REDEFINING ECOLOGY: IMPACT OF RAJAJI NATIONAL PARK ON THE VAN GUJJAR (A NOMADIC PASTORAL COMMUNITY)

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this dissertation entitled "***Redefining Ecology: Impact of Rajaji National Park on the Van Gujjar (A Nomadic Pastoral Community)"*** is carried out by me under the supervision of Professor. R. Siva Prasad, Department of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, and has not been submitted for any degree in part or in full to this University or to any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Mr. Alok K. Pandey (Reg. No. 06SAPH04)** has carried out the work embodied in the present dissertation entitled **"*Redefining Ecology: Impact of Rajaji National Park on the Van Gujjar (A Nomadic Pastoral Community)*"** under the supervision of Professor. R. Siva Prasad, Department of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad. The dissertation represents his independent work and has not been submitted for any research degree of this University or any other University.

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Introduction

In India, a considerable proportion of communities derive their livelihood by engaging in a variety of activities other than agriculture. There are many nomadic communities who depend on nature for eking out a livelihood[i]. In pursuance of their livelihood they move from one place to another. This very nature of nomadism is linked to the ecology, livelihood and the other linked communities (Misra and Misra 1982). Human-nature relationship becomes important in case of nomadic communities, more so with the nomadic pastoral communities whose livelihood is hinged to the livestock and natural resources. These communities live in a symbiotic way with nature, and treat nature and themselves as a single entity. They treat nature as one that bestows a bounty of resources for their existence. This understanding is embedded in their cultural systems. Their culture, the guiding force to life, provides a knowledge base that helps them to pursue their livelihoods and to manage the ecology as well.

They have an intricate understanding of nature and its functions. Their relationship with nature is dynamic (Ellen 1979). They adapt themselves to the changes that come about in the nature by redefining their cultural and social realms as well as knowledge bases. In contrast, when communities are displaced from their natural setting and forced to adopt a new livelihood, their knowledge systems goes totally out of gear in an alien environmental setting, thereby affecting their livelihoods, and life itself. This has serious implication for both people and the environment (Siva Prasad 2001). Dislocation of communities from their natural and social setting is not merely a physical displacement but is also a cultural (knowledge) dislocation that results in a disjoint between nature and culture. This also would impact the sacred/ ritualistic relationship between nature and people, leading to alienation of people from their nature.

In a new physical and social environment, one's knowledge system becomes redundant and will be of little use in pursuing their livelihoods. A different knowledge base is necessary for the communities to adopt a new livelihood and sustain

themselves in a new setting. In this regard, Siva Prasad and Pandey point out that, "… some communities are always at the receiving end of social and economic change. This is more so with the marginal communities like foragers, pastoralists or those who depend on natural resources for their livelihoods. When socio-economic changes are affected, the traditional knowledge of the marginal communities, on which their livelihoods depend, also gets affected. The advantage of new knowledge lies with the non-marginal dominant outside communities. Thus, like change, knowledge is also related to the positional advantage of the communities. … Shifting to new ways of living, for the marginalized communities, or for that matter for any community, is a complicated affair and it becomes difficult for them to cope with the new changes. For making a new livelihood functional, a strong knowledge base is essential. The community is expected to have knowledge about the new livelihood that they pursue, besides knowledge about the new resources that will be useful for their living" (2008, 51). Therefore, if a people are removed from their natural and also social setting, they become dependent on other's knowledge and mercy. This leads to a situation of despair where the people and their culture will be always in a state of flux.

I

In anthropology scholars have analysed the functioning and continuation of culture and society in the context of nature. When nomadic communities, like the pastoralists, or even the sedentary communities, are evicted from their natural settings due to the development initiatives or for conservation of forests, wildlife and biodiversity by the State, it raises certain questions. What happens to the people's cultural knowledge and livelihoods? When a people are displaced from their moorings and relocated in a new environment, their traditional cultural knowledge and livelihood system are no longer in a continuous negotiation with the earlier environment. In a sense, it may be pertinent to say that people dislodged from their natural setting also get dislodged from their culture.

It is presumed that the separation of a people from a given ecological setting creates a discord between nature and culture. The cultural symbols, meanings, value systems, cultural knowledge and cultural rules that order people and nature relationships may have no relevance in a new setting. The older cultural knowledge

makes little or no sense in a new environment. Then, how does culture help in adapting? In such a context, how can we claim that culture uses man and man uses culture (Spradley 1972), and how can we claim that culture is adaptive? In other words, the culture that helped a people to organise in a given natural environment becomes unusable in a new environment. Does this imply that cultural knowledge becomes irrelevant in an alien environment? As Godélier argues, "A society always exists as a whole – that is, as an articulated ensemble of relations and functions, all of which is *simultaneously necessary* for its existence as such, but whose importance for its reproduction is variable. That is why the reproduction of any given society cannot continue beyond certain variations or alterations in the social relations which constitute it and the material base upon which it depends" (1988: 6). Given this, how do we look at nature-culture relationship and how do we understand ecology from a community's point of view in a new manufactured environment? Theory of culture change needs to account for such manufactured cultural change and its implications for the nature-culture relationship and it's disjoint.

Conceptualisation of Culture

Culture is a contested concept. Amongst anthropologists there is no agreement on a common definition of culture. Anthropologists generally assume that human beings are the only beholders of culture. However, there are some who argue that non-human primates as well as the other animal beings too have culture (Bennett 1976; Tomasello 1999; Firth 1967). The only difference between both is the fact that human cultural traditions and artifacts accumulate modifications over time (Tomasello 1999: 518), also known as the Ratchet effect. It allows accumulation of cultural information over time, which individuals can access, modify and innovate. This unique adaptive feature of culture allows individual to access information that they have never personally experienced. Such information is symbolically transmitted (Alvard 2003).

Culture for some anthropologists is learned behaviour or socially transmitted behaviour (Keesing 1958: 16, 427, cited in White 1959: 228). Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952: 155, cited in White 1959: 228) view culture as an abstraction from concrete human behaviour but it is not behaviour itself. Radcliffe-Brown views culture not as a concrete reality but a vague abstraction (Radcliffe-Brown 1940: 2, cited in White

1959: 228). In other words, culture has something to do with human behaviour. It is imitation and learning of information from individuals or groups (Boyd and Richerson 1984). It is socially transmitted information from one person to another or a group. This cultural transmission is regarded as an adaptation strategy (Alvard 2003). Culture consists of cultural information system, which is central to society. The information system is part of a shared cognition existing as cultural knowledge amongst its members (Spradley 1972; Sperber and Hirschfeld 2004; Alvard 2003).

Psychological studies have shown a close association between culture and behaviour (D'Andrade 1981; DiMaggio 1997; Nisbett and Norenzayan 2002). Cultural factors have an influence upon individual behaviour (Berry 1997). They are organised as knowledge systems that guide human behaviour. The elements of knowledge and their arrangement into cognitive maps and plans are based on certain rules. Cultural rules guide the behaviour of people. Further, the Levi-Strauss model of structural transformations suggests that mental patterns are very much a closed system operating within a set of very strict rules (Cited in Alland 1975, 62). These rules may be tacit in people's minds. The rules exist on a shared basis that influences attitudes or value systems in 'tribal' communities which give uniformity to behaviour (Steward 1955; Benedict 1934). A change in these rules may make it difficult for people to function or may alter cultural behaviour altogether.

Spradley gives two explanations of culture based on behavioural and cognitive definition. The behavioural attribute of culture consists of a patterned behaviour in a social group that can be observed. The cognitive definition excludes behaviour and concerns itself with ideas, beliefs and knowledge (Spradley 1972: 6). As Ward Goodenough remarks, "…Culture is not a material phenomenon, it does not consist of things, people, behaviour or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating and otherwise interpreting them" (Goodenough 1957: 167, cited in Spradley 1972: 7). Similarly, culture refers to the wide distribution of information, its representation in people's minds and the expression of it in people's behaviours and interactions (Sperber and Hirschfeld 2004).

The cultural knowledge helps society to organise itself and function. The customary behaviour results partly from the cultural knowledge which is learned by members governed by cultural rules. Spradley (1972) remarks that cultural rules "include the idea that culture uses man, in contrast to the view that man is an active agent who uses culture" (1972: 19). Culture becomes something separate to human beings which they use to negotiate life. It is not part of the organic whole. It operates at a higher level of complexity. This phenomenon Alfred Kroeber refers to culture as 'The Superorganic' (Kroeber 1917).

Another aspect of knowledge formulation, unique to human cognition, is the ability to create models and symbols of the external world called symboling (White 1959; Spradley 1972; Tomasello 1999). "By "symboling" we mean bestowing meaning upon a thing or an act, or grasping and appreciating meanings thus bestowed…only man is capable of symboling" (White 1959: 248).Symbols are context specific. "When things and events dependent upon symboling are considered and interpreted in an extrasomatic context, i.e., in terms of their relationships to one another rather than to human organisms, we may call them culture, and the science, culturology" (White 1959: 231). Culture for White "is a class of things and events, dependent upon symboling, considered in an extrasomatic context" (1959: 234). He further explains, "A people's behavior is a response to, a function of, their culture. The culture is the independent, the behavior the dependent, variable; as the culture varies so will the behaviour" (White 1959: 241).

II

Culture, Cognition, Ecology and Livelihoods

Indigenous communities belong to an 'ecological niche' on which they depend for their survival (Barth, 1981). Descola (1992) refers to such communities as 'societies of nature'. These communities perceive the self in synthesis with the environment (Bennett 1976). Nature is integral to their culture and survival. Generally, people and nature live in a state of symbiosis. Disruption of this relationship leads to a destruction of livelihoods and natural systems (Kabra 2003). Communities have cultural taboos that regulate tapping of resources from nature (Alland 1975). If cultural norms are violated, cultural sanctions are imposed. Societies

of nature regard nature with a sense of reciprocity. Their relationship with nature is ritually sacred (cfGodélier 1988: 34; Xaxa 1992; Gadgil and Chandran 1992). These societies have been viewed as part of a totality, a particular ecosystem wherein people, animal and natural objects co-exist in an energy-source interrelation (Godélier 1988). People's formulation of ideas, beliefs, knowledge, and symbols emerges in relation with nature. People's life is ordered by nature and nature is ordered by people (Bloch 1992). People construct models of the environment called cognized or folk models (Rappaport 1967 and 1977; Descola 1992; Bloch 1992; Kuper 1992). Nature is a social and cultural construct. It is both biophysical and social, simultaneously. People impose meaning on the environment using culture (Barth 1956; Levi-Strauss 1972; Ortner 1972 and 1992; Bird David 1990; Escobar 1996; Milton 1996; Descola and Palsson 1996; Croll and Parkin 1997). In other words, culture is embedded in nature. Nature and culture influence each other as they exist as an integrated whole. Folk models bring together human beings and natural objects within a single conceptual framework. Maurice Bloch (1992) shows amongst the Zafimaniry that a social and biological process, such as maturation, is also a natural process. "Social relations are experienced as natural in part because they are learnt, picked up, together with the associated knowledge about the natural world" (Kuper 1992: 11). Similarly, Descola shows that the Amazonian people create a sociology that unites human beings and animals into a single social field. The folk sociologies of people are ecologically learnt (Descola 1992).

It seems clear that people and nature do not exist as a duality. At least, people do not perceive themselves existing separate from nature. It is, to use Rappaport's term, the 'operational model' built by the 'outsider', anthropologist, foresters, ecologist, conservationist that represents culture and nature existing in a state of duality. Maurice Bloch opines that "…Cultural process cannot be separated from the wider processes of ecological, biological, and geographical transformation of which human society is a small part…" (1992: 144). However, the duality between nature and culture is being questioned by many scholars (Ortner 1972; Levi-Strauss 1973; Godélier 1988; Descola and Palsson 1996; Barth 1992; Croll and Parkin 1997; Ingold 2000; Mathew 2005; Goldman and Schurman 2006). As Godélier (1988) conveys, "The boundary between nature and culture, the distinction between the material and

the mental, tend moreover to dissolve once we approach that part of nature which is directly subordinated to humanity – that is, produced or reproduced by it (domestic animals and plants, tools, weapons, clothes). Although external to us is this nature is not external to culture, society or history. It is that part of nature which is transformed by human action and thought. It is reality which is simultaneously material and mental. It owes its existence to conscious human action on nature – action which can neither exist nor be reproduced without the intervention not simply of consciousness, but of every kind of thought, conscious and unconsciousness, the individual and collective, historical and non-historical. This part of nature is appropriated, humanized, becomes society: it is history inscribed in nature" (1988: 4-5).

It seems clear that both culture and nature are important for some communities to be bound together, sustain and continue. But what keeps a cultural group together requires explanation. Sperber and Hirschfeld (2004) remark that "A cultural group is held together by a constant flow of information most of which is about local transient circumstances and not transmitted much beyond them" (Sperber and Hirschfeld 2004: 40). It refers to similar ideas, beliefs, symbols, cultural practices and information held by the group. All of which should be transmitted between members in their natural setting or environment. Sperber and Hirschfeld (2004) further argue that "cultural representation and practices must remain stable enough across the community through which they propagate for people to recognize themselves as performing, for instance, the same ritual, endorsing the same belief, or eating the same food. To maintain their stability while reaching a cultural level of distribution cultural information has to be transmitted again and again with very little alteration or else accumulation of such alterations would compromise the very existence of culture" (2004: 40). Societies living in nature require their environment to generate and transmit cultural practices and information for the continuity of the cultural group. Without nature the utility of culture comes into question.

Nature is necessary for those who depend on it for a sustained livelihood. If people (read culture) and nature are detached from each other, how does such a culture help people in adapting to an alien setting? In a new environment the cultural information that people behold may have little or no utility to them. Hence, culture in

a given natural setting helps communities to construct and perceive a world where they can live. Sapir (1932: 233, cited in White 1959: 242) observes that the ideas and feelings of the individual are influenced by the natural environment that they dwell in. The displacement of people leads to a separation of people from nature and culture.

Culture plays an important role in ecology as an adaptive mechanism to the environment (Bennett 1976; Tomasello 1999; Alvard 2003). Spradley views human interaction as symbolic interaction. "Man does not merely adapt to his environment, but to his symbolic environment, which may include the far reaches of the universe" (Spradley 1972: 15). For Spradley (1972:18) the generative capacity of symbolic thought is one of the primary factors in culture change.

The ecosystem concept claims that the system has the capability to return to a steady state after disturbances occur. Culture in the ecosystem concept is seen as an adaptive or coping mechanism by behavioural systems to perturbations. Behavioural systems act to maintain a stable state (homeostasis) of equilibrium that ensures the continuity of the system, when conditions permit. The ritually regulated ecosystem, according to Rappaport, amongst the "…Tsembaga and other Maring helps to maintain an unde-graded environment, limits fighting to frequencies that do not endanger the existence of the regional population, adjusts man-land ratios, facilitates trade, distributes local surpluses of pig in the form of pork, throughout the regional population, and assures people of high-quality protein when they most need it" (1977: 224). On the contrary, Godélier adopts a materialistic approach in discovering the organisation of society in the ecosystem. Using a Marxist perspective, Godélier wishes to discover the "relations between the material and intellectual productive forces of a society reproducing itself within a determinate ecosystem, and the social relations which function therein as 'relations of production'" (Godélier 1988). What happens to the communities that are dependent on nature if their relations of production are altered by the State, Corporates or others?

III

Conservation – Disjoint between Nature and Culture

Conservationists seek to protect nature's diverse plant and animal species in wilderness. They believe that preservation of nature can happen only by separating human beings from nature. This is done by creating areas known as Reserves Forest (RF), National Parks (NP), Wildlife Parks (WP), Wildlife Sanctuaries (WS) and Protected areas (PA). In India, there are 97 NPs, 508 WSs and 614 PAs.[ii] These spaces are way of "seeing, understanding, and producing nature (environment) and culture (society) and as a way of attempting to manage and control the relationship between the two" (West et. al. 2006: 14.1). There has been a rapid increase in conservation territory. In 1985 territory under conservation was 1.0 million square kilometres; by 1997 it has increased to 12.2 million square kilometres worldwide (IUCN and WCMC quoted in Zimmerer 2006: 64; also see West et. al. 2006). In India, the Planning Commission estimates that 21.3 million persons were displaced by various development projects between 1951 and 1990 and 8.54 million (40%) of the people displaced belonged to the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe (ST) category. Only 2.1 million are reported rehabilitated, while 6.4 million are still displaced (Bijoy 2008: 1761). Since 1973, 80 villages and 2900 families are affected due to displacement from Tiger Reserves (Rangarajan and Shahabuddin 2006: 360).

Though community conservation initiatives are popular, conservation through PAs is still the dominant model in many countries (for details see Brockington and Igoe 2006). PAs represent a power equation between the State, nature and social groups. It is a space where the global and regional powers manifest themselves. Zimmerer (2006) calls the period from the 1980s to the 1990's as the third wave of environmentalism, in which there is a thrust on 'sustainability' to define conservation worldwide. Proliferation of conservation territories worldwide has depended on the extension of existing types of units as well as rapid evolution of novel management spaces, such as community conservation, watershed based projects, and management of buffer zone of biosphere reserve (Zimmerer2006, 66).

The extinction of wildlife species has further intensified the need for conservation (Orlove and Brush 1996). Orlove and Brush (1996: 331) identify three

levels of conservation policy. The first deals with the individual species, which they call population ecology. Efforts are made to limit or prevent hunting of animals and harvesting of produce from the forests. The second level deals with protection of habitats of endangered animals or plants. This they refer to as ecosystem ecology. The last is landscape ecology, in which entire assemblies of ecosystem are managed.

Conservation of wildlife and biodiversity in India and other countries is synonymous to exclusion, displacement, relocation and sedentarization of communities (Abu-Rabia 2000; Kabra 2003; Nautiyal et al 2000; Nuemann 1998; Karanth 2005, 2007; Choudhary 2000; Chatty 2003; Brockington and Igoe 2006). Conservationists argue that eviction of communities from Protected Areas helps the areas, and further aids people to get integrated into the mainstream society (Kabra 2003). It is pertinent to ask who comprises this 'mainstream'. Are we, by this nomenclature, then suggesting that many marginal communities practicing diverse livelihoods are not part of this so called 'mainstream'?

Conservation of nature means conservation of wilderness, devoid of human activity, a concept borrowed from the West (Nuemann 1998; Carolan 2006; Brockington and Igoe 2006; Bijoy 2008). It restricts people's activities in the Protected Area threatening people's livelihoods. In most cases indigenous people or traditional forest dwellers are displaced from the forest. The idea emerges from biologists' notion of 'pristine wildernesses' or 'intact natural landscapes' (Karanth and Karanth: 2007) wherein ecosystems is kept free from human disturbance to return to their natural state (Karanth 2006, quoted in Rangarajan and Shahabuddin 2006: 360; Orlove and Brush 1996: 335; Karanth 2007).

Conservationists claim that resource extraction by pastoralists and forest dwellers within Protected Areas has led to habitat loss and a decline in animal species (Karanth et al 2006; Karanth and Karanth: 2007). On the contrary, Rangarajan and Shahabuddin observed that in Sariska Tiger Reserve, much of the extractive pressure is from urban centres and not from local populations. The forest department's commercial forestry program is another contributor to resource loss (Rangarajan and Shahabuddin 2006). Pastoralists dwelling in forests are accused of creating pressure

on the ecosystem as they use these resources. Furthermore, they are blamed for the denial of fodder and pastures to the herbivores in the forests. They are blamed for seeking revenge for their loss of livestock attacked by Elephants and big cats (Tigers and Panther) by retaliatory killing, i.e., poisoning the carcasses which the carnivores eat (Karanth and Karanth 2007). However, Agarwal and Saberwal (2008) rightly point out that the degradation of pastures and forests is exaggerated by the Forest Department, and this is used as a reason by the Forest Department to claim a right to managing the forests (2008: 291). Pastoralists are also blamed for the 'Tragedy of Commons' (Hardin 1968). Empirical and historical accounts suggest that presence of people and forest management practices have benefited wildlife (Savory 1991). Large tracts of the Konkan part of the western plateau were treeless before the advent of colonialism. Fire was used to generate grasslands to provide fodder to cattle for at least forty centuries (Rangarajan 2002: 140). The grasslands benefited deer and antelope. After relocating people from Protected Areas, fire and cutting has to be managed by the Forest Department (Rangarajan and Shahabuddin 2006: 367). In the past, the presence of people has created large space, prevented forest degradation and encouraged large herbivores (Ewers 1998, cited in Chatty and Colchester 2002: 8). In the Serengeti National Park in Africa the grasslands were maintained by the Maasai people. Once the people were removed from the park it led to growth of scrub and woodlands, leaving less grass lands for antelope (Adams and McShane, cited in Chatty and Colchester 2002: 8).

The governments assume that they are capable of formulating policies best suited for these communities. But their intervention has resulted in more problems for both the people and nature. In Israel, the removal and relocation of Negev Bedouin, mobile pastoral group, led to reduction in grazing areas. Flock sizes reduced, the relevance of the flocks has lessened. Their social relations were altered. The displacement further led to the collapse of customary practices of checking overgrazing. The traditional conservation practices of resource use have become difficult to continue (Abu-Rabia 2002). There are similar cases from Africa and many parts of Asia. In India, the removal of Van Gujjars from the Rajaji National Park (RNP) has led to the dwindling of the Neel Ravi buffalo breed, further threatening their livelihood (Rollefson 2007).

Describing the displacement and resettlement of indigenous communities, Young and Makoni observe that, 'At Nagarhole in Karnataka, some dispossessed adivasi had been rehoused, but in rows of airless matchbox houses next the main road through the park and without access to their traditional sources of livelihood. Most of the 6 – 8,000 who remain near the forest shrines and burial sites are driven to work as coolies (wage labourers) for the Forest Department (FD) and for encroaching planters of teak, coffee and tobacco… Highly insecure, forbidden to cultivate, gather food or keep animals, even those adivasi who want to live as 'flexible' labourers find few lasting and dignified – let alone well-paid – jobs in an alien culture – except as guides to timber and wildlife smugglers' (Young and Makoni, 2001: 8, cited in Mathews 2005:21).

In another case of resettlement from Bhadra wildlife sanctuary, claimed as one of India's better planned and executed resettlement efforts (Karanth and Karanth 2007), Karanth (2007:320) observed that people sold their livestock as they did not have access to grasslands. They are not used to the new environment and they were 'taking time to settle down' as cultivators. It was further noted that after four years of resettlement, people have access to electricity, water, schools, health care and transport and communication. Their income and assets have increased. It is claimed that people are satisfied with the quality of life. Does access to infrastructure imply that people have been able to adapt and reorganise their lives? Does this imply that their earlier cultural knowledge, which has no relevance in the present context, has completely decimated? In that event, what happens to their identity?

In Gir and Kanha national parks the nomadic hunter gatherers have been unable to adapt to settled agriculture (Rangarajan and Shahabuddin 2006). Writing on the Pastoral Maldhari people, another example from Gir National Park, Choudhary (2000) holds the ecology centred view of development wherein people are not part of nature, he observes "The exercise of resettlement has not achieved desired success. Around 45 per cent of the resettled families have left the new sites where they were resettled. Some sites have been deserted completely, others partially. Some families have come back to the Gir forest. It was not easy for a community fully dependent on

animal husbandry to switch over to agriculture quickly. As a result, many families who have stayed at the new sites have suffered seriously and have become labourers. Resettlement has affected the maldharis negatively. This is the result of an ecology centred view of development" (Choudhary 2000:2668). The Maldharis have been culturally uprooted (Choudhary 2000). In the case of Nanda Devi Biosphere reserve, the sedentarization of transhumant pastoralists led to the loss of grazing areas for livestock and competition for resources with the sedentary population (Nautiyal et al 2003). Conservation and rehabilitation have caused serious problems for the indigenous communities in Kuno National Park. The families abandoned their cattle after relocation as there is no access to fodder. People have shifted to goat rearing from cow herding. There has been large scale migration in search of employment as daily wage earners. People desperately want to return to collection of resource from the forests as a livelihood (Kabra 2003).

IV

People's perception of the environment forms a specialised body of knowledge, called Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), which is held by people who stay in close proximity to nature. Customary knowledge systems show how people's traditional practice of resource extraction using traditional ecological knowledge and local perception is compatible with the values of conservation (Gadgil et. al. 1995; Xaxa 1992). TEK does not make a strict separation between human beings and nature. Ethno ecology and its variant, TEK, are identified as an important aspect of ecological studies (Gadgil et. al. 1995; Fikret et. al. 2000). It is an important way to negotiate with the environment. People derive their livelihood from nature using TEK, which is helpful in conservation of biodiversity. "Resource management characterized by TEK systems allows unpredictable perturbations to enter the system, instead of locking them out. In indigenous cultures, a knowledge base has evolved to provide guidance on how to adapt to, but actively modify their natural environment by managing feed backs for the sustainable use of the resource base" (Gadgil et. al. 1995: 295).

It is argued that TEK is the natural process of adaptation. According to Gadgil et. al. "It is codified essential information on how to respond to changes in the

environment, such as game depletion, soil exhaustion and forest succession" (1995: 293). Pastoral and other indigenous communities use it to adapt to the environment. Drawing an example from Africa, the Kenyan Maasai widens the radius of their cattle grazing around their water sources as the wet season advances. This is done to ensure enough grass during the dry season (Fikret et al 2000). If the changes in nature are induced by human intervention, it becomes difficult for people to adapt using their TEK. TEK becomes either redundant or has minimal use in alien environs. People's relationship with nature alters when their TEK systems are no longer relevant.

When removed from their environment people are deprived of a symbolic relationship. After the displacement of nomadic Maasai people from Protected Areas, and their subsequent forceful settlement, they began destroying nature by killing rhinoceros and elephants (Chatty and Colchester 2002). They have become enemies of nature that they once protected with the help of their traditional knowledge system. In a new environment their TEK becomes redundant. The outcome is they begin destroying what they once conserved.

It is evident from the various studies that displacement of people from their natural setting has deteriorated their livelihood and existence. In most of the displacement cases people do not adapt but are forced to accept a way of life. Their earlier way of life has no meaning in a new environment. If culture, as claimed by various studies, has the capability to adapt using knowledge systems and behavioural systems, people should be able to reorganize themselves as a community in a manner similar to the older natural setting. However, this does not seem to be the case. Culture does not help them to find a way of life in their new settlements. Then how do we account for a people's culture which is totally dissociated from nature.

V

Nomadic Pastoralism and Cultural Disjoint:

Nomadic pastoral communities depend on their livestock and environment or nature for a livelihood. Nomadic pastoralists are conscious of the seasonal availability of fodder and water and their lifestyle is deeply enmeshed with their ecological knowledge (Evans-Pritchard 1940). For instance, the Van Gujjar's buffalo herds are

indicators of change of seasons. Their buffaloes become restless when there is a shortage of resources (Rollefson 2007). Using TEK systems the Van Gujjars migrate to their traditional dwellings in the Himalayas using traditional migratory paths. Pastoralists', like the Van Gujjar and others, intricate understanding of the geographical landscape and migratory routes help them to sustain their livelihoods. They establish an economic and social relationship with peasant communities along the migratory routes. They share a symbiotic relationship with other communities. The dung of penned livestock on the agriculture fields provided manure, and in return their livestock are allowed to graze on the crop remains after harvest. Changes in agriculture patterns and structures have eroded this relationship and further threatened pastoral livelihoods (Vira 1993; Koller-Rollefson 1994; Rao and Srinivas 1998; Srivastava 1997; Srivastava 2001; Ramdas 2004). Among the Trans-human pastoralists of Tamil Nadu, Siva Prasad and Inbanathan (1998, Cited in Siva Prasad 2001: 206) report the disappearance of village traditional institutions. According to Siva Prasad, "It was found that the decline or virtual absence of village commons and adoption of modernised agricultural practices, etc. have led to a decline in cattle population and total disappearance of traditional mechanisms of village level cattle jails, village guards who used to protect agricultural lands from the grazing livestock. This has also affected the traditional arrangements between villagers and trans-human grazers. The cattle or livestock grazing supervisory mechanisms have virtually disappeared. This has also affected the coping mechanisms of the local communities to the vagaries of nature. Thus the organic linkages were broken leading to depletion of resources" (2001: 206).

In India, nomadic pastoralists and forest dwelling people have been the victims of a twofold historical injustice. On one hand, the enactment of number of policies and forest laws by the colonial and post-colonial administration led to the abolition of customary rights and usages of people depending on the forests for a livelihood. On the other, they were forced to accept sedentary agriculture (Stokes 1986, cited in Sivaramakrishnan 1995: 22). Secondly, policies on wildlife conservation were responsible for the eviction of nomadic pastoralists and other indigenes from their traditional homeland.

Theoretical Framework:

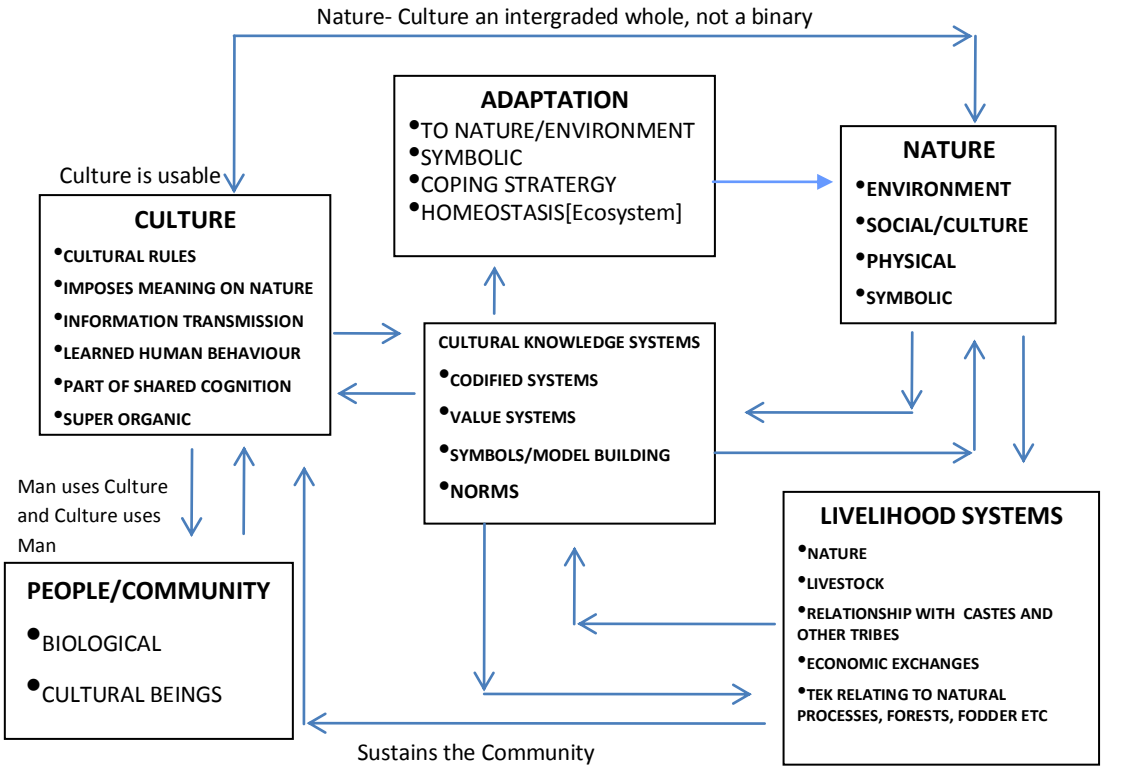
Existing theories in anthropology explain the relationship between culture and nature in a state of continuity. The relationship between nature and culture is dialectic. In a natural setting, people negotiate regularly with nature using their cultural knowledge to sustain their livelihoods. Communities adapt to natural changes that occur in nature by making cultural adjustments. When communities are separated from their natural setting because of 'development' interventions, the relationship between nature and culture gets ruptured. Their cultural knowledge will be of little use in reorganizing their lives in an alien environment. This calls for redefining culture-nature relationship from the perspective of the people displaced from their natural habitat due to human interventions. Anthropological theories do not explain the consequence of such separation of people from nature on their culture and cultural knowledge and *viceversa*.

The theoretical framework adopted in this study assumes that the separation of nature and culture affects the previous social relations of production. In the new environment the older cultural knowledge will be of no use value and their culture will no longer be reflective in a totally alien environmental setting. Hence, people forge new social relationships in order to pursue new livelihoods and to acquire new knowledge and resources in support of them. In the process, people become dependent on the others and their knowledge for their continued existence, as these others control the new livelihood and knowledge pertaining to it. This framework is illustrated in the following two diagrams (1.1 and 1.2).

Nature, be it rural or urban, is integral for the continuance of a culture, which is also essential for the continuance of nature (Diagram 1.1). If they are separated from each other it results in the disruption of livelihoods, social relations, alienation of people from their surrounding nature, ultimately leading to the depletion and degradation of nature itself. This can be seen in Diagram 1.2 which explains the consequence of displacing people from Protected Areas (P.A) for conserving nature. In this context, knowledge becomes unusable. Knowledge systems are of little use in helping people to adapt in such an alien environment. Social relationships alter leading to disruption of traditional livelihood systems. This further threatens the sustainability of the community itself. The outcome of the changes results in people

becoming dependent on government, outside agencies and individuals for their livelihood and existence.

DIAGRAM 1.1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK SHOWING CONTINUITY BETWEEN NATURE AND CULTURE

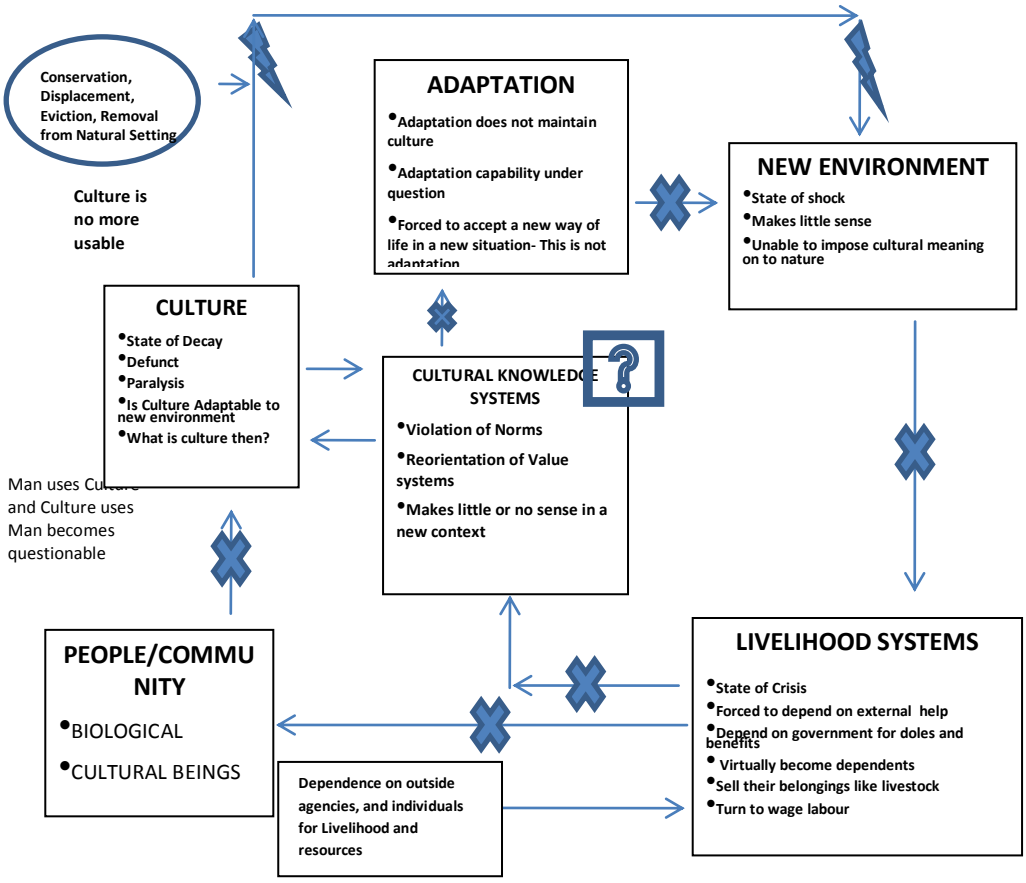


The above models is constructed based on the systems principle, wherein each element is interconnected with another, the change in one element results in a change in the other elements. The interrelationship of each element with one another forms an integrated whole. In the above framework (Diagram 1.1) culture and nature are perceived as a single unit among communities that are directly dependent on nature for their survival. Culture is used by people to adapt to nature from which they derive their livelihood using their cultural knowledge systems.

When communities are removed by the State from their natural setting, for example from forests and landscapes declared as Protected Areas, how are we to understand ecology, the relationship between culture and environment where people are relocated. It urges us to understand the new relationship that is forged as a consequence of culture being dislocated from nature. This calls for a new understanding of ecology or 'Redefining Ecology' from the communities'

perspective. The older relationship between nature and culture (people) is not the same in a new environment. Understanding the community in terms of its previous ecology will only be partial. Hence, the concept of ecology needs to accommodate the people's new relationship between their 'culture' and altered nature. In a sense, people redefine their ecology after they are removed from their natural habitat, as their earlier ecology has no meaning in the changing contexts where the culture is divorced from their nature (Diagram 1.2). In this regard the present thesis attempts to address the discontinuity between culture and nature by analysing the case of the Nomadic Pastoral Gujjar community dislocated from the forest declared as Rajaji National Park in Uttarakhand. The above diagram depicts the consequence of separation of people from nature. Once removed from nature, their culture and cultural knowledge systems become unusable, posing difficulty for people adapting to a new livelihood in a new environment. People become dependent on outsiders for survival.

DIAGRAM 1.2: CONSEQUENCES OF DISJOINT BETWEEN NATURE AND CULTURE



Objectives of Study

1. To understand the livelihoods of Gujjar within and outside the Protected area
2. To understand the consequences of the relocation of the Van Gujjar on their culture and ecology
3. To understand the interactions of Gujjar with the other communities in pursuit of their livelihood
4. To understand the consequences of displacement and relocation on the institution of pastoral nomadism that characterises the Gujjar.

Methodology and Study Area

Using the above theoretical framework and objectives, the present study was carried out among the nomadic Van Gujjar (henceforth Gujjar) of Uttarakhand located in the Rajaji National Park (RNP). This intensive empirical study was carried using traditional anthropological fieldwork techniques. The fieldwork was carried out between February 2010 and January 2011.

The declaration of RNP and the removal of Gujjar from the forest have resulted in two groups: the one relocated into two colonies and the second residing in the RNP due to their not being identified as the beneficiaries of relocation (Map 1.1). Besides these two, there is a third group residing and pursuing their traditional livelihood in the Reserve Forest that is not part of RNP. Thus, for a better understanding of the process of displacement and its impact on culture – nature relationship data were gathered from the above three groups of Gujjar, as the third group can be taken as a control group while the other two can be considered as representing two different dimensions of the same process of displacement.

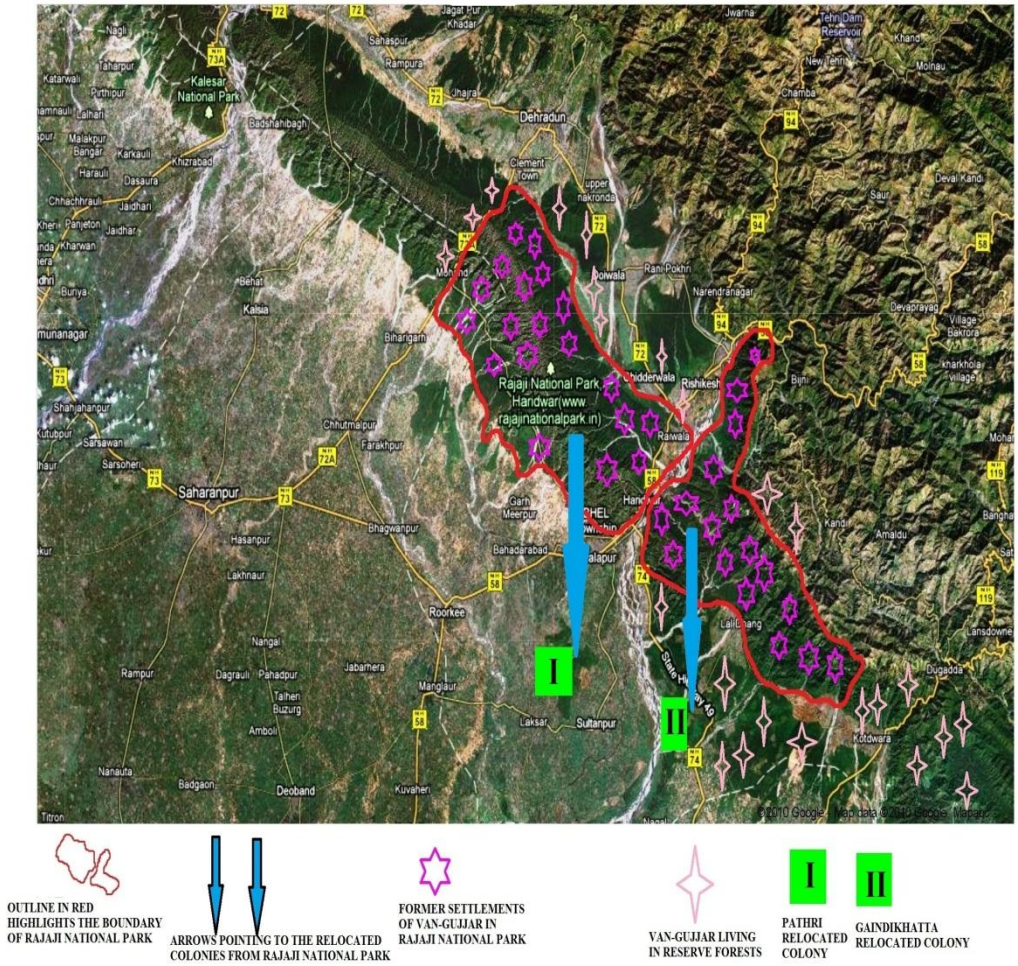
Thus, to understand the Gujjar from a holistic perspective, our study not only focussed on the 'Relocated Gujjar', but also took into consideration the RNP and RF Gujjar. Data were gathered from seven settlements of the RF Gujjar during fieldwork. Short term nomadic movements occur in the plains (known as *Des*) of Uttarakhand. The Gujjar during the winter season migrate to *Kandi* for lopping of trees and return to their homesteads (known as *Dera*) in the plains at the end of the lopping season. Long term migration is when the Gujjar migrate to the high altitude mountain (called

locally *Paad*) grasslands (known as *Panjal*) and return to *Des* in the winter months. Depending on the place where the Gujjar migrate, the distance and elevation differs. Local migrations span anywhere between 20-35 Km. Long term migrations, Gujjar cover approximately 200 Km or even more. During the summer months the RF Gujjar join the Relocated Gujjar and migrate to the new grazing areas in the district of Bijnor, Uttar Pradesh. The Relocated Gujjar are given agricultural land in anticipation of taking up agriculture. However, most of the Gujjar lease their land to their kinsmen or to non-Gujjar (Hindu and Muslim).

Data were gathered by staying with Gujjar families in their homestead during this period. Household schedules were canvassed in Basti to gather basic information pertaining to population of Gujjar, their education levels, gender, herd population, and data pertaining to agriculture. The researcher employed participant observation and accompanied them during their nomadic movement, in their construction of huts, grazing livestock, observing fast (*Roza*) and ritual celebrations. Participant observation helped the researcher in understanding the changing Gujjar life from an emic perspective. Further, it also helped in cross checking information gathered from Key Informants, group discussions and informal interviews.

A total of 1,390 families are identified by the State Forest Department as eligible for relocation package (refer Table 1.1). Out of this, 512 families have been relocated in Pathri and another 613[iii] in Basti. In Basti 265 families are yet to occupy land allotted to them. The total number of beneficiaries identified by the Forest Department in Basti is 878 families. Currently, 613 families have taken possession of land in Basti. Though, on record 613 families have accepted the land allotted to them, not all of them stay in Basti. Many Gujjar families from the Basti stay with their kin in the forest (Rajaji National Park), who are refusing to vacate the park as their names are absent from the relocation list. According to the Gujjar leaders and other Gujjar, 1,608 families are yet to be considered part of the relocation package. Considering 613 Gujjar families have occupied land allotted to them in Basti, about one fourth (150) of 613 families is taken as a sample for household survey. These 150 households belong to the Chilla, Gohri, Haridwar and Ramgarh ranges and are relocated in parallel streets called sectors by the forest officials.

MAP 1.1: Van Gujjar Relocation from Rajaji National Park to Pathri and Gaindikhatta (Relocated Colonies)



Secondary data generated by the State pertaining to relocation was collected from various departments. Also, information was gathered through interviews from forest officers and wildlife specialists. Information was also gathered from the official website of the Government. Discussions were held with Foresters at the Indira Gandhi National Forest Academy (IGNFA) and Wildlife Institute of India (WII), Dehradun (both specializing in research and training on forest and wildlife) to understand their view of the forest and wildlife conservation and management. Discussion with Conservation Biologists helped to understand the issue from a different perspective. Information regarding displacement and relocation of Gujjar was gathered from the Assistant Conservator of Forest and Rehabilitation-In-Charge, Rajaji National Park.

Table 1.1: Status of Gujjar Rehabilitation in Two Relocated Colonies Pathri and Gaindikhatta

Sl. No	Name of the Range	Total Number of Families (as per 1998 survey)	Rehabilitation Status (Number of Families)		
			Pathri	Gaindikhatta	Total
1.	Chilla	193	0	193	193
2.	Chillawali	260 (175)	2	83	85
3.	Dholkhand	234 (2)	130	102	232
4.	Gohri	149 (82)	0	67	67
5.	Haridwar	254	194	60	254
6.	Kansrao	85	43	42	85
7.	Motichur	116	101	15	116
8.	Ramgarh	99 (6)	42	51	93
Grand Total:		**1390 (265)**	**512**	**613**	**1125**

Numbers in the parentheses refer to the number of families yet to be rehabilitated

Source: Mishra et al 2007

Process of Identification of Villages

The initial proposal was to undertake fieldwork among the Gujjar from RNP (controlled) and the relocated colonies (experimental). Due to the denial of permission to the researcher by the Chief Wildlife Warden to the RNP, it was decided to accompany RNP Gujjar to *Panjal*. These Gujjar are called 'left out' families (*Chute Huae Parivar*) by the Basti families.

The reasons cited for not granting permission were the Gujjar in the park are illegal residents and are treated as encroachers by the State. The argument of Forest Department was that if the Forest Department gives permission to the researcher to carry out research in the Park it would give legal sanctity to the Gujjar who, according to the Forest Department, are 'illegal' occupants. Obviously, the Forest Department is trying to deny the Gujjar presence in the Park. Secondly, the researcher was told that there are restrictions imposed by the State on resource access and use on the Gujjar. Despite government's refusal to accept, Gujjar continue to reside in the park in various parts of the State. These Gujjar are denied permission to enter the Rajaji National Park. However, they pursue their livelihood by bribing lower forest officials and stay in the periphery of the RNP and other forest area and tap resources.

The idea of the study was to understand the situation of the Gujjar ecology amidst the park. The researcher approached the Chief Conservator of Forests (CCF), Garhwal, for permission to carry out research amongst the Gujjar staying in the Reserve Forests of Garhwal division of Uttarakhand, which was granted. Visits to settlements adjacent to the RNP boundary and other forest settlements helped to understand the livelihood and culture of the Gujjar in the forest. When the researcher learnt about the nomadic movement to the high altitude grasslands in the district of Uttarkashi and Tehri (both in Garhwal region of Uttarakhand), fresh permission was obtained from the CCF.

Considerable time was spent interviewing Gujjar to understand their situation after displacement from their forests. Gujjar in the plains in few pockets adopt local nomadic pattern to *Kandi*. They go into the forest in the winter months and come out of it in the summer season. This is based on the permit system of the Forest Department.

Local nomadic movements within the plains of Uttarakhand were documented by participating with the Gujjar. For example, six families migrated from the Siwalik Hills to the plains, at the end of the lopping season in winter. More than fifty Gujjar families belonging to the relocated villages, Reserve Forests and the Park migrate to a new resource base (not accessed by Gujjar in the past) in the Bijnor district in Uttar Pradesh, along the bank of the Ganges. The places are Khadar and Barrage. The Gujjar began moving to this new resource base since the last twelve to fifteen years.

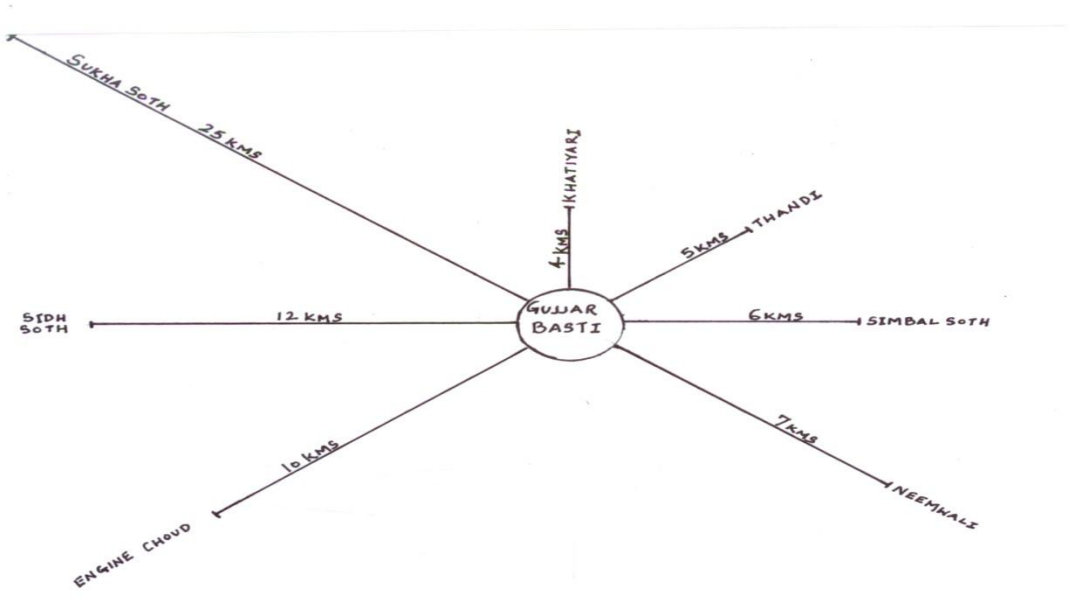
In view of gathering a complete perspective of Gujjar life, information was gathered from three groups of Gujjar (Table 1.2). One group belongs to Pathri and Basti. The second group belongs to the left out families who continue their nomadic movement to *Panjal*. The third group of Gujjar stay in the Reserve Forests of Uttarakhand, who still have the State's permission to access resources. Few Gujjar migrate to the local Siwalik Hills (*Kandi*) during the winters for lopping trees. These Gujjar reside around the RNP boundary and other Reserved Forests of Uttarakhand. They continue their Pastoralism in the Reserved Forest. Seven Reserve Forest villages close to the Relocated Gujjar Basti were chosen (Diagram 1.3) for the survey in order

to compare them with the relocated population. Forest villages are thinly populated as permits are given to Gujjar to reside in the forest. The sample population of Gujjar Basti is high as the Gujjar are concentrated in one place while the forest villages are scattered. Hence a small sample size of the RF Gujjar was taken for the study (thirty households).The seven sample RF villages visited during the fieldwork are SukhaSoth, Engine choud, Neemwali, Thandi, SidhSoth, SimbhalSoth, and Khatiyari. Their distance from the Gujjar Basti is between 4-25 kms (Diagram 1.3). During summer when the RNP Gujjar migrate to *Paad*, some families continue living in the forest, while others join the Relocated Gujjar and migrate to a new location in Bijnor District of Uttar Pradesh.

Table1.2: Sample of Different Gujjar Groups Studied

Gujjar Group	**Settlements**	**Number of Households**	**Location**
Relocated Gujjar	Gujjar Basti,	150	Gaindikhatta, Haridwar District
RF Gujjar	SukhaSoth, Engine choud, Neemwali, , Thandi, SidhSoth, SimbhalSoth, and Khatiyari	30	Reserve Forest Plains (Des), Haridwar District
RNP Gujjar	Bujola,Rajkhark , Talri,Panwali, Mata	09	High Altitude Mountains (*Paad*) Tehri District

Diagram 1.3 Sample RF Villages and their Distance from Gujjar Basti



Getting into the Community

One cannot begin fieldwork without entry into the field, group, or community. It is the first step in preparing oneself to conduct fieldwork. The next challenge was to gain confidence and trust of the people. Rapport building process takes time, needs patience and is also determined by the behaviour and outlook of the researcher. The researcher's entry into the Gujjar community was facilitated by a Scientist at the Wildlife Institute of India (WII), an institute pioneering research in wildlife and biodiversity conservation. The field assistant of the Scientist is, a Gujjar, who assists him to set up infrared camera traps in the forests of Uttarakhand. Through the camera, wildlife, primarily the Tigers habitat, behaviour and movement are monitored and analysed. Having expressed a desire by the researcher to carry out fieldwork amongst the Gujjar of Uttarakhand, the Scientist friend requested his assistant to make arrangements for the researcher's boarding and stay, for a year, in the relocated village, with a Gujjar family. The assistant's brother GhulamHussain (henceforth GH) agreed to host the researcher. GH became one of the most important key informants for this study. The expense for hosting the fieldworker was decided as Rs 1,500 per month. The researcher stayed with GH's family, slept in the common room of the *Dera* and became a part of the GH family.

Entering the Gujjar Muslim pastoral community and staying with them was no easy affair. It was a culture shock. The researcher, a North Indian Brahmin, socialised in Hindu traditions, initially viewed Muslim community differently. The researcher has Muslim friends, whom he considers close, meeting them in urban spaces, universities, dinning with them, was not a new idea. The 'Muslim' was known to the researcher from a distance. During his younger days, he went to a mosque to offer *Namaz* (prayer) with a friend. The researcher did feel insecure, as to what may happen if the people in the mosque came to know of his identity. He did not know how to offer *Namaz* (it requires knowledge of ritualised body positions and chanting of holy versus) and one's body movements could say it all. Coming in contact with Muslims in public spaces, listening to the *Azan* or even greeting and being greeted at Muslim festivals are part of everyday living. Staying with a Muslim community, which knows that the researcher is the other (Hindu), had a different field experience. It may be assumed that a Muslim anthropologist may have a different experience studying the

Gujjar. The researcher was carrying the burden of his culture unconsciously to the field and was conscientious of not imposing it on the people being studied. However, the imposition cannot be completely avoided. One may be very careful in doing so, and the sheer presence of an outsider in a culture draws attention of the people. People observe carefully and imitate smaller ways of conduct of the researcher. It may be difficult to claim that the researcher has no impact on the people and their culture, the presence itself has an impact, but the effort was to try and minimise one's influence on the people who we choose to study. For example, the Gujjar men squat to micturate. The researcher was not conscious of the religious significance and micturated standing, until a Gujjar pointed out '*Humare Mazhab Mein Khade Ho Kar Peshab Nahin Kar Sakte'*(in our religious faith we cannot stand and urinate). This was a cultural signpost; people are constantly watching the fieldworker. The difference in people and the researcher's habits reinforce differences.

Imponderabilia of everyday life, as Malinowski put it, was different. Rites of passage, daily bodily ablution, religious practices, food habits, values attributed to hygiene and dress patterns. In other words, the whole culture of the Gujjar was unfamiliar. During the initial days of fieldwork, as a Hindu, one of the head of the Gujjar asked the researcher not to greet the other Gujjar with their traditional greeting of '*assalam walikom*'. He expressed his feeling 'that you think a Gujjar will be happy if you greet him in an Islamic manner? They will not like it. You should greet them by saying Namaskar, one should be proud of their *dharm* (religion)'. This meant it would be tough to establish a rapport with the Gujjar. On one occasion a Gujjar was greeted with a N*amaskar* by the researcher, he reacted by saying '*dhadi rakh ke bhi Namaskar'* (you sport a beard and greet Namaskar, referring to greeting in the Islamic manner). A change in approach was desired. The headman was greeted in the Hindu manner, while the other Gujjar were greeted in their traditional style. Like any lengthy fieldwork, one is expected to be equipped with medicines to attend to medical emergencies. The researcher had a stock of basic first aid. On occasions of illness, medicines were given to few Gujjar, they were relieved. Ailments pertained to cough, cold, headaches, dysentery, vomiting and fever. GH's persistent coughing at nights alarmed the researcher; a doctor friend in Dehradun gave medicines to be given to GH. The doctor suspected bronchitis and advised GH to stop smoking beedis. One of

the medicines was a cough syrup. After taking it he found relief, and was in all praise for the doctor. After a few days, one of the headmen, Mohamed, elder brother of GH, said that he too found relief after consuming the cough syrup and wanted a bottle for himself. This was sign of confidence in the researcher's presence in the relocated village. Hereafter, the headman never objected when he was greeted in the Islamic manner. On one occasion money was collected from all the people in a Council meeting for constructing a mosque, including from the researcher who they know is a Hindu. The contribution was acknowledged by the Gujjar, by a Shabash! (Well done). Seeing the researcher's note book, a Gujjar asked one for maintaining accounts pertaining to the Mosque, which was obliged. There are many opportunities for a fieldworker to assimilate with the community being studied.

Generally, Gujjar are unable to read or write in Hindi or English. Most of the official documents are either in English or Hindi. Mohamed sought the researcher's help in decoding most of the official documents. Mohamed marked the documents with signs or wrote an Urdu word behind, to identify the documents contents later. The researcher was called to document and collect signatures in the traditional council meeting involving donation of land by a Gujjar for the construction of a Mosque. Gujjar reached out to the researcher to fill Government forms, check bank passbooks, and scrutinize Forest Department permits and other records. These signs are read as being accepted amongst Gujjar people. While fieldwork was being carried out, the Forest Rights Act, 2006 (FRA) form were being filled by Gujjar living in the forests. One early morning, the researcher received a phone call from Ali, a Gujjar living in Pilipadav, to meet Shamma at the Gaindikhatta market. The researcher rode pillion to his village and helped to fill many FRA forms (a total of thirty). This was an opportunity, to build rapport with the Gujjar living in the forest. The researcher understood the life of Gujjar living in forest areas close to the relocated village. These Gujjar are not part of the forests declared as the RNP.

Participation in activities is an effective way of getting accepted in the community. Azad Gujjar's buffalo fell into the canal while drinking water. It was pushed by another buffalo breaking its hind leg bone. Unable to move, it had to be lifted out. Many Gujjar belonging to different clans gathered to help the buffalo. The

researcher participated in the rescue operation. Community members take note of these efforts and talk amongst each other. GH felt short of labour as he has one son. He requested his brother's children to help him in constructing his hut (*chan*). Constructing a Gujjar *chan* requires labour power. Participating in the *chan* construction, by lifting heavy wooden poles, digging holes to place them earned the researcher a place in GH's good books. On another occasion the researcher's help was sought in moving a heavy water pumping engine from the fields to another field. Younger Gujjar advised the researcher not to work for GH, suggesting that the researcher paid money for GH on wedding invitations (one occasion the researcher paid, as GH did not have money) and for staying in his *Dera*, above all the researcher helping him in different tasks. These gestures helped in gaining confidence of the host and his kin. GH had a scrimmage with few Gujjar. Knowing that the researcher stays with GH, the other Gujjar never came to his *Dera* to meet the researcher. They would meet him outside. There were moments when they would stand at the entrance and call for the researcher. This behaviour may be a sign of reinforcing their differences.

Photographs and videos are an attractive medium of establishing rapport. With excitement the host family saw the photographs of Gujjar nomadic movement, their family members, livestock and the places visited by the researcher. When GH's kin visited his *Dera*, the researcher was made a spectacle. Gujjar would be curious about the presence of a stranger (researcher) in the house. They would enquire the purpose of the researcher's presence, amongst them. GH would proudly speak about the researcher. He asked the researcher to show pictures to those who visited him. Slowly the news spread to most of the Gujjar in the relocated village. The outcome was a demand for private screening of photographs to their family. It became a regular affair each day. Gujjar are free by night, especially the younger members, after a day's hard work. During dinner, new faces would gather around GH's *Dera*, waiting for an opportunity to show their families the photographs. The boys and young men would make advance bookings, if they were told that the researcher had promised to visit a particular Gujjar's house, they would spontaneously reply 'ok, tomorrow, when will you come to my house'. On few occasions, Gujjar came to pick up and take the researcher on their motorcycle, to show the pictures to their family members. One instance Mai, a Gujjar youth, called the researcher out of the GH's *Dera* while he was

taking a siesta. He thought it's very important so he hurried out. Mai asked the researcher to come to his house immediately, as his wife wanted to meet him. Curious, the researcher enquired the reason; he said he quarrelled with his wife. When asked 'how could the researcher be of help in such a situation'. He said 'bring the computer along and she would be happy'. It was fine to show pictures as it helped bring the researcher closer to the people. But it cut into the time to write down field-notes. After a point it became frustrating as lot of the writing and resting time was lost.

Khanoo, a young and ambitious Gujjar, is exposed to life outside the Gujjar world. He watches movies, reads newspapers and is well informed, compared to the other Gujjar of his generation. He said one can watch movies on the computer, 'why don't you show us few'. The researcher began debating the consequence of this initiative, after having been bitten once, by displaying photographs to the Gujjar. These decisions were not in the hands of the researcher. Khanoo arrived with Video Compact Discs (VCD) that produced poor video quality. He requested the researcher to get a movie the next time he went into town and he would bear the cost. The cost was not the issue, but beginning the process was! The researcher purchased a Bollywood cinema, 'Dabang', casting Salman Khan, it was a new release. Young Gujjar gathered to watch the movie, they enjoyed amidst a lot of excitement. This opened the Pandora's Box. Khanoo, purchased movies like Sanam Bewafa, Bagawat, Jeet and many others, which they expected to see every night. Most of the evenings went by organising movies for the young Gujjar. GH called all the young Gujjar boys who gathered each evening to watch movies as 'lund party' (not worried or responsible about anything). The venue shifted from his *Dera* to Khanoo's. Often GH's son Basheer, alias Nani, would want to watch movies along with the other boys. In the nights, he is expected to take care of his children or the agricultural fields. Noticing his son's intentions of joining other boys for a movie, GH asked the researcher to stop showing movies. He felt that it is a waste of time and instead of being at home and doing work the boys are learning unnecessary things. He further commented this is not accepted in Islam.

Khanoo and his Uncle (GH) began arguing over the morality of watching movies. Khanoo defended watching movies, saying movies like Sanam Bewafa and Laila Majnu has much to teach us about Islam. One learns through them. GH asked the researcher to tell the boys that the computer was left in Dehradun. Considering the loss of the evenings and advice by GH, it was decided not to screen movies further. The Gujjar responsible for the researchers stay in the village, his mentor, came to know of the events and volunteered to take possession of the laptop. Any Gujjar who enquired about movies was expected to meet him. During the developments with the laptop, a widow named Masha, complained of the researcher's visit only 'leaders and rich people' of the village, to show movies. She said *'kya hum gair hain'* (referring that the researcher considers her someone different or from another community). She remarked that, 'what fault have we committed, that you don't visit my *Dera*?' Confused and concerned, for the last time a movie was screened in her house. Unable to bear the sudden packing of the 'movie club', Khanoo the lund party leader, came requesting to see the last movie, Laila Majnu. After much effort the movie was bought. The researcher directed him to talk to his mentor and GH. Finally, GH and the mentor suggested that a last movie may be shown. Later did the researcher discover that his mentor wanted to watch the movie too! Laila Majnu took the group by a storm, all of them enjoyed it and they wanted to watch it many more times. Realizing the whole idea of abruptly stopping the movie club as futile, the researcher would play the movie for them and continue doing his work. All events played to the advantage of the fieldwork process.

During the first few weeks of fieldwork, a traditional council meeting *(Penchi)* occurred. Being curious, enquires were made by the researcher if he could attend the *Penchi*. GH declined his intention to attend, but said, his son would accompany the researcher. The researcher asked him if the conversation may be recorded. It was difficult to seek permission in a huge gathering from the political council leaders as the situation was tense. People were arguing, and it was difficult to comprehend. If the researcher barged in to seek permission, he was afraid that he would be recognised as an outsider and perhaps be beaten for proposing to record a sensitive situation. The researcher continued recording confidently, without the councils consent, as GH was informed about the anthropological ways of gathering information. On the

researcher's return to GH's *Dera* (his field home), he enquired about the meeting, and the recording was played. He was amused by the instrument. It became popular within days amongst the Gujjar. During one of the leaders (Roshan Baniya) nephew's wedding, GH asked the researcher to play the recording for the leader who was part of the *Penchi*. Roshan was amused. He smiled after listening to the recorded conversation once again. That evening the researcher became an acquaintance with the leader. The voice recorder helped him gain familiarity in the relocated Gujjar village. Most of the time, after a conversation with a Gujjar, they asked him to play the *Penchi* recording for them. There were instances of people being wary about the voice recorder. Shafi, an old Gujjar, kept asking the researcher to switch off the machine. He had to be convinced that the recording would not be taken to the Forest Department.

Learning few terms of the Gujjar language (Gujroo), and using them in conversation pertaining to marriage, livestock, plants, seasons, hills and plains earned the researcher a reputation of 'knowing a lot' about the Gujjar. Though the medium of conversation was Hindi, he would converse using Gujroo terms. Audio recordings in Gujaroo were translated with the help of a Gujjar into Hindi. The Hindi to English translation was carried out by the researcher. Audio recording of interviews and other conversations by the researcher were carried out in Hindi and translated later into English. Field notes were translated instantly and written in English. The photographs were proof of the researcher's visit to different places, where Gujjar themselves did not visit. For example, many Gujjar stopped going to the high altitude grasslands closer to the snow peaks, around 30-40 years ago, many have not visited these places since then. The younger Gujjar members have heard about these places from their elders but never visited there. Seeing the picture they were all thrilled. The researcher had to show pictures of Gujjar and all the places they visit. Using Gujjar terms in conversation helped the researcher to generate a favourable environment with Gujjar he met for the first time. It all worked in favour of the fieldworker in establishing a relationship.

When an anthropologist sets out to study a community, s/he ends up being studied by the people. Gujjar were inquisitive about the researcher's family members

and his personal life. They asked him his age. They were surprised that he was not married. When he told them that he had to get a job and then marry, they found the idea weird. The host family and their kinsmen (Shariq) would ask him all about the place he came from. They would ask the researcher to describe the place, his house and talk about his family members. They asked how far away his home was. They even asked if the researcher would invite them for his marriage. They asked, if he owned land and buffaloes. On many occasions he was asked about his religion and caste. The Gujjar asked if the researcher was a Kasana, Baniya, Chechi, Lodha, as these are all Gujjar Jat names. The Gujjar think, the Hindu too belong to one among the many Jat. The researcher recalls an incident where he was attending a marriage (*Byah*) in the relocated colony. The participants are served tea in china clay bowls (*kouli*). One of the Gujjar instructed the tea server to keep the bowl in which the researcher drank from aside. He was instructed not to serve tea in it to another Gujjar. A child spotted the isolated bowl, picked it up, to get himself tea. Children are not treated at par with the older Gujjar. The child was asked to replace the bowl where it belonged, as it was used by the researcher. One of the boys who identified the researcher commented that 'they treat you Hindu but we consider you a Muslim'. It is a tradition for Gujjar to eat the *Byah* meal together from a single plate. Gujjar make a group of four and eat communally. The Gujjar friends who the researcher accompanied to the *Byah* refused to eat with him from the same plate. It should not surprise us. Does not the anthropologist's apprenticeship involve acceptance, emotional churning, doubt, humiliation, mistrust, feeling of an outsider, the other (anthropologist) for the 'other' (community) the anthropologist studies? In many cases the anthropologist is at the margins of the people they study. It is we who choose to go to the people and they do not want us to intrude in their lives. We need to accept people the way they perceive us. These notions change as we spend more time in the community.

As an anthropologist, research among people is not an easy task. The presence of an 'outsider', with a pen and paper, asking various questions is constantly doubted. Many thought that the researcher was from the Forest Department, as he was curious about their life in the forest and their story of displacement. When asked if they had permits and how many buffaloes they owned, initially everything was doubted. A few

thought that the researcher was from the Wildlife Institute of India (WII). The reasons for such assumptions were his stay with the mentor's brother, GH. The researcher's mentor works as a field assistant for a friend of the researcher, a wildlife scientist at WII, specialising on Tiger research. The Gujjar in the locality referred the researcher by various names. Few would call him '*sahab*' (officer), and others would refer to him as Sir. This was due to the fact that five Gujjar boys were employed as field assistants by the WII scientist. Listening to these boys call Sir/Sahab, other boys began referring to the researcher by the same name. Few older Gujjar would use the same terminology to address him. GH calls the researcher *sahab* that embarrasses him. The researcher asked GH to address him by his name. It was difficult for GH to change his approach in the beginning but he later did. The researcher referred to GH as *Chacha* (Uncle) and his wife (*Chachi*). Older Gujjar were referred as *Dada* and *Dadi* (Grandfather and Grandmother). GH's brother, a traditional political council leader (Pench), was addressed as *Pao* (eldest brother) by his family members. The researcher too adopted the same name of reference. Using Kin terms to address helps in two ways. One it fills in the void of not having a name to refer to people during the fieldwork. Second, it allows space for acceptance by the people. The researcher's mentor asked him not to address him as *Chacha*. He asked the researcher to address him by his name. This was difficult, as he is an elder person. In the Indian context, one is not socialised to address elders by their name. The researcher explained to him why he chose a kin term and not his name, he accepted the former.

The challenge was to change the Gujjar view of the researcher's identity. He explained to the Gujjar that he was pursuing a research degree, Ph.D. Which was difficult to explain and for the Gujjar to comprehend. They began understanding that it was a 'study'. This was a concept very difficult for them to understand. Few asked what kind of study is this that involves studying the Gujjar. Finally, the researcher came up with a strategy to tell them that there is no higher degree in formal education than what he is pursuing. This made few to think that the researcher was highly educated. An image not one is very keen to carry.

But the researcher continued telling people that he was studying. They would ask me if the researcher was associated with any organisation (*sanstha*). It was

conveyed that it is a Central University, which the Gujjar concluded is a Central Government institution. The Gujjar asked what their benefit would be from this study. What would be their take home from the research? These are challenging situation for any anthropologist or researcher studying communities, particularly pertaining to development. In the context of conservation and displacement, research is even more challenging. People think that the issues will be represented to the Government or the Forest Department. Their difficulties would be represented and addressed.

The anthropologist is viewed as a catalyst or a medium of change for the community by the people. One is hard pressed to toe the line of academics, emotionally one feels to begin fighting for the cause of people having understood the people's situation and point of view. But the ethics of the discipline does not allow such flexibility. Knowledge has to be generated for knowledge's sake. People doubted the outsider's presence. As displacement involves rights and justice of people, they do not want to disclose or part with facts. They at time exaggerate issues, in hope that their voice would be heard by the Government. Gujjar misguided the researcher on many counts. For example, Gujjar would tell him that they were cultivating on their land by themselves. The fact was that most of them were leasing their land. They would not tell the fact about the number of buffaloes they owned in the relocated colony. Later it was learnt that many had their family members posted with their herds in close by forest or waterscapes. Close to 1,608 Gujjar families are 'left out'; they have not been allocated land. They are protesting their removal from the forest without compensation. Gujjar would deny furnishing information regarding their family members. They thought the household schedules may deny the possibility of their left out family members in receiving compensation from the Government. The families concealed information about their herd size. Many Gujjar families in the relocated colony continue maintaining herds brought from the forest. As the land allotted was inadequate, they kept their herds in the forest with other Gujjar as an alternative arrangement. When the household schedules were filled this information could not be gathered. Later through closer friendship and in-depth interviews the concealed facts were unearthed. Regarding other details in the schedule, faulty information was controlled by requesting the mentor to accompany during information collection of household schedules. He kept a check on the information

furnished by the Gujjar. When he doubted a Gujjar's reply he would prompt them to reply aptly.

In Khadar, a new nomadic site, an old Gujjar man asked the researcher what his business was amongst the Gujjar. He thought the researcher was working for Avdesh Kaushal, the Chairperson of Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra (RLEK), a NGO in Dehradun involved with the development of Gujjar. He asked him to leave the Gujjar community. Shocked by such behaviour the researcher asked him why he feels this way. He replied that Counsal (referring to Kaushal) has done nothing for the Gujjar. He further stated that outsiders take pictures of Gujjar, project them as poor, collect funds from western countries and usurp the money meant for the community. The researcher could, at that moment, sympathise with the old man thinking that such approaches to 'community development' may be true. Moved by this experience, the episode was narrated to GH and the mentor. They told the researcher not to take the old man seriously as he is in the habit of blabbering. However, the incident does convey something about the Gujjar and their understanding of outsiders. One of the political leaders, Roshan Baniya, an influential Gujjar enquired about the researcher's purpose in the village. After he learnt that he was studying the Gujjar and the relocation process, he asked how much time was spent in the village. He then asked the researcher so is everything 'ok' in the village.

GH's constant concern for the researcher overwhelmed him. He recommended to not to walk long distances along with the Gujjar on the migratory routes. He understood the purpose of the researcher's presence in the village. He suggested how to conduct oneself in few Gujjar villages. He also gave an insight into Gujjar behaviour. He would narrate how to walk up to the mountains, as the climb is a tedious trek. He asked the researcher to carry a kettle and black tea and to avoid drinking butter milk or water for the first few days, as one may fall ill in the mountains. He would constantly talk about the mountains and say *Mere Dil Taza Ho Jata Hai, Jab Bhi Paad Ki Yaad Aati Hai* (My heart becomes young when I think of the hills). The researcher's stay with him gave an insight into Gujjar society and life that enriched the fieldwork experience. During the stay in the field, the researcher began appreciating and understanding the Gujjar community, its historical

development, survival in the forest, nomadism and the difficult life that Gujjar lead. Sometimes the relocation process narrated by few Gujjar was overwhelming.

The researcher cannot claim that the field was the best place initially. He was in a 'Muslim' society, socialised in Hindu traditions, where there is a sense of indifference to the Muslim community. So, when he went to live with a Muslim society, where it was constantly reinforced that he was the 'other' in the field. He did have an emotional churning. The guess is that this is what knowledge is expected to do to people, to dismantle stereotypes which humans hold in their psyche, people whom we assume are not like us. The fieldworker learnt with openness. Fieldwork then becomes the transforming agent. It helps the fieldworker to introspect; the content, character and attributes of culture that constitute an individual. In studying the 'other', the other self is explored, thus bridging the gap.

Significance of the study

The study will help in understanding the changes that take place when nature and culture (people or communities) are separated. The separation of nature and culture is analysed through a case study of a community displaced due to nature conservation programme. The study will contribute to the larger debate of culture-nature divide or unity and its consequences on both. Communities in alien environments and their process of reorganisation will help us to understand the dynamics of social and cultural processes.

Limitations of the Study

Every research has its limitations and this study is no exception. Since the Gujjar from the three categories are spread out in space, the researcher could not stay continuously with all the groups simultaneously during the entire period of fieldwork. This is a methodological problem. Considering the nature of the Relocated, RNP and RF villages and their sedentary as well as nomadic lifestyles of some of its families, it was difficult to participate and observe different activities of the three groups throughout the fieldwork. Also, since permission was not accorded to stay in RNP, the left out families' perceptions could not be documented systematically.

Another limitation was the lack of compatibility of the religious background of the researcher with the subjects of study, the Gujjar. The researcher being a Hindu, to begin with, does not have a sufficient understanding of the Islam and its philosophy. But during the process of fieldwork learnt the way how the Gujjar practise it. A year's fieldwork is definitely not sufficient to gain a complete understanding of the Gujjar way of life situated in different settings.

However, in spite of the above limitations, the data gathered has provided insights into the Gujjar way of life and their coping with the altered situation. It also provided a good understanding of the way the Gujjar relate themselves with the nature, their buffaloes and the other communities that they encounter in the process of eking out their livelihoods. The data not only attempts to address the objectives set out but also substantiates the theoretical perspective adopted in the study.

Chapter Scheme

The first chapter 'Introduction' includes the review of literature, research statement, theoretical framework, objectives of study, methodology adopted and limitations of the study, and finally the chapter scheme of the entire study.

The second chapter 'Ethnographic Profile of the Van Gujjar' discusses the traditional homeland of the Gujjar, i.e., Rajaji National Park, its flora and fauna, geographical location in relation to the State of Uttarakhand. It discusses the historical origins, including the people's perception of their origin. The chapter describes the relocated colony at Gaindikhatta and the available resources in the colony. It also describes the socio-economic, education and demographic profile of the relocated colony. The social organization related to clan organization and marriage is also discussed in this chapter. Food habits and religious rituals are also discussed in this chapter. Apart from the above, this chapter provides a profile of the RF and RNP Gujjar also.

Chapter three 'Ecology State Regulation and Pastoral Livelihood' is based on information gathered from gazetteers, books and monographs pertaining to the Himalayan region. The major part of the chapter analyses Forest Working Plans

prepared by the Colonial and Indian Forest Officers. The general patterns of resource regulation, access to forests and nomadic movements have been written in consultation with the Gujjar through their reconstruction of their history. This chapter analyses ecology from a historical perspective.

Cultural knowledge in relationship to ecology and social organization is discussed in the fourth chapter 'Cultural Knowledge, Ecology and Pastoralism'. This chapter points out how nature, social organization and herds are central to the generation and utilization of cultural knowledge in organising the livelihoods of the Gujjar. The chapter explains how social categories are reproduced for the reproduction and continuation of the community. Further, it focuses on how cultural knowledge of the breed of buffaloes, herd reproduction and management are central to the livelihood of the Gujjar.

Chapter five on 'Conservation, Relocation and Livelihood Crisis' discusses the declaration of Rajaji National Park and the process of Gujjar relocation. It further discusses how the families that are not included as beneficiaries of the relocation plan continue their traditional pastoral livelihood.

The process of livelihood changes from nomadic pastoralism to agriculture and its bearing on Gujjar cultural knowledge and adaptation is discussed in the sixth chapter on 'New Locations, Changing Livelihoods, and Cultural Adaptation'.

The Gujjar relocation from the forest and its consequence on one of the Gujjar groups whose livelihood is in a precarious state is discussed in Chapter Seven 'Gujjar in a State of Limbo'. The last chapter provides a summary of the findings of the study and discusses the theoretical implications of these findings.

End Notes

[i]Nomadic communities may be classified into two broad categories, i.e., pastoral and non-pastoral nomads. Pastoral nomads depend on their livestock for their livelihood, while, non- pastoral nomads have other sources of livelihood that include hunting–gathering, shifting cultivation, fortune-telling, bards, religious mendicants, herbalists and healers, acrobats, dance and music performers, snake charmers, bear dancers, magic performers and itinerant traders to name a few amongst the tapestry of livelihoods. The edited volume by P.K Misra, and K.C Malhotra (1982), discusses the livelihood diversity of the nomads in India.

[ii]http://www.wii.gov.in/nwdc/pa_list.pdf, accessed on November 15, 2009

[iii] This information has been confirmed with the forest guard posted in Basti to overlook the construction of the colony. He keeps record of the number of families who have occupied their allotted land.

Chapter II
Ethnographic Profile of the Van Gujjar

Traditionally, the Gujjar are transhumant grazers, migrating between the high altitude grasslands in the Himalayas[i] and the Siwalik plains. Nomadic pastoralism[ii] for the Gujjar living in the State of Uttarakhand is a way of life. They depend on their water buffalo (*Mais*) herds to eke out their livelihood. Before the State intended to declare parts of the forests of Uttarakhand as Rajaji National Park (RNP), as Protected Area (PA), Gujjar have been living in these forests. After the intention to form the park by the Forest Department, many Gujjar families have been removed from the forest and many more are still being displaced from their traditional habitat. The Park is 'protected' from the Gujjar and their pastoral way of life. This is not a mere separation of people from their natural setting, but a separation of a people from their traditional livelihood.

Today the Gujjar may be understood as a community in limbo, torn between pastoralism and agriculture. The Gujjar are being asked to leave the forests, accept agriculture as a livelihood and lead a sedentary life. The transition from pastoralism to agriculture is not easy for the Gujjar. It is essential to remember that nature imposes constraints on the dependent people's livelihood and culture. The reduction or shortage of resources due to changes in seasons has an impact on a pastoral way of life. People respond using their cultural knowledge by resorting to seasonal migration to the high altitude grasslands in the Himalayas. When changes are manicured by the State, it expects people to respond the way they have ordained them to do. People's cultural response to such forced ways of life can be made intelligible by understanding the past and present livelihood.

The Gujjar occupy a vast territory on the Siwalik range of the Himalayas in the State of Uttarakhand. Comprising of 13 districts, Uttarakhand's geographical area is 53,483 Sq km (53,48,300 ha)[iii]. The Hill areas comprise 86.07%, dominating the State topography, the plains area 14%. Land under forest cover is 65% (2008-09), permanent pastures and other grazing land comprise 3.71% and the net sown area is 14.09%[iv]. The total forest cover of the State is 46% (2009-10 Census). Reserve Forest

(RF) under the control of the Forest Department is 9.8%; RF in Van Panchyats is 1.4%; RF under the control of other government agencies is 1.41%; and Protected Forests comprise of 40.1%.

The State has six national parks spreading over an area of 4,91,500 ha covers 9.18 % of the land area of Uttarakhand, six Wildlife Sanctuaries with an area of 2,42,000 ha covers 4.52% of the land area making the State of Uttarakhand having 13.42% under Protected Areas (Johnsingh 2005). Given the dominance of the State by forest areas, lesser areas are available for cultivation. Uttarakhand forests are an ideal habitat to support alternate livelihoods, such as Pastoralism. The population of livestock (51,40,960) indicates the relevance of pastoralism as a livelihood in the State. Perhaps, the biodiversity of the State supports agricultural and pastoral livelihood systems such as that of the Gujjar's. Gujjar occupy the forest areas in Uttarakhand that spread across the hills and plains. The high altitude mountains (alpine meadows) are spread in the districts of Uttarkashi, Tehri and Rurdraprayag that are conducive for grazing.

Map 2.1: State of Uttarakhand in the Indian Dominion

Carved out of the State of Uttar Pradesh in the year 2000, State of Uttarakhand is relatively new in the Indian dominion (Map 2.1[v]). It is located between 28°43' north to 31°27' north latitude and 77°34' east to 81°02' east longitude. It shares an international boundary with China and Nepal and a national boundary with Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. The State is divided into two regions, i.e., Garhwal and Kumaon. This study was carried out in the Garhwal region of the Himalayas. The

land cover supports rivers and forests. Mountainous regions dominate the State's land mass. Most of the land is covered by State controlled forest. The temperature ranges between a maximum of 42.0 C in Pantnagar and minimum of -1.7◦ C in Mukteshwar[vi].

The total population of the State according to 2011 census is 101.17 lakhs. The male population is 51.54 lakh, while that of Female is 49.63 lakh. The census 2001 did not cover the Muslim Gujjar and the story is not different in 2011. There are various sources that have attempted to estimate the Gujjar population. Crooke estimates the population of Muslim Gujjar in the United Province, according to the 1891 census, as 64,478. Based on district wise population of Gujjar in Uttar Pradesh, he observed that in Dehradun district the number of Gujjar is 439 (Cited in Hasan, A 1986: 8). According to the Forest Department (FD), about 20 years back there were about 150 Gujjar families with cattle numbering 25,000 but today in Tarai and Bhabhar there are 400 Gujjar families, and their number has increased to 16,000 (Rawat 1999: 84). In 1961 Census Gujjar population of Uttar Pradesh was 20,000 (Negi and Raha 1982). Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra (RLEK) estimates 5,532 Gujjars residing in the Rajaji National Park, with 12,278 heads of buffaloes (RELK 1996 in Vania 1997). According to a study conducted by the Wildlife Institute of India (WII), population of Gujjar in eight Ranges of the park was 5,477 from 494 *Deras* (household) and 13,150 buffaloes (Rajvanshi 2005). The US Fish and Wildlife Service observed that there were 5,477 Gujjars inside the park (1998-99). According to the documents from the Relocation Officer, Uttarakhand Forest Department, Livestock population is 12, 161. According to another study, the WII identifies 1,390 families living in the RNP (Mishra et. al. 2007).

The number of Gujjar buffaloes in 1926-27 increased from 150 to 678. In 1936 Gujjar buffalo population increased from 1000-2000. The State of Uttarakhand total population of cattle according to 2007 census is 51,40,960. Total number of milch cattle is 34,54,634, including cows and buffaloes (desi and cross breed is 18,95,689), buffaloes (12,19,518). The population of sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs is 16,86,326 lakhs.

The Gujjar of Uttarakhand is part of a larger ethnic group of Muslim Gujjar who are spread across the Himalayan region in the States of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. Gujjar families inhabit the bordering areas of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand as well. After the formation of Uttarakhand, many Gujjar families remained in Uttar Pradesh. Many occupy the hills as well as plain areas in these regions. Hinduism dominates the State religion with 72.12 lakh believers, followed by 10.12 lakh Muslims, 0.27 lakh Christians, 2.12 lakh Sikhs, 0.13 lakh Buddhists and 0.09 lakh Jains (Census 2001). Gujjar of Uttarakhand are Sunni Muslims. They are further divided into two religious sects, i.e., Barelwi and Deobandi. They have adopted the suffix Ban/Van (forest) to their Gujjar title. Ban or Van means forest, hence the name forest dwelling Gujjar. It is regarded as a political identity to distinguish themselves from the other Gujjar in the country or from the other nomadic pastoral communities (Roy 2003). It is also a way of negotiating identity and power with the Forest Department and the government to negotiate their forcible eviction from the forest, notified as Rajaji National Park. The people call themselves Gujjar and each other *Gujjaraan* in third person. They are also known as Jammu Gujjar. They believe their ancestors migrated from Jammu and Kashmir. 'Gujarat' is the ethnic State that the Gujjar refer to the territory occupied by them. In Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, similar to Uttarakhand, the Gujjar lead a nomadic pastoral life, practicing transhumance between the hills and plains in the Himalayan region. However, many are settling down and taking to agriculture due to the interventions of the State (Negi and Raha 1982).

I

Elliot associates Gujjar and Jats to Rajput origin (Elliot 2004). The Gujjar is viewed as a boldest cattle thief, who is reluctant to do hard labour in the fields. "His village is a collection of ill-kept huts, his field is a picture of neglect and bad management" (Crooke 1907: 114). Ghurye claims that the Gurjaras were of the same physical population of Rajputana, present day Rajasthan (Ghurye 1999: 127). Bingley (1978) is of the view that the name Gujjar originates from Sanskrit Gurjara, the original name of Gujarat. Gujjar are spelt as Gujar and Gurjar. Another version comes from Gau-Charana (cattle grazier). Gujar by some is held to originate from the carrot (Gajar), a belief that Gujar fed carrots to their livestock. A legend of their origin is

traced to a cult of the child God Krishna of Mathura. Bingley identifies a Scythian tribe called Yuchi that came into the Kandhar valley, whose present day representatives are the Gujjar. The Scythian tribes entered India during the 2nd and 1st century A.D. The Yuchi established themselves in the past in Kabul, Kashmir and Northern Punjab. They probably came via Georgia (Gurjia), somewhere near the Black sea and Caspian Sea. The tribe from this region are called Khizar, Gurjar, Guzar, Gurjara and Gujjar emerging from the Arabic name of Caspian Sea, Bahr-e-Khizar (Singh 2003). Later, the Scythians moved down the Indus Valley and settled in Saurashtra and perhaps married the original inhabitants the Ahirs (Bingley 1978). Their settlements in these places are Gujranwala and Gujrat. Wikely gives no precise period when the Gujjars converted to Islam but he claims that when Baber invaded India in 1525 he found that the Gujjar had already been subdued and converted by Rajputs and other tribes that had adopted Islam (Wikely n.d). "West of the Indus and the Ravi the Jats and Gujars became Muhammadans, and being a conquered people of no political importance, were looked down upon by the Pathans, Mughals and Muslims of Rajput descent who seized their land and thus drove them to seek a living as nomads, wandering with their herds over the grazing-grounds of the great western plains of the Punjab. To this day, in Sind and the Doab of Indus and Satluj. Jat is the usual term for a grazier, herdsmen, or Camel driver..." (Bingley 1978: 13). An account by Smith connects the Gujjar to the name 'Gurjaras', a term used for white Huns, the ancestors of present Gujars (Smith cited in Hasan 1986: 2). Crooke reports that the Gujjar converted to Islam at various periods of History. A legend amongst the Avadh Gujjar claims Taimur responsible for mass conversion of Gujjar (Roy 2003). Another version claims that Aurangzeb converted Gujjar to Islam. As it was agreed between the Rajputs that if they lose in war, they have to face a holy war (Jehad) and if they lost, they will have to convert (Hasan 1986: 5-6).

The Muslim Gujjar are spread between the river Ganga and its tributary river Sharda in three regions; Nepal, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. There are four *Deras* in Nepal (Mahendarnagar). In Uttar Pradesh[vii], Gujjar are spread between Pipalia (Pilibhit district) to the border of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. The concentration of Muslim Gujjar in Uttarakhand dominates the three regions. In Uttarakhand[viii] they are spread between the Garhwal hills and Khatima in the plains. Traditionally, Gujjar

lived in two habitats in the Uttarakhand Himalayas. One is in the forests and hills of the plains, known as *Des* (part of the Shiwalik region), and another in the high altitude Himalayan mountain grasslands (closer to the snow peaks), known as *Paad*. The *Paad* grasslands are covered with snow during the winter and melts in the summer. The melting of snow gives way to lush grasslands, to which the Gujjar migrate from *Des* with their families and buffalo herds. The Gujjar seasonally oscillate, with their herds, between both these habitats in pursuance of their livelihood. After the declaration of the forests in *Des* as a Protected Area majority of the Gujjar are forcibly made sedentary.

Many opinions exist on the settling down of Gujjar. Scholars like Harihar et. al., (2007) suggest that the Gujjar have 'voluntarily' vacated the forest. The forest department is of the opinion that no force or coercion has been used by the department. Respondents from the field have narrated that force, violence and atrocities have been committed by the Forest Department staff, in ensuring that Gujjar leave the forest. While force may not have been used on all families, Gujjar belonging to Gohri and Chillawali ranges have been victims of the atrocities committed by the Forest Department. The fact that the National Human Rights Commission and the Supreme Court in their Judgements have announced that the Gujjar cannot be removed from their homelands without their willingness, suggests that force has been utilised by the State to evict them. Ample newspaper reports suggest that force and violence have been used in ensuring that the Gujjar leave the forest and settle down in the relocated camps.

The forest department claims that it has not used coercion but used 'persuasion' to ensure that the Gujjar leave the park. During the fieldwork, when Gujjar were preparing for their seasonal nomadism in the forest close to Doiewala, the forest guard and Munshi (keeper of accounts) came to the forest with a double bore rifle, began axing the huts of the Gujjar using a hand axe. The reason for official's behaviour was that the Gujjar exceeded their stay in plains forest by a day. The permits issued by the Forest Department clearly state the duration that the Gujjar can access resources of the forests. In other words, the dates mentioned in the permit restrict the presence of the Gujjar in the forest. Stay beyond the date mentioned in the

permit is considered illegal. Foresters and WII Scholars during personal interviews stated that a choice is given to the Gujjar to either continue their pastoral livelihood by stall feeding or accepting agriculture as a livelihood. Thus, closing the option of access to resources in the park and giving alternatives of livelihood outside the forest is not a choice (Harihar et.al. 2007).

There are cultural differences amongst Muslim Gujjar spread across north and north western Himalayas in parts of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand[ix]. In these Sates their population is about a one third of a million (Roy 2003). The Gujjar in the State of Himachal Pradesh are included in the Central Scheduled Tribes (ST) list and Other Backward Classes list (OBC). The Gujjar in the State of Jammu and Kashmir are included in the Central list of Other Backward Classes (OBC)[x]. The Gujjar in Uttarakhand do not appear in any of the categories of the Central list. They have been included in the State OBC list. Discussions are on to include them in the ST list. Muslims are a minority, but amongst them, Van Gujjar is on the Margins of Muslim society. This is due to their low literacy levels, weak economic status, lack of political power, and their nomadic pastoral way of life, which is not supported by the State. There is resentment to their nomadic way of existence. Until the formation of the national park, the Van Gujjar did not possess Voter Identification Cards or Ration Cards. They are a politically insignificant population, as they are nomadic. They are issued necessary legal documents after being relocated to one of the two colonies. The Gujjar community is called *Quam*. Roy is of the opinion that the Uttarakhand Gujjar migrated from Gujarat (now in Pakistan) to Jammu and Kashmir, then to Himachal Pradesh and into Uttarakhand (Roy 2003). The earliest mention about the Muslim Gujjar in the Doon valley was in G. William's 'Memoirs of Dehradoon' in 1874. This suggests that the Gujjar came into Uttarakhand during the mid-19th century or even before.

It is believed by the present day Gujjar of Uttarakhand (UK) that their forefathers came from Jammu and Kashmir (JK) through Himachal Pradesh (HP) and then into Uttar Pradesh, now Uttarakhand. They have a folklore that claims the Gujjar came as a dowry to the prince of Nahan in Himachal Pradesh, when the princess of Jammu and Kashmir married him. The princess's father came to visit her in HP, and

enquired about her well-being. The princess narrated that she likes her in-laws place, but does not get the same or sufficient quality milk like her paternal home. The father of the princess sent eight to ten Gujjar families to HP to supply milk to the princess palace. Since then the Gujjar have stayed in HP and moved into parts of the neighbouring State of Uttar Pradesh (now Uttarakhand). These people are nomadic pastoralists, rearing mainly buffaloes and cows. They sell their milk in the nearby towns, moving from place to place in search of fodder for their livestock. Perhaps streams of migration in search of resources from Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh led the Gujjar to Uttarakhand and settling down. Once few members of the community discovered new resource areas they intimate their kinsfolk, resulting in more people accessing newer grazing areas. It is a fact that nomadic communities recognize territories as resources. Political boundaries are a barrier to their movement and they restrict, rather than facilitate, free movement of nomadic pastoral people.

Map 2.2: Altitude and Regions of Himalayas

Gujjar follow a pattern of seasonal migration in search of fodder for their buffaloes. It is a nomadic movement from one place to another in search of resources. They migrate from the Siwalik and Lower Himalayas to the mountain areas between the Greater and Trans Himalayan ranges during the summer months (Map 2.2). Few Gujjar migrate to Himachal Pradesh, the neighbouring State, in search of fodder for

their livestock. In the winters the Gujjar return to the plains in the Siwalik Hills. The ecology in the high altitude ranges of Himalaya and Siwalik is different. Creation of political boundaries, like Protected Areas, has restricted Gujjar nomadic movement and access to resource base. Hence, it is a barrier to Gujjar livelihood and culture. A system of permit exists that legitimises the Gujjar access to forest resources and stay by the State Forest Department. The permit restricts the number of buffaloes a Gujjar may possess and provide fodder by lopping and grazing. Permits were issued from 1909 (Vira 1993). New permits were not issued after the notification of the park. This has implication for the right to access resources, movement of livestock and people and their livelihoods. The oldest permit held by a Gujjar during fieldwork dated to 1912. Unlike in New Guinea, Rappaport's landmark ecological study on the Tsembaga Maring, who begins slaughtering Pigs when the ratio between Pigs and food crops is altered, to maintain a state of balance, amongst the Gujjar the Forest Department permits system aims to restrict the number of livestock owned to maintain a balance between resource availability and its consumption. However, this institutional arrangement did not succeed as people owned more buffaloes than that specified in the permit.

II

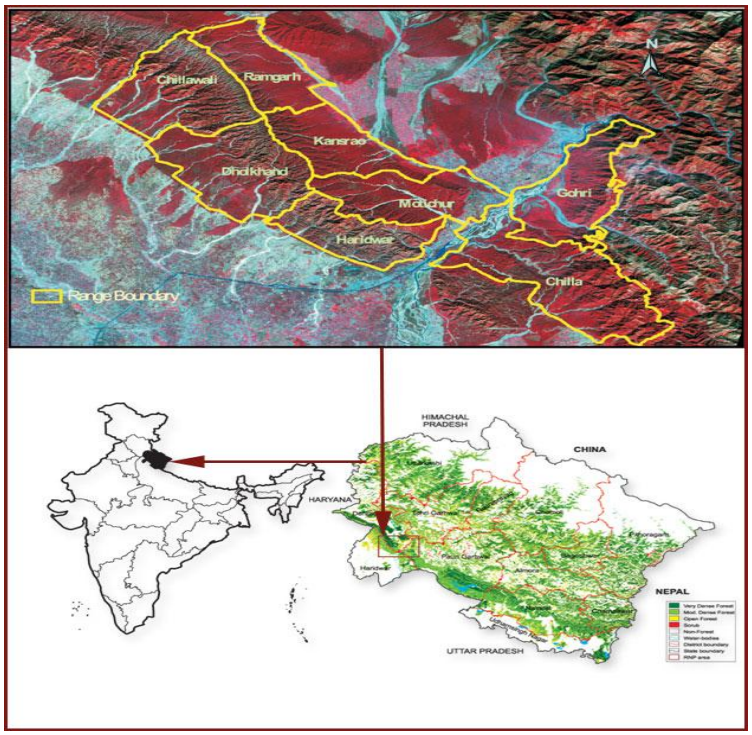
Traditional homeland of the Gujjar: Rajaji National Park (RNP)

Rajaji National Park (hereafter RNP) is a political boundary created by the State for the purpose of conservation of natural resources, Wildlife and its biodiversity. However, it would be accurate to say, that the forests and territory identified as RNP was once the traditional dwelling place of the Gujjar. The park is not a boundary that merely conserves nature, but attempts to do so by displacing people from their traditional livelihoods and homesteads. RNP is spread across 820 Sq Km. RNP comprises of three wildlife Sanctuaries, namely Motichoor (1966)[xi], Rajaji (1967) and Chilla (1974). The three sanctuaries were joined and named after the first Governor General of Independent India, Dr C. Rajagopalachari, popularly known as 'Rajaji'. RNP is situated between 29º52'41" and 30º15'56" North latitudes 77º57'7" and 78º23'3" East Longitudes in Uttarakhand. It is spread across three districts, Haridwar, Dehradun and Pauri Garhwal (Garhwal Himalayas). The park is surrounded by the Delhi-Dehradun highway on to the west, Lansdowne Forest

Division on to the East, towards the South it is surrounded by cultivated land and it extends into the Siwalik Hills that join the Doon Valley. The Ganges River cuts the park into two portions. In the Eastern portion is the former Rajaji and Motichoor Wildlife Sanctuaries and the western portion is the former Chilla Wildlife Sanctuary (Map 2.3).

Map 2.3: Boundary of Rajaji National Park

Located in the State of Uttarakhand



Source of Map: http://wiienvis.nic.in/rajaji_bibliography/introduction.htm accessed on July 30, 2011

The whole region comprising Rajaji National Park, Corbett National Park and the forests that act as corridors connecting these Protected Areas are called the Tarai Arc Landscape (TAL)[xii]. It stretches in India from Yamuna River in the west to the Valmiki Tiger Reserve in Bihar. Conservationists have named this region as the Rajaji Corbett Tiger Conservation Unit (RCTCU).

This landscape encompasses the Siwalik Hills and the Terai flood plains parallel to the outer Himalayas. The North Western region spreads between Sharda River bordering India and Nepal in the East and Yamuna River in the West. It is

identified by Conservationists and Wildlife Biologists as a global priority region for conservation of the Tiger. Rajaji National Park is rich in biodiversity. It is a habitat for Asian elephants (*Elephasmaximus*), Tiger (*Pantheratigris*), Himalayan Ungulate Goral (*Nemorhaedus goral*), Golden masheer (*Tor putitora),* Leopards (*Pantherapardus*), king cobra (*Ophiophagushanna*), Himalayan monal (*Lophophorusimpejanus*), great hornbill (*Bucerosbicornis*), Himalayan tahr (*Hemitragusjemlahicus*), bharal (*Pseudoisnayaur*), Himalayan musk deer (*Moschuschrysogaster*), snow leopard (*Pantherauncia*), black bear (*Ursusthibetanus*), Sambar (*Cervus unicolor*), Chital (*Axis axis*), Barking deer (*Muntiacusmuntjac*), Nilgai (*Boselaphustragocamelus*), Wild pigs (*Sus scrofa*), Porcupine (*Hystrixindica*) and Indian peafowl (*Pavocristatus*) (Johnsingh 2005, Harihar et. al. 2009). It is the richest park in India with a corpus of Rs. 57 crores (Johnsingh 2005).

The vegetation of RNP primarily comprises of heterogeneous deciduous species of tropical and sub-tropical varieties, typical feature of the central Sub-Himalayan tract. This vegetation grows in an average rainfall of 1200 mm. The forests of this region can be classified as Northern Indian Moist Deciduous forest and Northern Tropical Dry Deciduous forests (Champion and Seth 1968). The valley of the park supports grasslands. Sal (*Shorearobusta*) dominates the forests. Other tree species are *Terminaliaalata*, *Ehretialaevis*, *Aeglemarmelos*, *Holopteliaintegrifolia*, *Anogeissuslatifolia* and *Lagerstroemia parviflora* are few species to name. Two endangered plants *Catamixisbraharoides* and *Eremostachyssuperba* are endemic to Siwalik (Mishra et. al. 2007).

Rajaji National Park, a part of the TAL, is situated in the Himalayan mountain system comprising the Siwalik Hills and the Gangetic plains. The Siwalik is the southernmost Himalayan range, also known as the outer Himalayas. With a width of sixteen kilometres, its average height is 900 mts and extends up to 1400 mts. A prominent physical feature of the landscape is Tarai and Bhabar. Bhabar derives its name from the grass (*Eulaliopsisbinata)* used for making paper and ropes. The grass is also relished by the Gujjar buffalo as fodder. It is called *Babyan* in the Gujroo language.

The Bhabar forest extends in Uttarakhand between the River Yamuna and Sharda River. Wildlife conservationists estimate this region can support a population of 1,000 Elephants and 200 Tigers. Villagers earn their livelihood by harvesting the grass to make ropes and selling them. The Gujjar living in the forests lop trees to feed their buffaloes and harvest grasses found in the forests. The villagers are blamed for entering forests to harvest Bhabar and in the process lift carcasses killed by Tigers, hence depriving the cat of food (Johnsingh 2005). There are cases of retaliate poisoning of carcasses killed by Tigers in response to Tigers killing village livestock. This leads to killing of Tigers after it consumes the poisoned prey. Hence, wildlife conservationists are in support of eliminating the presence of Gujjar and other villagers in the forests. This is achieved by terminating permits to harvest Bhabhar grass by locals and relocating Gujjar from the forests "Six villages, *gujjar* settlements and encroachments need to be moved away from the main wildlife habitat which goes along the *bhabar* tract. Although the conservation of these habitats can eventually bring in immense benefits through well-planned ecotourism programmes that are rapidly catching up in the state, initial conservation efforts would need a substantial amount of funds" (Johnsingh 2005:1). Thus, the RNP and other forests cannot host the forest dwellers, including the Gujjar, but can entertain eco-tourism, as if eco-tourism is not harmful to the biodiversity and the wildlife. Strange logic!

The Siwalik runs along the base of the Himalayas. They are an uplifted ridge chain formed by the debris brought down from the higher Himalayas by rivers. The crude material brought down is deposited immediately along the foothills forming a layer of pebbles and boulder and hilly terrain called Bhabar. This region has a low water table as the deposits are porous boulders. Many rivers and streams flowing in this region disappear into the ground while flowing from the hills. These water bodies reappear in the Terai region, leading to a high water table, while the finer alluvium soils, clays and sediments brought from the higher regions settle down in the plains called the Terai. This region is very fertile and ideal for cultivation, but was not highly populated, until 1960 due to high incidence of malaria. The large scale utilization of DDT curbed the mosquito population. The Tharu inhabits these plains, as they are resistant to malaria.

The low elevated hills of Siwalik form small valleys in which seasonal rivers flow. Gujjar find these valley crevasses ideal for habitation on flat lands. They build their traditional dwelling structures, called *Chans*, close to the riverines in the forest; others build it on flat lands where water may be available in the vicinity. Flat land is required to easily control their cattle herds. In the forest, Gujjar construct their *Chans* usually close to the forests to which they hold a permit to lop trees and access other forest resources.

III

The Relocated Colony (Gaindikhatta/ Gujjar Basti) and Gujjar People

Gaindikhatta is a place 22 kilometres from Haridwar on the way to Najibabad (Map 2.4). Gaindikhatta is known as *Adda* by the Gujjar. Gujjar Basti, the new relocated colony is three kilometres away from *Adda*. The *Adda* has two grocery shops, small hotels, cycle shops, and a vegetable shop. Gujjar buy their provisions at the Adda. They get their cycles and motor-cycles repaired, and to inflate their cycle tyres. Adda is the point for accessing transport. Government buses and private vehicles ply between Haridwar, Najibabad (National Highway 74), Kotdwar, and Moradabad via Gaindikhatta. Gujjar, if they wish to visit their kin in another settlement, use the transport facilities to travel. The landmark of Gaindikhatta is a big Gurudwara. There are a two Sikh families living in Gaindikhatta. It is believed that Guru Nanak (founder of the Sikh religious faith), while travelling to various parts of India, lodged in the Gurudwara. The *Adda* has three dispensaries. Gujjar come to these dispensaries for minor treatment. Few go to Bhaguwala, a larger bazaar in Uttar Pradesh, 7 km form *Adda* on the way to Najibabad. For serious ailments Gujjar go to Haridwar or Rishikesh.

The Basti settlement has been planned by the Forest Department. The village is relocated on an area measuring 755 hectares on plot number 2B and 6B in Sambalgarh block of Chidiyapur Range, Haridwar Forest Division. Gujjar Basti was created by clearing forests covering the area. Bordering the village on the Eastern direction, the Ganga main canal (Purvi Ganga canal) runs parallel to it. Though water flows in the canal, it is not available for irrigation to the Gujjar. Gujjar habitats of eight forest ranges are declared part of Rajaji National Park. Hence, are relocated

from the park. Gujjar belonging to Chilla range in Rajaji National Park settled in Gujjar Basti in 2002, Gujjar from Haridwar range in 2003, Ghori range in 2004 and Ramgarh in 2006. The rest of the ranges moved into Gujjar Basti in 2006. Many Gujjar families from Gohri and Chillawali are yet to occupy their land allotted to them. A large number of Gujjar families not identified as beneficiaries of the relocation package have stayed back in the park. For the study, a sample of 150 household was collected from four ranges, Chilla range (44 households) followed by Gohri (73 households), then Ramgarh (30 households) and finally Haridwar (4 households). Apart from the four ranges, the researcher interacted with other range Gujjar to have a wider understanding of the relocation process. Interviews were also conducted in Pathri, another relocated colony.

Map 2.4: The location of Gaindikhatta on the District Map of Haridwar

Map 2.5: Gujjar Basti Village Settlement

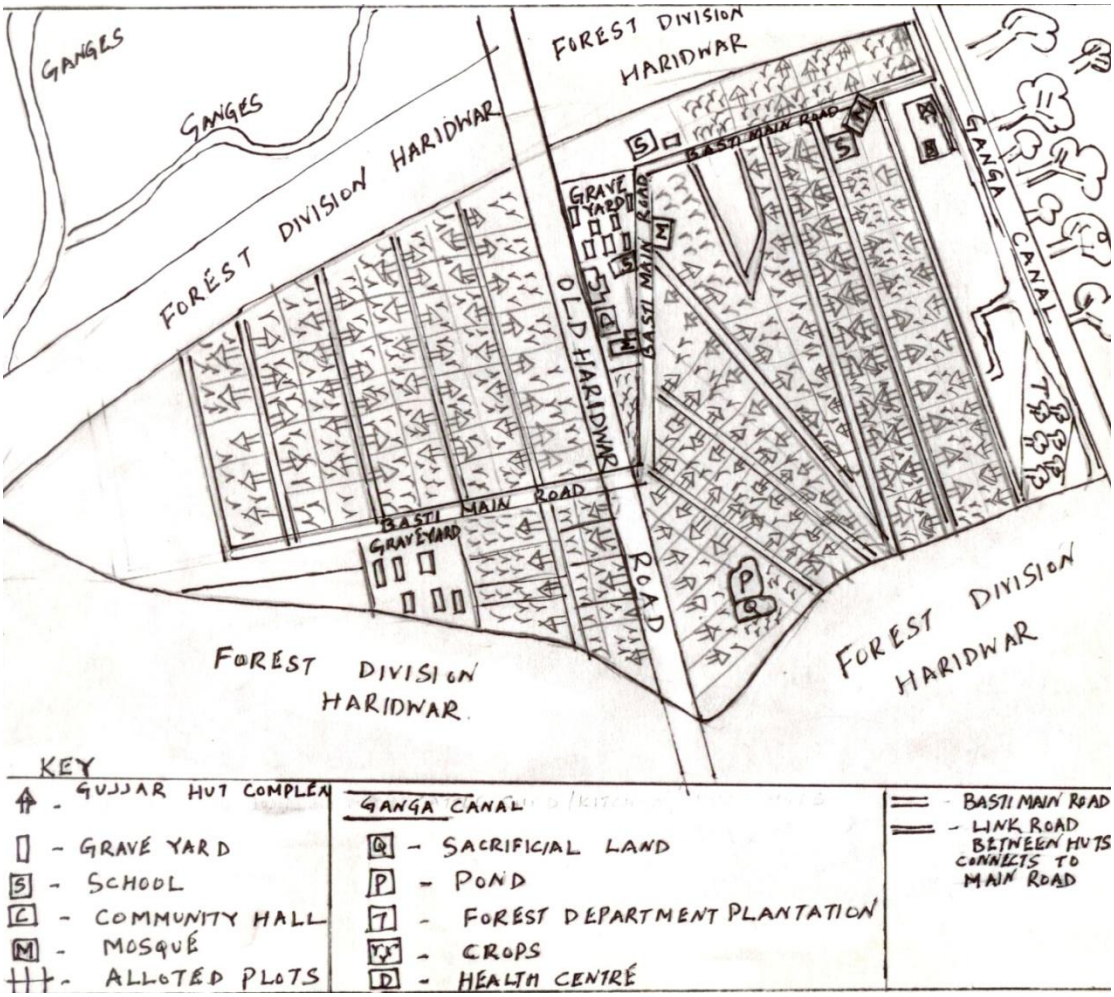


Plate 2.1: The Relocated Gujjar Basti at Gaindikhatta with Agricultural Fields

Upon entering the relocated village, close to entrance of the main gate, coloured in green, boards are erected displaying the hygiene and benefits of using lavatories. According to the Government plan, 878 lavatories and Cattle sheds are allotted to the beneficiary household in Basti. However, only 140 lavatories have been constructed. Similarly each household is to receive cattle shed for sheltering and feeding livestock. 150 cattle sheds have been constructed and allotted to the Gujjar. The cattle sheds are erected on pillars and are open from all the directions. Many households have abandoned their toilets. The cattle sheds are converted into concrete houses by constructing walls and an entrance. The cattle sheds are used as a store room or for living. Gujjar do not see value in keeping their livestock in concrete enclosures. They believe that their livestock are used to living a free life that require huts made from local forest resources.

Similarly, in another relocated village, Pathri, Gujjar use the concrete huts provided by the Government for storing assets or fodder (wheat chaff) for their livestock. Next to each concrete house Gujjar have constructed traditional huts in which they live. The cement houses are small with two small rooms and a kitchen. Most of the rooms are used to store fodder and other material belongings. Gujjar prefer their traditional huts to the concrete houses. They keep the cement structures too, as they are given by the government as a compensation (relocation package) for being removed from the forest. The relocation has led to change and created new constraints for Gujjar to pursue their livelihood and resources for their buffaloes.

Gujjar upon meeting their kin exchange greetings (*Dua Salam*) by asking "*Aur Teri Mais-Katti, Tabbar Tore, Sath Basti, Tero Mal Jaan, SathPados, TheekThakHai*", (And your buffaloes and calves, family, your village, your assets, neighbourhood, are they all well) the respondent replies "*Shukar Allah, Sab Badiyan*"(by the grace of Allah, all is well). The *Dua Salam* greeting is exchanged when Gujjar meet after a long time. When Gujjar meet regularly they greet each other by invoking Allahs name, "*Assalam Walikoum*", the greeted responds by a "*Walikoum Assalam*". The men hug each other, by their chests touching on the left, then right and then left again. While the women greet each other by *Gane Lagno*, embracing each other by resting each other's head on each other's left shoulder. Women and men

while greeting each other do not embrace. Another way of greeting is *Pencha*, wherein the Gujjar men hold each other's hand between both their hands.

Gujjar are generally tall. They have sharp noses. The older men tonsure their head but maintain a beard. It is common for Gujjar to dye their beard with Henna leaves of the mignonette tree. The younger boys maintain a moustache. The women like sporting long hair. The women who have short hair resort to wearing artificial plaits that are tied at the end of the hair. A married woman wears a gold nose stud (*longe*) and ear rings (*bunde*). A Gujjar bride adorns herself with a silver necklace (*haar*), *Anguthi* (ring) and a thick silver necklace with few gold balls (*sehari*). The ornaments are purchased from a goldsmith at Haridwar or from the closest market. Unlike the Muslim community elsewhere, Gujjar women do not wear a *Burqa*. Traditionally, the weaver (*Jallah*) used to sell clothes like *Makhmal, Susi, Sallare and Khais. Sallare and Khais* were used as a *chunni* or *dupatta* (long Scarf). The wrap around the waist was the *Susi*, stitched by Gujjar women using big needles. The men wore *MakhmalkaKurta*. The traditional clothes are now replaced by *Salwar* and *Kameez*. The men wear a *Tehmat* (wrap around the waist), *Kurta* (Lengthy shirts with collars) and waist coat. They tie a *pag* (turban). Women cover their heads with the *chunari*. The Gujjar men wore earlier their traditional caps with a small woollen ball at its tip. The skull caps worn by Gujjar men today have replaced their traditional cap. The adoption of skull caps suggests a tilt towards a Muslim identity.

Gujjar names are inspired by prophets or characters of the Quran. Gujjar assign nick names to each other, for e.g., Yusuf becomes Jhucha, Shamsher is Shamma, Ghulam is Gamma, and Mustafa is Mashtu. Women names are Akal Bibi, AkloBibi, Fatima Bibi, Khatoon, Jaitoon, Zulaikhan, Zubeda, Bano and many more. The suffix Bibi is common to female names.

This study is carried out primarily in Gaindikhatta where 878 Gujjar families have been allotted 0.82 hectares (2.0263 acres) of land for their homestead, livestock shelter, toilets and agriculture. The population of sample Gujjar households is 1143 (150 households). The average number of members in each household is 7.62. Males outnumber females. The household average of RF Gujjar families (8.43) is higher than the Basti Gujjar, while the RNP Gujjar have the highest household average with

12 members. This trend suggests that the Basti Gujjar families are becoming nuclear. This suggests that the changes in the family pattern are a result of relocation (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Sex Wise Population of Sample Gujjar Household

	Gujjar Basti (N=150)		RF Gujjar(N=30)		RNP Gujjar (N=9)	
Sex	**Population**	**%**	**Population**	**%**	**Population**	**%**
Male	602	52.66	138	54.54	55	50.9
Female	541	47.33	115	45.45	53	49.7
Total	1143	100	253	100	108	100

IV

The *Dera*(household) in Gujjar Basti

Gujjar settlements in the Basti are range wise. In most cases all the Consanguine (*Shariq*) have settled close to each other. Brothers have their Dera next to each other. In few cases brothers have constructed a single hut. The agricultural plots are managed separately**.** The *Dera* includes Gujjar, the physical structure of the *Chan* (hut) and their material belongings. The huts are made using locally available grass varieties and wooden poles procured from the forest. The poles and the type of grasses that do not rot early are selected based on the Cultural Knowledge of the Gujjar. This knowledge includes a deep understanding of natural resources.

There are different types of *Chans*. The hut in which the family sleeps is the *Bada Chan* (big hut), which is a big hall with no private rooms. The Gujjar families sleep in the common hall. Few houses have huts with low or no walls, called the *Baithak*, designed to allow fresh air to flow through the structure. Gujjar use it during the summers and as a sitting place and for visitors. The other types of huts are *Maisangi Chan* (buffalo pen), *Rasaoi Chan* (kitchen hut), *Pogi Chan* (fodder storage), and, in few cases, *Katadi Chan* (pen for calves). Internally the hut designs vary. Based on the beam that supports the roof and the pole on which the beam rests, the Gujjar classify their huts into different categories. *Ek Tham Uper Chan* is a hut which has a single pole on which the hut's roof rests. The *Do Tham Uper Chan* has two poles to support the roof. *Kadi Uper Nikka Tham*, rest on a beam supported by the mud walls.

The poles of the huts are made from Sal, Khannan and Amaltas trees. Cane (*Kaneda*) is used for making frame of the roof.

In the forest the chans are constructed by arranging the root end of the grass above and the shoot end below. The trees in the forest protect the huts from the natural elements. In the forest Gujjar thatched their huts. This was done in a design known as *'Siddhi Banani'* (straight grass arrangement), and after relocation the design pattern is 'Puttho/PutthaBhanani' (arranging the thatch upside down). The thatch is modified to suit the Chan requirement. The Bati[xiii] community thatches the *Chan* for the Gujjar in the relocated colony, called *Chan Bannani*. The relationship with the Bati is a new social relationship forged by the Gujjar.

Young Gujjar have learnt the art of Thatching from the *Bati* people. It is an important skill that has demand in the Basti. Gujjar boys find temporary employment by thatching Gujjar huts. Digging a hole to insert the hut pole, constructing the walls, procuring thatch are all done by the Gujjar. The stems of the Pula are levelled. In the relocated village, some thatching processes, women chop the stems to level them. Rolling the Pula into bundles for thatching is done by Gujjar women. The women contribute their labour primarily to their own households or for the thatching of their close relative's chans. It involves modification and levelling the stems. They are placed into three layers, with different stem lengths and rolled into uniform bundles, known as *Phudi*. The *Phudi* is placed on to wooden frames and held together by canes. In the relocated village, the new design of thatching is done by experts from the Baati people.

In the premises of the Gujjar Dera, fire wood, wooden poles, thatch grass for renovation of the huts are piled up for future use. These resources are difficult to procure locally in the relocated colony. An obstruction called *Aggal*, is erected, using wooden poles to prevent livestock from entering the agricultural fields. Few Gujjar *Chans* have little patches of vegetable and fruit gardens. Along with the traditional structures, each household is allotted a lavatory and a cattle shed, part of the relocation package. However, Gujjar households have either a lavatory or Cattle shed or they do not have either.

Traditional structured huts dominate the village (Plate2.2). Few Gujjar have constructed concrete walls but the roofs are made of grass thatch (Plate 2.3). Few have used asbestos sheets or tin roofs shaped in the traditional pyramid structures, while the affluent ones have concrete houses. The move to construct concrete houses may be a way of asserting claim over the land, as the Government has not issued title deeds (*Pattas*) to the Gujjar. Next to each Dera is their agricultural plot. In Pathri, another relocated village, the agricultural land is far away from the homesteads. Very few Gujjar have their agricultural plots close to their huts. The advantage of having the plots close facilitates easy management.

Plate 2.2: Traditional Dera in Gujjar Basti

Plate 2.3: Concrete Huts designed in a Traditional Manner

Many Gujjar have converted their Government allotted cattle sheds into rooms for residence. The sheds have no walls. The roof is supported by six pillars. Gujjar purchased bricks, sand and cement and constructed walls, converting the sheds into rooms. They use it for storing material goods and for staying. As the roofs of the cattle sheds leak, they have renovated the roofs with cement, preventing further leakage. There is a demand among the Gujjar for concrete houses from the Government. Few are lobbying for the Government to sanction few houses through the *Indira Awas Yojna*. Some Gujjar use their influence to get cement bags from the Forest Ranger deputed for the relocation and development of the Basti.

Traditionally, the clan was the larger unit of production. In the relocated Gujjar Basti, families stay together and own more than one plot of land. They stay together and consume food from a single hearth. However, there are households where there is a single hearth, but have more than one plot of land, as families have taken possession of land but do not reside in the relocated village. They ask their Shariq to take care of their land in the relocated village. On the other hand, few households that stayed together in the forest stay separate with independent hearths. They reorganise themselves as nuclear families. A household is defined by the Forest Department as a nuclear family that owns a single plot of land and has its hearth in the relocated village.

The left out family members, who are not as considered beneficiaries of the relocation, are staying back in the forest. In the forest, unlike in the Basti, a *Chan* may have more than one hearth, there may be two households staying together.

Social Organization of the Gujjar

Kinship relations hold a central place in a pastoral society. Kinship rules prescribe and prohibit relationships among the Gujjar. The community organizes itself into clans and lineages to access resources. Gujjar are divided into three primary groups, Banihare, Palliye and Sirmouriye. The primary groups are further divided into twenty one clans, namely, Lodha, Baniya, Chouhan, Kasana, Bagadi, Puswal, Dedad, Bakarwal, Gegi, Chaad, Choupade, Padahne, Maisi, Jangale, Chechi, Kalas, Dhinde, Khatane, Thikariye, Bajad and Patiye. The clans follow the principle of patrilineal

descent. Each Gujjar belongs to a family (*Tapbar*) that belongs to one of the clan (Jat). Based on the sample villages, it is observed that the Baniya Jat members were high in the relocated Basti and in the RF village (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Sample of Different Clan Households

Clans (Jat)	No. of Households		
	Relocated Gujjar	**RF Gujjar**	**RNP Gujjar**
Baniya	34	20	1
Chauhan	29	-	5
Chechi	8	3	-
Dedad	1	-	-
Gegi	5	1	-
Kalas	4	2	2
Kasana	25	1	-
Khatana	5	-	-
Lodha	23	1	1
Padhana	6	-	-
Puswal	1	1	-
Tinde	9	-	-
Chopra	-	1	-
Total	**150**	**30**	**9**

Gujjar claim, there exists a cultural and linguistic difference between the Banihare and Palliye. Gujjar who migrated to Uttarakhand derive their Jat names from places their ancestors belonged. The Jat names are derived from villages, for example, Lodha is derived from Ludhiana, Gegi from Geganpur, Baaniya from Banjwa, Chaad from Chaadapind. The various Jats trace their descent to their ancestors and finally to a common ancestor, Mohamed Owais ('*Kul Jata Hazrat Owais Diyahuyia*n', it translates as all the Jats belong to Hazrat Owais)[xiv]. The Gujjar of Uttarakhand trace their origin to Jammu and Kashmir. They refer to themselves as Jammuwalle Gujjar (Gujjar from Jammu and Kashmir).They came as a part of the dowry given by a Jammu and Kashmir Raja to the Prince of Nahan[xv] in Himachal Pradesh.The Sirmouriye derive their name from a district, Sirmour in Himachal Pradesh. The Gujjar who migrated from Sirmour to Uttar Pradesh (now Uttarakhand) are known as Sirmouriye. There may have been various streams of Gujjar migration from Sirmour to Garhwal Himalayas. The Sirmouriye Gujjar in Uttarakhand is the last group of

migrant from Sirmour into the Garhwal Himalayas. A difference between the Banihare and Palliye are made based on the occupation they practise (*Kasab*) in the place of their origin. The Palliye are land owning Gujjar in the mountains. They are cultivators. The Banihare are pastoralist and peregrinators, travelling seasonally to hills and retuning to plains. The Palliye and Banihare are identified by their occupation, while the Sirmouriye are known by the place they migrated from. The Gujjar identified by their occupation originally belong to a place known as Deng Pattal in Jammu and Kashmir. During what period the Banihare and Palliye took to Pastoralism as a livelihood and migrated into Garhwal Himalayas is not known. However, the Banihare, Palliye and Sirmouriye in Uttarakhand are Pastoralists.

The Jats follow the principle of inheritance along the male line, i.e. property is passed on from father to son and not the daughter. The Gujjar family is not the only unit of production. The members cannot reproduce social relations or material requirements without the help of other family members. Gujjar community is endogamous; the Jats follow the principle of exogamy. Where in a Jat member seeks his bride from another Jat, 'This interdependence is imposed, in the first place, by the universal existence of the incest prohibition and the rule of exogamy which accompanies it, whatever its forms or the range of its application may be' (Godelier 1975: 3). A Gujjar man cannot marry a woman from the same Jat that he belongs to, it is taboo. The relations between the clans are the social relations of production. The clans exchange females in marriage which is necessary for the propagation of the clans. The social rules in the family determine the division of labour that prescribes activities that men and women do. Through marriage females are recruited into a Jat who contribute their labour in the production of herds and social relations.

Gujjar who occupy the ethnic territory of Gujarat is a member of a Jat. Membership to the Jat is an ascribed status, meaning that one is born into one. One cannot change their Jat. It is similar to the Hindu Caste system. The Gujroo term Jat sounds very similar to Jati or Caste. The equivalent of Jat, according to the Gujjar in Hindi is Goth, Gotar, or Gotra. Hence, the classification of the Jat into a Caste may seem misleading. Perhaps it would be appropriate to identify the Jat or Gotar as a clan[xvi].

The social relationship between the Gujjar may be broadly classified into two groups i.e. *Shariq* and *Rishtedar*. *Shariq* are consanguine relations and Rishtedar are affine. The clans are further divided into patri-lineages (Aal). Gujjar enquire each other's Aal (*Thadi kidi aal hai)*. The *Aal* are mocked at by other clan members. The *Aal* differentiates the pedigree or stock within the same clan. The Chechi clan is divided into Phuadiya, Sulliye, Taraieliye and Chettriye. The Aal is separated by generations. Amongst Chechis, Phuadiya consider themselves higher than the rest of the ChechiAal. Lodhas Aal are Kaku, Jangu, LuddarHussain, Phanna, Sigaliya, Bahgdwadiya and Baaddwadiya. The Aal of the Kasana is Pohadiya. Baaniya are divided into Jaildar and Baaniya. Chaad are divided into Tholochaad. Puswal are divided into Bhalliye and Pataliye. Khatana are divided into Harijan and Morbhangi.

Gooch (1999) claims that the Gujjar "are outside the caste system and their social organization is based on (relative) equality between interacting *deras* (camps) and lineages" (1999:83). In fact Gujjar may not be part of the Hindu caste system, but they do recognize a hierarchy based clan system. Gujjar remark that their Jat categories are similar to the ones that Hindu people follow. Further an element of purity and pollution exists in Gujjar community. An idea of *Chinde* (Untouchability), keeping at a distance is practised by few clan members. Amongst the Gujjar, Dhakkad, Mukkad and Hakda[xvii] are kept at a distance. The Chechi would not sit, eat or exchange wives with the Chinde clans. Amongst the Uttarakhand Gujjar a few houses are Koli Gujjar, with whom Gujjar would not mingle, as the Koli Gujjar marries the Hakad.

The lineages and their origin are known to the Gujjar by the institution of *Marasi*. They are Gujjar folk who keep records of the lineages, clans and the generations of Gujjar. They preserve the cultural knowledge of relationships among clans. The details and names of Gujjar names and generations and clans are documented in a book known as *Kursinama*. Each Jat of Gujjar has a Marasi maintaining genealogies of that particular Jat. Roshan Gujjar says that the Marasi told him that the Lodhas belong to the kingdom (*Rajwada*) of Luddar Singh, who later became Luddar Hussain. Luddar Singh while on a hunt, witnessed a Chehci woman churning butter milk (Lassi). While churning lassi she controlled seven calves tied to

her big toe from straying. Luddar Singh was impressed by her feat. Luddar Singh, as the Marasi say, fell in love with the Chechi woman. Luddar proposed a nuptial tie. The woman agreed by imposing a condition, that she was Muslim and would marry only if Ludder Singh converted. So he from Ludder Singh became Ludder Hussain. The Lodhas are believed to be the progeny of Ludder Hussain. Ludder Singh renounces his kingdom and settles in a Ladha Batoth close to Patni top in Jammu and Kashmir. He and the Chechan (Chechi clan Woman) produced two sons Sabbo and Faggu. The Lodha Clan are the children of Sabbo and Faggu. Similarly, each clan has a story that narrates their origin.

The *Marasi* belong to Sirmour (Himachal Pradesh) and Jammu Kashmir. The Marasi from Jammu and Kashmir come during the winter to Uttarakhand when it begins snowing in Jammu and Kashmir. They come in search of work and a livelihood. They sometime arrived in the month of *Ramzan*. The Gujjar came to know about the *Marasi* from the older people (*Buzurg*). The last time Marasi were seen in Mudhal Range (now a part of Rajaji National Park) was twenty years ago. The Marasi carried papers on which generations were noted. They sing songs, accompanied by instruments, and narrate stories about the lineages and clans. Similar to the Marasi, Parai people danced and played drums in Gujjar *Deras* on the birth of a child. People gave them a wrap-a-around (*Tahmat*) or Shafa, while few gave money. The Baber (*Nai*) Gujjar cut hair and perform the circumcision ritual. This is now performed by non-Gujjar Muslim barbers. These people stopped coming sixty years back to the forest where Gujjar live, saying Nepal is too far, referring to the region of Uttarakhand. The institution of *Marasi* is significant, as it provides knowledge about clans that prescribe or prohibit marriage amongst clan members. The prescription and prohibition is significant for the generation of clans that further produce members for marriage.

Time

Time amongst Gujjar is determined by changes in nature and in cultural events. Their daily time routine is determined by the offering of *Namaz*during different times of the day. Change in time is determined by change in religious events also. The movement of the Sun from sunrise to sunset is considered one day. It is

called *Dyada*. The Sun too is known as *Dyada*. After sun set, the period is known as *Navansa*. However, the time period is not distinctly categorised as day and night. They are not in oppositions, but in continuity. The *Dyada* is further categorised into religious time. Religious action determines the time of the day or night. During different periods of time prayers (*Namaz*) are offered. The period between 2:00 am to 4:30 am is known as *Sargi*. The period between 4:30 to 5:00 am is known as *Badbar*. Around 12:00 noon is known as *Dyadi*. *Namaz*around 2:00 pm is called*Peshi*. *Digar* is around 5:00 pm. 7:00 pm is *Shaam* or *Navansa*. *Ishan* is between 9:00 pm to 10:00 pm, after 10:00 pm is night.

Relocation and Hardening of Religious Divide

Gujjar are Sunni Muslims. They are divided into two sects (*firka*) *Deobandi* and *Barelwi*. The divisions among the Gujjar has become stronger after their relocation to the Relocated Basti. The *Barelwi* Gujjar offer holy food known as *Fathyah*, which the *Deobandis* do not. *Fathyah* is offered to Rasool Peer (Prophet Mohamed), Allah and their ancestors. The Deobandi Gujjar accuse the Barewli's of being grave worshippers, as they visit various Sufi Muslim tomb shrines (Mazhar or Dargah), and asking for their prayers to be fulfilled, which the Deobandis consider as not right. Some even refer to the other sects as non-believers (*Kafir*). The Deobandis do not offer Niyaz after their relatives die. The Barelwi read the Sunnat in the name of Mohamed while the Deobandi in Allah's name. The Deobandi when attending the *Fathyah* ritual of the Barelwi's, do not raise their open palms upto the level of their chest which is a necessary gesture. They keep their palms on their thighs while squatting, which the *Barelwi* feel is a sign of disrespect.

There has been a mixed opinion on the origin of the religious division amongst the Gujjar in the forest. Shafi Gujjar, a sexagenarian, conveyed since his youth in the forest he has been a *Barewli*. Imam Gujjar conveyed that he was a Deobandi and he accepted the Barelwi sect thirty five years before. Khanu felt that the division became apparent in 1985. Prior to the split in the sects, all Gujjar offered *Fathyah*. Lalo Gujjar, an octogenarian, comments that split occurred as it is Allah's wish as the end of the world is near (*Tabahi*) because Gujjar are living immoral lives. The Baraeli Peer (Seminary Head of the Barelwi sect) has been visiting the Gujjar in Chilla Range

forest, now part of the Rajaji National Park. There is a general agreement that the *Deobandis* are more in number. However, the household survey indicates that the *Barelwi* households are more (Table 2.3). There were few households where the husband and wife belong to different sects. Marriages between the sects occur despite the Peer's discouragement.

Table 2.3: Religious Sects in Gujjar Basti

Sect	Household Number
Deobandi	37
Barelwi	113
Total	150

The conflict between both the sects is apparent on the day of *Eid* when both offer *Namaz* at the *Eidgah* (place of offering *Namaz*). The sects get into an argument over who is to offer *Namaz* first. The Deobandis and Barelwi refuse to offer *Namaz* together. In the past fights have erupted between both over the turn to offer *Namaz*. The Barelwis claim a superior status and want to offer *Namaz* first. The Deobandis refuse to offer *Namaz* at the *Eidgah* after the Barewlis. After many discussions a resolution was arrived at, the Gujjar agreed to offer *Eid ki Namaz* separately. First the Barelwis offer followed by the Deobandis. The loudspeakers are attached to tractors and brought to the *Eidgah*, an open field, next to a Mosque, where the Gujjar gather. It is used to amplify the *Eid ki Namaz* and the message by the cleric belonging to the Seminary. They teach the Gujjar the Islamic way of life. The leaders of the two sects from outside try and influence the Gujjar to adhere to their way of Islamic life. The seminary headquarters of both the sects sponsor the construction of Mosques in the relocated colony. They post their trained religious leaders to teach the Gujjar the Islamic way of life, the way the sects interpret Islamic practices. As the ideology of both the sects is different, they socialize the Gujjar on their sect form of Islam. In few cases it reaches a point of conflict. The presence of non-Gujjar Muslim clerics belonging to the different sects is promoting a form of religious practice that is creating a divide amongst the Gujjar community.

The Barelwi Mosque construction began in 2008 with fund received from Peer Miyan of Baraeli. The Barelwi and Deobandi Gujjar do not offer *Namaz* in each other's Mosque. The Barelwi believe in Rasool Peer, while the Deobandis believe Rasool is another human who is one amongst the Deobandis. The Barelwi argue that it is Rasool peer who has shown the path to Allah, how one can ignore him in prayers. As the myth goes, when Peer Rasool died, Allah sent a beautiful chest (*sandook*) to take him to heaven, but he refused and stayed back on Earth. This is the reason why people offer *Namaz* in Mecca as it is the tomb of Rasool Peer. Deobandis believe that praying to Rasool is like praying to a human, while the Barelwi's believe that if one does not believe in Rasool one is against the tenets of Quran and Islam. That person has abandoned his faith (*Iman Se Lautna*). Hence, they are neither Hindu nor Muslim. While offering *Namaz* the Barelwi chants '*La Iillah Rasool Allah*', the Deobandis recite it but do not believe in Rasool. The Barelwi sect Peer asked the Barelwi's not to give their girls in marriage to the Deobandis and not to eat with them. The Peers convey 'when one is not forging relations then why eat with them' (*Jab Ristha Nahin Karna tou Khana Kyo Khana*).

In the forest Gujjar did not construct mosques as they were not permitted to do so by the Forest Department. One of the homesteads in the forest were used for offering *Namaz* (prayer). During the time of lopping and grazing their buffaloes, few Gujjar spread their shawl (Patti) on the floor, face west, towards *Kabah* and offer *Namaz*. On Fridays Gujjar would come to the nearby towns and offer *Namaz* in a Mosque along with other Muslims. The Gujjar of Mudhal Soth, Chilla Range came to offer *Namaz* in the Mosque at the Chilla Power house. In the forest Gujjar appoint a *Hafiz* (Muslim Cleric) to teach their children reading and writing in Arabic and Urdu and the Quran (*Kalam Pak*). The Hafiz stays in one of the Gujjar Deras. A salary is paid by collecting a fee of Rs 50 collected per month from each student who learns at the School. One of the Dera is used as a school. Teachers are not employed to teach other subjects or languages. Depending on the proximity to towns few children are sent to Madrasa. Depending on the sect, few Gujjar children are sent to Deoband and Bareli to Muslim Seminaries to train to become a Hafiz.

In the relocated village Gujjar offer *Namaz* in the Mosque which is being constructed by the money contribution made by the Gujjar. Officially the Government sanctioned the construction of two Mosques. Currently, there are eleven Mosques in the colony. Each harvest season Gujjar contribute 50kg of wheat towards the construction and functioning of the Mosque. Gujjar, who do not have grains, make a monetary donation of Rs 500. The Barelwi sect consulted the Peer at Bareli (religious head), who recommended the construction of the Mosque. He contributed funds for its construction. A *Maulvi* is employed to teach the Gujjar Islamic practices. Children learn to read and write Urdu and Arabic in the Mosque. Each child pays the Hafiz, Rs 50 for their education. The Hafiz guides the Gujjar during the different *Namaz* timings. The Hafiz conveys the message of the Quran (*Kalam Pak*). He guides the Gujjar during the holy month of *Ramzan* for the various Islamic rituals.

On the approach of the *Ramzan* month, the Lodha homesteads in one of the sectors in the Gujjar Basti, felt that walking to the main Mosque to offer Trabi[xviii] is tedious. During the monsoons it becomes difficult to travel to the Mosque, the path becomes wet and dark. In the dark people find it difficult to go. A Chouhan Gujjar volunteered to contribute his land for the construction of a Mosque for the people close by to offer *Namaz* and read Salat and Trabi. He felt that he will receive Sabab and the Salamat of Allah Tala if he granted land for a Mosque. It is a good deed considered by the Gujjar. The Lodhas and the Chouhan in these sectors belong to the *Barelwi* sect. On the decided day the Gujjar gathered on the Chouhan's land earmarked for the construction of the Mosque.[xix] The plot of land for the Mosque was measured for 20x20 Feet based on their traditional measure. The members on a Rs 10 Stamp paper wrote that the contribution is being made in the name of Allah for a Mosque. The document states that the Chouhan is giving the land in the name of Allah to the community out of his own will and has not been forced to do so. The Gujjar after relocation are careful about legal processes. They are documenting the contribution of land to avoid any dispute. In the forest, a legal document as a proof of ownership or user rights was not given importance. When the Forest Department, after the Gujjar relocation asks for documentary evidence, Gujjar are now careful in not misplacing official papers. The witnesses under whose supervision the land was

given for the Mosque put their thumb impressions along with the contributor of the land.

The next day a Penchi was summoned to discuss the details of the contributions and the selection of the Mosque management committee. A consensus was arrived at the contribution to be made for the construction of the Mosque. It was also decided to employ a Hafiz to teach the Gujjar the customary way of offering *Namaz* and reading the Trabi. It is believed by the Gujjar that if one does not offer *Namaz* during the year, but does so during the whole month of *Ramzan* and reads the Trabi, one receives good fortune (Sabab). At the Penchi members names were proposed for each activity, i.e., for collection of money, purchase of plastic sheets, mugs, etc., for the Mosque. A President, Vice-President and a Secretary were nominated for the Mosque committee as office bearers. Each member's merits and demerits were discussed to carry on the responsibility associated with the Mosque. Signatures were taken from each office bearer and a few witnesses to finalize the proposal to construct the Mosque. A *Fathyah* was offered with 5 Kg of Ladoos (sweet) and then distributed amongst the members. Some Gujjar members volunteered to contribute wooden poles for erecting the Mosque. Wooden poles are valuable as they are not available easy in the relocated village and the Gujjar need them to renovate their huts. It was decided to initially construct a temporary Mosque with wooden poles and a plastic sheet roof until enough funds are collected for constructing a concrete one. The construction would require the labour of the men. Women were not present at the Penchi, neither are they allowed to offer *Namaz* in the Mosque. The Lodhas take pride in the fact that they are constructing their own Mosque. This would promote Kinship solidarity amongst their Jat. Other Jat members are also welcome to offer *Namaz* in the Mosque. *Ramzan* is 15 days ahead; preparation for the construction of the Mosque began with great enthusiasm.

During the month of *Ramzan*, young, old, men and women intensify the reading of the Quran. It is considered as Sabab. During the month of *Ramzan* observing fast (Roza) and reading the Quran is essential. One would hear older Gujjar asking the younger ones if they are reading the Quran in the mornings or afternoons. In the evening *Namaz* is offered and the Trabi is read. The holy book is wrapped in a

cloth (*Gulaf*); its spine is kissed and then touched to the forehead. The lines of the book are read aloud sitting and moving back and forth like a pendulum. The younger members could not convey the meaning of the text; they merely read them in hope of earning Sabab.

The removal of Gujjar from the forest has led to the weakening of the social relationships amongst the community members. In the forest kinship played an important role for the Gujjar as those who did not have permits depended on their Shariq or Rishtedar to access forest lop or even migrate to the hills, as the Forest Department did not give permits to all Gujjar families to access resources in the forests. After the removal from forest the majority of Gujjar do not require each other's help to access trees to lop from the forests as they have been given land for cultivation. The ones who seek help from their Kinsmen to access forest resources are the ones who have large buffalo herds in the relocated village, but do not pen them there. Ones the Kinship weakens the community feels it essential to reclaim their social relationship in another form. The relationship cannot be reclaimed through their traditional livelihood, hence the Gujjar strengthens their relationship through two institutions one is marriage and the other is religion. By increasing the number of marriages in the relocated village the Gujjar are extending and strengthening their kinship bonds. During the fieldwork many marriages occurred. Most of the cases in the political council (Penchi) revolved around matters related to elopement by Gujjar boys and Girls married to another Gujjar. On enquiry the Gujjar members conveyed that these many elopements did not occur in the forest. Another place where they can reclaim their ties is in the form of religion. Each contributes money or grains for the construction and maintenance of the Mosque. Many reinforce the need to pray together on Fridays and offer *Namaz*. The community with the encouragement from the non-Gujjar religious leaders belonging to both the sects, through religious messages and *Namaz*, attempt to create a Muslim consciousness amongst the Gujjar. Gujjar stress the significance of abiding by the Islamic way of life. This leads us to the question of the reconstruction of the identity of the Gujjar. In the forest they identified themselves as 'Van Gujjar' or 'Jangle ke loge' suggesting, forest dwelling or living Gujjar. The forest is no more accessible to the Gujjar in the relocated village;

the trends suggest they are moving towards reshaping their identity as Muslims Gujjars belonging to the different sects by trying to lead an Islamic way of life.

Age

The Gujjar do not have the tradition of maintaining or recording their date of birth. One is simply born (The age in the household surveys during fieldwork are estimates). The estimation of age of a teenage Gujjar or adult (eighteen years or above) became an issue in the relocation process for the State. The Gujjar would claim a boy to be an 'adult', but the Forest Department would reject the claim and not allot land to the 'adult' Gujjar. Even when the Gujjar claim that the boy is married and sports a moustache (a sign of physical maturity), the claim to a family and land was declined by the Forest Department. This further created conflict between the people and the Forest Department. This cultural aspect of age, if taken into consideration for the purpose of allotting land, could have been dealt dextrously. This issue of allotting land under the relocation scheme has been a persisting problem between the State and the Gujjar. After various disputes and court cases between the State and Gujjar, a decision was arrived at to allot land to every family identified as a married adult male, his wife and children. Now more families are demanding land based on the new definition of age that considers a married Gujjar eligible for a piece of land. The outcome of such lapse has resulted in another 1,608 Gujjar families not identified as beneficiaries of the relocation package of the State Forest Department.

Marriage (*Byah*) and its Dissolution

Marriage (*Byah*) takes place in two forms, by double exchange (*Dhora or Batta-Satta*) and Single exchange (*Kera*). The *Dhora* marriage comprises replacing the labour of the daughter by that of a daughter-in-law where in both the women belong to exogamous clans. Sometimes an adult woman is exchanged for two minor girls. In the Single exchange the labour of the woman from a household is replaced by paying money. Elopement of unmarried couples and between married men and women occur, but the marriages are not legal until the political council (*Penchi*) grants its sanction. Polygynous marriage, where a man is married to two or more women, is prevalent but not the norm. Gujjar having multiple wives depends on many factors. Depending on the financial ability to take care of many wives one can enter

into a polygynous marriage. In most cases a polygynous marriage is opted when the man is unable to produce a male heir from the woman. If the Dora marriage is not possible due to the unavailability of unmarried women in the family or amongst the *Nede Te Shariq* (close consanguine relationship) families of the clan, the *Kera* marriage is opted by paying a *Mamla* (bride price). *Mamla*, traditionally involved giving buffaloes, these days money is given. The fixing of relationships is not merely a social or religious act; it is political as well. It is regulated by the political council (*Penchi*). Marriage alliances are fixed through a political process. *Byah* is given a religious sanction by the authority of the Mullah, under whose guidance the marriage ritual is completed. Divorce (*Talaq*) is a political process. This indicates social relationships are regulated by a political body. The conflicts arising in the marriages are regulated by the *Penchi*. The percentage of unmarried RNP Gujjar is higher compared to that of the relocated Gujjar and RF Gujjar (Table2.4).

Table 2.4: Marital Status of Gujjar

	Relocated Gujjar		**RF Gujjar**		**RNP Gujjar**	
Status	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Married	591	51.70	132	52.17	55	50.9
Unmarried	548	47.94	121	47.82	53	49.07
Widow	4	0.34	-	-	-	-
Total	1143	100	253	100	108	100

The clan members of both the groups forming an alliance, along with the political leader (*Pench*), meet on a day for fixing the date of the *Byah* (*Dyado Mathno*). In many cases, alliances are fixed when the couple are adolescents. The elders of the families who verbally indicate the alliance enter into a relationship with each other. The elder's relationship with each other is known as *Kodm*. The elders (*Madai)* of both the groups meet to discuss the budget, logistics, food, number of invitations (*Gund*) and aspects of the *Byah*. This is decided on the monetary capability of the Gujjar. The economically stronger opt for a large marriage procession (*Jaani Jani Hai*), the wedding becomes a large gathering (*Mota Byah*). In the relocated Basti a Gujjar political leader celebrated his nephew's marriage with much pomp and show. It is a sign of prosperity and an achievement of a higher status in Gujjar society. The wedding grandeur and celebration is discussed by invitees with non-invitees. There is

reference to the size, food, pomp and show of the *Byah*. Before deciding on the date of the *Byah*, the groups meet to mutually accept the alliance (*Lain-Dain*) by offering the *Kadmai Ka Doudh*. Milk in which crushed sugar and clarified butter are mixed and offered to the groom's family by the bride's family. Hence, the alliance is fixed and attains a legal status. People from other clans present, act as witness, during the *Lain-Dain.*

On the wedding eve, the close kin, ego's sister, father's sister, mother's brother and other Gujjar are present for the *Mehndi* ritual (*Maieye Payegaa*). The gathering of guests (*Mail*) is an activity with stir, as Gujjar from different clans and villages get together. The father's sister mixes the *Mehndi* in a brass plate and applies the mixture on the groom. Each member dips their fingers into the mixture and applies it on the groom's body. Money is given for the *Mehndi* ceremony to the groom. The ritual is marked by men singing songs (*Bainth*). Musical instruments and dance are not part of a Gujjar *Byah*. Next morning, the groom is made to stand on an inverted brass vessel (*Khari Chadaie*), and given a bath with warm water. The groom bathes below a shawl spread out and held at the four corners. During the bathing ceremony, the groom's father, brother, mother or father's brother announces the *Khari ki Mais*, wherein a buffalo is given by anyone of them. The wedding ritual and alliance is sanctioned by the Mullah who reads verses from the Quran. Each group has a Mullah, a 'lawyer' (*Vakil*) and two witnesses (*Gawah*) that represent them. The Mullah is a religious specialist. It is the task of the *Vakil* and *Gawah* to convey the acceptance of the alliance to the bride and groom. The bridegroom's group visits the bride's family. The bride sits in another hut and the bridegroom sits along with the Jaani. The bride and groom are conveyed to accept the alliance (*Byah Kabool*) separately. On the day of the *Byah*, a buffalo as bride gift (*Meher*), is given to the bride. The next day the bride along with a group of women known as *Maklava* go to the bride's husband's house. The bridegroom is given one kilogram (kg) of rice, one kg of crushed sugar and a steel plate to take along to his *Dera*. For the *Maklava*, between five to ten women accompany the bride to her groom's *Dera*. The girl is made to sit in the centre and offered milk to drink. In a plate, the bride's Mother-in-Law makes pieces of bread and sugar (*Choori*) and feeds the bride. A lamp (*Diya*), rice and crushed sugar are put into a plate and placed next to the bride. The mother-in-

law gives money (*Nindri*) for seeing the face (*Muh Dekhlai*) of the bride. Other Gujjar join to see the newly married bride by offering money. Next morning at first offering of *Namaz* (*Azan*), the bride is made to churn milk to obtain butter milk. She then becomes the *Baoo* (daughter-in-law) of the *Dera*. The bride shuttles between her in-laws house (*Sasu-Saura*) and her parent's residence (*Pepka*). The shuttling is done until she settles in her in-laws home. This movement is facilitated for her to slowly adjust to her new home. Daj*a*l (dowry) of one buffalo is given by the woman to her husband. The groom's family can collect the animal from the bride's family when they desire.

During *Byah* another relationship is forged through the bridegroom's turban (*Pug*) untying ceremony. Generally, the turban is untied by the same clan member. When it is done by another clan member, the relation is one of a brother, *Sehere ka Bhai*(Turban Brothers). The groom's turban is untied by a member from another clan who simultaneously ties the turban over his own head. The turban brothers cannot be wife givers or wife takers. This relationship of *Sehere ka Bhai* is further extended to the clans. Both the clans combine to form a larger single group, but they retain their clan names. The combining of different clans and lineages into a single exogamous group is called *Ralana*. This principle suggests, clans combine during the marriage ritual as a Phatry. The turban brother's clan become Shariq. Gegi, Bagadi and Choupade clans are Shariq. Khatana, Baniya and Puswal clans are Shariq. The distinction between the clans are made explicit by the money paid during the marriage. For example, the Lodhas do not combine their clan with other clans. Shariq of the same clan pay a money gift of Rs 100 (Bhaichara) to each other, during a marriage ceremony. When two different clans give Bahichara to each other, they are Shariq through the relationship of Sehere ka Bhai . When Bhaichara is not given to a clan by another, one can assume that the relationship between the people is one of a *Rishtedar* (potential pool for affinal mates). *Tarmole* (Rs 160) is paid by the clan members to the clan to which their wife belongs. For example, if a Lodha man is married to a Baaniya woman, he pays *Tarmole* during the Baaniya wedding. *Nindra* (Rs 50) is paid by *Rishtedars* to each other, when they do not have an affinal relationship. The giving of marriage gift in the form of currency reinforces the clan

categories and kinship ties between members of the community. There is a temporary unity during the marriage ceremony as the clans consider each other as one.

Education

Illiteracy is high among the Relocated Gujjar (818 Gujjar are illiterate out of the 1143 members surveyed). After relocation, children are attending Government schools in Basti (Table 2.4). Basti Gujjar children are sent to the *Madrasas* or the Mosque to receive religious education. In few cases children attend only *Madrasas* (59 boys and 37 girls). Very few Gujjar are literate (114 know how to read or and write Arabic, Hindi, or Urdu) and the drop out of children from the school is high. In the case of the RF Gujjar very few children go to school. The RF Gujjar children staying in the interior of the forest do not attend school. The children of the RNP Gujjar do not go to school.

Table 2.5: Formal Education Status of the Gujjar Children

	Gujjar Basti		**RF Gujjar**		**RNP Gujjar**	
(Class)	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
1-4	48	44	11	9	-	-
5-8	26	7	4	2	-	-
9-10	3	1	-	-	-	-
Bachelors	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**78**	**52**	**15**	**11**	**-**	**-**

Mid-day meals are provided for the Gujjar children attending the Government school in order to increase their enrolment. The children sit in groups of four and eat food (*choksi*) from a single plate (*Thali*). The children receive a scholarship of Rs 600 from the Uttarakhand Government. The money is deposited by the Principal into the child's parent's bank account. Due to lack of awareness, many Gujjar do not hold bank accounts. The Principal of the School transfers the Scholarship money of students of different families into the accounts of few Gujjar, whose child is a student of the school, possessing a bank account following the concurrence of the non-account holders. The principal deducts some amount from their scholarship as a charge (?) for depositing the money. Gujjar complained to the authorities about not

crediting the full amount promised by the government by the Principal into the bank account, but no action is taken.

Resource use

In the relocated villages, compared to the forest, there are very few trees and grazing grounds. The nearest forest to Basti is about 6 Km which is a Reserved Forest, and the relocated Gujjar are not permitted to graze and lop. It is very difficult to find grazing grounds and trees around the relocated village to feed buffaloes. Grass patches are found in scattered pockets around the relocated village but not sufficient to feed the herds in the Basti. Along the colony boundary Ganga Canal flows in which Gujjar buffaloes swim and drink water. There is heavy competition for the resources. Close to the village an enclosed plantation (*Taungya*) of the Forest Department is guarded by a forest guard. Gujjar through different arrangements with the guard manage to graze their cattle in the plantation enclosure. Gujjar buffaloes are rarely tethered. This allows the animal to feed well. Gujjar having large herds in the village cannot sustain them. They sustain their herds by staying in close by forests. Kinship relations are evoked to keep their herds in the Reserved Forest where the RF Gujjar have permits.

Food is cooked using firewood which is collected by women and girls from the nearby forests. Women fetch dried twigs, bigger dry poles or logs are fetched by men. When a Gujjar spots a big wooden pole far away from Basti, they fetch it on their bicycles, facing the risk of getting caught by forest guards. There are instances where in Gujjar boys have been caught for carrying wooden poles and logs. Their cycles are confiscated as they are unable to pay the fine imposed by the Forest Department.

Wood gathering by women is done during the winters in groups. It is essential to go in groups as women help to load the bundle of wood on each other's head. On the onset of the summer, as it will be hot, women suspend gathering of wood. They claim that there is a risk of getting stung by bees. During the monsoon the wood is wet; ground is slippery, making it difficult to fetch firewood. Women cover large distance to fetch firewood daily as it has to be hoarded to sustain cooking for the

summer and monsoon months. Every Gujjar household has a pile of firewood next to their hut. The stock of firewood is related to the number of women in each household. In houses where there is only a single woman, firewood gets exhausted faster as little firewood is stocked. Circumstances sometimes force women to fetch wood during monsoon also. Men also help women in this regard.

In Gujjar Basti thatch grass is a scarce resource. These grasses from the RNP forest can be procured by any Gujjar, provided the Forest Department grants permission. It is very difficult to procure thatch and dry wooden poles to reconstruct the Gujjar huts. The wooden poles and the thatch, if stored, are eaten by termites. When the Gujjar fall short of thatch grass, they purchase it from the other Gujjar. They use kinship and networks to convince the owner to sell the grasses at a lower price. It is a commodity that few Gujjar sell and make a profit. The wealthy Gujjar manage to procure many bundles of thatch grass on tractor trolleys. The unused resource is stored for future use. These grasses are dry, if protected from the elements of nature, they last longer.

V

Government Incentives to Relocates

The budget for relocating Gujjar was allotted from 'Project Elephant', a conservation drive to protect the Elephants in the forest by the Government of India. The relocation package given by the Forest Department consists of 0.82 hectares of land to each family. Each hectare costs Rs. 6.25 lakhs. For the Gujjar living in Basti, 269 ration cards have been issued for 878 families. Two schools have been constructed in the village. One is a primary school and the other is secondary. Mid Day Meal scheme for the Gujjar children is functional. According to the Forest Department, a veterinary doctor visits the village twice in a week to attend to the cattle. Widow and disabled pensions are allotted to the needy. An Anganwadi (Day Care Centre) is under construction in the colony. The Public Works Department has constructed an eight kilometre mettle road that connects the colony to the Haridwar – Bijnor main road. A total of 5.9 kilometres of smaller roads have been constructed to connect each sector to the colony main road. Seven windmilldriven tube wells (*Nalkup*)[xx] with pipes to supply water for irrigation to the village are sanctioned, out

of which five have been constructed and of them three are dysfunctional. According to the records, 855 water hand pumps have been installed. Electricity to the village is given to few sectors during 2010 by the State Electricity Department. A solar powered electric fence has been constructed (9 kilometres) around the village to prevent wild animals from destroying the crops by entering the village. The complete fencing is not done, it is broken in places. A number of wild animals (deer, wild boars, elephants, blue bull and fox) enter the Gujjar fields and destroy crops.

Belief in Tawiz[xxi] or Tavith (Talisman) and wearing stones is a common feature. Few Gujjar wear stones with Arabic letters inscribed on them. Visiting peers (god men/saints) for treatment is practised among the Gujjar. A Primary Health Centre (PHC) has been constructed in the village but a doctor has not been posted. Private Doctors have established their clinics in the village by renting out concrete rooms built by affluent Gujjar. There are 'doctors' (quacks) who come on motorbikes to treat Gujjar. The department claims that an Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) visits the village weekly. But Gujjar do not seem to be aware of this service. Given the distance and difficulty in accessing first aid or basic health care, Gujjar Basti is visited by 'doctors'. These doctors carry medicines and injections in their bags. They visit the Deras of their clients. They are not professionally trained. They are people who have earned a degree in pathology or have worked as helpers in medical dispensaries or as compounders. These 'doctors' are unable to diagnose the medical problems of the Gujjar. They treat Gujjar by a trial and error method. On many occasions the 'doctors' administer injections and tablets and charge the Gujjar. On the main road a Registered Medical Practitioner (RMP) treats Gujjar and prescribes medicines. In his clinic he has a bed and he administers saline drips. Dysentery, whooping cough cold, fever, weakness, jaundice are common ailments.

Gujjar believe in religious healers (*Phande ne wala*). Most of the religious healers are Gujjar. Gujjar seek healing from Mullahs, Peers and Faquirs belonging to other Muslim sects. Muslim religious renouncers are respected by the Gujjar. They visit *Mazhar* (tombs of saints) at Sultanpur Kunhari (*Nau Gaja Peer*), *Sabir Pak* at *Kaliyar Sharif*, and *Loha Sid Bali* in the district of Haridwar. The Gujjar who is a *Phande ne wala* undergoes *Birdh and Chila Quashi* (religious ordinance for 41 days)'

to gain healing powers. Reading of holy texts and the Quran is essential. To treat Jaundice, the *Phande ne wala*, uses *Khabbal* grass, *Kas ka Katoro* (bowl) and *Kadotel* (mustard oil).Yellow mustard oil and chanting holy verses is believed to treat the yellow disease, Jaundice. Wearing *Tawiz* (religious talismans) help protect Gujjar and helps in a healthy life. Treatment of other ailments is done using brooms or Knives, where the instruments are used to sweep the ailment away. The act is accompanied by chanting holy verses from Islamic texts and blowing at the patient.

As Gujjar adopt a sedentary life, petty sellers selling shawls, clothes, vegetables, spices, tea and other things, visit Gujjar Basti. An Agarawal (Hindu businessman), from Haridwar visits the Basti on his scooter on Fridays. It is the holy day of the Gujjar as they offer *Jumma ki Namaz* and most Gujjar are in their Dera. The businessman does a door to door sale of grocery. He sells provisions to the Gujjar on credit. He maintains accounts in a diary stating the debts to be recovered from each Gujjar household. The Public Distribution System (PDS) in Gujjar Basti, supplies limited provisions against each ration card. Each card on a monthly basis receives 20kgs of rice at the rate of Rs 7 per kg, 20kg of Wheat at Rs 7 per kg, 5kgs of Sugar at Rs 15 per kg and 5 litres of Kerosene oil at Rs 11.50 per litre.

Gujjar enjoy drinking many cups of tea, the sugar from the PDS is insufficient. Gujjar purchase sugar from the market at a higher price. The wheat is insufficient for the Gujjar family. The shortage of wheat is met by the produce from the agricultural fields. The PDS system does not function efficiently, as the Gujjar operator at the shop cheats his fellow Gujjar. Against a ration card he supplies a lesser amount than mentioned in the card. Illiterate Gujjar do not understand the quantities mentioned in these books. While making note of the quantity supplied to each card holder, the shop owner mentions the amount meant to be supplied. When the Gujjar ask why the supply is less, he replies that the government supplies are short. Another reason cited to other Gujjar is that there are many Gujjar who are not given their ration card, and they too require ration.

The closest post office is in Gaindikhatta main village, approximately three kilometres from the Basti. The closest bank is 10 km away at Shyampur (Punjab

National Bank). The Gram Panchayat office is one km from the Basti. The next biggest bazaar is in Bhaguwala, seven km from Gujjar Basti. On Wednesdays sellers from various parts of the region gather to sell products in the weekly market. Gujjar call the market as '*Peeth*'. Clothes, food and other household requirements are purchased by haggling.

Food

Gujjar diet includes milk and milk based products. Butter, buttermilk (*lassi*), milk, yoghurt (*Mattha) colostrums* (*Bouli*) and the milk after colostrums, *Ubblu*, is made into a dish very high in protein known as *Kaibar*, which Gujjar enjoy. It is sweetened with sugar or Jaggery. The dish is a heavy food that induces sleep, after consumption, the Gujjar believe. Gujjar breakfast consists of stale bread (*Baie Roti* or *choupad roti*) with a spread of a mixture of butter, salt (*loon*) and red chilli powder (*Pipli*) and crushed raw onions. *Baie Roti* is eaten, accompanied with *lassi* or chai (Tea). *Lassi ki Kadhi*, a dish made from butter milk, and spices and onions are eaten with bread (roti). When a Gujjar visits another's *Dera*, the guest is offered food to eat, '*Gujarran roti kha le'* (asking the Gujjar to have food). Lentils, like *Malka* (toor dal) and Urad dal, are eaten with roti or rice. A watery curry (*Nevada*) made from onion and potatoes, with spices and turmeric (*Pasar*) is a regular course. One of the reasons why Gujjar consume more potatoes and onion is its longer shelf life. It can be preserved for a longer time. On nomadic movements to high altitudes and forest interiors it is difficult to buy green vegetables, and it is easier to store and cook onions and potatoes. A delicacy known as *Reed* (Harad) *ki kadu* or *Kadu da Nevda* is prepared from a Myrobalan[xxii] and harad (*Terminaliachebula)*[xxiii] it has medicinal properties. In comparison to wheat, rice is consumed less. After relocation Gujjar eat vegetables, but the frequency is low. During the growth of wheat crop, a weed known as *Saag* is procured from the fields. A dish *Saag ka Nevada* is eaten with roti. Dates, fruits and vegetables are consumed during the holy month of *Ramzan*.

Food has religious or ritual connotations. There are rituals associated with food. The *Barelwi* sects of Gujjar offer holy food known as *Fathyah*. *Fathyah* is offered daily. *Fathyah* is offered by men at supper time and during different Islamic festivals through rituals. It consists of a bowl of milk, bowl of water, Nevada and roti.

Fathyah is offered to ancestors of Gujjar who are deceased. It is believed during the evening their ancestor's breadth (*Rooh*) ascends from above. When humans breathe it is called *Rooh-e- Pak, Fathyah* is given to the Rooh-e -Pak of the ancestors. Ancestors are part of the living world. During this time it is necessary to offer holy food for the well-being of the family and clans. During the offering, verses from the Quran are chanted. Those who offer *Fathyah* squat on their knees resting their thighs on the calf muscles and face west towards the direction of *KabbahSahrif*, Mecca. The open palms are raised to the level of the shoulder and holy verses are chanted.

Niyaz is a religious gathering where *Fathyah* is offered. Niyaz is offered by inviting kin members, both consanguine and affine. It is also offered for the circumcision ceremony (*Sunnat or Khatna*). Women prepare the vegetables (*Nevda*), *pulao*, mutton and chicken are made by Men. Meat is not eaten regularly. It is eaten during *Niyaz*or *Bakra Eid*. It is eaten as a ritual to signify an important aspect of Gujjar life. When invitee Gujjar come for the Niyaz, they bring along milk and clarified butter (*kee*).

The *Fathyah* offering is made by the Mullah or Gujjar who is well versed with the Quran. A *Dawat*(feast)is given after that. Niyaz may be given for different purposes, to announce the son's marriage, or for a Khatna, or for the well being of a Gujjar family. *Dua* (supplication) is made to Allah to keep the Gujjar people and families happy. Sometimes when the wish is fulfilled by Allah, a Niyaz is offered. For the Niyaz the food prepared is known as *LesunaChawal* (Salty rice). While the MitthaChawal (*KeeKhand*), Ghee sweetened rice is made during weddings.

Festivals like *Shab kadar ki Raat* or *Shabarraat* is accompanied by *Fathyah***.** It appears fourteen days before the *Ramzan* period begins. On the 15th day after Shabraat, the moon is visible; people begin observing *Roza* (religious fast). *Roza* is observed for 30 days. On the 31st day *Eid* is celebrated, it is called *Mitthi Eid*. After two and half months comes *Bakra Eid*, wherein a goat is sacrificed. The Haj season in Mecca begins on the day before Bakra *Eid*. When Haj falls on a Friday, it is called *Akbari Eid*, a very auspicious day, the next day, Saturday, is Bakra *Eid*. Three days are meant for sacrifice, the Haj day, *Eid* Day and the next day. For Shabkadar ki Raat

people stay awake all night and the Gujjar believe that one who does it receives *Sabab* (holy blessing*)*. *Fathyah* is offered on Shabraat. *Suji ka Halwa*, Roti and yellow rice are prepared. Gujjar clan members visit each other's Dera and offer *Fathyah*. The men gather around the food and ask for *Dua* for the family. Another festival, *Satimi* falls on the 27th of the *Ramzan* month. If on the 30th day the moon is seen then the 31st is *Mitthi Eid*. *Sargi* is the food eaten after opening the fast.

End Notes

[i]The highland grasslands are part of the Greater Himalayas (2400-3600 meters) they lay between the Trans (3600-8000 meters) and Lesser (0-2400meters) Himalayas. This region is also known as the Alpine meadows. The region is covered by vast stretches of open grasslands ideal for grazing livestock. Gujjar migrate to this zone to graze their livestock during summer.

[ii] There is a mutual dependence between livestock and people. People derive their livelihood by the sale of animal products like milk, butter, clarified butter, etc. In order to sustain large herds of livestock, Pastoralists move between different resource areas as they are not available round the year in the same place.

[iii] Source: Uttarakhand at a Glance 2010-11. Directorate of Economics and Statistics

[iv]http://uk.gov.in/files/pdf/uttarakhand%20at%20a%20glance%20english2010-11.pdf

[v] Map Source: http://www.uttarakhand.nu/uttarakhand.html

[vi]http://uk.gov.in/files/pdf/uttarakhand%20at%20a%20glance%20english2010-11.pdf

[vii] In Uttar Pradesh the location of Gujjar are in Tarai of Pipalia(Pilibhit district), and bordering Uttarakhand are villages Khatiyari, Neemwali, Gulalwali, Samat, Badapur, Mokonia and Jholukhata.

[viii] In Uttarakhand, Gujjar settlements are Kalikhoot, Gadappu, Lalkuan, Bhudakhata, Pipalpadav, Balipur, Arjanwala, Dhela, Phatu, Pakhro, Saneh, Kotdwar, Pilipadav, Laldang, Enginechoud, Kotowali, Chidiyapur, Ghadiawali, Haldukhatta, Gojia, Diyawali, Gajiwali, SukhaSoth, SibhalSoth, Sid Soth, and Thandi. The Gujjar belonging to forest villages in eight ranges declared as Rajaji National Park have been relocated to Gaindikhatta and Pathri colonies.

[ix] For this study, the researcher's interactions with the Muslim Gujjar of Uttarakhand revealed differences amongst Gujjar of other States. Negi and Raha (1982) and Shahsi, S.S (2006) discuss the differences very briefly (Shahsi, S.S(2006) The world of Nomads. New Delhi, Lotus Press.)

[x]http://ncbc.nic.in/Centrallistifobc.html

[xi] The years next to each name indicate the year the wildlife sanctuary is declared

[xii] Parts of Nepal comprise of TAL too.

[xiii] A Hindu Community said to have migrated from Punjab and settled in Uttarakhand. They are agriculturalists, also. They specialize in thatching huts.

[xiv]HazratOwais and HazratYakub are the children of blind HazratHisakAlle Islam. Closer to his death he called his son Owais and desired to have Kababs, he asked him to go for a hunt to get the meat. He said that he would give his prophet hood to him.

Upon hearing this Hisak's wife decided to trick her husband in giving the prophet hood to the younger son Yakub. She quickly killed a goat, made Kababs and got is served through Yakut, who in turn received the prophet hood. On Owais's return and the father realizing that the younger son received the Prophet hood, Owais gets angry and is ready to kill his younger brother. The mother helps in Yakub's escape. The angry Owais is consoled by his father that he needn't worry as Yakubs tenure will not last long, instead the father promised Owais a bigger gift. He granted a gift of Owais's prophet hood that would last until the day of Qayamat. Owais retreated to the forest for deep contemplation. Owais had 70 wives from which 70 Jats were born, Gujjar believe theirs is one of them.

[xv] Reference to this, are in Joshi, R and Ranbir Singh (2009) ,Johnsingh(2005) in the Hindu, Shahsi, S.S(2006)World of Nomads. Kumar (1995) Working Plan of RNP pp211. Gujjar people too talk about their migration from Jammu and Kashmir due to the marriage of a princess of Jammu and Kashmir to the prince of Himachal Pradesh.

[xvi] According to Robin Fox, "Such groups as we have described, which claim common descent from a common ancestor, even if they cannot demonstrate exactly how this descent came about, are known as clans"(fox 1967;90)as opposed to lineages "where the actual relationship between members in such a group can be demonstrated"(fox 1967;49)

[xvii] These Gujjar clan members belong to the State of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. Chinde is also practised by the Gujjar with a Non- Gujjar community, the Kanjars.

[xviii] During *Ramzan* Gujjar observe fast and offer special evening prayers during which long portions of the Qur'an are recited. These special prayers are known as Trabi by the Gujjar. The prayer involves many postures and can be tiring.

[xix] A Gujjar took a measurement of one foot by closing his palms, forming a fist with each thumb sticking out and touching each other. A stick with the length of the fists is taken as a measurement of a foot. A rope of the sticks length was taken as a measure of a foot ten times to arrive at a measurement of ten feet. This measurement of the rope was doubled to arrive at a twenty feet measure.

[xxi]Tawiz are lockets or Amulets with verses of the Quran written on them. It is worn to ward away evil and bring good luck. They are worn around the neck or tied around the arms

[xxii] The astringent plum like fruit found in various tropical trees of the genus *Terminalia* (family Combretaceae), this berry is found in the forest of Siwalik where Gujjar live.

[xxiii]Puri, H.S(2003) suggests harad having multiple ayurvedic properties, it is helpful as a laxative, astringent, anti-spasmodic, helps in liver problems and has antimicrobial properties.

Chapter III

Ecology, State Regulation and Pastoral Livelihood

Gujjar ecology needs to be understood in the historical and political context of colonial and post-colonial rule. In this chapter an attempt is made to understand the institutional arrangements and mechanisms introduced by the colonial administration to regulate forest resources used by the Gujjar, and the perspectives of Gujjar in this regard based on personal interviews, historical documents, secondary source materials, Gazetteers and Forest Working Plans. This section reconstructs the conditions which prevented or regulated Gujjar and local communities' access to forest resources in Uttarakhand. Besides, it also tries to look into the developments in the post-independence policies and programmes that have led to the displacement of the Gujjar from the forest and their resettlement in the plains (*Des*).

The Forest Department controls and regulates the people's usage of forest and other natural resource. The various laws enacted strengthen the status of the Forest Department. Historically, there was minimum interference of the ruling regimes, till the Mughal, in the management and use of common property resources of the people (Singh 1986). The Colonial State began interfering by regulating the relationship between people and Common Property Resources (CPR) through some enactments. It resulted in the denial of use by declaring forests as 'Reserved' or 'Protected' territories. The Colonial laws permitted declaration of forest as State property. Such enforcement of laws altered the relationship between people and their livelihood earning resource. Such exclusionary laws not only altered people and resource relations, but also changed people's view of the State. People began witnessing interference through stronger State regulation in their resource use.

Historically and up to the present times, Gujjar access to resources is not based on a laissez-faire principle. The State claims the forests and the other natural resources as its property. Like many other forest dwellers and pastoralists, the Gujjar were regarded merely as users of the forests and not its owners, despite their traditional presence and using of the forest resources. In lieu of using the resources the Gujjar had to pay money to access their traditional resources. Colonial Forest

Department introduced permit system for the access and use of forest resources. These were reflected in the Forest Working Plans prepared once in every ten years guided its strategies.

Besides the forests controlled by the Colonial Forest Department, Gujjar accessed Civil Forests that belonged to princely estates (*Riyasat*). The forest land that was part of the Prince's estate is known as '*Riyast ki Dabdi*' by the Gujjar. In pre-independent India it belonged to the Raja of Sahanpur. The Gujjar utilized forest resources on the estates of Sahanpur and Najibabad (Bijnor District in Uttar Pradesh). Permits (*Khasras)* were issued to them by the *Riyasat* for the grasslands and forest resources for a period of six months and *Munshi* (accountant) collected the money for the *Riyasat*. Resource access in the *Riyasat* was based on a contract (*Theka*) system. The forest was contracted to a head Gujjar *(Sargiroh)* who collected money from other Gujjar for using the forests and deposited it with the *Munshi*. Once Khasra was issued to a *Sargiroh*, it was his responsibility to allocate the forest to the other Gujjar families. The head of the family then divided his forests further into smaller units for his children. The British granted permission to the *Riyasat* to retain their land, as *Riyasat* paid taxes to them. Riyasat land was divided into 64 Sq Km patches known as *Garonde*. Khati, Pola and Banj (Bamboo) foliage dominated *Riyast ki Dabdi*. The forest was thick. One could go from one tree branch to another and lop without getting down the tree. The Civil forests followed the scheme of rotational lopping introduced by the Forest Department in 1932. A Gujjar who lopped a forest would return to it for lopping during the third year. For three years the forest was left to rejuvenate. After lopping a forest the Gujjar would go to another forest.

The Colonial and Post-Colonialphases through the working plans devised rules for Gujjar access to forests. Thus, Gujjar pastoral life was dictated by the policy of the Forest Department. The Gujjar livestock faced hindrances in resources use. The number of buffaloes allotted for grazing and lopping varied. Resource access by the rotational lopping method deprived fodder to Gujjar livestock, thereby impacting their livelihood. Further, the reduction in grasslands due to the shift to commercial forestry programme and planting Eucalyptus trees had serious bearing on the Gujjar. Wazir Ali, a Gujjar remarked that during 1965 to 1967 the forest department began planting

Eucalyptus trees in the Tarai region. This prevented the undergrowth of grass for their buffaloes to graze. The indigenous tree species were replaced by commercial trees that deprived the Gujjar buffalo tree fodder leading to decline in milk yield.

I

Ecology of Gujjar in a Historical Perspective

The foresters looked at the traditional grazing and lopping practices of the Gujjar as destructive to the forest. Hence, they felt that their practices had to be regulated or stopped. This had implication to the livelihood of Gujjar and their relationships with the other communities. It also affected their relationship with the natural resource endowments. Gadgil and Guha observe that "…the colonial state radically defined property rights, imposing on the forest a system of management whose priorities sharply conflicted with earlier systems of local use and control" (Gadgil and Guha 1992: 264). The colonial rule in Uttarakhand during the mid-nineteenth century is significant. It is during this time that written records mention the presence of Gujjar in the region. This no way suggests that they migrated to the Garhwal Himalayas during this time. They may have migrated and come into the Garhwal Himalayas much earlier. Atkinson (1882) in Himalayan Gazetteer of Garhwal discusses the condition of graziers, but does not specifically mention the Gujjar. GRC Williams mentions in his writings about the presence of Goojurs (Gujjar) in the Doon valley in the 1874. He mentions that the "Goojurs came from Seharunpore as invaders in the last century and settled in the mouth of the Timlee pass" (Williams 1874:29-30). According to H.G. Ross, in 1883, the forest settlement officer of JaunsarBawar[i] wrote that the Gujjar came into the region six to seven years earlier (Ross 1883, cited in Dangwal 1997: 422). Their entry into the forests was debated by officials who viewed Gujjar presence as a source of revenue, while the supporters of 'scientific forestry' saw it as destructive. The issue was resolved through a permit system of controlling the buffalo numbers and people's movement within the forest. Regulation rather than banning Gujjar access to forest resources became a preferred option.

Communities in the hills and plains of Garhwal Himalayas depend on the forest resources for their livelihood. Their stakes in the forest resources began

weakening in the early 1820's. The British regulated people's access to forest resources by levying duties, known as *Kath-bans* and *Kath mahals*, as propriety dues on the products gathered from the forests at various stations. These were leased to Zamindars from whom the British collected revenue. Forests were brought under the British control to generate revenue for the State. Reservation of forests for the Government began in 1826 and, according to Atkinson, since the entire forest "... always been recognised as belonging to Government, any part of them could be appropriated to the exclusive use of Government without the slightest infringement of the rights or claims of a single individual" (1882: 849).

Livestock owners were not free to graze their cattle. They came under the scanner of British exploitative policy. Various cesses, known as ghikar, gobar, puchhiya, were extracted in 1822 for each wooden bar, called agal, to which cattle are tied. All owners of cattle, grazing in Tarai and Bhabar, had to pay a uniform tax of three annas for each female buffalo, two annas for each cow and one anna for a bullock, annually (Atkinson 1882). Atkinson refers to cattle owning communities as Kamins, Sayanas, Thokdars and Padhans (headmen) of villages. Whether the Gujjar came under these tax rules seems unclear. The Gujjar migrate, during the summer to the high altitude mountains (*Paad*) and the ranges (*Nakki*) that belonged to the Raja of Tehri. The forests of Tehri Garhwal came under commercial forestry by 1865. Peasants of the hills resisted their loss of customary access to resources (Gadgil and Guha 1992). In 1859 the forests were leased to one Mr Wilson. In 1864 the lease was transferred to the British Government for twenty years. The British claimed the forest were damaged and injured by constant access by people and after they took control of the forest their conditions improved. "The ravages committed by the cultivators in the western portion of the valley, where thousands of dead trees, all killed by fire, disfigured the hill-side in every direction, were only equalled by the destruction committed by avalanches higher up the valley" (Atkinson 1882: 867). Such notions led to the stopping of cultivation in these areas.

The Colonial notion that people's use of the forest and grazing cattle leads to its destruction and was absolutely incompatible to forest conservancy took precedence in determining people's relationship to and nature. The perception of foresters that

traditional management practices of firing grasses for their rejuvenation are detrimental to forests gained primacy. The local people's presence in the forest was doubted. There was a growing insensitivity towards traditional forest management practices of the people. Their customary rights to access resources were obstructed, as Colonial administrators were of the view that the natives "imagined that he had a prescriptive right to hack and hew when and where he desired" (Atkinson 1882: 870). The areas where natives felled trees and grazed cattle were demarcated and declared as restricted areas and their access was unauthorised. One can perceive how resource bases used for survival by communities were suddenly declared as restricted areas, thereby depriving people of their livelihood. The British dictated the terms and conditions that determined the relationship between people and their commons. They exercised authority by declaring people's rights in them as unlawful as against the government. "Government could at any time step in and appropriate any portion required for its own use or for settlement with others, so long as sufficient land were left for grazing purposes to each village" (Atkinson 1882: 871). In 1873, 'waste lands', more than thousand acres in local subdivisions, were marked off as "Government waste", making community commons the property of the colonial administration. The process of appropriating community commons was done by denying people's access to resources. Wherever resource use was a customary right, it was declared illegal and privileges under the head of concessions were granted as a favour done by the colonizers to the natives.

The first 'conservation' initiatives were made from 1858 onwards. Major Ramsey banned cultivation of land patches in forest areas, and villagers were encouraged to take up cultivation outside forests. He dissolved any prevailing contract system of revenue collection and took over the control of forests. Sal trees, a major natural resource in the colonial expansion[ii], were protected at any cost by preventing people from accessing forests. The initial conservation efforts were the beginning of State control of forests. Within certain area limits "no private rights exist which can prove injurious to the best Sal forests, and cattle grazing is prohibited in all portions which are free of village rights, except where it is entirely harmless" (Atkinson 1882: 851). Many cattle- sheds were removed from the vicinity of the Sal forests. In a Commissioner's report in 1868 Atkinson writes that, "In another year or two I hope

that all the Kumaun valuable Sal forests will be free from cattle as those of Garhwal" (Atkinson 1882: 852). Intense efforts were made by the Colonial administrations to phase out cattle grazing in the forests of Kumaun and Garhwal regions. Without a scientific study, the British declared forest in which cattle grazed, as of poor quality. The quality of soil was poor, as they were grazing grounds of livestock. "In other places where the soil is poor, but more especially where the numerous cattle stations formerly existed, and where in consequence the young trees suffered continually from being lopped, barked, and otherwise injured, and where they were more exposed to repeated fires, the trees are knotted, crooked, and with poor heads"(Atkinson 1882:855).

In 1873, Ranikhet forest division forest tracts were surrounded by a fence, reserved and cleared of all private rights. Local communities had access to resources, subject to regulation by the administrative authority. Gujjar refer to such type of fencing, erected by the Forest Department, as *Tarbad*. The region between the River Jamuna and Sharda was demarcated by the British as the Garhwal forest division, which is also the region occupied by the Gujjar. The forest in this region, according to Atkinson, housed the most valuable timber and bamboo. By 1861-62 cultivation in the Patli Dun was stopped and people were assigned land in the Bhabar and the cattle stations were destroyed. 1868 onwards, rules curbed the seasonal movement of Gujjar. The Indian Forest Act of 1878 attempted to monopolize State forests by determining the number of cattle owned by villages. This further restricted the number of cattle allowed to graze. In other words, written permits were issued to individual right holders to access forests for grazing. The *Wajib-Ul-Arz* (record of rights) was an alien concept beyond the grasp of the natives. During the process of documenting, the officers entered incorrect ownership rights or did not record their rights, which resulted in Gujjar losing their traditional grazing and dwelling areas. For every hundred cattle a herdsmen was identified. If rules were violated the cattle would be separated from the owner until he relented. By 1879 the forest in the region were gazetted as 'protected'.

Like the present day, in 1896 Gujjar lopped trees to ensure optimum fodder for livestock. Today too the Gujjar lop trees during the winter months and feed the leaves

to their livestock. By 1903-1906, District Protected Forests (DPF) was divided into open and closed forests, thereby restricting grazers, peasants and local folk from utilizing forest resources. The restrictions ended the Gujjar vertical movements to the high altitude mountains during the summer months (Dangwal 1997). There existed no consensus amongst the foresters regarding the lopping effects on the forest. Even though there were debates against grazing and lopping of trees, few officers believed grazing benefitted the forests, while others believed that lopping was not harmful to the forests. However, lopping restrictions continued. Efforts were made to stop lopping and grazing.

Forests were closed for regeneration during different times of the year. Pastures and fodder for livestock shrunk not due to the over utilization by the people, but due to the measures taken by the Colonial foresters and their policies that prevented herds from grazing on vast territories. The restrictions led to over grazing as people were forced to graze cattle in a restricted zone. In fact, Gujjar traditional grazing and lopping practices are devised in such a manner to ensure that natural resources regenerate, as they have a self interest in its conservation. Gujjar have an in-depth knowledge of the natural resource base and the ecology. They understand seasonal changes, availability of resources and their dependence on nature for living. In other words, their knowledge is 'the science of the concrete' (Levi-Strauss 1968). It is time tested and has practical applicability that works in sustaining their livelihood and nature. On the other hand, Colonial policies were formulated by a wrong understanding of the ecology that denied people access to resources. Hence, the attempts to protect forests by the administration resulted in damaging it further.

II

Gujjar were under the constant vigil of the Colonial administration. Their numbers and movements were often restricted. They were not allowed to move freely to access resources as the movements were against the principles and practices of 'scientific' forestry. They had to obtain permission from the governments in the territories they moved. Gujjars who migrated to Sirmour and other areas in Himachal Pradesh (erstwhile Punjab State), their cattle grazing numbers were restricted to 500 in the British territory of Bushahr. Gujjar that migrated to Sirmour could not enter

British territory, but had to go along the Giri River (Dangwal 1997). These regulations meant to restrict the number of cattle, their place of movement and further restrict their traditional migratory routes. The effort of the British administration was to make the Gujjar life difficult. Tough measures were suggested by few officers, Fisher writes "If my plan of excluding Gujars from Jaunsar and Bawar be adopted to the limited extent I have already explained, it will be necessary to establish police guards at Songota bridge on the Tons river, and at Lakha Mandal on the Jamuna river, during the months of March and April, when the Gujars go up into the hills; and to prevent them from passing through Jaunsar on their return, a police guard should be stationed at the Tenni bridge, over the Tons river, during the month of October. Passes for the number of buffaloes which will be admitted will be issued in October when Gujars leave the hills, by the forest officers of the Tons and Jaunsar Division" (Cf. Dangwal 1997: 424). The issue of passes after the 'Gujjar leave the hills' was a shrewd strategy to reprimand Gujjar for violating the restricted number of cattle permitted to migrate.

The issue of passes by the forest officers was a method to constantly keep a check on the Gujjar and their livestock. Gujjar had to follow the same migratory routes that were fixed for moving up and down to the hills. Their Gujjar were not allowed to stray off the route, if they did, they would be immediately taken into custody and would be prosecuted for trespassing. The constant gathering of Gujjar for permits to migrate to the hills became a menace for the officers; Fischer suggested that a fee of one rupee should be charged per cattle at Kalsi, before they departed for the higher ranges. This may discourage the Gujjar from going to the hills (Dangwal 1997: 425). "Apart from grazing tax, Gujars were also to pay security money. This was first proposed by the Conservator of Forest, Central Circle, in 1902. He argued that Gujars were careless and violated regulations. To ensure their proper behavior he suggested a security rate. This security was to be returned if Gujars behaved properly, otherwise it was to be retained by the Forest Department" (Dangwal 1997: 426). Finally, eight annas per cattle was levied. By 1921 the Gujjar was charged two rupees per buffalo, one rupee per cow and eight annas per pony and donkey (Dangwal 1997). Gujjar were victims of the harsh forest policy. It is obvious that the officer decided what is to be 'appropriate Gujjar behavior'. Gujjar had to face harassment of the

officers for their survival. This gave scope for creating a wedge between Gujjar people; some found themselves in the good books of the authorities and hence, benefitted by their relationship. During fieldwork, one of the Key Informants narrated how his father had taken care of a British forest officer's during his overnight stay at his Dera. In return for the Gujjar hospitality the officer granted licenses to possess a rifle.

It seems clear that the British devised the fee system based on the number of buffalo reared by the Gujjar. The non-Gujjar villagers were charged rates lower compared to the Gujjar. The Gujjar could lop tree branches, access forest grasslands, and other resources from the forest. On one side, the Gujjar were restricted from accessing resources, but they were also permitted to carry on their customary practices in fragments. On the other, the policy of British to permit the nomadic Gujjar to access grazing areas and denying the others created hostility between the Gujjar and the dominant Hindu communities and the other sheep and goat grazers. Gujjar were permitted to access resources, as they supplied milk to the cantonment and lumbermen working in the forests (Gadgil and Guha 1992). Sensing a possibility of conflict, the State found a way of promoting commercial forestry without further alienating tribal folk, through taungya (agro-silviculture cultivation). Developed in Burma, tribals were allowed to carry out cultivations in the forest provided they grew timber trees along side. Taungya made a possibility of providing labour at a reasonable cost which is still in operation in the Himalayas (Gadgil and Guha 1992: 274).

III

Permits and Working Plans

The forest policy of the State[iii] can be categorised into three phases. The Colonial phase from 1815 to 1947, Post-Colonial phase, from 1947 to 1972 and the third phase is post 1972 when the Wildlife Protection Act was passed. The Colonial forest policy concentrated on commercial forestry for generating revenue by the sale of wood and forest resources. Hence, people's use of the forest was seen destructive to the forest, as it reduced the resources that the British administration wanted to usurp. Post-Colonial phase was only a continuation of the Colonial legacy which

perceived the people's presence in the forest and use of the forest for their livelihood as harmful to the forest. Hence, a complete removal from the forests is the only solution to 'save' the forest from destruction. The Colonial administration protected forests for their commercial interests, while in the Post-Colonial phase for 'conservation' of forests.

The Wildlife Act enacted in 1972 was the watershed for an increase in the scale of formation of Wildlife Parks and Protected Areas. It seems fitting to highlight the introduction of the Wildlife protection Act, 1972, that impacted communities that depended directly on the forest and other natural resources for living. Communities' dependent on large tracts of forest areas, waterscapes and landscapes for their livelihood were ousted. Currently, the model of conserving nature by the State by removing communities from their resources on which they depend on is the one preferred.

During the Colonial phase and Post-Colonial phase, communities were permitted and restricted to access resources. They pursued their livelihood with difficulty. The Indian foresters continued their control over forest resources by modifying and strengthening the rules that were formulated by the British administration. The policy of State regulating access of people's use of resources continued. There are many threads of the colonial administration that continue in present day Uttarakhand Forest Department, in fact they are further toughened.

The State declared its claim over forests and land by introducing the permit system. The system aimed at regulating people's access to natural resources and as a means of generating revenue. It created a constraint for people to access natural resources for their survival. There is a fundamental difference between the notion of property between the State and the Gujjar. For the Gujjar, natural resources are a common property, and buffalo herds and forests for lopping are privately owned.

The permit allows a large number of buffaloes to graze but allows only a few to depend on lopping. This raises questions as to how a Gujjar not having a permit to lop or graze in the forests can provide resources for his livestock. Gujjar who had no

permit to lop or graze in the forest entered into institutional arrangements to procure fodder for their herd working as servants (*Naukar*) for a permit holder. The servant would combine his livestock with his employers and lop trees for both the herds. Lopping trees, feeding fodder and water to livestock, keeping watch, procuring grass, construction of pen and milking the herd was the servant's job.

The working plan of 1931-1941 makes a specific reference to the Gujjar of United Province. Champion, the Conservator of Forests, United Province, during the Colonial period, identifies four types of Gujjar. He classifies the Gujjar into Jammuwala Gujars (coming originally from Kashmir), Jamnawala Gujars (mostly from Ambala, Punjab), Saharanpur Gujars and Dehra Dun Gujars (local professional graziers of buffaloes) (Champion 1932:111). The clear classification of Gujjar into the various categories suggests that few Gujjar migrated into Uttarakhand. While, the Gujjar of Dehra Dun whom Champion identifies as 'local Professional graziers of buffaloes', suggests that this group of Gujjar have been present in the region. For some reason, the Dehra Dun Gujjar were recognized as professional graziers while all the other groups of Gujjar also lopped trees and tended livestock.

Champion's classification suggests that the Gujjar have been in Dehra Dun for a long period. His classification does not distinguish Hindu Gujjar from Muslim Gujjar. He suggests while the Jammuwala Gujar and Jamnawala Gujar migrated and came into the district, other two groups have historically inhabited the district. Biased perceptions were held by the Colonial foresters. Such opinions were propagated in later writings of Colonial administrators. Indian foresters too subscribed to such opinions.The present day relocated Gujjar from the Rajaji National Park and Reserved Forest, identify themselves as the Jammuwala Gujjar[iv]. Out of the various Gujjar categories, the Jammuwala Gujar was the last to be allotted permits for lopping and grazing their livestock. Hence, there was a shortage of forests, as permitswere issued to the other category of Gujjar first.

According to Champion, all the Gujjar groups lopped trees to feed their buffaloes. The nomadic Jammuwala Gujar is "By far the most destructive to the tree forest Jammuwala gujars who are notoriously unpopular wherever they go"

(Champion 1932:111). The other Gujjar are "…much more amenable than the *Jammuwala gujars* and will even go to the extent of purchasing leaf fodder. It is obvious, therefore, that *gujars* other than *Jammu-wala gujars* have the first claim on the forests, since they are largely inhabitants of the United Provinces and are not so destructive" (Champion 1932:112). The Colonial administration viewed the Jammuwala Gujjar activities as most destructive to the forest, while the other Gujjar who lopped trees too were not treated so. The lack of understanding of pastoral nomadism as a livelihood by the Colonial rulers led to the notion that the Jammuwala Gujjar should not have equal claim over forest and its resources. "It is obvious that the division is unable to meet the full demand for gujars' cattle and preference must be given to those *gujars* who do the least damage. The local Dehra Dun *gujars* should, therefore, be given first claim, then the Saharanpur and *Jamnawala* men in that order, and lastly whatever room there may be left should be allotted to the *Jammuwala* men"(Champion 1932:114).

People and the Colonial State came into conflict over natural resources as both assigned different values to it. The Colonial State valued forest resources, as its sale generated revenue through its commercial forestry programme. On the other hand, natural resources for the local population and Gujjar pastoralists are a source of livelihood. The conflict arose when the State thought it could put resources to better utility than the subjects. In order to do so, it generates a counter system of knowledge that blames the people's cultural knowledge system as detrimental to resource conservation. The Colonial State claimed a superior use value of resources through 'scientific management' of resources. Certain portions of resources were allowed to be used, while the other areas were denied access. The idea of resource management by the State were adopted from other European countries and superimposed on to the management of Indian forests. Forests in India were managed based on the Forest Working Plans prepared by the Forest Department on the lines of European forest management.

The working plans prepared by the State Forest Departments followed guidelines devised by all India Forest Working Plan. The plans were not prepared merely to manage forests but to promote the belief that the local population have been

destroying forests. In D'Arcy's words, "Hence we find, in Northern India especially, many cases in which Government has voluntarily rendered itself helpless to prevent the destruction of the forest property it desires to preserve. Such mistakes will cease to be made when it is realized that the purpose with which each forest should be managed can be prescribed by means of working-plans" (1910, Introduction).

A differentiation was made between forests that produced wood and those meant for livestock grazing. The foresters were asked not to confuse the purpose for managing forests. Both the forests were managed for different purposes. The working plan for the whole of India identified the problem of the department. As D'Arcy states, "Many of the troubles of the Forest Department are due to a proper distinction not being made between lands which, in the interests of the country, should be managed with a view to the production of wood and those which should be devoted to the production of fodder" (1910: 114). The problem of forests were the burden of permanent rights for grazing that interfere with the utility of forests "…which would never have been imposed on them had a wiser and more enlightened policy been generally followed with regard to the recognition of the natural grazing grounds" (D'Arcy 1910; 114).

It was suggested to exclude grazing in forest areas as they cause blanks. It was suggested to separate grazing areas from non-grazing areas by a fence. Every herd permitted to graze was placed in charge by a herdsman, who was to be responsible for any infringement of the grazing regulation and for any injury done by the animals in his charge. Grazing areas having commercial value were closed. Grazing was considered as a threat as it led to the destruction and vanishing of forests. The reason cited for the ill treatment of forests by graziers was that they do not respect property of real value. "It has been said that the chief reason why forests in the mountains of Auvergne and in the Alps were destroyed by excessive grazing was because the wood was without value in such out-of-the-way places; while forests round Paris have been preserved because there has always been a good market for their products"(D'Arcy 1910:116). This view justified the commercial use of forests by the Colonial rulers. They were of the opinion that the commercial use of wood would help preserve forests. But the people's understanding of the forest resources was overlooked. Why

would people destroy trees, grassland and forests on which they depend on for a survival? In other words, why would people be the cause of their own destruction?

As mentioned earlier, the idea of forest management was borrowed from European countries. “It may not here be out of place to indicate briefly the legal restrictions imposed in Europe where the subject of grazing has long received attention. Taking France as an example, the regulations regarding grazing contained in the Forest Code of 1827 date from very distant times. In 1541, Francis I revived the decrees on this subject, previously in existence, and these were again sanctioned in 1660 in the celebrated Forest Ordinance of Colbert. The present Forest regulation on the subject is merely a repetition of these ancient laws. The most important provision in the old laws consisted in the power to close all grazing for a definite period certain portions of a forest. Under the existing law, instead of closing specified areas, the areas open to grazing, in which the right holders are allowed to graze, are fixed each year by the Forest Officers (Articles 67 and 69, as also Article 71) are the roads and paths (by which the animals grazed are allowed to pass through the closed portion of the Forest), the number and kind of animals which the right-holders are to be permitted to graze, and the time during which they can be grazed. *The introduction of goats is absolutely prohibited notwithstanding any title to the contrary*. - Article 78. The same restriction is placed on sheep; but, in case where there are no other means of providing for their support, the Government may permit cultivators, living on the borders of the forest, to pasture their animals in the portions open to cattle grazing” (D’Arcy 1910:116).

It can be noticed that the same model of forest management and restriction on pastoral people by regulating their livestock numbers is adopted in the working plans of the forests in United Provinces, in which the Gujjar inhabit. “As regards animals other than sheep and goats, the Forest Officers fix the number that may be grazed each year, and the period during which grazing may take place. This number is necessarily proportionate to the area thrown open (Articles 65, 66 and 68). Right holders are allowed to graze animals required for their *bona fide* domestic purposes, but not animals kept for trade or speculation. In order that the Forest Guards and Inspector may be able to recognize them, all animals entitled to graze in the forests

are branded. The animals belonging to one commune or group of right-holders are all grazed together under one shepherd appointed for that purpose. In this the modern law has followed ancient regulations, as it was found that with a number of animals scattered through the forest supervision became impossible. Separate groups of right holders are not, however, allowed to unite their cattle under one shepherd, as too great a number of animals grazing together injure the soil" (D'Arcy 1910:116-117).

Based on the forest manual for Preparation of Forest Working-Plans in India, working plans were prepared for various forest divisions in the hilly regions of United Province. The region was divided into the Garhwal and Kumaon Himalayas. The forest working plans, based on the European model suggested a head shepherd (heardsman) be appointed, who would be responsible for the livestock. A similar institution is generated in the Garhwal forests where the Gujjar inhabit. The institution of head herdsman is known as *Numbardar*. He is appointed as head of all the flock of Gujjar pastoralists. The institution held the head pastoralist responsible for revenue collection that was paid as grazing fees. He is also responsible for violation of rules by any Gujjar member. "The shepherd appointed are directly responsible for breaches of the regulations, or for injuries done by the animals in their charge; and, if fined, the commune appointing them are responsible for the payment of fines…" (D'Arcy 1910: 117). The forests were subjected to a regular inspection of the health of the forest that is to be reported. The Forest Officer has to indicate the number of animals that can be admitted to the various forest blocks. "There are very severe penalties for a breach of any of these grazing rules. Right-holders introducing goats or sheep are subjected to a double fine. Right holders who introduce more animals than they are entitled to, or who graze in closed portions of the forest, are treated as if they had no rights, and are subject to the same penalties as if they were outsiders" (D'Arcy 1910;117).

The working plans prepared for the Dehradun forest division divides the forest into different working circles, based on the value and utility of the forests. The forest circles include Sal working circle, Grazing working circle, etc. In 1932, 2200 Gujjar buffaloes were permitted annually for grazing, apart from the 550 buffaloes permitted for lopping. In 1941, only those Gujjar who paid lopping fees were permitted to bring their cattle in the areas open for lopping. The foresters believed that the Gujjar would get their buffaloes in on the plea that they want grazing permits only and begin illicit

lopping. The areas closed to lopping are open for grazing with a maximum of one buffalo to every five acres. This permitted entry about 2400 Gujjar buffaloes for grazing annually, in addition to the 490 permitted for lopping.

The rotational lopping scheme introduced in 1932 was put to an end in 1954. After which forest compartments were allotted permanently to a single Gujjar by the Divisional Forest Officer (Sahai 1954: 125). It was done to hold the Gujjar responsible for any damage caused by lopping. The control of the Forest Department shifted from the individual head Gujjar (head Gujjar) to the individual who was allotted the forest. This allowed stronger control over the Gujjar as any individual permit holder could be charged for violation.

Permits numbers sealed the number of livestock a Gujjar may own. This further added to the problem of accessing resources for their herds. As the buffaloes owned by Gujjar families increased, an imbalance emerged between the livestock allowed to stay in the forest and the livestock in the forest. The Forest Working plans prepared for the Dehradun Forest Division in 1932 and 1942 clearly shows how the Forest Working Plans specified the number of buffaloes permitted in a forest compartment, not considering the increase in herd size. The number of buffaloes permitted to graze was fixed over the years (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 **Allotment of Buffaloes to the Compartments as per Forest Working Plan of 1932 (Source[v])**

Year		**Gross Area**	**Number of Buffaloes**	**Year**		**Gross Area**	**Number of Buffaloes**
1931	1932	11128	550	1934	1935	12025	**550**
1933	1934	-do-	-do-	1936	1937	-do-	-do-
1937	1938	-do-	-do-	1940	1941	-do-	-do-
1939	1940	-do-	-do-	1942	1943	-do-	-do-
Allotment of Buffaloes to the Compartments as per Forest Working Plan of 1941							
Nov 1	**March 31**	**Area**	**Number of Buffaloes**	**Nov1**	**March31**	**Area**	**Number of Buffaloes**
1941	1942	**12189**	**490**	1942	1943	**12669**	**490**
1943	1944	-do-	-do-	1944	1945	-do-	-do-
1945	1946	-do-	-do-	1946	1947	-do-	-do-
1947	1948	-do-	-do-	1948	1949	-do-	-do-
1949	1950	-do-	-do-	1950	1951	-do-	-do-

In five ranges, Barkt, Motichur, Lacchiwala, Thano, and Timli a maximum of 550 buffaloes were allowed entry. Gujjars were permitted in areas open only to lopping. The areas closed for lopping were open for grazing. One buffalo per 5 acres was permitted to graze; the permit allowed 2200 Gujjar buffaloes for annual grazing, in addition to the 550 buffaloes permitted for lopping. The above arrangements allow for the entry of a total of about 2750 Gujjar buffaloes. The number of buffaloes required for lopping by the Gujjar is 2500, which, according to the forest department exceeded the capacity of the forest to support the livestock. This issue was resolved by giving preference to the different types of buffaloes. The allotment of forest on a differential basis created a shortage of resources for the Jammu Gujjar, as they were given the last preference.

Between the years 1941-51 in the Dehradun Forest Division, areas allotted to the grazing circle did not support well stocked tree forest. The Grazing working circles were open for village cattle to graze, while the Gujjar cattle were restricted. The Gujjar were considered commercial grazers and a fee was charged.

Champion's forest management plan of a three year rotation lopping was not successful. "If lopping is allowed to proceed without giving the trees sufficient time to recover, most of them will either die altogether or become unproductive in a few years. Closure to lopping for a period is therefore essential. Three years opening followed by three years closure as prescribed in the previous working plan was most unpopular with the gujars, because in the year immediately preceding the year of closure there was little to lop and in the first year of opening the leaves were too coarse to be liked by buffaloes. What should be the shortest period of closure is not yet known and is a matter of experiment. In the hot weather and the rains very little lopping is done. For the period of this plan "THERE WILL BE A 2 YEAR LOPPING CYCLE AND IN EACH 2-YEAR PERIOD AN AREA WILL REMAIN OPEN TO LOPPING FROM NOVEMBER 1 TO MARCH 31 FOLLOWING AND CLOSED FROM APRIL 1 TO OCTOBER 31 OF THE YEAR AFTER" (Sen 1941: 229). Gutel, Khair, Sain, Sal, Semal, Sissu and Tun tree species were not to be lopped. It was further noted that the "Areas opened to gujar grazing in this working circle are divided into two parts. Each part will remain open to lopping for five months and closed for the

next one year and seven months. In the period of closure, grazing by gujar buffaloes which depend on lopping will be prohibited. The maximum number of such buffaloes admissible in each area is fixed in accordance with the estimated leaf fodder available and should not be exceeded without the sanction of the territorial conservator" (Sen 1941: 229-230). The number of buffaloes allowed to graze was increased by 200 buffaloes, but the number of buffaloes allowed lopping was reduced by a 100 (Sen 1941: 232-33).

In the Saharanpur division during 1938-1953 claimed that the Gujjar lopping are not destructive. In one division the foresters view the lopping as destructive, while in another division lopping is not viewed as destructive. Instead, the lopping done by villagers is regarded as destructive. "Repeated lopping as carried out by the local villagers in parts of Barkla and Mohand ranges and by camel drivers has proved very destructive and not a few cases are met with where the lopped trees have died. The rotational lopping being done now by Jammuwala *gujars* does not appear to be very destructive" (Singha 1938: 77).

IV

Post-independence, Indian foresters, with few alterations, adopted working plans formulated by the British foresters. Further, the Gujjar categorization by the colonial foresters into types was adopted by Indian foresters. In the Chakrata forest division, in the working plans for 1953-1967, the previous plan laid a maximum number of gujars buffaloes admitted to the division as 300. The plan claimed that grazing caused increasing damage to the soil. Gujjar were prohibited to take thatch from few areas. It was considered safe by the Forest Department to confine their Grazing to few areas (Naqvi 1957: 164).

During 1979-89 West Dehradun Forests division, Uttar Pradesh, the regulation of the Gujjar and their cattle was strengthened. The Gujjar classification suggested by Champion was adopted in the 1979 Plan too. "The Jammuwala gujars enjoy the distinction of being the most destructive to the forests. The gujars' buffaloes feed almost exclusively on leaf-fodder lopped from the following species bakli, bahera, safed, siris, gurial, kachnar, dhaman, sandan, jhingan, etc, Although sain is a

prohibited species, it is invariably lopped. The gujar follow no lopping rules" (Singh 1979:249). This state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue for long, proposals to rehabilitate the gujars to avoid destruction of forests have to be perused. This suggests that once a perception about people and their ways of forest use is formulated in a policy document they were subsequently replicated in the future documents. This is how the forest department kept their perceptions of 'people responsible for destroying forests' alive.

During the 1979 Plan the forest department decided to document and monitor the livestock population. This was achieved through a cattle census carried out each year. On an increase in cattle, the forest department decided to reduce rights and concessions. During the census the cattle would be marked by colour. It is the task of the DFO to check the numbers grazing against the number allowed to graze. Livestock illegally grazing were sent to cattle pounds. Each village was required to engage a shepherd for every 50 cattle. The shepherd was given a badge on payment of Rs 2, which he had to reproduce on demand by the forest officials. Further the livestock are to be vaccinated against the rinderpest disease.

With regard to sheep and goat, in few blocks village sheep and goats were allowed to graze until 1981-82, after that their entry into the forest was declared illegal. The resources of the forest may be procured by forming a co-operative and the fodder supplied outside the forest. The fodder was calculated based on the weight of the sheep or goat. The migratory goat and sheep were not allowed into the forest. If Gujjar had any sheep or goat flock they were prevented from entering the forests. This perhaps discouraged the Gujjar from owning sheep and goat, though, hill sheep and goat are highly adaptive to the high altitude grasslands.

The fodder requirements by livestock were assumed to be one tree of over 30 cms diameter was required for one buffalo per day. Thus, each buffalo would require 150 fodder trees for 6 months. The livestock were categorised into units that are permitted to lop and graze in the forests. Cows and bullocks are a single unit, 1 calf is half unit, 1 Sheep and 1goat are two units, 1 buffalo is two units and a camel is three units. Based on these calculations it was estimated that the number of cattle grazing in

the division works out to be 43,320 units, whereas the carrying capacity of the division is 13,468 units. It is important to note that the number of livestock allowed to graze is units and not numbers. Technically speaking, the units permitted grazing has to be divided by 2 in the case of buffalo, to arrive at the actual number of buffaloes allowed to graze.

So the grazing units were restricted to grazing capacity. While lopping leaves, the Gujjar buffaloes gather at the base and eat the lopped leaf branches that fall on to the ground. A new rule prescribed in this plan, which was not mentioned in the other plans, was that no buffaloes will be taken to the base of the trees for feeding and all waste and lopped material will be avoided enforcing the Gujjar to resort to stall feeding. This was enforced by allowing entry into the forest only by obtaining permission from the DFO. "Gradually gujars cattle should not be allowed to enter into the forests and export of lopped fodder at fixed points outside the forest may be permitted preferably through the agency of co-operative societies formed by the gujars themselves and necessary admissible lopping fee charged" (Singh 1979:253).

The forest department attempted to regulate the number of buffaloes by increasing the lopping rates based on the size of the herd. Up to 10 buffaloes, Rs 20 was charged per buffalo. A herd consisting 11 to 20 buffaloes the owner had to pay Rs 25 per buffalo. Herds consisting 21 to 30 buffaloes were charged Rs 30 and herds above 31 buffaloes were charged Rs 40 per buffalo. The differential rate imposed upon the Gujjar resulted in people taking their herds to different places. People would not disclose the exact number of the buffaloes they owned.

IV

It is necessary for the Gujjar to maintain a strong clan system in order to appropriate natural resource which the State controls by imposing rules. The rules imposed caused constraints on the Gujjar, more so with those Gujjar not having permits. The cohesion amongst the Gujjar clans and kinsmen is strengthened ensuring access to resources and livelihood to the other members. In dealing with rules as constraints imposed by the Forest Department, kinship among the Gujjar becomes significant. Gujjar not having permits to forests join their herds with other kin people.

By the 1975 working plan prepared by K.P Srivastava it was observed that the actual practice of lopping tree that were marked for felling was violated. Thus, the three year lopping cycle was not observed by the Gujjar. This resulted in areas being open for lopping for 2 or more successive years (Srivastava 1975: 154). Further, the Gujjar began staying back in the plains as they preferred it to the hills. Their staying back was a reason cited for resource destruction. Due to the increasing tendency of the Gujar to stay in the plains than high areas (hills), the easily accessible places were highly lopped. Lopping rules were not enforced. Lopping of species other than the ones species and lopping of the above 1/3 of the tree crown took place. As the allotment of the areas changed each year, as they did not know which area they would go to next year, they felt no responsibility towards forests and trees. (Srivastava 1975:154).The staying back in the plains by the Gujjar was given sanction by the State during summer between October and April (period when Gujjar migrate to the high altitude grasslands). The Plan suggested that the territorial Conservator may allow Gujjar to graze along the Ganga in Chandi and Gohri ranges based on a payment made by the Gujjar. Lopping of any kind is prohibited during the period April 15 to October 15 (Srivastava 1975).

The working plans suggest that the Gujjar has an increasing tendency to stay back in the Des during the summer instead of migration to the high altitude mountains in *Paad*. This tendency of staying back in Des was supported by the State. Land was allotted to 42 Gujjar households in *Des* for the purpose of cultivation. The Gujjar who migrated to the hills were stopped from migrating. In return of the cancelled permit, land on lease was given in Kunaochoud and two other places. Efforts were made by the Forest Department to stop the Gujjar from migrating to the hills. In a wireless message by the Forest Secretary in March 1975 instructed the stoppage of Gujjar migration to the *Paad*. The message stated that, "NO GUJJAR OR THEIR BUFFALOES SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO GO TO RUPIN AND SUPIN RANGES OF TONS DIVISION AND RAWAIN RANGE OF YAMUNA DIVISION PERMITS IF ANY ISSUED SHOULD BE CANCELLED (.) GUJJARS GOING TO THESE RANGES SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN DURING THE WINTERS (.) INFORM CONSERVATOR CONCERENED ACCORDINGLY (.) IN OTHER RANGES AND DIVISIONS NO MORE GUJARS AND BUFFALOES THAN

WHAT WERE PERMITTED LAST YEAR SHOULD BE ALLOWED (.) THIS IS NECESSARY WITH A VIEW TO ENSURE THAT THE GUJJAR AND THEIR BUFFALOES STOPPED FROM GOING TO RUPIN AND SUPIN RANGES DO NOT MANAGE TO GO ELSEWHERE AS THIS WILL UNDERMINE THE OBJECT OF EMBARGO PLACED IN RESPECT OF THE AFORMENTIONED THREE RANGES" (Bhasin 1979:202).

The reason given by the Forest Department for terminating the permit was that Garhwali people in *Paad* are against the Gujjar coming to graze their buffaloes. The Forest Department promised Gujjar 12 bighas of land to each hill permit holding Gujjar but in practise 10 bighas were allotted in Kunaochoud. Gujjar waited for a very long time in hope that ownership deeds would be given to them for the land allotted. The break in the traditional cycle of nomadism between the mountains and the plains and the Gujjar settling down in the plains had consequences to the Gujjar as well as the forest in the plains. A report by the Forest Department claims "The wild life authorities and researchers feel that Gujjars while they were originally in harmony with nature, are now causing irreversible ecological damage…" (Kumar 1995: 198). The reasons given are ceasing to migrate and the increase in Gujjar and livestock population leading to overuse of resources. The Chief Wildlife Warden of RNP[vi] claims that there is an increase in Gujjar and herd population creating pressure on forest resources affecting wildlife. Gujjar share same habitat with the Tiger and other wildlife. Before RNP there were fewer Gujjar and their cattle. Their numbers have increased, so have their use of forest resources. This is affecting the forest and its resources.

The stopping of Gujjar migration by the Forest Department led to more number of families staying back in the plains but not the 'Gujjar ceasing' to migrate. The State is has facilitated the breaking up of the movement of the Gujjar between the Paad and Des. Their settling down year round and increase in numbers led to an imbalance between resources availability and livestock numbers. The nomadic movement met resources requirement of the Gujjar livestock. The forced sedentarization of the Gujjar in the plain during the summers created pressure on the forest, year-round. During summers the forest lacks resources. Along with the

stopping of the summer migration, and increase in Gujjar population, new lopping permits were not issued. This resulted in Gujjar not having permits. Hence, they aligned themselves with their kinsmen to access forest resources. Gujjar began lopping few trees beyond the specified lopping dates after the onset of the summer months.

A Gujjar exclaimed that, "those days we did not have political weight. We were not well connected with political parties and politicians. We could not do much to receive the ownership title for the plot of land. I was 15-16 years old. Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. She said Garhwali people do not like the Gujjar coming to the high grasslands. So, land will be given to all the Gujjar to settle down and cultivate. Gujjar migrating to *Panwali, Mata, Kuni, Jandrasod, Ludkar, Khallar, Talri, and Raj Khark* were prevented from going to the hills. These comprised 42 permit holding families. When the Government gave us land we were very happy. For three years we watched, they did not give us the proof of ownership of the land. We felt betrayed as it had stopped us from going to *Paad* and it denied us the ownership of land in the plains. The Government's step of preventing us from going to *Paad* affected us and our herds. Life became difficult in the plains. Our families and livestock did not have food. We could not bear the heat, our animals suffered. We love the hills, we love its coolness. Our mind works better in the hills. When we go to the *Paad,*wereturn to the plains in good health. Our appetite increases, we eat more food. Our cheeks turn pink, a sign of good health. The air in the hills is different from that of the *Des*. We breathe fresh, fragrant air from the fresh bloom of flowers. In *Des*, during the summers, mosquitoes and flies trouble us. Insects begin troubling our livestock. Our buffaloes milk yield increases in the hills. It gets sufficient quantity of fodder as it desires. In most of the cases, in the plains, the fodder supplied is not sufficient to meet their requirement. We had to give up going to *Paad* due to different reasons. We never wanted to leave it. Staying back in the *Des* during the summer months is very difficult. Many of our livestock died due to the heat and diseases. Mosquitoes and flies attacked our animals. It became difficult for our livestock to find green fodder in *Des*. They survived on dry grass in the forests. The animals became thin; we had to feed them *Chokar* (Wheat extract)".

V

The preceding paragraphs have described the process and the role of the State in divorcing Gujjar from their resource in a phased manner. The Colonial as well as Post-Colonial administration restricted Gujjar access to resources. The colonial forest administration protected the forest for its commercial value as it was a source of revenue for the State. The Post-Colonial policy was an extension of the colonial policy with few modifications that regulated Gujjar access to forest resources. The relationship of the Gujjar with the forest became weak during the Colonial regime. In independent India the Forest Department began making efforts to break the nomadic pattern of livelihood sustenance of the Gujjar. However, the Gujjar did not completely give up nomadism. By the State declaring the Rajaji National Park and the relocation of the Gujjar from the forest resulted in an alienation of the Gujjar from the forest resources.

End Notes

[i] A hilly region, 85km from Mussorie, in Chakrata of Dehradun District is close to the border of Himachal Pradesh, where Gujjar migrate during the summer months to few places of Sirmaur. Until 1829, it was part of Punjab state and now it is located in the State of Himachal Pradesh (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, v. 11, p. 214.).

[ii] The forest resources, primarily wood, were used for making railway sleepers and shipbuilding (Guha and Gadgil 1992; and Guha 2000 *The Unquiet Woods.* OUP, have discussed these aspects in detail).

[iii] An analysis of the State policy and its consequence on the Gujjar is restricted to the erstwhile United Province, where Gujjar primarily inhabited. After independence the geographical region became Uttar Pradesh and in 2000 Uttarakhand was carved out of UP as a new State.

[iv] They trace their origin and migration from Jammu and Kashmir to Uttarakhand (part of erstwhile United Province during the British rule)

[v] Source: Various Working Plans of 1932 and 1941 for the Dehra Dun forest division based on the rotational lopping scheme (period of Ten years)

[vi] From a documentary 'Stranger in the Forest : A film on the Nomadic Community' Source: http://vimeo.com/6192151, accessed on June 13, 2012

Chapter IV

Cultural Knowledge, Ecology and Pastoralism

This chapter focuses on ecology, cultural knowledge and livelihoods of the RF Gujjar. These Gujjar live *within* the forest. An understanding of the Gujjar living in the RF can provide us an understanding of the Gujjar pastoralism, their ecological and cultural knowledge, and worldview in a natural setting. It throws light on the relationship between nature and culture among the Gujjar living in a traditional setting in the forest with their herds (*Tarandi*) and eke out their livelihood. The Gujjar and nature are seen as a single entity, as pointed out by Ingold (2000). According to him, "A properly ecological approach, to the contrary, is one that would take, as its point of departure, the whole- organism-in-its-environment. In other words, 'organism plus environment' should denote not a compound of two things, but one indivisible totality" (2000:19).

Following the permission of the State Forest Department, the Gujjar live in the Reserved Forest. The culture of Gujjar can be best understood in the context of nature. This becomes quite obvious when we look at the relocated Gujjar, who lived in the Rajaji National Park forest under similar conditions, like the Reserve Forest Gujjar, before they were evicted. Reserved Forest Gujjar are spread out across different Ranges and are usually thinly populated in each settlement, as was the case with the relocated Gujjar before eviction, i.e., each settlement has about a maximum of six families belonging to different clans. Data from thirty Reserved Forest Gujjar families were collected using participant observation, informal interviews and other qualitative research techniques in seven Reserve Forest villages located within a range of four to twenty five kilometres. This understanding of the RF Gujjar will help us in appreciating the life and plight of the Relocated Gujjar.

Gujjar engage with nature as it helps them to meet their basic needs. Nature is not merely something external, existing as a physical entity but part of their culture. Ingold's idea that hunter-gatherers perception of the environment is embedded in practices of engagement with the environment is true of the Gujjar too. The way the Gujjar act in their environment is also the way they perceive it (Ingold 2000). Gujjar relationship between members within and outside the community manifests their

relationship to nature. For example, the number of families living within a forest range is directly proportional to the available resources and their dispersal. In the same vein, their cultural knowledge determines how nature is to be treated. It serves as a map guiding them to utilize the resources. These skills, as Ingold rightly observes, "are not transmitted from generation to generation but are regrown in each, incorporated into the *modus operandi* of the developing human organism through training and experience in the performance of particular tasks" (2000:5).

Gujjar know in which season and place resources are available. They know what resources can be used and how it should be accessed. Their rules of resource appropriation are embedded in their cultural knowledge. The individual Gujjar lends or takes the services of their or other communities for personal or for communal benefit. It may be relevant to state here that the communities that are relatively homogenous, like the Gujjar, who practise a common livelihood and a common way of life, treat nature as common property. Individuals belonging to the community appropriate nature as per the communal norms. In case of RF Gujjar, the individuals hold permits and claim ownership to that part of forest in relation to the other Gujjar. These cultural rules for accessing resources are passed on from one generation to another by practise. The cultural knowledge is learned by the younger generation by participating along with the elders in appropriating the resources from nature. It is learning by doing system of knowledge transfer to pursue a pastoral livelihood.

Gujjar ecology is revealed in their cultural knowledge of physical environment, wild and domesticated parts of nature (plants and animals) and their social organisation to appropriate resources. It is a relationship through which material and energy is extracted for their sustenance. Energy is extracted by the buffalo *Tarandi* by feeding on grass and leaves that are lopped by the Gujjar. The materials consumed by the livestock are converted into milk from which the Gujjar derive direct energy by consuming it. Milk is also sold and the income thus earned is used to purchase other materials, like wheat, rice, lentils, vegetables, spices, clothes, etc., that cannot be procured directly from nature. These are purchased from the markets of Hardwar and Dehradun districts. RF Gujjar purchase their material requirements from the markets that are closer to their dwelling places both during their stay in RF and while on move to *Paad*.

The forest is also the home for the Gujjar. They construct their huts (*Chan*) using wooden poles and thatch their hut with grasses procured from the forest. Forests and *Tarandi* are an inseparable part of life of the Gujjar. Thus, pastoralism as a way of life for the Gujjar cannot be conceived without the forest ecology. Gulam Rasool, a RF Gujjar, very pithily stated about the significance of livestock for the Gujjar, to quote, "To take care of our animals, we have to become animals. We need to live like our buffaloes. If the animal remains hungry, it is similar to us being hungry. When we feed it feeds us" Hence, the ecology cannot be conceived outside the realm of Gujjar.

I

For a pastoral system of production, *Tarandi*, resources and cultural knowledge is required to facilitate the production of milk. However, nature and human factors create constraints. Gujjar have culturally evolved adaptive response to the natural and administrative constraints. The natural constraints are the limited forest land available for grazing livestock, limited number of tree species that the *Tarandi* feed on, the seasonal variation that determines the availability of fodder from the forest, the fluctuation in the number of *Tarandi* and its consequence on the production of milk. The administrative constraint is imposed by the Government through its permit system that restricts the number of animals to access resources in the forest. These constraints play a significant role in creating social conditions for the reproduction of the community and social relations. People respond by developing cultural or social adjustments. As the Gujjar has knowledge of the above variables that are responsible for the maintenance of *Tarandi* and their livelihood, their knowledge system and access to resources and livestock provides them some certainty in the system. Further, the reproduction of social relations and *Tarandi* are linked to the production of milk not only for own consumption but also for sale in the local market. Gujjar milk is sold locally in the districts of Garhwal, Haridwar and Dehradun, which is purchased by the Bania[i]. The sustenance of the Gujjar social system is dependent on *Tarandi*'s continued maintenance of personalised exchanges with the Bania. The contract between the Gujjar and Bania is a long term one. The Gujjar sells his *Tarandi*'s milk to the Bania as a contractual obligation.

Pastoralism is an insurance mechanism, wherein the *Tarandi* are an asset. During crisis a buffalo may be sold for money. On a daily basis, the milk procured

from the *Tarandi* is sold for money. The market becomes an important place that controls the Gujjar milk production and sale. The relationship between the Gujjar and the milk buyer (Bania) is based on personalised exchanges where the buyer and seller know each other. Generations of Gujjar families sell milk to the same Bania. They enter into a contract. The personalised exchange relationship allows a degree of certainty. An economic relationship with the Bania serves as insurance for the Gujjar. With the Bania, Gujjar have a fixed period of exchange from Diwali to Holi. The contract gets renewed every year. The fixing of the contractual relationship reduces risk, ensures income and sale of milk. It helps in overcoming uncertainty faced by the Gujjar and the Gujjar is assured purchase of milk.

An advance of Rs 80,000 to 100,000 is taken by the Gujjar from the Bania to supply milk to him in the beginning of the contract. This sum is given to the Gujjar who assures a supply of 50 litres (*Pachas Kilo*)[ii] or 100 litres (*Kuntal*) of milk daily to the Bania. The Bania gives cash advance to the Gujjar and receives an assurance that the Gujjar will supply milk to him only. The advance is taken primarily to purchase livestock feed (Khal and Chokar)[iii]from another Bania. The other expenses are incurred to meet his domestic needs, like marriage, medical aid and death. The advance taken by the Gujjar forces him to supply milk until the advance is recovered by the Bania or upon the termination of the contract the Gujjar has to repay the advance taken at the start. In some cases a Gujjar takes an advance from a new Bania to free himself from the debts of the previous Bania. The debt repaid dissolves the contract of supplying milk to the previous buyer, but new debts accrue to the new Bania. In this manner the Gujjar is trapped in a vicious debt cycle.

The economics of milk purchase and sale needs to be understood in the light of the institution of *Asami*. The milk purchasing Gujjar (*Doodhwala*) calls the milk producing Gujjar *Asami.* Both are in a relationship known as*Baandh.* The milk purchasing Gujjar supplies livestock feed to the Asami . There may be more than one Asami to the Gujjar milk buyer. The Gujjar milk buyer employs Gujjar to collect milk from the Asami for a salary. As small quantity of milk producing Gujjar cannot enter into a direct relationship with the Bania, they sell their milk to the Gujjar milk buyer as an *Asami*. The Gujjar collects milk form the Asami to supply to the Bania.The advance money is used to purchase Khal and Chokar from the Bania for supplying it

to the Asami. Gujjar, with large *Tarandi*, supply milk directly to the Bania. These Gujjar *Tarandi* require large quantity of feed too, which is costly.

The two forest divisions are divided into forest ranges that are further divided into compartments. Two or more families have permit rights granted by the Forest Department to use the forest resources in each compartment based on the resources available. The appropriation of resources is not an individual activity. People organise themselves into groups based on their kin and clan affiliations to appropriate natural resources.

During their stay in *Des* fodder is procured from the forest through lopping. Grazing and lopping are two methods of appropriating resources to feed livestock. Lopping is a culturally evolved technique of climbing select tree species to prune their leafy branches to be fed to the *Tarandi*, while grazing *Tarandi* are allowed to feed on the grass in open grass patches (*Choud*) or between trees. The abundance of tree foliage in the forest is preferred by the Gujjar and their livestock. Grazing and lopping are economical ways of fodder procurement, compared to the purchase of hay, wheat chaff and commercial fodder, as is being done by the relocated Gujjar. The forests of Uttarakhand are not accessed free of charge. The Gujjar pay a grazing and lopping fee for the permits issued by the Forest Department. The fee charged by the Forest Department has increased over the years (Table 4.1)

Table 4.1: Fee Increase over the Years

1923-1932		**1949-1959**		**1978**		
No of Buffaloes	Loping Dues (Rs)	No of Buffaloes	Loping Dues (Rs)	No of Buffaloes	Loping Dues (Rs) (per buffalo)	Grazing Dues (per buffalo)
Per Buffalo	1	Per buffalo	5	Up to 10	20	8
				11-20	25	10
				21-30	30	12
				Above 30	40	16

In the light of shortage of labour, the institution of *Kar Jawai* (Son-in-Law stays at his Wife's natal house) may be understood. After the wedding (*Byah*), the bridegroom adopts an uxorilocal residence wherein the newlywed man stays with his wife's group for a period of three to five years, till the brothers of his wife come of

age. When the bride's parents do not have a male heir or they are young to manage livestock, a *Kar Jawai* is sought. The Jawai would provide his labour services by managing his in-law's *Tarandi*. Jawai would join his *Tarandi* along with his in-law's and takes care of both the *Tarandi*. Thus, Jawai's*Tarandi* also feed on the forest resources allotted to the father-in-law. During this period the father in-law financially helps his *Jawai*. When the *Jawai* returns to his natal group to establish his own residence, he takes few buffaloes from his in-law's *Tarandi*. This is given in return for the services rendered by the *Jawai*. The *KarJawai* institution prescribes a flexible residence pattern and territoriality defined by the constraints posed by permit system on the access to forest resources and its utilization. Thus, the *Jawai* is a cultural arrangement to overcome the shortage of labour and limited rights to access forest resources.

II

Gujjar seasonally migrate between the hills of Uttarakhand and the plains. During summer they migrate to the high altitude alpine meadows of the Uttarakhand forests, and during winter they return to the forests in the plains to lop trees. Their movement is further restrained in these territories by the State permit system that restricts places to access fodder resources. Gujjar are allowed to access only the forest allotted to them. After a specific date by the end of the winter season the Gujjar is not expected to be in the forests in the plains. They have to vacate the forests and migrate to the hills. These constraints imposed by the State are resolved by generating cultural and institutional responses.

The Gujjar not possessing a permit (usually called *Asami*) adopts a flexibile movement between forests owned by permit holding kinsmen, who are referred to as *Jangal ka Malik* (owner of the forest). The *Asamis* enter into a contract with *Jangalka Malik* to use their resources for a price. The *Jangal ka Malik* permits the *Asami* to appropriate resources for a cash payment. Usually, it is the amount levied by the State Forest Department for lopping and grazing livestock. Where a*Asami* is poor and unable to pay money, he serves as a servant (*Naukar*) to the *Jangalka Malik*. Also, Gujjar not owning livestock work as a *Naukar* for remuneration. The *Naukar* performs all activities pertaining to livestock care and milk production. *Naukar* would lop the tree and feed the *Jangal ka Malik's* livestock. It is his duty to procure fodder,

graze animals and feed commercial feeds along with the tree foliage during winter to the *Tarandi*. Milking the *Tarandi* is done by the *Naukar* or by the *Tarandi* owner. The institution of the *Asami* and *Naukar* is generated in the context of the permit system that restricts the number of buffaloes that can be fed by lopping. In this context, the clan organization performs a significant function by providing labour for the pastoral production system.

During 1950s, as discussed in the previous chapter, new permits were issued and this had implication on the Gujjar social and economic organization. During the course of time the Forest Department began issuing permits and forests to individual Gujjar, instead of giving them to the Numberdar. This was done to hold them responsible for any damaged caused by lopping. Even here, not all the Gujjar received permits. In a way, the shift from collective to individual permits affected the *Asami* and *Naukar* institution. The introduction of individual permits created a shortage of labour. With the sanctioning of independent permits to the families that provided labour to other Gujjar permit holders, the *Naukars* were now free to appropriate resources from forest. This created a shortage of labour for Gujjar who had organised their pastoral production by depending on non-permit holding Gujjar's labour. This created a labour crisis. Lopping is male dominated activity. Women's labour is not employed. The labour crisis had to be resolved if further production of the economic and social condition had to continue. This is when *Gorkha* (people from Nepal) were employed by Gujjar in the forests to contribute to the pastoral production system.

The Gujjar do not sacrifice or give up their *Tarandi*. Though the permit system attempts to restrict the number of buffaloes and resource availability, it is not really effective. The cultural method of regulating the increasing livestock population is achieved by keeping one he-buffalo to each *Tarandi* for the purpose of breeding. Further, the *Tarandi* numbers are managed by dividing the existing *Tarandi* into smaller ones during *Bakh*, the division of families into smaller units. As the members in the family increase, it has consequences on the size of the buffalo *Tarandi*. The institution of Bakh may be understood as a strategy to regulate *Tarandi* sizes of the Gujjar.

Another mechanism to check the *Tarandi* size is the State's permit system that restricts the number of animal's entry into the forest. However, all the efforts to curb the number of livestock made by the Forest Department have failed. Officials, particularly the Forest Guard, Forester and Range officers in the Forest Department let the animals and the Gujjar in after accepting gratification. In few cases, Gujjar are reprimanded if they do not reciprocate their seasonal gratification in the form of clarified butter (ghee) and milk. During marriage celebration in the officers' families, Gujjar are asked to supply milk and milk products. Money has now replaced milk products as a return of favour for the Gujjar to lop and graze more than the permit specified number of livestock. Through gratification Gujjar get their forest compartments changed. A Gujjar could, in the past, get permits for their family members who did not possess one.

Livestock for the Gujjar is wealth and status. Maintaining large *Tarandi* is preferred as more the number of lactating animals the higher is the milk yield. Beyond a point, the forest compartments allotted to the Gujjar cannot sustain the increasing livestock population. The imbalance between livestock population and resource availability results in the Gujjar developing an efficient resource utilization management. The Gujjar divide the *Tarandi* into smaller groups and the forests into smaller units. The re-division of *Tarandi* and the forests is not merely a regulation of animals but also a social reorganisation of people into smaller families.

Upon a split in the families of a clan, due to domestic reasons or increase in population of *Tarandi* and people, division of material belongings (*Bund*) and a separate hearth is established by Gujjar. The split of families of a clan into smaller families, as mentioned above, is known as *Bakh*. This happens when the second son gets married, the first son is expected to establish a patrilocal residence. This process continues till the youngest son gets married. Sometimes, when one becomes ambitious and wishes to become rich (*Maldar*) by owning his own *Tarandi*, one can ask for *Bakh*. The eldest son receives one extra buffalo from his father on account of him being the primogeniture. The buffalo given is called *Sardari Ki Mais*. In some cases the eldest son continues staying in his parent's hut but establishes his own hearth. The youngest son stays with the parents to take care of them and their *Tarandi*. The youngest son inherits the *Tarandi* and material belongings upon the

demise of his father. The other sons receive their share of the material wealth and *Tarandi* from the father. The youngest son does not inherit the debts of the father. The other sons are bound to repay debts to other Gujjar and the *Bania*.

The father holding a single permit for lopping the forest retains the permit but divides the forest area into smaller portions and allots them to his children. In few cases, the Gujjar manage a new permit from the Forest Department officials. Sometimes, even after the *Bakh* and *Bund* are executed, the lopping and grazing in the forest is carried out as a joint activity. *Tarandi* of the siblings are grazed and lopped leaves are fed together. The sale of milk and profit accruing thereof is an individual return. The services of the he-buffalo (*Jhota*) remain a common property of the brothers. More he-buffaloes in the same *Tarandi* may lead to fights among them that cause conflict amongst siblings. The siblings adopt a patrilocal residence. If one of the siblings enters into an *Asami* relation with the owner of another forest, his residence pattern is no more patrilocal. If a family holds two permits, one specifying the father's name and the other the grandfather's, one permit may be transferred to the ego through the Forest Department. The transfer of title rights is given part of the *Bund*. On the demise of the permit holder, the right to access resources may be transferred to the inheritor.

III

Nature in Gujjar Community

Gujjar inhabit, as stated earlier, in areas that are endowed with grasslands, forests and water sources. These regions are divided based on their folk boundaries. The State of Uttarakhand as a political boundary makes little sense to the Gujjar nomadic pastoral people. Gujjar classify their landscape based on distinct features of the terrain. The Gujjar call the Indo-Gangetic plain in Uttarakhand that comprises of *Terai* and *Bhabhar* region as *Des* (plains)). The *Des* comprises of hills (*Kandi*), which are lower elevated peaks in the Sivalik. Different terminology is used to separate the hills in the plains and the high altitude mountains. The topography in both the regions is classified based on the elevation and type of vegetation. Few Gujjar who have permits from the Forest Department migrate to *Kandi* during winter months to lop in the Lansdowne Division while others lop forests in the plains

The dependence of the Gujjar on nature and their livestock influences their cultural practices. Nature is transformed into resources which are made useful by their cultural knowledge and labour. In other words, nature is appropriated and put to use through their cultural knowledge. They attempt to utilize resources from the forest. In most cases, the grass in the forest is not sufficient to meet the fodder requirement of the buffaloes. To enhance milk yield, fodder requirements are met by intervening in nature. Nature is reproduced through the lopping process.

For the Gujjar, nature is Allah's (*Qudrat*) creation. Hence, it is natural (Qudrati)[iv]. It is the creation of the divine; a gift for the use of humans. The various elements of the nature and natural resources are assigned to a prophet (*Paigambar*). He manages them by ensuring its continuity for the use of human beings. Nature is an extension of the divine. Like nature, Gujjar are also created by Allah. Human beings are the product of the divine, they too are *Qudrati*. A child born differently abled, his/her features are *Qudrati*. The divine complements nature and the Gujjar, and they cannot be separated from each other. The animals, plants, trees, mountains, grasses, rivers, birds, seasons, thunder, lightning, rains, buffaloes, fodder, crops are all *Qudrati*.

Forest is life for the Gujjar, exclaims Hussain, a Gujjar form the RF. According to him, forest "like life never ends, it continues. When one ends another appears. Gujjar have been born, living and dying in the forest and continuing our lives in it. The forest is our life. Gujjar is the custodian of the forest. He is the care taker (*Rakhwal*), he lops the branches and ensures that it grows back. He has to do this to derive his livelihood from it. When he cuts it making it short, it grows back. It is similar to our hair, if we shave it, it grows, same needs to be done with the forest for it to grow. Hair is shaved to make it strong; so lopping helps the forest becomes strong". Lopping facilitates the entry of a new vigour and ensures that the tree has a longer life span. Its branches straighten. The leaves produced are of better quality. This indicates that humans and tress benefit from a similar process of maintenance. The Gujjar claim their presence not only help the forest but also the wild animals. Lopping done by the Gujjar helps wild herbivores to access tree fodder. The Gujjar have narrated, animals like the Chittal and Sambar eat leaves lopped for the Gujjar buffaloes. Lopping facilitates the wild animals to access leaves that they can never have access too.

Gujjar emphasise that at night after lopping along with herd of buffaloes one can see Chittal and Sambar feed on the leaves. Hence, lopping helps the forest and wildlife also.

Gujjar knowledge regarding the ecology is extensive and rich. The Gujjar have an in depth knowledge of seasons, forests, rivers, animals and birds. They have names for various trees, plants, grasses, bushes, creepers, etc., in the forest. They have a terminology to classify trees into different types. Trees are central to Gujjar ecology and livelihood. They not only depend on them, but come into close contact by climbing them to lop it on a daily basis. Further, the trees provide materials for construction of their huts.

The forest is part of the Gujjar world and vice-versa. Gujjar embrace, feel and connect to the tree by climbing it. One could say that they make nature a part of themselves by coming into physical and emotional contact with them. Gujjar speak about a tree that is easy or difficult to climb based on its texture, shape and growth of the tree. They narrate tales as to how they climb a tree and lop it with skill. They would also look at a tree and estimate the time it would take to climb and lop it. Based on the appearance of a tree Gujjar determine its history, its age, how many times it has been lopped, the quality of its leaves, etc. One of the informants narrated the difficulty in climbing trees and the skill required in moving from one tree crown to another, that are next to each other, without climbing down either of them. The informant did it with ease when he was young. This indicates the ecological condition in terms of the forest cover fifty years ago. The forest was densely populated with many tree species, close to each other. This is missing from the forests of Uttarakhand these days, claims the informant. A tree's beauty is described and appreciated. Sometimes, the lopping and grooming of trees is appreciated or mocked at based on the appearance of the tree. If a tree is not well lopped, the Gujjar comment on the indiscipline of the lopper.

The forest is called *Jaad*. It comprises of trees, grass, weeds, bushes, rivers, canals, water, fish, deer, Sambar, wild animals, pigs, buffaloes, elephants, Gujjar and their homestead (*Dera*). In other words, nature and Gujjar are not separate; they see themselves as part of the forest. Plants are classified into trees (*Buta*) and bushes (*chood*) and grass (*Kaa*). Many trees together are called *Kana* (thick) *Buta*. When the

forest is very thick, with many trees close to each other, Gujjar refer to the forest as *Kana Jaad*.

A plant between six months to two years old is called *Poudh*. A sapling is called *Dali*. A small tree is called *Buta*. A big tree is above the age of fifty years is called *Rokh*. The age is determined by the Gujjar observing the tree from their childhood. If the tree is very old, the older Gujjar comment on its presence since their grandfather's or father's period. This is an illustration that Gujjar comprehended nature with reference to human social life. A tree that is very old, with a thick trunk, many branches and is very tall, it is called *Ajga* (humongous, similar to a python) *Rokh*. Trees that have a tall straight, slippery, smooth trunk with very few branches or stumps are called *Muti Wala* (straight and tall) *Rokh*. It is difficult to climb such trees. It requires skill and knowledge to do so.

The cultural knowledge about the forest and trees is passed on from older Gujjar men to the younger ones. The climber uses a hand axe (*Paadhal*). The hand axe has a sharp beak with an efficient handle grip, by striking it on the tree trunk, a Gujjar levers himself up. He uses his other hand to embrace the tree and slowly thrusts himself ahead. Gujjar do not require ladders and ropes to climb trees. It is easier to identify the trees that were lopped from the others. Amongst the bushes, Lantana is prominently identified and is called Moori. Gujjar make a distinction between Lantana and other bushes and trees. Lantana is poisonous for the buffalo as it causes death when large quantities are consumed by the *Tarandi*.

IV

The change in season and Gujjar response to the change determines the time to migrate to *Panjal* to graze livestock and the return to *Des* for lopping trees to feed the *Tarandi*. Gujjar follow the lunar calendar. Every fifteenth day of the Gregorian calendar a new Gujjar month begins (Table 4.2). Gujjar seasons are broadly classified into three categories. The seasons comprise of Gujjar months clubbed together and assigned a name. The summer months comprise of *Chaitar*, *Baisakh* and *Jeth*. These seasons are called *So* (also use *Kharsa*, in Hindi). When the summer season sets in, Gujjar exclaim *So Pai Gayo* (summer has begun). The winter seasons are *Mangair*, *Po* and *Mano*. These months are called *Syal* (Sardi, in Hindi). The onset of the winter

season is referred to as *Syalpaigayo* (winter has begun). The monsoon months are *Aad*, *Sawan* and *Padro*. This season is known as *Barsat* (rainy). When a season is intense, either with very high or low temperatures, or heavy monsoon rains, the season is referred to as *Sagar*. The Gujjar would remark, *E Mahino Sagar Pai Gayo* (a season of extremities).

Table 4.2: Calendar of Gujjar Months and their Gregorian Names

No	Gregorian Calendar	Gujjar Months
1.	15 January-14 February	*Mano*
2.	15 February -14 March	*Fagan*
3.	15 March- 14April	*Chaitar*
4.	15 April-14 May	*Baisakh*
5.	15 May-14 June	*Jeth*
6.	15 June-14 July	*Aad*
7.	15 July- 14 August	*Sawan*
8.	15 August- 14 September	*Padro*
9.	15 September- 14 October	*Asu*
10.	15 October- 14 November	*Ketiyalo*
11.	15 November- 14 December	*MangairTeho*
12.	15 December- 14 January	*Po*

Gujjar use natural indicators to determine the onset of a season. Trees, birds, colour and form of leaves, texture of grass and its colour are indicators through which Gujjar infer the condition of the forest and the season. One of the informants stated that the *Chaitar* month is identified by the call of a black bird which sounds like ‘kay piun’ (what do I drink?) near a water point. *Chaitar* ends when the earth begins emanating heat from the ground. The grass begins to dry. These changes indicate *Baisakh*. *Jeth* is the season of disaster (*Tabahi*). Every living creature in the forest seems dull and dead. There is no water or leaves in the forest for animals. All animals struggle for food and water. The hottest period of the month is known as *Mirgsalai*. Without water the eye balls of the animals begin turning up, indicating the harsh conditions the season brings upon the animals. The animals struggle without water for survival. Gujjar know where water is available perennially. Gujjar and their livestock suffer too in *Jeth*. *Phagan* is marked by slight heat, hot winds begin to blow. Leaves of *Gosam*, *Baakdi*, *Sain*, *Saanan* trees begin turning yellow, but they do not fall. In *Chaitar* the leaves of *Gosam*and *Baakdi* begin falling, but the leaves of *Sain* stay on

the tree. By *Baisakh* most of the leaves of the trees begin falling. By *Jeth* all the leaves from the trees fall. The *choti* (tuft or small crown) left on the trees by the Gujjar after lopping also falls.

The first shower of rain (*Paele Challe*) marks the *Aad* season. The shower helps grasses to sprout. Fresh blades of grass make the place look fresh. By the end of the first rains, small leaflets begin sprouting on the trees. During the *Sawan* month rains are heavy. There is no problem of food and water for wild animals and the buffaloes. The leaves sprout completely. The sign of a good rain is when the *Dabh* grasses sprout and interlock with each other, giving an appearance of a lamp (*Nimale*). The end of *Padro* commemorates the end of summer. In *Padro* the grasses ripen, they grow upright, a sign of full nourishment. The leaves during this season assume their original size, shape and strength. They come to life. The grass and the leaves become hard and strong (*Sakth*).

A slight cold in the atmosphere can be felt in *Asu*. It is the season, the Gujjar begin lopping. In *Asu* the leaves and grass are lush green. The cold climate in *Asu* is an indicator to begin lopping. The buffalo eats lopped leaves, it generates heat in its body and they lactate. The leaves are healthy and potent with vigour. The forest appears green filled, with few empty spaces. The increase in cold marks the onset of *Ketiyalo*, flies and insects begin troubling the livestock. *Manger* the cold intensifies. By *Chaitar* the leaves begin falling and by Jeth they vanish. In *Magasir* and *Po*, Gujjar increase their lopping frequency. The *Sangrandh* (meeting of any two months) of *Mangare* and *Po* buffaloes increase their milk yield through the consumption of lopped leaves. In *Po* the buffaloes' milk yield is the highest. By the beginning of *Chaitar,* lopping ends. The milk yield begins reducing by *Phagan* and *Cahitar*. During the months of *Sawan* and *Padro* the buffaloes feed on grass in the jungle. The green grass, *Bhabhar, Baggad, Lambh, Parya* and *Ramja*, are cut in *Asu* and *Ketiyalo* and stored. They are dried in months of *Karthik* for the purpose of storing. The stored grasses are fed to the buffaloes during the dry summer months of *Baisakh* and *Jeth*. These grasses are cut from elevated areas in the forest, which the buffalo may not be able to access. The grasses which a buffalo accesses, it consumes. During the winters *Khal* and *Chokar* (processed and enriched commercial cattle feed) are fed to the livestock. The commercial feed keeps the animal warm during the cold months,

thereby facilitating easy extraction of milk. A high yielding buffalo gives up to eight litres of milk a day. The milk yield drops by half in the summer months. The reduction in the quantity of milk is due the hot winds, *loo*, followed by the shortage of resources, water and fodder. The water sources like streams and ponds dry, resulting in lack of water bodies for the *Tarandi* to keep them cool by dipping in water. The excess heat in the buffalo's body results in a drop in milk production and yield. To fulfil the salt requirements that are not procured from fodder, Gujjar give salt licks to their *Tarandi*. They say that this is essential to keep their buffaloes healthy. "Salt deficiencies is more troublesome in cattle, as they always need salt every day for: (Na) osmotic pressure maintenance, acid-base balance, body-fluid balance, nerve transmission and active transport of amino acids, as well as cellular uptake of glucose carrier protein, and Na, as a part of salt, is a major cation of extracellular fluid and provides the majority of alkaline reserve in plasma. Chlorine is necessary for activation of amylase, formation of gastric HCl acid, and is involved in respiration and regulation of blood pH. Deficiency of salt include muscle cramps, rough coat, decreased feed intake, licking and chewing various objects, as well as decreased production. Dairy cows get hit the hardest first with salt deficiency, and may collapse and die if they have been salt deficient for a long period of time"[v]. Gujjar keep Salt licks close to the pen for buffaloes to lick. Traditionally, Salt licks are prepared by the Gujjar using salt and a bark of the *Pula* tree. The bark produces gum which is peeled and submerged into water, making the water viscous and sticky known as *Jildan*. Salt purchased from the market is stuffed into a Jute sack and Jildan is sprinkled all over. The Jute sack is then buried in a mud pit and covered with soil. Over the soil firewood is burnt for the mixture to bond. It is then removed as a block and used as Salt lick. In few places tin or clay pots are used to prepare the lick.

V

Knowledge of Lopping and Conservation

Lopping (*Path Badhno*) is a seasonal activity. The lopping is institutionalised and regulated through permits issued by the Forest Department. In the Gujjar case, the falling of leaves of certain plant species indicates the prevalent season. Trees cannot be lopped as one pleases. One has to follow the customary practices evolved over generations. The conditions necessary for lopping is understood well by the Gujjar. It is institutionalised through cultural knowledge. This knowledge is passed on from one

generation to another. A Gujjar child is socialised and encouraged to climb a tree after attaining the age of eight, under the guidance initially of his mother and later his father. Women lop small trees. The bigger trees are the domain of the adult men. Girls are not socialised to climb big trees to lop. The child (*Jakt*) accompanies (*Role*) his mother to the forest, when she goes to collect grass, and bundle of lopped leaves (*Pula*). A distinction is made between a bundle of lopped leaves and bundle of grass. The former is known as *Pula* while the latter is known as *Phudi*. During the fodder gathering, the child is encouraged by the mother to climb smaller trees. The child acquaints himself with the trees and the forest under the tutelage of his mother, father and the elder siblings. As he slowly learns how to climb and lop smaller trees, he graduates to bigger trees, thus mastering the lopping technique of fodder production. After this, the adult is given the responsibility of managing *Tarandi* and the forest under the authority of his father.

There are certain cultural norms that determine lopping. Along with seasonal considerations, material and cognitive aspects facilitate the lopping process. Not all of plant species are eaten by the buffalo. One should have knowledge of the leaves that the buffaloes eat. Another is to identify the tree that has the leaves that are eaten by the buffaloes. As the forest comprises many trees, the Gujjar possesses knowledge of the geographical spread of the trees. If a Gujjar does not have prior cultural knowledge, time would be spent in identifying the tree. This would result in a starved *Tarandi*, with a low milk yield.

Not all branches of the tree are lopped (Plate4.1). Thin branches (*Dali*) and shoots are cut, while thick branches (*Dalo*) are left unscathed. The crown of the tree is not pruned, during the lopping process. This helps the tree to survive. If all the leaves are cut, then the tree would become dry and die. The bunch of leaves at the crown not lopped is called a *Choti*. This ensures a continuity of the tree and fodder each year for the *Jungle ka Malik*. Not leaving a *Choti* is taboo, a violation of divine creation. If a Gujjar does not leave a *Choti*, he is alerted by another Gujjar. If the norm is regularly violated, the case may be brought to the notice of the political council (*Penchi*). The violators, if identified by the Forest Department, results in imposition of fine. Under extreme circumstances permits are cancelled, leading to termination of access to the forest.

Plate 4.1: Gujjar Lopping the Tree

Lopping begins below the apex branches of the tree usually by a single man. If the *Tarandi* size is large and the Gujjar has sufficient labour, two men may lop a tree. The lopping strategy was evolved over a period of time. A pattern is followed while pruning. Gujjar begin lopping at the upper portion of the tree crown and end at the lower part. This pattern of lopping is proficient management of labour and time. Ideal lopping strategy followed is that the lopped branches fall directly on the ground that allows the *Tarandi* waiting below the tree to begin feeding on them. An efficient lopper begins lopping from the crown top and proceeds to the lower branches. While lopping the lower branches, the entangled branches are freed and thrown on to the ground. The Gujjar facilitate feeding the buffaloes in rows (*Baad*). They lop number of trees to ensure fodder for their *Tarandi*.

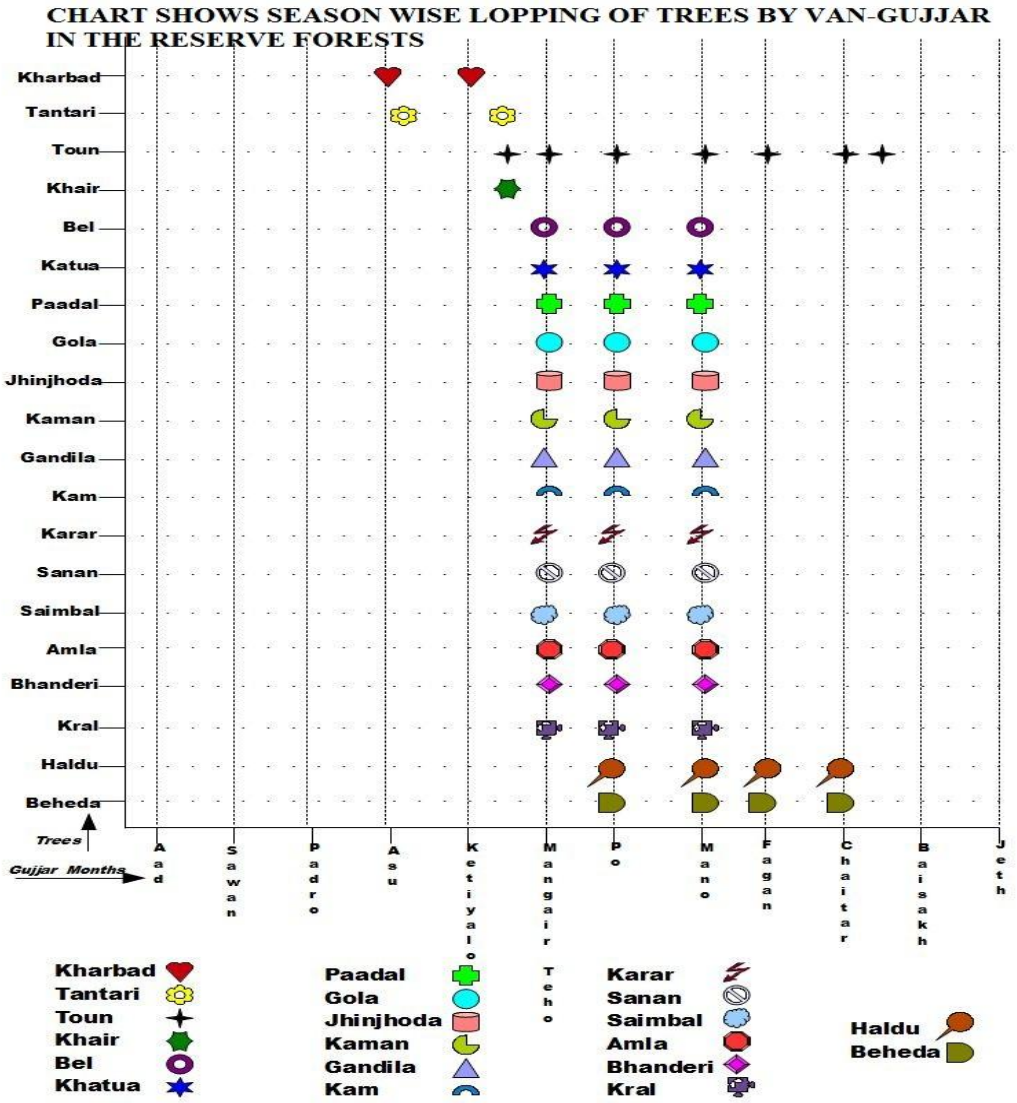
Path Badhno involves an in-depth environmental knowledge. Gujjar lop trees in a systematic manner after having understood the behaviour of nature well. The environmental knowledge includes careful observation of change occurring in nature and the mode of appropriating it that influences the Gujjar in taking decisions. Selective trees are lopped and Gujjar do not find any meaning in pruning the trees that

their buffaloes do not eat. For them it is a sheer wastage of time and labour. There is a misconstrued belief among biologists, wildlife conservationists and the Forest Department that Gujjar 'lop the entire forest', thereby destroying it.

As mentioned earlier, resource access in the forest is regulated by the system of permits. The Forest Department exercises authority in granting or denying permits to lop trees in the forest. Another point that may be noted is that the forest is diverse. It is not necessary that forests in Uttarakhand have similar species. For example, the forest in Haldugodam wherein Gujjar inhabit is dominated by *Haldu* trees. The hilly region (*Kandi*), *Toun* is the dominant species, while *Bheda* and *Kam* dominate the plains. The availability of certain tree species, like *Toun, Haldu,* Gola, etc., enhances the availability of fodder for the *Tarandi* of Gujjar. The scarcity or abundance of tree species invariably influences the *Tarandi* sizes and the animal's physiological conditions.

The lopping season begins by the end of *Asu*. The indicator of beginning of lopping season is the shedding of leaves. The trees that shed leaves earliest are the species that are pruned first. The Gujjar need to be conscious every year of the last lopping date set by Forest Department, i.e., March 31, after which lopping in the forest is a serious offense. Nevertheless, not many trees will have leaves on them to be lopped. Moreover, the season becomes dry and the forest is prone to forest fires. The first tree species lopped is *Kharbad*. Where ever Gujjar find Kharbad, it is lopped. This specie begins shedding its leaves the earliest. The leaves are lopped until *Ketiyalo* (Novemeber 15). In few places, *Tantari* is lopped along with *Kharbad* till the mid of *Ketiyalo*. The leaves of *Kharbad*shed before *Tantari*. Once *Tantari* is lopped, Gujjar begin lopping *Toun*, also known as *Bagali*. *Toun*does not shed its leaves until the end of *March*.

Diagram 4.1: Seasons and Tree Species Lopped



The leaves last for five months; they are harnessed continuously. The leaves of *Toun*are red. They begin turning yellow, the change in colour is a sign of its readiness to detach itself from the tree. *Toun* is lopped subsequently before they turn yellow. *Khair*, another tree, is lopped between Ketiyalo and Mangair (October and December), ant its lopping ends by the beginning of December. During the months of Mangair, Po and Mano species like *Bel*, *Khatua*, G*egadi*, *KaimPaadal*, *Gola*, *Jhinjhoda*, *Kaman*, *Gandila*, *Kam*, *Karar*, *Sanan*, S*aimbal*, *Amla*, B*handeri* and *Kral*are lopped. These species are lopped till the end of January. *Haldu* and *Beheda*last till the end of February. In few forests Gujjar begin lopping *Haldu* during the month of Po (December to January). Haldu leaves last until the end of Fagan. Most Gujjar feed Haldu during February as the leaves are nutritious and enhance the milk productivity of the buffalo (Diagram 4.1).

As mentioned earlier, the lopping season ends by March 31, the beginning of the Chaitar month. Toun and Sal in few places are lopped until mid of Chaitar. Sal is lopped when no other leaves are available and there is a shortage of fodder. The other reason that Sal is lopped when their migration to the hill is postponed due to a shortage of labour or the Forest Department's delay in issuing permits to migrate to *Paad*. Their extended stay in the hills forces Gujjar to lop the trees having leaves on them.

The movement pattern during the lopping season is decided by the Gujjar, keeping in mind the availability of tree species to be lopped. The presence of the tree species, terrain of the forest and Gujjar cultural knowledge determine the movement locally. Within a forest territory few families adopt a radial pattern of local migration, after the fodder from trees and grass near their homesteads are exhausted. The people along with their *Tarandi* set out in the morning and return by evening to their homesteads. As grasses are eaten by their livestock, the seasonal availability of grasses and leaves is well known to the Gujjar. Gujjar have knowledge about the benefits of certain plants and grasses that increase milk yield. They have a different terminology to distinguish grasses that are eaten by the buffaloes and the ones used for constructing huts.

The Gujjar categorise grasses in the forest into two types: thatch and fodder. The different grasses used to thatch their huts are generically known as *Khad* that includes the specific variety of Khad grass. The thatch grasses (Khad) include *Khad,Panni*, *Kaie*, *Seer*, and *Dabh*. When these grasses are cut, dried and stored for thatching they are known as *Phus*. While Kaie grass grows only in the forest, the others grow both in the forest as well as along the banks of water bodies. Kaie is also distinct from the other grasses. Its stem (*Dandal*) is thicker as compared to the others. *Khad* grass grows in bunch (*Jood*) and some of its stems grow into a long cane known as *Kaneda*. The thatch grasses are sandwiched between the layers of *Kaneda* and are tied to hold them together while roofing. The *Khad* grass blades (*Khak*) have sharp thorny edges and if held with bare hands they can cause injury. While harvesting Khad, the Gujjar protect their hands by wrapping a cloth around. After harvesting the grasses, they are made into bundles (*Pula*) and transported for thatching. *Khad*is cut

during *Ketiyalo (*mid-October to mid-November*)* and *Kaie* is cut in the month of Asu (Mid-SeptembertoMid-October). *Seer* and *Dhab* grasses have a longer durability and they are preferred for thatching.

The fodder grasses that Gujjar buffaloes eat are generically categorised into two: *Kaa*and*Dalava o Kaa*. *Kaa* grass includes *Ramjo, Babyan, Baggad, Patunjad, Banji, Palyan, Baru and lumb*. When the grass is green they are known as *Sailo Kaa*. When the *SailoKaa* is cut, dried and stored, it is known as *Sanjho*. After the fifteenth day of October, *Sanjho* is cut and stored for feeding the *Tarandi* when the lopping season ends. *Sanjho* grows in slightly elevated surfaces in the forest. *Dalava o Kaa* grass variety includes *Khabbal, Dubada* and *Louko Palyan*. These grasses grow on flat surfaces, and are easily accessible to Gujjar Buffaloes. According to the Gujjar, the *Kaa* type of grass is savoured by the buffaloes and it also helps in increasing their milk yields.

VI

Cultural Knowledge and *Tarandi* Reproduction

The buffalo is dear to the Gujjar. They treat it like a mother, as they drink its milk. Gujjar say "after drinking our mother's milk we drink the buffalo's milk, doesn't it make it our mother?" Some consider the buffalo as a *Dharm Ka Bhai* (brothers by spirit). Since buffaloes are an important asset for the Gujjar, they would risk their life to save an animal. The status of a Gujjar is estimated by the number of buffaloes one owns. Ownership of *Tarandi* sizes are known by different names, a *Tarandi* consists of 30-40 buffalo. A *Tarandi* of 100-125 buffaloes is a *Khando*. *Tarandi* more than 125 buffaloes is known as *Garl*. The larger the *Tarandi*, the more known and respected one is in the community.

For the reproduction of the *Tarandi*, cultural knowledge is essential. Merely knowing about seasonal availability of resources would not suffice for Gujjar to multiply their *Tarandi* size and pursue their livelihood. Knowledge regarding the fodder requirement for animals is essential. Further, a Gujjar need to know the grasses and leaves that are edible and savoured by their buffaloes, their spread and availability in the forest, when and how they can be harvested is essential to pursue their livelihood.

Gujjar possess ethno veterinary knowledge, using which they breed their buffaloes, take proper care and precaution in delivering their calves, treating their illnesses, etc. For example, if a calf dies in the womb of a buffalo, it can cause the death of the buffalo. Gujjar try and save the buffalo because it is an asset, and also it has the potential to reproduce again. The mother is saved by removing the dead calf by a specialist Gujjar by inserting his hand into the buffalo's stomach and removing the carcass. It is important that the breeds should withstand diseases and be fit, as the buffaloes have to migrate between the plains and hills, produce more calves to increase *Tarandi* sizes and produce high milk yield. The hybrid varieties of buffaloes require huge quantities of fodder. Gujjar prefer their Gujjaro breed of buffaloes which are bred by them. Buffaloes are given names that are derived by the colour or shape of the animal or its horns. Names of common Gujjar buffaloes are *Mallan, Sallan, Bhuri, Mukkar, Kyalan, Sakkar, Gulab, Nukkari, Bagu* and *Bagga*. The he buffaloes (*Jhota*) are also given names. For each *Tarandi* one Jhota is domesticated.

A *Jhota* having round horns is called *Bagaru*. The buffalo's horn that grows downwards is known as *Taili*, when a horn is slightly bent it is known as *Sebi*. The calves are recognised as belonging to the breed of the *Jhota*. For example, if *Gulab* is impregnated by *Bagaru*, the calves would take the breed of the *Bagaru*. When the Jhota of the calf belong to a non-Gujjar buffalo breed the calf is known as *Dogali* (breed of two origins). For example, if the *Jhota* is of a Punjabi buffalo breed and the buffalo is of the Gujjaro breed, the calf born would be a *Dogali*. If the Dogali mates with a Punjabi breed *Jhota* the calf born to this pair would be regarded as a Punjabi breed.

A good quality buffalo is identified by its horns, hair, udders and its hind part of the body. When a buffalo appeals to a Gujjar, the animal would be referred to as *Shail*(beautiful). Some times Gujjar children referred to as *Shail Kudi* (beautiful girl) or *Shail munda* (beautiful male). The Gujjar would distinguish a Gujjaro buffalo from the rest. Gujjar buffalo's hair is flat. The local breed of buffalo's (*Desi*) movement is fast, eyes are sharp, they are alert and their hair stands up, while the Gujjaroo buffalo moves slow with its body relaxed and its eyes appear weak. If a buffalo is pregnant, the Gujjar can tell by observing its hind part. A Gujjar would purchase another

Gujjar's buffalo by tracing its breed, to which *Jhota* the calf belong to. The *Jhota* is identified by its tail, which is long, its back is broad, its penis will be large, the horns will be round but slightly bent. The breadth of the horn would be thick. Short tailed buffaloes do not give good yield of milk. The face of *Jhota* is long and thin, the nose is thin, ears long, its back (*Kothi*) is broad, will have a broad anus, the front legs are thin and the hind legs are thicker. The neck would be thick and heavy, eyes are thick round and big. A Gujjar would carefully observe a buffalo or a *Jhota* before they declare their quality. A superior breed of *Jhota* is preferred, as they would produce superior calf breeds that would enhance milk production. Gujjar's cultural knowledge guides them to mate different breeds to produce better breed buffaloes.

A male calf (*Katto*) if identified to be of a superior breed, at the age of four, it is given a special diet. Once in a week, in the evening, it is given three kilograms (Kg) of onions and five Kg of curd. It is tethered and food is forced down its throat when the *Katto* refuses to eat. Milk and food are not given to it that evening or night. After 15 days, in two Kg of butter, 1, Kg of onions, 100gm black pepper, 100gm mustard is mixed and forcibly fed to the *Katto*. This helps the Katto to develop muscles and strength. The Gujjar believe that the *Katto* should look handsome and strong. It should be able to win a fight. A strong *Jhota* is an indicator of a strong Gujjar.

A *Jhota* smells the urine of a buffalo and knows if the buffalo is ready for mating. It would not approach pregnant buffaloes to mate. At times, when *Tarandi* of two Gujjar intermingle a *Jhota* belonging to one of the Gujjar's *Tarandi* may mate with a buffalo of another. In the ensuing fight of the *Jhota*s the dominant one would impregnate the buffalo in the *Tarandi*, and the Gujjar may end up having a calf breed not desirable. This act leads to a feud between the Gujjar owners. The clash of *Jhota*, in a sense, is a clash of owners. The dispute would be referred to the political council, if it does not get resolved between the disputants.

The *Jhota* plays an important role in determining the breed of the offspring. A good breed, that are resistant to tough conditions, withstand disease attacks, ensures the *Tarandi* continuity. If an alien *Jhota* mates with a Gujjar's buffalo, it may result in a weaker *Tarandi* with poor breed. Hence, the Gujjar chooses the *Jhota* that inseminates a buffalo. In the relocated village Gujjars who do not have a *Tarandi*, seek the help of their kin's *Jhota* to impregnate their buffaloes. Gulam Hussain, a

Gujjar from the relocated village, sent his buffaloes along with Roshan's (one of the leaders) *Tarandi* to Khadar (a new migratory location). Roshan belongs to the same Jat (clan) as that of Gulam Hussain's Daughter-in-law, the Baniya Jat. No payment is involved for the service rendered by Roshan, but it is reciprocated by sending his son to render labour, whenever Roshan's family requires help. Gulam Hussain's son Nani offered his labour to harvest grass (*Khad*) for thatching huts. Nani and few other Gujjar boys spent two nights in *Tibadi*, in Haridwar forest range, to harvest grass for Roshan's homestead.

When the buffalo is ready for insemination it is known as '*Nami Aano'*, the buffalo begins making a different noise recognised by the Gujjar. They call this peculiar call as *Mais Ringe Re* (meaning that the animal is ready to be impregnated). A buffalo after 4 years becomes capable of reproducing calves. When the buffalo becomes pregnant it is known as *Gabban*. Once it delivers (*Su Gayi Or Soie*), the buffalo is called *Layari* and the Calf *Layari Katti* (female)/*Katto* (male). The Gujjar calves are differentiated from each other by their age groups. Each age group is identified by a terminology. It is significant for the Gujjar to know the age of the calves. This is done by categorising them. The age would help the Gujjar to know when the buffalo is ready to multiply. The following table displays the age and category of the calves (Table 4.3)

Table 4.3: Name and category of Calves

Calf	**Name (Female)**	**Name (Male)**
Just Born	LayariKatti	LayaroKatto
1 year	Khangadi	KhangadoKatto
2 Years	Dobarati	DobaratiKatto
3 Years	Taibarangi	ChouradaoKatto
4 Years	Chou Barangi	
6 yrs		Jhoto
7-8 years		Maali

Multiplication and expansion of *Tarandi* sizes is an essential aspect of Pastoralism. Given the spread of resources, the livestock that the Gujjar own and their nomadic life style, it is of interest to the Gujjar to keep their *Tarandi* regularly pregnant that would ensure a constant supply of milk. A ratio has to be maintained between pregnant buffaloes and milk yielding buffaloes. When the milk yielding

buffaloes stop producing milk, by then another set of buffalo should deliver a calf. Given the economic importance of milk production, the Gujjar ensure that a sizeable number of buffaloes continuously produce milk. After a year of delivery the buffalo is ready for *Nami* again. The buffalo stops giving milk in the sixth or seventh month of its pregnancy. It takes ten months to deliver a calf. The average age of a buffalo is 25 years. It can deliver up to 21 calves in its life span.

When the buffalo's udders begin swelling (*Oudo Bado Kare Re*), it is an indication that the buffalo is ready to deliver. A depression (*Nooun Paye Re*) develops in the back portion above the tail and it deepens before 4-5 days of parturition. Upon parturition, the calf takes two hours to stand. The mother constantly licks the calf and is protective of it.

Plate 4.2: Inserting Stick to Wean Calf from Suckling

Initially for a week, the calf is allowed to feed on the four udders of its mother, after which the suckling is controlled by the Gujjar. Before milking the buffalo, the calf is bought to the udders and allowed to suckle. While the calf is suckling, simultaneously the Gujjar milks the buffalo. When the calf tries suckling form udders not meant for it, it is hit on its nose with a staff. Out of the four udders one hind one is

fed to the calf. The calf begins eating grass in the third or fourth month after which one front udder is left for the calf to suckle. The remaining udders milk is tapped by the Gujjar. After the calf turns six months it is prevented from drinking milk. It is believed by the Gujjar, in few cases the buffalo continues feeding milk to its calves up to two years after delivering. After six months, the Gujjar desire that the calf stops suckling, so that the milk may be tapped for sale. To wean the calf from suckling, a weaning stick (*Nakhudo)* made from the Katechu wood, sharpened at both ends is pierced through the nasal septum of the calf (Plate 4.2). When the calf attempts to drink, the sharpened end pokes the mother, forcing it to dodge the stick. This simple technology prevents the calf from suckling.

When buffalo yields milk for a year and then stops, and when it does not get pregnant once again the buffalo is known as a *Khangad.* When a buffalo becomes infertile it is known as *Pharandi*. A buffalo when impregnated but does not retain the semen, it is known as *Sund*. The Gujjar knows when a buffalo does not retain the semen of the *Jhota*, as it begins *Ringe Re* after 21 days. This is a sign that the semen of the *Jhota* is not retained inside the buffalo. The natural cycle for buffalos to return to *Nami Aano* is an eight or 21 days cycle. If the sperm is retained in the body and fertilizes the eggs, the buffalo would not return to *Nami Aano*. If not, the buffalo's legs are tied using ropes. It is then forcibly dropped to the ground, with a bamboo funnel. It is fed two and a half funnels of black cows watery dung. This method is considered to arrest the slipping of the semen. The second treatment is that the buffalo is given cow's milk. The last method of treating is with seven white stones, collected from the river, are put into the left ear and tied for 21 days. This, according to the Gujjar, solves the problem.

In few cases the buffalo may exceed the time taken for delivery of a calf. This usually happens when the head of the calf gets displaced in the womb. Generally, the calf is delivered by the legs appearing first on which the head rests, followed by the hind legs. In cases where the head of the calf appears first, it can lead to the death of the calf. In this case a separate method of treatment is applied. This knowledge lies with few specialists. The information may exist with most Gujjar but the skill of practice lies with few. In such cases, the help of the specialist is sought. The specialist applies mustard oil and salt to his arms, inserts his hands into the vulva to reach the

unborn calf, and straightens the head, places it on the front hooves (*Khurdu*), to ensure a smooth delivery. When the calf is dead inside the mother's womb, it begins secreting fluids only, followed by the placenta (*Jair*) and the hooves of the calf appear. In case of death of the calf in the mother's womb, the calf has to be forcibly pulled out. The Gujjar take the umbilical cord (*Jala Aali Matryandi*) which wraps the calf in its mother's womb and rub it on another female calf. The rubbing of the *Matryandi* transfers the odour to the calf. Female calves have more value for the Gujjar. After the delivery of the calf, constant vigil is required, as the buffalo tries eating the *Jair*. It is considered toxic, resulting in a drop in milk yield. Dogs and foxes attack the animals in the wild, birds of prey and peck on *Jair*. Gujjar constantly keep guard until the *Jair* is released. Once the buffalo parturiate, jaggery[vi] is fed to keep it warm. Carom seeds (*Ajwain*), black lentils (Urad), wheat and jaggery are boiled together and fed to help the buffalo discharge the *Jair* quickly. The complete discharge of the placenta ensures the safety of the mother and calf.

VII

The cultural knowledge of the Gujjar regarding herding and stock breeding in relation to the forest assures a continuous supply of milk and their livelihood. Cultural knowledge guides the Gujjar in dealing with the various constraints posed by nature. Careful observation and knowledge of animal behaviour facilitates Gujjar understanding of their *Tarandi*'s behaviour. Various movements, like standing and sitting, position of sitting, movement of the calf in the stomach of the pregnant buffalo, elevation and depression of certain body parts and secretion of fluids, help the Gujjar knowing the stage of pregnancy and delivery. Stopping of chewing cud (regurgitation), silent sitting and panting are all part of a knowledge system that Gujjar use to understand their livestock. All these reiterate the close affinity of the Gujjar to his animal. In other words, human – animal or nature and culture are integrated in the cultural knowledge system of the Gujjar. This integration provides continuity between nature and culture of the Gujjar. The culture of the RF Gujjar in the forest is usable to procure resources for their *Tarandi* and themselves. In this manner the RF Gujjar ensures their continued livelihood from the forest.

End Notes

[i] A Hindu trading caste, who processes the milk into various products, makes profit by sale of both milk and milk products procured from the Gujjar.

[ii] Gujjar call a measure of one litre of milk, Kilo, 100 litres of milk is called a *Kuntal*. 40 litres is referred to as *EkMun*.

[iii]*Kha*l is made from mustard seeds after the oil has been extracted. The oil seed cake is nutritious. *Chokar* is made from wheat. During the winter months *Khal* and *Choker* keep the animal warm hence ensuring a supply of milk with a high fat content.

[iv]P قدرتي*qudratī* (rel. n. fr.*qudrat*), adj. Of omnipotence, divine; not made or produced by man, natural, constitutional, innate; instinctive:—*qudratī rang*, adj. and s.m. of (its) natural colour; white;—natural colour (not stained or dyed):—*qudratī 'alāmāt*, s.f. Natural (Source: http://dsal.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/search3dsal?dbname=platts&query=%D9%82%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%AA%D9%8A&matchtype=exact&display=utf8- accessed on December 15, 2012)

[v]http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Why_do_cattle_need_salt_mineral_blocks_to_lick&altQ=Why_do_cattle_need_salt_blocks_to_lick#ixzz1ThpWTM00

[vi] Coarse brown sugar made by evaporation of sugarcane.

Chapter V

Conservation, Relocation and Livelihood Crisis

The previous chapter discussed the relationship of the Gujjar with the forest and how they eke out their livelihood with the support of their *Tarandi* and cultural knowledge. The chapter argued that the traditional life of the Gujjar needs to be comprehended in the context of the forest resources. In the forest, Gujjar use their cultural knowledge to carry on their lives. The forest provides grass and tree fodder that the Gujjar buffaloes feed on and produce milk to be sold by the Gujjar in the market. In the forest, Gujjar culture and nature are in a state of continuity, as they use their cultural knowledge to constantly engage with nature and other natural resources. Through this engagement life unfolds for the Gujjar.

The continuity between nature and culture is broken when people are removed from their traditional habitat in the name of 'development'. In the Gujjar case, they are removed from the forest that was declared as Rajaji National Park. This separation impacted Gujjar culture, ecology and livelihood. This chapter discusses the consequences of the declaration of RNP on the Gujjar community. It has led to the formation of different groups of Gujjar. Further, it explains the process of relocation of Gujjar from RNP to two colonies known as Gujjar Basti and Pathri. It also discusses the Gujjar response to their removal from the forest.

I

Relocation from Rajaji National Park

In post independent India laws enacted by the State further restricted the people using of forests and the surrounding natural resources, especially the tribal and pastoral communities, like the Gujjar. The Indian laws were an extension of colonial laws to control and monopolize resources used by people for a living. People were separated from resources when the State declared landscapes as 'Protected Areas' that are made free of people. The colonial Forest Department regulated Gujjar access to forest resources through a permit system that continued during the post-colonial period. The rights entitled them to lop specified trees and harvest grasses with restrictions imposed on few species. Post 1972, the declaration of the forests as Rajaji National Park (RNP) led to Gujjar eviction from the Park. An unresolved conflict

continues between the Gujjar and the State, as both perceive rights over property in nature differently. The complete involuntary separation of people from their natural resource base has further intensified the conflict.

The intention to declare the forest as Rajaji National Park (RNP) was made in a Government Notification on August 12th, 1983. In 1984 the forest area was declared a Park. Though the traditional rights of the Gujjar in the forest have been terminated they are unwilling to vacate their traditional dwelling, the Rajaji National Park. They are reinforcing their traditional right over the forest. Until the issue is resolved and the Gujjar vacate the forest, the Park does not receive the status of a National Park (Garwhal Post 2009)[i]. Hence, Rajaji National Park is still not a National Park in the legal sense, but only a proposed park. The area is declared Protected under the Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 (WPA). It is encated to protect wild animals, birds and plants. It terminates all existing peoples' rights in the area declared as a Protected Area. According to the Wildlife Protection Act 1972, 35(7), livestock is not permitted to graze within the park. Further, human habitations are not permitted in the Park. Under the various clauses of the WPA, The Gujjar are evicted for the protection of wildlife. Hence, the State planned to relocate the Gujjar. This created a strain on the Gujjar livelihood in Rajaji National Park.

The Uttar Pradesh Government in 1983 sanctioned Rs 300 lakhs for the Gujjar resettlement outside the Rajaji National Park forest. The idea to relocate Gujjar germinated before the States intention to declare the formation of Rajaji National Park. In 1975, proposals were being made to resettle the Gujjar outside the forests. In 1979, a District Forest Officer, Chaman Lal Bhasin surveyed the Gujjar in the forest and published a report *'Gujjar Punarwas Aur Unke Samsyaonke Adhyayan'* (Gujjar Relocation and a research on their problems) in Hindi (Bhasin 1979). In the report he suggested a village of 2641 hectares be earmarked for resettling 2641 Gujjar families. In a wireless communication sent by the Forest Secretary to various Forest Officers, he suggested to find a 'suitable' place to rehabilitate the Gujjar. Further, the effort was to completely put an end to the nomadic movement undertaken by the Gujjar between the hills and plains. "It is also necessary to formulate a scheme for the permanent settlement and rehabilitation of the gujars so that during then summer is stopped completely. It has been suggested to the Govt. That there are Khadar areas along

Ganga & Yamuna in Saharanpur, Lansdowne, Dehradun and Tehri Divisions where a sizeable number of gujars can be settled/rehabilitated. Sri Bhasin under the control of Shiwalik Circle is given the additional responsibility for framing this scheme. While formulating the scheme Th. Kishan Singh and Gyana Nand Bhatt of Uttarkashi should also be consulted, representatives of gujars and other effected parties should also be associated with the formulation of the scheme. The scheme ...uestion should be submitted to the Chief Conservator of Forests, with a copy to the Govt. by the 15th June, 1975 at the latest" (Bhasin 1979: 204). Subsequent relocation plans were suggested by Forest Officers to relocate the Gujjar outside the forest between 1981 and 1985. Some suggested allotting 50 hectare for 2000 Gujjar. In 1985 an exhaustive plan to resettle 512 permit holding Gujjar families at Pathri forest block, 20 km southwest of Haridwar, was proposed.

Opposing the relocation plan in 1985, the Gujjar filed a civil suit in the Supreme Court of India (Mohammad Shafi vs State of Uttar Pradesh) challenging the rehabilitation policy of the Forest Department. The Additional District Magistrate (Saharanpur) passed a Judgement in 1986 (number 8/85 dated January 30th, 1986) terminating the rights of the Gujjar residing in the forest declared as a Park. Having notified the intention of constituting a Park, the District Magistrate of Garhwal in a settlement order dated February 5th, 1986, proposed to rehabilitate 181 Gujjar families outside the forest. However, a stay was granted by the court restricting the Government of Uttar Pradesh from rehabilitating the Gujjar until the resettlement scheme was implemented.

In 1988 the Supreme Court issued an order dismissing the petition of Mohammad Shafi vs State of Uttar Pradesh. Prior to this in 1986, some Gujjar representatives and a local Member of Legislative Assembly (M.L.A) approved the site where the relocation colony would be built at Pathri[ii]. As a result of this, in 1987 a Government Order was issued to rehabilitate 512 Gujjar families from RNP on a proposed 80 ha area with 1000 sq m for housing and raising green fodder. The construction of the Gujjar colony at Pathri began in 1987. By 1988 the Uttar Pradesh Nigam Construction Agency completed construction of 512 houses. Between August 1988 and April 1989, 62 families selected their houses in Pathri and gave their

'written approval' of vacating the Park. Thus, the actual relocation started in 1990 (Mishra 2007).

In January 1989, a few Gujjar filed a Writ petition (Mohd Shafi vs U.P Government), in the Supreme Court of India, opposing the rehabilitation outside RNP. The Gujjar are unwilling to shift as the new place, Pathri, does not have basic facilities, like electricity and grazing grounds for their cattle. The place gets submerged during monsoons and is infested with mosquitoes. The State claimed that 512 tenements are constructed but the people are not willing to occupy the constructed houses in the resettlement colony. "Further implementation of the scheme is however possible only if petitioners also co-operate and move into the tenements which have been built for them. We are quite sure that whenever they move into the new hutments, the State Government will immediately take steps for the provision of other facilities under the scheme. We direct that as soon as the petitioners move into these tenements, the State should take immediate steps for the provision of electricity as well as the provision for grazing land for the cattle of the petitioners. Learned counsel for the petitioners tells us that the petitioners will be able to move into these lands within four months from today. This is recorded, with these observations the writ petition disposed of"[iii].

In 1992, the tension between the Forest Department and the Gujjar intensified. While returning from the summer migration Gujjar were prevented to enter the Park. Gujjar were forced to go to Pathri colony. Further, the Gujjar staying in the Park were asked to put their thumb impression on paper stating that they would not be allowed to return to the park on their return from their winter camps (Sensarma and Okada 2007: 181). With the escalating conflict, in 1994, Indian Peoples Tribunal on Environment and Human Rights (IPT)[iv] requested Justice Poti, former Judge of Kerala and Gujarat High court, to investigate the problems relating to RNP. On April, 22 1995 he submitted an Interim Report recommending that the Park should meet people's requirements and serve to conserve forests. The Report further suggested creation of a multi-agency team to plan and manage the Park (JPAM 1995[v]; Vania 1997). The multi-agency team should comprise of government officials, villagers, local NGO's, Scholars and Ecologists. The Report suggests that the Gujjar unwilling to shift out of the Park should be allowed to continue their traditional migration and

way of life. Those willing to shift should be provided an acceptable relocation package in consultation with them.

A beneficiary of the relocation package is identified as one who possesses a permit to access and lop trees in the forest or migrate to the hills. The ones not possessing a permit is not considered a beneficiary. The Gujjar realised that only 512 permit holding families are identified as beneficiaries of the relocation package. These 512 families were identified as they were permit holders to access and lop trees in the forest. The remaining families would not be recipients of any Government benefit. The 512 plots and houses allotted to them will not be able to support the large number of Gujjar families, not recognised as beneficiaries. This created an imbalance between land allotted and the number of Gujjar families. This led to conflict, as there are more than 512 families that need to be included in the beneficiary list. Understanding that a large number of them would be non-recipients of the relocation benefits from the Government, Gujjar began placing demands for benefits and resources.

The Gujjar organised themselves to meet the Minister of Forests and Environment, Government of India, SaifuddinSoz, in 1994. The minister ruled out the consideration of handing over the Park to the Gujjar. Instead, advised the Gujjar to give up the idea of becoming owners of the Park (JPAM 1998)[vi]. In the meeting a new definition of identifying a beneficiary was arrived at. It was decided that each family would be given 2 acres of land (800 Sq Metres for agriculture and 200Sq Metres for house construction). A new definition of the beneficiary was arrived at and it considered each adult member, his wife and children as a single family. The older definition of identifying a beneficiary was based on the permit system, wherein, each permit holder was considered a beneficiary of the relocation plan. Based on the new definition a fresh survey of Gujjar families was carried out by the Forest Department. The survey conducted in 1998 revealed 878 families as potential beneficiaries of the relocation compensation that included the older number of 512 families and 878 as new beneficiaries. Thus, the total number of families to be relocated was identified as 1390 families by the State Forest Department. The 512 figure is based on permits granted in 1951. By 1990 the Gujjar families has increased to 3000. Majority of Gujjar have not benefitted from the relocation. The newly identified 878 (excluding

512) familiesare relocated in a new site, Gaindikhatta, in the Sambalgarh Forest Block, an area proposed by the Gujjar.

During the year 1997-98, Gujjar filed a case with theNational Human Rights Commission (NHRC), India. They stated in the complaint that the Gujjar in the Rajaji National Park are being harassed and tortured by the Director and staff of the Park. Further, people are not allowed to fetch fodder for their livestock, sell milk or access medical aid, as no ambulance was allowed into the Park premises resulting in loss of human life. The complaint stated that many Gujjar died due to the prevention of the entry of the ambulance, a charge denied by the Forest Department. The complaint also stated that the "National Park was issued in contravention of the provisions of the Wild Life Protection Act, 1972. The efforts of forest officials were directed to seek forcible eviction of gujjars and, in a few cases, they were cheated in order to obtain declarations that, in exchange for two acres of land, they were ready to leave the forest"[vii]. NHRC issued a notice to the Chief Secretary, U.P, and the Chief Conservator of Forests (CCF) submitted a report denying all allegations. The report by the CCF claimed that the Gujjar are "disturbing the system by indiscriminate felling of trees in the forest" (NHRC 1998-99). Another reason cited is that the population of Gujjar and their livestock has risen exponentially and, their traditional methods of use of forest are no more sustainable. Hence, the Forest Department is concerned with the depletion of forest resources and loss of wildlife habitat. This has lead to the formation of the Rajaji National park[viii]. The Gujjar have to be relocated outside the park. For the purpose of relocation to Pathri each Gujjar family is entitled to two acres of land, Rs 10,000 for transporting belongings, "Road construction, drinking water, schools, ambulances transport and other facilities were envisaged in the rehabilitation project" (NHRC 1998-99)[ix]. The documents submitted by the CCF were sent to the Gujjar who filed a complaint, who reiterated their allegation. The NHRC "directed a Special Rapporteur to examine the matter. The Special Rapporteur met the complainant and several officers of the Government of Uttar Pradesh. He learnt from them that 62 families were happy with their resettlement and others were ready to move out if 2 acres of land was given" (NHRC 1998-99).

The State is concerned about the conservation of forests while the Gujjar struggle to sustain their livelihood through their traditional rights and resources. "The

Commission accordingly made certain recommendations to protect the interests of the gujjars. For ascertaining whether the gujjar families were willing to leave the land or not, the setting up of an impartial body by the Government of UP was recommended. Until gujjar families did not leave, their traditional rights were to be protected and they should not be subjected to any harassment by the forest officials" (NHRC 1998-99). It was suggested by the NHRC that no coercive steps to be taken to ensure that the Gujjar left the forest. "It was also pointed out that the gujjars should not claim unfettered rights to lop the trees; rather, areas should be specified, chosen on the basis of the age and growth of trees, by the authorities. Considering the very important aspect of entry of vehicles, including the ambulance, the Commission directed that the permission to enter should not be declined and, in rare cases when this is done, the reasons must be recorded in writing, immediately. The Commission was assured by the forest officials that the entry of the ambulance will be allowed, subject to the condition that one forest official nominated for this purpose should be taken inside the ambulance" (NHRC 1998-99).

Finally, unable to break the deadlock the "Commission preferred that the parties should work out their rights in accordance with the law applicable to them and decided not to intervene in this matter" (NHRC 1998-99). The NHRC withdrew from the conflict resolving mechanism and left the negotiation and resolution of the issue with the Gujjar and the Forest Department. In 1996, Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra(RLEK), a Dehradun based NGO, formulated a Community Forest Management plan, in which a proposal was made for the Gujjar to manage the Rajaji National Park. The suggestion of the NGO did not see light of the day. After the Human Rights Commission's notification, Gujjar threatened to return to the forests of the RNP, if their demands were not met. Unhappy with the facilities at Pathri (resettled colony) and a forced move by the Forest Department to resettle them in Gaindikhatta, a new colony, Gujjar resented the relocation plan. The Gujjar claim that a railway line, a highway, an Army ammunition dump, IDPL and BHEL factories are located within the Park. When the State is not removing them, the Gujjar reason out, why are they asked to vacate the Park? The Government, Gujjar feel, is targeting them deliberately to remove them from RNP.

The Gujjar, in association with the NGO Ban Gujjar Kalyan Samiti (BGKS), filed a petition in the High Court of Uttarakhand, in the light of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 or the Forest Rights Act. Their demand is to update the list of the number of families who are not identified as beneficiaries of the relocation package. The Gujjar should have the right to settle down permanently in the Park. The High Court of Uttarakhand directed the Forest Department to resettle the Gujjar according to the Forest Rights Act and reconsider a 2005 eviction order of the Gujjar from RNP.

II

The Forest Department used a method of ascertaining the Gujjar 'willingness' to vacate the Park and termination of forest rights through a signed undertaking in return for the compensation (relocation package). In many cases Gujjar did not know how to read and write the content of the form. Most have placed their thumb impressions on the document relinquishing their traditional rights to the Forest Department. Due to the previous experiences in dealing with the Forest Department, Gujjar now consult a lawyer in matters pertaining to the relocation from Rajaji National Park. The Gujjar started safely preserving any piece of paper, as they have realised the significance of official documents. In the forest, the ones who had lost their traditional permit documents struggled to establish their rights in the forest. This prevented their claim to be recognised as a beneficiary in the relocation plan. The papers were lost in fire or rain. The Forest Department or Government asks the Gujjar to furnish proof in the form of written documents. Many, Gujjar not realizing the value of official papers, have not been able to derive benefit from various schemes. Gujjar families are trying to locate the permits granted by the Colonial administration as a proof to claim their traditional rights in the forest. The proof will help the Gujjar's claim as a beneficiary. The 'willingness to vacate' document does not specify if a Gujjar wishes to give up their traditional rights and accept the compensation given by the State. The document does not restrict its terms and conditions to willingness to vacate but further imposes clauses, suggesting that if the clauses are violated the land allotted by the Forest Department to the Gujjar stands cancelled. The document further entrusts final authority with the Park Director.

The document restricts the land ownership to the Gujjar for a period of 30 years in the relocated village. A possessor of land cannot sell the land or mortgage or lease it to any person. Further, it restricts the Gujjar from taking their cattle to the forest for grazing or lopping. If a Gujjar is found violating any of the rules, it would result in the cancellation of the possession of land. Once a Gujjar takes possession of the land, their traditional rights to the forest stands cancelled. The final authority to take decision over disputes lies with the Director whose word shall be final. The forest authorities by doing so have made all provisions to ensure that they cannot be legally challenged in the court of law. The documents signed by the Gujjar are proof against the Gujjar if they attempt to claim their traditional right to the forest.

After 193 Gujjar families vacated the Park from Chilla range in 2002 and relocated in Gujjar Basti, the subsequent years Gujjar from various Forest Ranges have been relocated in Gaindikhatta (Basti). Gujjar mentioned that there are many Gujjar who moved out of the forest as they were left with no choice. While few families in few ranges were threatened by the forest authorities, few Deras were pulled down, livestock and people were prevented from going to their traditional homesteads. A total number of 613 Gujjar families have taken possession of the land allotted to them in Basti. Each Gujjar family living in Basti is given 0.82ha land (8000 msq land for agriculture and 200 msq for their homestead). Not all the families have toilets and cattle shed, and they are yet to be constructed. The government has given Rs 500 for constructing toilets and Rs 2000 for transporting their assets to the relocated habitation (Mishra et al 2007). Gujjar transported poles and thatch from RNP to their new habitat. The Gujjar prefer not to stay in small cement houses constructed by the Forest Department. They opt to construct their traditional dwelling structures. However, they were promised by the park authorities, once they relocate, cement houses would be constructed. Gujjar claim nothing has been done. The promises were made by the authorities to ensure they vacate the forest of RNP quickly.

Yakub, a Gujjar, recalls his painful separation from the forest. “The Government has removed us from our protection (forest) and left us in an open space. Our village is open for all to come and go. We do not know who is coming and going. We are the birds of the forest and the Government has told us to leave the forest in

which we once lived. The forest has been made alien to us. This is our plight. The branches we once lopped and our buffaloes ate the leaves we cannot do so anymore. In the forest, we were refreshed by the fragrance of the flowers and the forest. In the relocated village we do not have place to eat, drink, there is no water for cultivation. Where do we get dry fire wood to cook? The Forest Department confiscates our cycles when we go to fetch fire wood and imposes a heavy fine. We know no laws of the Forest Department; they do not listen to us. We are illiterate; they show us papers and claim that this is what the law says. The land in the Gujjar Basti is not ours". The above illustration shows how the Forest Department takes advantage of the illiteracy of the Gujjar and the skewed forest laws and relocation plans.

Expressing his fear over the loss of land given by the Forest Department, Yakub remarks that, "the Sani people living close to our village were given land on lease for 90 years, people built their houses and cultivated. One day the police used force and removed them. One day the Forest Department will do the same with us. The Foresters (*Jangalat*) claims that the Gujjar destroy forests, they have removed us from it and declared it as a Park. They claim that animals are scared of the Gujjar and Gujjar kill animals. Maneka Gandhi claims that the horns fall as the Gujjar kill and hunt animals. She does not know that they naturally shed the horns during summers. The Government is openly betraying us (*KhulaDhoka De RahiHai*). The Government gave my father land in Kunaochoud and they did not give us any documents. For 20 years the land was with us. One day the Forest Department took it away. They collect grazing taxes and ask for votes, aren't we citizens of this country too? Many Governments from Nehru to Indira Gandhi came to power and went, they made promises, but we are still the same, nothing has improved with our lives. No one did anything for us, that is why we feel the forest is better for us. The forest protects us; we are hidden in its lap. Now we are amongst thieves and dacoits. In the Gujjar Basti if a fire breaks out all our thatched huts will catch fire, as we all are living together. We are now helpless that is why we are in Gaindikhatta. People sold their buffaloes when they shifted to the Basti as there is no place to keep our *Tarandi*. In the Basti we have no choice but to do physical labour and earn wages. In the forest we lopped trees fed our *Tarandi*, milked them and sold the milk for money. By making promises and not fulfilling any the Government is harassing us (*Atyachar*)".

Mohamed, a 70 year old Gujjar leader (*Pench*), came to know about the formation of the Park thirty years ago. "The declaration of the Park meant that the forest will be closed to Gujjar entry. The Forest Department claims that the Gujjar residence in the Park is harmful for the forest. They claim that the trees dry up due to their lopping. Animals run away seeing the Gujjar. The Gujjar lops the trees, not leaving anything for the wild animals. The forest guards asked us to fight with the Government. After many attempts to talk to officials we decided to fight the Government. During that time N.D Tiwari was the Chief Minister and Pratap Singh was the Forest Minister. We were not allowed to take cattle feed into the Park or sell milk. We went to Lucknow, met the Ministers and sought permission to continue our life in the Park. The Minister sent a letter stating that until arrangements are made the Gujjar should not be stopped from continuing to live in the forest. We ran to Lucknow whenever the Forest Department created problems for us. TheForest Department during the relocation did not make fodder arrangement for our buffaloes. We demanded that until the Government does not make arrangements for housing and land we will not vacate the Park. They replied stating that unless we vacate, the process of constructing the colony will not begin. After so many years of fighting, the Forest Department in 2002, agreed to give land in Basti. We demanded that we do not want to be relocated in Pathri. We prefer Gaindikhatta. We did not agree to go to Gaindikhatta until houses were constructed for us. The Forest Department assured us that once we move out everything will be provided. As a leader, I decided to move out of the forest on the assurance that we will be provided land, bore wells for irrigation, school, hospital, toilets, roads, and cattle sheds. It is nine years since we have moved out, many of the promises made to us have not been met. We had to move out as it was a Government Order. We thought we better move out of the Park or else the Government may forcibly oust us without giving anything. As we are getting something, we better grab this opportunity. The Notary Lawyer got us to sign documents that we are leaving the forest by ourselves; we are not forced by anyone. Land is given but the land does not belong to us. We were told unless the land is not registered the plot of land allotted to us by the revenue department, we will not be its title owners".

Mohamed further remarked that "In Haridwar range, people were forced to vacate the forest. When they refused to leave, Gujjar huts were dismantled and few

children were beaten. The domesticated Elephants of the Forest Department were used to break down few huts. Gaindikhatta is closer to Bijnor, known for it notoriety. Where the Basti is currently situated was a forest, which was cleared to relocate the Gujjar. There were tree roots left in the soil, some of us had to get them uprooted. The Forest Department cleared most of the roots of the land. We got all the material from the forest to build the huts in the Basti. We moved into the relocated village in the months of February and March, we stayed without a roof above our head for a month. Many families faced trouble when the monsoon began. In the forest the Forest Ranger went to each house to convince us about the relocation. The higher officers summoned us in their office, to talk to us. They told us that Gujjar should vacate or they would use force (Zabardasti). We are scared as we do not have a counter force. We are simple illiterate people. We conducted 36 meetings and more, to decide whether to leave the forest or not. People decided that if government is giving us land and houses, we can vacate the forest. Now, when we submit application for houses we do not receive anything. The excuses are that the Government does not have money for constructing houses. So the Forest Department mooted the idea of Indira AvasYojna (Housing Scheme of the Government of India), Gujjar refused the idea. They felt that the Forest Department should give us land and house, as it is they who wanted the Gujjar out of the forest".

Shamma Chechi remarked that "It has been nine years since we moved to the Gujjar Basti. Before we began staying here, it was all jungle. The forest department felled the trees. The land was cleared of the jungle to accommodate Gujjar families. Each Gujjar was allotted a plot of land. Before taking possession we were asked to see our plots. After the forest department cleared the trees there were roots left in the fields. We had to employ labour to remove them. In few cases the tenant took the task of removing the roots, before they began cultivating on the land".

"We brought all our belongings from the forest. We transported our hut poles, grass for thatching and other material from the forest. The materials were transported in tractors. Some people engaged trucks to shift their belongings. We had to make three trips to transport our belonging. We incurred a cost of Rs 4,500, each trip we spent Rs 1500. One trip was made exclusively for the wooden poles and grass. The government gave us Rs 3,000 per family to transport material. On coming here, in the

new site we stayed with another Gujjar for a year, until our own huts were constructed. People moved out of the Park in different groups. Few people left the Park earlier and few later. We moved out later. Gujjar who came after us, stayed in our hut before constructing theirs".

"On arriving here we felt sad, as we did not know where we had come. It was a new place for us. Leaving the forest to which we belong is very difficult. We began thinking where have we come, how will we live and how our children will survive. We were wondering how we will feed ourselves with no food and shelter. How will our buffaloes survive? We were depressed. We suffered till things got better after two years. There was a constant fear that we will die. We do not know what to do with the land allotted to us by the Government. We do not know how to cultivate. Our ancestors have reared livestock; we know how to milk buffaloes, drink its milk and sell it. We do not know how agriculture is done".

"Our land was ploughed and cleared by tractors. The tractor owner helped us in cultivation and broadcasting of seeds. Close to Gujjar Basti, there are villages of non-Gujjar. In these villages Kaskar (Sani) people live. Before we occupied the land, Sani people offered to take the land on lease for cultivation. They cultivated on the land for two years. After which we constructed our hut and moved onto the plot. We received money and grains from the Sani. We sometimes sold the grains and retained some for our consumption. The chaff and hay stalk were stored in the huts that we constructed. We did not know how to broadcast seeds. We took the help of Bhoksa people. These people charged us Rs 100 for broadcasting. Four people broadcasted the seeds. Two rounds of water were given to the fields".

III

Gujjar Basti

As a part of the relocation process, ten diesel engines were sanctioned by the Government to the Gujjar in Basti. The Forest Department has left the utilization of the ten diesel engines by 878 Gujjar families to their leaders who were the intermediaries between the community and the Forest Department. These leaders negotiated the relocation and allocation of benefits with the Government. The engines meant for the community were given to the leaders who retained the engines for their

use. The Gujjar feel that the Forest Department is giving benefits only to Gujjar leaders. People feel that the Forest Department is keen on supporting the interests of the rich among the community by depriving the poor. Gujjar feel that the Forest Department is making the poor Gujjar poorer. They do not care for the poor Gujjar, as the officials would receive benefits from the rich Gujjar. Due to the different streams of arrival from RNP to the relocated village, few Gujjar stand to benefit while the other do not. For instance, Abi's father, Pao, a Gujjar leader, was to receive a diesel engine from the Forest Department. A Baniya, another Gujjar leader sold Pao's diesel engine for Rs 10,000 and retained the money. Pao moved into the relocated village late from Chilla, he was not there to receive the benefits from the Government personally.

Apart from diesel engines, the Government has constructed seven wind operated bore (tube well) points (Nalkup). These water sources are part of the common property of the Gujjar. Though there are seven common water points at various locations in the village, only three are functional. Not all Gujjar have access to the water from the common Nalkup. All Gujjar plots do not have equal access to water. Insufficient water is a constraint in increasing the productivity of crops. Gujjar plots depend on rain or tube wells dug by their first tenants. Due to the topography, Gujjar holding land downstream utilise water for their plots, while the ones upstream do not receive water. In most cases they depend on rain or tube wells. The irony of insufficient water supply for agriculture in the Basti is that the northern Ganga canal runs parallel to the village. In spite of sufficient water resource available close to the Gujjar village, they cannot access the water. They do not have permission to utilise the canal water.

After relocation, Gujjar now face the problem of procuring poles and thatch to renovate their huts. Wooden poles cannot be cut from the forests near the relocated village; neither can they go to their traditional dwelling site in RNP. With no concrete houses and no easy access to wooden poles and thatch, once they rot, hut walls crumble during heavy rains, allowing water to enter into the hut. The floors get damp making the hut inhabitable. The huts in the relocated colonies cannot withstand being exposed to the forces of nature. In the forest the huts were safe and protected by trees. Many houses in the relocated colony, during the monsoons are in dilapidated

conditions. Gujjar lose their material belongings and fodder stored in the fodder hut (Po Chan) during the rainy season. During the months of October and November, they seek permission from the RNP Director to harvest thatch from the forests that the Gujjar once occupied. The thatch is collected for the hut roofs in the relocated village. The permission is usually granted by the Director as harvesting wild grass benefits the Park. After the monsoon, the grass grows tall covering the safari paths used by tourists. Clearing of the grass from the paths ensure movement of vehicles with tourists. By allowing the Gujjar to harvest grass, the Park does not have to employ labour to clear them. The Gujjar spend considerable money to transport thatch from the forest to the relocated village. In few cases affluent Gujjar hire tractors for Rs. 2,500 to transport grass and they seek help from the other Gujjar and their kin members to cut and transport grass. Their kin members share the cost to transport their share of grass. Few Gujjar offer their labour free of charge to reciprocate a previous obligation.

IV

The Pathri Gujjar Today

Pathri is one of the relocated colonies for the Gujjar. Since 1975 successive Forest officials have proposed plans[x] to relocate the Gujjar. By 1992, 512 housing units were constructed and ready at Pathri for occupation by the Gujjar. Until May 1998, only 56 Gujjar families shifted to Pathri and by 2000, 401 families have moved into Pathri.

The colony was built in 1985 (1987 according to the Director's Working plan of 2005). Until 1995 no Gujjar family occupied the resettlement colony. Few Gujjar reported that people settled only in 1999. Gujjar from Ranipur, Motichoor, Ramgarh and Dhaulkhand Ranges have been relocated in Pathri. There are 512 families in Pathri as per the Forest Department records. The Forest Department by 1995 began intensifying their drive to relocate the Gujjar. Few Gujjar seeing the grass growth around Pathri moved to exploit them. Pathri is adjacent to the Pathri block forest. Few patches of grass are found in the forest. The Gujjar thought that the concrete houses could be used as *Deras* to halt at night and graze their livestock. Once few Gujjar vacated the forest, the Forest Department began pressuring the others to vacate the Park and occupy the concrete houses in the Pathri. The Gujjar who had few livestock

felt it better to move out of the Park. They conceived land as a better source of livelihood and income. In few ranges, like Motichur, the forest staff harassed Gujjar to vacate the forest; few Deras were razed to the ground. The Gujjar who resisted vacating the forest were harshly treated by the Forest Department. The reason for forcibly asking Gujjar to leave by the Forest Department staff was, according to Nooralam, "that since the kinsmen of the Gujjar have vacated the forest why should the rest stay in the forest ''. The rooms in Pathri settlement are small. Each house has two rooms and a kitchen. One room is used to store fodder for livestock, while another is used to keep the materials owned by the family. Gujjar spend most of their time in the traditional huts constructed next to the concrete buildings. They prefer sleeping in them. The Gujjar are clustered close to each other as compared to Gujjar Basti. However, Pathri has more facilities compared to Basti. The settlement has a water tank for supplying drinking water through taps. Gujjar children have access to school in the colony. The houses in the colony are provided with electricity and are well connected by road. Pathri seems a more congested colony. Each concrete block houses two families.

The Gujjar of Basti claim that the Pathri Gujjar have received more benefits from the Government. While Pathri Gujjar claim to the contrary. Pathri Gujjar are well networked with politicians and news reporters. The issues and problems of the Pathri settlement are reported in local dailies. One of the Pathri Gujjar is a member of a political party (Congress). He uses his influence to raise issues in the local newspapers. He uses his office to represent issues with the Member of Parliament (M.P), also a Congress member, to pressurise the State Government to address the problems and issues of the relocated Gujjar.

Many Gujjar men, women and old, after relocation, were in a state of shock as they could not conceive what is happening to their lives. They began wondering where they would go, what their future would be. The new lifestyle to be adopted in the relocation site was alien to them. Before relocation, the area was covered with forests and provided fodder for the Gujjar buffaloes. After the construction of the colony, forests have been cleared, now depriving the Gujjar *Tarandi* of leaves. Lopping of trees to feed their *Tarandi* is not possible. This is creating a shortage of fodder for maintaining large *Tarandi* in Pathri. Gujjar feel that Pathri area is

dominated by thieves. Their cattle in the past were stolen by the local residents when the Gujjar visited the place in the summers. Gujjar resisted the idea of the new relocation site as it was something new to them. Following the experience of their cattle being stolen, Gujjar did not want to relocate in the new colony. The forest guaranteed fodder to their livestock and a livelihood to them. Gujjar feel secure in the forest. Another perception of the Gujjar is that the Pathri region is marshy, with water logged areas and too many mosquitoes. These factors discouraged the Gujjar from moving to the Pathri relocation colony.

Few Gujjar perceive agriculture as hard work, where as Pastoralism is easier, as they are familiar with it. However, Pastoralism too is not free of labour and hard work. Lopping of trees require a specialised skill and knowledge of identifying the tree species that may be lopped. During the nomadic movement, Gujjar have to ensure that the *Tarandi* do not astray, they require to be controlled by the Gujjar. Gathering fodder for the animals requires large amounts of labour to procure fodder and feed them. Undoubtedly, both the livelihood systems require labour. Both involve hard work. One of the reasons why the Gujjar perceive agriculture as hard work is that they do not have the knowledge of agriculture.

Few affluent Gujjar, like Sultan Kasana, is of the opinion that Pathri has more facilities for the Gujjar. There are three common water points for hundred plots of agricultural land. Each plot is connected by plastic water pipes to the common water point. Access to water is a significant resource for agriculture, which is available in Pathri. Once water is assured agriculture can be adopted. There are three common bore wells in Basti colony that supply water for irrigation to the plots. Two more are to be dug by the State Government. The facility of irrigating land through water pipes is not available in Basti. Water is not a problem for irrigation, according to Musa Chopra, a Gujjar of the Pathri colony.

Musa Chopra has three plots of 12 Bighas each. He is among the few whose land is close to their settlement. This allows easier management of his field. The produce from the fields are easily transported and processed before being sold in the market. The proximity of the field to the house facilitates access to fodder for livestock. He cultivates wheat and sugarcane. He harvests three crops of Sugarcane in

two years and one wheat crop. When he was in the forest he had lopping rights in the Pathri forest. In the forest he owned forty buffaloes that he sold for Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000 each, after coming to Pathri. He sold the buffaloes, as he did not have the resources to feed the animals. With no more access to the forest to lop trees and limited fodder availability in Pathri, maintaining such a huge *Tarandi* seemed impossible. He decided to sell his *Tarandi* with the money received from the sale of the livestock he purchased a tractor for agriculture. Musa Chopra purchased two hybrid buffaloes which are stall fed. The buffaloes yield high quantity of milk that he sells to the diary owners in Haridwar. He harvests 400 quintals of Sugarcane, which is sold for Rs 250 a quintal. The sugarcane is sold based on the price offered by the buyers. A jaggery maker offered him Rs 200 for a Quintal, while the Sugar mill pays him Rs 250. Musa is an enterprising Gujjar. He purchases the crop from other Gujjar when the crop is not yet harvested and is growing in the field. After paying the crop owner for the produce he harvests and sells the produce for a higher price. Musa lets his tractor to other Gujjar for agricultural purposes.

Most Gujjar in Pathri lease their land for money. The land is leased for a year to the local non-Gujjar people. A leased plot fetches Rs 25,000 to Rs 30,000. One reason for a high rent amount levied by the Gujjar is that he incurs a loss by not receiving fodder for his livestock or food grains for self-consumption. The Gujjar in Basti, receive food grains from the tenant and fodder for their livestock. This lease arrangement protects the Gujjar from impoverishment. In Pathri the Gujjar have to bear the risk of not receiving food grains or fodder. This risk is covered by levying a higher rent price for the leased land. The Pathri Gujjar incurs expenses in procuring fodder for their livestock and food grains to feed their families. The fodder is purchased. Majority of the Gujjar plots are located very far from their houses. This is a constraint for the Gujjar from working in their fields, unlike in Basti where the agricultural plots are adjacent to the Gujjar homesteads. In Pathri, many Gujjar houses remain vacant. Gujjar have not occupied them as they tend their livestock by living on the fringes of the forest and water bodies, like the canals and rivers. Their lands are leased out. The concrete houses are primarily used as store rooms. Food grains or fodder for buffaloes are stored in the rooms. The Gujjar live in traditionally constructed structures adjacent to the concrete buildings.

Few Gujjar work in fields leased to non-Gujjar. They keep a night watch over the tenants' crops. Their labour is used to separate the leaves of the Sugarcane from the cane. In return for the labour, they receive the grass they separate. For the Gujjar the leaves of the Sugarcane are valuable, as they use them to feed their livestock. Since there is a shortage of fodder in Pathri, green fodder is valuable. The tenants cultivate more Sugarcane, compared to that of wheat. As Sugarcane is largely cultivated, the Gujjar *Tarandi*are deprived of fodder compared to hay or chaff from paddy or wheat. The Gujjar purchase paddy stalks from the nearby villages to feed their livestock. Fodder requirements to meet the needs of their livestock are difficult.

V

By law, once a forest area is declared as a Protected Area, human beings cannot reside in it. In other words, people whose livelihood depend on natural resources, like forests, grasslands, water bodies, are denied access to them. The State justifies the removal from forests by stating that the termination of rights to forests is replaced by giving a relocation package or compensation. From the State's point of view the policies appear effective. However, Gujjar do not feel the same. If the policies are fair and they address the loss of traditional rights of access to resources, Gujjar should logically accept the relocation package and leave the forests. However, the reality appears to the contrary. Gujjar have accepted the land allotted as part of the relocation package designed by the Forest Department out of compulsion, but they have not accepted agriculture as a new way of life, since they have no knowledge about it.

Many Gujjar continue to live in the forest refusing to leave until their family members are included in the package. The ones who have accepted the package by submitting signed affidavits have taken possession of the land allotted to them. The relocation of Gujjar from the forests has resulted in the scattering of family members. Some members of a household recognised as beneficiaries have been given agricultural land in the relocated colony, while the others have not been identified as beneficiaries, this has resulted in the non-beneficiaries staying back in the forests of RNP. Some families of the relocated colony divide their stay between the forests of RNP and the relocated colony. This exemplifies that the relocation policies adopted by the State is not inclusive as it has omitted many Gujjar families from the

beneficiary list. A policy applicable to one section of the community creates a divide within the community. All Gujjar have not been relocated from the forest. The Gujjar from the RNP Forest and ones in the Reserve Forest view each other differently. The Reserve Forest Gujjar are annoyed that they have not been given land. The Gujjar having understood the Government's stand on land allotment have begun negotiating their right by demanding land. They do so by refusing to vacate the RNP and fighting the Government in the court of law, besides lobbying for land. The State on the other hand is ambivalent. It allows one group to access forest resources (RF Gujjar) and denies another group of the same community. It allots land to one section and denies another.

End Notes

[i] http://www.garhwalpost.com/index.php?mod=article&cat=Uttarakhand&a..Rajaji Park awaits final notification...

[ii] Pandey, S Management plan of Rajaji National Park, For the period of (2000-01 to 2009-10 Uttaranchal, Dehradun)

[iii] http://wildlifelaw.in/Data/Cases%20_and_%20Judgements/Supreme%20Court%20on%20Rehabilitation/mohd_shafi_vs_st_UP.html accessed February 2011

[iv] A forum, Indian Peoples Tribunal on Environment and Human Rights (IPT) was established in 1990's to investigate cases related to human rights and environment issues.

[v] http://kalpavriksh.org/images/PAUpdate/PAUpdate1_17_Sept1994_Jul1998.pdf accessed December 27, 2012

[vi] http://kalpavriksh.org/images/PAUpdate/PAUpdate1_17_Sept1994_Jul1998.pdf accessed December 27, 2012

[vii] http://nhrc.nic.in/archive.htm

[viii] http://nhrc.nic.in/disparchive.asp?fno=410

[ix] http://nhrc.nic.in/accessed on October 27, 2012 at 14:27

[x] In 1975 C.L Bhasin, a Forest officer proposed to resettle Gujjars residing inside the forest (declared as RNP) in a new settlement. In 1979 C.L Bhasin proposed a village of 2641 hectares for 2442 Gujjar families the plan did not materialise. Gupta, another Forest Officer, in 1980 proposed 50 hectares for 2000 Gujjar but land was not made available. Another Forest officer, K.N Singh, proposed another plan that did not materialise. N.P Nainwal in 1985 made an exhaustive plan to resettle 512 Gujjar families at the Pathri forest block, 20km south west of Haridwar. The official resettlement plan for RNP was prepared by V K Sharma in 1983.

Chapter VI

New Locations, Changing Livelihoods and Cultural Adaptation

The previous chapter discussed the declaration of Rajaji National Park and the process of removal of Gujjar from the forest, thereby creating two groups within the Gujjar living in Rajaji National Park. One group are the Gujjar who are recognized as 'beneficiaries' of the relocation package. They have been relocated in Pathri and Basti and were given land. The other group are displaced from RNP but have not been identified as beneficiaries and are in a state of limbo. The Relocated Gujjar or Basti Gujjar have begun reorganizing their life in the relocated colony. This chapter discusses the life of Gujjar relocated in Gujjar Basti. The RF Gujjar in the forest pursue their traditional pastoral way of life. Those RF Gujjar who own huge buffalo herd (*Tarandi*) sell milk to the Bania. Those who do not own animals lend their labour for the pastoral production. The forest and the nomadic pastoral life world was a domain known to the Gujjar. The Gujjar function by using their cultural knowledge that is linked to their ecology. The ecology is defined in the context of the forest and the social relations forged by the Gujjar with members within and outside the community.

It is in contrast to the RF Gujjar that the life of the Basti Gujjar has to be understood. The removal of the Gujjar from the forest and relocating them in the Basti has introduced chaos into their lives. The immediate impact of relocating the Gujjar has been a break in the traditional pattern of pastoral life. The homologous culture of the Gujjar in the forest gave way to a heterogeneous one in the case of the Basti Gujjar. The Basti Gujjar is removed from the forest and relocated in a domain unfamiliar to them. The relocation of the Basti Gujjar by the Forest Department has resulted in the breaking up of the organic linkages within the community. The Basti Gujjar is now largely delinked from their traditional economic, social and cultural milieu. The abrupt shift from a known realm (forest) to an unknown one (land) forced them to interpret the latter in the context of the former. Thus, they have negotiated with the changed ecological context based on their cultural knowledge. The responses of the relocated Gujjar in the changed context are analysed vividly in the following sections.

The arguments in this chapter are divided into four sections. Section one discusses how the Gujjar were induced to adopt a sedentary life by the State Forest Department by giving the Gujjar land on lease in the forest. The allocation of land in the Basti in lieu of the cancelled forest permit is an extension of the inducement to become sedentary by divorcing the Gujjar's dependence on the forest. The land is given for the purpose of cultivating crops or fodder. Agriculture is a new livelihood and Gujjar do not have the knowledge to practise it. During the initial phase of relocation the Gujjar was in a state of desperation as they do not know what to do with the land. They slowly begin making sense of the unknown world of agriculture using their cultural knowledge. The consequence is that the Gujjar started leasing their land to Gujjar and non-Gujjar tenants as a strategy to negotiate with the new reality.

The second section discusses how some of the Gujjar have learnt to balance agriculture and pastoral life as another way of negotiation with the altered situation. They no longer has access to the forest to lop trees or graze their *Tarandi*. The Basti does not have enough grazing areas to support large buffalo herd. Gujjar in the Basti cultivate or lease the land for cultivation of green fodder to feed their livestock. Thus, relocation has resulted in the reduction of their *Tarandi* in the Basti. There is now a shift in the breed of buffaloes. They are acquiring hybrid buffaloes that are tethered and stall fed. Hybrid buffaloes require more fodder and commercial feed to enhance milk production. As the number of buffaloes in the relocated Basti is less, the milk production is also low compared to the forest. The Gujjar, instead of selling the milk to a Bania, now sell it to another Gujjar in the Basti, who in turn sells it to the Bania.

The third section discusses the Gujjar who have large *Tarandi* but do not have place to tether them in the Basti. Also, they do not have sufficient resources to feed the *Tarandi* in the Basti. The outcome is the Gujjar manage to keep their *Tarandi* in the close by Reserve Forest or in forest fringes close to Basti. They forge new relations with their kinsmen and access Reserve Forest during the lopping season in winter. The older nomadic pastoral knowledge is still retained. The Basti Gujjar and the RF Gujjar migrate to *Khadar* and *Barrage*, new locations in Uttar Pradesh along

the Ganges, to graze their livestock. This is an adaptation mechanism through which the Gujjar is rekindling their traditional pastoral way of life.

The last section analyses how the Basti Gujjar are using their cultural knowledge to negotiate with multiple livelihood opportunities to make a living. The Basti Gujjar by doing so is attempting to make sense of the unknown world through their known cultural knowledge.

I

Process of Resettlement

It is pertinent to note that agriculture is not unknown to the Gujjar. They have heard of it and few of them have learnt how to cultivate in the past. However, majority of them do not have the knowledge of agricultural. Their social interaction with the Garhwalis[i] in *Paad* and *Des* has familiarized them to agriculture. While migrating to the *Paad*, Gujjar would pen their livestock on the agricultural fields of the Garhwalis. The Gujjar who cultivate now have acquired agricultural knowledge in the recent past due to two factors. One, efforts were made by the colonial administration and the post-colonial administration to sedentarize the Gujjar in the forest. The second factor for acquiring agricultural knowledge was the Abolition of the Zamindari Act, 1951, through which few Gujjar families acquired land and learnt agriculture. Thirty years ago land was allotted to 42 Gujjar households in the plains (Des). The Gujjar who migrated to the hills were stopped from migrating. In return of the cancelled permit, land on lease was given in Kunaochoud and two other places. The land was allotted near Kaudia, a Garhwali village, by the Forest Department. Few Gujjar learnt to cultivate from the Garhwalis, while majority of the Gujjar leased their land to Garhwali and Gorkha (Nepalese) tenants. Most of the allotted land is dry and the cultivators depended on rain water for cultivation. Primarily wheat and maize were cultivated.

Gujjar slowly began staying back in the plains. As the ownership title for the land was not given, few members remained in the plains and others members migrated to *Paad* during summer. The Forest Department attempted to prevent Gujjar migration by threatening to take the land back. The forest guards accepted

gratification and allowed the Gujjar still to continue 'cultivation'. The ones who stayed back in the plains looked after the agricultural crops. Close to twenty families began cultivating. They learnt agriculture from the Garhwalis living in Kaudia village, to whom they had leased their land. Cultivation was primarily rain fed.

After the enactment of the Zamindari Act 1951, the Zamindars had to give up their land. The peasants who worked on these lands could become owners (Elder 1962: 21). As a result of this Act, four Gujjar families acquired huge tracts of land. These families learnt agriculture, and also owned huge herds of livestock. They became the influential elites of the Gujjar community, as they have land, herds, money and political links. They have strong links with the leaders and officers of the State. The Gujjar community considers these influential people important. These elites live in the Gujjar Basti and in the villages close by. They play an important role in the Gujjar Basti as they have knowledge of agriculture. They play a role in resolving conflicts that arise within the community. They lease in relocated Gujjar's land for cultivation and make profits.

After the notification of the Rajaji National Park (RNP) and subsequent relocation of the Gujjar in Gujjar Basti, a family is given a plot of land measuring 2.0263 acres as compensation to the loss of traditional right in the forest. These lands are non-transferable holding rights. Gujjar do not have any documents to claim that the land is owned by them. The State has ownership for thirty years after which the land would be transferred to Gujjar. This is done to protect the Gujjar, claims the Forest Department, lest the land may be sold to a non-Gujjar or Bania to whom the Gujjar are indebted. The lack of proof of ownership of land prevents the Gujjar from taking loans from banks for agriculture, constructing a house or purchase of hybrid buffaloes. The processes unleashed suggest that the Gujjar are exploited, as they do not have knowledge of cultivation or control over the production and sale of the crops from their land. Relocation has led to altering the labour engagement in the context of the forest. Gujjar labour was integrated in supporting pastoralism in the forest. In the Basti with the reduction of *Tarandi* and acquisition of land the Gujjar are forced to negotiate the changed circumstances by putting their labour to alternative use. A

considerable number of Gujjar are working for daily wages. There is a shift from pastoralism to other livelihood pursuits (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Occupation of Gujjar in Various activities in the Basti

Occupation	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Agriculture	25	2	27
Agriculture wage	4		4
Employed in Diary	2		2
Doodhia(milk collector)	6	2	8
Pastoralism	71	7	78
Naukar(lop for others)	6		6
Teacher	1		1
Daily Wage	60	3	63
Forest Watcher	1		1
Wildlife Institute of India	4		4
Tractor Driver	1		1
Making huts	8		8
Total	**189**	**14**	**203**
Household work	414	526	940
			1143

It is felt by the Gujjar that they have not taken up agriculture in the relocated village because it is an expensive activity. Shamma remarks "It requires a lot of people which we do not have. We do not have a tube well nor a water pumping engine for cultivation. The government has given us land and nothing else. The resources given by the Government meant for the Gujjar have been taken away by the Gujjar leaders. The leaders have benefited most from the relocation. They do not share what comes for all the Gujjar. They use it for themselves". This has created a sense of indifference towards the Basti leaders.

Agriculture – New Livelihood

Initially in the relocated Basti the Gujjar was in a state of desperation. Their *Tarandi* size was reduced due to shortage of resources to support them in the Basti. Agriculture being a new activity, the Gujjar did not have knowledge about it. The Gujjar who knew cultivation tried cultivating by depending on outsiders, who have taken their land on lease. The majority of the agricultural land is leased to other Gujjar and Non-Gujjar (Hindu and Muslim). Agriculture is relatively a new livelihood for the Gujjar. However, a very small percentage of Gujjar have begun cultivating (Table

6.2). After relocation a few Gujjar are resorting to daily wage labour. Many still are confined to domestic chores.

Table 6.2: Agricultural Pattern in Gujjar Basti

	Basti Gujjar	**Gujjar Tenant**	**Non-Gujjar Tenant**	**Crop Type**
Land on Lease	133 plots	74 Plots	59 Plots	
Self-Cultivating	50 plots			Wheat and Urad
Share Cropping	07 Plots		Wheat and Urad	
Crop Type		Wheat and Urad	Wheat, Urad, Paddy, vegetables, Maize	
Total	**190 plots**			

In the Basti 190 plots were held by 150 surveyed households. This is because few households have been given more than one plot of land. Out of the 190 plots, 133 plot of land were leased out by the Gujjar to other Gujjar or non-Gujjar tenants, 50 were cultivated by the Gujjar and seven were cultivated under the share cropping arrangement. In the relocated colony new forms of agricultural production have evolved. Agricultural production in the Basti may be broadly categorised into three, i.e., Self-Cultivation by Gujjar, the second are on lease and the third is on a share cropping basis. The first category Gujjar possesses land and produce crops by themselves. In the second category, Gujjar leased out their land and the lease arrangement differs from crop to crop. Under this, there are different arrangements: **a)** Lease for Money, **b)** Lease for grains and crop remains, and **c)** Lease for money and crop remains. In the third category, Gujjar establish a share cropping system of crop production with Gujjar and non-Gujjar tenants. Cost of agriculture is met by the Gujjar and the tenant. In this arrangement the tenant and the land holding Gujjar jointly bear the expenses in cultivating the land. In most cases the tenant contributes more to the production. The excess investment made by the tenant is deducted by the tenant before giving the Gujjar's share of the profits. Due to a lack of knowledge of agriculture, Gujjar enter into a share cropping agreement with the tenant. In the share cropping the tenant and plot owner bear the cost of inputs used for cultivation. The tenant incurs the costto drill tube wells into the land. The cost of the tube well is deducted by the tenant continuously cultivating on the land until the amount is recovered. The amount is deducted in grains.

Cultivation by Gujjar

The Gujjar cultivating in the relocated village are the ones who cultivated and practised agriculture on the lands allotted to them in Kunaochoud forests. The Gujjar have knowledge of agriculture by practicing it. They cultivate their own land. They learnt it from the Garhwalis. As the Gujjar had knowledge in the past, after relocation, they continue to cultivate. An important factor to be borne is that some of the Gujjar primarily cultivated wheat and maize in the forest and, hence, have knowledge of wheat and maize cultivation. Gujjar who cultivate by themselves, prefer wheat and urad (*Vignamungo,* balck and green variety) crops in the relocated village. Paddy is not preferred as the Gujjar do not possess the required knowhow, technology and assured irrigation to cultivate paddy. Paddy requires a higher investment of money and labour. Compared to paddy wheat and urad are easier crops to cultivate, as they are rain fed. Gujjar take the help of Bhoksa or Sani (*Kasakar*) people, or even other Hindu castes to help them in broadcasting seeds. The broadcaster charges Rs 100 per plot for the task. Depending on the number of cattle owned, Gujjar cultivate green fodder in half to one bigha land (Chari, Barsing and Joie). The fodder is mixed with bhussa (wheat chaff or hay) to enhance the feeding of the buffalo.

Gujjar tried learning about the process of cultivation of crops from Sani in Gaindikhatta, Bhoksas, Muslim (Quereshi Muslim *Kasai* (Butchers)),*Jhojas* (cultivators) and the Garhwalis. They are the ones who are seen more often in the Basti and who take Gujjar plots on lease. Gujjar who cultivate lands are dependent on the seed supplier for agricultural knowledge. The Gujjar do not have the knowledge to identify the diseases that affect the crops. The weeds in the fields are identified by the seed seller, who sells the weedicides for application to the fields. The Gujjar purchase it for Rs 1,000 for one plot. When the crop is infested by pests Gujjar take the shoot (*Bal*) of the crop to the seed supplier. They purchase pesticide and weedicide that is to be used from the seed supplier. The technique of applying the chemicals is instructed by the seed seller. For example, he instructs that three caps of the chemical have to be mixed with two cups of water. The mixture has to be sprayed using a spraying machine. The Gujjar borrow the spray machine from the other Gujjar or tenants in the village and spray it on the crops. The urad crop does not require irrigation, as it is rain dependent. The urad crop requires larger application of pesticides and weedicides.

The Gujjar purchase the seeds from the seed seller under the 'Wapsi Beej' system. The seed sellers are mostly at the *Adda* or in Bhaguwala (Uttar Pradesh), ten kilometres from the *Basti*. Under the Wapsi Beej system, the cultivator takes the seed on credit from the seed seller and sells the produce to them, which is known as 'Wapsi Beej'. There are two forms of seed procurement. One is seed procured by down payment of cash. The other is the private seed supplier sells seeds on credit. When the seeds for cultivation are taken on credit, it is recovered when the crop is harvested. The seed seller takes a higher quantity of seeds after harvest while recovering the credit. Unlike the Government society wherein the costs of the seeds have to be paid instantly, the Wapsi Beej seller sells seeds on credit. The credit amount is repaid when the crops are harvested, by the buyer. The amount of grains to be given by the debtor is estimated based on the rate of the grains in the market. The seed seller gives guarantee for a successful crop. They provide free consultancy regarding the diseases and application of fertilizers to the agricultural fields. It is not mandatory for the Gujjar to sell his produce to the seed seller under the Wapsi Beej arrangement. The Gujjar may sell it to someone else and pays the seed seller the cost of the seeds with an additional rate of interest.

The credit system of seed supply operates in two forms. In one form the cost of the seeds is calculated based on the market price and the quantity of seeds taken on credit for cultivation. The seed supplier purchases the grains produced by the debtor, after subtracting the cost of the seeds supplied for cultivation, the money for the produce is paid to the producer. In another form the seed seller charges double the cost of the quantity of grains taken on credit. This primarily applies to the producer when he does not sell his produce to the seed supplier. Gujjar prefer the private seed supplier, as they give the seeds on credit. Besides, they also provide agricultural consultation free of charge. Even though they get exploited, as the supplier charges a higher amount, the credit facility is attractive. The seller gives a guarantee for the produce of the seeds supplied for its produce and offers to purchase the final produce from the fields. There are few seed suppliers who have established their shops by renting concrete houses constructed by the Gujjar along the Basti main road.

During the harvest season, crop buyers, *Kaskars* (cultivators / middlemen), buy the produce from the Gujjar. They come to the Basti and search for producers willing to sell the grains. Upon finding a Gujjar they check the quality of the grains and quote a price. The Gujjar enquire about the current market prices during the time of harvest. The cost is decided by the Government procurement centre in Bhaguwala. If the Gujjar receives the market price or even more they sell it to the middlemen. Middlemen try negotiating with the Gujjar for a lower price. In few cases they reject the grains by claiming that they are of inferior quality. In Mustafa's case, when the purchaser of the wheat grains came to his house, on seeing the produce commented that the *Jo* (weed) has affected the quality and quantity of the wheat. Both began discussing, each arguing in support of their claim. Both haggled for a while. After a prolonged discussion the purchaser offered Rs 950 per Quintal for Mustafa's produce. Mustafa argued that it is quite less for the wheat grains; he quoted Rs 1,100 for the produce. The purchaser haggled and brought it to Rs. 1,000 a Quintal. Mustafa felt that the amount was less and, finally, he did not sell it to the purchaser. He sold it to another non-Gujjar for Rs 1,100.

Upon the suggestion of the seed shop owner Mustafa purchased the black variety Urad seeds. During the third week Mustafa's son, Nani began keeping a watch on the crops at night, preventing deer (Chital) and wild boars from damaging and eating the crop. Nani constructed an elevated wooden platform in the centre of the field and placed a charpoy on it, to keep watch on the crops at night. Young Gujjar in the morning search for wage labour, while the old men and women keep watch over the fields from their *Deras* and inform the young boys and girls to chase livestock that intrudes into the fields. Few Gujjar tie a sheet of cloth, usually a torn Gujjar Shawl (Patti)[ii], to wooden poles to scare birds and animals (*Jum Tangana*). The sheet of cloth is allowed to unfurl that makes noise due to the wind that scares birds and animals away. The technique of *Jum Tangana* is learnt from the Boksa people. When the Gujjar fold the shawl in a typical manner and cover their heads down to their back to protect themselves from getting wet in the rains, they call it *Jum*. The manner in which the cloth is suspended in the fields is similar to the Gujjar wearing it to protect them against rain.

Leasing Land

The Gujjar in the Basti is given agricultural land which is a new resource. The Gujjar has their traditional cultural knowledge of pastoralism and the agricultural land. Using these two variables the Gujjar is struggling to make sense of a new ecology. They are now forced to negotiate with human made interventions to bring a sense of semblance to their new lives with the old pastoral one. Hence, the Gujjar uses their cultural knowledge to negotiate the unknown world of agriculture through the cultural knowledge that they possess of pastoralism. As mentioned earlier, the Gujjar lease their land to Gujjar and non-Gujjar tenants. The non-Gujjar tenants include Hindu Bhoksa[iii], Sani, Bati, Sardar, and Harijan. Land is also leased to Muslim people (Jhoja) and Gujjar. In the forest when the Gujjar wanted money they got it from the milk Bania. The Basti Gujjar prefer the Gujjar tenants as they also play the role of the milk procurer in the Basti. When the Gujjar requires a loan, it is the Gujjar tenants who loan money. The loan is repaid in instalments. The Gujjar tenants continue cultivating on the land until the loan amount is recovered, either in cash or grains. The land is leased in by the Gujjar tenants for a period of one year. This is similar to the period of supplying milk to the Bania for one year in the forest. In few cases the tenant takes the land for lease for five years.

The new Bania in the agricultural context are the elite Gujjar. The elite Gujjar sold their large Tarandi after being relocated from the forest and took to agriculture as a livelihood. These elite Gujjar maintain large Tarandi and cultivate land. They make profits by selling milk to the Bania and by selling grains procured through the tenancy. These Gujjar tenants have kinship ties with the relocatees. The Basti Gujjar call the elite Gujjar as *Maaldar* (one who is economically endowed). The *Maaldar* Gujjar take many plots on lease from the Gujjar. They primarily cultivate wheat and urad. These two crops are comparatively easy to cultivate. They do not require the same amount of water and inputs required while cultivating the paddy crop that they take up in their own lands. The elites know the process of ploughing, the preparation of a nursery for germination of paddy seedlings, transplanting the seedlings to the field, the number of times the field is to be irrigated, application of fertilizers, harvesting, and winnowing. The elites have over a period of time, gathered essential

technology, i.e., tractors, water pumps, harvesters, trolleys, winnowing fans, for agriculture.

The Gujjar tenants draw benefits of their kinship relations with the Basti Gujjar and use their kinship networks to take their agricultural plots on lease. Having the technical know-how, experience and knowledge, also using their kinship relations in Basti, the elite Gujjar, in few cases, have leased in land for a period of five years. The landholding Gujjar take money as an advance from the Gujjar tenant. The elites rent the farm equipment, like diesel pump-sets, tractors, winnowing machines, etc. The equipment is rented out for pumping water from bores, for tilling, winnowing and threshing to Gujjar in Basti at a lower cost. This is done because there are other non-Gujjar who owned equipment also operate in the relocated village, and the cost of hiring equipment, therefore, has to be competitively priced. The rent amount is collected either in cash or grain.

a) Lease for money: The lease arrangement is based on the season and the crop cultivated. Land is leased for the monsoon season for cultivating urad or paddy. During the winter season it is leased for cultivating wheat. Under lease for money, land is leased to a tenant for a payment of cash. The land is given on lease for one or two cropping seasons. The Gujjar is not given any grains produced by the tenant. The plant parts, like stalks and chaff, are taken by the tenant. The Gujjar depends on the Public Distribution System (PDS) shop and market to meet their food requirements. This arrangement does not ensure fodder for the livestock. Gujjar purchase fodder from other Gujjar in the Basti. Few households leave their herds to graze around the village.

b) Lease for Grains and Crop remains (no money): In this arrangement the tenant gives six to seven quintals of the grains produced and all the plant parts (stalks) after harvesting and threshing. This lease is primarily for the wheat crop. The stalks are used as fodder for the livestock. This arrangement acts as a food and fodder security for the Gujjar household. Under this agreement no cash is paid by the tenant.

c) Lease for money and Crop Remains: In this arrangement, usually the lease is given for the urad crop. The Gujjar take money, instead of the grains (urad), and the chaff remains are used for feeding the livestock.

Tenants attempt to maximize their profits by cultivating many plots. Due to the nature of agriculture and unpredictable climatic circumstances, some Gujjar plots are left uncultivated. Based on the type of contract, sometimes the Gujjar stands to be at a loss, as they do not get crop residue for their livestock or grains for their families. On the other hand, a tenant in order to maximize returns from the field applies sulphur and 'salts' (urea) to the fields. This helps in boosting crop yield but destroys the natural strength of the soil. The tenant places sacks of 'salt' under the tube well water flow when water is being pumped out. The dissolved 'salt' mixes with water and reaches the field. The tenant continues doing so until they receive a good yield from the land. Once the yield begins dropping they exit the lease arrangement.

Land with a tube well is regarded as wet land and the one without it is classified as dry land. There are lands which do not have tube wells but are very close to the Government constructed tube well (*Nalkup*) that function with windmill. These lands are sought after by tenants as they have access to free and continuous supply of water from the *Nalkup*. In plots with tube wells, water needs to be pumped out using mechanised water pumps. These pumps run on diesel, it incurs expenditure in operating them. Access to water from the *Nalkups* does not involve incurring cost. But not all plots have access to the *Nalkups* water; hence water pumps have to be deployed. The land which has an assured supply of water, the tenant cultivates paddy. The rest of the land is cultivated with urad and wheat. Some tenants cultivate paddy, maize and vegetables. Last year Qasim leased the land for urad cultivation. The lease agreement was for Rs. 6,000 and the chaff. The money was used to drill a tube well on his agricultural field. The tenant paid the money as an advance and is subsequently deducted it from the lease payment. This facilitated the tenant to continue cultivating on the field until he recovered his loans. In Gujjar plots where there is no facility of a tube well or water available from a well, water is supplied by entering into an arrangement with a tenant who has a tube well in his field. Few use thick flexible water pipes to supply water to their leased plots. The water supplier charges a fixed amount per hour, excluding the diesel charges to pump water.

The tenant employs Gujjar and non-Gujjar to keep a watch over the fields during the night. The night watchman is given two quintals of wheat grain after the

harvest. The tenant prefers to take Gujjar plots on lease that are next to each other. It facilitates better management of the fields. It is economical to transport inputs to one place rather than having the agricultural plots scattered. In one case, a Gujjar night watchman kept guard over five Gujjar plots and received 10 quintals (two quintals for each plot) of wheat. When the forest Gujjar do not have buffaloes they work for the permit holding Gujjar for money as a *Naukar*. In the same manner the Basti Gujjar works for the tenant on their own fields to earn the extra quantity of grains apart from lease agreement. The Gujjar work on their fields but are employed by the tenant. The Gujjar work to protect the crops from being damaged by wild animals that destroy the crops at night. The protection of the crop ensures the Gujjar the chaff from the agricultural fields which is used as fodder.

Plate 6.1: Tenants Cultivating on Gujjar Land in Basti

Gujjar Taking Land on Lease

Gulam Kasana relocated from Chilla range of RNP began cultivating in the relocated village since 2002. Before coming to the Basti he stayed with his Mama (*Maternal Uncle*) in Andar Pili, a village seven kilometres from the relocated colony. Andar Pili is dominated by the Bathi (Hindu Caste). AndarPili is not part of the RNP. There are four Gujjar household in Pili. The Gujjar of Pili purchased land in the village and settled there. They do both agriculture and pastoralism, as their allotted

forest compartments for lopping are close by. The Gujjar of Pili learnt agriculture from the Bathi people. Gulam's uncle owns 25 bighas of land and a tractor. He practices agriculture. Gulam stayed with his uncle and learnt agriculture and has knowledge of it. He began cultivating since his childhood.

Ghulam learnt to drive the tractor in 1999. When he shifted to the relocated village he began taking other Gujjar's land on lease. This has led him to hold different notions about his kin members in the Basti and they reflect the changing notions towards Gujjar livelihood. Realizing that agriculture is a reality after relocation for the Gujjar, accepting agriculture has become inevitable. While the Gujjar are suspended between agriculture as a new livelihood and pastoralism as their traditional livelihood, there is a conflict in shifting from nomadic pastoralism to settled agriculture. Gulam says "Other Gujjar do not cultivate as they are lazy, they want money to come to them easily, by merely sitting at home. One has to work hard day and night. Gujjar will begin cultivating when they feel hungry. They are getting food easily, by someone else cultivating". He owns a tractor in Gujjar Basti. After he purchased the tractor, he lets the machine to plough fields in the Gujjar Basti. He earns money and grains from other Gujjar. He believes that leasing out land is not beneficial "as the tenants spoil the land by applying salt (urea) to the field, killing its strength. Salt kills the productive capacity of the soil, kills the heat of the soil which is the soil's strength. Gulam claims that he applies animal dung (*Go Sattno*) before planting the wheat crop. This application helps the paddy crop when it is cultivated". Gulam has thirty buffaloes in the relocated village. He uses the dung from the animals for his field. After harvesting of the season's crop, dung is spread in the fields.

He practices agriculture on his own plots and also on other Gujjar plots taken on lease. He had hundred buffaloes in the forest. He sold forty animals. He sold them in the relocated village, as taking care of the livestock was difficult. Each buffalo was sold for Rs. 10,000. His Rishtedar (sister's husband) purchased his buffaloes. From the sale of the animals he purchased a tractor. In the jungle few of his buffaloes were killed by Tigers.

Agriculture, according to Gulam, means "food comes from the field". The grains that are produced are sold for cash. The paddy seeds are purchased from shops at Gaindikhatta or Bhaguwala (Uttar Pradesh). Many a time he purchases seeds on Wapsi Beej basis. For paddy, cultivation the land is divided into different portions (*Kyari*). For the preparation of the paddy nursery of the Sharbati variety, seeds are broadcasted in a small patch of land. The space is well tilled; a puddle is made into which the seeds are planted for germination. The seeds germinate after three to four days. They germinate due to the heat of the soil, says Gulam, and the seedlings are ready for transplantation in twenty to twenty five days. Urea, MP and Dia are fertilizers that are applied to the fields, to ensure a strong nursery crop. After 20 days of germination fertilizers are applied. The seedlings are ready for transplantation to the agricultural fields from the nursery beds. The seed supplier comes to check the health of the crops. If the crop is affected by diseases or affected by pests, the medicines are written on a paper, which has to be procured from the market. In most cases the seed suppliers sell pesticides and fertilizers. The seed supplier also tells Gulam how the medicine has to be applied, the quantity and method of application is suggested.

His family owns four pattas of land. One plot is allotted in his father's, another to his Grand Father, one in his elder brother's and one in his name. In three Bighas he has constructed his Dera. His brother takes care of the herds along with a servant. He manages matters related to agriculture. One of his plots is planted with green fodder (like *Chari, Joie* and *Barsing*); the remaining three are planted with agricultural crops. Paddy and wheat are cultivated on his farmland. During the urad cultivating period he takes other Gujjar fields on lease. One reason why he takes land on lease for cultivation of wheat and urad is that they require less labour compared to the paddy crop. Instead he employs labour for his own field and cultivates paddy.

Harvesting

Harvesting is done to thresh the crop, wherein the grains are separated from the stalk. The chaff obtained is used as fodder for livestock. In the Basti, harvesting is given on a contract to Gujjar. Under the contract, crops on each plot are given for harvesting for which payment is paid in cash or grains. Two quintals of grains are

given for harvesting each plot. It does not matter to the tenant the number of people who harvest the plot. In most cases Gujjar families take up the contract to harvest the wheat fields. Usually Gujjar prefer to harvest using family labour (Table 6.2). This is when the labour of young girls and boys is utilized. Harvesting of the crop is done more by Gujjar women than men. When Gujjar fall short of labour they take help of their kin members.

Plate 6.2: Wheat Harvesting by Gujjar in Basti

The harvested wheat crop is stocked in heaps and the grains are separated using threshing machines that are rented. The tractor owners also own the thresher and the thresher is powered by tractors. The equipment are charged on an hourly basis. For a quintal of wheat threshed, eight kilograms of wheat is given to the thresher. If a Gujjar cultivates, he rents a thresher and a tractor to thresh the wheat.

The older or elder Gujjar's (*Sayana*) plots are managed by their children. In few cases when a father stays separate, his share of the produce and chaff from his plot is given to him. Since the rate of harvesting is fixed, the Gujjar maximize benefit by taking more than two plots for harvesting, carry out the harvesting in groups constituting two or three members. Gujjar kin members join in harvesting the plots. Two members take close to seven days to harvest the fields. The harvested crops are made into bundles(*Pulas*) and piled in place for the Ghai (Machine used for

separating grain from stalk). The Ghai operator charges 10 Kg of wheat for an hour for separating the grains from the stalk.

The tenant measures the Gujjar's share of grains produced from the field in empty oil canisters. The capacity of the canister is 20 kgs or 16 kgs. He takes five counts of the measure to arrive at a 100 kg weight. He gives the Gujjar their share of six quintals. Sometime he cheats by taking a few measures less and claiming that the measure is hundred kilograms. With the wheat chaff the Gujjar manage to feed five buffaloes and their calves. If the Gujjar take money instead of the food grains they will not get the chaff. This would result in a shortage of fodder for their livestock. In order to get the chaff they settle for six quintals of wheat. Through these rules the tenants dictate the agricultural production in the Basti. The Gujjar not having knowledge of cultivation is forced to depend on people who have the knowledge and cultivate. If there is a shortage of wheat, it is met by purchases made at the Public Distribution System (PDS) Shop. The ones having more than one plot, for example, father and son having a plot each, benefit the most from agriculture. They can lease out their plots for different crops. They receive plenty of grain and chaff to feed their livestock. The excess can be sold for money.

II

Balancing Agriculture and Pastoral Life

The Basti Gujjar having buffalo herd find security in their traditional nomadic pastoralism. They negotiate the new situation in the Basti where they do not have access to forests to lop trees by forging new relationships in the forest to lop trees. The Basti Gujjar return to the Reserve Forest to lop trees in winter by using their kinship relationship. The Basti Gujjar replicate the *Asami* and *Jangal Ka Malik* relationship in the forest to access trees that they do not have access to in Basti. After relocation, the Basti Gujjar lost their permits to migrate to *Paad* in the summer. The Basti Gujjar now migrate to Khadar and Barrage in Uttar Pradesh with their herd to access grasslands. The cultural knowledge of nomadism is invoked under new circumstances after being relocated from the forest. The milk produced by the herd of the Basti Gujjar in Khadar and Barrage is picked up by the Bania at Adda or at

Barrage. The economic relationship with the Bania continues in the changed resource context after relocation by Basti Gujjar who have large Tarandi.

The Gujjar having few buffaloes cultivate a portion of their land with fodder to feed their small herd. Gujjar having cultural knowledge of pastoralism have not given up their buffaloes in the relocated Basti. Instead by using their cultural knowledge and available resources Basti Gujjar are attempting to provide fodder for their buffaloes. The small herd owning Gujjar sell their buffalo milk to a *Dhodhia* (Gujjar milk buyer) as they do not produce enough milk to supply directly to the Bania. The Gujjar in the Basti have begun owning cattle and goats that were not owned by them in the forest in a nomadic context. Cattle and goats eat less fodder. They are cheaper compared to the buffalo. The horses owned by the Gujjar in the nomadic context are being used in the relocated Basti as beasts of burden. Basti Gujjar are using bullocks attached to cart for ferrying agricultural resources in the Basti. The cart owner charges money for the services provided by his animals.

Considering the fact that they do not have knowledge of cultivation, the land leasing arrangements are organized keeping in mind the Gujjar livestock. The Gujjar lease their land for grains and fodder. In the forest they sold milk and purchased grains. In the relocated village they receive wheat grains through the lease arrangements. The lease arrangement includes receiving the chaff of the wheat crop from the tenant. The chaff is used as fodder for the buffaloes in the Basti while the wheat grains provide food security. The Gujjar lease their land for different arrangements during each cultivation season.

The Basti Gujjar owning few animals let loose their animals to graze in the close by barren forest plantations (*Taungya*), of the Forest Department. The forest guard in charge of the plantation, on a payment allows the Gujjar buffaloes to graze. As the resources are limited and herd many, Gujjar graze their animals at night by bribing the forest guard. Next to the village there are few fragmented forests with an under growth of grass, where the livestock are taken to graze. However, they are not sufficient to meet the complete fodder requirement of the animals. The fodder requirement is supplemented by cultivated green fodder (Chari, Barsing and Joie).

After the monsoon, the growth of grass is abundant in the whole village. After the harvest of the wheat crop and before cultivation of the monsoon crop (paddy or urad), most of the plots are covered with grass that is grazed by the livestock. This helps supplementing the fodder requirements of the animals. Khal and Chokkar are fed to lactating or pregnant buffaloes to increase yield. Thefts of bhussa in few cases have occurred. During fieldwork, the monsoon had been devastating causing many huts to collapse. The wheat chaff stored in the huts was damaged resulting in loss of fodder causing a resource shortage for the livestock.

The plots on which crops are not cultivated have plenty of grass available. During the fieldwork heavy rains resulted in many plots being uncultivated or submerged by water. After rains grasses grew in these plots. As many plots were with crops and others with grass, there is demand for the grass. Gujjar cut the grass for their livestock. The other Gujjar try harvesting grasses in most barren fields. Gujjar also let loose their livestock in those plots where no crops grow. On unproductive plots where crops grow in patches, Gujjar men and women harvest the grass with a sickle. Sometimes the harvesting of grass becomes a source of conflict. A Gujjar approaches the owner of the plot on many occasions to cut the grass. The owner entertains once or twice, beyond that he refuses as he has to feed his livestock too. Nani Gujjar, gathered grass from his cross cousin (Mothers Brothers Son) Khanu's unproductive plot, on two occasions. The third time he wanted to harvest grass, Khanu's wife prevented him from doing so. Nani requested Khanu to allow him to cut grass for the last time. The grass is important as Nani's buffalo delivered a calf. Green grass helps energize the buffalo and increases milk yield.

Pastoralism is a way of life and the buffalo is an asset for the Gujjar, more so for Gujjar families that own few in the relocated village. They take lot of care to save the animal in distress. It is observed in a case where a pregnant buffalo slipped into the canal, close to the relocated village, while drinking water from it. The fall resulted in dislocation of the joint (*Katori)* in its hind legs. Unable to move, the buffalo owner and other clan members joined and lifted the buffalo out of the canal using poles and ropes. It weighed more than 250 kg. Upon knowing about the incident other Gujjar

were eager to know about the well-being of the animal and visited its owner to see and enquire about the injured animal and its welfare.

Since the Gujjar are pushed to take permanent residence in Des, over the past few decades, due to the prevention of Gujjar migration to the Paad after the declaration of RNP, the Gujjar have procured non-Gujjar breeds in Des. Gujjar buffaloes have interbred with other non-Gujjar breeds. The Gujjaro buffalo is crossed with the Punjabi breed (*Kundi*) and Desi breed of buffaloes. Gujjar purchase livestock from the local villages. The Gujjar have acquired *Dangari* breed of cows from the Garhwali people. A cattle fair is held in *Gagaredi*, in Saharanpur district, and Gujjar buy the Punjabi and Pahadi breed (owned by Garhwali people) of buffaloes from this fair. There is also an increase in the number of cows the Gujjar own today. With the ownership of cows the knowledge to manage them is also acquired. In case of cows, when the mother stops releasing milk due to the death of its calf, Gujjar stuff the dead calf with hay and bring it close to its mother's udders facilitating milk production (Plate 6.3).

Plate 6.3: Dead Calf Stuffed With Hay

Displacing the Gujjar from the forest, and relocating them into a new environment resulted in reformulating their traditional knowledge systems and environment representation. Pastoralism and agriculture are two different systems of

production and livelihood, and knowledge of each production system varies. Gujjar knowledge of Pastoral production is not applicable to agriculture and they need to acquire new knowledge about the production of agricultural crops. However, there exists interdependence between agriculture and Pastoralism. Livestock manure strengthens the fertility of the soil, contributes to an enriched yield of crops. The residue from agricultural crops ensures fodder for livestock. Depending on the type of crop residue fed as fodder, milk yields can be increased.

The traditional livestock breeding in the forest had its logical basis and the Gujjar followed it scrupulously to protect the traditional buffalo breeds. In the forest their *Tarandi* were large in size. In contrast, in Gujjar Basti, *Tarandi* size is small. Hence a *Jhota* is not kept for each *Tarandi*. The Gujjar take their buffalo to another Gujjar's *Jhota*for impregnating. Relocation has created problems for the *Tarandi*. The Gujjar have to depend on other Gujjar for the reproduction of the herd. In the forest a buffalo becomes pregnant within three years, in the relocated village buffalo takes 4-5 years.

Due to the reduction in the buffalo numbers in the Basti, Gujjar owning few buffaloes attempt to wean the calf from suckling on the buffalo milk. It is done to extract the maximum quantity of the buffalo milk by the Gujjar. Nani Gujjar began feeding his calf grass in the second month after its birth to wean it away from suckling milk. Usually, the Gujjar allow the calf to suckle milk from its mother for six months. In the forest the Tarandi was large and while moving it was difficult to constantly guard the calf from drinking milk. The Gujjar used a Nakhudo that prevented the calf from drinking its mother's milk. No such device is used in the relocated context since the *Tarandi* is small in the Basti, Gujjar manage them by close monitoring.

The reproduction of *Tarandi* is not merely a biological affair but is also cultural. The reproduction of *Tarandi* is also where divine intervention is evoked. Gujjar practice holy omen (Tuna) that includes tying holy threads and Tawiz on to the buffalo that are sanctified by chanting holy verses from the Quran. In a *Barelwi*family, when the buffalo is pregnant a black thread with a Tawiz at the centre is tied on the head of the buffalo. The owner invokes Peer Miyan's name (*Barelwi*

sect's religious leader). It is done to ensure a safe delivery. A cloth, preferably a babies old cloth, is tied at the beginning of the tail, this is considered *Tuna* (holy omen/charm), that ensures a safe delivery and a quicker secretion of the *Jair*. Sometimes a Bhabhar (*Babyan*) grass rope is tied. When the buffalo is to deliver, the Gujjar write few Quran verses on a small paper, few holy lines are chanted and blown on to the paper which is rolled in bread (*Roti*) and fed along with Jaggery to the buffalo. The first milk is taken in the mouth of the person who milks the buffalo and pours it into the mouth of the buffalo (known as *Kurla*), it is considered Tuna and is regarded as good practices as against *Jadu*, which is black magic and harmful.

The Gujjar buffaloes do not like to be tethered and stall fed. Considering the herd sizes owned by each Gujjar, they cannot be sustained by cultivating fodder crops from the fields. Grazing ensures the animal its ability to fulfil its hunger. Constantly stall feeding requires large amounts of fodder; extensive labour in continuously feeding the animals, it is an expensive affair. In order to meet the demands of fodder the Gujjar in the relocated village have to purchase extra fodder. In the traditional system of Pastoralism, grazing and lopping were cheaper ways of ensuring fodder supply. Grazing requires a lesser labour input in ensuring fodder to the herds. Hybrid livestock will need extra fodder, which cannot be sufficiently generated from the agricultural fields. Invariably, the Gujjar incur costs to purchase fodder for the animals. This would increase the cost of producing milk and reducing their profits.

Another conflict that arises for the Gujjar is allocating land for different purposes. Land may be used to grow food crops, which the Gujjar can subsist on, and it can also be used for raising fodder crops. If the land is cultivated with fodder crops, the Gujjar is deprived of food. If food crops are cultivated, until the crop is harvested, its chaff cannot be used to feed livestock. Under these constraints the Gujjar function in the relocated village. Having moved out of the forest, either voluntarily or involuntarily, the Gujjar do not have access to forests now. Their only source of survival is the land given by the State and their livestock that do not have any access to forests fodder. The population of livestock (buffaloes) has declined drastically due to lack of resources to support large population of livestock (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Clan wise Livestock Population BEFORE and AFTER Relocation of Households

Clan	Forest	After Relocation (N = 133)								
	Buffalo	Buffalo	Jhota (He Buffalo	Bull	Cows	Dog	Goat	Horse	Katadi	Katada
Baniya	877	174	4	4	27	-	-	-	16	8
Chauhan	548	109	2	1	12	-	-	-	18	3
Chechi	342	65	4	-	03	-	10	3	-	2
Dedad	30	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gegi	111	20	1	2	12	-	-	-	13	4
Kalas	177	45	-	-	10	-	-	-	2	4
Kasana	498	130	4	-	09	1	-	1	2	-
Khatana	94	14	-	2	05	-	-	-	-	-
Lodha	601	104	2	4	29	1	-	-	12	5
Puswal	40	12	-	-	01	-	-	-	-	-
Tinde	404	48	-	-	10	-	-	-	6	-
Padhana	70	47	1	-	13	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**3729**	**770**	**18**	**13**	**131**	**2**	**10**	**4**	**69**	**27**
GRAND TOTAL	**3729**	**1044**								

ShamaLodha Gujjar averred, “See Gujjar know only few activities, Path Bhadyan (lopping leaves), Pula Leaya (making bundles of leaves), and Mais Dithi (watch our buffaloes), they all pertain to rearing livestock. Apart from this we do not know anything. Our Grandfather ran behind buffaloes, so did our father and so are we. Till we were in the forest rearing buffaloes is easy. Once we have moved out of the forest, it has become difficult to take care of our buffaloes and family”. The relocation of the Gujjar to the new colony has impacted their lives in many ways. Unlike in the forest, fodder is not easily accessible to the Gujjar in the new settlement. As mentioned in the previous chapters, Pastoralism is a labour intensive activity. The Gujjar having large herds in Basti negotiate with their kin to access their forests for lopping and feeding their herds during the winter months.

Depending on the size of the herd, Gujjar organize labour to access fodder for their livestock. The resource access also depends on the season. Large herds of the Gujjar belonging to the relocated forest are kept in close by forests during winters in arrangement with the RF Gujjar. RF Gujjar living in the forests have permit rights to

lop trees during the winter season. The ones living in the relocated village do not have any permits to lop trees. Their permits are cancelled as they are allotted land. Gujjar owning huge herds in the relocated village but do not possess permits for lopping, pay money to Gujjar who are in the forest to lop trees. The Gujjar 'purchase the forest' from a permit holding Gujjar during the lopping season. The non-permit holding Gujjar and the permit holding Gujjar decide on the amount to be paid for the use of a section of the forest owned by RF Gujjar. The permit holding Gujjar depending upon the number of livestock he owns lets a portion of the forest for lopping. He uses part of the forest for his own herd. Depending on the size and quality of the forest, a Gujjar pays between Rs 12,000 to 20,000 to the permit holder. After relocation accesses to forest resources has become difficult for livestock owning Gujjar. The permit holding Gujjar in the RF charges a high amount of money for lopping their forests. Another arrangement of accessing forest to lop is that a non-permit holding Gujjar offers his labour for no charge and works for the permit holder. He is responsible for lopping for the owners herd and feeding them as well as his own. Milking is done either by the owner or he may ask the employee to milk the animals.

III

Pastoralism in the New Context

Majority of the Gujjar in the relocated village possessing large herds keep their animals in *Aamichand*, a forest very close to the Gujjar Basti, close to the banks of the River Ganges. The land in the relocated village is used for agriculture, hence, cannot be deployed to pen large herds. A large herd would be difficult to manage in the relocated village. If they stray into the agricultural fields, it leads to conflict amongst the Gujjar. Staying close to the Ganges assures a continuous source of water for the livestock. Fodder for the herds is procured by paying money to lop trees to the Jungle ka Malik Gujjar, few manage to graze their herds on the available grass in the forest and on the bank of the river, while others purchase chaff from the village or supply it from their agricultural fields given on lease. In summer when the leaves and grasslands dry, Gujjar begin migrating to Khadar in Bijnor district part of the neighbouring State of Uttar Pradesh.

Mohamed Alam from the Baniya clan, relocated to Gujjar Basti in 2002. He stayed in Luni Soth in compartment number 8. His brother stayed in Sarkada Soth in Chilla Range. He was allotted compartment number 14 by the Forest Department. He has five siblings. His brothers have received plots in the Basti. Together they owned 150 buffaloes in the forest. They all lopped and fed their livestock together. The income was individually earned from sale of milk. The Forest Department has allotted two plots of land, one for him and the other for his mother, she stays with him. In Gujjar Basti, there are eight members in his family. He has four sons and one daughter. Three sons take care of the livestock. He has 21 buffaloes in the relocated village. The Gujjar Basti cannot support these many numbers of livestock. His two sons stay with the livestock eight kilometres away from the relocated village in a close by village, *Aamichand*, on the banks of the river Ganges. During the season of shortage of leaves he transports hay and wheat chaff from his field to the site where his livestock are penned. The sons stay in temporary huts in the forest. They graze their livestock and extract milk. The Bania's (diary owner), employee, a Basti Gujjar, transports the milk from *Aamichand* to *Adda*. The milk is loaded onto vans in containers, to be transported to Haridwar or Dehra Dun.

During the summer months, when the trees begin to shed leaves, his children and their livestock begin preparation to migrate to Khadar. He has been going to Khadar for the past ten years. He migrates to Khadar as there are no resources in the forest or the village to feed the livestock. Milk yields drop during the summer months. It is expensive to purchase fodder to maintain the livestock. 'Migrating to Khadar is difficult, but we manage to get some green grass for the buffaloes' says Md. Alam. His children migrate to Khadar and he shuttles between Khadar and Gujjar Basti during the wheat harvesting. He is required at the Basti to overlook the wheat production from the fields. During the harvest of the wheat his children are required to contribute their labour. The men move between the Basti and Khadar to ensure activities in both the places are managed.

A RF Gujjar holds a permit to lop the forest in *Aamichand*. Many Basti Gujjar families stay with their cattle in *Aamichand*. The place has grass during the monsoons and winters. The Basti Gujjar who has taken on lease the compartment from the RF

Gujjar lops the trees for their livestock. The Basti Gujjar who has leased the forest from the permit holding Gujjar does not allow the other Basti Gujjar to lop the trees. During shortage of grass, the Basti Gujjar transports the chaff and hay from their fields to the temporary *Dera*in *Aamichand*.

Diary Operations- Supply chain from Production to Sale of Milk

The diary owner's son and the milk van driver of the Pundir diary from Rishikesh collect milk at the Gaindikhatta market (*Adda*). The place bustles with activity every morning. Milk collection by the diary owners takes place at *Adda* every morning between 10:30 am to 1:00 pm. The Gujjar from the Basti and RF sell milk to the diary owners. Milk cans are inscribed with initials of the diary and a number is marked on each. This is done to avoid confusion over the number of diary owners (*Bania*) collecting milk (Plate 6.4). The diary owner notes down the name and can number into which the Gujjar suppliers pour their milk. Two or more Gujjar's milk may be poured into a can with the same number. The quantity of milk supplied by the Gujjar is noted in a small diary. This allows the dairy owner to monitor the milk supplied by the Gujjar. The logic behind the allocation of a can to two or more Gujjar and maintaining a log is to monitor the milk supplied. It becomes easy to detect the milk supplier if the milk curdles during collection or transportation. As Gujjar are allotted cans, when the milk curdles at the collection point or during transportation, the Bania knows which Gujjar has supplied milk in which can. The Bania withholds payment to the Gujjar supplier for the spoilt milk. If the milk is spoilt at the collection point the milk is processed into reduced milk (Mava[iv]).

Once the milk is procured from the Gujjar, particularly during summers, there are chances of it to curdle resulting in loss to the diary owner. The loss is prevented by making appropriate transporting arrangements to the large refrigeration units at Haridwar or Dehradun. If the milk curdles at the place of its collection it is tuned into Mava or cottage cheese (*Paneer*) immediately. The diary owners carry a cylinder and gas stove in the van. They immediately light the gas stove and begins processing milk. If milk gets spoilt upon reaching the diary, it is processed into another by-product. At the collection place at *Adda*, once the can is filled with milk, another cylindrical can, thinner than the milk can, containing ice is inserted into the milk and

rotated with the needle used to break ice into smaller cubes. This is done to mix the different sources of milk supplied and also to keep the milk cool. The other function of the ice is that it slowly melts during the process of transportation, increasing the quantity of milk in each container. Adoption of this method increases milk quantity for the diary owner. Milk is in high demand in the towns.

Plate 6.4: Milk Collection by Diary Vans at *Adda*

The milk is categorized based on the fat content and stored in packets for sale the next day. Unsold milk quantity for the day is refrigerated and sold the next day. The milk is also processed into cottage cheese (*Paneer*), curd or clarified butter. The diary owners feel that after the Gujjar have relocated the milk supplied to them has reduced. The quality of milk is poor as Gujjar add water into the milk. A Gujjar who supplied 40 kilos of milk in the jungle, now supplies 20 kilos after relocation. Milk production and collection have reduced when compared to the forest. As a result, the Gujjar is forced to add water into the milk to increase quantity for sale. The Gujjar feel they are helpless (*Majboor*) after the relocation.

As part of the quality control by the diary owners, milk supplied by the Gujjar is measured by the quantity of Mava produced from a litre of milk. According to the

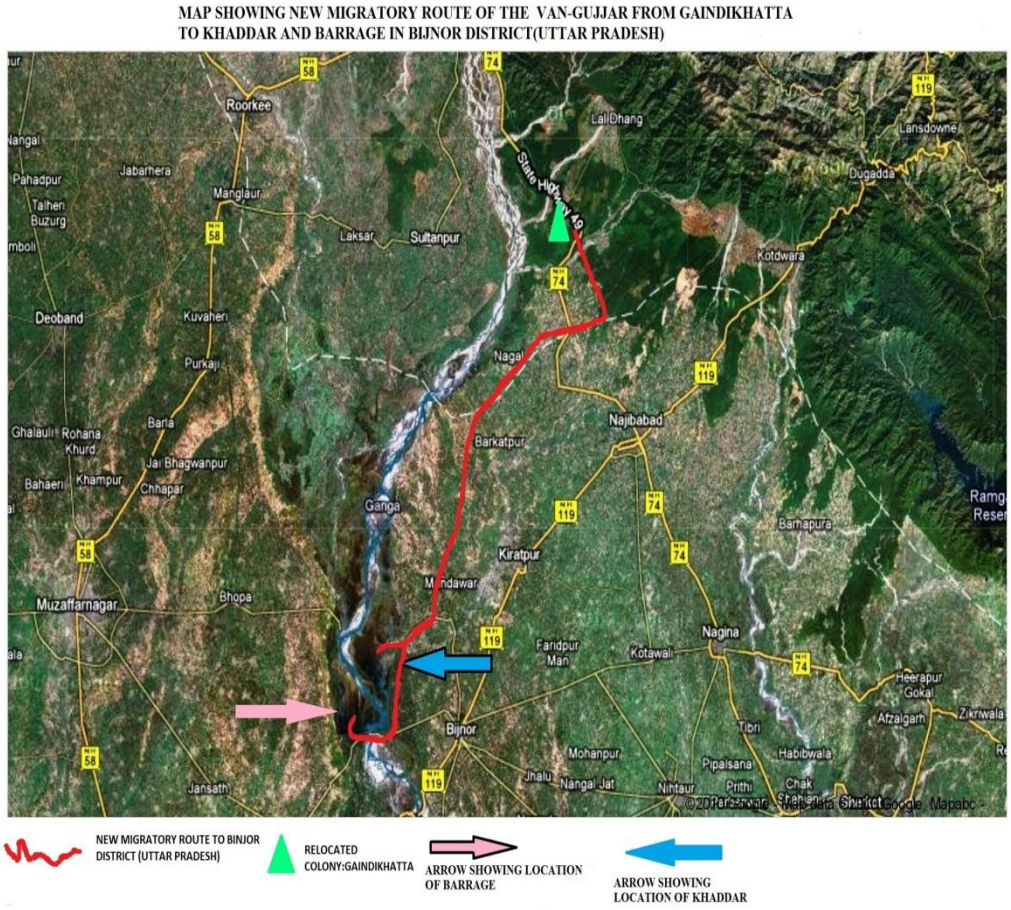
diary owner, 270 gm of Mava can be extracted from a litre of unadulterated milk. As Gujjar mix water, the expected Mava from a litre of milk is 250 gm. Gujjar say that mixing water in milk is a sin. Allah is watching. It is dishonesty (*Beimani*) to mix water. A Gujjar who mixes water into the milk will be punished by Allah. Any day, if the Bania is suspicious of the milk supplied, he would immediately put it to a quality test. This is done by pouring a litre of milk into a pan, placed over the fire. It is heated until Mava is procured. The Bania also uses machine to determine the water content in milk. But the Mava method of quality control is most prevalent. This process of quality control is adopted to penalize the Gujjar and to the benefit of the Bania. If one litre of Gujjar milk yields 210 gm of Mava, the loss of 40 gm is borne by the Gujjar. The Bania subtracts 40gm multiplied by 30 days (40X30=1,200gm) of Mava cost is subtracted from the income of the Gujjar. Based on the purchase cost of the milk for the month, the loss is subtracted from the Gujjar's income. This arrangement is a loss for the Gujjar. The Bania prefers Gujjar milk as the quality and quantity are better and it has high fat content. Non-Gujjar milk is primarily from cows which have a lower fat content. The milk supplied by non-Gujjar is adulterated by adding water chestnut (Singhada) powder. Sometimes milk powder is added to increase quantity. The non-Gujjar milk from cows fetches a lower rate compared to that of buffaloes.

Gujjar illiteracy is exploited by the Bania. Gujjar depend on the Bania to enter details of milk supplied, milk purchased and other financial transactions in a diary or note book maintained by the Gujjar. The various transactions, account keeping of feed supplied and its cost are manipulated by the Bania. This increases the vulnerability of the Gujjar.

New Nomadic Locations: Khadar and Barrage

After relocation to Basti, Gujjar can no longer access resources in the RNP. State's deprivation of forest access, prevention of nomadism and scarcity of resources in the Basti, during the summer and winter has led the Gujjar to search for new grazing areas for their buffaloes (Map 6.1)

Map 6.1: New Migratory Route to Khadar and Barrage



In the past, Basti Gujjar stayed in the forest (now declared as RNP), migrated to *Panjal*. Their relocation to Basti has resulted in a shortage of space and fodder for the herds. Gujjar buffaloes like grazing in the open. They can spend hours in a water body or puddle comforting themselves. Stall feeding is done with difficulty. Gujjar in the relocated village is compelled to free his herd at least once a day. Grazing areas and waterscapes require large expanses of land, which the Gujjar cannot provide in the relocated area. There is a shortage of such areas around the Basti to support the animals. The land is insufficient to meet the fodder requirements. The land allotted by the Forest Department is used to support the Gujjar's food requirement. Planting only fodder for their livestock is not a viable economic strategy.

After relocation, the wheat (*Gandam Dana or Kank*) chaff (*Bhussa*) meets the fodder requirements of the livestock for a short while. Twenty quintals of chaff obtained from the agricultural fields is insufficient to meet the fodder requirement of

five buffaloes year-round. Grazing takes care of two things, one the fodder requirements of the cattle and two he does not have to buy fodder to feed his herd. Grazing is an economically viable option than purchasing fodder.

Plate 6.5: Basti Gujjar with their Herds at Khadar

A combination of factors, triggered by removal from nature, forces the Gujjar to search for cheaper and more viable fodder procurement options. The Gujjar have begun migrating to two new sites at Khadar and Barrage twelve to fifteen years ago. The new site is in Bijnor district of Uttar Pradesh. It is an ideal location. The number of Gujjar migrating to the new site from the relocated village and forests of Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh is on the rise. Khadar and Barrage are part of the Ganges drainage system. Khadar are alluvial deposited flood plains. The Ganges River splits in various places forming an expansive fertile landmass. The land is swampy in various places, conducive for cultivation of crops. It also has grasslands ideal for grazing. Generally, local people from Bijnor cultivate sugarcane, wheat, corn and watermelon (*Plaje*). The drainage system is managed by the Uttar Pradesh State Irrigation Department.

Plate 6.6: Dera with Herd at Barrage

The Madhya Ganga Barrage, a flood gate, to utilize the excess water during monsoons for irrigation is shut during the onset of monsoon, and the landmass gets submerged. The Gujjar migrate to Khadar and Barrage during the month of Chaitar (March-April). The closing of the gates force the Gujjar to return to the relocated village by Sawan (monsoon). Khadar is 65 kilometres from the relocated village, close to Ravali, a village on the banks of the Ganges, while Barrage is 83 Kilometres, close to the Madhya Ganaga Barrage. At Khadar, thirty six Gujjar Deras are from the forest and the relocated village. At Barrage, the area consists of three clusters of Deras. One cluster has five *Deras*, the second has three, a kilometre away and the last cluster has twenty six Deras, three kilometres away from the first cluster of Dera. Each Dera may comprise of one or more families belonging to different Jat.

Material possession is transported by tractor. Two or more families jointly bear the cost of transporting material. The cost of transporting ranges between Rs 1,800 to Rs 2,500, depending on the quantity of material. A migrating family would

transport firewood for cooking, wooden poles for constructing temporary huts, wooden cots, vessels, water hand pump, Khal and Chokar, barbed wire for constructing guarded pens, and the new born calves by a tractor. Women and infants travel by the tractor. In most cases very few women migrate to the new locations. Upon reaching Khadar, the Gujjar construct the chan, anticipating the arrival of the herd and their kin. They cook food for their family members accompanying the herd. The migration is tedious affair. Younger men, adults and boys, walk with the herd to control them. Managing the herds is necessary, during the nomadic movement. It is common for the buffaloes to stray into the wheat fields en route and eat the crops. This invites conflict between the Gujjar and the crop owners. If the damage is high, the Gujjar compensates the owner of the crop by paying money. Gujjar adopt a few strategies of feeding the herds during nomadism. The tractor carries fodder which is dropped off at a point for the herd. Sometimes hay (pural) is purchased from villagers on the migratory routes. Few search for grass on the bank of the canal. Since the Khadar migratory route is shorter, the buffaloes are fed once.

The kinship principle operates in the nomadic movement. Consanguine (Shariq) and Affine (Rishtedar) join together in migrating, along with their herds. In most of the cases people commonly contribute resources to migrate. It takes close to eighteen to twenty hours by walk to get to Khadar. Gujjar begin migrating in the morning and reach by midnight. Parallel to the Basti runs the Poorvi (western) Ganga Canal, an irrigation channel diverted from the Ganga in Haridwar that joins the Barrage in Bijnor. The Gujjar use the banks of the canal to migrate to Khadar. The route is free of traffic and it is shorter too. Nomadic movement of herds and people is labour intensive. Young boys generally manage the calves, the adults control the buffaloes. The herd is controlled by a wooden staff carved from the *Adhiue* plant, found in *Paad*. When the animal deviates by heading towards the crops in the agricultural fields, it is hit on the left or right side of the protruding mouth. If the animal is eating a crop or plant that it should not be eating, it is hit above the mouth as a result animal immediately abandons eating. If the Gujjar wants to direct the animal left he would bring the staff in front of the right portion of the face, it acts as an obstruction. The animal fears the staff and obeys the Gujjar. Controlling animals is a knack.

Plate 6.7: Buffaloes Grazing and Agricultural Fields at Khadar

On reaching Khadar/Barrage the buffaloes graze, fulfilling their fodder requirements. The Gujjar carry Choupad Roti (some form of wheat pancake) as food while migrating. A paste of onions, salt and red chilly powder is mixed with butter or refined oil (known as Rufaint by the Gujjar) and spread on the Roti after relocation. One can carry a dozen or more. Through this arrangement, Gujjar takes care of their hunger and energy requirements while migrating. Few Gujjar carry butter milk (Lassi). The combination of Choupad Roti and Lassi is relished.

The topography of *Khadar* and *Barrage* differ due to natural as well as human factors. Khadar is accessible by crossing the Ganges River, while Barrage can be reached on land. Khadar is interspersed by grasslands and illegal cultivation. Farmers bribe the officials of the Irrigation Department and cultivate on the land after the monsoon. The produce is harvested in *Baisakh* (April- May). Most of the Khadar land is cultivated. The cultivation is mechanised and done on a large scale. Farmers encroach upon hectares of land for cultivation. The expansion of agricultural land deprives the Gujjar buffalo grazing areas. Due to a shortage of land, the Gujjar of Khadarare forced to construct their huts close to each other (Plate 6.8).

Plate 6.8:Deras Together in Khadar

Grazing patches are scattered. Herds walk long distances from the huts to graze. To optimize resource appropriation in Khadar, different Gujjar clans combine their herds into one large one. Generally, Pastoralism and agriculture complement each other. Livestock graze in the harvested lands on the remains and drop dung, enriching the fertility of the soil. In Khadar, farmers deploy Combine Harvester to harvest wheat. The machine leaves a very small stock which is torched to enrich the soil. Grass patches for grazing are located between cultivated fields, hence forcing the Gujjar and their herds to access them. Once the harvesting of the crops is done, the Gujjar dismantle their huts and construct them closer to the Ganga River. Water in plenty is available for the buffaloes to drink and comfort themselves in the water or swamps.

In Khadar, the Gujjar spend money to transport milk across the river. The owner of the bridge charges a toll reducing the profit for the Gujjar. At Barrage the Dera are scattered as there are more grazing areas. The milk vans come to the Gujjar Dera. Encroachment for farming is less. Gujjar have more grassland for their herds. Herds are split into many groups for grazing. Gujjar from the same settlement in the forest construct their homesteads together. They are joined by their Shariq and

Rishtedar from the relocated village. Gujjar belonging to the same place in the forest or relocated village combine their herds for grazing.

Material belongings are transported to support Gujjar during their stay at Khadar. The tractors are rented. Few tractors belong to affluent, large scale land owning Gujjar. Sharik and Rishtedar rent the tractors. Gujjar hire tractors of Non-Gujjar tenants who cultivate on Gujjar land. The payment for the tractor is adjusted in the rent paid by the tenant.

A village named Ravali is located three kilometres before Khadar. The village comprises of Hindu Castes and Sikhs. To get to Khadar one has to cross the Ganges River. Ravali has few provisional stores, mobile recharging shops, a tea shop and puncture repairing shops. Gujjar purchase food items from Ravali in situations of shortage. Generally, the provisions are brought by the Gujjar from their homes. They seek help from plumbers to install water hand pumps. Khadar has a high water table due to the river Ganga. Water is available at five to six feet. Water is primarily used for drinking and cooking and sometimes mixing in the milk to increase its quantity. Buffaloes drink and bathe in the river. Sometimes few animals are fed water in troughs close to the water hand pumps.

Few Gujjar have befriended the villagers of Ravali. Their friendship permits them to keep their assets in their house when the Gujjar return to Basti. They keep their belongings like barbed wires, wooden poles and hand pumps in the villager's houses. Each summer they return to Khadar to utilise their belongings. The poles and barbed wires are not utilised in the relocated village. With the barbed wire an open air pen is constructed to enclose buffaloes at night. The calves are enclosed in a hut called Katiya Chan (Calf pen). There are reasons for enclosing livestock. It prevents the calves from drinking milk at night, thus ensuring availability of milk for next morning sale. Such protection prevents theft, as Khadar is known for cattle thefts. The enclosure prevents the cattle from straying. It allows easy milking of the animals next morning. After completion of milking the herd is let out together for grazing. Gujjar rent carts drawn by bulls or oxen from the villagers to transport material from the river to their homestead. At Barrage, Gujjar rent Qalandar's (horse rearing Muslim

community) horse-cart for transporting poles. The cart owner is given six litres of milk, approximately one hundred and sixty two rupees (6 litres of milk at the rate of Rs 27 per litre).

A Sikh has constructed a wooden bridge to go across the river to the land mass in Khadar. He mans the bridge by collecting a toll to cross the river. He charges the agriculturalists to transport agricultural material, tractors, threshers and harvesters. Cycle and motorcycles are charged too. The Gujjar pay the Sikh for transporting their belongings to Khadar. He charges the Gujjar for transporting milk to the milk vans that come to Khadar. The fee is levied by the Sikh based on the quantity of milk transported using the bridge. In few cases Gujjar do not pay money but give milk to the Sikh as a tax for using the bridge. The Sikh sells the milk to the diary owner who comes to collect the milk from the Gujjar. The increase in water in the Ganges during the rainy season washes the bridge away cutting connection between Khadar and Ravali. The agriculturalists and Gujjar then depend on boats to cross and transport milk and material. Few diary owners refuse to come to Khadar or Barrage to collect the milk, as it is further from the relocated village. The cost of purchasing milk increases for the diary owners. The diary owners collecting milk at Khadar or Barrage from the Gujjar pay a rupee less per litre against the current market price. This is done by the diary owner to cut their cost of production. The *Doodhwala* Gujjar sends their Naukar or collect milk for their Asamis from Khadar. They travel on bikes with cans to collect milk. The Naukar leaves the relocated village by 4 am to get to Khadar and return by afternoon with the milk. In few cases when the Gujjar are in no position to supply their milk they enter into an arrangement with the diary owners vans coming to pick milk from Khadar / Barrage to supply at *Adda.*

Usually, the Gujjar at Khadar and Barrage are visited by their kin members every week from the relocated village. Wheat flour, rice and vegetables and other food items are brought along with the members. Kin members take turns to stay at Khadar and Barrage to manage the herds. As mentioned earlier, Gujjar come to Khadar and Barrage in Chaitar, during the next month, Baisakh, harvest of wheat begins in Basti. The younger Gujjar contribute their labour for harvesting. This ensures a few more quintals of wheat for the family, from the tenant. The labour of

the Gujjar during the harvest months have to be distributed between the Basti and Khadar/ Barrage. The distribution of labour depends on the size of the herd at Khadar/ Barrage. If the herd is large, more people are required to manage them. The older men and one or two young boys stay at Khadar, while the rest of the family stays at Basti. Once the harvest is complete, all the Gujjar join the herd at Khadar and Barrage.

IV

The Basti Gujjar culturally adapts to the changing context in the Relocated Basti by 'Redefining Ecology'. It is in the process of negotiating with the changing circumstances that the Gujjar redefine their ecology. In the context of the forest, ecology was defined in a homologous manner through practising Pastoralism. In the context of the relocated Basti, ecology is redefined in a heterogeneous manner by trying to make sense of their new uncertain world, using their traditional knowledge, by exploring different options. The Gujjar are using their traditional knowledge in the new context with a new resource, agricultural land. A group of the Basti Gujjar return to the forest by forging relationship with the RF Gujjar to procure resources for their Tarandi. The ones in the Basti having livestock use the agricultural land as a resource base to procure fodder. They sell milk to the Basti Gujjar to keep in touch with their dairying life way. The Basti Gujjar looks for opportunities as wage labour wherever they can find one. In relation to agricultural land the Basti Gujjar is attempting to forge new social relationships with the Gujjar and non-Gujjar in the relocated colony. The Basti Gujjar is leasing their land for cultivation to their own ilk. They also lease their land to non-Gujjar cultivators. The leasing of land and emergence of tenants is similar to the older *Bania*-Gujjar relationship. The 'new Banias' in the Basti are the elite Gujjar, who take the Basti Gujjar's land on lease. The relocation has resulted in the emergence of a group of Gujjar elites in the Basti. These Gujjar are skilled and mobilize resources for cultivating the large number of Gujjar Basti plots taken on lease. The elite Gujjar take the Basti Gujjar's lands on lease. The shift is from a homogenous way of life to one that is diverse in the relocated Basti. Over time, Gujjar are attempting to acquire a diverse knowledge base. The elites of the Gujjar community play a larger role in taking decisions on behalf of the community. A section of the Gujjar community has benefitted from the separation of culture from nature. However, the alteration of ecology, introduced greater inequality among the

Basti Gujjar. It has also hardened the religious divide between the Barelwis and Deobandis. More outside elements are now playing a significant role in their lives. The Gujjar now are forced to consult lawyers, run behind NGOs, political leaders and officials in search of entitlements. They are in a way are ‘mainstreamed’.

End Notes

[i] Hindus Caste community occupying the Garhwal region in Uttarakhand

[ii] Patti is woollen shawl designed in black, white and red threads. They are usually purchased in Haridwar. Dogra people from Himachal Pradesh come to the forest and to the relocated villages and sell Pattis to the Gujjar.

[iii]Bhoksa or Buksa people, indigenous community, categorized as a Scheduled Tribe by the Government of Uttarakhand.

[iv] Mava is reduced milk or dried whole milk. It is produced by continuously heating and stirring milk until it attains a condensed state. Sugar is added to make it a sweet meat and consumed. It is also eaten as a dessert.

Chapter VII
Gujjar in a State of Limbo

The different groups of Gujjar may be plotted on a continuum. On one end is the RF Gujjar and on the other end is the Basti Gujjar and in between are the RNP Gujjar. The life of the RF Gujjar, living in the Reserve Forest, seems certain. Till the Forest Department denies the Gujjar to stay in the Reserve Forest, they will continue their traditional livelihood, pastoralism. Fodder will be procured by lopping trees and by grazing their herds in the forest. Their continuity in the forest gives their lives a degree of certainty. Another group of Gujjar whose lives are certain to some extent is the relocated Basti Gujjar. They have been identified as beneficiaries and relocated from RNP.

With the declaration of RNP, the Basti Gujjar are not be permitted to return to the forests to continue their traditional livelihood. This has affected the livelihood of the Basti Gujjar. In the Basti, some have begun cultivating, some lease their lands and partially practise a semblance of pastoralism/ dairying, some go for daily wage and other types of new livelihoods, while the others attempt to return to the forest to pursue a pastoral life by forging relationship with the RF Gujjar. The Basti Gujjar along with the RF Gujjar have begun migrating to new locations in Uttar Pradesh to appropriate resources for their *Tarandi*. Among the Gujjar who could not get the benefit of relocation or were not identified as beneficiaries constitute the third group, who are identified as RNP Gujjar. They are the ones whose life is uncertain. They are neither identified as beneficiaries for relocation, nor are they allowed to stay in the Rajaji National Park. As a consequence they are left with no option but to continue a nomadic pastoral life to eke out their livelihood by facing constant pressure from the State Forest Department.

The RNP Gujjar continue their traditional summer nomadism to *Paad* and return to *Des* in winter. On their return to *Des* they are not permitted to stay in the RNP by the Forest Department. The Forest Department expects the RNP Gujjar to stay in the *Basti* as one of their family members has been given a plot of land. The RNP Gujjar manages to stay in Reserve Forest fringes in *Des*. They lop trees and

graze buffalo herds, through liaison with the lower level staff of the Forest Department. In this light we need to understand the RNP Gujjar who continue their traditional nomadism with constrains imposed by the Forest Department. In contrast to the RF Gujjar and Basti Gujjar, the RNP Gujjar livelihoods are in a precarious state. The Government is unable to make up its mind whether to relocate them or to permit them to stay in the forest. Legally, in the eyes of the Forest Department, RNP Gujjar are illegal occupants of forest. However, the RNP Gujjar feel that they are left with no other choice than pursuing their traditional livelihood option, which is no option, under the prevailing uncertainty.

I

Nomadic Pastoralism and Herd Management

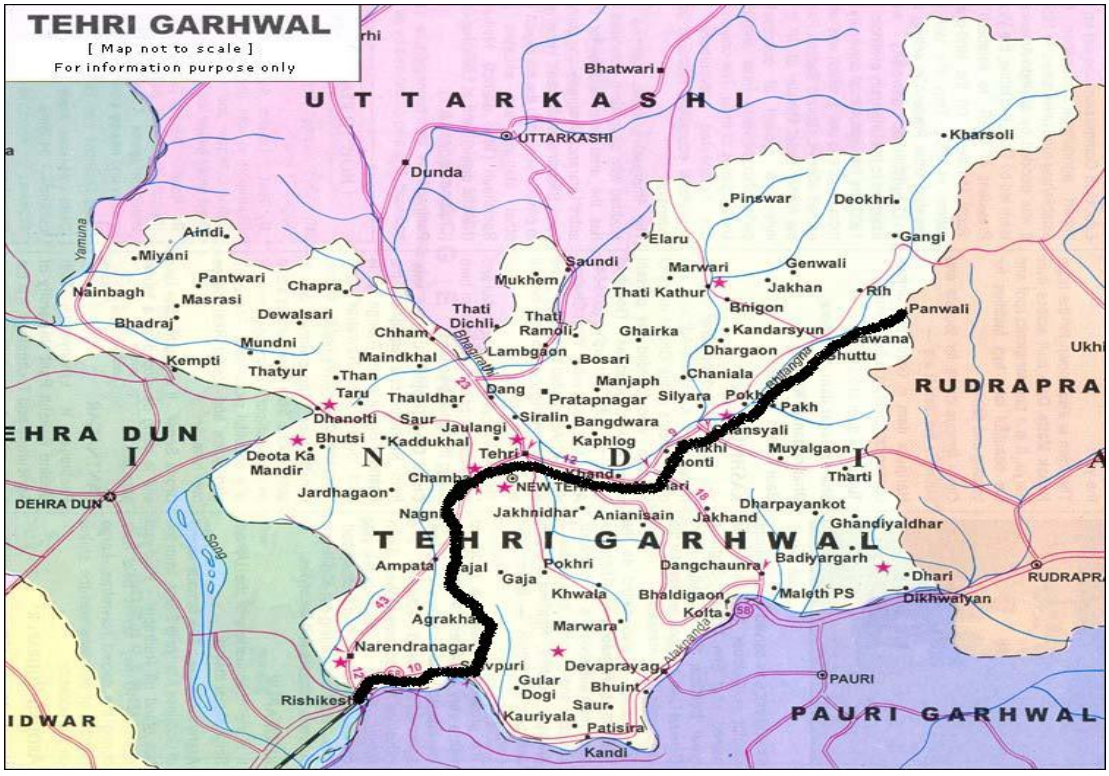
Generally, pastoralists and their constant moving about in a peripatetic manner in pursuit of a livelihood is viewed with doubt by the ruling powers who perceived them as a threat or nuisance. Since nomads are not settled, it became difficult for the Colonial administration to control and rule them. Even local populations treated nomads as the 'other'. In Uttarakhand the nomadic Gujjar have been considered strangers by the Colonial and Indian administrations. The Forest Department has made several attempts to stop the Gujjar from migrating to *Paad* and has been making attempts to sedentarise them. In the process some Gujjar families are relocated in Pathri and Gaindikhatta, while quite a few RNP Gujjar have not been relocated in Basti. Since the RNP Gujjar are left with no other livelihood alternative, they continue to pursue their nomadic life.

Nomadic Pastoralism as a livelihood demands concentrated labour for its success. Labour of women, children, young and old is used to manage the *Tarandi*. While the young indulge in intensive physical labour, the older members guide the younger ones in the pastoral livelihood. The older members will be involved in resolving disputes that arise in the community. Older women restrict themselves to the daily chores, like cooking, taking care of children, etc. Young Gujjar women are significant contributors of labour in the pastoral production. They lop smaller trees, carry bundles of lopped leaves for the calves, and help in construction of pens. Sometimes, they accompany herds to the forest. Women make food for the family,

fetch firewood, and water from water points. Children manage the *Katair* (calves) *Tarandi* during nomadism.

On longer migratory routes, to high altitude mountains (*Paad*), in the Districts of Uttarkashi and Tehri Garhwal, women, men and boys manage the herds by walking along with them (Plate 7.1). Gujjar migrating to *Paad* stay in different mountain ranges (*Nakki*). The Nakki is covered by *Panjal*. Gujjar migrating to *Paad* go in groups (*Kabila*) comprising both consanguine and affinal kinsmen. Two or more *Jat* members possess permits in the same forests in the *Nakki* issued by the Forest Department. Migrating together as a *Kabila* provides security. *Kabila* members help each other whenever money or labour is required. Sometimes, the herds of different *Kabilas* are merged and managed collectively. When the Gujjar are 'on the move', the *Tarandi* require constant vigil as they may stray into agricultural fields. This leads to conflict between the crop owner and the Gujjar. On few occasions the Gujjar ends up paying money for the damage caused by his herd.

MAP 7.1: Showing Traditional Migratory Route of the Van Gujjar from the Des (Rishikesh) to the High Altitude Mountain (Panwali)



The path to *Paad* is dominated by the Lantana (*Mori*) weed. The weed is toxic when eaten by the buffalo it may lead to the death of animal. One can imagine, if there are forty to sixty buffaloes scattered, each trying to eat Mori how difficult it would be to control the *Tarandi*. The Gujjar make all efforts to prevent the buffalo from eating the *Mori* leaves, by hitting on its mouth or jaw with their wooden staff. While obstructing one buffalo, another one begins eating the weed.

Plate 7.1: Nomadic Movement of the Kabila

The migratory routes from *Des* to *Paad* comprise walking on tar road and through forest bridle paths. The roads, on which the *Kabila* walks, connect the pilgrimage towns of Kedarnath, Badrinath, Gangotri and Yamnotri to Rishikesh. The Gujjar prefer moving on the roads at night to avoid excess motor traffic. However, on few roads there is the danger of the buffaloes falling off the road, into the Ganga ravine. The pilgrimage centres are open to the pilgrims in summer. During summer the Gujjar travel to the *Panjal*. On the onset of summer, the snow in *Paad* begins to

melt giving way to lush grasslands to which the Gujjar, Gaddi and Garhwali reach with their livestock to graze their buffaloes. Rest of the year the *Panjal* is covered by snow. Once the winter begin the Gujjar return to their summer Deras in *Des*.

During Nomadism, Gujjar halt overnight at different locations (Padav) to eat food, to take rest, feed their *Tarandi*. During the movement of herds the Gujjar separate the buffalo from the calf to prevent them from drinking milk. The boys accompany the *Katair Tarandi* to manage them. Plastic sheets used as tents, vessels, clothes and other material are stuffed into bags made from sheep and horse hair (Plate 7.2). The bags are bought from Biharhgarh (Mohand), from Kumbhars, an artisan community. Each bag costs between Rs 800 to 1200 Bags are also purchased from Choodparb a village close to Dehradun. The bags are loaded on to horse backs and transported to *Paad*. The rein of the horse is held by the Gujjar women and men, as they lead the Kabila. Gujjar do not mount the horse to travel. Horses are difficult to control, on few instances they run astray resulting in the material falling down, the Gujjar end up spending time in repacking the material. The nomadic movement is not smooth, as Gujjar face various hardships. It takes twenty days to a month for the Gujjar to reach the *Nakki* in *Paad*. The travel time depends on the place to which the Gujjar go in *Paad*. Infants are placed in a cloth and suspended from the shoulder of men or women and carried along to *Paad*. During nomadic movement if buffaloes deliver, the calf is carried on the shoulder of Gujjar men. If there are too many new born calves, they are loaded on to motor vehicles and transported to the next *Padav*. If the *Katair* is able to walk, they do so along with the *Tarandi*.

The Gujjar walk along migratory routes and halt at Padav (traditional halting places). The sites are usually abundant with water and fodder. Most halts are made close to Garhwali villages. This ensures an easy access to hay. Fodder is purchased from Garhwalis, who are known as 'Pahadi Lõg' (*hill dweller*). The Garhwalis inhabit the *Des* and *Paad*. Their villages are located all along the Gujjar migratory routes. Upon reaching a *Padav*, the Gujjar approach the Garhwali household in search of fodder for their *Tarandi*, while women and other members unload the horse and allow it to graze. Women also gather firewood to cook food and churn butter milk (*Lassi*)

for the family members. When the *Kabila* is ready to move from one *Padav* to the next the *Tarandi* move first, as buffalos move relatively slower compared to horses.

Plate 7.2: Gujjar Horses set to Move

Procuring fodder during nomadism is a difficult task. Sometimes the terrain is undulating, making the task of fodder procurement difficult. Gujjar walk long distances and access rough hilly terrain to buy hay for their buffaloes. Upon reaching a Garhwali village there is an informal understanding amongst the *Kabila* members as to which direction they will go to procure hay. If there is a cluster of Garhwali houses, then the Gujjar go in groups. The price of the hay is negotiated with the owner. On few migratory routes, Gujjar pay money to the village head and graze their *Tarandi* on the allotted village common grazing areas. The lack of water and fodder may prompt the Gujjar to move to the subsequent *Padav*. Gujjar know their migratory routes well.

The hay is stacked on tree tops, known as *Puraila*, by the Garhwalis. Gujjar call it *Kuntheda*. Hay is made into small bundles and tied together with hay ropes and then placed by the Garhwali villager on the tree branch. The placing of the hay on tree

tops prevents it from rotting during the rains and being eaten by rats. Gujjar pays money for the number of *Kuntheda* he buys. On purchase of the *Kuntheda*, Gujjar climb the trees untie the stack, and throw it on the ground. In some *Padav* due to the terrain the bundles when thrown from the trees they get scattered amidst ravines, bushes and thorns. They have to go down into the ravines or bushes to recover them. After tying the bundle together, lifting and placing it on the Gujjar's head for carrying it to the herds require more than two people. The hay stack may look very light for an observer, when lifted it is very heavy (Plate 7.3). On an estimate it may weigh between sixty to hundred kilograms or even more. Lifting it and walking with the load on undulating terrain is a difficult task and requires skill.

Plate 7.3: Fodder (Hay) Bundles Carried to Feed the Buffalo Herds

Depending on the herd size, *Kuntheda* are procured. A herd size of forty buffaloes consumes five hay stacks during one feed. The buffaloes need to be fed twice. During nomadism buffaloes are underfed, due to the unavailability of green fodder and open grazing areas. In few *Padav*, Gujjar walk four to five kilometres to gather fodder. The farther the distance of fodder availability, the more labour and time

is spent in procuring them. After bringing the hay stacks close to the *Padav*, each tied bundle is cut open using a sickle (*Danthi*). The hay is then lifted and scattered for the buffaloes to eat. The transporting and cutting of the hay gets the whole family involved. In a Padav where no fodder is available, Gujjar transport hay from the previous Padav by hiring motorised vehicles. Kabila members share the cost of transporting hay. Transporting fodder from one Padav to another increases the cost of nomadism.

II

In *Des* a group of RNP Gujjar (nine families), who have not been recognized by the State Forest Department as beneficiaries for relocation from RNP, struggle to stay on the fringe of Park. They are not permitted to enter the RNP. By the end of the lopping season, this group of RNP Gujjar enter the forest of Haldugodam, next to Rishikesh, in preparation to migrate to *Paad*. During the winter season the Gujjar liaison with the forest guards and manage to enter fragmented forests to lop trees. The RNP Gujjar construct tents made out of plastic sheets and wooden poles and stay in the forest until they begin their nomadism to *Paad* (Plate 7.4). The Gujjar try and graze their *Tarandi* in open grasslands when they find one. Gujjar construct a temporary byre to feed the animals Khal and Chokar (commercial fodder). Few RNP Gujjar families who stay back in the Park face the harassment of the Forest Department.

Noor Kasana and Alam Chouhan, both RNP Gujjar, are fighting a legal case with the State Forest Department for not receiving land in *Basti* after being evicted from the RNP. They are from Ghori and *Kunaochod* in RNP. When the survey by the Forest Department was being done for allotting land in the Basti, Noor and Alam migrated to the *Paad*. Hence, their names were not included in the beneficiary list of relocation from RNP. They represented their case to the Forest Department. On many occasions their name has been included in the allotment list but land has not been allotted. After returning from their annual migration they do not have access to forests in *Des*. They bribe forest guards to construct huts and procure fodder for their livestock. Part of Feroz and Alam's family stays back in the forests of RNP

demanding their eligibility to receive land in the relocated village, while the rest of the family migrates to *Paad*.

Plate 7.4: Makeshift Tent of the RNP Gujjar

III

Yameen Gegi a RNP Gujjar, 57 years old, has been contemplating not to go to *Paad* as he does not have adults to take care of the Tarandi on the nomadic movement. He has many children, out of which only one boy is big enough to work to manage the herd. He has five boys, and four girls, and two wives. One of his older sons stays with his mother in *Basti*, taking care of her. She has been allotted a plot of land in Basti. Yameen has not been given any plot in the Basti. He has been searching for a Gujjar who he could employ to migrate to Paad. The Gujjar members of the Deras in Haldugodam got together, held a Penchi and decided that Yameen should try and get someone to help him to migrate only then would the other Gujjar present in the forest migrate to *Paad*. Yameen persuaded the Gujjar to continue on their nomadic movement but the other Gujjar disagreed. It was decided that they would all leave together. After much search and coaxing, finally, a Gujjar volunteered to accompany Yameen and his family.

A political council meeting (*Penchi*) is held to decide the date to begin the movement to Panwali in *Paad*. The Gujjar going to Panwali call the place *Panwali Ali Nakki*. Panwali is 190 kilometres from the Haldugodam forest. Gujjar cover this distance on foot along with their family and herds. The RNP Gujjar nomadic movement begins early in the morning at 6.00 am towards Rishikesh, which is 14 kilometres away. That morning when the Gujjar were planning not to go to the hills, the Munshi (Forest Office Clerk) from the Forest Department came with his rifle to forcibly oust the Gujjar out of the Haldugodam forest. The Munshi claimed that the Gujjar have exceeded their time to stay in the forest and should have already left for Paad. Using a hand axe, the Munshi cut the ropes that were holding the plastic tent, bringing the Gujjar hut down. One old Gujjar and the Munshi got into a squabble. The Munshi claimed that the forest in not the Gujjars property and that they had to leave. They have stayed more than the prescribed date. "Why haven't you left the forest on the assigned day" asked the Munshi. The Gujjar got angry, as the forest employees take bribes and shunts them away from the forest and destroys their huts. The Munshi along with his colleague loaded a tractor with wooden poles that the Gujjar use to construct their temporary tents. The poles are sold to the Garhwali villager who has paid the Munshi money.

Yameen could not leave as he did not have men to help, also it rained preventing the Gujjar from migrating to *Paad*. When the Gujjar were to leave for *Paad*, a day before, the local Garhwali village women and few men ask the Gujjar for the wooden poles used by them. The poles are used as firewood by the local villagers, as cutting wood from the forest is illegal. They pay money to Munshi and forest guards to take the poles. Each Garhwali woman lobbies using her social network and rapport to get the poles from the Gujjar. They constantly nag the Gujjar to give one pole, and the rest would be collected after they leave. Quarrels between the Garhwali women, over the poles occur. Sometimes they snatch a pole form another claiming that they came first and asked the Gujjar for the pole.

The nomadic movement begins from the Haldugodam forest. The *Kabila* heads towards Moan-ki-Rethi, Rishikesh, on the banks of the river Ganges. Moan-ki-Rethi has many Hindu Monasteries and is highly populated pilgrim destination. As it

is very difficult to get hay in Rishikesh, arrangements are made to transport it by hiring an Auto-rickshaw from the Garhwali village, before beginning the migration. The hay load is dropped off next to the river Ganges (Darya), a place where the buffaloes are halted. The *Dera* halts at the bus and taxi stand in an open ground. The horses are unloaded. Temporary plastic tents are erected for taking rest. Gujjar cook food and rest before they begin the next stretch of movement to Shivpuri at 8.00 pm the same night. The relatives of the RNP Gujar visit to wish them good fortune by invoking Allah's blessing (*Dua Mangana*), as their kin members are going far away to *Paad*.

The RNP Gujjar *Kabila* walk all night from Rishikesh to the next Padav at Shivpuri. The movement is hindered by lorry drivers. Abuses are exchanged between the lorry drivers and the Gujjar, as the vehicle owners constantly demand that the *Tarandi* should be moved aside. On previous migrations, Gujjar have lost their livestock in road accidents. Minimum three people are required to watch the herds while moving on the road. One stays ahead, while the other two follow the *Tarandi* from the rear. The roads to Shivpuri runs parallel to the Ganga trench making the road steep, a slip may lead one into the Ganga river valley. Keeping a constant vigil on the *Tarandi* on the move is necessary to ensure its safety. It is difficult to get access to medicines for both livestock and people while on the move. People and animals fall ill while moving through forest areas. They access such facilities when they reach a town or place that has amenities. Dysentery, fever, cold, cough, headaches are common ailments during the nomadic movement.

The Gujjar arrive at Shivpuri at 2.00 am the next morning. The herd halted below the Border Road Organization (BRO) Bridge for two hours and again the journey into the jungle began at 4.00 am along a stream on the way to Jajal and Nangani. At Shivpuri the mettle roads are avoided. They take the route into the jungle along streams and Garhwali villages. The reason for this diversion is that it is a traditional, shorter and a safer route; it ensures water and fodder along the way. The next *Padav* is at *Dabbar*, a shallow pond for the buffaloes to drink water and relax in it. The *Deras* are camped close to the water sources and erected usually on flat land.

The fields in the Garhwali villages in the lower elevation are usually terraced. Hence, penning buffaloes in the farms is not common.

The Gujjar do not gain monetarily from the local villagers for penning livestock. In few Padavs, the Garhwali villagers permit the Gujjar to halt their *Deras* on the harvested fields. In the low lying areas close to streams where the Gujjar pen their herds, the dung from the animals are collected by Garhwali women and used to manure the fields. The Gujjar do not charge money for giving the dung, they feel that it does not hold any value for them. Penning the *Tarandi* on the Garhwali fields allows the Gujjar to negotiate the price and quantity of fodder from owner. The Gujjar may receive a larger quantity of hay for a fairly minimal price. Moreover, since they are passing through village territories not belonging to them, they wish to maintain cordial relations with the Garhwali villagers. The Gujjar feel that if the villagers have given their village land for halting their *Dera*, it is a kind gesture by the village people. As the Gujjar are migratory and stay for a short period the Garhwali villagers permit the Gujjar to set up their *Padav*. But this hospitality is not common in all the places during the migration. In few areas in the Nakki, the longer halt at *Paad*, Gujjar face hostility from the Garhwali villagers.

Addishera, a Garhwali village, is another Padav on the migratory route. The village has twenty three families. It comprises of sixteen families of the dominant Sujwan caste, two Brahmin (*Bahuguna*) families and five Rana families (Kshatriya). An influential *Bahuguna* narrated the significance and benefit of Gujjar visiting their village. The Gujjar visit had benefits on the local ecology and economy of the region. He narrated the significance of buffaloes to their agriculture activities. The fields are enriched from the dung collected from Gujjar buffaloes. Twenty years back, Gaddis, a sheep rearing community, too used to halt their herds in the villages. The goats and sheep would climb the hills and uproot herbs and medicinal plants that are precious for the village. The villagers got together and decided to ban the goat and sheep herders from entering their villages by levying, a heavy fine. Since, the Gujjar buffaloes do not destroy herbs or uproot plants of local significance, they are welcome to the villages. In few cases exchange of animals, .i.e., horse and buffaloes, take place

between Garhwalis and Gujjar. Few deals are based on monetary transaction and in others animals are bartered.

Plate 7.5: Padav during Nomadism

Some Garhwali villages, located in elevated areas along the migratory route do not have roads to access the markets. The villagers travel using bridle paths along the stream and transport material from the market to their houses on horses or asses (*Khatchhars*). They use animal energy to transport materials, i.e., bricks, cement, sand, etc., for constructing their houses. Owning an animal becomes necessary for the villagers located in the interiors. For Adishera village the closest town to purchase goods is Jajal. Wazir Chouhan Gujjar exchanged his small horse with B.L. Bahuguna, an Adishera villager, for a big one. Bahuguna exchanged his horse as he felt that the Gujjar's is a better breed.

While on the move the herds are milked early in the morning, this prevents the *Katair* calves from drinking the buffalo's milk. Generally, milk of the buffalo is not sold during the nomadic movement, except in some cases where commitment to

supply milk is made and when the need for money is felt. The Gujjar walking inside the forest paths carry milk on his shoulder or on horseback up to the point that is accessible by motor vehicles. The milk buyer comes on his motorbike to collect the milk form the Gujjar. After milking the buffalo, quantity required for sale and the amount required for household consumption are stored and the rest is left in the buffaloes udders for the claves. At night when the herd and *Dera* are halted, the calf and the buffalo herds are penned separately. This is done to prevent the young ones from drinking their mother's milk.

IV

On the migratory route, one of the Padav is at Matiyala village that is dominated by Garhwali *Thakurs*. There is an animosity between the Gujjar and Garhwalis. The later know that the Gujjar are Muslim. The sheer response of few villagers in Adishera is 'yeah to Musalaman hain' (they are Muslims), a remark that creates a distinction between groups. The following case of Yameen Gujjar illustrates this. He accompanied his son-in-law, Basheer, to purchase five tree hay stacks for Rs 800. Basheer too was interested in purchasing hay for his herd. Basheer negotiated to purchase hay from the Thakur lady. There seemed to be a miscommunication. Basheer took some hay stacks from the trees belonging to the Thakur lady. When Basheer came to take the remaining hay stacks, the lady got into a squabble and accused him of being a thief as he stole hay stacks without seeking her permission. Yameen and the lady got into an argument. He asked the lady to stop calling his son-in-law a thief.

Yameen stated that the lady did not clearly mention which hay stacks to be taken by Basheer. Yameen while speaking to the lady addressed her as *Bhabhi* (sister-in-law). The lady got offended and asked him not to address her by that term. The quarrel between Yameen and the lady intensified. Finally, Yameen pacified her by asking her to calm down and settle the matter. Gujjar are looked down upon with suspicion by the Garhwalis and have a dislike to them.

Plate 7.6: On the Move

One night during the migratory movement heavy rains began early in the morning around 4.00 am, disrupting the nomadic movement. Gujjar began adjusting the plastic sheets used as tents, as water was entering inside. They would dig small trenches and canals to ensure water flows from the roof of the sheets into the canal and then flow away. They would insert long sticks to lift the tents up so that water does not stagnate pulling the whole structure down. All attempts to prevent water from entering the tent failed as water seeped in, wetting blankets and other material. The rain continued till 10.00 pm with few breaks. The plan to continue the nomadic movement was postponed to the next day. This increased the cost of the movement, as the Gujjar had to purchase fodder for the extra day for their buffaloes. If the movement was not disrupted the money could be spent at the next halt. The next four Padavs people planned to transport *pural* (hay) from Adishera, as the next four stops there is a shortage of hay. The movement along the roads and villages is difficult.

The closest market for the Gujjar living in Panwali is Ghuttu. Ghuttu is located at the base of the Paad. Gujjar buy provisions required for home and sell milk and milk products at Panwali. It is a trekking route for pilgrims going to the Hindu temple at Kedarnath. Hindu Ascetics (Sadhus) and trekkers trek to Kedarnath from Ghuttu on a bridle path. Panwali is located on the Panjal (grasslands) on the mountain top, an 18 km trek from Ghuttu. The route to Panwali is through Ghuttu – Pyo – Gwanbanda – Pobaghi – Dophanda and Mata. The trek is very tedious. After trekking for 12 km from Ghuttu one reaches Pobagi. It is a stone hut with a thatch grass roof. A Garhwalis provides accommodation and food to Hindu pilgrims going to Kedarnath but refused to give food and accommodation to Gujjar, as they are Muslim.

Upon reaching the *Nakki* at Panwali, Gujjar begin constructing their *Deras*, initially they begin living in tents until they erect their Chan. Gujjar Chans are constructed with available forest material. The forest in the hills is called *Gaibar*, while the forest in *Des* is called *Jaad*. The hut roof is made using grass and plastic sheets. Shaukat Ali Gujjar started using plastic sheets as a roof for his Chan in *Paad* fifteen years back. He claims the *Babdi* grass used for thatching has reduced. *Khoru*, *Saru*, *Nikal* and *Beeran Na Babdi* are wood varieties used to make the huts.

As mentioned earlier, the Garhwalis in few places are hostile towards the Gujjar in *Paad*. Few Gujjar huts are burnt by the Garhwali people when they leave *Paad* in the beginning of winter as it begins to snow. The Gujjar being Muslim are discouraged from coming to *Paad*. The huts are burnt to prevent the Gujjar from returning to *Paad* during the summers. Some huts that are not burnt remain intact as they get covered by snow. They require little renovation before it is habitable. In few places in *Paad* Gujjar and Garhwalis are friendly. Garhwalis complain that the Gujjar come to *Paad* and use their resources. Garhwalis also own buffaloes, though their numbers are few. The Garhwalis from the villages around Ghuttu bring their buffaloes to graze them in *Paad*. Their buffaloes sometimes enter Gujjar grazing areas leading to a conflict. The Garhwalis are allotted forest and grassland areas by the Forest Department. Another pastoralist community, the sheep rearing Gaddis, come to *Paad* to graze their sheep herds. The Garhwalis and Gaddis claim that the jungle is theirs and no forest or grasslands belong to the Gujjar. Sometime Gujjar accept the

domination and avoid conflicts with the Garhwalis. Gujjar feel that the *Paad* is not theirs and it belongs to the Garhwalis and they are visitors in *Paad*.

The Gujjar have permit rights to graze their livestock in the *Paad* grasslands and forests. There are instances of conflict between Gujjar and local people over the access of resources. In the past, there were few cases of conflict resulting in blood feud. The cases were usually not reported to the *Patwari* (Policeman in the Mountain Areas) for their resolution. Sometimes, Garhwali and Gujjar get together and resolve the disputes. They avoid taking the case to the *Patwari*.

V

Gujjar construct two types of huts in the hills. One is similar to the ones made in the plains, where the roof consists of four triangles known as *Chans*. The other is called a '*Do Pasa Tappar',* the huts roof consists of two triangles made from thatch grass or plastic sheets supported by a single pole, *Balo*. Unlike *Des*, where the Gujjar construct smaller huts for the kitchen and the calves, in *Paad*, their hut is divided into different spaces. The sleeping area is called *Twala*, the fire area for keeping them warm is called *Gyano*. It is constructed by digging a small cavity in the floor and placing three stones together called the *Geethi* (hearth). The kitchen space is called *Andaroti*, and an elevated wooden platform for storing provisions is called *Twali*. The walls in the Paad are made out of mud and sticks and smeared with a thin layer of mud (*Prola*) it gives a golden shine to the walls of the *chans*. The Garhwali huts are stronger. The Gujjar huts are made out of wood and mud, unlike the stone and thatch houses of Garhwalis.

Yameen Gujjar his permit twenty years back, before that his family and livestock would join another Gujjar and migrate to the hills. He has been coming to the same place after he received his own permit. The buffaloes are free animals they roam all over the grasslands and forests. The calves and buffaloes are grazed separately. Calves below two years are grazed closer to the Dera in open grasslands, while the other calves graze with the buffalo herd. The Gujjar call out Aachi *Aachi* with the name of the mother, the calf and mother come out of their herd. As the grasslands and forest in Paad are vast, sometimes an animal may stray away. Yameen

carefully looks for any trails or hooves prints on the mud to identify the path taken by his buffalo. It is sometimes difficult to locate and communicate with one's herd. By evening it is necessary to find them for milking. Gujjar call their buffalo names by making vocal sounds to locate their herd. Sometimes a boy or young men accompany the herd while grazing. Herds may travel large distances to graze.

Plate 7.7: Dera in Paad

Gujjar differentiate places based on the topography of the hills. They classify the territory based on the availability of grass and their access to their buffaloes. The buffaloes are taken to different places to graze. *Panjal* are grasslands on the mountain tops, they are open grasslands and occur above the tree line. *Panjal* is known as *Bhugyal* by the local Garhwalis. Scholars like Gooch (2009) and Nusrat (2011) refer to the Gujjar *Panjal* as *Bhugyal*. In between trees in the forest that are flat open grasslands are known as *Goth*, where Gujjar graze their buffaloes. If buffaloes owned by another Gujjar enters someone else's *Goth*, the animals are sent away. *Gathu* are smaller grassland patches found in the forest between trees, while *Goth* are larger grassland circles found in the forest. *Gaibar* are thick black forest where less sunlight reaches the ground. Here availability of grass is less. *Phati* and *Biran* are long stretches of grasslands in the forest found on the steep slopes of the hills. A common

feature in the hills is *Jabi*, small sources of water that keeps the sloping grasslands wet and marshy.

Forests, grasslands and water resources are spread out and herds are left to graze all day. Gujjar herd follow a pattern to graze the herds. Five days the herd graze in the forests eating grass, bushes and leaves. After five days the herds are diverted to the *Panjal*. They are allowed to graze for three to four days in *Panjal* after which they are sent into another forest to graze. It is a to and fro movement, between the forest and *Panjal*, that ensures optimum and sustainable utilization of resource. Depending on the grazing area of the next day, the Gujjar gathers his herd in the forest close to his Dera or next to the place where the milk is to be processed to make reduced milk (Mava). If the herd is to graze in the *Panjal* next morning, it will be driven out of the forest closer to the *Dera* in the evening. This is done to ease the effort of milking and carrying milk. Milk is put into blue plastic cans of various sizes placed in bags (made from plastic sacks) and hung on the head and transported (Plate 7.8). Lifting the milk from valley to the Deras in higher areas is a tedious task. Some Gujjar carry 40 litres of milk to Ghuttu from Panwali, which is 18 kilometres away, and return every day by walk! The Gujjar climbs an elevation of 1534mts to 3651mts.

Plate 7.8: Carrying Milk from Paad to Ghuttu

For making *Mava* after milking, milk has to be carried to the processing hearth (Patthi), at a distance from the *Dera*. The milk is processed in a separate place. A temporary hut is constructed using plastic sheets, wooden poles and thatch grass. Few Gujjar share the labour in producing *Mava*. One group may organise the fire wood while the other will process the milk. Milking is done by both men and women. While the process of milking is on, the younger Gujjar ensure that the calves do not suckle their mother. Gujjar take pleasure in drinking raw milk straight from the buffaloes' udders (*Dhar Leni*). This is why the Gujjar considers the buffalo their mother as they drink from its udders. The milk in the hills tastes better compared to *Des,* claim the Gujjar. It is enriched with herbs and lush grass eaten by the buffaloes.

Four litres of milk yields one kilogram of *Mava*. Gujjar processes twelve litres of milk in one session. The *Mava* produced is three kilograms per twelve litres. Producing *Mava* is less profitable for the Gujjar. A litre of unadulterated milk is sold for thirty rupees. Four litres of milk fetches Rs 120, while four litres of milk produces one kilogram of *Mava* which is sold for Rs 70. Then why don't the Gujjar sell milk, instead of *Mava*? Milk is not much in demand in close by towns, Ghuttu (18 kilometres) and Ghansali (49 km). Neither is milk purchased by villagers as they own livestock for their subsistence. The town where milk is in demand is Tehri, Chamba or Rishikesh. These places are far away from the Gujjar *Paad*.

Transporting milk to these towns require logistics which the Gujjar do not possess. The Banias who buy milk from the Gujjar in *Des* are not willing to transport milk from Ghuttu to Rishikesh. On the other hand, *Mava* is in demand in close by towns, due to the influx of Hindu pilgrims and tourism. Mava can be transported easily as it is in solid form. It can last up to five days without perishing. Considering the factors of terrain and climatic conditions, walking 36 kilometres to sell 40 litres of milk is neither profitable nor an easy task. Mava is an ideal commodity that sustains the livelihood of the RNP Gujjar in *Paad*. Fifteen years before ghee was sold in tins. It fetched a higher price in the market. A drop in ghee demand and the wastage of Lassi (buttermilk, commodity produced in the process of making ghee), encouraged the Gujjar to make Mava.

Once in four days the Gujjar transport *Mava* to Ghuttu. The Mava is also sold to their own kinsmen on two instances. The first one is the Gujjar from *Des* come to Ghuttu to purchase Mava and sell it in Rishikesh, Haridwar or Dehradun. The second instance is, Gujjar sell the Mava to their kinsmen in *Paad*. This is done when the Gujjar does not have enough labour to carry the Mava to the towns. Sometimes the Gujjar are unable to find buyers in the towns. The Gujjar under these circumstances sell Mava to another Gujjar in *Paad*. The Gujjar who purchase Mava in the hills pay Rs 75 per kg to the Mava producer. The Gujjar who buys the Mava for Rs 75, sells the Mava for Rs 90 in Ghuttu and makes a profit of Rs 15 per kg of Mava sold. If the Mava is sold in Chamba or Tehri, it fetches Rs 120 per kg and in Rishikesh it is sold for Rs 135 per kg. Given the high demand of Mava in the plains, Gujjar from *Des* come to purchase Mava from the Paad Gujjar.

This gives rise to economic and social relations between Gujjar. The Gujjar who purchase Mava from the Paad Gujjar is known as a '*Thekedar'*. Every fourth day the *Thekedar* comes to Ghuttu by bus to purchase Mava from the Paad Gujjar and sells it in Rishikesh. A room is rented out by the Paad Gujjar in Ghuttu from the Garhwalis. The room is used to store provisions needed for Paad. The Paad Gujjar bring Mava and store it for sale to the *Des* Gujjar. The *Thekedar* comes to Ghuttu the previous night and stays with the *Paad* Gujjar in the rented room. Next morning the *Thekedar* catches the first bus to Rishikesh. The *Thekedar* spends Rs 300 both ways for travel. He collects a quintal of Mava for sale. The *Thekedar* earns Rs. 3,000 on sale of a quintal of Mava.

Gujjar- Garhwali Relations in Panwali

The Garhwalis come up to *Paad* from Ghuttu in *Baisakh* (Mid-April to Mid-May) and leave in *Asu* (Mid-September to Mid-October). In Panwali there are two Garhwali Rawat hut shops that sell goods and provide food and accommodation to pilgrims going to Kedarnath (Holy Shrine of Hindus). The Rawat in one of the huts at Panwali, knowing about the Gujjar relocation from Rajaji National Park, commented that the "Gujjar come up to Panwali to graze their buffaloes. Gujjar have too many children, how will government give land to so many of them. The Gujjar have taken land from the government and settled down. They keep one wife on the land while the

other they bring along to the hills. They are enjoying all the benefits of the mountains and the plain. They destroy the forest by cutting trees. They make Mava and finish all the wood. Their buffaloes come into our land at night and finish our grass. Our buffaloes do not get enough grass. The Gujjar are liars and untruthful. These days they have become '*chalak*' (clever)". This view of cleverness was also mentioned in Adishera, a village on the Gujjar migratory route. The Gujjar and Garhwalis maintain a relationship in spite of the dormant animosity towards the Gujjar by the hill inhabiting Garhwalis. The Garhwali shop owners ask Gujjar to bring goods from Ghuttu, as Gujjar make frequent visits to Ghuttu to sell Milk and Mava.

Gujjar buy and sell horses from Bakriwale (Gaddis) and Garhwalis. They mostly buy Horses. The Gujjar and Garhwalis buy and sell buffaloes from each other. A Gujjar purchased two buffaloes from a Garhwali for Rs 60,000. Garhwalis bring their buffaloes to get impregnated by the Gujjar *Jhota*. Gujjar buy dogs from Gaddis, who procure them from *Bhotias*. The buffaloes owned by Gujjar are highly adaptable animals. They survive in the *Des* as well as *Paad,* withstanding extreme temperatures. As the Garhwalis stay close to the *Paad* and migrate, they find it strategic to purchase the milch animals from Gujjar. Some Garhwalis come in search of clarified butter (*Kee*) and butter (*Makhan*). Ghee sells for Rs 300 a litre.

Gujjar have rented a room in Ghuttu from Inder Singh, a provisions shop owner. The Gujjar pay a nominal amount to halt over night when they have work in the town. The room is primarily used to store Mava and take rest. Every fourth day the Gujjar come down to sell Mava to another Gujjar who come from the plains. When anyone falls sick, they use the room to halt overnight. Their relationship with Inder Singh is old. Imam Gujjar narrates that his father and Inder Singh's father were close friends. When Inder Singh's father passed away he told Inder Singh to treat the Gujjar well and always give a place for them to stay in Ghuttu. Inder Singh's father's business flourished due to the Gujjar purchasing goods from him. Along with a economic relationship, they maintain personal relationship with each other. Gujjar continue to be friendly with Inder Singh. They buy provisions from his shop. They buy flour in bulk due to the distance of their Dera in *Paad* from the Ghuttu town, which is 18 km away. During the monsoon it is difficult to transport wheat flour on

horseback up to the hills. By the second week of June, Gujjar begin stocking wheat, tea and sugar for their stay in *Paad* as rains begin making transportation of goods difficult.

VI

Traditionally the livelihood of the Gujjar depended on the traditional form of pastoral nomadism between the *Des* and *Paad*. The increasing population in the Garhwal hill region, with the diversion agricultural land for construction, increased vehicles on the migratory routes, hostile attitude of Garhwalis towards Gujjar, non-availability of fodder on migratory routes and the States conservation policy of displacing Gujjar from the RNP and thrusting a sedentary life on them has led to the break in the nomadic movement between *Paad* and *Des*.

However, the group most affected by the eviction of the Gujjar from RNP are the RNP Gujjar. They have not been identified as beneficiaries of the relocation plan of the Forest Department. The RNP Gujjar livelihood is constrained as the State Forest Department is neither recognizing them as beneficiaries nor are they allowing them to continue their traditional nomadic pastoralism between the *Paad* and *Des*. In *Des* they eked out their livelihood by lopping tress and grazing their *Tarandi*. In summer they migrated to *Paad* and grazed their herds in the *Panjal* and eked out their livelihood. Now, there is a break in the continuity of the livelihood pattern of the RNP Gujjar after the relocation of Gujjar from RNP. Their livelihood seems most uncertain of all the Gujjar groups.

Chapter VIII
Conclusion

The foregoing chapters discussed various aspects of the changing lives of the Van Gujjar due to the forest policy that evolved right from the Colonial administration to the independent India's policy of exclusivist forest development and conservation that emphasises on removing people completely from their age-old habitats in the forest. There are a number of studies on human-nature relationship in anthropology. However, they are mostly focused on ecological aspects and haven't looked into livelihoods and knowledge and their linkages with the resources. The present study, based on one complete annual cycle of fieldwork among the Van Gujjar, attempted at understanding the changing pastoral livelihood in the process of induced/ enforced changes by the Forest Department and State Government.

I

The broader objective of the thesis is to understand how communities redefine their relationship within a new setting (nature) when the older environment is lost. People can no longer depend on the older resources for survival. Along with loss of older environment, people lose their old economic, social and cultural advantages in the new environment. The ecology within a new setting is new, as their livelihood through which they relate to the environment is also new. The setting requires a constant negotiation with the new environment as well as with the people. This process whereby the community acquires new knowledge by forging new social relationships to pursue a new livelihood or continue the traditional livelihood in a changed ecological context is its way of Redefining Ecology. In other words, the aim is to understand how communities 'Redefine Ecology' in the process of adaptation.

The study assumed that when communities are removed from their natural setting, i.e., forest resources and natural landscapes, the cultural knowledge relevant in the old environment has little utility in the new context. Hence, people have to acquire new knowledge and new livelihoods in the new environment to survive. In the process of pursuing a new livelihood people become dependent on the outside communities who have knowledge and resources of the new livelihood.

Keeping the theoretical framework discussed above in the backdrop, the Van Gujjar (hereafter Gujjar), nomadic pastoral community of Uttarakhand was selected as a case study to test the theoretical assumptions proposed in this thesis. The objective of the study was to understand the ecology, livelihood and culture of the Gujjar within and outside the forest when communities are relocated. Further, it was also attempted to understand such impacts of relocation on culture, ecology, nomadism and livelihood of the Gujjar. This comparative understanding of the Gujjar in both the situations would help explain the relevance of the proposed theoretical framework.

The Gujjar, traditionally have been living in the forest of Uttarakhand as an indivisible totality. They rear buffalo herds (*Tarandi*) by following a nomadic pastoral life style. In the context of the traditional nomadic pastoral livelihood of the Gujjar, nature and culture are in a state of continuity. The Gujjar negotiate using their cultural knowledge with nature and pursue their livelihood from the forest and other natural resources. They move to the Mountains (*Paad*) in summer and return to the plains (*Des*) in winter to provide fodder for their buffalo herds. Their livelihood, therefore, is hinged to the forest resources procured through nomadic movements to different places in *Des* and *Paad*. In the process of pursuing their livelihood, Gujjar forge relationships with non-Gujjar communities to procure fodder for their herd. The milk obtained from the herd is sold to milk buyers (*Bania*).

The Uttarakhand State Forest Department declared a stretch of the forest as a Protected Area identified as Rajaji National Park (RNP). The consequence of declaring RNP resulted in the eviction of the Gujjar from the forest. This led to the separation of nature and culture in the Gujjar context. The removal of Gujjar from the forest has resulted in three groups of Gujjar. One group is the Gujjar staying in the Reserve Forest, which does not fall within the RNP boundary. The RF Gujjar continues their traditional pastoral livelihood in the forest. After a survey carried out by the Forest Department in Rajaji National Park, 1390 Gujjar families were identified as beneficiaries and are given land in the relocated colonies at Pathri (512 families) and Gaindikhatta Gujjar Basti (878 families). However, not all Gujjar families received land in the relocated colonies. Those left out (1608) Gujjar families

are seeking the beneficiary status from the Forest Department. This second group of Gujjar are the Relocated Gujjar, who have taken land and stay in the relocated colonies of Pathri and Gujjar Basti. The Relocated Gujjar is not permitted to access forest resources any longer. They are expected to adopt agriculture as a livelihood. The third group of Gujjar are the RNP Gujjar who have not been identified as beneficiaries. This group are not permitted to stay in the Rajaji National Park during the winter to lop trees and graze their buffalo herds. They struggle to access forest resources in *Des*. They continue their summer migration to *Paad* with hindrances imposed by the Forest Department. The declaration of Rajaji National Park has impacted each group of Gujjar in different ways.

Given the spread of the different groups of Gujjar, i.e., the RF Gujjar who stay in the Reserve Forest and the RNP Gujjar are nomadic, while the relocated Gujjar are settled, but within them a group migrates to new locations along with RF Gujjar. This posed a methodological challenge to take on this study. Further, the Forest Department denied permission to visit the RNP Gujjar staying in the forest of RNP. The methodology was modified by selecting a sample of 150 households in the Basti, 30 households in the RF forest and, given the long distance traversed by nomadic RNP Gujjar, 9 households of RNP Gujjar were selected. The Basti sample is large as the Gujjar are relocated and are made sedentary in one village.

The RF settlements are scattered (based on the permits) in the Reserved Forest, each settlement is thinly populated in comparison to the relocated village. Therefore, a sample of 30 household was taken from seven RF Gujjar villages. Participant observation was conducted on nomadic movements. Local short distance nomadic movements (10- 35 km) in the plains and to the new locations (65-85km) were conducted along with the Gujjar families to get a better understanding of nomadism. The summer migration to Paad was also done with the nine RNP Gujjar families to understand the long distance nomadic movements. The logic of selecting three groups of Gujjar facilitated a comparative understanding of the groups. It provided a better grasp of the consequence of relocation on the Gujjar from RNP.

II

The introduction chapter discussed how scholars have conceptualized communities living within nature. Anthropological studies have analysed communities within the context of nature. Nature and culture influence each other and exist as an integrated whole. The concept of culture has been understood as a human attribute that helps people to adapt to their environment. The communities living with nature have an intricate knowledge of the resources, and using their cultural knowledge they eke out their livelihood. Hence, separating them from the very resource that keeps them alive disrupts their equation with nature. In the context of nature and culture continuity, conservation of biodiversity that excludes people results in a disjoint between nature and culture. Conservation of wildlife is synonymous with exclusion, displacement, relocation and sedantarization of communities. People are separated from nature and are put in a new environmental context. In the new context, the relevance of communities' cultural knowledge comes under question.

Historically, the Gujjar access to forest resources has been regulated by policies of the colonial administration. A permit system introduced by the colonial Forest Department constrained the number of buffaloes a Gujjar could own. This further created a differentiation within the Gujjar community to access forest resources. The Gujjar negotiated with these imposed constraints by using their kin relationship (social capital) and by generating institutions that allowed the individual Gujjars to continue their pastoral livelihood. The colonial administration, from time to time revised its policies to restrict the Gujjar to access resources only to some parts of the forest. The Gujjar continued their pastoral life in spite of these restrictions.

The post-colonial forest management was a continuation of the colonial legacy. The forest resources are still under the control of the Forest Department. The State Forest Department regulates the relationship of the Gujjar with forest resources. Efforts were made to prevent the nomadic movement of the Gujjar to *Paad* and *Des* in the past. Few Gujjar families were given agricultural land on lease and prevented from migrating to *Paad* in summer. Some families began staying back in the plains year round. This affected the nomadic pattern, but Gujjar, in spite of all efforts of the Forest Department, continued their movements to *Paad*. In other words, the Gujjar

negotiated with various external impositions and continued their pastoral way of life. A complete disjoint between nature and culture got manifested when the Gujjar were evicted from the forest by the declaration of the Rajaji National Park. Their traditional rights to the forest were terminated, thus bringing their nomadic movements and pastoral life that depended on forest resources to an end. The Gujjar are relocated in a new colony by the State Forest Department to make them sedentary by giving them agricultural land.

Agriculture is an unknown world for the Gujjar. They do not have knowledge of cultivation. With the loss of their buffalo herds and no access to the forest resources the Gujjar pastoral way of life is shattered. In the new context, the Gujjar have agricultural land and their traditional pastoral cultural knowledge. Using these two variables the Gujjar has been struggling to make sense out of the new ecology. They are now forced to negotiate with human made interventions to bring a sense of semblance to their new lives with the old pastoral way of life. Hence, the Gujjar uses their cultural knowledge of pastoralism and forest to negotiate the unknown world of agriculture.

The ecology of the RF Gujjar is to be understood in the context of the forest (nature). The life of the RF Gujjar is organized as a pattern. The RF Gujjar uses their knowledge and forest resources to eke out their pastoral livelihood. During winter they lop trees and graze their buffalo herd in the forest. Some Gujjar families migrate to *Kandi*, low elevation peaks in *Des*, to lop trees. In summer some families migrate to *Paad*, while others migrate to new locations in the Plains along with the Basti Gujjar, and some stay back in the forest. The milk procured from their herd is sold to the *Bania* (*milk buyer*) in Haridwar and Dehradun.

The Gujjar has a long term contract with the *Bania*. The relationship with the *Bania*, although exploitative, is some sort of insurance for the Gujjar. The Gujjar is sure that the milk is going to be purchased by the *Bania*. In other words, the contract with the Bania provides a security to the Gujjar livelihood. The Gujjar not having a permit to lop in the forest align with their kin in Reserved Forest and procure forest resources. The ones not having buffalo work as a *Naukar* (servant) for a Gujjar who

has a permit. In this manner the Gujjar uses their knowledge and negotiate with nature and pursue their livelihood. The ecology of the Gujjar is defined in reference to their herd, forest and nomadic movement between the *Paad* and *Des* and their relationship with the other Gujjar and non-Gujjar.

The consequence of relocation of the Gujjar from the forest of Rajaji National Park to a new environment in Gaindikhatta (*Basti*) led to the origin of the category of Relocated Gujjar or Basti Gujjar. The relocation of the Gujjar from the forest has broken their traditional pattern of life. The removal of the Gujjar from the forest is also a removal from their existing economic, social and cultural realms. Relocation has led to chaos among the life of Basti Gujjar. Having lost access to their traditional resources in the forest, the Gujjar in the Basti could not afford to have similar buffalo herd that they once possessed in the forest. The Gujjar cannot provide any more fodder for their livestock by lopping trees or letting their animals to graze.

The Basti Gujjar have been given land for cultivation, which is a new resource for them. The Basti Gujjar do not have the knowledge of agriculture, though they are not unfamiliar with agriculture as an activity. They, not knowing how to do agriculture, are also not in a position to pursue their traditional nomadic pastoralism. The Basti Gujjar is left in a void to interpret the changing circumstances of a new livelihood, new resources and new social relationships. In such a situation what all the Basti Gujjar have is their cultural knowledge and new resources. They adapt in different ways to the changing context by negotiating with the new resources and new relationships using their existing cultural knowledge. The decrease in the number of members in the family among the Basti Gujjar is an indicator of a move towards a nuclearisation of family. In a way, the community has become more oriented towards individualism and, therefore, have become divergent in pursuit of livelihoods. The ‘we’ feeling among the Gujjar is also weakening.

In the process of negotiating, the Gujjar redefine their ecology. The relocated Gujjar, ecology in contrast to the earlier forest ecology (pastoralism) redefine the change in a heterogeneous manner. In the forest, the Gujjar defined their ecology in the context of the forest resources by practising Pastoralism. In the Basti the Gujjar is

trying to make sense of their new unknown world, using their traditional knowledge by attempting different options. The Basti Gujjar is attempting to forge new social relationships with the Gujjar and non-Gujjar in the relocated colony. The Basti Gujjar are leasing their land for cultivation to their own ilk and to non-Gujjar cultivators. The leasing of land and emergence of tenants is similar to the older *Bania*-Gujjar relationship. The 'new Bania' are the new elite Gujjar, who take the lands of Basti Gujjar on lease. These elite Gujjar are skilled and mobilise resources for cultivating large number of Gujjar Basti plots taken on lease. The lease arrangement is based on grains and chaff or money, depending on the crop cultivated. The elite Gujjar give loans to the Basti Gujjar when required. The loan is recovered by the Gujjar tenant gradually. This arrangement is similar to the Gujjar living in the forest taking advance from the Bania and, in the process, they become indebted to him.

III

After relocation the Basti Gujjar has lost the right to enter the forest. Gujjar having buffalo herd in the Basti depend on their traditional cultural knowledge of pastoralism. Gujjar having large buffalo herd do not keep the animals in the Basti due to lack of resources. They return to the Reserve Forest to lop trees in winter, using their kinship ties with the RF Gujjar. The Basti Gujjar replicates the *Asami* and *Jangal Ka Malik* relationship in the Reserve Forest to access trees for lopping in winter. The loss of permits has terminated their access to resources in *Paad*. The Basti Gujjar instead of *Paad*, now migrate to *Khadar* and *Barrage* in Uttar Pradesh with their herd to access grasslands. The milk produced by the herd of the Basti Gujjar in *Khadar* and Barrage is still sold to the *Bania*. Thus, the economic relationship with the *Bania* still continues in the changing resource context, after relocation.

The traditional form of dairying is not possible in the Basti, but the Gujjar continue it in a new form. Gujjar having a few number of buffaloes have not given up tending them in the relocated Basti. Apart from the traditional Gujjroo breed of buffalo, Gujjar have begun purchasing high yielding (hybrid) variety of buffaloes. The owning of hybrid variety of buffaloes require commercial fodder, which is expensive to buy and not all Basti Gujjar can afford. The Gujjar in the Basti have begun owning cattle and goats that were not owned by them in the forest in a nomadic

context, as cattle and goats eat less fodder. The Basti Gujjar buys buffaloes and cattle in the nearby non-Gujjar villages, as they are cheaper compared to the hybrid buffalo.

Buffaloes owned by Gujjar in the Basti are now tethered and stall fed. The Gujjaroo breed of buffaloes is allowed to roam in grass patches close to the Basti. The method of procuring fodder for the buffaloes in the Basti is through cultivating fodder and feeding harvested crop remains. The crop remains, like wheat chaff and hay, are available from leasing the land for cultivation to Gujjar or non-Gujjar. In some cases the lands are cultivated by the Basti Gujjar themselves. A portion of their land is cultivated with green fodder to feed their small herd. The Gujjar who own few buffaloes sell milk to a *Dhodhia* (Gujjar milk buyer), as the buffaloes do not produce enough milk that could be supplied directly to the *Bania*. The *Dhodhia* collects the milk from the Gujjar and, in turn, sells it to the *Bania*.

Considering the fact that they do not have knowledge of cultivation, land is leased to meet the food requirement of both the Gujjar and their livestock. In the forest they sold milk and purchased grains. In the relocated village they receive wheat grains through the lease arrangements. The lease arrangement includes receiving the chaff of the wheat crop from the tenant. The chaff is used as fodder for the buffaloes in the Basti while the wheat grains provide food security for the Gujjar.

IV

The Basti Gujjar are Sunni Muslims. The Gujjar are split into two sects, the *Barelwi* and *Deobandi*. In the forest the division was weak as few Muslim clerics from various seminaries could reach the interior of the forests. Gujjar that stayed close to Mosques near the forest offered *Namaz* and it was here clerics used to contact them. After relocation in the Gujjar Basti, the divide between the two sects is becoming stronger. Upon relocation, Muslim seminaries have easy access to the Gujjar Basti. The *Barelwi* and the *Deobandi* Sect Gujjar have different religious rituals and practises. Each sect considers the other a non-Muslim. They do not offer prayers in each others' Mosques. Gujjar of both the sects do not offer the *Namaz* of the holy festival of Eid together. There is a conflict over which sect should be the first one to offer *Namaz*. The seminary leaders of both the sects encourage the sect

members not to marry the Gujjar belonging to the other sect. The widening divide among the sects is creating a wedge within the Gujjar community. The fact that the community is reorganizing itself on the lines of religion suggests a redefinition of their social relationships. This new religious division is also a social division which is an outcome of the Gujjar positioned in a new context. Hence, it is part of the process of the Gujjar redefining their ecological relationship. This is not so in the case of the RF and RNP Gujjar.

In the forest context the pastoral livelihood is worked out with the help of the kin groups. Further, the forest gave the Gujjar an identity of the forest dweller 'Van-Gujjar'. In the relocated Basti the Gujjar are attempting to adopt a Muslim identity. They are trying to regain the lost forest identity by accepting a division of sects among the Gujjar. The Gujjar regularly contribute money for the construction of Mosques. In one case, a Gujjar gave part of his agriculture land for constructing a Mosque. There are eleven mosques, while two were sanctioned under the Government relocation plan. Relocation has led to the weakening of kinship bonds. The kinship bonds are being salvaged in religious practices, rituals and activities. They are also being reinstated through agriculture in the relocated Basti. Gujjar are making collective contribution of grains and money to construct Mosques and Madrasas. They are trying to reconstruct their identity based on the Islamic faith in contrast to the 'Van', forest dweller, identity. With the changing trends in Gujjar religion, the Muslim religious organizations and seminaries have a stronger presence in the Basti. These institutions are playing a stronger role in strengthening the Islamic identity of the Gujjar. The divide between the sects is hardening and may lead to the formation of sub sections within the larger Gujjar community

With the change in economic equations in the village, Gujjar having more land with the knowledge of agriculture as tenants and large herds are emerging as elites of the Gujjar community. Gujjar with no or little agriculture knowledge are becoming dependent on Gujjar and outside communities for their survival. The ones leasing their lands and not having buffaloes are forced to take up daily wage work in the nearby towns. Temporary work is available around the *Adda*. Gujjar find work as labourers at construction sites, and load wooden logs onto Lorries at the Forest Depot.

The shift is taking place from a homogenous way of life in the forest to one that is diverse in the relocated Basti. Over time, Gujjar are attempting to acquire a diverse knowledge base. As the elite Gujjar have political links with politicians and bureaucrats they are emerging as the representatives of the Basti Gujjar. The elites of the Gujjar community now play a larger role in taking decisions on behalf of the community. Though a section of the Gujjar community has benefitted from the separation of culture from nature, a large majority are in a state of flux. The redefinition of ecology by the Gujjar is resulting in a widening and strengthening inequalities among the Basti Gujjar.

The relocation of the Gujjar from RNP has led to the formation of different groups within the Gujjar community and it has resulted in a divide among the Gujjar community of Uttarakhand. The Basti Gujjar have received land while the RNP Gujjar have not. The RF Gujjar are not affected as of now. Sooner or later, the State will remove them from the forest. Due to the differential approach of the State towards the Gujjar, they have been impacted differently. The three groups of Gujjar have received different benefits from the State. Given the current situation the Gujjar will negotiate with the State from their vantage point. In other words, each group will negotiate with the State for benefits individually.

The Basti Gujjar are negotiating with the State for more benefits and schemes, like the construction of concrete houses, better loan facilities to purchase hybrid variety of livestock, better education facilities for Gujjar children, and better medical facilities for their livestock and themselves in the Basti. There is a stronger demand from the Basti Gujjar to be included in the category of the Scheduled Tribe or Other Backward Classes to reap benefit from the States policy of affirmative action. The Gujjar are forced to align with civil society organizations, legal representatives and political organizations for securing better representation in the larger domain of society.

V

This thesis proposed a theoretical framework for understanding nature–culture (people) relationship in the context of relocation of Van Gujjar from the Rajaji

National Park (RNP) who have been removed from their traditional natural setting. In other words, an attempt is made to understand as to what happens to the relationship between nature and culture, which was once in a state of continuous interaction, when they get disconnected due to planned interventions by the State. In most of the development programmes people, who depend on the natural resource base for their livelihood, are forcibly evicted. The separation of people from their natural resources has implications not only on their relationship to the natural resources and livelihood, but also on their culture. When people are removed from their natural setting and put into a new setting how do the communities make sense of their new world? The new setting is a new context for the community. In such a situation the communities are expected to take up a livelihood that they do not have knowledge about. In a new setting their existing cultural knowledge may not be useful to utilize the new resources, as they no longer have access to their traditional resources about which they have knowledge. In the new context, people are given new resources, but their knowledge systems continue to be traditional. Under the changing equations how do communities negotiate with the changing context to survive and give new meaning to their world is what this thesis attempted to explain.

In the light of the above discussion, the theoretical framework adopted in this study assumed that the separation of nature and culture affects the previous social relations of production stands vindicated. In the new environment the older cultural knowledge will be of no use value and their culture will no longer be reflective in a totally alien environmental setting. Hence, people forge new social relationships in order to pursue new livelihoods and to acquire new knowledge and resources in support of them. In the process, people become dependent on the others and their knowledge for their continued existence, as these others control the new livelihood and knowledge pertaining to it. It has been demonstrated in this study that the separation of the Gujjar from the forest has led to a break in the social relations of pastoral production in the context of the forest. Further, in the Basti, the Gujjar have no cultural knowledge about cultivating land, and their cultural knowledge has no utility value in the changed scenario. The Gujjar are modifying their knowledge to suit to the changing context. The Basti Gujjar are realigning their relationship with the Gujjar and non-Gujjar members, the Bania and other communities to eke out a stable

livelihood outside the forest. In this process the Gujjar is becoming dependent on others for their knowledge and for a continued existence. In a sense, a people who were independent with cultural knowledge to harness the nature to eke out pastoral livelihood have now become a community that depends on the other's knowledge and resources. This clearly establishes the theoretical position held in the thesis that once a people are divorced from their resources, their cultural knowledge becomes redundant in accessing livelihoods that are dependent on the very resources from which they are separated. In a sense, the linkage of a natural resource with the cultural knowledge and livelihood gets broken leading to increasing inequalities, that results in deprivation and impoverishment.

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