos. 2.3-2.6. The tables hereby give a brief introduction of the Gaddi agricultural activities with respect to their corresponding transhumant behaviour and hence the socio-cultural response in Gaddi lifestyle and their fields.

**Table No 2.3: AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY**

D E C E M B E R	J A N U A R Y	F E B R U A R Y	M A R C H	A P R I L	M A Y	J U N E	J U L Y	A U G U S T	S E P T E M B E R	O C T O B E R	N O V E M B E R
<b>Major Agriculture Activity</b>											
No agricult ure	Ready the plots.	HarvestWhe at and Barley sown inNovember month ofthe	Sow Phullan, Seun,Tob acco,vege table,pul	Harvest Chinae( infallow plots).	Harvest Kodra,Phull an, Bhrace, ;Seun, Tobacco &				Manure& plough thefields torepare them for sowing		

		previous year.	ses		Maize.	Wheat & Barley.
People left back in Bharmaur after the fields.	Arreng e manure	Sow Rajmah, Chinae Maize.	Plough & manure the field		Manual weeding before ploughing the field	Seeds from Maize crop are stored
			Thrash & dry harvested Wheat		Collection of firewood and fodder. Dry meat & vegetables for winters	

Table No 2.4: TRANSHUMANCE &amp; AGRICULTURE

D E C E M B E R	J A N U A R Y	F E B R U A R Y	M A R C H	A P R I L	M A Y	J U N E	J U L Y	A U G U S T	S E P T E M B E R	O C T O B E R	N O V E M B E R
Reside in lower areas.		Move back to Bharmaur			Almost all of the livestock back in Bharmaur		Pohals take sheep and goats to the 'dhars'	Some Gaddi males to the forests to collect herbs and medicinal plants		Sheep brought back to the fields	By the end of the month Gaddi families start migrating towards lower areas.
			Minjar&Suj festival in Chamba mark the beginning of the time for Gaddies to move		Register their arrival to the S.D.M. office at Bharmaur and that of their livestock with the		Sheep are taken to the 'trakar'/'trakal' (pastures) where they are sheared				Obtain transfer certificates for their wards from the local schools.

	towards Bharmaur		Range Officer	off.			
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**Table No 2.5 : SOCIAL ACTIVITIES**

D E C E M B E R	J A N U A R Y	F E B R U A R Y	M A R C H	A P R I L	M A Y	J U N E	J U L Y	A U G U S T	S E P T E M B E R	O C T O B E R	N O V E M B E R
Work as domestic helps in lower areas				Gaddi children admitted to a new class in Bharmaur .		Ready the pinning & weaving equipments. :	Pohals leave for 'dhar s'	Mani-mahesh yatra begins.		Complete weaving the blankets & shawls etc.	By the end of Gaddis obtain mid term certificates Gaddi farmers and other start migration
			Gaddi children for final term in schools of lower areas.	<b>Repair their houses. Reconstruct their roads.</b>			<b>Spin &amp; weave.</b>	<b>Area buzzes with preparations for Mani Mahesh procession</b>			Shepherds depart for pastures.

**Table No 2.6: ECOLOGICAL CYCLE & CULTURAL ACTIVITIES**

D E C E M B E R	J A N U A R Y	F E B R U A R Y	M A R C H	A P R I L	M A Y	J U N E	J U L Y	A U G U S T	S E P T E M B E R	O C T O B E R	N O V E M B E R
heavy snow fall in bharmaur			Onset of spring		Snow melts (abundant water) first showers						Occasional rains& hairs.
									major tourist activity		
Gaddies stay in the lower area. Those in Bharmaur do not			SUMMAR				RAIN			WINTER	

observed much sociocultural activities as most of their family & kin move to area other than Bharmaur.						
N A V V A R S	L O H A R I	H O L I	B A I S H A K H	RAKSHA BANDHAN	S A H R I (for maize)	N A V R A T R
	Minjar & Sui		sankranti	Prepare for Mani Mahesh procession		Influx of tourists
					Ready their stalls and shops for the yatra.	Best period to visit Bharmaur
					Independence day celebration in schools & colleges Mani Mahesh yatra commences	

Gaddis practice a mixed economy and present a profile of a tribal society with a well- adjusted economy with some stratified occupations. They are known the worldwide as a transhumant population. They have practiced agriculture as an occupation secondary to pastoralism. Due to wide variations in altitude and temperature, they practice mixed farming to produce maximum out of minimum. Importance of land, however, is not just limited for housing/cultivation or to generate income, rather plays an important role in confirming their status of being a resident of this area and hence the scheduled tribe of the area. The landholdings though are not large enough to fulfill the modern economic needs. With the introduction of horticultural activities, many of them have volunteered to practice profitable farming of fruits and flowers. Cattle keeping and rearing requires a good amount of skill and knowledge for maximum exploitation of natural resources. The livestock is important not only for their multipurpose utility and better adaptability but also for socio-economic importance. Transhumance is an age-old tradition of Gaddi shepherds adopted as a survival strategy. It has created variegated shades in the fabric of Gaddi community. *That animal husbandry and agriculture can exist side by side and mutually supportive as well is evident in case of Gaddi people.* The peasants invite Gaddi shepherds to their fields and pay food grains, to settle their animals for some time (to get manure and the weeds on the field are cleared by the animals). This is a traditional arrangement suits the Gaddi shepherds' interests as well as they need not carry extra grains while moving.

In the ultimate analysis of the feedbacks and views expressed by the beneficiaries and the government representatives respectively, it can be said that many of the Gaddi people find the present landholdings insufficient to sustain a livelihood. They blame the government for having introduced the land ceiling etc which clipped the land size in the area and restricted the people to limited plots. They find themselves helpless when for something which according to them is supposed to be their prerogative, they have to be on the mercy of

those in power. Sometimes they plead, sometimes they bribe and mostly they offer their services to please the person whom they find influential and in control of the concerned office. They, however, praise the effort of channelising the administration but do not appreciate their activities being controlled by the people who according to them do not know the problems and challenges before an agro-pastoral community like theirs.

Despite the erratic impressions on the Gaddi people, there is no gainsaying the fact that the efforts of Himachal Pradesh government are commendable. The schemes with whatever intensity of their implementation have produced desired efforts to be seen in the affluence of the area both in its human as well as in natural resources. The introduction of horticultural activities such as bee-keeping, commercial production of crops, fruits, and flowers as an alternative to pastoralism and agriculture are a few to be earmark the level of achievement. Apart from the direct benefits, they have assisted jobless people by creating employment opportunities; subsidies on tools and equipments for farm and non-farm activities; Self Help Groups to train and guide the participants to use improved techniques and generate better income.

The reasons for migration vary and the classic push and pull factors due to which the Gaddi people have moved to lower areas (permanently or for short term) have been accentuated with increasing population pressure, decreasing availability of land and better income generating alternatives than agro-pastoral living. Although there are no formal data on the economic contribution of migrant labour, yet there seems to be little doubt that the transhumance and out migration for jobs and education have stimulated economic growth. The practitioners of transhumance migrate, seasonally at certain times of the year for certain duration. While, today it has also emerged as a component of individuals' diversification strategies.

A failure on the part of the planners to fully understand transhumance results in an insufficient understanding of what these people do to make a living and how policies can help them to maximize the benefits of multi-location livelihood strategies. It is for this reason that micro-level studies are better at capturing a wide range of possibilities in the spectrum between commuting, very short-term migration, seasonal migration, & permanent migration.

The persistence of transhumance with the modern means of livelihood is an example presented by the Gaddi perseverance as how a society can strike a harmony between its past and present. The government incentives persuading the shepherds to give up their cult have, however, created an imbalance in this synchronized set up. Their inclusion in the national mainstream as doctors, engineers; civil servants, political leaders etc is no doubt a welcome effort but it should not be encouraged on the relics of a fascinating tradition of transhumance.

❖ With increase in cropping area under vegetable production and more so the commercial agriculture, the alternative sources of fodder are shrinking and thus the pressure on natural pastures is increasing. Hence, a common act for the entire state for regulating cultivation, extraction, and trade of medicinal and aromatic plants should be effectively implemented and monitored.

❖ Community based irrigation scheme should be encouraged in which a group of 5 to 6 (IRDP & non-IRDP) families should be selected as beneficiaries.

❖ There is a need of rationalized approach on part of the government towards the allocation of funds for schemes in particular for pensioners, Revision of pension schemes should be done as and when there is high rate of inflation to avoid the ignoble mismatch between their income and basic requirements. For this purpose, appropriate agencies should be created by recruiting scholars from social sciences like Anthropology

etcwhich make an unbiased and just analysis of the grass root level economy and submit their reports which may project the real picture of the basic needs enabling the formation of better policies.

❖ The effort to open nationalized /regional banks in a tribal area is a positive attempt but there must be efforts to educate the people about the working of these institutions.

❖ The role of bank credits and loans must be specified and conveyed to them through channels known to them. The simplest of which is having a dialogue with them. The bank authorities should get into a straight conversation with these people instead of simply relying upon the Panchayat functionaries.

❖ Facilities in the form of rebates and subsidies, lesser interest rates and exemptions from payment of agricultural loans have made these people complacent. They take it as their right to obtain a loan but often prefer to exhibit their inability to pay it back. There must be efforts to educate them for owning the liability to defray the bank loans.

❖ Let NGOs from other areas be given priority in this region. The people from this area create an NGO to work amongst the local population but the problem is since the workers come from this very set of people, they share the same concepts and attitudes as the local people, hence to have a non-biased and wider approach NGOs from outer areas may be helpful.

❖ There should be proper follow up of the schemes and reporting system should be diagnostic and participatory in nature so that qualitative measures could be taken to improve and correct the discrepancies and anomalies regarding the functioning of the programme.

Thus, a good degree of transparency is required to develop an information system regarding the forests and their produce. This is required not only to manage but also to regulate and regenerate the resource. This attempt should not only confirm the environmental standards but also the social and economic set up of the area in question. Hence, capacity building and training are a pre-requisite for the implementation of any plan or policy. Other than mere participation, emphasis must be laid on efforts to overcome the mental barriers which act as speed breakers to the pace of development.

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