A SOCIAL PROFILE OF BAKERWAL
A STUDY OF KOKERNAG TOWN; (J & K)

Dissertation Submitted for the Degree of
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in
SOCIOLOGY

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that SHEIKH IMTIYAZ AHMAD has conducted a Sociological enquiry on "A Social Profile of Bakerwal - A Study of Kokernag Town (J & K) under my supervision. To the best of my knowledge it is his independent and original work. I understand that the work is suitable for submission for the award of M.Phil degree in Sociology.

(Dr. M. Jamal Siddiqui)
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgements</th>
<th>i - ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapters:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>1 - 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Method of Study</td>
<td>14 - 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Historical Background of the Community</td>
<td>25 - 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Demographic Composition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Family, Marriage and Kinship among the Community</td>
<td>49 - 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Economic Organization among the Community</td>
<td>96 - 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Religious and Cultural Practices among the Community</td>
<td>117 - 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Leadership and Politics among the Community</td>
<td>140 - 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion: Continuity and Change</td>
<td>148 - 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>158 - 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Table Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>AREA AND POPULATION OF THE DISTRICTS AND HEAD QUARTERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>SEASONAL FLUX OBSERVED DURING 1983 AND 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>MODE OF ARRANGEMENTS OF MARRIAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>AGE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN FIFTY HOUSE HOLDS IN THREE KAFILAS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>NUMBER OF PERSONS PER DERA UNIT IN TWO KAFILIAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>SUMMARIES THE FIGURES ON KINESMEN LIVING WITHIN EACH DERA BY DERA TYPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>DISTRIBUTION OF DERAS BY NUMBER OF SHEEP, GOATS AND HOUSE OWNED BY 36 DERAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IN ONE KAFILA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>SOCIAL LINKS AMONG HOUSEHOLDS OF THREE HERDING UNITS IN ONE KAFILA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>STAY DURATION IN THE VARIATION ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS ALONG THE OSCILLATORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROUTES CHANGING FROM SEASON TO SEASON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>MAIN HALTAGES OF BAKERWALS ALONG THE BANIHAL ROUTE PASS OR GRAND TRUNK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROUTE FROM KASHWAN MEADOWS TO JAMMU DISTRICT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE NO.</th>
<th>FIGURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>1. Kunhari and Illahwal areas indicate history of Bakerwals migration to the Valley of Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>2. Summer and winter pastures of Bakerwals communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>3. Location of Jammu and Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>4. History of Kokernag town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>5. Migration route of Bakerwal Kafila (Pir - Panjal Pass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>6. Cross section of Bakerwals along the Banihal route pass or Grand Trunk route from Kashwan meadows to Jammu district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>7. Bakerwal transhumance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>8. Customs and Jewellery among the Bakerwal women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The Himalayas provide a formidable field for anthropologists. Inspite of its rich potentialities for anthropological work, very few researches have been conducted among the tribes and communities inhabitating different parts of the Himalayas.

The tribal belt of north-western Himalayas extends from the vicinity of upper Nepal in the east to the Pamir knot in the north-west. More precisely, one may consider the Dhula Dhar Range of the Himalayas and the water sheds of the Jamuna as the eastern separating line of this sub-division. For the sake of convenience, the states of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and portions of Punjab fall under this region.

There are several pockets of tribal concentration especially in the first two mountainous states. In the north-west corner of Kashmir is Balkarin inhabited by the Baltis, a Muslim tribe. The Kundan Range Separates Ladak from Sinklaing which the Buddhist Bhot tribe inhabits in and around the valley of Leh. On the left side of Kinnor valley is Lahaul which is situated in the valley range. With the
growing border tensions with China, Lahaul and Spiti and Kinnor, have been declared as border districts. The whole range of north-western Himalayas are highly mountainous and picture-sque, the population is distributed sporadically in the valley and in the scarps of the region. In this region the four towns are Leh, Keylong, Khaja and Kalpa among which Leh alone can boast of having a heterogeneous population of Muslim, Buddhist and Hindu. The whole region of Ladakh is inhabited by Baltis and Bhots, and the other tribes are Kanets, Gujjars, Gaddis, Kirnour, who inhabit the valley.

During the formative period (1774-1919) the ethnographic work in this area was undertaken by a few travellers and census officers. It was in 1871 that Harcourt travelled extensively and wrote an eye-witness account of the land and the people of the Himalayas districts of Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti. (A.F.P. Harcourt, 1871). We also find mention about Kulu, and spiti in the Gazetteer on Kangra district (District Gazetteer, 1883). There is also a special volume of the Gazetteer published in 1918 which includes the details about Kulu and Sarja, Lahaul and spiti (District Gazetteer, 1918).

The early efforts of the census operations to record some ethnographic details about the tribes and castes of this region are embodied in the census columns edited by Ghulam Ahmad Khan (1901-02) on Kashmir and H.A. Rose's (1914) Glossary of tribes and castes of Punjab and North-Western
frontier provinces, and in D. Ibbetson's (1918 and 1919) three volumes on the tribes and castes of Punjab.

Till recently, there were almost no efforts on the part of anthropologists to undertake comprehensive ethnographic studies of any western Himalayan village or a tribe. The first village study was undertaken by the census when a few villages in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab were selected under the village survey monograph scheme (VSMS). The study of village kothi in the district of Kinnour by Chandra Kumar (1963) presents an outline of a typical Kinnauri village located between the heights of 7,000 to 9,000 feet. The village is dominated by the Kinnaurs a scheduled tribe, whose main occupation is agriculture supplemented by sheepbreeding, weaving, Silver Smith and black smith. This village study reflects the richness of village crafts namely, weaving, shoe-making, basket-making, pottery, musical instruments and ornaments and suggests the scope of studying material cultural on an elaborate scale in this region.

The next village study, again undertaken by the census, is from Lakaul and Spiti, located at a height of 10,000 ft. four miles to the west of Keylong. This village "Tandi" inhabited by various groups, brings to light the international pattern operating in the isolated Himalayan villages (G.S. Pabla and J.R. Vashistha, 1963).
The third village study undertaken by W.H. Newll (1960) brings out rich social anthropological data about a Gaddi village, 'Goshum', and shows how the Gaddi society is moving towards a caste status. Newell (1960) throws light on certain general trends in tribal dynamics in the Himalayan society and his general observation regarding the emerging caste organization among the Gaddis deserves to be quoted here:

As a result of new opportunities for making wealth, the tendency for such groups as Rajput-Brahmin or Rana to become more caste. Conscious is almost inevitable and it is hoped in a subsequent publications to show that the whole Ravi valley is changing in accordance with a long term pattern. The effect of new opportunities is to speed up processes already present rather than to change the direction in which the Gaddis were moving (Newell, 1967).

A similar study of Kulu village was undertaken by Colin Rosser (1960), a missionary anthropologist, who stayed in the village for about two years in (1951-53). This study of village "Malayna" situated at a height of 8640 ft. brings to light an excellent picture of the deep religious orientation and group cohesiveness of the Himalayan communities. Cohin Rosser's (1960) analysis about the adjustment of the people with the valley gods and goddess and their deeper
religious and traditional orientation, highlights the challenge of modernization that the Himalayan village faces.

The anthropological survey of India undertook some field researches among the hill Gaddis of Kangra district in Punjab and Chamba district in Himachal Pradesh with a view to describe the relationship between ecology and economy, Bose's casual study brings to light economic problems created for the hill Gaddis owing to the suspension of trade with Tibet. This work suggests that money of the border tribes developed extra territorial socio-economic relationship with the border communities of other countries which have recently been disturbed and suspended, upsetting their socio-economic equilibrium (S. Bose, 1966, 1969).

Tribal studies in Kashmir have been completely neglected except for a few studies of tribal folklore. In a recent paper, on the tribes of western Himalayas, D.N. Dhir (1969) brings to light the importance of Gujjars and Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir which, thought not scheduled as tribes, are the most important pastoral communities of this area. These two communities (about 3.5 lakhs) which constitutes 10 per cent of the total population of the state are characterised by all round backwardness, particularly in the fields of education and health.

Pandil (1959) studying the Gujjars of Kashmir as an anthropologist, in the district of Anantnag identified three
categories of nomads as Bakerwals, Gujjars and Baniaras. According to him, Bakerwals are quite close to each other, by way of their dialect and the ecology and social organization. They keep buffaloes, sheep and goat. While Baniaras are the traders and the ones who act as links between nomadic and settled population. They speak a common dialect Gojari with a minor variation which is a quite a kin to Punjabi.

Bisaria (1971) studied the Gujjars at macro-level all over the state of Jammu and Kashmir covering sedentary, semi-sedentary and nomadic population of Gujjars. It is an ethnographic study covering all aspects of their life.

Barth (1964) finds that there are true pastoral nomads in parts of Afghanistan and North-Pakistan with an entirely different ethnic group. They are Gujjars speaking an Indian dialect and live on a lower economic level than most of the other nomads. Their animals are sheep, goat, cattle and even water buffaloes. Their political organization is atomistic. They also serve as migrant labour and may exchange some wool, meat, butter and milk for gains or for profit. In East Afghanistan they blend with various semi-nomadic groups of cattle keepers and harvest labourers.

As among most pastoral population studied recently, by some of these i.e. Iron 1972, Bates 1973, Beek 1980, 337 Glatzer and Casimier 1983; Oboler 1985). Unlike some other pastoral groups such as the Rondille of East Africa among
whom, married persons do not take an active part in herding activities (State 1984, 53), while the Bakerwals expect all males to hard livestock; older girls are expected to help in herding during the day. The objective of the study is to examine the social profile among the Bakerwal community, to find out how this community contribute to accelerate or retard change in the tribal communities. It is well known that tribal communities are closely knit and self contained social units and their comparative identity and isolation from the mainstream of society would enable them to resist the forces of change much more effectively than open societies, and thus to maintain social relationships and social behaviour patterns which are Quite different from and, in many cases, out of conformity with those of the modernized segments of the society. It is also well-known that tribal societies are characterized by traditional values, use of primitive technology and non-rational behaviour patterns which are incongruent with the values, technology and behaviour patterns of the modern world. Hence governments everywhere are striving to modernize them in an attempt at integrating them with the mainstream of social life. In India also, which has the largest concentration of tribal population next to Africa, the government, both the national and state levels, are engaged in the stupendous task of uplifting the tribal population through specially designed
programmes which are expected to achieve the objective of tribal integration within the shortest period of time. None of these programmes have not made significant impact on the tribal population of the country. To be sure, they have gone a long way in breaking the tribal isolation and removing some of the practices which are out of tune with the values of the modern society. Government's welfare programmes have also benefitted some of the tribal Communities much more than others. In other words, the success achieved in this respect has been limited and lopsided. The reason for this phenomenon are well-known, viz. the degree of isolation, the different value system and social development already achieved, which created in them differential capacities that enable them to absorb the government's programmes in different degrees. But apart from these general points, which are themselves related and inter-dependent, our knowledge does not comprehend the details of their social profile and social process that contribute to this isolation, differential values system and state of development of the tribal communities. None of the less, knowledge of these factors in very important in the understanding of social change among the tribals and in designing and implementation of programmes of modernization of tribal communities. In India this aspect of the problem assumes great significance. Over 7 per cent of the country's population belongs to the
tribal communities and sizeable amount of the country's resources are earmarked for their development.

The present study, therefore, aims at analysing the social profile of a Bakerwal community with a view to identify the social processes that have contributed to their modernisation. Since the factors of continuity and change can be well understood and delineated only if the elements of the tribal culture were examined in their pure and original form. Researcher has chosen the Bakerwals of kokernag area, which are inhabiting in one of the most inaccessible forest regions and maintaining the purity of their culture unlike many other tribes of the State, which are scattered over large areas, the Bakerwals are concentrated in a small area in Anantnag district and this enables them to maintain contact with their kinsmen and clansmen and thereby help them to preserve their unity and identity. Bakerwal as the name derived are nomads, so pastoral nomadism in the study region, as in similar sociological situations in many other parts of the world, is manifested in the form of transhumance. The study of transhumance has long been a fascinating subject for sociologists and has produced numerous outstanding and definitive works, specially in regard to the mediterranean region. In India also transhumance is widely practised in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and parts of Kumaon and Garhwal. But there is a good lack of authentic and
definitive studies by Indian sociologists and researchers concerning this practices.

Having an all ready familiarity with the community and the region, the researcher was naturally interested in the social aspect of transhumance in the region. The problem of the study and the real matrix, was therefore, in a sense, predetermined. The researcher feels that the present study will fill an important gap in understanding the economy, culture and other aspects of the transhumant communities. The study may also hopefully be of some applied value. The Bakerwals who are the principal nomadic community of the state, constitute an important segment of the population. Empirical studies have shown that un-imaginative development strategies in traditional societies often lead to social destabilization. Studies of social change in the non-literate societies have been confined to the modification in the social life. Anthropologists had introduced such terms as "culture contact" and "acculturation" to express the way in which new patterns of behaviour or types of relationship were acquired and incorporated into a primitive social system. Sociologists generally use the world "Social chance" to alterations in the non-material culture, i.e., values, mores and social institutions which lead to technological and other innovations. These alterations are found in the economic, social and political fields of activities of the
people. When a small local and traditional bound community comes in contact with a culture which is more exposed and universal, a possibility of change and transformation in the traditional society becomes obvious, a consequences of culture contact and exposure to a different milieu have been sociologically examined by several sociologists and several anthropologists. Prominent among them may be commonly referred as Robert Redfield, Milton Singer, Mac Marriott and others. The community under study being a traditionally nomadic and contextually placed in an urban climate has also been experiencing socio-cultural and economic changes. These forces of changes are many, sometimes these are termed as urbanization, while sometimes modernization. But the elements which are common in terms of processes of change are change in the attitude, social practices, world view, economic orientation and political awareness. The present study would be an humble endeavoure to examine the nature of these changes and to focus on the areas where such changes are more visible and manifest.

It will also be worth-mentioning that the process of socio-economic transformation in any traditional community subsequently generates social and cultural disorganization, such disorganizations may appear in the institutionally defined and culturally reflected behaviour patterns. The inter-personal relationships may also reflect these changes
as well as social stratification. Inspite of this, traditional verses modernity may also be taken an analysis of the impact of great tradition during the course of study, which will examine the interplay between great tradition and little tradition.

Modernization of a traditional society with its other associated processes like westernization and sanaskritization will also form a part of the analysis. In terms of religion denominator, majority of the population of the community study is Muslims and profess Islam as its religion. It may also be interesting to note the impact and nature of the process of the Islamization.

Inspite of the above mentioned discussion, role of induced changes forms an important aspect to understand the phenomenon of social change in contemporary societies such as:

1. Economic development i.e. IRDP.
2. Literary programmes.
3. Womens development.
5. civil amenities.
6. Modern Education
7. Mass Media
The present study would be useful and relevant in more than one way to different categories of groups and institutions such as:-

1. To enrich the existing social anthropological and culture understanding of the traditional nomadic societies.

2. Useful to other researchers in this field.

3. Useful to planners and developmental agencies.

4. May be useful to administrators of public communities

Last and not the least to myself as a student interest in the understanding of a human social system.
METHOD OF STUDY
CHAPTER - II

METHOD OF STUDY
PLANNING AND RESEARCH LAYOUT

The present investigation is related to the social profile of Bakerwals of the Kokernag town of Anantnag district in Jammu and Kashmir state. While developing the framework of the investigation the suggestions from various experts were taken into account. It was considered that the proposed investigation be confined to an area which is getting urbanized under the impact of modern processes of change. On the basis of demographic conditions and the population of Bakerwals the investigator conducted a pilot survey of various areas in the vicinity of Anantnag. Secondly it was also considered that the location of the area be such that neither it is too far from the urban atmosphere nor too close to it. This consideration was taken into account for observing the response of Bakerwals, towards the modern system of urban life. Besides the above mentioned points, it was also considered that field of study should be such that its people have easy access to modern facilities like
education, guidance for agricultural improvements, guidance for cattle rearing and exposure to changing social values. Finally Kokernag town was adopted for the proposed investigation. The town is situated at a height of 6,000 feet from the sea level. The total area of the Kokernag town is 3000 Kannals excluding 329 Kannals for the purpose of gardens which is under the supervision of Department of Tourism and 400 Kannals is densely forested even today but is under the control of Department of Gardens and Floriculture.

According to 1981 census, the total population of Kokernag town was 1996. According to it, children in the age group of (0 - 15) years constitute more than two fifth of the population. The age group of (26-59) which provided the main earning group and also leadership in the family and community, is a little more than one-fourth of the population. The Bakerwals have an appreciable numbers of people beyond 60 years of age, while the proportion of males and females in the age group of (4 - 15) and (16 - 25) is in keeping with male/female ratio, it is significant that in the age bracket of (26-59) the men outnumber women and they have slight edge over women in the oldest age group. This suggests more longevity among men as compared to women folk. Inspite of the above discussion, researcher came to know through the informants that two boys among the Bakerwal Community is receiving education (10+2) standard at Government Higher Secondary
School at Khanabal in Anantnag district. According to Zonal Education Officer of Kokernag town, the total percentage of school going children is 4 per cent for boys, while 1 per cent for girls.

Collection of Data and Methodology Used:

The aim of any science, social or natural, is to provide logical and fundamental techniques by which a body or reliable knowledge can be obtained in order to predict and finally to control a phenomenon in its complex inter-relationship. These aims can be met successfully by following a series of verifiable steps, known as scientific procedure or scientific method. Briefly these steps can be stated as follows:

Formulation of a working hypothesis, observation, collection and recording of data, classification of these data and finally scientific generalization and formulation of concepts.

Any enquiry if it aims at to produce a scientific knowledge will have to follow the scientific procedure. An adherence to the general phases of the scientific procedure has been made in the present study. Besides, different types of other methods are also used in social research which have
their own applicability, advantages and limitations. The researcher has, therefore, to decide as to what particular method he is going to use. Much of the success of a research depends upon the proper selection of methods, techniques and tools appropriate to the nature of enquiry. In the present study, following methods were found to be appropriate for the collection of data and thus used.

(A) **The Census Method:**

The universe of the present study is a single village society. The nature of the enquiry is a community case study.

(B) **Observation Method:**

Although all occurrences do not bound themselves to be studied by observational techniques, we can hardly think of an empirical study in which some observation has not been done. Science begins from observation and must ultimately return to observation for verification. It is a systematic and deliberate study through eyes of spontaneous occurrences of the time they occur. Observation is not merely seeing or haphazard watching of occurrences. It is a deliberate and systematic viewing of a particular phenomenon.

Various techniques of observation have been developed for the successful use of this method when the researcher
observes a phenomenon freely without using any aid or control, it is called uncontrolled observation and when he uses some aid or controlling device, it is termed as controlled observation.

Again it may be of two types, first when the researcher observes the phenomenon from the outside without becoming a part of it, it is called non-participant observation, while participant observation is that when the observer as a social being attempts to observe the social situation by participating the phenomenon.

During the period of field work, researcher lived with Bakerwal community for a good amount of time, and almost all the events of individual life cycle have been observed such as family life, marriage ceremonies, festivals, occupational engagements, group tussels, political meetings, folk songs and folk lores are some of the major events, which form the focus of scientific observations to understand a community, while some of the situations were observed from outside as non-participant observer such as the conditions of health and hygiene, dress pattern, decorations, material culture etc. Marriage ceremonies among them can be observed in the month of (June - July) in Kashmir valley, while in Jammu district, these communities solemnize marriage's in the month of (November - December), because during these periods everyone has more time to spare and also the climatic weather is
good for solemnizing marriages. Bakerwals celebrate the festivals of Idul-Fitr, Idul-Zuha and Shab-e-Barat with great enthusiasm. In Shab-e-Barat, Halwa is prepared and Neyaz is offered by all the families excepting those who are adherents of Deobandi Jamaat. They also celebrate two more festivals one is known as 'Sodi' which is celebrated in the beginning of April. After the severe cold and long spell of winter, the community feels a Sigh of relief. This is a day from which they allow their cattle to drink the cold water of the streams. Change of season is to socially celebrated, they feel winter is over and they sing, dance and make merry women sing in the praise of the spring satire for the winter in their verses. Such as Balo and Maiya songs are sung in Punjab and also by the Bakerwals of Kashmir in Gojri but with the same tempo.

**Balo**

"Do Boota Chinaaran da Sonkay dukhray Channan Eil Phatan Paharan de son Key dukhare Channan Baagan bich as Maia Bicharyamuttan ke ya Le gal naal Laa Maiya Bicharyamutta days Koi dakhan din Yas Maiya Dilnabisariyan Channa Paaven Kabal bas Maiyan Dil Nabisariyan Channa"

**Maiya**

"Koi Gari Kiyan Ko Lairan Jaddojind Yaad Pavay Chatt Day Kay ro Lenran Jaddojind Yaad hore."
The other festivals are celebrated during the harvest. They collect the harvest in the open and offer prayers to the God for good harvests and move round the heap and sing.

(C) Interview:

A social scientist has an advantage over a natural scientist, in the sense that the former can personally talk to his subjects while the latter despite all his instrument of precision cannot interview his subject. Interview is, therefore, most important and widely used method of enquiry in social survey and research. P.V. Young regards interview as "a systematic method by which a person enters more or less imaginatively into the life of a comparatively stranger". A successful interviewer enables the researcher to go behind the outward behaviour and ascertaining his external observation and to study motivation, emotional responses and social processes as these are reflected in social situations. In the present study the method of interview has been widely used. This has been done through formal and informal talks with the people in individual and group situations. It has been used in two ways:

(a) Non-Structured Interview: Such interviews are undirected and uncontrolled. The respondents were approached very informally and the whole interview
was in the form of free and frank conservations specially on the aspects which were difficult to be covered through an interview directed by a schedule. In a free and frank atmosphere the flow of conservation encouraged the respondents to dwell upon their concrete experience, their own definitions of situations which they had responded. This could enable to get information on private, confidential and secretly guarded aspects of like such as crime, prostitution and other vices.

(b) Structured Interview: In such interviews control was used over the process by the use of a schedule or an interview guide. Such interviews were different from the former ones, mainly in three aspects. Firstly, they were mostly prearranged. Secondly, they were always guided by a schedule or guide. And thirdly, the recording of the interview was done simultaneously. Such interviews were generally held with the head of the house-holds, the village Pradhan, the maulvi of the mosque.

(D) Focussed Interview:

To a limited extent this type of Interview was used. It is a very specialized type of interview technique. The interview is focussed on the subjective experience, attitude
and emotional responses regarding the particular situation. It was held immediately after some occasions like a family planning campaign, incidence of a quarrel, local election etc. The techniques proved useful for collecting data on some psychological aspects of the study such as the attitude of the people towards some significant issues of their life.

(E) Schedule:

Schedule as a technique is used for obtaining field data, which is becoming very common in social survey and investigation. But the researcher had not applied schedule as a technique in collecting the data from Bakerwal community of Kokernag town as he was fully acquainted with their day to day problems, their behavioural attitude as being a resident member of that area.

Inspite of the above mentioned discussion, sources of secondary data were thoroughly explored, for the collection of the informations regarding the present study. Important among secondary data are as under:

(a) Census:- Though the demographic data were collected through the primary sources but the data in census report of 1981 pertaining to the area also provided valuable informations for the present study.

(b) Village Panchayat:- Records of the village Panchayat available with the village Mukdham, also
provided useful informations regarding the birth, death and migration of the people into the village.

(c) Revenue Records:— These records available with the village patwarie who provided useful data on the land holdings with the people in the area and historical background of the Kokernag town. Secondary data were also collected through these techniques. School Records/Court/Police Record/IRDP Record/ Block Development.

Field Problem

Dealing with human relationship is a delicate matter. As in any social research, the community folk was not easily convinceable to impart the information pertaining to their life. In the exercise of the Inerview schedule, the village ladies particularly the old Muslim ladies put a lot of hesitation and few even resisted not to insist them for such queries. The old people in particular could not be easily convinced of the utility of such work and therefore, sometimes refused to furnish the relevant informations.

In the collection of secondary data, few officials no doubt gave a much helping hand and showed quite enthusiasm, while many of them gave impression that such work hardly any practical utility for them.
While interviewing the women folk about household matters the researcher felt the difficulty due to the unawareness of the local dialect, for this purpose help has been sought from the literate people.

The militancy which has created turmoil among Kashmiries and their is fair faboia hospitality and trust which was a glaring virtue among Bakerwals vanished as raids by security forces often caused harassment to the people, thereby one was compelled to conduct his work during day hours only as lodging arrangements was not possible. Besides they trusted the strangers less they turned out to be militants causing trouble to the host that made researchers smooth functioning somewhat impossible and difficult. One had a lot of trouble to convince the locals about the geniusness of the work, but the prevailing conditions made them suspect as Bakerwals are victims of suspectism.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNITY
CHAPTER - III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
OF THE COMMUNITY

The people who form the subject of this study are Sunni Muslims. They are nomads and goat and sheep breeders. The earlier documentary reference found so far to nomadic goat and sheep breeders in Kashmir dates back to the last third of the 19th century, and the first explicit mention of the term Bakerwal was made in 1899 (Mc Donel, J.C. 1899:15); the next references found dates from the early years of this century (census of India 1911:181). (Bryant, F.B. 1913:3), (C.S. 1914). In fact, this community first emerged as a corporate group only in the early years of this century (Rao Aparne, 1988). It is a conglomeration of families, whose ancestors belonged to different ethnic groups, spread over large parts of South Asia. Numerically most important among them was represented by the Gujjar, who lives as peasants or pastoralists in large parts of Pakistan and North and Western India, and in pockets of Afghanistan. However, families from other Islamic ethnic
groups of the area, such as the Awar and Pashtun of several Clans, were also drawn in the form the Bakerwal community. In Jammu and Kashmir, all Bakerwals are Sunni Muslims and their traditional activities range from Sedentary agriculture accompanied by a limited amount of multi-stock transhumance to nomadic uni-stock animal husbandary, together with little or no agriculture. Between these two extremes one finds several types, depending on the precise area and the specific subgroup of Gujjar (Rao, A. and M.Y. Casimier 1985, 1987).

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has a sizeable Gujjar population. There is no written history of these people. Therefore, it is very difficult to fix the precise date of their migration to this part of the country or to trace the circumstances of their conversion to Islam.* The Gujjars themselves tell several stories of their migration to this area. Some old Gujjars say that their ancestors had entered the territory of Kashmir at the time the sultan 'Ordered that the tenth month should be repeated after every two years and nine months, thus raising the number of months in the year to thirteen'. This event occurred during the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin of the Shahmir family (A.D. 1339-42). Others

* Unlike the Gujjars in other parts of the country who are all Hindus, the Jammu and Kashmir Gujjars are Muslims and follow the basic tenets of the Islamic faith; Their Sectarian affiliation is a matter of some controversy, though some are inclined to regard the Gujjars as Shia's.
reported that their ancestors had entered Kashmir when Vijay Singh was the ruler of the area beyond Pir-Panjal King Vijay Singh, to whom this story apparently refers, was the ruler between A.D. 1127 and 1157 clearly, therefore, the accounts given by the Gujjars themselves do not hold us to date precisely their entry into Kashmir.

The myth of ban budhi is of considerable importance to the Gujjars in fixing the probable period of their migration to Kashmir. Old Gujjars claim that, while coming to the area, they were constantly troubled by short statured women living in the higher attitudes. These women were corrupt and lured all the men of the house. This probably refers to the old polyandrous system of Ladakh, which lies in the neighbourhood of the Gujjar Bakerwals summer pastures, but this myth, again, is unhelpful in determining the date of the Gujjars entry to the Kashmir region.

Historians are of the view that the Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir are the descendants of the great Gujjar tribe which gave its name to the Gujarat district and Gujjranwala of West Panjab (Pakistan), the Peninsula of Gujarat and the track known as Gujjargarh in Gwalior, and who migrated to Kashmir for political and economic reasons as well as in

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* The racial origin of the Gujjars is a matter of some controversy among historians. Some Scholars are of the opinion that the Gujjars are of the foreign racial stock, representing those pastoral nomads from the steppes of Central Asia, who entered India either with the Huns or a little latter. Others are of the view that they are of indigenous origin. This controversy still remains unresolved.
search of fresh pastures. According to 1941 census, a part of the tribe migrated towards the state of Jammu and Kashmir after the outbreak of a serious famine in the regions (now known as Rajasthan and Gujarat) inhabited by the tribe. This migration is supposed to have taken place at the time of the Satahsia famine. However, it seems more reasonable to assume that the Gujjars now living in the state are the descendants of two separate migrations - one directly from Rajasthan and Gujarat, and the other from the plains of Punjab. This view is partially supported by the fact that many Gujjar families now living in Jammu and Kashmir claim that they originally belonged to the Gujarat district of West Punjab (Pakistan).

The Gujjars were a powerful group during Mughal rule. The centre of their power was Lohorkot or Loherence, now known as Loran, in Poonch district, and many Gujjars served in high capacities at the Poonch court for many centuries. At the end of the Eighteenth century, Wazir Rahulla Khan Sangru, a Gujjar of village Khaneter in Poonch district, convincingly defeated Maharaja Ranjit Singh and established his power at Poonch. However, when the Sikhs re-established themselves in the region, the Gujjars split up and moved to small sections in different parts of the state. Some probably moved along the old Mughal route through Bhimber, Rajourie, Shopian and Srinagar, while others crossed the hills and settled in the districts of Baramulla and
Muzaffarabad. Today, the Gujjars are found in practically at all the districts of the state.

The Gujjars in Jammu and Kashmir can be divided into three principal groups according to their mode of existence and occupational pattern i.e.

(a) The first group comprises the sedentary or settled Gujjars who have taken to the cultivation of Land as their primary occupation and live in permanent villages in the plains bordering the foothills.

(b) The second group consists of the semi-settled or sedentary transhumant Gujjars. These Gujjars combine the cultivation of land with pastoralism in varying degrees. They are settled permanently in the lower mountain areas where they engage in cultivation, but move during the summer season to the middle mountains and Pir-Panjal pastures.

(c) The third group comprises the transhumant Gujjars who are wholly pastoral nomads and oscillate between winter and summer pastures.

The transhumant Gujjars can be further divided into two distinct groups. Members of the first group are called Dohis or Baniharas. They earn their name as they specialise in tending buffaloes and selling milk (dudh) and milk products and because they live in dense forests (ban).
Those belonging to the other groups are referred to as Bakerwals as they are skilful goat (bakri) and sheep (bher) breeders. It is a worth while noting here that the terms Dodhi and Bakerwals were not coined by the Gujjars themselves, but were employed by non-Gujjars to distinguish these two groups along occupational lines. Today, however, these terms are widely accepted and are used by the Gujjars as well. According to 1981 census, the Bakerwals number more than one and a half lakh. In physical appearance Bakerwals are tall, well built and quite beautiful but have a revengeful disposition. Not all Bakerwals are nomads, quite a few are settled farmers. This tribe has the same sub-castes and gotars as of Gujjars have such as Jindhar, Chohan, Khari etc.

The Bakerwals divide themselves into two sub-groups called the Kunhari Bakerwals and the Illahiwal Bakerwals. These terms denote the areas which members of the sub-group claim they originally belonged to and thus indicate the history of their migration. Those who describe themselves as Kunhari Bakerwals claim that their ancestors belonged to the valley of Kunhar, Bogadmung and Konish, all lying to the north of Hazzara. The name of this sub-tribe has probably been derived from the name of one of the river valley, (Kunhara) where they are supposed to have originally come. River Kunhara originates on the Kagan mountains and joins
the Jhelum between Muzaffarabad and Kohala. The Bakerwals who originally came from this general area north of Hazzara, have therefore, came to be known as Kunhari Bakerwals, while the other sub-group contends that their ancestors belonged to the valley of Illahiwal, Alai, Nandhar, Rayadnari, Kaladhaka, Kohistan and Swat (Fig.1). These areas because of their geographical position, were greatly influenced by the Paktoon language and culture. The Illahiwal Bakerwals speak Gojarie with an accent which seems to have been influenced by Pushto-speech and follow the traditions of the Pushto-speaking people in their Customs, dress and personal names. However, the Kunhari-Illahiwal division among the Bakerwals does not have any direct functional relevance today, except that of identifying their places of origin. (Written by Khatana, R.P. 1976a:87).

Till 1947 a very large number of the summer pastures of the Bakerwal lay north of the Indo-Pakistan cease-fire line. With the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, their access to these pastures was cut off, and this has had many implications for Bakerwal Society. Their present summer pastures lie in semi-alpine and alpine zones, North and Northeast of the Kashmir Basin at altitudes ranging Ca. 2500m and Ca. 4200m (Rao, A. and Casmir, M.Y. 1985, 1987). Their winter area lies in the colline belt, between Poonch...
FIGURE - 1

KUNHARI AND ILLAHWAL AREAS INDICATE HISTORY OF BAKERWALS MIGRATION TO THE VALLEY OF KASHMIR
and Kathua, at altitudes of Ca. 500 m- 900 m (Fig. 2). As already stated, and as their name implies the Bakerwal (bakri = goat) are still predominantly goat breeders and their goats which are known locally as Kagani are reported to have originated in the Kagan Valley, in Hazara (Fig. 1).

The major conclusions are as under:

Both Dodhi and Bakerwal Gujjar are of the same ethnic group with common folk, song, folk stories and similar morals and institutions all over the state, only that the population of nomads settles down which is either under pressure from exogenic forces like Government steps or due to orthogenic forces like carrying capacity of pastures. When the human population has grown at a larger pace than cattle, some of the nomad population tries to settle down on land or as agricultural labour. Larger proportion of the settlers of Gujjars is due to orthogenic force.

Jammu and Kashmir

The state constitutes of the extreme western sections of Himalayas. It occupies the northern most part of the country and lies between 32° - 15' and 37° - 15' north latitude and 72° - 35' and 80° - 20' east longitude. According to surveyer General of India, the area of the state extends to 222, 236 square km. This is about 7 per cent of the total geographical area of the country.
FIGURE - 2
SUMMER AND WINTER PASTURES OF BAKERWAL COMMUNITIES
Jammu and Kashmir has China in the east and north, Afghanistan in the north-west and Pakistan in the west. The Southern boundary is continuous with Himachal Pradesh and Gurdaspur district of Punjab. The north eastern areas of the state are occupied by series of parallel Himalayan ranges the snow covered peaks of which render foreign in-gress diffi­cult, if not possible Mt. Godwin Austim K₂ (28, 265 ft.). The second highest peak of the world lies in this region. Geog­raphically the state consists of four broad regions formed by its principle rivers namely Indus, Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi. The four natural regions are as follows (1) The sub-mountain and the semi-mountainous tract, (2) The outer hill (3) The Jhelum valley and (4) The Indus valley.

According to 1961 census, the state consists of ten districts and 32 tehsils in all. Among these Ladakh is the largest in area, occupying 37, 7538 sq. kms. However, the density of population in this part of the state is 2 per sq. km. The next is Doda with 61 per sq. mile. While Srinagar, extending in an area of 1205 sq. miles, has a density of 531 per sq. mile. The average density for the whole state is 66 per mile.
Source: Survey of India School Atlas
According to statistics of 1979, area and population of the districts and head quarters is as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Head Quarter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>5382</td>
<td>832,280</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Baramulla</td>
<td>7458</td>
<td>775,724</td>
<td>Baramulla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>11691</td>
<td>342,220</td>
<td>Doda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>31065</td>
<td>731,743</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kathua</td>
<td>2651</td>
<td>274,671</td>
<td>Kathua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ladakh</td>
<td>958762</td>
<td>105,291</td>
<td>Ladakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Poonch</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>170,787</td>
<td>Poonch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Rajourie</td>
<td>2681</td>
<td>170,787</td>
<td>Rajourie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Srinagar</td>
<td>3013</td>
<td>827,697</td>
<td>Srinagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Udamphur</td>
<td>4549</td>
<td>33846</td>
<td>Udamphur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Valley of Kashmir

The Valley of Kashmir is a basin, *85 miles long and 25 miles broad with an area of 6,131 square miles and an

* The native term for the valley is Kasheer which is according to Aurel Stein, the direct phonetic derivative of the Sanskrit Kashmir (Kasmirea), of the several meanings of the word, 'rock trough' (Kas = Channel, mira = mountain) is one (see Sufi 1949, I, pp. 12f.). The Kashmiri calls himself and his language by the common term 'Koshur'. 
average altitude of 6,000 feet above sea level. It is surrounded on all sides by mountains which rise upto 18,000 feet. Its climate is of the 'Intermediate Type' (Spate 1954, p. 365). Linguistically and Culturally too Kashmir is quite distinct from the surrounding areas.

The geographical and cultural isolation of Kashmir has never been absolute communication with the world outside have been, in the past, made possible by several mountain passes. In more recent times modern means of transport and communication have brought the valley into much closer contact with India and the rest of the world. Political conquest, migration and cultural expansion, directed towards and from Kashmir, are the characteristics features of its known history.

**Historical Background of Kokernag (Town)**

The word Kokernag has been derived from the two words namely, koker and nag. The word koker has been taken from a Kashmiri word "Morgee" meaning chicken, while the word nag has been taken from sanaskrit word "Nag" meaning snake. Regarding name of the kokernag, there are different versions. Some people are of the view that it was a saint (Gushwami) who came from some unknown place to this place (Fig.No.4) along with his bucket. Which every saint is having with them for their purpose of water, but inspite of water, he was
having snake (Nag) in his bucket. The saint laid for rest at this place during his rest, some women folk came from the nearby densely forested area in search of water, they failed in their search, ultimately they saw the saint in a deep sleep and was having his bucket in front of him. These women folk reached near to him in order to kill their thirst by his water, but when they opened the tip of the bucket they found a snake in it which escaped and crept on the ground. As soon as it crept, its shape changed into (Morgee) the people of Kashmiri call it by name of "Koker" which dig the soil of the land by his paws and water gushed out from these places, wherever he dug. This is the reason due to which we are calling it today Kokernag by this name. All these happenings Saint was seeing in his dream, if he would not have opened his eyes, all area of this place would have become a big lake or flood should have occurred.

While others thought that it was a Saint who came from some unknown place before more than 100 years ago along-with a big snake to this place (Fig No.4). During that time, this area was a densely forested and at this place he laid to rest. The snake which he was having in his bucket escaped and was not found in which direction he left after escape. After this drama, some (Morgee's) chicken were found at that place where from snake crept in the ground and latter on was not found. It was thought that these (Morgee's) chicken were
the inhabitants of this area. One out of these Morgee's has started digging at the foot of hills and wherever that (Morga) chicken dug the land, water gushed out. So this is the reason why people are calling it today by the name of Kokernag.

Basically, the real name of kokernag is Bindoo Zalangam, which is recorded in the revenue department even today. But since water was gushed out from the foot of the hill, on the scratching of the morgee (chicken) people started using the word kokernag.

Kokernag is famous for its historical reason. If a person can have a full nine to ten glass of water at a time. He cannot face any problem because water of kokernag is digestive. Even doctors do not prescribe any medicine which is containing calcium for their patients, but advises them to have/or use water of kokernag which is containing natural calcium and is useful for their patients. Even Government had planned to start a factory in collaboration of some German firm to bottle this natural mineral water which is not only cold but highly digestive. This has not yet materialized. Also it can be remembered for ever regarding health resorts. People from all places of Kashmir even schools make a programme of picnic for here. Also tourists can be seen here which are not coming from outside Jammu and Kashmir only, but outside from our country.
Inspite of this reason, it is also famous for its trout streams and the largest fresh water spring in Kashmir. Trout hatchery department which had constructed pools in series where in trout is reared. Different pools have got trout with different weights and ages. Departments sell it to the tourists who find it a delicious dish and enjoy it.

Kokernag is Eight miles from Achabal and is famous for the curative properties of its beautiful springs. Only two miles away near the foot of the Banihal pass is verinag the source of the river Jhelum. The total area of kokernag is 3000 Kannals including 329 Kannals for the purpose of gardens which is under the supervision of department of Tourism and 400 Kannals is densely forested even today but is under the control of department of gardens and floriculture.

Demographic Composition

The density of population is more than two thirds of the state territory to the south of ceasefire line (now called the line of Actual Control) and East of Baramulla, Srinagar, Anantnag and Doda districts is lowest in the state. This region is interwoven with a complex network of Himalayan ranges, glaciers and rivers. The soil is mostly sandy and therefore, unproductive. On the other hand the density of population in the areas forming the basins of the Jehlum and the chenab is very high. The soil is mostly alluvial and
therefore fairly fertile. The central part of the valley comprising the tehsils of Badgam, Sonawari and Sopore, consists of a plain of low-level alluvium composed of loam and clay. The major part of the districts of Jammu and Kathua is intermixed with shingle and stone. Agriculture is the principal activity.

An overwhelming majority of the people in the valley is Muslim and profess Islam as their religion. The Muslims of Kashmir are converts from Hindu and that according to lawrence upto the 1370 A.D. there was not a single Mohammedan in Kashmir. The Muslims of the valley may have retained for sometime after their conversion to Islam. Some of their Hindu customs of endogamy within the caste and exogamy outside the gotra, but there is virtually no trace of these customs now, only different tribal names or Kramas and nothing more.

It is not possible for a Dar girl to marry a game boy and vice-versa provided both are agriculturists. While a marriage between a low caste wattal or Scavenger with other sections of people is still a taboo. There is however, a sort of caste system prevalent in the Kashmiri population as a member of one profession prepares to have marital relation with the member of similar profession. The Sheikh, Sayyeds and Peerzadas are still considered to be Kramas of responsibility among the Muslims.
Other sections of the population are Pandits, Sikhs, Dogras and Bhotas or Ladakis. These people though living in the same state show great diversity in their culture and livelihood. Inspite of the many groups of people considered to be social caste or scheduled families, but so far no body has been declared as the schedule tribe. Though there are many people in the state of worth tribal status because of their isolation and cultural identity. Mention among them may be made of Bakerwals, who are residing along the foot steps of Himalayas in other state like Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, while Bakerwals of Kashmir valley are unique in the sense that they are living in forests and upper reaches of the hill tops and have still retained their identity.

Bakerwals of Kashmir valley are predominantly residing in the districts of Anantnag, Baramulla and Srinagar. The mostly inhabited parts are Huraphora, Shopian, Marhwa, Kashwan, Indoo-Daksum, Pakharpure, Allique Kandi, Tangmarg, Gulmarg, Canderbal, Khag, Phalgam.

Bakerwals are the gypsies of Kashmiri. In summer, they move out of Jammu with their hords and sylock spread out in many directions with strong detachments can be found in Poonch, Reasi, Muzafarabad districts.
The Gujjars and Bakerwals are the two major tribal categories of the population of Jammu and Kashmir State. The population of these tribal communities in Jammu and Kashmir State was 2.15 lakh (1961)\(^{15}\); 3.49 lakhs (1971)\(^{16}\). Nowadays, the population of tribals has increased to 4.69 lakhs (1981).\(^{17}\) There is 28.97 per cent decadal growth rate of tribal population in Jammu and Kashmir state. The leaders of the tribal communities of the state refute these figures on the plea that the census organization of India had calculated the number of tribal by the language spoken by them rather than by racial or the ethnic background.

It is a correct complaint because the 1981\(^{18}\) census sought to group these communities according to language. The real population of Gujjars and Bakerwals in Jammu and Kashmir State is expected to be 50 per cent more than what is indicated in the census records. According to 1981 census, the total population of Kokernag town was 1996. The natives of this area are known as the Sheikh a term used all over the Indian sub-continent to designate Muslims descended from the Hindu converts (Gait 1911 and Chambers Twentieth Century Disctionary). While the immigrants of this area consists of two pastorate groups, who arrived in this area around some 100 years ago and got settled in the town of Kokernag and surrounding villages particularly Kashwan. The Gujjar
(literally Cowherds) came earlier than the Bakerwals (literally Goat herds). Regarding Bakerwals of this area, it is conceived that they are the descendents of one single family namely Late Israel Khatana, who was having four wives and was having eleven children. Late Israel Khatana died in the year 1965. Both these groups hailed from the north-west frontier province. They are ethnically, linguistically and culturally distinct from the Sheikh.

Some of the Gujjars have inter-married with the Sheikh, adopted some articles of their dress and settled down to agriculture. But the Bakerwals continue to value endogamy, they may inter-marry with the Gujjar but not with the Sheikh. They still depend predominantly on the herding of Cattle, Sheep and Goats for their source of livelihood. These herdsmen are semi-nomadic, they move in and out of the area with their flocks, seeking the heights of mountain pastures in summer and returning in autumn before the winter frosts and snow arrive.
REFERENCES


4. C.S. (1914) Extracts (g6) from the hon'ble the Resident's Gilgit tour diary during August and September 1913, Jammu Archives: C.S.Old Records File No. 221/A-9 of 1914.


18. Ibid.
FAMILY, MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP
AMONG THE COMMUNITY
CHAPTER IV

FAMILY, MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP AMONG THE COMMUNITY

FAMILY

The family as the social unit has been found in one form or another at almost all levels of cultural development. The form and basis of familial groupings have varied from time to time and from place to place. Different types of families have been observed in different societies and at different points of time and space, but as a basic social group family existed in all societies and at all times.

According to Lowie, Robert H (1950:215),\(^1\) the family may be considered as an association that corresponds to the institution of marriage. Radcliffe, Brown (1941:2)\(^2\) includes in the family husband and wife and their child or children. In a tribal family relationship between members is to be understood in a sociological as much as a psychological sense. Thus, the family will include not only the husband and wife and their children but also parents, in laws. The ideal household in most tribes would include two or more married couples and their children.
The Bakerwal family presents most of the characteristics of the typical tribal family in India. While the nuclear family is the main type that prevails among the Bakerwals, other types which show characteristics of joint and extended family types are also common. In terms of residence, it is neolocal but the newly married couple has a tendency to build their huts near the husband's family of birth. In terms of authority, it is patriarchal however, when the father dies, it is the mother's brother who will act as the guardian of the children. Monogamous family is the rule but polygamy also prevails.

In the following discussion attempt shall be made to examine the structure and composition of Bakerwal family. Various rituals and ceremonies observed in the institutions of family and marriage among Bakerwals shall also be dealt during the course of discussion.

Family is an important socialising agent for the Bakerwal child. Family among Bakerwals is nuclear. It is established immediately after the marriage. Once a boy and a girl married they are then expected to establish their own 'dera'. In this way they are given sufficient help by the families of both boy and the girl, which includes almost all the necessary items required for running of a household. This 'dera' is established in the area of boy's father's household, thus it is patrilocal.
At the time of the establishment of the family, boy gets his share out of his father's property in the form of Buffaloes, Horses, Sheep and Goats besides the share the girl gets at the time of rukstati out of her father's property. Share in the father's property is decided by the live stock he is having at the time of the establishment of this separate house hold.

Inspite of the establishment of families among Bakerwal Community, they also pay due regard to the eldest male members of the family, unless he is very old and is leading a retired life or is handicapped or infirm is the mukhia or buzurg i.e. head of the family. He is usually the father. The mother is respected and has a say in the family matters.

However, the mukhia consults usually grown up male members of the family only in social and economic matters. The eldest son occupies an important position in the family and is considered second-in-command. The women do not take part in biradari matters but make their presence to their husbands, because they are more hard working than their men who depend on them for their many needs. Unlike other Muslim women, the Bakerwal women do not observe purdah. Bakerwal women cannot be considered equal to their men but they definitely possess more personal freedom and better status in the family than most of other Muslim women.
Bickering in the family between men and women, men and men and women and women, are not common. Children are loved more but cared for less by their parents.

As Shah (1974: 107-15) pointed out, the sociological discussion of family types and structures in India has long been hampered by lack of terminological clarity. A comprehension of Bakerwal family types and of the structure of their domestic groups also requires terminological sorting out. Let us first take a closer look at the terms TOLA and KUMBA as used among the community.

A TOLA among the Bakerwal is a migrating unit, and cannot be equivalent to the household, as it can for example in Kangra (Parry 1979: 157). The terms is sometimes also used synonymously with Zat since it is usually dominated by one Zat. As stated earlier, migrating units do not cut across biradari lines, and only occasionally hired shepherds (ajri)* and their families may belong to other biradari. There is, on the other hand, a great seasonal flux the number of individuals in such a migration unit.

* An ajri is a Bakerwal who does not have enough herds Pastures to Subsist on and is thus obliged to work as a shepherds for another, more well to do Bakerwal. In Swat (ajri) or 'ajari' is used to Qualify all nomadic sheep or goat breeders (Van Banning) 1985: 34.
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<td>70</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
<td>Autumn (1984)</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All members of any migration unit at its maximum do not move together, but they converge at short intervals towards specific locations and keep contact with one another throughout the migration periods, which can last from two-and-a half to five months, depending on the distance between summer and winter pastures (Khatana 1976b;  Khatana 1986; Fair 1980; Kangro, G.H. and B. Dhar 1981).

Except when used synonymously with Zat, the term tola at its maximum is usually directly linked with a living adult male. But not every Bakerwal man has a tola linked to him, tola are linked to specific men, whose economic and social status are high and whose consanguineal kin groups are very large. These men can be Mukaddam, or Kharpench, and in this respect a tola is comparable to one aspect of the biradri as well. A tola at its maximum generally consists of several Kumba whereby each Kumba usually constitutes the units of humans and herd animals (mal) which actually move and camp together, or very close together during migration. Like a tola at its maximum, a Kumba too is always linked to, though not necessarily named after, a specific man of some substance both economically and biologically. The Bakerwal use the term Kumba to designate part of a Zat, or alternatively, a collection of nuclear or extended families descended from one living man- it is a specific type of descent group. When the Bakerwal speak of A's Kumba, they imply that:
(1) A is alive; (2) A has a large number of married sons and daughters who are also alive; and finally, (3) A's male siblings recognise his authority over themselves, either because he is much older than them or because he is richer than them. If this last requirement is not met, they speak of A's dera, rather than of his Kumba.

The principle of the Bakerwal Kumba is one of Segmentation. Hence, say the bakerwal, 'There are no new biradari (here, patrilineage), but one Kumba (of old) has now become twenty Kumba. Additionally the term Kumba also has the connotation of clique, or faction, as for example when the Bakerwal say, 'When one of us becomes a doctor he works very well but only for his own Kumba, and he takes no money from them'.
MARRIAGE

Marriage constitutes an important basis, out of which kinship relations grow and are sustained. I shall, therefore begin this discussion of marriage and kinship among the Bakerwals with a consideration of their marriage patterns and then go on to analyse the structure of their kinship groups.

Selection of Spouse

The Bakerwal ideal holds that the marriage of an individual should be arranged by his parents, or by his senior relatives in case his or her parents are not alive. Table (1) shows that this ideal is usually upheld. This is true both in the case of a first marriage as well as subsequent marriages.

**TABLE - I**

**MODE OF ARRANGEMENTS OF MARRIAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of Arrangement</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Parents</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>81.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Senior Relatives</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the Individual Himself</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Even widowers do not arrange their own marriage but through senior male relatives. However, there are a fair number of exceptions to the rule and, as we shall see, elopements are not only quite frequent but usually occur with the mutual consent of and agreement between the parties concerned.

When parents start looking for a suitable match for their son, their search is governed by both proscriptions and prescriptions. The proscription commonly observed today are those laid down by Islam. Thus, the Bakerwals avoid marrying the children of the same mother, foster brothers and sisters and sisters and brother's children. Furthermore, they also try to avoid marrying their patrilineal descendants. Some informants said that in the past marriage within the boy's patrilineal gotra was avoided and some persons even now avoid marrying their sons into their own and their wives gotras. However, such restrictions are no longer strictly adhered to and marriages within one's gotra as well as in one's mother's gotra are quite common.

The Bakerwals recognize marriage with both parallel and cross cousins to be legitimate. However, instances of such marriages are extremely rare. While such marriages are accorded the status of regular marriages whenever they occur, they are not considered desirable by the Bakerwals as a whole.
The prescription determining the selection of spouses are these of the group. Ideally, the Bakerwals prefer that the first marriage of their children should take place within their own community. Thus, as far as possible, they try to arrange the marriage of their children within the community. However, because of the chronic scarcity of women in this community this is not always possible. In order to overcome the serious limitation placed in this respect, some resort to the convenient procedure of exchange marriages whereby a man exchanges another person's son and daughter for his own daughter and son. These exchanges can be both direct or indirect. In a direct exchange marriage, a person will marry his own son to another person's daughter and get his son to marry his own daughter. On the other hand, in an indirect exchange, he would marry his own son to another person's daughter and get that person's daughter for one of his close Kinsmen. Sometimes, especially where a person fails even to arrange an exchange marriage, he has to resort to marriage by purchase. Such marriages by purchase whereby Bakerwals bring in girls from outside the community are recognized as genuine marriages, but they are not as widely respected as the marriages within the community.

Social status and wealth of a family do enter into a marriage. Asked to indicate the considerations which would
weight with them while arranging the marriage of their children, thirty five out of the fifty respondents in one Khalifa indicated wealth and social status of the girls family to be significant considerations. However, they all agreed that group loyalty would be an uppermost consideration in the selection of spouses for their children. They would consider the clan or community base of the girl's family first and would consider its wealth and social status later on. Clearly, therefore, the Bakerwals subscribe to the ideal of community endogamy, except that the chronic shortage of women in their community does necessitate their taking women from outside the group occasionally.

Care is taken at the time of arranging a marriage that there is not a wide disparity between the ages of husband and wife. Table No. (2) shows the differences in the ages of husbands and wives in fifty families in the three Khalifas which the researcher surveyed during the course of field work. It will be seen from this table that in eight cases the husband and wife were of roughly the same age, in twenty seven cases the husband was senior to his wife and in another fifteen cases the wives senior to their husbands, of the twenty-seven cases were in the husbands were senior to their wives, there were fifteen cases where the age difference was between one and three years, seven cases where the difference was four years and only five cases where
### TABLE - 2

**AGE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN FIFTY HOUSE HOLDS IN THREE KAFILAS NO OF CASES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Husband in relation to wife's age</th>
<th>Ist Kafila</th>
<th>IIInd Kafila</th>
<th>IIIrd Kafila</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ 10 or more</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same as Wife's</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the difference was between five years and nine or more years. These last cases were of those men who had married a second time. Similarly, the wives were senior to their husbands in fifteen cases, but in twelve instances the disparity was three years or less. There were only three cases of disparities ranging between five to ten years and these involved remarried widow or second marriages. Thus, it is clear that the disparity in the ages of husbands and wives does not usually extend beyond three or four years, except in the case of second marriages or remarried widows.

Betrothal

The process of settlement of a marriage is a relatively simple one. Usually, when the parents of a boy have decided in favour of a girl, the boy's father makes a formal offer of marriage to the girls' parents. A Maulvi and some elder members of the community are normally called to attend the ceremony which is arranged at the girl's house. In the presence of these witnesses, the boy's father says to the girl's father. I want your daughter in marriage for my son. Do you accept the offer? If the boy's father is not alive, a senior male relative or some elderly kinsman or friend usually takes the place of the father. If the offer is acceptable, to the girl's family, which is usually the case as the ceremony is arranged only after the two parties
have informally agreed to the arrangement, the girl's father or grand father or, some senior male relative replies. I accept this offer (RISHTA). This brief exchange is followed by as feast and the presentation of some gifts in the form of clothes to the girl. Thereafter, the couple are deemed to be betrothed.

The betrothal ceremony among the Bakerwals takes place fairly early, usually when the couple are seven or eight years old. Once the parents of the boy and the girl have agreed to the betrothal, they start helping each other in different ways and extend cooperation in such transhumant activities as the shearing of wool and the taming of animals, etc. on important occasions and festivals, gifts for the girl and her female relatives are sent by the boy's side. If the girl's father refuses to accept these gifts it is an indication that the betrothal is being revoked.

A betrothal can be revoked by either party any time before the solemnization of the marriage. No ceremony is required for this revocation. Furthermore, in the event of elopement or death of the girl the betrothal is automatically considered revoked. However, the revocation of a betrothal results in the loss of social prestige for both the boy's and girl's side and is socially frowned upon. It is usually effected only in extreme cases, especially when there are over-riding considerations in its favour.
Marriage Ceremonies

The marriage is usually solemnized four years after the betrothal, but in some cases the period between betrothal and marriage can be as long as seven to eight years. It is never extended beyond. The parents of the contracting spouses consult each other and arrives at a mutually acceptable date after consulting their relatives, friends and the Maulvi. Since the Bakerwals's mode of existence requires them to attend to their animals during winter and as the periods of migration are full of tensions and worries, marriages usually take place during the summer season (garmiyana) in the month of June-July in Kashmir valley and in Jammu region in the month of (Nov. Dec.), because during these periods everyone has more time to spare and also the climatic weather is good for solemnizing marriages. The elders of the community are informed about the date of marriage and invitations (neuta) are extended to all relatives and friends who are supposed to attend the marriage.

The actual solemnization of a marriage among the Bakerwals community is a relatively simple affair, but this is often preceded by ceremonies at boy's and the girls dera.* At the boy's dera, the bride groom is prepared for the

* These ceremonies are held only in the event of first marriage of the girl. When she has been married before, these ceremonies are not held.
occasion by the women folk of his family. He is shaved and given a ritual bath by the barber, the water by which ritual bath takes place is fetched from the nearby spring by women folk who are close relatives of bridegroom. The water which they fetch in the pot's is called (PITCHER). It is made of special colours. Usually meant for marriage purposes. The women folk who fetch the water start singing a lok-geet to and for during the process of fetching of water from the nearby spring. This process can also be observed in the bridegroom's house. The female relatives stand around bridegroom singing songs and clapping their hands.* After the bath, he is dressed in new clothes by a Maulvi. As he is being dressed, the women folk fling raisins over him to protect him from the evil eye (bad nazar). He also wears in his wrist a (gana), which is made of moti, inspite of this, the dress he wears is provided by his own family, except the head gear (pagri) which is sent by the bride's side. Once these ceremonies are over, the bridegroom (Shahwala) and the marriage party (janj) starts off in a procession. Professional musicians called mirasi usually accompany the procession and horse race, stick flights etc.

* This is a song sung by women at the time of a wedding "TOO TEN MILI BICHÓRIYA SAJNA WAY TOO TE MIL MAINOO CHARKHA KATAN TE MAL MARI RINGAY MERE WATNE DA RA LAMA PEENGA DAME DAME TURSA MEL MAINOO"
are arranged as the procession wends its way to the bride's house. The rites performed at the bride's dera are parallel to those held at the bridegroom's. Barbar applies (Batna) to bride which is made of egg and flour on her body. Then her hair is washed, fresh butter is applied to it and it is woven into beautiful plaits. A necklace (jeerjaron ka har), which is considered to be auspicious, is placed around her neck, and her palms and feet are coloured with henna (mehandi).* Her female relatives also colour, their palms and feet with benna. Older male relatives apply henna to their beards. She is then dressed in the clothes and jewellery brought to her dera by a messenger (manji) of the bridegroom's family.

On the date of marriage a feast is held at bride's house and 40-50 barathies are invited comprising of every age group. Who enter village beating drums and singing and dancing. At the entrance of bride's courtyard a special custom is performed. Here a heavy stone already kept in the bride's courtyard and barathies are challenged to lift the stone which is called (Bugdar). When one of the young man

* During the process of 'MEHNDI', song is sung in praise of the Mehndi. Mehndi is applied on hands and put to tint scarlet red. Mehndi tinted hands embellished with ornaments enhance the beauty of a woman.
Mehndi da rang ujla te chogle mehndi laval see apna mawala rang lee ay
Mehndi da rang oriya maroriya pin te munachan hon maroriya mehndi rang lee ay
Mehndi da rang okhra thokara mehndi lawalsi apna phophra mehndi rang lee ay."
comes forward lifts the stone without any body's help on his shoulders gives a few jerks and then throws it down rest of the people cheer and applause the occasion giving the indication that they are in a position to afford their girl. Sometimes if nobody from the barathies is in a position to lift the stone which is not generally the case then the young man of bride's side lifts the stone. This no doubt a humiliation for the barathies. Then the Bakerwals perform the nikha ceremony to solemnize the marriage and the form of this ceremony is the same as the one prescribed by Islam. The Maulvi sits on a slightly raised plate form surrounded by all the invitees and two adult males from the boy's side go over to the girl's parents to find out if she is aggregable to her marriage. She affirms her agreement through one of her friends.* And her affirmation is announced by the witness to the marriage party. Similar affirmation is then sought from the boy. Once the consent of both parties has been obtained, the Maulvi recites an offering (Fatiha) from the Quran.**

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* It is interesting to note that the girl does not reply directly, even though that is requirement under Islamic Law.

** Noor-nama, religious poem in Gujjarí language, is also often recited on this occasion.
As soon as the nikah has been read, the bride groom's father is required to fix the dower (mahr). This can either be deferred or handed over immediately, and paid in cash or in kind. Usually forty per cent of the dower is payable immediately and the rest is deferred. The negotiations over the dower are usually prolonged and a great deal of haggling takes place, the settlement usually being brought about by the Maulvi and the other elders present. When the boy's father accept the sum proposed, a marriage contract (nikah nama) is drawn up by the Maulvi, a copy of which is given to the bridegroom. While the original is kept by the Maulvi. This is usually followed by the wedding feast. The feast is served in traditional earthen pots known as Skaba, four people share the common plate i.e. skaba, while Rakabie which is made of clay is used by a single person for taking his or her meals. The purpose of sharing the common plate is meant for strengthening the brotherhood from Islamic point of view. After taking meals at bride's and bride grooms house, the close relatives as well as friends present some kind of gifts in the form of some cash or kind to bride and bridegroom at their respective places. This kind of gifts is called (Tamol) and (Maindra). Then barathies along with bride are departed with honour during this whole course of time, women sing verses in praise of couple.
Among the Bakerwals the consummation of a marriage does not take place immediately after the wedding though the bride comes to the bride groom's house along with the marriage party. She is escorted to her husbands dera by her brother who hands her over to her mother in law (sass) along with a 'gift of the whilst possible lamb wool and requests her to return his sisten back after seven days as white as wool, for seven days the girl remains with her mother in-law and other senior female members of the family. She is not supposed to be seen by the menfolk of the family nor by her husband. The violation of this rule is considered to be a serious affront to the bride's family.

Walima ceremony is organized on the second day of marriage at bridegroom's house, where parents of bride along with close relatives of bride are invited at a lunch. They visited bridegrooms house along with some kind of gifts, which they present to her daughter's in-laws and also confirms regarding the welfare from their daughter. After 3-4 hours of function the invities left home back and are then waiting for the arrival of their daughter on the seventh day of marriage but during these seven days friend circles, relatives family members visits to her house and confirms regarding her welfare. Conventionally the bride does not interact with her husband in the presence of her in laws.
However, there is no such strict restriction. It is a matter of convention and convenience, on the seventh day (Satma), the girl's father, brother and other male relatives come to her father-in-laws dera to fetch her back. She is again dressed in her bridal dress and presented with sweet cakes of maize prepared for the occasion. She takes these cakes to her mother who distributes them among her relatives. This is supposed to indicate that she has been kept a virgin during the seven days she spent at her husband's dera. The female relatives of the girl present at her house enquire about what happened at her husband's house and try to confirm that she is a virgin. If the girl's virginity has been tempered within the seven day period, this is taken as an insult to their prestige by her family members and can lead to a serious feud between the parties concerned.

Some people are of the view that girl remains with her mother-in-law (sass) and other senior female members on the first day of marriage. But on the second day she is asked to prepare meals for her husband which gives her indication that she has to be given a separate nuptial tent (dera) at her father in laws, and the bride is prepared for the consummation of marriage. After the consummation of marriage when the boy declares that he is happy with his marriage, then his father offers a sacrifies (Qurbani of a goat or a chicken in the name of Allah, sometimes sacrifice
is also offered at a shrine (mazar) to ensure many children to the couple and for the general welfare of the family in future.

The consummation of the marriage takes place after a ceremony called the rukhsati has been performed. This ceremony is usually held three to four years after the nikah, but in some cases it takes place even after nine to eleven years thereafter. The idea behind providing this gap between marriage and consummation seems to be that the consummation should take place only after a girl attains the age of twenty to twenty-two years. This age is considered by parents a fit age for their daughters to bear the strains of child bearing in the different conditions of a transhumant way of life.

When the rukhsati takes place, the girl is given a dowry (daaj) by her father. This includes items for domestic use, sheep, goats and horses which would have been her share in her fathers property.

Divorce and Elopment

The normal expectation among the Bakerwals is that a marriage will remain intact so long as both the parties to it are alive, but in keeping with Islamic Law, there is a provision exist more in theory than in practice. Because of the shortage of women in the Bakerwal community;
The reason for shortage of women in the Bakerwals community is due to social and cultural attitude towards the female, particularly female child is of indifference leading to high female infant mortality rate. Secondly male child is more economically productive than female child. Thirdly society is patriarchy and patriliny.

Cases of men divorcing their wives are rare because of community pressure. Furthermore, divorce is also disapproved by the community at large and tends to lower the reputation of the family. If a divorce takes place, it is mostly at the initiation of women and assumes the form of elopement. Elopement is generally frowned upon by the community and is supposed to bring shame to a woman but it occurs nevertheless.

Elopements are of two kinds

(A) The first kind involves unmarried girls. This kind of elopement is considered a crime and often leads to serious fends between the boy's and the girl's families and kinsmen. The community takes serious note of this kind of elopements and the tribal council (Zirga) often imposes punitive sanctions against the erring persons and their families.

(B) The second kind of elopement is that involving divorced or married women. This type of elopement is
not considered to be a serious offence but it results, nevertheless, in a loss of prestige for the families involved and feuds have occurred over them as well. Indeed, there have been cases of armed conflicts among the families, resulting in murders over such elopement. The chances of such conflicts are greater where the elopement involves a married women and such cases are usually taken to the tribal council (Zirga) for adjudication.

When a married women elopes with another man, attempts are made by her husband and the members of his as well as her family to bring her back. However, if persuasion fails, the boy's parent try to pressurise the husband to divorce his wife. Since Islamic rules do not allow a women to divorce her husband, elopement is after resorted to by Bakerwals women to force a divorce so that they can be free to marry someone else of course in cases of such elopement divorces, the women forfeits her claim to her dowry and mahr. In all such divorces, the sons of the first marriage return to the father after five years. But daughter's remain in the custody of their mother till they are married. The argument of the (Zirga) in allowing such elopement divorces is that it is better to let the eloped women, who is unwilling to return to her husband, enter into a regular marriage with another man rather than lead a life in sin and adultery.
The death of the husband is taken as the dissolution of a marriage. There is no taboo against widow remarriage among the Bakerwals. There are, of course, cases of widows leading independent live, but such widows are either women with children or those who were widowed after they were forty-five years old. There are no young widows among them as even widows are in considerable demand as wives on account of the overall shortage of women in Bakerwals society.

When a woman becomes widowed, an attempt is made by her husband's family to keep her within the kin group. This is done through the custom of levirate. No ceremony is required in such cases, except the offering of bangles and the placing of a sheet (chaddar) over her by her new husband. This type of marriage solves the problems relating to children and division of property.

If the woman does not marry one of her deceased husband's brothers, she can claim the dowry (daaj) which she brought with her at her marriage and settle down with another man. If she has children from her previous marriage she can also demand their share in their father's property either immediately or when the children grow up. This is an accepted practice even if the widow marries another man. However, if the widow remarries, then the children continue to retain their rights in the patrilineal kinship group.
When a girl who has been married but has not started living with her husband becomes a widow. She can do one of two things. She can remain with her deceased husband's family without undergoing the rukhsati ceremony afresh and start living there as the wife one of her deceased husband's brothers or, alternatively, she can undergo another nikah ceremony with a man not related to her deceased husband. If she chooses the latter alternative, a great deal of trouble usually ensues over the return of the gifts given by her deceased husband's family. In this event, the girl's parents tend to send her in rukhsati to another man in consideration for a sum of money and use that amount to return the gifts given by the deceased husband's family, usually the tribal council adjudicates those disputes which cannot be resolved through mutual agreement between the concerned families.
KINSHIP GROUPS

There are three principle kinship groups among the Bakerwals:— The household (dera). The lineage (dada potre) and the clan (gotra). All these kinship groups are important to a Bakerwal in one context or another, and the importance enjoyed by each has tended to vary according to series of both internal and external changes to which the Bakerwals have been exposed from time to time.

(A) The House Hold

The dera (Household) is the basic unit among the Bakerwals. The count their numbers and describe their grazing and Kafila groups in terms of the number of dera.

A dera usually comes into existence when a person establishes an independent household, which happens ordinarily after his marriage. The common practice among the Bakerwals is for a young man to leave his father's heart soon after his marriage and establish his own dera. Each son, thus, establishes his own dera as he gets married which is usually in the order of their birth, and receives a share in the patrimony. Most fathers try to give an equal number of animals to all sons, but the number of animals which a particular son receives is quite often determined by the number of animals available in his father's flock at the time of separation. Thus, it can happen that a son who breaks away from his father's dera in a leen year get a
smaller number of animals in patrimony than the one who gets married and establishes his dera at a time of relative prosperity.

The deras usually tend to be small, comprising on an average four to six persons. Table - 3 sets out the distribution of persons per dera in the two Kafilas for whom detailed statistics are available. It would be seen that, some deras contain as many as eleven or twelve members, while deras comprising four to six persons predominate.

TABEL - 3
NUMBER OF PERSONS PER DERA UNIT IN TWO KAFILAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of persons in the Dera</th>
<th>No. of Deras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, most deras tend to be nuclear in their composition, consisting of a husband, his wife and un-married children. Extended patrilineal or complex deras consisting of two or more nuclear family units are usually few.
## TABLE - 4

SUMMARIES THE FIGURES ON KINESMEN LIVING WITHIN EACH DERA BY DERA TYPE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPES OF DERAS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In complete Deras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A) Widow (er) and unmarried children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) Single person</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Unmarried Brothers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple or Nuclear Deras</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple or Nuclear Deras with additional relatives (a) Ego, wife unmarried children ego's mother -</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex or extended patrilineal Deras</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE - 5

**DISTRIBUTION OF DERAS BY NUMBER OF SHEEP, GOATS AND HOUSE OWNED BY 36 DERAS IN ONE KAFILA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Animal Owned</th>
<th>Number of House Holds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. SHEEP</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 25</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 50</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. GOATS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 50</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 75</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 - 100</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. HORSES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
relatives (e.f. Barth 1961:14). The head of the dera holds all rights over the property of the dera and represents it in its dealings within the community as well as with outsiders. He is also responsible for taking all important decisions (e.f. Barth 1961:14).

Labour is divided among the members of the dera by sex and age, though the tasks formally assigned to each sex or age groups are not strictly adhered to always. The women and girls perform the domestic tasks of cooking, washing, the bringing of water, the rearing of children, the collection of wood and the making of woollen garments. The repair of equipment, the upkeep of tents, the twining of ropes and the tending and herding of animals are done by male adults.

An average Bakerwal dera is on the move for about 110 to 130 days out of the year. The Bakerwal tents are struck and repitched in precisely the same manner as Barth has described for the Basseri. These frequent migrations consume much time and labour and strongly affect the organization of the daily round. Activity starts will before daylight when the sheep and goats, which have spent the night by the tents, depart in the care of the shepherd who is usually a boy or a man.

The tent is usually struck before sunrise. While the household members snatch odds and ends of left-over food... 'Barth, 1961: 15)'. At the time of migration the packing
Each dera has its own hearth and owns its own property. The property consists of a tent for use during the annual migrations, sheep and goats, dogs and mules or horses. The data in Table - 5 indicate the number of sheep, goats and horses owned by the various households. The table shows that the majority of the deras surveyed own between one to fifteen heads of sheep, an equal number of goats and one horse. However some rich deras own as many as fifty sheep, 100 goats and four horses. In most cases, the dera members look after the animals themselves. However, wealthy persons with large flocks of animals sometimes employ servants to look after their flocks. Some also give a part of their flock to poor shepherds (ajris) on annual contracts. The flocks belonging to each dera carry distinct marks or colours for purposes of identification.

The deras usually have a clearly demarcated hierarchy of authority and division of labour among its members which regulates its functioning where the dera consists of a nuclear family, the head is always the husband. Where it is comprised of an incomplete family the senior male members enjoys the status of a head. Only in cases where there is no adult male member in the dera is the women considered the household head. There was one such case in one of the kafilas surveyed and she was represented by her male
and loading are done jointly by all members of the dera without any formal division of labour.

(B) Lineage

While discussing the organization of the dera unit, we noted that the principal function of the dera is economic. It is the basic unit of consumption and production which, in a transhumant group such as the Bakerwals, depend upon the raising of animals. The successful pursuit of this economic activity eventually rests upon the availability of pastures for grazing. In the state Jammu and Kashmir the pastures are not allotted to individual families (deras) or to their heads. On the contrary, they are deemed to be the property of kinship groups whose ancestors had first established control over them and used them traditionally. These kinship groups are called dada potre and their rights over pastures and migration routes are traditionally recognized both by the community as a whole as well as by the forest department and the revenue authorities.

The dada potre is a group of patrilineally related Kinsmen tracing their ancestry to a common ancestor. The size of this group is extremely variable and may comprise as many as 250 or more persons, depending upon the extent to which the division of pastures and migration routes has taken place. Usually, while a Bakerwal father divides his cattle wealth among his children as and when they get married, the
division of pastures and migration routes is postponed until much later. This results in a situation where all his descendants continue to depend upon him for access to pastures and migration routes during his lifetime. Sometimes he may decide to divide his rights over pastures while he is alive but this is unusual. Thus, the generation depth of a dada potre unit extends into several generations and includes a person's siblings, cousins and distant relative in addition to uncles.

The critical significance of the dada potre unit derives from its common ownership of pastures land which are themselves essential to the economy of the Bakerwals. Therefore, membership of a dada potre unit is critical to the survival of a Bakerwal in an economic sense and gives the unit a unity of interests. Even though there are no formal restrictions upon a person's pursuit of his economic activities, this freedom is greatly limited in his choice of whom he attaches himself to for the herding of animals and for the migration between winter and summer pastures by his membership of a particular dada potre unit.

Since pasturage rights are of critical importance to the Bakerwals, their division and transfer is regarded with considerable interest and is subject to strict control by the tribal council. The division of pasturage rights within the dada potre units usually follows the principle of patrilineal
descent. Even though the Bakerwals are Muslims and claim to adhere to the traditional Islamic rules of inheritance, in practice this rule is ignored where the division of the joint estate in the form of pasture rights is concerned. The daughters, who are admitted in theory to be eligible to receive one-fourth of all property belonging to their father, actually receive a share of movable property only. Thus, they are given animals when they are married and this is supposed to terminate all their rights in the estate of their fathers. Even if she is unmarried, a daughter does not enjoy any claim to pasture lands. She is entitled to receive dowry from her brothers when she is married, but does not inherit the right to the pasture lands. Even the wife of a man has no rights of ownership over pasture lands. If she has small children, she can use the pasture lands to the benefit of the family, but as soon as the children grown up she has to allow the estate to be divided among her sons. All that she receives is the animals that she brought as part of her dowry.

The division of pasturage rights usually takes place according to the wishes of the father. Either he divides them in his life time or with them to be shared by his children in accordance with his wishes after his death. If he wills them to be divided after his death, the will is usually recorded orally by the leader (Khar punch) of the
Kafila to which he belong, in the presence of senior relatives and the will is executed by the survivors. When a dispute arises over the distribution of pasture rights, the matter is taken to the Tribal Council (Zirga) for adjudication and the decision of the tribal council is accepted as final. If the decision of Tribal Council (Zirga) is not accepted then the Bakerwal Community take their disputes to the courts.

The rights to pasture lands remain within the dada potre unit. This right can be sold, exchanged or mortgaged only with the consent of all the members of the dada potre unit. However, the pastures are subject to arbitrary allotment by the tribal council. Where the council leaders are convinced that the land belonging to a particular unit is surplus, it can allot it to another dada potre unit which may not have adequate pasture lands. Where a shortage of pastures occurs, the tribal council is called and the council headmen are asked to distribute land afresh in accordance with the needs of each unit. Previously, that is in the past, the practice among the Bakerwals was that when a new group of families joined a Kafila, rights in pastures and migration routes were provided to them. However, this no longer happens.

The dada potre unit derives its importance largely from its ownership of rights over pastures, but it is also a powerful political and administrative unit. Thus, each dada
potre unit has a head who is responsible for the socio-economic and political activities of his group and represents the group in the tribal council. The headship of the unit is based on the principle of primogeniture and passes on to the eldest son either after the death of the father or when the father chooses to retire from that position. Usually, succession to the position of headship of the dada potre unit is marked by the tying of a turban on the head of the eldest son in the presence of tribal leaders. This ceremony is called dastarband.

(C) The Clan

The entire Bakerwal community is divided into a number of clans (gotras) unlike the dada potre unit which is based on actual patrilineal descent, the clan is based on a fiction of common descent. The members of a clan believe that they are descendants of a common ancestor but it is not necessary for them to demonstrate their kinship links in order to justify this claim.

The presence of gotras among the Bakerwal seems to owe itself to their Hindu ancestry. This view receives some support from the fact that the names of Bakerwal clans (gotras) are generally the same as those found among the Hindu Gujjar in other parts of the country. The gotra name is usually used by the Bakerwals as a suffix to their names.
Perhaps the traditional function of the clan division among the Bakerwals was the same as that among the Hindu Gujjars, but this does not seem to be the case today. Old Bakerwals say that inter-marriages among members of the same gotra were avoided in the past, but this does not seem to be true nowadays and cases of inter-marriage among clan members are not unknown. It seems, therefore, that the significance of the clan group among the Bakerwals has declined gradually since their conversion to Islam and it does not perform its traditional function of regulating marriage. Nor is it today a very effective kinship grouping among the Bakerwals.

**Kinship and Functional Groupings**

The dera, the dada potre unit and the gotra are the three main kinship groups among the Bakerwals, but their transhumant mode of existence requires them to form a number of functional groups for the satisfactory pursuit of their pastoral activities. The fore-going discussion of kinship groups among the Bakerwals would be incomplete without a consideration of the role of kinship in the formation of these functional groupings. Such a discussion is also warranted by the fact that, except for the dera, the Bakerwals live for the most part as members of these functional groups rather than as members of kinship groups. A consideration of kinship in the formation of functional groups will show the articulation of kinship groups among them.
(a) The Herding Unit

The primary functional group among the Bakerwals is the herding unit. This is a group comprised by deras who come together to form a group for the efficient grazing and care of their animals. The function of the herding unit is to provide labour for milking and shearing, and the deras forming a herding unit usually more together and pitch their tents in the same area during migration.

The size of herding units among the Bakerwals is variable and combines between five to ten deras depending upon their animal holdings and the availability of labour. Since these factors are not constant and keep changing from year to year in response to natural conditions, the membership of the herding units fluctuates and changes every year. As the size of the flock increase or decreases beyond a manageable limit, the households constituting a herding unit often break up and join other herding units. Thus, the number of animals per dera is critical in the formation of a herding unit.

Since the ultimate viability of the herding unit is based on the size of the flocks and the availability of labour, kinship plays little part in its formation. This is not to say that kinsman do not, or cannot, form herding units. As a matter of fact, they do occasionally. Choose to become members of the same herding unit but only where the
considerations critical to the formation of a herding unit also converge. However, kinsmen rarely form a herding unit if other economic factors are not conducive to their functioning as a viable unit.

Table - 6 sets out the herding units in one Kafila comprising sixty households distributed in three herding units. It will be seen from the table that close kins were members of the same herding units in only ten cases. In the remaining cases the herding unit was comprised by distant relatives or friends. It seems, therefore, that kinship considerations are by themselves not very relevant in the formation of a herding unit and its organization is usually determined by economic considerations mixed with feelings of friendship or considerations of good luck of the persons constituting it (Barth, 1961:22-23; Swidler, 1972:73)

**TABLE - 6**

**SOCIAL LINKS AMONG HOUSEHOLDS OF THREE HERDING UNITS IN ONE KAFILA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Herding Unit</th>
<th>No. of Deras</th>
<th>Kins</th>
<th>Distant Relations</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Household Head Lucky in herding operations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) The Kafila

The second important functional group among the Bakerwals is the Kafila. A Kafila is a group of families which moves together during the annual migrations and submit themselves to the authority of the Kafila leader practically for the period of their annual migratory cycle. It is the transhumant counterpart of the compact village settlement of sedentary groups.

A Kafila is usually formed around a leader who is an experienced old man and is supposed to be knowledgeable about migration routes, weather conditions and the habits of animals. However, the basis of the formation of Kafila among the bakerwals is the need for safety and security from natural calamities like snowfall, hailstorms and occasional floods. While moving from their winter pastures of their summer pastures and back, the Bakerwals traverse through precious mountain passes and cross many small rivers. Thus, they are all in constant need of assistance to enable them to cross these barriers safely. In short, the Bakerwals form themselves into Kafilas so that the members of a Kafila can help one another during these arduous journeys.

Unlike the situation described by Barth for Basseri (Barth, 1961: 25-45), the Kafila among the Bakerwals is not a permanent grouping nor does it enjoy equal importance and relevance during the entire period of the annual
migratory cycle. Among the Basseri the camps are relatively permanent social units whose membership remains fixed. Furthermore, the camp leader also enjoys considerable political significance within the Basseri political organization through his links with the tribal chieftain. This is not the case among the Bakerwal for one thing, the membership of the Kafila is not permanent. Second, the Kafila is important only during the migratory periods.

When the migration begins, the household who are members of a common herding unit, start moving towards the intervening pastures lying to the south of natural bottlenecks. Those who start earlier, wait therefore the other deras to arrive. After all the households belonging to the Kafila have assembled they move onwards as a group. Once they have reached the other side of the valley they again break into herding units and travel separately. Thus, while deras become members of a Kafila for the whole year, they act as a kafila only part of the way during their migration cycle. Nonetheless, the deras belonging to a Kafila are subject to the control and authority of a Kafila leader. Disputes arising out of the order in which a Kafila should move on a particular route or conflicts occurring over thefts of animals across kafilas are usually settled by the Zirga council of Kafila leaders (Kafila Zirga) and the Kafila is represented at these council meetings by the kafila leader.
Furthermore, the Kafila leader is alone entitled to take day-to-day decisions regarding whether the kafila should move or stay camped at a particular place and if they move, by what particular route they should travel. Needless to say, this places the Kafila leader in a position of great responsibility and authority and makes his position of critical significance.

A kafila leader cannot expect to exercise this authority, nor can he expect unquestioned allegiance from the Kafila members, unless he has some means available to him whereby he can control the dera constituting his Kafila. Among the means available to him there are two political power derived from the community or the government and popular support. As already noted, the Bakerwals are not organized into a well knit community with a clear-cut internal political structure such as the one described by Barth for the Basseri. For example, there is no chief among them who may be said to confer power upon the Kafila leader. Nor do they enjoy any special powers from the government. Each Kafila usually has two leaders. One is the headman (Numbardar) who is formally recognized by the state government and the other is the informal leader who is regarded by common consent as the kafila leader. This distinction has broken down in the state and practically all informal Kafila leaders are today recognized as Numbardars by the government.
Even so, this does not confer any special political strength upon the Kafila leader and he cannot hope to lead the Kafila upon the strength of such recognition.

A Kafila leader can draw some political power from his economic position, especially since he is nearly always a person possessing a large flock of animals. However, economic pre-eminence is subject to the fluctuations. There have been cases where Kafila leaders have lost their animals and the members of their Kafila have compensated their loss by voluntary donations of animals rather from a Kafila under the next richest man in the unit. There is, therefore, little direct correlations between wealth and Kafila leadership and wealth or economic power, and the power of the Kafila leader can be derived from economic resources only to small extent.

Since the Kafila leader neither enjoys any external political support nor is he able to use his economic position to further his influence, he is ultimately dependent upon his ability to invoke already existing solidarity links for getting his decisions accepted and for the maintenance of his authority. These links are usually those of kinship and friendship. Friendship is frequently used, but the principal link which gives the Kafila leader his authority and influence within the Kafila is his kinship linkage with the other members of the Kafila. There is among the Bakerwals a proverb which runs:
A Kafila is formed by the like minded of people of the group what this proverb implies is that the continuity and harmony of a Kafila is maintained by the continuous reaffirmation by all its member deras of the authority and wisdom of the Kafila leader. This reaffirmation is achieved through invoking both agnatic and matrilateral or affinal kinship relations.

Thus it can be concluded that kinship relations were a primary basis in the formation of the Kafila grouping. So far as my observation allow me to generalise. I found that the Kafilas tended largely to be kin groupings. First, they were dominated by members of a single dada potre group who were closely related through agnatic ties. Second they consisted of affines of the members deras. Unrelated deras were sometimes incorporated into the Kafilas. However, attempts were made subsequently to establish affinal links with such households to strengthen solidarity with them. Thus, though not primarily a kinship grouping, the Kafila tend by and large to be kin groups based on ties of consanguinity and affinity and the Kafila leader is often the individual with the largest number of kinsmen in the Kafila (Barth, 1961:49-70, and Swidler, 1971:69-75).
REFERENCES


10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.


14. Ibid.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AMONG THE COMMUNITY
ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AMONG THE COMMUNITY

Economic life deals with the activities associated with the fulfillment of material needs of the people. Every community has its own way to meet the basic needs for the existence of its members. The basic need of a society are conditioned by natural and cultural factors as well as by the technology.

Profession or occupation is considered as the mean for livelihood. To meet both ends, one has to see or adopt an occupation. Presently, there are different professional persons in a family, but some professions are traditional. One is supposed to adopt the occupation of his predecessors. In ancient times the professions were based on caste, as it was the duty of a Brahmin to read and teach, the Sudra was supposed to serve the above three varans in the ancient society, same is the case with the Gujjar and Bakerwal communities as they are also associated with the traditional occupation. No doubt, these people are going towards other professions and in government services, but traditionally,
they are known for that occupation.

In the plains of Kashmir province, the Gujjar mostly rear milky animals and sell their milk in the market. But these communities residing in various parts of Anantnag District particularly on hilly tracts have owned the traditional occupation, that is the sheep rearing. Sheep rearing are mostly owned by nomads and semi-nomadic people who constantly move their flocks in search of good pasture and water and the nomadic tribe like Bakerwals whose main occupation is sheep rearing, sheep farming as a hereditary occupation which is practised on a very large scale.\(^1\) The migratory flocks mostly owned by nomads are fairly large semi-migratory flocks generally range between 100 to 500, whereas stationary flocks of small holding range from 10 to 100 size.\(^2\) Mostly they are pastoral people and keep sheep and goats. They sell age old bakeries and ghee in the market, a profession which has become an essential part of their economy on which the entire tribe depends. Most of them are nomads though some of them are leading a settled life besides their traditional avocation they do agriculture also as a subsidiary occupation. Because there is a plenty of barren land easily available to them, which remained unproductive, now they produce a little of maize and pulses only and 'Kandi' that is the reeds of maize which form the fodder for the cattle. Bakerwal used to sell maize, flour and peas in the winter in the leather bags
covering impossible gorges and high tracks. While coming to the inhabited village of Kashmiri people, Bakerwals cover nearly 30 to 40 kms. a day in the severe cold and freeze in the winter in exchange of rice.  

It appears that Bakerwal economy has always depended principally on the scale of animals on the hoof, in addition sheep's wool and goat's hair were also always important sources of income in cash and kind. Even today, according to the official report of the Jammu and Kashmir Government's planning and development department, the scale of herd animals and of animal products account for 54.15 per cent and 28.60 per cent respectively of the income of Bakerwal families surveyed. (PDDn.d; Table 27).  

Milk was never sold and still is not because this system does not exist in their community. If anyone will be found by doing so, he will not be good in their eyes and everyone wants to keep a distance between them. In summer, if a family has enough animals and milk is plentiful, it is turned into butter, butter-milk, clarified butter and cheese. These are primarily for household consumption but when there are surplus clarified butter, it is changed with farmers for maize which is the staple of Bakerwal diet. Although majority of Bakerwals are subsistent on the herds many have to draw supplementary source of income by hiring themselves out as shepherds (Aajirs) for a few seasons, or as seasonal
or daily contract labourers. Prosperous Bakerwals with their many horses and mules also hire out these park animals along with their sons or employees, for the trek to Amarnath, a place of annual pilgrimage for Hindus from all over India. The hired persons (Aajirs) are paid 400 - 500/- Rupees per month plus free meals. During the course of field work, the researcher came to know from these persons that they were being given a bakery after the end of every year. Now paying of rupees 400-500 per month have been started since 4 to 5 years. In the agrarian system these (Aajirs) may be regarded as the labourers or the nomads ultimately the owner of the flock himself would construct a permanent kotha and settle down as an agriculturist, this mechanism plays a significant role in the sedentarization of pastoralists.  

According to Dr. Y.S. Parmer; The economic condition of the Bakerwals cannot be judged by their appearance or ornaments. The sight of a family of Bakerwal, moving up or the down the hill, gives the impression that their must be precarious existence and incredibly uncomfortable one. But it has got to be remembered that these are the only people who sell age-old bakeries and are also the traders of meat as well as of wool on a commercial scale. It is not possible to ascertain correctly as to how much profit a Bakerwal makes from this trade after paying the grazing dues, satisfying the requirements of petty officials and village dignitaries
and getting the financial relief obtained by manuring private fields during transit for all intents and purposes, it cannot be incompatible with his hard work particularly when the dues paid are low and grazing availed of enormous.

During the course of field work, the researcher found that on the whole Bakerwals are better off than the Gujjars and Zamindars with whom they live in symbiosis in Kokernag area.
Seasonal Rhythm of Pastoral Nomadism
or
Pattern of Transhumances

The seasonal rhythm of transhumance starts with the onset of spring season, when nomadic Bakerwal caravans, with their herds and flocks of cattle, sheep and goat start moving across the pirpanjal and the vale of Kashmir to high attitude pastures and alpine meadows in the Greater Himalayas, where they remain till the end of summer. On the approach of the winter season they start moving back to the lower foot-hills and the full advent of winter finds them in their winter habitat in the southern valleys and plains of Jammu region. (Fig. 1).

The pastoral nomads of Jammu and Kashmir move from pasture to pasture as per a time tested schedule of movement determined by signals heralding a change in season. In the course of time the Bakerwals have become greatly adept reaching ecological signs impending seasonal changes which guide them from the lower plains through the foot hills to the middle mountains of pir-panjal and thence to greater Himalayas i.e. from a tropical to continental, to an alpine climatic realm.

One cycle between winter and summer pastures has been termed as 'Migration Orbit'. A standard orbit operates as follows:
FIGURE - 1

MIGRATION ROUTE OF BAKERWAL KAFILA
(PIR - PANJAL PASS)
The nomads stay for about four to five months from mid-November to end of March at their winter bases in the outer hills of the Siwalik. With the advent of spring by mid-April the tented and thatched settlement and other temporary residented structures are dismantled and leave a deserted look i.e. the great movement towards the summer pastures start.

By the end of April the middle mountains (the Pir-Panjal) are reached. The Pir-Panjal pastures occupying as they do, an intermediate position between the winter and summer pastures may hold the pastoral nomads from fifteen to twenty-five days. By this time snow starts melting on higher reaches of Pir-Panjal and the pastures come to life. The duration of stay in this zone is partly determined by the fact that some of the difficult and torturous passes across the Pir-Panjal may not yet be open pto the end of April. Sometimes the stay is also prolonged due to occasional hail-storm and snow storms which may occur in late April should thus happen the herders are faced with great hardship as feeding the herd becomes difficult. It is also difficult during the stay at these intermediate passes that necessary preparation to cross the orduous Pir-Panjal passes are made. As soon as the reconnaissance parties report the passes to be negotiable the caravans agains make a move. The Pir-Panjal passes must be crossed early in the morning because with a
strong sun, the melting snow makes the track even more treacherous.

Crossing the Pir-Panjal is the most difficult part of the orbit and quite a few animals, especially horses may be lost due to malnutrition. Occasional intensely cold spells of bad weather and damaged tracks, crossing of rivers and streams is a specially dangerous task for their herbs. It roughly takes from two to three day's march to cross the Pir-Panjal and a full dhiara'.

Once inside the Kashmir valley the nomads want to pass through as rapidly as possible, sometimes covering 25 to 30 kms per day. This is necessitated because of several factors. Firstly, the valley is intensely cultivated as the paddy has not yet been harvested there is a little space for pasturing the herd.

Secondly, the side valleys often harbour groups of notorious cattle lifters, locally known as "Calibans' who are apt to raid and steal cattle, sheep, horses and goats during the night halt.

The Kashmir valley is therefore, simply a transit zone for the nomads who because of compulsions of geography have to pass through. Having rapidly crossed the valley of Kashmir, the nomads stay fourteen to fifteen days in numerous side valley of Kashmir. They stay in these valleys only as long as it is necessary because they have to vacate them
before pastoralist from Kashmir valley arriving after paddy plantation. Prolonged snowfall and in element whether in the great Himalayas sometimes delay the departure of the high nomads for the summer destination in the high attitude pastures while in the side valleys the nomads change their camp sites almost daily in search for new pastures.

The pastoral nomads reach the Alpine meadows known by them as 'Paarly Kashmir' by the end of June. Where they stay for three to four months till the end of September. Here they do not experience the monsoon and the melting snow provides greenery all round. Life during this period is leisurely and comfortable, all allows considerable scope for other activities. Thus, the animals are sheared during this period and the proceeds from sale of wood are utilized for various ceremonies.

Different groups of nomads have their own traditionally assigned 'Margs' and pastures over which they have exclusive rights of exploitation.

Tents are pitched in respective margs and duties assigned to different groups for the efficient management and organisation of the groups. Younger people go with the flocks while the elderly remain at the camp site, to look after the children, construct and repair 'Dharas' (Shelters) and other
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Stay</th>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Duration of Stay</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Season</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed Places</td>
<td>4 to 6</td>
<td>1 day</td>
<td>7 to 10 months</td>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>S NO.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>8 to 10</td>
<td>Last June to Mld June</td>
<td>Greater Himalayan</td>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Short</td>
<td>12 days</td>
<td>9 to 12 days</td>
<td>valleys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stites daily</td>
<td>5 to 7</td>
<td>Mld to last</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Camp</td>
<td>7 to 10</td>
<td>Mld to last</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>20 days</td>
<td>Last April to Mld April</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Long</td>
<td>15 to 20</td>
<td>Mld April to Mld Nov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Camp/</td>
<td>7 to 10</td>
<td>Mld April to Mld Nov</td>
<td></td>
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<td>stites shortl</td>
<td>4 to 10</td>
<td>Mld April to Mld Nov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April Markets</td>
<td>7 to 10</td>
<td>Mld April to Mld Nov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places</td>
<td>4 to 10</td>
<td>Mld April to Mld Nov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Routes changing from season to season*

*Stay duration in the variating ecological conditions along the oscillatory*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Stay</th>
<th>No. of Days</th>
<th>Duration of Camp</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Season</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short Marches daily</td>
<td>7 to 10 days</td>
<td>Mtd Sept. to First Oct.</td>
<td>1. Side valleys of Greater Himalayas</td>
<td>Autumn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Marches daily</td>
<td>4 to 7 days</td>
<td>Mtd to First Quarter of Oct.</td>
<td>2. Valley of Kashmir</td>
<td>Spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Marches daily</td>
<td>4 to 6 days</td>
<td>Mtd to Last Oct.</td>
<td>3. Valley of Kashmir</td>
<td>Summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Marches daily</td>
<td>10 days</td>
<td>Last Oct. to First Nov.</td>
<td>4. Par-Panjal Zones</td>
<td>Winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Journey</td>
<td>7 days</td>
<td>Last Oct. to First Nov.</td>
<td>5. Middle Mountain Passes</td>
<td>Winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Marches daily</td>
<td>7 to 10 days</td>
<td>Mtd to First Nov.</td>
<td>6. Valley of middle mountains and Foot</td>
<td>Winter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**

*The above chart is based on field work done by the researcher while moving with Kazzilas of the Bakerswals.*
domestic chores. It is the duty of younger ladies to bring meals to the herders in the pastures to some higher altitude.

The herders remain at the alpine pastures till the beginning of autumn in early October with the advent of autumn the reverse position of the orbit starts i.e. from the high altitude pastures to the Kashmir valley and then across the Pir-Panjal to the higher ranges (Winter Location) in the lower foot hills where they reach by the middle of November with the herders arrival at their winter camping sites, 'One orbit' of transhumance is completed. It may be pointed out that return trip is undertake at a much faster pace because of the advent of severe winter conditions at higher altitudes. The fear is that an untimely snow fall or sudden rain may block up the passes resulting in heavy loss of animal and human life spurs the Bakerwals to hurry on-down. Back to their winter pastures, the Bakerwals settle down in their kothas and start attending to their animals.

Routes of Migration

Bakerwal nomadism essentially consist of movement from pasture to pasture. The pasture (Margs) are linked together by an intricate system of routes and tracks. For exclusive exploitation, different margs have traditionally been en-marked for different groups. In order to reach its assigned margs, a group has to follow a well defined route
system largely determined by the location groups of the low altitude and high altitude pastures. The haltages enroute are also traditionally fixed.

The important routes and haltages are as follows:

1. Mughal route or Pir-Panjal route
2. Grand trunk route or Banihal pass route
3. Noorpur-toshmaidan route
4. Darhal or nanarsare route
5. Rupri Pass route
6. Budhil Pass route
7. Sarthal Route

Only Grand trunk route or Banihal Pass route will be discussed and others will be left untouched as of no use, because Bakerwals of Kokernag area move during the period of transhumance through this short distance.

Grand Trunk Route or Banihal Pass Route

The Bakerwals who stay during winter in the lower foothills of Udhampur, Reasi, Jammu, Samba, Kathua, R.S. Pura and Ramnagar areas move along grand trunk route or Banihal Pass route. This route infact is used by the nomads for only a very short distance by the National Highway, because even in early spring it is often hazardous to cross the Banihal pass. The Bakerwals however more across the Bahihal to Pahalgam, Kokernag, Kashwan (950 m) and wardwan meadows (3534 m). The following are the main haltages and their altitutdes.
MAIN HALTAGES OF BAKERWALS ALONG THE BANIHAL ROUTE PASS OR GRAND TRUNK ROUTE FROM KASHWAN MEADOWS TO JAMMU DISTRICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Routes</th>
<th>Haltages</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Distance in Km's</th>
<th>Altitudes in Km's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Grand Trunk Trunk</td>
<td>Kashwan</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>or Soof-Shali</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Banilhal Pass Route</td>
<td>Wathnad</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Verinag</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Banilhal Pass (Shaitan Nala)</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Banilhal town</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Ramsu</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ramban</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ladha Dhar</td>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>2440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Kermichi</td>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>762</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Grota</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>635</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The distance of the Haltages is approximate at certain places but the altitude has been recorded by the researcher while on the field trip.
Illustrative Case Studies of Transhumance

The salient features of Bakerwals transhumance has been presented in general terms in the proceeding pages. It may be noted that it is basically an annual orbital movement between low altitude and high altitude pastures along certain well defined routes and tracks. It has been mentioned earlier that one of the principal routes of migration across the pir-panjal, through the vale of Kashmir to the alpine pastures is the Banihal Pass route. To illustrate the seasonal migration in specific terms, given below are concise account of this particular orbit.

The Banihal Pass Route

This particular orbit occurred in 1983 starting in 16th April it took about 66 days to cover the distance between the winter base of the 'Deras' (groups) at Grota to its summer base in the margs around Mughalpur near Drass. During this period the group was on the march for 24 days and spent the rest of time at, 'Paros' 'Halting places).

The Bakerwals are a community of pastoral nomads who transhumant within the territorial limits of the Jammu and Kashmir state, according to set schedules, in search of suitable pastures for their animals. Their repeated Oscillation within a specific space-time continuum has
exercised a decisive influence in shaping the structure of their marriage patterns and kinship groupings, so much so that even Islamic norms relating to these institutions, to which Bakerwals formally adhere, have been adopted to suit the limits imposed by their peculiar mode of existence and physical environment. (Fig. 2) shows the annual migratory cycle of the Bakerwals and the activities characteristics of each phase. The seasonal cycle is repeated almost uniformly every year and constitutes the basic framework of the Bakerwals, Social and Economic life.

Conclusion

Now it has been observed that orbital movement between highland and lowland pastures is the communities ecological response to the temporarily varying spatial distribution of the resource base. There are two space-specific resource bases which are alternatively active during different seasons of the year, one in the lower foothills south of the Pir-Panjal and other in high altitude pastures of the Greater Himalayas. The alpine pastures become snow-bound during winter months and hence their resource value for pasturalists becomes seasonally dormant. That is why herders cannot stay there from October to April. It becomes ecologically imperative for the herders to move down to
lower and warmer altitudes, where they can pasture their flocks during winter months. Transhumance with all the inconvenience which it involves has a tremendous survival value and ecological price which these communities has to pay in order to survive and flourish.
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RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL PRACTICES
AMONG THE COMMUNITY
CHAPTER - VI

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL PRACTICES AMONG THE COMMUNITY

Religion is one of the most essential and foremost aspect while discussing the identity of any group. It has a strong binding force within which it holds the members of a community together, and delineates the identity of the community. Frederic Drew wrote of Gujjar in 1875, "As to religion, all I have met—all who live within these territories are Mussulman. The belief is in NOORALIAH more than in God Himself and rituals, all Islamic have been superimposed by modes of propitiating so many peers and religious leaders from their abode of rest that the whole religious structure is a complete picture of pastoral co-existence of man with spirit-Divine".

Folk Prayer of the Bakerwals of Kashmir:

AIDI IN KARADA BANOOR HO
PAALAM HAARA JANAAB
JEDA PAALADA AISA BANOOR HO PAALADA
PHIR LAKH DARUD PUNCHA
NABI PAAK SAR PARNOOR
JEDA ASMA BE BW KHUDA
NABI PAAK SAKHAR NOOR
The Bakerwals recite this as for Ram Dhun. The Prayer reminds them of the fact that the Almighty is in the sky, but the had sent 'NOOR' through the Nabi for help of the Human Beings.

Beliefs and Practices

The Bakerwal is a Staunch believer in the allah, Al Rahman Al Rahim and is a Momin. He knows that everything is to be read, recited, spoken, written and delivered in the name of the same, who will protect him and the non-believer alike till Qayamat (Resurrection) (dooms day). He thinks that this High God, is an enormous light and lives behind the seven skies where according to them of MIRAJ NAMA the Prophet visited Him when the Prophet was of fifty-two years of age. Their God is Allah or Khudah who created the world. They believe that Prayer (Namaz) should be performed five times a day, among them majority of people follow this strictly.

"SAAL BAVANJA UMR NABI
DEE AAHI US DEHARE
HOYA JADOO MIRAJ NABI
NOO DITTHE ARSHMINERE"

"MOHAMMAD DEDDA NAM US NOOR DA
KITA YUN ZUHOOR APNE MANZOORDA"
Bakerwals of Kokernag town are truly religious minded in general, while some of them become disciples of different schools of thought for attaining purity and soul thereby, salvation here in after which is prevalent among Muslim clergy men i.e. Qadri, Chistie and Qubravi etc.

The Bakerwals profess Sunni form of Islam. Although they are very sincere and devout Muslims. The men invariably keep beards. They pay homage and reverence to the person whom they adopt as their guide and beacon of light. To this person Kashmiri people treat as a peer. This peer is helping them to attain purity of soul in the light of Quran and Sunah. This Peer Sahab generally hails from their own community. He is given everything in cash and kind i.e. Bakery, Ghee etc. which he spends on the poor families of his community. Bakerwal Community seeks advice in worldly matters i.e. marriage transactions etc. He also arranges Quranic teaching centres i.e. called Darshghah for the children of his community and supervision of these Quranic centres (Darshghah) falls in the lot of elders. In many Bakerwal hamlets maulvies are employed to teach Urdu and Arabic alphabets, recitation of the Quran and basic principles of Islam. As the Maulvies themselves are not well to read and their aim is to earn money by exploiting the religious fervours of the Bakerwals, they are more of a liability than
an asset to the Bakerwals. Most of the Bakerwal families own allegiance to religious movements of Sunni Muslims called Barelvi and Deobandi Jamaats.

An attempt was made to study religious observances among the Bakerwals. The results are as under:

Arabic Madarsa, nearly 50 per cent of men and 20 per cent of the women above the age of 15, have read the Quran. Nearly 3/5 of men and 2/5 of women regularly pray five times a day. Almost every one offers Friday prayers. In fact the average figure of 103.4 per cent means that many below 15, too go to mosque to offer Friday prayers. This is significant for mosques are not always near. They visit the same place to offer Id Prayers. The study shows that all male Bakerwals excluding children, babies, old and inform offer Id Prayers. As is the common practice among the Muslims, the women do not go to mosque to offer prayers.

Most of adult Bakerwals, both men and women, fast in the month of Ramzan. They celebrate the festivals of Idul-fitr, Idul-Zuha and Shab-e-Barat with great enthusiasm. In Shab-e-Barat, halwa is prepared and Neyaz is offered by all the families excepting those who are adherents of Deobandi Jamaat. Most of the Bakerwals are not much superstitions and do not believe in witchcraft bhut parct. But they believe in Jins and Shatan and on this account, are exploited by the
Maulvies who perform Jharphook and prescribes amulets for a consideration. The service of the Maulvies are also utilized in connection with observances of certain rituals such as those connected with birth, circumcision, marriage and death.

The Maulvies and Reformist Muslim Organizations have helped in initiating a process of Islamization (great tradition) among the Bakerwals which is likely to be accelerated in the years to come.

Bakerwals like other Muslims believe in Dozakh (hell) and Jannat (heaven). They believe that the deads rest in their graves and appear in the Land of the deads on the doom's day, when they will be rewarded or punished according to their past deeds.

The corpse is buried according to Islamic Tradition and there is weeping and wailing in the family for three days. The bereaved family do not cook food during this period. The neighbours offer food to them. On the fourth day non-vegetarian food is prepared in the house and served to the neighbours in the name of the deceased. On the tenth day, a stone is put on the grave and pudding is distributed among the children in the neighbourhood. After a gap of 40 days, the neighbours and relatives gather at the grave and offer prayers (Fateha).
Every Bakerwal remembers God and invokes Allah before taking his meals. Feasts are offered to the relatives at various religious ceremonies.

(A) Social Aspect of the Community

The community of the Bakerwals is semi-nomadic who are residing in the barren gorges and towards the foot hills of mountains and in isolated forests. This community enjoys the status of migratory life and towards the advent of the summer these people move with all their belongings for nearly six months in the heart of forest, for rich pastures and lively meadows for grazing their cattle heads. With the first spell of winter i.e. in the month of October they recede to their original habitate's.

Their houses consists of flate topped huts, a special feature prevalent outside the valley, these are called 'Kothas'. These are generally of two partitions one serves as a cattle shed, other forms the combined bed room, kitchen and the store room. Guests are also served in the same room whole family sleeps in this joint room. The hearth or 'Chola' is centrally located which provides the warmth to the cattle as well as to the members of the family during winter. A note worthy feature of this community is that they are not using the traditional fire pot 'Kangari' in the winter which forms the part and parcel of Kashmiri people during winter.
The room is furnished with a mat, hey or branches of pine forest trees. As the wood is available in plenty, the summer Kothas are made of big logs of wood one above the other, while the roof is plastered with mud. The permanent Kothas especially winter settlements are usually made of earthen bricks and are plastered with mud. About 10 to 20 such Kothas form the village or a hamlet related families have a common fencing around their houses.

The eldest male member used to be the incharge of the family. No doubt joint family system is prevalent but the tendency is towards the nuclear family system which consists of a couple and their children. When father gets old the responsibility of household is shared with eldest son. But important decisions are not valid without the consent of his father for instance in obtaining a debt, purchasing or disposing of cattle or in performing a marriage ceremony. As the people have a patrilineal system of lineage, property is shared by sons only. Daughters are sometimes given a head of cattle or a piece of land at the time of their marriage, depending on the financial status of the family.
(B) Food

The Bakerwals diet is simple but nourishing. The food of these people consists of bread made of corn flour and lassi. An extract of curds after the butter has been skimmed off. During lunch take a 'Kachric' called wathm, a mixture of maize and rice. These people are now taking rice also. But their staple food is bread and lassi which they like most. They are fond of meat. Inspite of this they also use little milk but are fond of butter and butter milk which they do not sell. In the morning and afternoon they take Moghal or a salty tea. They take tea which Lavishly milked and saltoo. They sometimes get some herbel roots from which they extract after boiling the same type of liquid which Kashmiri people get from the leaves and take it as Moghal tea. It is surprising that the vast majority neither use any beverage nor any stimulant. During the course of field work, researcher came in contact with a dozen ccentenarians among Bakerwals who never touched wine. Whether they pass the snow covered tracks or cross the deep forest, they never feel the necessity of any beverage.
(C) Customs and Festivals

As the tribe has accepted the religion of Islam so they spent their way of life in the same way as prescribed for a Muslim and have customs and festivals in common with other Muslim population of the valley. But in addition to these they have some of their own traditions of tribal nature. In addition to two 'Ids' as in the Muslims they celebrate two more festivals one is known as 'Sodi' which is celebrated in the beginning of April. After the severe cold and long spell of winter these people feel a sigh of relief. This is day from which they allow their cattle to drink the cold water of the streams. From that day they feel winter is over and they sing, dance and make merry women sing in the praise of the spring satire for the winter in their verses. The other festivals are celebrated during the harvest, they collect the harvest in the open and offer prayers to the God for good harvests and move round the heap and sing.

Birth of a male child is an occasion of greater joy than that of a girl. The news of a son is given to the neighbours late to avoid evil eye. A husband can not enter the room, where his wife gives birth to a child. Children are brought up in traditional ways but with great affection. The Bakerwals having no traditional dais of their own, elderly women help in delivery. Many women delivers while in
migration. They are assisted by the women of the Kafila. The first bath of the baby is performed in a broken earthen pot. The mother is given sonth, a sweat nourishing condiment made from gur, dry fruits and certain herbs. She usually takes her bath after five or six days and starts working in a normal manner. During the child birth women sing and congratulates the headmen of the family, while in exchange they are provided sheerani.

No important ritual is connected with naming the child or with its first feeding. Being followers of Islam Khatna (circumcision) is however a very important event in a Bakerwal family. The ritual is usually performed before the male child is nine years old. Khatna is performed by a barber who also pays occasional visits later till the child is fully cured. A feast is usually held at the time of Khatna. If a Maulvi is available, he recites holy verses to bless the child. Just after the birth of children in the same way pricking of ear lokks take place in the young age.

The rituals of aquiqa is performed for protection of life and longevity. It coincides with head shaving in case of children but when aquiqa is for an elder person, head-shaving is not necessary. A small animal like a goat or sheep is slaughtered and the meat is distributed among the kinsmen. Bakerwals do not believe in contraceptive and consider them as anti-social. None should break the laws of God.
A number of ceremonies are connected with death in a Bakerwal family. The dead body is bathed by persons of the same sex as the deceased and then wrapped in a shroud. Like other Muslims, the Bakerwals too bury their dead after funeral prayers which are recited by a Maulvi if present, otherwise by an elder Bakerwal and no meglathic structure are erected, usually on Friday and festivals, people offer blessings on the grave yard in the honour of the deceased soul. Women weep bitterly beating their chests and torn their cloth and hair and repeat the affection incidents in the verses.

At the time of death mourned family do not prepare any sort of meal of their own up to four days. They are served along with their relatives by neighboures upto the fourth day. A big feast is arranged and blessings are made by means of holy men and peers in the name of deceased soul and everybody is served with a feast.
(D) Status of Women

The status of women in the family is not very high. But at the same time she is not ill treated. Among Bakerwal community there is no Purdah System. Instead they hide their face in front of an outsider by means of (gongat). These women are very charactered, faithfull and obedient to their husbands. Men become furious if an outsider stares at their wives. Their women are healthy and hard working. They work with men in fields, cook meal, look after the cattle, they rear children. They are not allowed to cook meals or touch the utensils until the sacred bath takes place after 40 days during their child birth. They milk the cow and buffalo, prepare lassie, while, men controls the whole economy of the family. He utilises the money. Women is not allowed to keep accounts or contact with the outsiders. Women among Bakerwals community do not have any right in decision making matters nor their is any political representation from them.

Dress

Among Bakerwals both men and women, are a handsome lot. Most of the Bakerwals men sport beards which becomes longer with age. When the beard tends to grow white, many people get it dyed with henna. Some of the young men were, however, found to be without beards wearing only
moustaches. But this is not considered at all desirable by the elders. Many old people get their heads shaved.

Their dress consists of a long loose Kurta and a Shilwar or Salwar—generally above the ankles. A short half coat called Sadre and a turban generally three or four turns with a loose portion or 'Patheka' above the neck. In winter they use a Long Strip of woollen cloth wrapped around the legs up to knee called 'Pothu' and shoe made of ropes which has advantage of being light and it fits closely in the feet. Thus can move easily in the heavy snow called "Peel". Women use a short and a shilwar or salwar the difference being bottom is narrow than in the males. Loose salwar and kuriti of dark colours with big flowers printed cloth known as "CHHEET". Head is covered by means of a shawl above a cap* fastened with jewellery and needless. The difference with the Kashmiri traditional women is that they let the cloth loose above shoulders. But the Bakerwal women wrap the cloth round the neck above shoulders. They use a locally made

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* The most attractive colour-ful and facinated is the Topi or Cap which is very simple yet unique with embroidery work having artificial stones and pearls embedded into a design. Attractive display of the jewellery is made of by many silver smithers in cities, which reveals that this jewellery is in good demand. Many foreigners and fashionable women find this jewellery and customs quite fascinating and appealing.
lighter leather pointed shoe, which is also worn by males depending upon the condition if he can afford is called (jorra). This is the typical central Asian horse riders features. Inspite of this the women wear Kurta and Churidar Pajama like the Mohammadan women of Kashmir but do not strictly follow the Purdah system or wear Burka which is a common practice among the Muslim women.

In Kokernag town, where many Bakerwals are better off and are leading settled life, the younger generation has started wearing pants, bushshirts or shirts and is fast discarding their traditional cap. It is common for men to wear shoes or chappels nowadays although not long ago, most of the Bakerwals walked barefooted. A large number carry cotton or wollen chaddars on their shoulders called (Loi) and sticks in their hands. Nowadays many wear wrist watches and rings on fingers. A very important and note worthy difference in the dress with Kashmiri of this tribe is that they do not use the traditional "Pheren", A long loose gown an important features of the Kashmiri dress. Small children also wear the same dress. While the difference is that girls use a cap with long pointed strip which covers the back of their neck, this is known as Takanic.

If customs make a women, the jewellery adorns her further (fig.1). Who better knows this than the Indian
CUSTOMS AND JEWELLERY AMONG THE BAKERWAL WOMEN

Fig. (1)

Fig. (2)
women who has had a centuries long tradition in colourful customs and jewellery. This is what it was and still remains her main passion irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

Researcher is not willing to write about the women grotesquely dressed in chiffons and silks and adorned with gold and diamonds. But about a women who is Quite unusual yet attractive, most tough yet radiating warmth. She is a fascinating women of the hills, of the nature and more among the gypsy women called "BAKERWALNIAN", all over Kashmir of Jammu and Kashmir state.

Though they belong to a universal tribe but they differ in their habits, culture, traditions, customs and jewellery from country to country, state to state and place to place.

We can see them all over Jammu and Kashmir in every changing season with their mobile households going towards green meadows "MARGS" and coming down to plains before the snowfall of the winter.

Customs and jewellery of these women reflect the tough life they are used to live. One does not find delicacy in their ornaments. They are so thick that urban women cannot even imagine to wear all that in their daily routine. These women wear all their heavy ornaments in their daily routine. This is in contrast to urban women who wear light ornaments, that too on special occasions.
The Main Jewellery of Bakerwals Women Include

1. Self designed beads necklaces woven in coloured silken threads.
2. Coins of Indian currency - key shape lockets - usually having silver plating.
3. Chargul or "Loung" either of gold or plating of gold 'as a nose ring'.
4. Jhumkas or Kanta-of silver, for ears.
5. Kangans or Mareedehis and Kadai for arms.
7. Do Ladi hear of silver for neck.
8. Angoothies or rings of silver.
9. Silver-hair pins joints by a chain at both ends.
10. Chhipi a Scarf of chheet cloth. They always keep their heads covered with topi and chhipri (Fig. 2 )

These ornaments are usually made of silver. They also wear glass churis (Bangles) on the wrist. Favourite colour for dresses among women is black or chocolate. But amongst men, there are dark shades of green, or blue or brown colours. Dodhi Gujjars wear light colour dresses but young men are switching over to the preferred colours of Bakerwals. On certain occasions like
going to the township, they prefer to wear a 'Salwar' and a long shirt of some dark shade but of the same cloth. Bakerwal women always wear large number of plaits made of their hair.

(F) Language

The language of Bakerwals of Kashmir has always been and continues to be the most revealing factor about his affinity, his original stock and possible accretions to the same. Grierson (1909 and 1927) discusses the question of Gujjars and their language in Part IX of his exhaustive report. According to it, the Gujjars of the plains have lost their language and adopted that of their neighbours, those of the hills north of the Punjab, who are not Gujjars but Gujjars speak a language closely allied to Rajasthani. The language of the Bakerwals of Kashmir accordingly closely resembles that of Hazara and Swat. The main differences are really matters of spelling. The borrowed form comes from Kashmiri and some of them are instructive. He maintains that there is a Pisacha tendency to disaspirate soft aspirate consonants and then to harden them. Frederi Drew⁴ (1875) concludes that all Gujjars do not speak the same language and that it depends on the country they are settled in not that which they come to in their summer wanderings.
The Anthropologists do not agree with it because a large number speak Gojri and Bhadarwahi, Kishtwari where their usual summer haunt is. All Bakerwals also speak Gojri or Bakerwali. Their dialect include words from Punjabi and Urdu and they are able to follow Hindi also if it is spoken by using words from Urdu and Punjabi. Inspite of this, the Government has given importance to the requirements of Gojri Culture as a result of which the Radio Kashmir Jammu and Srinagar are daily broadcasting one hour Gojri programme. Besides this, there is a Gojri section in Jammu and Kashmir Cultural Academy which annually publishes literature on their culture and history and also organizes cultural and literary functions at different places inhabited by the Bakerwals. The conclusion of Frederic Drew (1875) about their language being a type of Pahari is also not very palatable to the census of India, 1911.

After the account of Frederic Drew (1875), Gujjar were classified under Pahari, but it is doubtful if this is more correct than its previous classification under Rajasthani. The families of this nomadic race, which have permanently settled down in various parts of Jammu and some of Kashmir and taken to agriculture, may have adopted local languages but wandering groups, who form the largest majority have absolutely no dealings with the natives of country and
leading the isolated life that they do, far removed from the village and in the pastures and woods of the land, they have managed to retain their original tongue, and their language continues to be a kin to Rajasthani then Pahari. Berrman G.D. (1975 1978)\textsuperscript{8-9} believes that there is general agreement in the relationship between the Pahari and Rajasthani languages and it is attributable to the movements of peoples, notably the Bakerwals between these two areas.

As to the explanation of Bakerwals picking up Rajasthani, Grierson is of the opinion that Khasas are the first to settle in the Pahari tract and then Bakerwals settled down after 6th century. At that time they (like the Khasa) spoke an Aryan, but not necessarily, an-Indo Aryan language of these Bakerwals, the bulk followed the pastoral pursuit and became merged in and identified with the preceding Khasa population.

In spite of above discussion the Bakerwals have their own Gojri language which they generally speak in between them. According to census of India, 1981\textsuperscript{10} the total number of Gojjari speaking population of Anantnag district is 30576 comprising total 7.1 per cent of population. But they correspond with the other persons in Urdu outside valley, while in Kashmir valley they correspond in Urdu as well as in Kashmiri with Kashmiries as they have learnt Kashmiri with the neighbouring house holds.
(G) Education

Perhaps a major plank in the programme of uplift of the Bakerwals is through Education. During the course of field work researcher came to know that not more than a dozen have gone to a college and those who have passed out of college number only a third of them. Those who have completed high school are also small in number. After a few years of struggle in the school, the Bakerwal child feels that education is not his cup of tea and he drops out. They do not receive any motivation for continuing their studies or performing better in classes from their parents and teachers and the sight of the educated Bakerwal boys and girls without employment would make their parents sceptical about the value of education. On account of severe unemployment in the state, the Bakerwals are not able to get jobs inspite of reservation. Further, the reserved jobs are being given to the non-Bakerwal tribes men who are better educated than the Bakerwals. The various incentives offered by the government to enable the tribale child to avail of education have little appeal to the Bakerwals. Researcher found that one of the main reasons for the Bakerwal not sending his child to school or withdrawing him permanently from school is the imaginary fear that education is very costly. This fear has been deliberately planted in their minds by the encroachers who know that they can exploit the
Bakerwals more if they remain uneducated and isolated. There is no extension service to allay this fear from the minds of the Bakerwals and to tell them of the various benefits that they can get from education.

(H) Health and Hygiene

Bakerwals understand that water of a new place shall affect the members of their family and cattle directly. Mother nature provides all sort of springs, wells, streams and water falls to these mobile tribes liberally. Mixed with all sorts of hebalS, insects, dead animals, dead birds, etc., the open air sources of water are not hygienic. Mobile tribes of Kashmir Valley, Rajourie, Poonch, Udhampur, Kathur and Doda have their own rules for safe guarding health. Whenever, they leave their previous pastures, they carry a handful soil with them and immerse into the new source of water they have to use in new place. They firmly believe that the soil of the previous place shall purify and remove the possible impurities of the water which they have to take. The wonderful aspect of this ancient belief is that the members of mobile tribe and their cattle often remain free from several water borne dieases. These people consume the purest home made products.
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5. Ibid.


LEADERSHIP AND POLITICS AMONG THE COMMUNITY
CHAPTER - VII

LEADERSHIP AND POLITICS AMONG THE COMMUNITY

Leadership is an important factor in the progress and development of any community. The more enlightened and far-sighted is the leader, the more rapid is the progress of the community. Similarly, if the leadership is conservative and traditional, the progress of the community would be slow and halting. Tribal communities are relatively static where traditional plays a very important role. The social work of a tribal community is so integrated that there is little scope for change to take place in the society unless a determined effort is made by the leadership from within or by other agencies from outside.

The people of the Kokernag town work together as a close kin group. They share each others responsibilities in all walks of life. The person who comes to the helm of affairs by virtue of prosperity, family strength and knack of sloving their personal problems becomes sole authority in the community i.e. (Headman). This headman is a wity person and well versed with the religious knowledge and every body of
the community trusts on him. All matters of any significance are brought to his notice, and his advice and participation is sought in all important matters. He is the formal spokesman of the community. The head of the community is generally economically better off due to some economic advantages. He is not being paid any thing for mediating in disputes. All disputes are brought to his notice and the members of his community are expected to obey his command. It is the duty of the head to see that justice is done according to the traditional rules and according to his good sense. The head has the right to punish anybody who does not obey his command.*

Political organization includes the institutions by which the laws and orders are maintained with the neighbouring communities of a similar nature and protected against feuds within. In this sense they do not have any organized political institution as such besides the office of head. From the earlier times till date the members of the community control their own life. The elders of their community constitute the Panchayat.** The Panchayat takes necessary steps in all matters regarding the community. The quorum of

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* If the accused failed to accept the decision of the Head. The accused has to leave the village as well as social boycott also prevails for such an violence.

** Only male members of the community become members of the Panchayat.
No criteria for becoming members, but only those who are well versed with day to day problems of their community constitute the Panchayat.
Panchayat is five. It is they who take decisions on matters of adultery, divorce etc. Their decisions are final and cannot be changed. The head of the community presides over the Panchayat.

The oldest member of the community by virtue of his seniority is recognized as their head. The major function of the community panchayat is the settlement of community disputes. The disputes settled by the panchayat usually relate to;

1. Breach of promises of marriage
2. Restoration of Bridge
3. Adultery
4. Disputes regarding land and cattle, and
5. Family Quarrel, etc.

Even today the disputes which are arising among the community members can be settled also by court/police etc. But they prefer settling their problems/disputes among themselves under the aegies of their head.

Basically, Bakerwals are peace-loving and law abiding people and generally they do not infringe upon their traditional laws. From the early age of their life, they get used to their tradition and customs. However, disputes have been reported among them especially in case of adultery, divorce and similar other cases. The disputes are settled
before the community panchayat consisting of the head and other elder persons. In case of any complaint, both the complaint and the accused are asked to appear before the community council. An appraisal of the Bakerwal tribal political system shows that the political system has two forms:

(A) Traditional Tribal Forms, and
(B) Contemporary Form

The first type is the product of the primitive tribal culture in which political affairs are not functionally differentiated from social and religious matters. The second type is the product of cultural change due to contact with modern life. According to the traditional tribal form the verdict of the tribal panchayat or community council is binding to the tribal people. This verdict is translated into action or it is administered according to certain norms which are prevalent in the community. The sanction behind it is the great faith in the elders and collective leadership.

The traditional Bakerwal political structure is very elaborate and the system is based on democratic principle. The traditional political field centres round the institutions like the head of the community, the Panchayat and the court. At present, frequent access of the Bakerwals to the people of the plains have not weakened community taboos and
social solidarity. It has not undermined the clan system and not lessened the regard and respect for the leader. As a result, the institution of headship is not facing problem of change and disintegration. However every member of their community even today reversed his head. Even the Government has found it advantageous to use the head of the community as the chief change agent in their programmes of Bakerwal settlement. This has further enhanced the position of the head of the community in the eyes of other members of community.

Traditional pattern of leadership has gone only marginal change, because it works on two lines. The ownership of land enables to maintain patronage relationship and contacts with administrators, politicians and other influential urban persons provide a base of brokerage relationship. The leader try to use both sorts of relationship. In this way, they are helped by the educated youths. There is hardly any threat to the traditional leadership as the salaried and educated youth are not yet able to form a class which cuts across factions and caste.
Political Awakening

No matter how the state and Central Government may strive for political freedom and universal adult franchise for all sections of society, it will continue to be an utopia till the common man is not lettered which will enable him to understand the rights and duties in a free and democratic society. This statement is more true about the political life of Bakerwals whose literacy percentage is not so good.

During the course of field work, the researcher found that their votes are being collected by the political agents of various parties who cast these votes into the ballot boxes of their respective representatives. When the Bakerwal men and women were asked about the various political parties, they failed to name even the local parties let alone the political parties at the National level. The only understanding about the political parties was that they support the National Conference Party of Late Sheikh Abdullah.

Education has played its due role into the life style of Bakerwals, and day to day their contact with plain dwellers. By this way they became aware, how to deal with day to day problem and this created an awakening among Bakerwal which coupled with sending an elected M.L.C. to upper house of legislature. Their representativeness pleaded their cause and getting them the status of scheduled tribe
(S.T.). Which is on the final touch by Centre Government. This political awakening has also helped them to get prefential treatment in the selection of candidates for professional colleges.

Most of the Bakerwals do not accept membership of any political party. Those who are members are mostly from the younger age-group while some political parties claim the majority of the members in a settlement, the members of the settlement do not perceive their affiliation as anything more than a verbal consent to be a member of that or that party without knowing the implication of this consent.
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CONCLUSION

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
CONCLUSION

As stated in the earlier chapters, the present work deals with the social profile of Bakerwals, traditionally nomadic community rearing goats and sheeps in the Kokernag area of Anantnag district, (Jammu and Kashmir). The first chapter includes the Historical Background of the Community and Demographic. Chapter second deals with the Method of Study. Chapter third deals with the Family, Marriage and Kinship. Chapter fourth deals with the Economic Organization of the Community. Chapter fifth is Religious and Cultural Practices, while the last chapter deals with the leadership and politics. As the aim of the work was to conduct the social anthropological study of Bakerwals, so it was thought desirable to give the brief historical review regarding the original habitation of the community and their transhumance or migration to the valley. Many great authors have contribution in this regard, but it is still in dilemma to give the authencity without a social anthropological survey of the whole continent of Asia to the places where the Bakerwals are still residing. In attempting to reconstruct the early history of Bakerwals, the very word Bakerwal has
been so differently interpreted by research scholars as to lead a good deal of controversy. In fact, this community first emerged as a corporate group only in the early years of this century (Rao Aparne - 1988). It is a conglomeration of families, whose ancestors belonged to different ethnic groups, spread over to large parts of South Asia. Numerically most important among them was represented by the Gujjars who live as peasants and/or pastoralists in large parts of Pakistan and north and western India, and in some pockets of Afghanistan. However, families from other Islamic ethnic groups of the area such as the Awan and Pasthun of several clans were also drawn into the form of Bakerwal Community. In Jammu and Kashmir state all Bakerwals are Sunni Muslims and their traditional activities range from sedentary agriculture accompanies by a limited amount of multi-stock transhumance to nomadic uni-stock animal husbandary, together with little or no agriculture.
Between these two extremes one finds several types, depending on the precise area and the specific sub-groups of Gujjars. (Rao A. and M.Y. Casimue, 1985, 1987). Bakerwals are physiognomically a class by themselves. They have nothing in common with the ordinary Kashmiri or a Punjabi. The women among Bakerwal Community are not particularly good looking but in many cases have well built bodies and a dignified giat. They generally carry heavy loads on their heads. It
is supposed that these Bakerwals bathe after long intervals of time, because of shortage of water as they have to fetch water far away from their inhabitants. Their women keep their hair dressed in fifteen to twenty thin braids called Gundanie. These braids hang down from under a sort of skull cap which they always wear. It has flaps to cover the ears and the rear part of the head. Their dress, similar to that of nuns, cover the body. The shirts are manifold as in Marwari from neck to feet. Some are so poor to have a change of clothes and a fresh one is prepared only when the one they wear into tatters.

From the discussion of the above work, it has been concluded that the Bakerwals of Kokernag area of Anantnag district are different from the local Kashmiri population in all their physiognomic features, dietary habits, dress, rituals and customs, as well as the historical background of the community is also totally different from the local Kashmiri population.

Continuity and Change

In the foregoing chapters researcher has examined the process of social change in a Bakerwal Community which is comparatively very primitive and numerically small and living in comparative isolation from other tribes and plainsmen. Researcher's aim in studying the Bakerwal Community was to find out the reason for the persistence of tradition among the Bakerwals when other tribes living around them
have been on the road to modernization. Picking up the insights gathered from the different studies, researcher constructed a model of continuity and change in the Bakerwal culture which could satisfactorily explain the changes taking place in a small community. Briefly stated our model is as follows:

In a harmonic social system, change to be effective, has to come from outside. The momentum for this change has to be continuous. For exerting continuous pull on another system, the change agent has to have linkages with the system where change is to be introduced. Linkages can be sustained only if there is a reciprocal dependency relationship between the system wanting to introduce change and the system subjected to change.

When this model was applied to the Bakerwal social system, researcher found that the Bakerwals have a harmonic system, and have few contacts with the rest of the world. Hence it was difficult for the government agencies to penetrate into their system as a matter of routine. Since also there was no reciprocal dependency relationship, that is to say, the Bakerwals did not feel the indispensability of aid from government. They did not favourably react to it and in the absence of strong pressure (for change) from the government, the programmes of tribal welfare which were drafted for the uplift of all the tribes (and not just for the Bakerwals alone) did not have much effect on the Bakerwals.
Major findings of the present study in the context of the above model shall be now summarized as under:

The Bakerwal reacted to a large extent to the changes going on around them. They have started admitting their children to the school to get them educated because of the State Government Scheme of providing them migratory schools and scholarship and free lodging and boarding in the city. Due to the modern trends in the community, printed materials is circulated to educate the youngsters in the field of education, religious and in economy which has given stimulus to them. As a result some efficient educated Bakerwals at present hold high positions in the political field Government departments etc.

Traditional economy of the community has been tremendously passing through transformation into more settled, organized and profit oriented occupations. Since the Bakerwal Community is receiving its exposures of modern media; education and the factors induced changes. These are distinct manifestations of Social Structural Changes. Commenting upon the nature of transformation in simple societies under the impact of the forces of the modernization. Robert Redfield remarks 'Small, isolated, non-literate and homogeneous community with a strong sense of group solidarity turned into large, exposed, literate and heterogeneous society with a sense of functional unity.
Bakerwals use fertilizers and purchase Cattles through State financial department agency. They cultivate these land in the light of present trend in agriculture and derive incomes higher. Inspite of this, they have planted fruit trees in their waste lands that has given philip to their economic conditions. Apart from agriculture a large number of Bakerwals have taken to trade and commerce, besides being absorbed in the service sector. They have now permanently started settling down in almost all towns and villages have retained several links with the traditional ways of nomadic life. The easy and available mode of transport helps them to work in towns and urban areas their by earn substantial amounts which help them to ameliorate their economic position to some extent.

The State Government has given importance to the requirements of the Gojri culture as a result of which the Radio Kashmir Srinagar and Jammu are daily broadcasting one Gojri programme. Besides this, there is a Gojri Section in Jammu and Kashmir cultural academy which annually publishes literature on their culture and history and also organises cultural and literary functions at different places inhabited by the Bakerwals. This has brought a tremendous change in their ancient mode of life. State Government has set-up certain boards for ameliorating the Bakerwal Community in order to bring them as a whole at par with other developed groups of the state.
It appears that in the transhumant Bakerwal Society there is a positive correlation between economic levels who can afford to, because of greater affluence, make a break with pastoral nomadism are the first to adopt a stable, sedentary life. To begin with an affluent Bakerwal who comes to own a large flock, acts like an absentee landlord in an agrarian system. He would not himself move with his flock but would rather employ "A^iris" for the purpose. In the agrarian system these "A^iris" may be regarded as the labourers or the nomads, ultimately the owner of the flock himself would construct a permanent Kotha and settle down as an agriculturists, this mechanism play a significant role in the Sedentarization of pastoralists.

Sheep Husbandary department exclusively meant for the development of sheep has proved very useful for Bakerwals. With the development programmes in the field of sheep breeding and the timely guidance has brought a new ray of hope for the sheep rearer. Sheep husbandry also organised various programmes and workshops in order to give proper techniques to the farmers about sheep rearing. Sheep husbandry sector is dealing with the most backward and down trodden communities of the district. Marginal farmers and landless labourers are benefitted by adopting sheep rearing as a subsidiary occupation through District Rural Development Agency (DRDA). Sheep farmers are educated about modern
scientific techniques in the management of sheep for higher production of wool and mutton. The cross breeding programme is directed to upgrade the sheep rearing profession. The present programme of upgrading local sheep gives a hope for producing Apparelwool instead of Carpet wool. Sheep husbandry or sheep rearing is ideal for the increase of production in wool and meat which also provide ample scope for wool based industry.

The new techniques and scientific methods attracted the people of this community on a large scale and developed the sheep rearing with the cross-breeding etc. It also increased the annual production of mutton and wool and made a significant improvement.

Steps are being taken to introduce mechanical shearing of private flocks in place of hand sheering. Apart from this, the Bakerwals of this area are getting numerous facilities regarding the development of profession. Now they are well acquainted with the modern scientific methods. Different measures adopted by them from time to time in order to keep their sheep fit and healthy. A type of curiosity has been developed in the minds of the sheep farmer to rear the sheep in maximum number because of the organization of various exhibitions and fairs in which everyone gets the opportunity to exhibit their product.
Under the impact of modern forces of change, the social and cultural institutions have started showing symptoms of transformation. Traditionally after the marriage spouse had to establish a separate house hold (dera). Now there can be some cases where the son after being married continues living with his parents and contributing socially and economically to his parental family. This may lead to increase in the size of family, but the reduction of numbers of household. The emerging trend has an obvious advantage of delaying the partition of economic assets.

As mentioned in the earlier chapters the daughter at the time of marriage receives a share in her father's property. The amount of this share is decided on the basis of her father's economy and social status. This tradition is in conformity with Islamic prescription of a girl's share in her parents property, this practice is still continuing. But on the other hand unlike other Muslim women, Bakerwal women donot observe purdah. This again indicates an evolutionary trend in a nomadic society. During the course of observation the researcher found a trend of delaying the marriage of sons and daughters in the families, but the engagement takes place at an early age when the boys and girls are just mature. Marriage relationship is more a choice of the family and not of the individual, however, if there is any case of pre-marital sex-relationship, it is
socially advised that the participants must now marry. Conflict and tension in husband wife relationship leading to a situation of separation and divorce is generally not allowed to grow because of apt and effective intervention of parents. Incidence of divorce is therefore typically low. During the course of field work, researcher came to know through the informants that brides are now receiving dowry (daaj) like sofa-set, bedding, television set etc. Inspite of their share from parents property, this has brought a tremendous change among them. Inspite of this younger generation particularly educated youths have started participating in the decision making matters regarding their community problems as well as in political affairs.
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