

**From Nomadic to Sedentary Life:
A Study of the Bakarwal Community of Pakistan**



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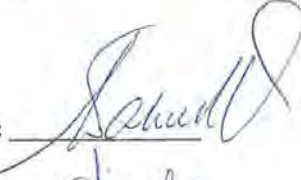
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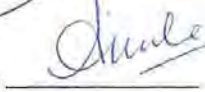
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Taking up an anthropological study on a nomadic group the Bakarwals as the topic of my PhD dissertation has been a challenging task and took a longer than usual time. The same people that I dealt with as a Forest Officer were now the subject of my study for which very little anthropological references were available. Due the complexity of the study and the longer timeframe the list of those to whom I am indebted grew larger. I am indebted to Dr. Professor Hafeez Ur Rahman who encouraged me to enroll as PhD student and Dr. Waheed Chaudhry my thesis supervisor who kept me on track.

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Abstract

Nomadic and transhumant people are widely spread all over Pakistan and retain a distinct culture, caste and ethnicity. This dissertation explores the life trajectories of a transhumant community the Gujar Bakarwals in Northern Pakistan. Despite being marginalized by colonial and post-colonial bureaucratic hurdles they traverse large distances to provide pasture to their livestock while avoiding the ever increasing bureaucratic as well as other hurdles in their movement. This strategy is only partly successful and they are left with no option to give up this mode of life as they are failing to meet the ever increasing restrictions of the forest officers. An in-depth analysis of the colonial history followed by the unsympathetic attitude of the present day forest bureaucracy is followed by the cultural practices of the Gujar Bakarwals from the economic, marriage, religious outlook and more. The actual migration process of two clans the Allaiwal and the Kaghani Bakarwals depict the minute details of the strategies they adopt to pursue their traditional lifestyle. The conflict between the forest officer and the Bakarwal this thesis argues is based on the application of colonial era textbook knowledge and laws in the post-colonial period; this is reinforced by in-depth review of the roots of forest related laws that suited the colonial powers and how the present day forestry curriculum with no mechanism to empirically study the impact of nomadic grazing on natural forests is in place. They struggle for a little understood system of long distance transhumance that supports a distinct culture and pastoral economy. Bakarwal with large unreported breed of goats and horse use vertical mobility to take benefit of seasonality between the summer and winter pastures. Gujar Bakarwals have a diaspora in the northern districts of Pakistan and Indian held Jammu and Kashmir.

Their sedentarization is an ongoing process all over the study locale of Pakistan's four administrative units of this study at the Punjab, Azad-Jammu and Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The Bariyankhel clan undertakes the longest annual migration of all the known pastoral nomads in Pakistan. They enjoy their stay at Deosai the most due to the availability of kin, abundance of grass and least interference by the state functionaries.

Neither the Bakarwals nor their livestock are recognized in the national censuses. Literature on pastoral nomadism in Pakistan is negligible or does not exist. They operate in a vacuum in the absence of a definition of indigenous people, or policy on pastoralism. In this study Grounded Theory methodology was used with anthropological techniques to study the lifecycle, framing of research questions and analyze the factors that lead to their sedentarization.

Results reveal that voluntary planned sedentarization is an ongoing process that was accelerated due to events of the last 70 years. As a survival strategy the Bakarwals continue to find newer winter pastures and alternate migratory routes. British colonial legacy in the shape of knowledge and power exercised through the continuum of the forest department is the single effective player that shapes the fate of the pastoralist culture. Protected Areas established throughout the range in strict legal sense render their very existence illegal. This study finds that the concepts of 'ecology' and in particular of 'carrying capacity' of the 1960's form the basis of the power of the forest officers, that is different from the native's perception of the same space. This study ends with suggestions that include crafting policy on nomadic grazing and to stimulate research into the biophysical and social sciences on pastoralism and may lead to design an informed policy on the subject.

Key words: Nomad, Gujar, Bakarwal, Sedentarization, Grounded Theory, Indigenous Knowledge, Desiccation Theory, forests, National Parks, UNESCO Biosphere Reserves

Acronyms

AGW	Assistant Game Warden
AJK	Azad Jammu Kashmir
CEESP	Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CNIC	Computerized National Identity Card
DFO	Divisional Forest Officer
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations
FB	Father's Brother
FFB	Father's Father's Brother
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FZ	Father's Sister
GB	Gilgit Baltistan
IBP	International Biological Program Michael Little
IGF	Inspector General of Forests
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
Kazakh S.S.R.	Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic
KG	Kilogram (1000 grams)
KM	Kilometers
KP	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa
LOC	Line of Control
MAB	Man and Biosphere Program
MACP	Mountain Area Conservation Project

MB	Mother's Brother
MPA	Member Provincial Assembly
MNA	Member National Assembly
NIC	National Identity Cards
NSP	Nomad Sedentarization Projects
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAMP	Protected Area Management Project
PBS	Pakistan Bureau of Statistics
PCO	Public Call Office
PFI	Pakistan Forest Institute Peshawar
PKR	Pakistan Rupees
PPP	Pakistan's Peoples Party
PMD	Pakistan Metrological Department
QAU	Quaid-i-Azam University
RF	Reserve Forest
SLMP	Sustainable Land Management Project
STEP	Southern Turkana Ecosystem Projects
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USA/US	United States of America
WAMIP	World Association of Mobile Indigenous Peoples
WISP	World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism

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1. Introduction

Nomadic and transhumant people are spread all over Pakistan and retain a distinct culture, caste and ethnicity. Whether living on open spaces in towns, at the periphery of urban areas or in the wilderness, their existence epitomizes the survival of a long-distance transhumance culture, which is least understood. They have specialized in various skills necessary for their distinct culture and an economy that supports this culture. The present study focuses on pastoral nomadism or transhumance that is commonly confused with pure nomadism. Transhumant people change their place seasonally to feed their herds throughout the year and their final destination is a known place of residence. On the other hand, pure nomads are wanderers with no permanent homes. They follow an irregular pattern of migration as opposed to transhumant nomads, whose points of seasonal migration are fixed both in summer and the winter pastures.

Pastoral nomads are ubiquitous all over Pakistan and consider themselves as very distinct from other nomadic tribes and castes. They call themselves colloquially as *Maaldar*, which means “possessors of wealth” especially of cattle/ herds. The term Bakarwal refers to the groups having large goatherds who migrate seasonally in a defined pattern of vertical mobility to take advantage of seasonality between the summer and winter pastures. Gujar Bakarwals have a diaspora in the northern districts of Pakistan and bordering districts of Jammu on the Indian side. Many Gujar groups particularly in districts Chitral and Dir undertake short distance annual migration and are pure transhumant. Gujar Bakarwals taking short and long-distance migration also settle in Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJK), Gilgit-Baltistan, Kohistan and Hazara districts. In the lowland winter pasture, the final destination of Bakarwals is the Potohar plateau of northern Punjab, though, some camp in winter in parts of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. For the long-distance nomads, the ultimate summer pastures are the Deosai plains, upper pastures in the valleys along Shontar Nallah and Upper Kaghan. The specific group of the Gujar Bakarwals (*Bariyankhel*), thoroughly studied in this research, undertake the longest annual migration of all the known pastoral nomads in Pakistan. These are the Deosai-Potohar Bakarwals who trek Deosai plains as summer pasture and Potohar scrub forests for winter pasture. The Bakarwals have been moving over a distance of approximately of 400 KM, as the crow flies, in their annual fixed routes of migration from winter pastures at Fatehjang, approximately at an hour’s drive from Islamabad, to Deosai located in Gilgit-Baltistan territory. They cross four administrative units i.e. the

Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJK) and Gilgit Baltistan (GB) of the country in regular patterns. They spend summers from early July until the first week of October every year in Deosai and embark upon a return journey at predetermined stopovers at the end of summer. They enjoy their stay at Deosai the most because of the presence of their kin, abundance of forage, cold spring water, cool weather and minimum interference by the state functionaries.

The Bakarwals and their livestock are not counted in the national population or livestock censuses of Pakistan. Literature on pastoral nomadism, in particular long-distance transhumance is negligible. In Pakistan there is neither a national definition on indigenous people, nor a policy on nomadism. Resultantly, the Bakarwal pastoralists are left alone to deal with multiple factors in the four different administrative units of the country.

The present study looks into the social systems that keep social bonds in the Gujar community at large and their family, religion, politics, economy and education. The study also looks into the relations of the nomads with their sedentized comrades as well as the local communities with whom they interact both during migration and pasturage camps.

In order to understand the influence of history and the laws related to the summer and winter pastures; the historical and legal perspectives of Gujars' and the legal instruments applicable to grazing lands are studied. Besides that, adjustment issues are explored to assess the weighted impact and consequence of external factors such as changing lifestyles on Bakarwal community.

Postmodern tradition of Geertz (1973) has been used throughout this study for this purpose. The standard anthropological techniques are applied to frame the research questions and analyze their lifestyle and the factors that lead to their sedentarization.

1.1 Statement of Research Purpose

With literature review and personal interactions with forest and pastoral nomads who perceive the same rangelands differently emerges a bigger picture that helps understand the epistemological aspects of sedentarization. A clear conflict of perception about nature between the pastoral nomads and the forest officers is visible. The former perceive the pastoral space as their lifeline while the latter with their existing power

based on ‘constructed’ textbook knowledge having roots in the British colonial era consider that the elimination or regulation of grazing is necessary for the health of the forests and pastures. This conflict on perception of the same piece of land is the crux of the dilemma the Gujar Bakarwal nomads are facing.

Therefore, the present research intends to:

- Understand the epistemological concepts and beliefs of the Bakarwals vis-à-vis the Forest officers about nature;
- Deconstruct and re-construct the ecological and social theories that relate to pastures and pastoral grazing in the study locale. In other words, ‘Thick Description’ of the nomadic-sedentary process;
- Study the phenomenon of social change from nomadic to sedentary lifestyles, by identifying the factors that lead the Bakarwals to give up their traditional lifestyle from joint family to nuclear family and from subsistence to market-based livelihood;
- Assess the weighted impact of the push and pull factors that play a role in forcing change from traditional to modern lifestyle among Bakarwal community; and
- Look into the causes of resistance of the Bakarwals to the push factors and document the struggle to maintain their traditional knowledge and identity

To assess the weighted impact of factors on Bakarwals community that play a pivotal role in changing lifestyle, the consequences of new lifestyle e.g. adjustment issues are the prominent queries of the present research study. In order to deeply understand the influence of history and the laws related to the summer and winter pastures, historical and legal perspectives of Gujars and the legal instruments applicable to grazing lands are the part of this study.

Postmodern tradition of Geertz (1973) ‘Thick Description’ therefore has been applied throughout this study. The study also looks into the social systems that keep social bonds in the Gujar community at large as; family, religion, politics, economy and education.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The earth systems are changing because of the interaction of humans with the ecosystems, which is widely recognized. There is an increasing realization that major

steps need to be taken to ensure the sustainability and productivity of the ecosystem services of the earth. According to biophysical scientists, land degradation is occurring widely due to anthropogenic pressure. Dryland pastures provide substantial productive fodder and forage that keeps on sustaining large number of herders and pastoralists who adopt mobility to take benefit of seasonality for sustenance of their herds throughout the year. Interactions between the biophysical and social scientists are rare in Pakistan, this is necessary to understand the human factors that influence ecosystems and devise policies and legislation to address the emerging issues. Except a long-term study conducted by a large community of scholars from biophysical and social sciences as part of University of Michigan's Southern Turkana (STEP) project, the author could find no other holistic study to understand the dynamics of human-environment interaction.

This is the first comprehensive anthropological study in Pakistan on a nomadic group that is widely spread in most of the northern mountainous regions of Pakistan. Both the pure nomadic and their sedentary relatives are present in the study locale. Although the climate in the summer pasture at Deosai renders life impossible during the winter, but the nomads do find abode in the small villages and towns around the vast tract of Deosai. The settled Bakarwals along the migratory route have also been studied. The author, being a trained forest officer, was able to link the contemporary thinking of forest departments with that of the global thinking and also the "new ecological thinking" with the ground realities in the study locale. This study also sheds light on the human-environment interactions and its reciprocal impacts on deforestation, land degradation and climate change and provides new insights and strategies to address these unending problems. This study provides insights to these issues that could trigger further research and help develop the whole picture for the decision makers who need to adopt new approaches to tackle the land degradation/ deforestation issues that are ultimately linked to the climate change problem.

This study provides insights for the forest department to re-think the scientific basis for a workable forest and wildlife policy. It also contributes to the work of social scientists who continue to work on social issues in isolation from the biophysical sciences despite the fact that the later play a key role in devising policies for handling land and the people who depend on productivity of natural ecosystems.

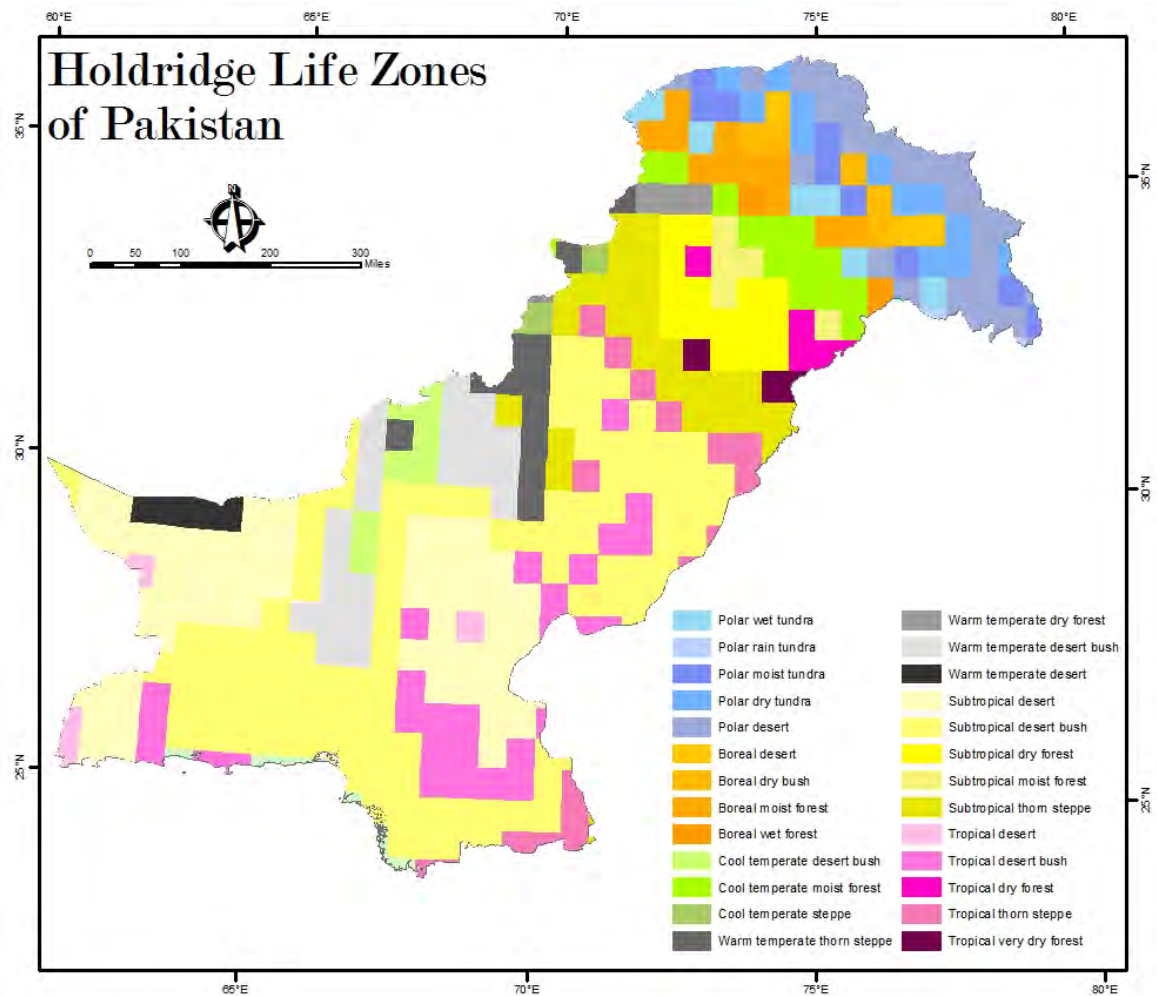
1.3 Climate of Study Area

The study locale is marked with extremes, both in gradient and temperature. The vertical gradient from the two ends of the study locale is 13,500 feet above sea level that in addition to latitudinal difference from 2° North and 3° East at Choa Saidan Shah District Chakwal (PMD, 2017). The Latitude is 32°43'6.35"N and Longitude is 72°59'8.41"E at the extreme ends of winter pasture and the summer pastures (Nasir, Afrasiyab and Athar 2015). Deosai Latitude is 34°58'13.75"N and Longitude is 75°28'18.59"E that makes a distance of approximately 333 KM distance Euclidean and 870 KM actual distance on foot.

The Deosai plains have an area of 3,000 sq. KM with an average elevation of 4,114 meters (13,497 ft.) above sea level (Nawaz, et. al, 2008). The annual precipitation ranges from 350 to 550 mm, mostly received during September-March in the form of snow (Hussain et al, 2015). Snowfall begins late in September, and by the end of November, the Deosai Plains become completely inaccessible. The area remains snow covered until mid-June. The weather from July and August is normally pleasant, with mild daytime temperatures with chilly nights. This is the time when nutritious grasses, forbs and herbs sprout in abundance. On the other hand, the winters are much mild in the Potohar tract of northern Punjab with availability of winter forage.

The travel time on foot is approximately 45 days for uphill migration and 35 days for the downhill migration with approximately ten days margin of stopovers. They spend no more than 46 days for one side migration every year during the up and downhill annual migration, delays occur when decision to allow entry of Bakarwals in the Potohar is delayed by the Government of the Punjab. The latest global classification system places the locale of the Bakarwals in seven ecological zones under the Holdridge Life Zone (HLZ) classification.

Figure 1. Map Holdridge Life Zones of Pakistan



Source: Pakistan Journal of Botany, 47(SI): 359-366.

There exist three types of Bakarwals in Pakistan¹; Kashmiri, Kaghani and Allaiwal; all three groups have almost the same *gotra*². The research group belongs to Kashmiri Bakarwals while some were from Kalu Khel clan also known as Kaghani. The later spend their summers in Kaghan and adjacent areas and came back to district Attock or lower valleys of Hazara for winters. Both groups use Gojri language with a slight difference in dialect; Kaghani dialect has more influence of Pashtu while Potohari dialect has Punjabi influence.

Conversely, the summers in the Punjab from May to June are hot when mercury reaches a maximum of 45° Celsius, with hot and humid climate at the onset of the monsoon rains

¹ Author's own findings

² The term *gotra* is equivalent to 'clan' or refers to people who are descendants in an unbroken male line from a common male ancestor.

from July to late August. Temperature starts rising in the Potohar region after the spring rains in February-March and reaches the peaks of 45° Celsius in June (PMD 2017).

1.3.1 Available Fodder

Soils in the Potohar are piedmont with incised rills and hillocks interspersed with fertile plains that are mostly leveled by farmers using heavy machinery. The impetus for land development by heavy farm machinery was steered by subsidies by the state over the last seven decades. In the Potohar tract, approximately half a million acres of scrub forest with *Acacia modesta* and *Olea cuspidata (ferruginea)* is available as summer fodder for the herds of these Bakarwals and as winter fodder for the local population (Uzma et al., 2016). Despite availability of summer forage, the Bakarwals depart from the Potohar tract before the start of summer as they are cool weather loving people.

There is a gradual elevation change between the summer and winter pastures in the migratory route of the Bakarwals. Their migratory routes are either through northern Punjab or Hazara region to reach the Neelum Valley in AJK before they reach their destinations to the summer or winter pastures. The winters are harsh along the migratory route, as adequate pastures do not exist along this route to meet the needs of the large flocks of the Bakarwals. The small patches of fertile soils available along the routes are already owned and cultivated by the settled people.

During migration, water need of the herds is met from local springs and rivers such as *Unhar* in KP, *Neelum* and *Jhelum* in AJK and ponds, water channels and springs in the Potohar region in Punjab. The locales of the summer and winter pastures are clearly defined amongst all the Bakarwal families/ gotras. The grazing and camping right in the summer and winter pasture determined by customary law and respected by all Bakarwal clans, the tabular description of these rights is given in table 1.

1.4 Definitional Issues

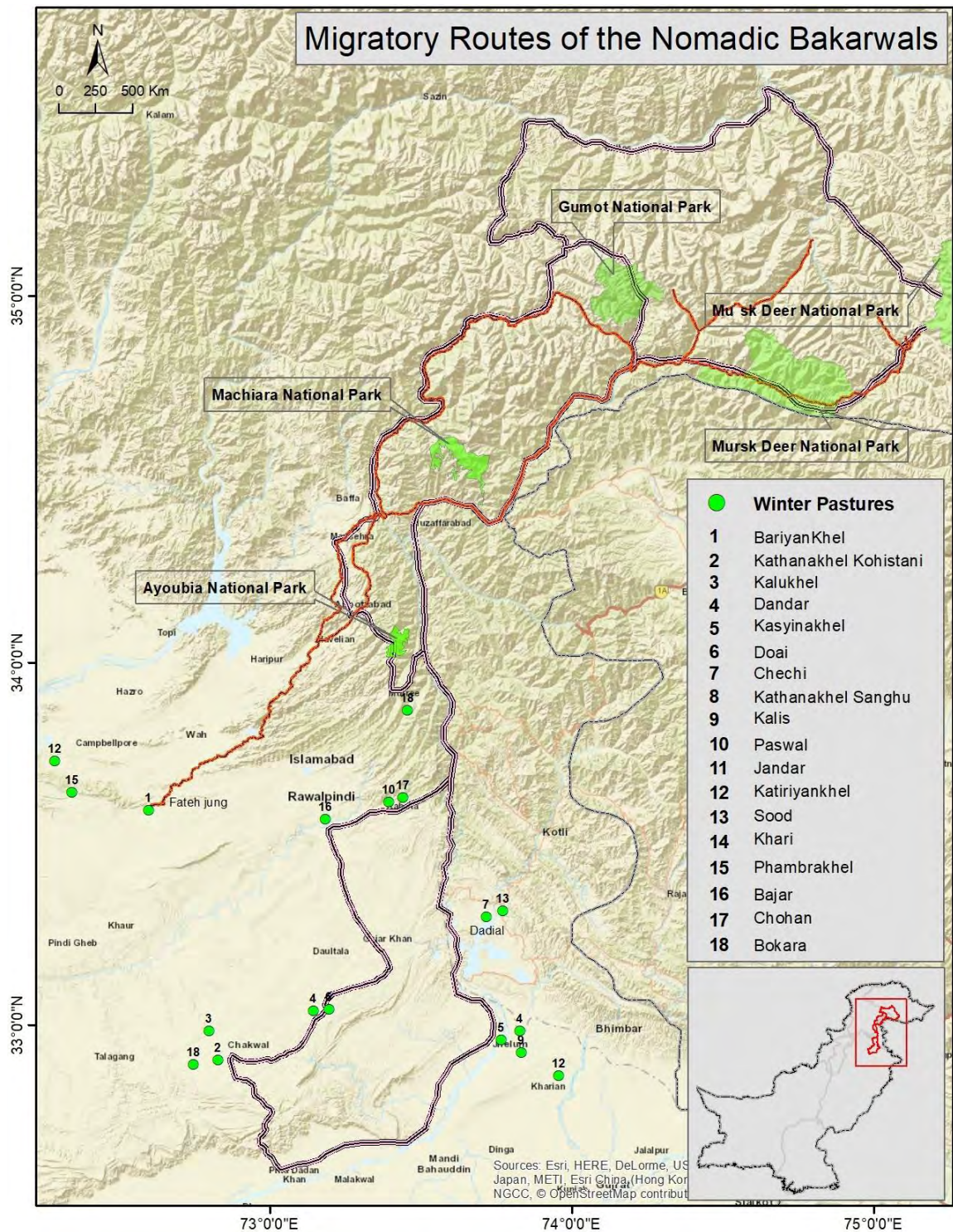
Nomadic and transhumant people are widely spread all over Pakistan and retain a distinct culture, caste and ethnicity. Whether living inside open spaces in towns, at the periphery of urban areas or in the wilderness. They are specialized in various skills necessary for sustaining their distinct culture and an economy that supports this culture. This study focuses on pastoral nomadism that is commonly confused with nomadism. Pastoral nomadism in Pakistan is mostly, neglected, despised and mostly undocumented.

Transhumant and nomads are frequently used terms; whereas transhumance is the seasonal movement of herds to feed their herds throughout the year, however the destination at the end of each migration is a known place of residence. Nomads however are defined as wanderers with no fixed homes. Pure nomads follow an irregular pattern of migration, opposed to transhumant whose points of seasonal migration are fixed. Livestock herding has historically been associated with nomadism globally and is still practised in many parts of the world.

Gujar Bakarwals occupy a distinct niche in the country as they are present in all the northern regions of Pakistan i.e. Punjab, KP, AJK and GB. Gujar Bakarwals are the major focus of the present study so other pastoral nomads are not included or discussed in this study. The Kashmiri Bakarwals (Potohar-Deosai) and the Kaghani Bakarwals (Hazara-Kaghan) are dealt in this thesis with more detail. Ethnographic study with an analysis on understanding the factors that result into their sedentarization is discussed in chapter 6.

The Bariyankhel clan has been moving over a distance of approximately 870 KM by road and 333 KM by foot (Shahid 2017) 400 KM distance as the crow flies) along their annual_fixed routes of migration from winter pastures at Fatehjang in district Attock to Deosai. Others encamp for winter in selected areas of the Potohar where availability and access to winter fodder is ensured. The farthest point of winter camp is at Pabbi hills in district Gujrat in the Punjab and Choa Saidan Shah in district Chakwal.

Figure 2. Winter Pastures in Potohar and Attock



Source: Developed by the Researcher (2014-5)

Table 1: Tabular information of pasture rights amongst the tribes

Sr. No	Name of Clan	Summer Pastures/ Period Spent	Winter Pasture/ Period \ Spent
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1	<i>Bariyankhel</i>	Chachri Tetwal Nala Gujar Domail	Rawalpindi Attock
2	<i>Kathanakhel</i> (Nick Name) <i>Kohistani</i>	Bazori Nallah Choti Deosai Gaggai	Kharian Chakwal
3	<i>KaluKhel</i>	Mir Malik	Chakwal
4	<i>Dandar</i>	Chilum Choki Bandish	Jhelum Kharian Sohawa
5	<i>Kasyina Khel</i>	Mir Malik Sher Garh	Jhelum
6	<i>Doai</i>	Choti Deosai	Sohawa
7	<i>Chechi</i>	Darisa Gaggai Bari Deosai	Dhodial
8	<i>Kathana</i> (nickname <i>Sanghu</i>)	Kala Pani	Shahpur (Islamabad)
9	<i>Kalis</i>	Sher Garh	Village Kalisyan Jhelum
10	<i>Poswal</i>	Bari Deosai	Kahuta
11	<i>Jandar</i>	Kail, Gaggai	AJK (Mirpur, Rawalakot, Muzaffarabad)
12	<i>Katiriyankhel</i>	Rayat in Kala Pani Astore	Attock
13	<i>Sood</i>	Phulawai	AJK (Dhodial)
14	<i>Khari</i>	Menu Bandish Choti Deosai	AJK (Dhodial, Mirpur)
15	<i>Phambrakhel</i>	Rayat	Murti (Attock)
16	<i>Bajar</i>	Gaggai	Rawalpindi Bharakau

			Satra-Meel
17	<i>Chohan</i>	Chehta	Kahuta
18	<i>Bokara</i>	Choti Deosai	Chakwal
19	<i>Sayal</i>	Permanently Settled	
20	<i>Badhwana</i>		
21	<i>Tadwah</i>		
22	<i>Koi</i>		
23	<i>Koshi</i>		
24	<i>Sarhadna</i>		

Source: author's field data

There are 24 clans (Gotras) of the Gujar Bakarwal tribe. First eight clans are nomadic Bakarwals they spend their summers at Deosai and other areas in AJK. Last six clans are permanently sedentized. Remaining ten are living semi-nomadic lives. First 18 clans in table 1 above are directly or indirectly linked with herding. The remaining six have changed profession, some of them are shopkeepers, while others work in different offices at lower level or run small businesses.

The choicest winter pastures are the Forests RF in the Rawalpindi forest circle comprising of districts Attock, Chakwal, Jhelum, Rawalpindi (Chirah block, parts of Tehsil Kahuta and lower parts of Murree) outskirts of Islamabad Bharakau) and Pabbi RF in district Gujrat. While summer pastures are Deosai National Park, Shontar Nallah, Gaggai, Kaghan pastures and Babusar area.

During the course of this study, I could not get official record on Bakarwal settlement by the state in any of the provinces or the federal territory. Except for one housing colony found in Dhodial town located at a distance of 55 KM from Mirpur city named as 'Nai Abadi Bhaloot Siraj Colony' AJK where Bakarwals were allotted residential plots by the Government of AJK in a housing scheme solely meant to settle the nomadic pastoralists/war refugees. One of the ex-chairmen Town Committee Dhodial was interviewed who gave oral insights on the settlement policy.

1.5 Assumptions

The study was carried out with the assumption that the Bakarwals would settle at a locale along their annual migratory routes. The factors that lead to sedentarization could be understood by following a sample that have settled or are in the process of

sedentarization. While looking into the factors that lead to sedentarization the study would also document social, cultural and economic changes. Extensive literature review of similar processes globally in particular and historic perspective of sedentarization was undertaken, to draw parallels.

The other assumption is the uncertainty associated with the grazing/ range management policies of the Forest and Wildlife Departments as a factor for forced sedenterization. An in-depth analysis of legislation and policies on forests and rangelands (pastures) that directly affect the grazing practices of the Bakarwals is undertaken to see how policy creates impacts on the process of sedentarization. This requires evaluation on the motives behind the policy. A review of the policies and the associated legislation determines the fate of this pastoral community. This has to be reinforced by looking into the synchronic evolution of the ecological science vis-à-vis the social sciences that impact pastoral grazing is undertaken to have a bigger and clearer picture.

1.6 Research Questions

Research questions emerged from the deconstruction of preliminary interactions with the nomadic groups spanning over a period of a decade and after extensive review of literature which are the following:

- i. Will nomadic pastoralism continue if given a choice to settle?
- ii. What is the predominant reason for the survival of Bakarwal culture? Is it economic pressure or quest to preserve the culture?
- iii. Do sedentarized Bakarwals revert to nomadism (there are some case studies on reversals); what are the factors that force sedentarization? Is sedentarization a linear process and is predictable?
- iv. Who makes decisions to settle down?
- v. What are the weightage of factors that lead to sedentarization
- vi. What is the role of forest department's protected area system on the mobility and pasturage of Bakarwals?
- vii. What is the role of bans on entry of Bakarwal under the Penal Code Act
- viii. What is the literacy rate and impact of mobile schools on the life of Bakarwals?
- ix. Assessing the weighted impact of permit fee in the Punjab and cost of getting permits approved from Government of the Punjab Forests and

Wildlife Department. And the impact of the uncertain and unpredictable policy of the Punjab Forest Department in changing or forcing the Bakarwals in adapting survival strategies.

- x. The impact of Billion Tree Tsunami Project on the migratory routes in particular in the province of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP).
- xi. The impact of imposition of grazing fees in Deosai and Neelum valley by the Gilgit Baltistan GB Forest Department and Neelum Development Authority respectively. This includes frequent imposition of fines for trespassing through the newly notified National Parks located along the traditional migratory routes.
- xii. Understanding the divergent points between the positivist science of Forest Department versus the Bakarwals perception of ecosystems and nature;

An interview guide was also designed to cover the large expanse of geographical area. The other contribution of this study is to explain how the Bakarwals' specific traits function or behave. For instance, how the ecological gap (niche) is identified and utilized by the Bakarwals, and how they could maintain their linguistic identity despite the various dialects/ languages they encounter in their annual migration.

1.7 Research Methodology

For adequate data collection that meets the objectives of this study, a methodology was adopted to systematically process field data with the analytical understanding of the research questions. The methodology comprised of the tools that could adequately analyze data and describe the theoretical and conceptual model to render this research valuable academically. At the start of this research no theory or clear objectives of the study were in my mind, it took years to frame the title of the study and devise a methodology. The two main approaches for such research are the qualitative and quantitative techniques. The present research study is mainly qualitative in nature and documents the issues faced during migration and halts at winter and summer pastures. Dependency Theory, Foucault's theory of Power and Knowledge and **Desiccation** Theory have been applied on the theoretical side.

For enhancing the authenticity of this research, certain methods and techniques were adopted for systematically gathering reliable data in order to fulfill the requirements of

the research. More than one mode of observation was used in this study (Pelto & Pelto, 1978).

Due to budgetary and time constraints, questionnaires and telephonic interviews were used for data validation. With these quantitative tools, this research has become a combination of both qualitative and quantitative. This was due to the large expanse of the study area and mobile nature of the Bakarwal nomads. Questionnaires for both mobile and sedentarized Bakarwals are included in the annexes.

In order to remove biases from the methodology, the standard practices of qualitative research tools were adopted. Triangulation was also undertaken by holding dialogues with respondents who were different from initial participants. Over the years, many people were contacted who had knowledge of one or more aspects of Gujars, pastoralism and Bakarwals. Validity of the obtained results was checked through normative and interpretive interviews.

This study was started with a purpose to get a better understanding of the nomadic Bakarwals with whom the author had dealt as an opponent in the capacity of an officer of the Forest Department before becoming an anthropologist. This research was initially started without a theory, research questions and background literature review of any sort. The only technique adopted was keeping notes of personal interactions and travels with the settled and nomadic Gujar Bakarwals and Gujar friends; some of them have high positions in the society, forest and wildlife departments, and fellow PhD scholars who would occasionally accompany me to the field. This includes discussions with the supervisor at the university. Writing of sections continued throughout the years and as ample primary data was gathered, the title of the thesis was decided. At this point, the methodology of the Grounded Theory was studied and applied systematically, which is described in the next section.

1.7.1 Grounded Theory

Glaser (1992) and Strauss (1987) describe it as an inductive methodology in which the researcher reviews the collected data and analyzes it to find repeated ideas or concepts that become conspicuously apparent and tags the concepts extracted from the concepts with codes. These concepts are then categorized that provide the basis for new theory. Thus, grounded theory is quite different from the traditional model of research, where the researcher chooses an existing theoretical framework, and only then collects data to show how the theory does or does not apply to the phenomenon.

In the study of topics of social nature, the Grounded Theory offers an important systematic methodology, particularly when little is known about the topic and a longer period is needed for data collection, Patricia and Barry (1986). As discussed earlier, there is no anthropological literature on the migration and sedentarization of the Gujar Bakarwals in Pakistan. The information sources on the Bakarwals are fragmented in nature. Therefore, entering into fieldwork with preconceived ideas from existing theories was neither desirable nor adopted in this research. The approach adopted in this study is in line with the standards set by Allan (2003). The standard procedure of this theory was adopted sequentially as follows:

To acknowledge and remove the biases, adequate measures were taken as discussed in the section 'Position of the Author'. Data collection was started immediately after completion of the course work. This entailed field visits, frequent meetings with the respondents and recording field observations. Initial participants of the engagement with the respondents led to the selection of key informants. Rapport building process is discussed in section 'Establishing Rapport' of chapter 1. Coding of the data was done sequentially into categories that reflected various issues that surfaced during the process. The comparison of the emerging categories was done on a continuous basis during the coding process. Memos were developed during theory generation. As a result, newer ideas were developed with a free mind (Glaser, 1978, p. 83). Sampling was done by repeatedly adopting the standard anthropological methodology as discussed in chapter 1 under section 'Research Methodology'. This was revalidated through dialogues with selected respondents. Theoretical refining continued till a stage was reached when additional data yielded no new information. In the final stage of theory building, the review of literature was done and existing theories were referred to build a model that depicted the social process and is presented in chapter 5 under heading 5.2 'Factorizing Sedentarization of Gujar Bakarwals'.

1.7.2 Participant Observation

Ever since the studies of native societies by early anthropologists like Bronisław Malinowski (1928), Evans-Pritchard (1940), and Margaret Mead (1928) in the first half of the last century; the participant observation has become the major approach for ethnographic investigation. In this method, the establishment of personal affiliations with native informers is solely relied upon as a mean of learning about the native culture; this involves both observing as well as participation in the social life of the group that is being studied.

In participant observation, the discipline-based interests and commitments did shape the events that seemed important and relevant to this research. Howell's (1972), four stages of participant observation: i) establishing rapport with the people, ii) immersing in the

field, iii) recording of data and observations and iv) consolidation of the collected information was followed in this eleven years study.

After extensive infraction and fieldwork, without any pre-conceived theory, the author found himself following the Grounded Theory and Howell's (1972) four stages of Participant Observation. The research methodology was applied as below:

A) Establishing Rapport

Rapport building the first step of this study was problematic at the initial phases since the Gujar Bakarwal knew the author as Forest Officer that is their main rival in land utilization. Both the forest service and the Bakarwals have conflicting perceptions on the pastures/rangelands. The good thing was that at the start of this research, the author was no more in the provincial forest service and simply got introduced as a university scholar attempting to write a book on Bakarwals' life cycle.

Being the contact person with the global nomadic association WISP (World Association of Mobile Indigenous Peoples), I have facilitated their participation including my key informant in international meetings of nomads held in Spain 2007, Bishkek 2014 and Kenya 2017. The years of my long association with Bakarwals made my presence as an insider and not as a forest officer.

During the course of the study, I wore two hats, one, of a researcher and a participant observer, second as a serving forest officer who had access to insider information. I remained engaged on this topic with over 30 forest officers from all the provinces throughout the years of the study. The author also attended the annual *urs*³ at the shrine of *Pir Baji Alif Din* at Kotli AJK while visit to *Pir Maroof Shah* in Satra-Meel, Bhara kau Islamabad in 2017, and a number of marriage ceremonies.

I served the federal government as the Inspector General Forests 2010-2019, all efforts were made to be as neutral as was possible and never give the impression that this interaction with the community would benefit them particularly in their struggle to get grazing permits with the advent of winter when they need it at any cost for their survival. To overcome this problem, I always informed both the forest department and the Bakarwals that my involvement is for academic purposes.

³ Anniversary of a Sufi Saint, accompanied with prayers and social gathering of followers, dates are fixed according to the lunar calendar

B) In the Field

Knowing the hate-love relationship between the forest department and the Bakarwals I kept the delicate balance of remaining neutral throughout the eleven years of this study. With the Bakarwals who have the tendency of not revealing the whole truth to 'others' I attended their death and marriage rituals, was available at various occasions like start of migration season and both at the summer and winter camps. 15 families were followed throughout the study. I also spent six months at Garhi Dopatta AJK in a hired residence at the bank or river Jhelum, it is here that the Bakarwals spend a week or ten days to give some rest to their herds before undertaking the toughest climb through the mighty Himalayan route flowing a mostly narrow road leading to Deosai. I also travelled with three groups along the Neelum river route to Taobat and met all the migratory groups both during the uphill and downhill journeys.

Frequent visits and stays with families both in winter and summer pastures was also undertaken throughout the period of the study. Field notes were duly recorded and mobile phone numbers of all respondents were also noted; mobile phones are also used by Bakarwals to extend invitations for their rituals and discussing their problems related with grazing permits.

Frequent dialogues with fellow forest officers resulted in firming up the gaps in the knowledge of the forest officers who though outstanding professionals would have less time to keep abreast with the newer knowledge in the positivist sciences that kept on building during the years ever since they graduated. This engagement in most cases resulted in softening the tough stance of a few forest officers that they had against the Bakarwals but in many cases they were reticent.

C) Recording Observations and Data

Due to vast expanse of the locale of this study and budgetary constraints a key informer would always accompany me in this study throughout the years. Remaining within cultural restraints of interaction with women I was still able to hold dialogues with female Bakarwals in the presence of their male harams and the key informer. About 800 Photographs and 80 hours of video recording were also made during this period. Some of the Bakarwals are internet users but mainly use WhatsApp. A lot of videos on some

aspects Bakarwal life have been uploaded on YouTube and Facebook but none gives any in-depth analysis.

A number of key informants were identified during the years. The key informants identified were also the facilitators, during the entire period of field work. The contact with the community was established and still continues as more and more friends particularly lawyers are volunteering to go for public interest litigation to help these nomads to get some recognition and grazing rights.

D) Analyzing Data

This critical part of the study was smooth as huge data was collected over the years that helped to straightforwardly undertake thematic and narrative analysis. In narrative analysis the data was organized according to recurrent themes that were found in the in-depth interviews, field notes, video clippings, photographs, questionnaires and last not the least confirmatory dialogues in focus group discussions. Patterns were found in the themes that were recurring across data, this led to finding a pattern that was related to a specific research questions. Two data sets were generated during this study one for the large number of Bakarwals and the large number of forest officers in four legal entities namely the provinces of Punjab and KP and the territories AJK and GB. Caution was always kept in mind so that my personal biases do not impact the results, however zero impact of personal bias cannot be ruled out.

Data analysis was done during 2016-17 and older notes were updated, and revalidated with in-depth interviews before writing the final manuscript.

1.7.3 Key Informants

The hunt for one or more key informants who would fulfil the five criteria identified by Tremblay (1957) followed by Marshal (1996) who could help access three type of data including objective, definitional, and judgmental was not an easy task keeping in view that the mobile nature and vast spread of the community/ respondents. After iteration I was finally able to locate a key informer who met the five criteria namely; having a regular role in the community, having direct access to the knowledge required for this research, willingness to communicate and share freely his local knowledge. The informant was willing to communicate his knowledge, ability to intelligently communicate and above all remain impartial.

In the first three years of my research three female MPhil students from the Department of Anthropology at the Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad (QAU) accompanied the author to get insights on Bakarwal women's perception on the process of sedentarization. However, with time a good rapport has been built that helps in better mobility within the families of Bakarwals.

And after heuristic efforts the key informers were selected, the main key informant is also the chief of his tribe of Bakarwals the *Bariyankhel*. Mobile phone is widely used by all Bakarwals and was frequently used by me to contact the Bakarwals and gather sets of information. Contact numbers of more than one hundred Bakarwals were recorded in the field notes of the author.

The researcher being an outsider (epic) faced initial hesitance from respondents in sharing their personal information and internal conflicts as well as internal interaction with other Bakarwal tribes. From the community, three respondents who are introduced in the next section were selected, as they better understood the research questions and effectiveness of this study. Though the community is illiterate but has a clear understanding about the geo-political processes in the region. The key informants at one side helped to identify the underlying meanings of activities on other hand they worked as facilitators like in convincing people for giving interview, validation of personal information shared by the respondents, sharing major terms which were used during daily life chores. The researcher was in the know of the study area so had to spend less time in understanding the biophysical processes that were ongoing in the study area. Key informants' input was vital to fine tune the available information and helped in the identification of the most appropriate respondents from the community.

The key informants selected from the forest department are senior forest officers from the provinces of Punjab and KP while two officers in AJK and GB who were mid-career officers at the start of this research reached the topmost position in their respective forest departments in the long period of my fieldwork. Of course, I as the Inspector General of Forests being an insider have had no issue in communicating with these key informants of the forest department. These officers influence key decisions that are taken by their respective governments on issuance of grazing permits, fixing routes and camping sites for the Bakarwals. These key informants have also been helpful in providing logistical support to the author, the film-makers and the interviewers during the course of this

study. One of the key informers in AJK in fact issued an order to restore the nine historic/ traditional camping sites of Bakarwals during their migratory route in the Neelum Valley (annexure 1).

My main key informer from amongst the Bakarwals spent his childhood as a pure nomad and like many others has settled in Qadarabad colony a small hamlet adjoining Kala Chita Reserve Forest (RF). Kala Chita Reserved Forest is also notified as a National Park (NP) with a total area of 91342 Acres located in Tehsil Fatehjang district Attock. He is Haneef Parwana who is regularly elected as a chief of his sub-caste that is also duly endorsed by *Pir* Baji Alaf Din of Kotli (he is known as Parwana in present research study). He receives the nomads who are his near relatives during their wintering grounds. As part of his duties as chief of the tribe is to ensure that grazing permits are issued by the government of the Punjab much before the arrival of the nomads in late October every year. He has to frequent the Forest offices at Attock, Jhelum, Chakwal and Rawalpindi as well as the Conservator of Forests Rawalpindi and Chief Conservator North Zone. He then has to spend days and in some years it could be weeks in the provincial capital Lahore to get permission for grazing the Bakarwal herds during the winters.

He is 60 years old and has five sons and one daughter, only one son is unmarried while one son got married during the course of this study. He looks after the farm and orchard of a local landlord of Fatehjang who lives in Islamabad. Parwana gets 3rd part from farm and crops' outcome for his services⁴ and is allowed to build a house and barn for his 89 goats he gets 1400 KG wheat crop and a share in the orange orchard averaging an amount of 35,000 Rupees per season. He sends his goats with the nomads during the summer migration. He sells 7-10 lambs every year during Eid-ul-Azha⁵, grows vegetables for his own use and lives a contended life.

He is paid travel expenses by the community when he has to go to Lahore, Attock, Chakwal, Jhelum and Gilgit to facilitate his community in obtaining grazing permits; he is often called by the community to resolve disputes. He is respected by the *Pir* of Kotli and gets his blessings.

⁴ It is common practice in Punjab 'share-cropping'; the land owner bears all expense of crops; after paying all expenses profit will be distributed into equal parts and the promised portion given to the tenants.

⁵ The Muslim ceremony, performed (Slaughtering of Animals) during the Hajj, in memory of the Prophet Abraham in month of Islamic Hijri Calendar.

In a year when the Punjab Government delays or denies the decision to issue grazing permits, life becomes very tough. Having no other option, the Bakarwals have to improvise ways to feed their large herds at any cost. They face prosecution and harassment by the forest officials' as well local police and have to adeptly hide their herds in the scrub forests of Potohar; they have also to keep away from roads to avoid detection by senior forest officers.

The second key informant unlike the main key informer (Parwana) of Fatehjang continues as a pure nomad. He undertakes the long migration between Deosai and Potohar with his family (comprising of three sons who are all are married). The second one and the daughter-in-law along with their three siblings live with him. While the eldest one with his wife travel and always camp besides his father's camp but retain their own *Tawaa*. The daughter-in-law of the eldest son is the daughter of his cousin who is also a pure nomad. He was selected as a key informer as he has first-hand knowledge about all that happens along the migratory route, stop-overs during the migration; grazing pasture ownership in Deosai and legal position of state and private owned pastures in the winter pastures. He speaks three languages Urdu, Punjabi and Gojri and can understand Shina language of the locals in Minimurg and Astore in Gilgit Baltistan province.

The key informers from the forest department are known to the author for three decades and were groomed in the forest service after passing the competitive exams. All including the author are trained with positivist sciences related to forests through a curriculum that is taught in two years stay in the Pakistan Forest Institute Peshawar. They are transferred from one district to another and in most of the northern districts of the country; they have to deal with the Bakarwal 'issue' in their respective jurisdiction. Focus group discussions, interviews and dialogues were conducted with 30 forest officers during the period of this study. Twenty forest officers also travelled with the author on some reaches of the migratory route, who would inform that before interaction with the author their view point on nomadism was myopic. Only ten percent of the forest officers would not agree to consider and give weightage to the viewpoint of the Bakarwals.

I still continue to remain in contact with four informers:

i) One of the informers who is just more than a nomadic Gujar Bakarwal in the sense he is an entrepreneur who is a petty contractor and avails any opportunity to make money other than the normal income from goat-herding. He spends the winters in outskirts of Islamabad. He is a nomadic entrepreneur and has a big house on the outskirts of Islamabad where he with his nuclear family spends the winter. He is a petty contractor for army supply in Deosai and also deals with the forest department and smuggles medicinal plants. At times he is apprehended and fined by the Divisional Forest Officer Skardu while smuggling medicinal herbs. He has a hundred goats and camps at *Len Nallah* in *Chota Deosai*. Unlike his near relatives he does not undertake the annual migration on foot but is using hired trucks for the last seven years that carry his goats to summer and winter pasture. His family comprising of 8 kids undertake the long journey on hired jeeps via the KKH-Astore highway since there is no jeep-able road to the Deosai plains on the Neelum river route. He spends 20,000 to 30,000 Rupees to pay for carriage of his goats. For uphill and downhill migration (rent of vehicle depends on available transport facility). His son Jano studies in government school in class 4 and daughter in class 7 in the Girls high school Nilore. He collects more or less 60 KG goat cheese from the summer pasture and utilizes it during the winter and does not sell the extra goat cheese (counting of goats and weighing of cheese is prohibited so it is always approximate). He sells 25-30 (average) rams in the Islamabad Eid market (*Eid-ul-Azha*) and earns 300,000 rupees to supplement his income. He makes sure to synchronize his summer migration when summer holidays are announced in Islamabad lest his kids suffer from school attendance. He also supplies mutton to the army camps and makes a handsome profit.

ii) The main informer who also has attended international conferences on nomadism who is settled in Fatehjang district Attock but lives at the periphery of the large winter pasture of Kalachita forests and provides logistic support to his relatives who retain the traditional nomadic lifestyle the pure nomadic members of his tribe who regularly camp near his permanent house.

Lately, the key informer tells that during this winter (2016-17) in order to get CNICs, all Bakarwals have purchased parcels of lands in the Potohar region (e.g. from few Kanals to few *Marlas* in Qadarabad colony in Fatehjang). This purchase was done after PPP government initiated the CNIC campaign and made it mandatory to be a

citizen of Pakistan. Smelling the problems in future, the Bakarwal elders made this decision in 1980's.

He informs that his spiritual saint (Pir) The ancestors of *Pir Baji Alaf Din* Kotli AJK came from Kaghan hundreds of years ago; all rituals and belief system of getting blessing to be chief Spokesman of Bakarwal is in very natural way. In every year all the Bakarwals who follow him get together at his *Darbar* at Kotli for resolution of familial and conflict with other communities the decision of the Pir is final and acceptable to all parties.

His relatives settled in and around Islamabad continue to marry off their daughters to pure nomads, continue relationship with their nomadic kin. There is no status change in the community, those who are sedentarized they equally give respect to those who are still living nomadic lives that is why mate selection among sedentarized and nomadic families is common. Sedentarized Bakarwals often visits the shrines of Bari Imam, Nilore, Chirah, and Bharakau for religious guidance and blessings.

- iii) The third key informer who is a successful real estate dealer and lives in Rawalpindi, Adiala road where he made a fortune out of his real estate business. He lives in two worlds as his neighbors are upper class city people, while he frequently visits his relatives in the summer pastures and hosts his nomadic relatives. He follows the Bakarwals rituals at wedding and death ceremonies and has to arrange two ceremonies; first is performed with his Bakarwal relatives and the second is solely for friends and neighbors in the city.
- iv) The fourth informant is a fully sedentarized Bakarwal, who after giving up nomadism runs a cloth shop in Choa Saidan Shah in district Chakwal. He was a pure nomad in his childhood, when he was ten his father sold the herds and started a business. Now he owns his father's business, his brother also has a separate cloth shop in another area of Choa Saidan Shah City.

For this type of qualitative research qualitative techniques were also used keeping in view the vast expanse of the locale, mobile nature of respondents, budgetary and time constraints. Therefore, sampling techniques for data collection were also deployed. This

was done keeping in view Goode and Hatt's saying 'a sample is a smaller representation of a larger whole' (Goode & Hatt, 1952: 209).

1.7.4 Sampling Technique

Being a serving forest officer, I have worked in four of the six locales used as winter pasture in the province of the Punjab namely Jhelum, Chakwal, Attock and Murree and my familiarity with the locations of migratory, winter and summer camping sites helped a lot in this study. Yet to follow the annual life cycle of a family throughout the locales was a challenge and learning experience, Forest is a provincial subject in Pakistan, each province has to deal with their part of the 'problematic' Bakarwals and no one is responsible to address the issues of the entire annual cycle of these nomads. The study has also been severely restricted due to funding constraints.

Since the community selected for this research study resides in different pastures at different times of the year except for those who have given up nomadism, the locales of the study were divided into three parts namely the winter and summer pastures, the migratory routes and the settlements. The *Bariyankhel* clan comprising of 84 families was studied throughout the year/s in all the three locales.

For the selection of samples purposive and convenience sampling was undertaken in this study, purposive or deliberate sampling is defined as a non-probability sample wherein there is a conscious selection of elements that are included in the study to ensure that the required characteristics are available in the sample (Ilker et. al., 2013). Convenience sampling or opportunity is defined by Saunders (2012) as a non-probability sampling wherein the sample is selected that is in easy reach, convenient and readily available. However, such a sample cannot be used to make generalizations about the total population as this sample is not representative enough. In order to control the shortcomings of purposive sampling, questionnaires were used to get information from other clans who share the same migratory route with *Bariyankhel* but stay in Deosai during summers, *Chechi* clan that reside in Bhimber AJK and the *Dhandar*, *Kaghani* clans spends their winters in Khanpur area of Haripur district in the province of KP. On top of this, dialogues were also held with these clans before report writing in 2017.

The samples from the Gujar Bakarwals community were drawn purely on purposive and convenience basis. Purposive in the sense that the research questions deal with the sedentarization of Bakarwals and convenience in the sense that those nomads were

selected who spend their time in migration and have some links with sedentarized households of their community.

The process of selecting the nomads for the present study was very simple. From all 24 *Khels* of Bakarwals (discussed in chapter six) *Bariyankhel* were selected due to ease of access, budgetary constraints and that they have both pure nomadic as well as settled relatives who were in easy access of the researcher. Forty percent of the *Bariyankhel* households are now sedentarized, while the remaining sixty percent of the whole *Khels* are still nomads (140 households). It took four full years to document the migratory routes from winter pastures to summer pastures.

1.7.5 In-depth Interviews

Interview schedule was devised and fine-tuned after the initial interviews both for male and female respondents. Sixty interviews were conducted with forest officers all along the three zones of winter, summer and the migratory routes. Telephonic interviews were also used to follow up on the in-depth interviews. My bias as a forest officer had already largely been overcome before entering the field with an anthropological perspective that had already added on to my initial positivist cap. As all forest officers are trained in the positivist tradition; still I cannot claim that the forester's bias had been completely overcome.

The interview schedule was divided into three major portions one each for the winter and summer pastures and question regarding migration. A separate schedule was devised for settled Bakarwals. These interview schedules were all in Urdu language and are annexed.

Overall, twenty interviews were conducted each in winter and summer pastures and during migration making a total of sixty in-depth interviews. It took a long time and patience to talk freely with the women and build rapport. The questionnaire designed for this study contains, socio-economic documentation of the household, number of animals, each '*Tawaa*'⁶, role of women in making key decisions, reasons for continuing with nomadism, reasons for settling down, problems during migration and early sedentarization, strategies to get access to pasture and issuance of grazing permits.

⁶ *Tawaa* literally means iron pan used for making bread, in Bakarwals culture a separate *tawaa* implies that the married son is now independent and has to look after his wife, kinds and herd of goats and horses.

1.7.6 Case Studies

Based on purposive sampling technique the case studies were selected after conducting in-depth interview. This study tool was used to extract rich and descriptive narratives. It proved very in this particular situation when the boundaries between ongoing phenomenon and context were not clear so multiple sources of evidence were sought for this study.

Ten case studies of recently sedentarized, six of recently settled and five of old settled Bakarwals who still have close relations with their nomadic relatives were undertaken. Differentiation between newly settled and old settled Bakarwals was not difficult to discern as I gained experience during my long association with this community. The first changes are observed in change of women's' dress, hairstyle while for men beards are usually shaved and the typical Bakarwal cap is not mandatory for men.

1.7.7 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Overall 20 Focus group discussions were held at the start and end of the research, FGD was also arranged at Fatehjang forest office with retired and serving forest officers with specific focus on the Bakarwal issue as Fatehjang hosts the largest number of Bakarwal nomads in winters. This method was used to validate the data at the final stages of the research. The data gathered through different techniques and tools was analyzed after conducting all the in-depth interviews. The FGDs were conducted to check the strength of collected data.

All parameters needed for a quality FGD were catered like homogeneity of the group, and number of participants. Three FGDs conducted with the help of female researchers having six participants each. The third FGD was conducted with those household heads who sedentarized as recent as the last two years. Another FGD was conducted with elders of the family e.g. grandfathers (paternal/maternal) and the participants of this FGD was six.

1.8 Position of the Author with this Study

Since mid-1980's I served as a forest officer in six districts of the Potohar and had been dealing with Bakarwals whose arrival at the start of the fall season was an alarming situation and would wait for the policy advice that was often late and different every year. The pustular issue was to watch if any official has allowed their entry into the state forests in exchange of financial gains. I have been in contact with the Bakarwals and the

forest officers who take the crucial decisions whether to issue grazing permits or not, my initial perception on Bakarwals was the same as other forest officers e.g. they ruin the forests by grazing and branch cutting and their elimination would improve the forest cover of the country. That perception was not based on any scientific study or evidence. With the arrival of the Bakarwals in the 1980's the offices of the senior forest officers were flooded with complaints of bribery and most actions were taken by field officers to save themselves from allegations and enquiries. Even the senior management was hesitant to take final decisions for hidden fear of getting involved scandals.

It was since 2004, when I started looking at them with an anthropologist's perspective with my formal enrolment in the QAU, Islamabad Pakistan. After interacting with many Gujar Bakarwals all along their vast geographic spread in northern Pakistan, I had chosen to conduct a detailed study of select groups of the Gujar Bakarwals as this subject was in my sub-consciousness during my service in the province of the Punjab.

From 2010, I quit the provincial forest department and joined the federal government as Inspector General of Forests. Equipped with anthropological knowledge, I had a different outlook on the same Bakarwals that I dealt with while serving in the province as a forest officer. Literature and experts in the field of nomadism are scarce in Pakistan; therefore, this research has been a real challenge. However, with years of efforts and spending long hours in the National Library of Pakistan, I was able to collect literature and draw the big picture of the whole life cycle of pastoralism. During the course of this study, I travelled with them all along their migratory routes this time with a different perspective.

With years of exposure to social sciences more formally at the QAU my outlook on traditional knowledge and indigenous communities was broadened. Exposure to anthropological theory and readings on nomadic literature further broadened this understanding. In the year 2007, I got involved with World Association of Mobile Indigenous Peoples (WAMIP) I was able to facilitate the participation of a delegation of Bakarwals to the World Gathering of Nomads a Segovia Spain. Two of the key informers participated in the World Gathering of Nomads. Parwana still continues to remain in close contact with me. He frequently shares problems associated with migration and issues related to ever increasing taxation all along the migratory routes and unilateral notification of new National Parks on regular basis. I do associate by sensitizing my colleagues in the forest department about pastoralism related issues and

obligations of the government of Pakistan under intergovernmental treaties like the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD).

In early 1990s the government of the Punjab on the advice of the forest department placed a ban not only on Bakarwals grazing in the state-owned forests but also imposed ban on their entry in all districts of the Potohar. This ban was imposed to effectively eliminate the chance of their skipping into the state forests. The period of ban was a bad time for the Bakarwals and good time for some forest officials who could silently allow grazing in state forests. Some Bakarwals through their representatives filed suits in the courts of law to get access to their traditional and customary grazing lands but none of their lawyers could defend their cases in the courts of law during this period.

Field data of this study on analysis gives insights on the root cause of the conflict between the Gujar Bakarwals and the Forest officers. It finds that the process of pastoralism cannot be understood through a multi-disciplinary view that includes both biophysical and social sciences, history and colonial studies. The details of this analysis are discussed in chapter 5 “Old and New Ecological thinking...” and Ecosystems and the New Ecological Thinking”.

I took a year sabbatical and spent six months in Chitral (KP province) where I studied the Gujar Bakarwals and spent the next six months in Garhi Dopatta Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). This enabled me to collect rich field data. During the stay at Chitral one research study was prepared and a presentation was made at IUCN-WISP conference held at Arusha Tanzania⁷. Stay at Garhi Dopatta during the start of the uphill migration till June 2007 was a lifelong experience. I made friendship with many Bakarwals and recorded notes of my interactions with them on daily basis.

1.9 Limitation of the Study

Human- Environment interactions research is an integrated and complex science agenda that needs to be further developed in an integrated fashion. This study has taken longer than usual time, during this eleven-year study the researcher had reached the topmost

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- ⁷ Paper published by World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism 2007 WISP / IUCN Switzerland 2008 titled “Pastoral Issues and Land Rights in District Chitral”
https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/1134/Biber-Klemm_1473.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=yhttps://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/import/downloads/land_rights_publication_english_web.pdf

position in the government service and was in no hurry to submit a dissertation on which he was not himself satisfied. Funding was a limiting factor for this study that encompassed a huge geographical spread; however the life-long association with the subject and the respondents helped overcome the funding constraints. While pursuing a PhD while on the job appears to be counter-productive for a researcher, the positive side has been that since the job was related to biophysical aspects of Bakarwal grazing, this job however provided opportunities to interact with global thinkers on climate change, land degradation, indigenous issues and biological diversity.

Many nomadic groups hitherto not studied were encountered during the field work; they were not included in this study. The entire population of settled nomads all over the spread of the summer, winter along migratory locales was not assessed as published data is not available and due to funding limitations, this assessment was not undertaken, the samples selected are based on convenience rather than some scientific basis. The seasonal mobility of these nomads was another limitation to remain in contact with the nomads on regular basis. However, the wide acceptance of cheap mobile phone calls was used to keep in touch with them.

This may not be a comprehensive anthropological study on grassland ecosystems but it is certainly first of its kind at least in Pakistan that also encompasses on the legal instruments that are used by the forest managers to achieve objectives defined by them. It is expected to be useful for the decision makers who allow or disallow grazing permits to Bakarwals, impose levies and taxes during their migration, decide on rates of permit fees both in summer and winter pastures. And above all sensitize decision makers to draft a policy on indigenous people of Pakistan, as so far there is none.

1.10 Chapterization of Thesis

It has been an arduous task to trace the migratory routes, travel physically and spend time with the Gujar Bakarwals. Following the classic needs of a thesis in anthropology, comprehensive literature review including history and legal status of the Bakarwal nomads has been undertaken in the eleven years of study of this nomadic group. The purpose was never to lobby to save this seemingly dying culture. However, the aim has been to study the process and determinants that pull them toward sedentarization. Sedentarization of this group appears occurring since the 1980's at a faster pace than since 1947-48 the year that established barriers through establishment of international

borders along their traditional migratory routes between India and Pakistan. The aim of this study has been to record without bias the facts that lead to sedentarization through the scientific method.

In the **first chapter** (introduction) the definitional issues related to nomadism, trans-humanism and pastoral nomadism are discussed to arrive at locating the Bakarwal nomads in the right place. The characteristics of pastoral nomads that match the long distance Bakarwals are discussed and described. This is followed by a general overview of the study. The assumptions on which the statement of research purpose and research questions is followed by a description of the research methodology; this sets the pace of this interesting research.

Chapter two offers a comprehensive review of literature on nomads and nomadism; it sets the pace for further analysis of primary data in the subsequent chapters. Historical references of Gujar Bakarwals in the Mughal Era, the British colonial era and co-relating with Ibn Khaldun's references on nomadic tribes enrich this study. It then takes an overview of nomadic studies in the contemporary world. The positivist scientific view on grasslands and the archeology of the knowledge that has shaped this knowledge is looked into using an anthropological lens; a substantial portion is devoted on the South Turkana Ecosystem Project (STEP) wherein a long term joint study by a team of social and biophysical scientists was conducted on pastoral nomads, to find a lot of similarities with this research. Finally, the chapter gives an overlook on the theories that were found applicable and relevant to this work have been discussed. It also touches on how these theories were applied in the subsequent chapters. This includes the era of environmentalism wherein national parks, protected forests and game reserves were notified in all the four administrative units/ provinces that form the space used for survival by the Gujar Bakarwals. Environmentalism appears to have led to declaration of all pastures and migratory routes of this long distance migratory group aliens on their traditional grazing lands.

Chapter three takes an insight on the yearly life cycle of the study group that encompasses eleven years long observations and engagement with the Bakarwals. This involves ethnographic studies with an insight of the economic activities of the study groups; this includes both pure nomads and those who have settled. The pure nomads are treated as the people at the periphery, settled and recently settled Bakarwals as semi-peripheral as described in the World System Theory, and lastly the people at the core

group (Dependency Theory) whose unconscious decisions are leading to fulfilment of colonial era objectives of the British against the Gujars in general and the Gujar Bakarwals in particular. This includes the forest officers (including the Wildlife officers). This chapter also includes the habitation pattern in summer and winter pastures and the special arrangements made in particular by the women for survival during the long diurnal vertical migration.

Chapter Four is about the migratory trails of the respondent Bakarwals. Common recurring factors along the migratory trails are discussed in detail including the stopovers in the vertical migration; that the migrations are vertical and diurnal with fixed stopovers for each clan. The details include the interaction of the migratory groups with sedentary locals both in urban and rural areas. It also discusses Bakarwal strategies to endure the long migration that is spread over three months.

Chapter Five takes up the factors that lead to sedentarization. This includes the historical factors that have deep roots in the British colonial policies adopted after the failed 'Indian mutiny' of 1857. Findings show that the present corps of forest officers is equipped with both the biophysical knowledge and legislative instruments keep playing the role of protectors of nature. While they keep ignoring the needs of the Bakarwals who endeavor to keep their traditional lifestyle. The main reason is attributed to the fact that the forest officers keep on applying the colonial era laws in the post-colonial period. Amongst the factors that lead to sedentarization are the socio-economic, environmental, governmental policies and laws, historical factors and the core issue is the persistent clash between the core group and the people at the periphery.

Chapter Six deals with the process of sedentarization, the push and pull factors and is reinforced with case studies. It also brings forth the challenges the newly settled Bakarwals have to face. The changes in cultural traits like food habits, dress pattern and lifestyle of the newly settled nomads is captured in this chapter. The details of the main hurdle i.e. the protected areas system established by the forest departments all along the migratory routes is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Seven is discussion based on the primary data collected and background literature review undertaken in this detailed study. It starts with a brief introduction on the pattern on evolution of nomadic culture in particular to the Bakarwals and reviews transformation of nomadic and transhumant in Europe in the modern world and the

impacts of communism on nomadism. It then discusses how nomadic legacy has been converted into a touristic opportunity in Italy and Spain. It also gives a glimpse of legal battles regarding Sami reindeer herders in Sweden and the Spanish law on nomadic trails. After analysis of these global trends in particular the Indian Forest Rights Act 2006 it finally discusses whether pastoralism is sustainable in the fast-changing modern world.

Chapter Eight discusses the conclusions drawn from this study based on intensive interactions with forest officers, academicians, pure nomadic pastoralists as well as settled Bakarwals and local residents of the study area. It focuses on the future of pastoralism in Pakistan with the existing factors of pull and push. After identification of gaps in references and research material the proposed directions for future researchers is also proposed. The recommendations in particular shall be useful for the top decision makers to know all aspects of the pastoral nomadic Bakarwals who at the present are making decisions on the basis of one view held by the forest officers and not the other side of the local and indigenous community.

2. Literature Review

Pastoral societies are those that have a disproportionate subsistence emphasis on herding domesticated livestock. Many horticultural, agrarian, and industrial production systems incorporate livestock. The most important defining criterion perhaps is the organization of community life around the needs of the herds (McNeill, 1963). Typical herding societies are 'nomadic'. People live in portable tents or temporary structures and move considerable distances from pasture to pasture according to the dictates of ecological circumstances and the needs of the beasts. Nomadism is a technological adaptation to scarce and ephemeral pasturage that has major ramifying effects on a culture's core features that are absent if animals are managed from a fixed home base, as in European dairying or Mexican/ Anglo-American ranching (Grazel, 1990).

Pastoral societies are theoretically important because they exhibit non-progressive evolution. Although it is possible to portray pastoral societies as an 'evolutionary bypath', (Lenski & Lenski, 1982), but this may not be correct. Pastoral societies played an important role during the agrarian era and illustrated some important ecological/ evolutionary processes. Evolutionists of the progressivist (orthogenetic) type who believe that evolution has some inevitable tendency in the direction of more complex and probably morally superior societies, are inclined to downplay pastoral societies because they tend to contradict with the inevitability-of-progress flavor of this 'theory' (McNeill, 1963). Pastoralists emerged relatively late in history, but have the air of primitive throwbacks and may be regarded as destroyers of 'advanced' civilizations.

While extensive literature on nomadism is available, there is paucity of literature on nomadic pastoralism, particularly specific to Pakistan. The anthropological literature on nomadic Gujar Bakarwals in Pakistan is scarce and patchy. Some published literature on Gujar Bakarwals on the Indian side of Jammu and Kashmir has been used to draw the historical relationships with the Pakistani Gujar Bakarwals who are the subject of this study. On the positivist side, the literature review on evolution of the dominant paradigm of ecology that directly impacts the management of the pastures (summer and winter grazing land) was undertaken. It is found that the 'new ecological thinking' developed after Scoones "Pathways to sustainability" (2007) and Ostrom's "Governing the Commons" (2009) is absent in the conceptual set of minds of the forest and wildlife managers who continue to manage the wild lands and grazing pastures.

The ecological importance of nomadic way of life has been recently recognized as being environment friendly. Many references are available to support the claim that pastoral mutton is pollution free. Ruth Mace (1991) says something similar on Nomadic People in “Over-Grazing Overstated”. In the FAO book Roger Blench “Pastoralism in New Millennium” (2001), concludes that talking about pastoralism is ‘invidious’. McCabe (2004) concludes that nomadism can be carried out in a sustainable mode with lesser ecological footprints than the sedentary modern life (Barth, 2003; Scoones, 2006; Ostrum, 1991; Jonathan et al, 2007). The nomads neither need heavy furniture nor plastics as needed by the sedentary people. Similarly, their per capita need of water, furniture or other goods is also far less than any of the settled people.

There is little anthropological or sociological literature available on the Bakarwal ways of life in Pakistan and scientific studies on their impact on environment; although some published anthropological literature is available on Bakarwals of Indian held Kashmir. Durkheim (Carl, 1966) Weber (Carl, 1966) and Bourdieu’s (1971) methodology require going deep into the history of the group under study. For the purposes of the present study, historical records were checked in the archives of the National Library of Pakistan. The findings reveal the existence of references depicting a significant historical hatred against Gujars and nomadic Gujars in particular as discussed in the next chapters.

2.1 The Origin of Nomads

The term nomad or more precisely pastoral, or sheep and goat herding nomad, is itself a complex concept and scholars have long struggled to identify and overcome the multiple biases that affect interpretations of Near Eastern nomadism. With the passage of time, scholars and the academicians shifted their focus from mythical and barbaric nomads to the nature of pastoral nomadism as an economic adaptation. This focus on pastoral economies has brought to light the fact that there are indeed many different types of pastoral nomadism depending partially on the natural environment. Due to different economic activities i.e. small-scale cultivation, trade, crafts and other activities, Salzman (1971) claims that ‘pastoral’ does not necessarily entail ‘nomadic’, and ‘nomadic’, does not necessarily entail ‘pastoral’.

According to Khazanov (1994), pastoral nomadism is fundamentally an economic adaptation that entails mobility only as a by-product of a specialized pastoral economy. This is the economic activity that the nomadic communities intertwined with villages and

city life. Emanuel Marx (2006) sees the integration of pastoral nomads with sedentary population as so complete that he questions the relevance of the concept at all. He does not focus on the utility of the term 'pastoral nomad' itself, but the very category of a distinct pastoral nomadic economy, which according to him is merely 'an attenuated version of the city's complex economic specialization and differentiation (Marx 2007). It is asserted that pastoral nomads operate along a continuum of economic and social activities, at times pursuing pastoral activities to a greater extent than other form of subsistence, and at other times engaging in agriculture more than in pastoral production. Swidler (1973) showed that ancient steppe and mountain nomads often comprised polities that represented 'a curious blend of city-state, tribe and nomadism'; a number of their members became sedentary and nomadic in varying proportions and at varying times. Archaeologists have put greater stress on mutual integration of nomadic and sedentary population. Thus, nomads may become sedentary without severing ties with their nomadic kin or even their nomadic identity.

The said intentions may be realized in two ways; first this integration means that as an economic specialization pastoral nomadism is so intertwined with the other sectors of a regional or local economy, that nomadic groups themselves are nearly indistinguishable from other elements of the society. Secondly, the integration of nomad and sedentary means is still incomplete, in the sense that they are culturally distinct from other members of the settled community. The major tension here is the understanding of the pastoral nomadism as either an economic or cultural phenomenon. Yet neither of these factors alone is enough to explain the contrasts between nomadic and sedentary population. Often, a nomadic community's self-identity goes well beyond its economic base. A sedentarized nomad remains intimately bound to tribe and tribal kin who remain mobile. Tents commonly erected alongside a mud-brick house (Beck, 2003; Mortensen, 1993) or the re-creation of temporary tent plans in more permanent mud-brick structures (Beck, 1991; Layne, 1987) are visual expressions of a persistent nomadic identity even in the context of residential stability. Mobility then in addition to a pastoral economy, is indeed an essential component of pastoral nomadism, one which must have an effect on the social structures that develop within a mobile community.

2.1.1 Pastoral Nomads

There are over 200 hundred million nomadic people in the world today. They follow a productive way of life in the marginal regions they live in. This associates the

availability of forage a necessity for pastoral way of life. The timing and destinations of migrations are determined primarily by the needs of the animals of the herd for fodder and water. They inhabit economically, socially and politically marginal lands on the periphery of settled societies (Bhasin, 2011). Pastoral nomads are livestock producers who grow no crops and simply depend on the sale or exchange of animals and their products to obtain foodstuffs and other necessities. They are dependent on their livestock for food, status and cultural practices. Nomadism is viable in the extreme hot and cold climates. In the hot dry deserts of Arabia, Sahara, East Africa, South Iran and Baluchistan, camel domestication is prevalent. In the lush Savannah grasslands of Central Africa and Sudan belt, cattle are the main animals. The temperate mountains and the valleys of Southwest Asia and the Mediterranean Borderlands, support large populations of sheep, goat, yak and horse (Bhasin, 2011). In the extreme climate of Central Asian steppes and mountains, horses, Bactrian camel, sheep and goats are preferential and in Sub-Arctic tundra region of Northwest Eurasia, the inhabitants herd only reindeer. According to Spooner (1973), there are no features of cultural or social organization common to all nomads or even that occur exclusively among nomads. Pastoral nomads present not only different lifestyles and means of subsistence but also various types of social organization. Patterns of social organization they develop depend on their specific ecological, cultural, political or historical circumstances.

The mobility of nomads and the permanent instability of pastoral economy give rise to a fluid social organization, which is capable of change but at the same time maintain such diversity. According to Spooner (1973), units of lower levels of segmentation, which are primarily connected with social, economic and more narrowly productive needs, rely on kin and contractual relations.

There has been a body of evidence to show that in most nomadic cultures and societies, nomads have successfully managed their rangelands with a high degree of diversity (Scholz, 1995; Wu, 1997), Bhasin, V. (2011) used anthropological methods to examine the realities of life among different groups of pastoral nomads. According to him, while nomads live apart from sedentary society, there are bonds of association to the latter that affect the nomads. According to Salzman (2004), nomadic movements are 'highly purposeful, oriented towards achieving specific production rules.'

2.1.2 Nomad and Nomadism

The word 'nomad' is derived from the Greek word 'Nomo', which means Pasture. According to Simpson and Weiner (1989), it connotes a rover wandering pastoral community. In this way, nomadism refers to derive to pasture (Saira, et al., 2013). Nomads are the people who move in search of their livelihood and relaxation from place to place along with their homes and belongings. Nomadism is an ancient lifestyle. The incursion of nomads into settled civilizations marked the early history of ancient Egypt and Babylonia and reached their height with the great Mongol invasions of West Asia and Europe in the 13th, 14th and early 15th century, notably under Genghis Khan and Timor (Rubel, 1976). Nomadic societies have devised forms of culture which have been particularly suited to their environment and conditions of mobility as well as to the demands and possibilities of their way of life (Akbar, 1981).

Nomad ethnographies have traditionally, and perhaps correctly, placed an emphasis on the dominant role of ecology as a factor shaping society; in fact, comparative studies have almost come to regard nomadism as an ecological adaptation (Akbar, 1973). Climate and terrain, availability of pasture and water, and types of animals herded, are seen to influence patterns of movement and forms of herding and camping associations (Johnson, 1969; Krader, 1959; Rubel, 1969; Spooner, 1973; Sweet, 1965). Thus, nomadism is treated as a trait of cultural ecology, characterized by lack of interest in fixed property and fixed resources (Spooner, 1973).

Nomads continue to fascinate persons from the cities and settled areas, however very little of the details of their culture and economy are known. However their mobility across grasslands they conjure freedom. Their world cherishes mobility and the liberty to roam in search of grass and water. Nomads are hardened and can endure extremes of weather like rain, snowstorms and drought. Values that humankind admires like courage, integrity, generosity are principles instinctive to nomads. Nomads also have an intimate knowledge of their environment and an amazing ability to handle animals, a skill rare among most people today (Daniel & Dennis, 2008).

There are groups that move over considerable distances and others that move only a few miles in the course of a year. Some nomads have a pastoral range which includes both rich and poor grazing, while some never leave the arid-steppe or remain entirely in good meadow country. There is an intricate relationship between the kind of pasture that

predominates, the frequency of moving camp, the distance travelled from one grazing ground to the next, and the climate and soil (Lattimore, 1962[1940]: 73).

Nomadism depends on a balance between winter pasture and summer pasture. There should also be sheltered stretches where the grass comes up a little earlier in spring, just when the herds are weakest after the winter and just before and just after the lambs, calves, and colts are born; shelter and new grass make all the difference between heavy loss and a gladdening increase. Then there should be a move to the lushest grazing of the year, with plenty of water, so that all the stock can put on flesh and fat. After that again, as the winter comes back, there is a need of both shelter and exposure: shelter from storm, but access to exposed stretches where the snow is blown off and the herds can get at the grass (Lattimore 2006[1941]).

Political structures, too, are seen as related to ecology (Barth, 1961; Barth, 1962; Michaud, 1975; Salzman, 1967; Sweet, 1965). Reflecting another view, Bates (1971) and Irons (1974) supported Lattimore's argument (1940) that nomadism may be also seen as an adaptation to the political rather than the natural environment. Although sufficient literature exists on the above themes, there is a conspicuous lacuna on the ideological/cultural content of nomadic life as it relates to concrete administrative/political zones (Akbar, 1973).

Nomads' lives synchronize with the growth of grass, the birth of animals and the seasonal movement of their herds. Like many people living close to nature, nomads have developed a close connection to the land and the livestock that nurture them. For thousands of years, they survived by raising animals. However, nomads did not merely eke out a living; they created a unique culture and were part of remarkable civilizations (Daniel & Dennis, 2008: 18). Despite these admirable traits and skills, nomads are facing serious threats throughout the world (Miller, 2008).

The nomads appear to make, move and counter-move as a response to seasonal/ecological factors solely. They seem to operate in an administrative vacuum. However, the transition from one administrative zone to another is a key factor in migration implying vastly differing personnel, rules and procedures. One major factor in migration is the attempt to escape from ecological hardship where possible, they exploit the administrative structures. Mobility allows nomads a degree of freedom, inconceivable to peasants or settled groups. For instance, the Tribal Areas in Pakistan, where

Government's presence is minimal, provide almost complete freedom to the nomads to transport and sell prohibited commodities. In contrast, this is more difficult in Punjab due to different administrative arrangements. The escape from the exploitation of these administrative webs within which other groups live allows nomads cultural and political freedom (Akbar, 1973).

The world's economy is changing drastically, and pastoral nomads are surely feeling the impact. They have been at the mercy of shifting commodity prices, regulation, and trading patterns over which they have little or no control. As the monetized economy expanded to engulf the pastoral nomads, they have become more and more dependent on goods from settled communities, and their sensitivity to macro change is increasing (Hugh, 2001). Kochis have changed their lifestyle and culture in the wake of the unsettled conditions in the region. Gone are the days when Kochis used to move freely between Pakistan and Afghanistan with their herds of goats, mules and camels. For centuries, they have been managing their seasonal migratory wanderings carefree and without any thought of settling down (Maverick-Pakistanis, 2010).

2.2 Pastoralism

Pastoralism is a subsistence pattern in which people make their living by tending herds of large animals. The species of animals vary with the region of the world, but they are all domesticated herbivores that normally live in herds. Horses are the preferred species by most pastoralists in Mongolia and elsewhere in Central Asia. In East Africa, it is primarily cattle. In the mountainous regions of Southwest Asia, it is mainly sheep and goats. It is often camels in the more arid lowland areas of the Southwest Asia and North and East Africa. Among the Sami people of northern Scandinavia, it is reindeer. Some pastoralists in northern Mongolia also herd reindeer. While the Sami mostly use their reindeer as a source of meat, the *Dukha* (also called Tsaatan) people of northern Mongolia milk and ride their reindeer much as other Mongolians do with horses. There are essentially two forms of pastoralism. They are known as nomadism and transhumance.

- **Pastoral nomads** follow a seasonal migratory pattern that can vary from year to year. The timing and destinations of migrations are determined primarily by the needs of the herd animals for water and fodder. These nomadic societies do not create permanent settlements, but rather they live in tents or other relatively

easily constructed dwellings the year round. Pastoral nomads are usually self-sufficient in terms of food and most other necessities.

- **Transhumant pastoralists** follow a cyclical pattern of migrations that usually take them to cool highland valleys in the summer and warmer lowland valleys in the winter. This is seasonal migration between the same two locations in which they have regular encampments or stable villages often with permanent houses. Transhumance pastoralists usually depend somewhat less on their animals for food than do nomadic ones. They often do small scale vegetable farming at their summer encampments. They also are more likely to trade their animals in town markets for grain and other things that they do not produce themselves.

2.3 Historical Development (In layers of Vertical Stratification)

Historical development of pastoralism is the prominent but vast area of study. The studies on remote upland pastoralists are very scattered and lack specific bibliographies, which pose a major challenge in modern times. Nevertheless, there are many important studies of different places and phases. For instance, Galaty and Johnson (1990) distinguished several forms of pastoralism, according to environmental differences; plains, desert and tundra, mountain. They explained ‘Pastoralism in mountain environments is characterized by a vertical stratification of resources by altitude. This permits herders to move animals from lowland cool-season to highland warm-season pastures in order to escape the extremes of temperature and precipitation that otherwise might harm their flocks. Most animal-keeping groups in mountain environments also engage in agriculture. These activities are mutually supportive. Simultaneous engagement in both agricultural and pastoral activities is a time-honored device that reduces risk and increases the production from otherwise limited habitats’ (1990: 229).

In their characterization of mountain pastoralism, Galaty and Johnson also point to its historical contexts and connections. Traditionally, pastoral movements were often linked to trade activities between different zones of upland regions, and between upland and lowland regions. Much of the mountain surplus production was marketed in the cities of adjoining lowland zones. Population growth and agricultural intensification in the lowlands often reduced the grazing grounds that were utilized seasonally by mountain pastoralists. This could force them to intensify animal production in the highlands where

environmental conditions made intensification more difficult and time-consuming in general terms (1990). Mountain areas cover more than one fifth of the world's terrestrial surface, and 'mountain pastoralism' is a well-established category in pastoral studies, used and referred to by many scholars.

For instance, Goldschmidt (1979) considered the distinction between pastoralism in flat lands and mountain areas to be a central distinction in his 'general model for pastoral social systems'. Later Scholz (1995), in his survey of pastoral nomadism in the Eurasian and African dry lands, marked the spatial distribution of vertically (versus horizontally) migrating livestock-keepers, and discussed the domestication and keeping of yaks in Central Asia. Together with the llamas and alpacas in South America, the yaks are the most important and most well-known high-altitude animals used by pastoralists (Goldschmidt, 1979: 16-18; Scholz, 1995: 58-59; Barfield, 1993). Khazanov (1994), questions the value of environmental subdivisions in pastoralism, for plains and mountains 'as a matter of fact, Kyrgyz mountain pastoralists in the Pamirs have much more in common with their pastoral Kazakh neighbors, who are typical steppe (plain) nomads, than with pastoralists in Tibet, not to mention in the Caucasus or in the Andes' (1994: 36). This might well be the case, but cultural proximity to neighbors could also relativize most of the basic distinctions put forward by Khazanov himself (pastoral nomadism proper, semi-nomadic pastoralism, semi-sedentary pastoralism, distant-pastures husbandry, sedentary animal husbandry).

According to Khazanov, one cannot understand the contemporary problems; situations and attitudes of pastoralists by ignoring the past history (Khazanov, 1994: 33; Kaufmann, 2000: 11-12). Consequently, Khazanov has intensively undertaken historical research: from the first studies about ancient pastoral groups in Sarmatia and Scythia to the discussion of the 'origins of pastoral nomadism'. Sometimes, in interdisciplinary discourse, the contribution of history is not conceived with sufficient profundity. It is therefore important to stress that historical research is not only adding empirical information to scholarly knowledge, it is also an indispensable contribution to ongoing methodological and theoretical discussions.

Many languages have special terms for altitudinal belts as a natural and cultural phenomenon, expressing the differences in the vertical structure of the landscape. A familiar example is the tripartite Spanish terminology, used from colonial times in Latin

America (*tierras calientes, templadas, and frias*—hot, moderate and cold zones). In the early modern period, and especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the study of verticality was taken up by different disciplines such as botany, geography and anthropology. In 1922, the geographer Philippe Arbos published a detailed doctoral thesis on pastoral life in the French Alps, started well before World War I and soon followed by a survey article on pastoral life in Europe (Arbos, 1922 & 1923). He distinguished ‘three fundamental forms of pastoral life’, nomadism, transhumance and combined mountain agriculture.

1. Nomadism is the form under which human groups accompany their herds in migration. It requires vast extents of land devoted to pastures, and by 1900 had almost vanished from the continent;
2. Transhumance, in which the care of the animals was delegated to professional shepherds, remained much more important than nomadism and was most frequently practiced in southern areas. Its mainstay was sheep herding and occupied often distant pastures in the mountains and plains for summer and winter grazing; and
3. In the third system, called the ‘pastoral life of the mountain’ by Arbos, the movements take place within the mountains, between the lower and upper parts of the slopes, as a kind of local transhumance. This system, better known under the German term ‘Alpwirtschaft’ and other labels, was particularly important in the Alps. Here, the animals included cattle that lived on forage, not on grazing, during the winter season.

In Latin America, the ethno-historian Taylor and John V. Murra (1871) became famous in the late 1960’s with his model of ‘the vertical control of a maximum of ecological belts’. Originally, the model concerned the Andes in a certain historical period i.e. the 15th and 16th centuries, the time of transition from the Inca Empire to Spanish rule. Unlike the European model, the Latin American model did not focus on livestock-keeping, but on agricultural work undertaken in the Andes on several altitudinal belts. Together with the pastoral life on high levels, this differentiated structure was a motive for complex transactions. The concept of the vertical control implied a subsistence economy and transactions other than market exchange. It had an ideological point, which accommodated indigenous identity politics and stimulated discussion and research to a great extent.

From the 1970 onwards, anthropologists in the field of cultural ecology started to deal with comparative studies on traditional mountain economies on a global scale. The globalization of research was backed by the politicization of environmental issues, leading to a certain worldwide mountain movement (Messerli & Ives, 1997). Anthropologists now reviewed existing concepts such as ‘Alpwirtschaft’ and ‘vertical control’ and created their own models, labelled ‘mixed mountain agriculture’ or ‘mountain production strategy’, and later ‘combined mountain agriculture’ (Rhoades & Thompson, 1975; Guillet, 1983; Orlove & Guillet, 1985; Ehlers & Kreutzmann, 2000). However, attempts to stress similarities in vertical land use were not only complicated by cultural diversity, but also by climatic differences between tropical and non-tropical mountain ranges. The tropical mountains show pronounced daily variations in temperature and small seasonal variations. In Quito, the capital of Ecuador, lying almost under the equator, the seasonal thermic variation remains below one degree Celsius in average years. Whereas vertical mobility in non-tropical mountains can be correlated to the movements of temperature and snow cover, the driving forces in tropical mountains are to be found in other circumstances.

2.4 Intensification and Mobility

Nevertheless, forms of vertical interdependence and integration were evidenced almost everywhere. A geographical survey of 1966 made in a sweeping manner, but based on global investigation distinguished twenty-five economic ‘structure-types’ in upland regions. With the exception of two, they all showed types of vertical interdependence with a lower lying belt, through pastoral or agricultural links. The exceptions concerned isolated mountain groups living on hunting and gathering or on shifting cultivation (Hambloch, 1966). This could be an indication that vertical integration was often a corollary to the intensification of land use. Using the slopes in regular short time intervals increased the probability that altitudinal belts were transformed into differentiated zones for planting and pastoral production.

The three ‘fundamental forms of pastoral life’, distinguished by Arbos (1922) and many others, can also be considered in an intensification perspective. The difference lies above all between nomadism and transhumance on the one hand and combined mountain agriculture (*Alpwirtschaft*) on the other. The former relies on grazing all year long; the latter includes fodder production for stable-feeding in the cold season. This laborious system has not developed in many mountain areas, yet it shows with clarity, and

sometimes even in a dramatic way, that historic mountain pastoralism could be conducted at different intensity levels.

Intensity has been an important issue in pastoral studies. In general, of course, pastoralism was on the extensive side of land use patterns, and Montero et al. (2009) maintain that it was often on the extensive side of labor use, too. Following Boserup (1993), one can suggest that land-consuming and labor-saving modes of production such as pastoralism had a special rationality up to the technological revolution in agriculture during the 19th and 20th centuries. Whereas population growth required new methods of using the environment in land-saving ways, the increased output often did not match the amount of extra labor needed. Older, extensive ways of land use thus enjoyed higher labor productivity and remained in place as long as a territory's resources permitted (Boserup, 1993[1965] & 1981). These contrasting movements of land productivity and labor productivity could be an important reason for the long persistence of pastoral systems.

Pastoralism brought about mobility of animals and of humans, yet many authors stress that the extent of that mobility was highly variable (Dahl, 2001; Salzman, 2004). The above-mentioned classification systems of Khazanov and Arbos point to decreasing mobility with increasing sedentarization and the introduction of stable-feeding. This is certainly true to some degree, yet there was never a one-to-one relationship. With regards to herd migration only (and not to moving residences), the mobility of transhumant livestock-keepers could exceed the mobility of nomads (Schlee, 2005). Even with combined mountain agriculture (*Alpwirtschaft*), usually a kind of local transhumance, mobility remained a complex issue such as; firstly, there were examples of long distances between the villages and their summer pastures, requiring travels of a few days; secondly, one could also consider the mobility opened up by trade in animals that required even longer journeys; and thirdly, mobility could increase, and not decrease, with the intensification of the mountain economy in certain valleys.

2.5 Mountain Pastoralism and Modernity

During the last five centuries, there has been a tremendous change almost everywhere on the planet, reaching even remote mountain areas. The estimated world population in 1500 was thirteen times smaller than the world population in 2000. In the first period, until about 1750, demographic growth remained relatively slow, whereas in the second

period, when industrial technology spread and permeated more and more societies, the growth rate greatly accelerated. In the economic and political domain, the process was characterized both by extreme dis-equilibrium and inequality and by remarkable parallels between different continents. From about 1500 AD, European seafaring and expansion multiplied the contacts. Let us mention the so-called ‘Columbian Exchange’: from the Americas a series of plants began to spread over the other parts of the earth, especially maize, potatoes and sweet potatoes; and from Eurasia a number of animals began to penetrate the ‘New World’, especially cattle, horses, donkeys, sheep and pigs. Another phenomenon changing the global face was urbanization, driven by population growth, and political and economic centralization. To a greater degree than other factors, it created disparities between lowlands and highlands. In 2000, worldwide, there existed almost four hundred cities with more than one million inhabitants. Only 18% of them were located higher than 500 meters above sea level, whereas the total terrestrial surface above that level encompasses 48%; and only 9% of the great cities exceeded 1,000 meters, with a terrestrial surface of 27% (Crosby, 1972; Braudel, 1979; United Nations, 2003; Richards, 2005; Bacci, 2005).

In history, the term ‘modernity’ is conventionally used for a time period from 1500 A.D. to date. In the public mind, it is often used to refer to issues of economic development, and especially to technological innovation. Moreover, ‘modernity’ is a weapon in cultural struggles since it implies hierarchy, synchronic (one society being superior to the other), or diachronic (the recent ‘modern’ period being superior to the past ‘traditional’ period). One author gives the following assessment: ‘The “modern” culture of the 20th and 21st centuries has valued urban rather than rural life, education rather than experience, refinement rather than natural qualities, consumption rather than production, national rather than local identity, and leisure rather than labor. The modernist vision, which has been spread effectively and widely through schools and the mass media, the rural producers such as pastoralists and their animals, are deemed marginal and backward (Salzman, 2004).

For historical purposes, the notion of, and discourse about, modernity has a considerable comparative value, since it creates a focal point and causes scholars to think about groups and perceptions other than those immediately under study. The focal point is not arbitrary either, since one or other variant of ‘modernity’ was used, again and again, in the power struggles conducted by the protagonists about their identities and the right way

to proceed. It is evident, then, that it cannot be ignored by historians. Yet it is equally evident that ‘modernity’ requires deconstruction. Burke points to the ironic fact that the term was already used in the middle ages. According to him, the trouble with modernity is that ‘it keeps changing.’ (1992). One can hardly take it as a yardstick over the centuries, and it shows different faces in one and the same generation. Was pastoralism ‘modern’, up to the technological revolution, because it enjoyed a high return on labor, compared to labor-consuming systems of agriculture? And about the ‘modern’ romantic views of pastoralists, which began to expand parallel, and in opposition to, the spread of ‘civilization’. In the past few centuries, many aggressive claims to modernity came from Western countries. It is therefore clear that its deconstruction includes a critique of colonial and post-colonial domination.

2.6 The Production of Nature

Nature has conventionally been perceived as a given reality, something which cannot be created but includes the entire physical backdrop to human processes and the institutions that regulate the world (such as the market economy, state sovereignty, and international development). Yet a growing body of literature that spans various disciplines is demonstrating the relationship between what is typically seen as a dualism between ‘Nature’ and ‘Society’ (Smith, 1984; Swyngedouw, 1999, Haraway, 1992, Harvey, 2003), among many others also talk of treating nature as a commodity. The implications of such studies suggest that it is futile to attempt to study physical systems in isolation from social systems, and vice versa. This is because, social processes are contextualized in the natural world, and also produce very real impacts on environmental processes.

Such an integrated understanding calls for a more nuanced approach to examining local and global issues and the social, historical, economic, spatial, political, material and ecological dynamics behind the challenges being faced today. These processes have given rise to a plethora of deeply disconcerting processes, such as climate change, mass extinctions, pollution of air and water, depletion of nutrients and water, and the making of new agents of disease, to name just a few. Such phenomena have led both physical and social scientists to classify the 21st century as a new geological epoch, the Anthropocene, since human activities are so profoundly reshaping the world around us. At the same time, the socio-natural processes that are underway are producing a whole variety of ‘hybrid’ or ‘cyborg’ natures, which reflect social relations, political economic processes, and the changing material world.

2.7 Application of Desiccation Theory

The main motivating force behind the course of historical events in Arabia and the Middle East region as a whole was continuous desiccation and aridification. For the holders of this theory, the Arab region was the cradle and primordial home of Semitic peoples, which was fertile at the dawn of history, but through the millennia, became more and more barren. With this steady process, the Assyrians, Aramean, Canaanites and Arabs were driven away from the Arabian Peninsula in respective waves of migration. The theory is applied in various contexts. For instance,

- a. An argument is put forward that the cultivating the perception of arid lands as wastelands is politically motivated and that these landscapes are variable, biodiverse ecosystems and their residents must be empowered.
- b. The principal narrative that developed among colonial authorities was an assertion that dryland peoples have deforested their own landscapes, which again led to reduced rainfall and the creation of deserts. This is known as ‘desiccation theory’ and dominated European thinking about drylands in the colonies from early nineteenth century. Davis (2016) argues that the development of desiccation theory was intimately linked to the intensification of colonization and the expansion of capitalism in the same period. Hence, desiccation theory served to justify dispossession and colonial capital accumulation - a process Davis calls ‘accumulation by desertification’.
- c. Davis (2016) argues about how Anglo-European assumptions on arid lands are having impacts in today’s outlook on pastures in the developing countries. Davis explains that these environments have not been governed with equilibrium ecological dynamics that apply in most other regions. While the world has moved to an inter-disciplinary approach in understanding and interpreting ecological processes of pastures and dry lands, the text of the foresters has remained aloof from these developments.

2.8 Pastoralists in Asia

In large parts of Asia, pastoralists have long exerted a remarkable influence on the course of history. Enduring movements of a civilizational scale and the political trajectories of vast empires have been affected by the activities of pastoral societies, such as in China or

India. Not all pastoral people, however, have been closely linked to changing societal trends outside their immediate geographical location. In particular, mountain pastoralists like the mountains themselves have tended to remain peripheral and even isolated. Due to this marginalization, interest in mountain pastoralism has been rather slow in developing.

Barth's studies of Swat Kohistan (1956) and of the Basseri nomads of Persia (1961) can be considered seminal in the field. Reference might also be made to Barfield's research (1981) on the changes that nomads in Afghanistan were confronted with. Tapper's work (1979) on the nomads of northwestern Iran left a noticeable impression on the theoretical formulations of subsequent scholarship. In the Indian Himalaya, W.H. Newell's study of the Gaddis (1967) was integrated, like some other works on tribal groups, with the larger census operation. Thereafter, some other researchers (Bhasin, 1986; Saberwal, 1999) also focused on the Gaddis, who have come to be seen as typical migratory pastoralists of the western Himalaya. Similar studies were conducted in the 1980s and 1990s on the Gujars, Bakarwals and Bhutia of Jammu, Kashmir and Uttarakhand. Further east in Nepal, the Sherpa became the subject of early studies. Furer-Haimendorf (1964) provided an academic description of the agro-pastoralist practices of an indigenous Nepali tribe and later went on to study the inter-linkages between trade and pastoralism in 1975 that are characteristic of societies of the higher and (sometimes) the mid Himalayan region. This started a trend of scholarship that produced well researched monographs such as the studies of Fisher (1986) and Brower (1991). More recently, a special issue of *Nomadic Peoples* (2004) and a collection of articles (Rao & Casimir, 2008) highlighted concerns related to South Asian pastoralists in general, including some situated in the highlands.

There are also a number of valuable studies (both older and newer) covering regions not mentioned so far (Scholz, 2002[1973]; Thargyal, 2007). However, most of this research in Asia has addressed contemporary issues and consists of studies carried out by anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and development experts. A historical perspective remains disturbingly absent in our understanding of how pastoral peoples and agrarian society have interacted to create sociopolitical systems in the mountains. This is a gap in our knowledge that still needs to be redressed.

2.9 Humans and Environment

Complex interactions and feedback mechanisms exist between human and natural systems within coupled social and ecological systems (Liu et al., 2007; Li & Li, 2012). As a result of these mechanisms, human society is a major driving force that changes ecosystem dynamics at scales ranging from the local environment to the whole biosphere (Kirch, 2005; Liu et al., 2007). In turn, human society is affected by changes in ecosystems, including a growing scarcity of resources such as water (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005; Janssen et al., 2007; Kok & Veldkamp, 2011). Social and ecological problems also cannot be simply separated into local, national, or global scales; the interactions among different scales are becoming increasingly important (Gibson et al., 2000). Because of this complexity of social and ecological systems, many sustainability problems arise from ‘scale’ problems (Costanza et al., 2001).

According to the Gibson et al (2000), ‘Scale’ is the spatial, temporal, quantitative, or analytical dimensions that are used to measure and study any phenomenon’ (Gibson et al., 2000). In the past decade, the scale concepts have been increasingly introduced into the field of natural resource management (Lovell et al., 2002; Adger et al., 2005; Berkes, 2006; Borgström et al., 2006; Young, 2006; Biggs et al. 2007; Olsson et al., 2007; Papaik et al., 2008). However, there has been little empirical research about the interactions between social and ecological systems and vulnerable natural environments across a range of scales.

A study was conducted by Fan et al. (2013) to analyze the impacts of cross-scale interactions on environmental management to use the grassland social and ecological system Xinjiang Uyghur of China. Grassland covers 41.7 % of China’s territory, and about 1.5 million pastoralists and agro-pastoralists live in these grasslands. These grasslands are ecologically vulnerable arid and semi-arid ecosystems that sustain large populations of livestock despite the fragile vegetation communities and harsh biophysical environment. The study was conducted on three scales; village, country and catchment to find out the impacts of Nomad Sedentarization Projects (NSPs) (Fan et al., 2013).

The interactions between the pastoralists and their environment can be considered an example of a social and ecological system (Robinson, 2009). As the problems of declining ecosystem services and poverty in pastoral areas have attracted increasing

attention from China's government and society, NSPs have been implemented as a development strategy in pastoral areas in an attempt to solve ecological and social problems. Subsidized by the government, these projects are intended to improve the pastoralists' standard of living by building houses, providing services such as tap water and electricity, and encouraging them to enter other professions. At the same time, the goal is to restore the region's grasslands by reducing the utilization of natural grassland and replacing grazing with fodder planted at the sedentary sites and by breeding to improve the livestock.

2.9.1 Environmentally Specialized Societies

Pastoralism was for a long time a very successful adaptation to grassland and desert. The existence of extensive tracts of temperate grassland (steppe), subtropical desert, or tropical Savannah, combined with the technology of animal husbandry, lead to the development of pastoral societies that compete very effectively with more 'advanced' agrarian societies for these open country environments, despite being considerably more 'primitive' in terms of complexity of social and political organization (Grousset, 1970). For example, pastoral peoples routinely prevented farmers from occupying the rich steppes of South-eastern Europe that are now the main grain producing regions of Hungary, Russia and the Ukraine (Galaty, 1991). The politics of the Old World agrarian civilizations was heavily influenced by pastoral raiding and conquest, as pastoral peoples used the mobility afforded by a wealth of riding animals to plunder civilized states and to impose themselves as elites upon conquered agrarian societies.

2.9.2 Pastoralism as Horticulture/Agriculture without Plants

The technology of pastoralism is largely just the animal husbandry component of the prevailing horticultural and agrarian technology, more or less thoroughly shorn of its plant cultivation component. On the level of subsistence, pastoralists are merely farmers who specialize in herding animals like sheep, goats, cattle, horses, llamas, yaks, and so forth. Normally, this specialization includes a good deal of specialized knowledge about animal husbandry, pasture, and land transportation technology, exceeding that of their farming neighbors, but not dramatically (Saunders, 1971).

Few pastoralists subsist entirely on animal products. Most probably derive half or more of their calories from plant products. These may derive from growing crops, from trade in animal products with settled agricultural foreigners, by extending services such as

caravan operation for pay, by having agricultural slaves or clients, and by raid or threat of raids. The human diet is greatly enriched by eating relatively small amounts of meat and animal fats. Leather, horn, wool, and animals for traction are also valuable (Khazanov, 1983). Thus, animal specialists are often motivated to trade much of their valuable animal production for grains, crafts and manufactures, luxuries and so forth. Settled peoples often pay tribute to pastoralists to avoid raids, or pay some pastoralists to protect them from other pastoralists (Khazanov, 1983). The role of pastoralists was best developed in those places and periods when caravan routes were important. The Silk Road to and from Europe and Western Asia to China is a famous example (Allsen, 1987). It was open in the Roman period and again under the Mongol Khans (Lattimore, 1951). This route was only open when a dominating power controlled Central Asia sufficiently to keep it reasonably policed.

2.10 Social Organization

Once a whole society is committed to living in tents and temporary huts as they follow their herds, social organization can change dramatically. They can move to avoid trouble, and move to make it by raiding their neighbors for livestock if they are other pastoralists and for other forms of booty if they are settled peoples (McNeill, 1963). Quite a small group, usually a patrilineal extended family that collaborates to manage one herd, is the basic social unit. It can operate as a nearly autonomous social system with tenuous ties to other families (Galaty, 1991). However, mobility means that many such units can potentially assemble at one place. Thus, tribes and confederations of tribes can also arise (Khazanov, 1983).

Historically, the scale of pastoral societies tended to fluctuate unpredictably. More often than not, pastoral societies were small and independent, with much conflict between tribal segments within ethnic groups. In the great waves of conquest in the Old World, multiethnic confederations arose. The Mongols organized an imperial state on the basis of nomad conquest (Saunders, 1971).

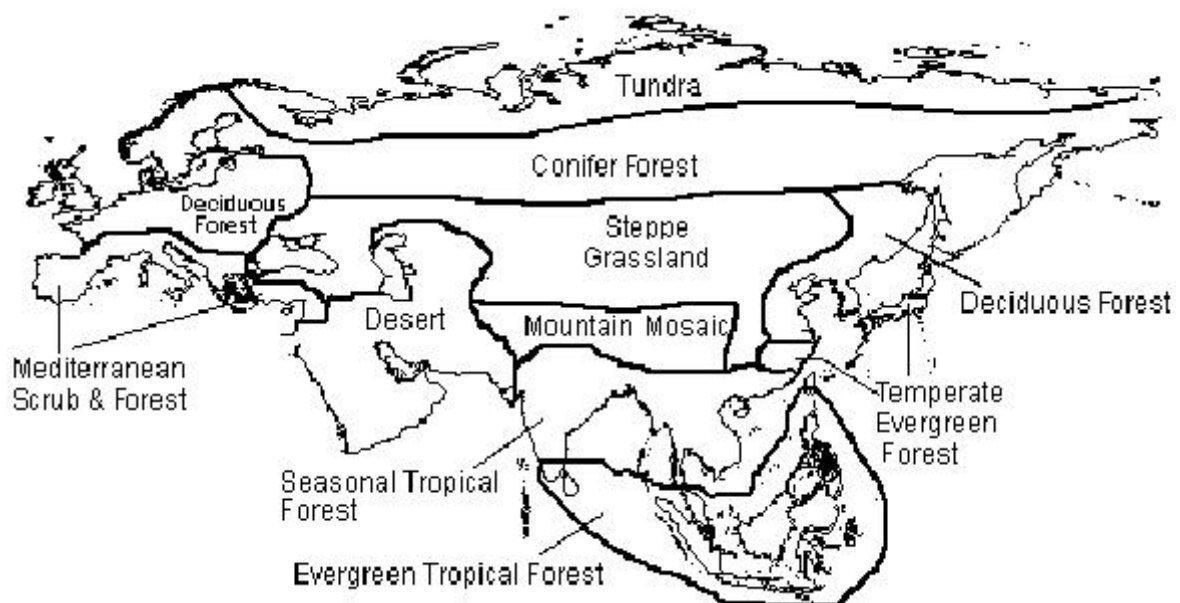
2.10.1 Origins: Several Centers

According to Grousset (1970), the main region of pastoralism in the Old World was the broad band of steppe (semi-arid temperate grassland), mountainous country, and temperate desert stretching from the Hungarian Plain eastward to Manchuria, bounded on the north by the forest belt and on the south by the line running from Black Sea

through the Caucasus Mountains, through Tibet and the skirting around the headwaters of the great river systems of China (Figure 3). Here pastoralism was first developed, probably in the Western part of the region about 5,000 years ago, just as the first agrarian states were emerging to the south in Mesopotamia. These people were Indo-European in speech (Mallory, 1989). The terms for horse gear are among those that the Indo-European languages have in common and are among the Proto-Indo-European terms that can confidently be reconstructed (Lattimore, 1951, Morgan, 1986). PIE was the ancestral language, spoken in the Caspian region (Allsen, 1987, Grousset, 1970). Linguists believe they have a fair reconstruction of the language from the commonalities of all the derived tongues. The steppe and desert pastoralists of Eurasia herded cattle, sheep, and horses for the most parts e.g. yak in Tibet etc.

Figure 3: The main ecological zones of Eurasia. Pastoral peoples dominated the steppe, and desert zones, and were important in the dry parts of the mountain regions.

Figure 3. Ecological Zone



This zone was extensively occupied by pastoral societies until the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Morgan, 1986). The second important locus developed in Arabia, based on the domestication of the one-humped camel to exploit the hotter, drier pastures of the subtropical deserts, supplemented by sheep, goats, and horses in the better areas. These people were Semitic language family speakers (includes Arabic and Hebrew among others). The wide distribution of Arabic speakers from Mesopotamia to Northern Africa

(and the even wider distribution of the Muslim religion) testifies the length and breadth of their activities (Allsen, 1987). Camel pastoralists are still an important part of the Middle Eastern culture. For instance, Saudi Arabia is ruled by a dynasty with direct pastoral ancestry (Lattimore, 1951).

The third important locus of Old-World pastoralism is the belt of African societies that sweep across the Sahel (south of the Sahara), down through the drier parts of East Africa, and back across the Atlantic south of the tropical forests (Galaty, 1991, Morgan, 1986). These people herd cattle in tropical Savannah areas arid enough to be fairly free of tsetse (which transmit a series of trypanosome diseases to which most cattle are not resistant). This development was fairly late, people speaking Nilotic and Bantu languages expanded substantially after the development of cattle pastoralism in Africa (McNeill, 1963). Goats are a relatively important secondary animal in this region. Sheep, horses, and camels are herded by many pastoralists from Somalia west to the Atlantic and north to the Mediterranean, but not in Eastern or Southern Africa (Lattimore, 1951).

There was a fourth minor locus of pastoralism in the northern forest and tundra in the Old World beyond the limits of farming, diffused to the Canadian Arctic in this century, based on reindeer herding (e.g., the Chukchi of Siberia and the Lapps of Norway and Finland).

2.10.2 Kinship System

Virtually all pastoral societies are built around patrilineal kinship groups. Typically, the genealogy of each patri-lineage is reckoned, either actually or fictitiously, back to many generations. The minimal functional unit of such societies is usually a co-residential patrilineal unit of varying dimensions dependent on ecological variables and political history. Large segments are generally favored for defense, but sparse pasturage causes fairly minimal units as a rule (Irons, 1974). Thus, typically a unit of 50-200 persons organized around a few fairly closely related males is the unit that herds and lives together (Irons, 1974). These units are usually webbed together by patrilineal kinship ties that gradually weaken with genealogical distance to a tribal section, to the whole tribe, and on up to a supra-tribal ethnic group (Galaty, 1991). In the case of the Bedouin, Turkomen, and African groups that are fairly well known from the ethnographic record, the whole society for some purposes can number in tens of thousands in some cases, though normally these links would be thought quite remote and mobilized to accomplish something only under extraordinary circumstances. As the

famous study of the Nuer, an African pastoral group, by Evans-Pritchard in 1940 showed, this “segmentary” principle can be fairly effective in organizing collective action among pastoralists (Irons, 1974). The Nuer lack chiefs and other complex political institutions but cooperate very effectively on an ad hoc and informal basis, reinforced by a lively ethnocentric sense, to raid or resist domination by non-Nuer. Kelly (1985) describes how the Nuer was able to conquer their neighbors, the Dinka without a sophisticated political system (Kelly, 1985).

In Indian sub-continent, Bakarwal is a caste of the broader Indian ‘Gujars’ and is a caste rather than a tribe. Ibbetson (1916) identifies some Gujar tribes in this region. According to Ghurye (1969) the Gujar clans locally called *gotra* are as many as 1,178. There is no available literature on Gujar Bakarwal *gotras* in Pakistan. During this research, it was found that the Bakarwals identify themselves into three broader sub-tribes i.e. the Kashmiri, Kaghani and the Allaiwal having 24, 23 and 20 *gotras* respectively. This classification is based on different geographic migratory routes / summer and winter pastures, language and even the breed of goats. The Kaghani Bakarwals use Kaghan high pastures in summers and retreat to Hazara or some make it to district Attock in the Punjab province during winters. The Kashmiri Bakarwal sub-tribe spends summers in Deosai and winters in scrub forests of the Potohar. The latter group has been studied in detail while little reference is made to the Kaghani Bakarwals, mainly due to lack of research funding. Meanwhile *Alliawal* is not studied due to time and budgetary constraints.

2.11 Pastoralism and Land Use

Pastoral societies have revived strong and renewed interest among anthropologists. Pastoralism is a subsistence pattern in which people make their living by domesticating large herds of animals. Pastoralism is an effective means of exploiting marginal environments. The survival of pastoralism is interlinked with many aspects of sustainable land use (Bhasin, 2011). The pastoral subsistence economy provides an adaptation to such conditions since it promotes the conversion of the low-quality plant resources into portable, high quality animal foods (Horowitz & Jowkar, 1992). However, the overall low level of energy availability necessitates low population density and high mobility among pastoral population (Salzman 1971). They inhabit different areas across the world associated with specific ‘core’ animals and different methods of subsistence (Bhasin, 2011).

Within a pastoral society the ecosystem diversity does not only mean the variety of ecological zones or habitats but also encompass cultural diversity and ecological processes related to different pastoral production systems as well (Horowitz & Jowkar, 1992; Bhasin, 2011). Therefore, biodiversity provides a fundamental base to pastoralism and to the overall economic systems. In the mountainous regions of Southwest Asia, it is mainly sheep, goats and yaks (Bhasin, 2011). Pastoralism is a successful strategy to support a population with the limited resources of land (Salzman, 1971). All forms of pastoralism can be considered as different methods of economic adaptations, the parameters of which are determined by ecology and level of technological development (Bhasin, 2011). Pastoral nomadism is specialized, both from economic and cultural point of view. It is a successful way of food production in marginal environment (Bhasin, 2011). It is only through pastoral nomadism that man is able to exploit all potential resources of vast ecological zones. Low population density, mobility and multifarious information systems are important mechanisms of pastoral adaptation (Salzman, 1971).

2.12 Dynamism of Pastoralism

The pastoral system is dynamic as pre-planned actions of pastoralists are constantly attuned to changing conditions. There is misconception that all pastoralists exist at basic subsistence level. There are pastoral groups who have accumulated wealth through their economic activities having exchange relationships with other groups. It is rare that any pastoral group lives exclusively with the products of their herds. Pastoralism is most often an adaptation to semi-arid open country or high altitude dry land where farming is not feasible. Pastoralists invest in breeding and caring for their animals and so increase their reproduction and survival rates (Salzman, 1971). They are concerned with the production of milk, hair, hide, blood or wool or with traction, using animals as vehicles or source of work energy (Bhasin, 2011). By investing human labor in the production of milk and wool instead of meat, pastoralists make more profit. The animals need not be killed to be valuable. This makes pastoralism the most efficient way of using resources in dry land and marginal areas. A pastoral production system rarely focuses on a single product, but makes use rather of both “continuing” (calves, lambs, and kids; milk, butter and cheese; transport and traction; manure; hair and wool; and occasionally blood) and “final” (meat; hides and skins) products (Horowitz & Jowkar, 1992).

The survival of pastoralists in ecologically fragile areas depends on the diversity of the ecosystems. Therefore, biodiversity provides a fundamental base to pastoralism and to

overall economic systems. All pastoralists have to look for supplementary forms of economic activity. The earlier studies focused on environmental context of the livestock husbandry. Krader (1959) described nomadism as an, 'extreme case of a human society's adaptation to an unfriendly natural environment'. Other studies were related to the problems of balance between availability of natural resources (water and fodder), livestock number and population size (Barth, 1961; Sweet, 1965; Swidler, 1973); common land use and its regulation (McCay & Acheson Brombley, 1987; Brombley, 1992); changing environmental conditions, particularly due to environmental degradation and pastoralists response to droughts and other environmental hazards. The impact of changing market conditions on herding practices was an important topic of research. Later studies observed that pastoralists are not dependent on livestock rearing only, but they practice 'multi-resource nomadism' (Salzman, 1971). It has been shown that pastoral nomads diversify their resources in order to survive in harsh and unpredictable weather conditions. Pastoral societies, once thought to be independent entities are now seen as maintaining stable and permanent relationship with sedentary peasant and urban population (Gellner, 1973). The latest studies are considering the political relationships of the pastoralists and the sedentary population (Irons, 1971) and with state policies and state politics (Dahl & Hjort, 1980).

In the study of nomadic pastoralists, it was thought that the pastoral societies are essentially egalitarian. Studies are being carried out on the subject of gender inequality and impact of changing division of labor assignments in pastoral societies, particularly related to gender (Human Ecology 1996). Human ecologists are concerned with the problems of common land pastures. The 'tragedy of commons' apparently arises when a group of resource users have common access to single resource. Recent studies have examined the systems that regulate access to and use of common property such as pastures to show how some pastoral groups have done well traditionally while others failed, and the circumstances that led to success or failure of the pastoral groups (Hardin & Baden, 1977; McCay & Acheson, 1987; Brombley, 1992). Barth (1961) studied the role of chiefs in nomadic pastoral society who synchronized the migrations of pastoral groups as well as made a liaison with sedentary populations. Studies have been carried among pastoral groups of high altitude areas, where nomads' movements are in frontier areas. Central governments have sought to control the movements of nomadic

pastoralists throughout their existence, in part because they are often regarded as a threat along a frontier (Lattimore, 1940).

However, in modern times, government interventions have been done to extend services to pastoral populations such as health and education (Gardus, 1985) and develop livestock in general. Several studies report negative social and health consequences of pastoral sedentarization, including poorer nutrition, inadequate housing, lack of clean drinking water, and the higher rates of infectious diseases (Fratkin, 1991 & 1998; Fratkin & Roth, 1990; Fratkin & Smith, 1995).

2.12.1 Classification of Pastoralism

The important pastoral strategies can be classified: by species, management system, geography and ecology. Apart from these, there is broad distinction between the developed and developing countries. In Australia and North America, extensive livestock production is accomplished with scientific methods and improved technology. The association between pastoralism and presence of grasslands is always there, but there are many types of grassland without pastoralists.

2.12.2 Pastoral Diversity in Africa

The broad African pastoral belt that surrounds the human tropical forest of Central Africa has many examples that illustrate Steward's claim that the same technology deployed in different environments can generate far-reaching differences amongst societies. In West Africa, pastoralists such as the Fulani (Stenning, 1959) much resemble the pastoralists of Central Asia. They maintained caravan routes between the gold fields of tropical West Africa, the date oases of the interior, and the Mediterranean. The West African pastoral tribes had complex relations with a series of powerful states based on advanced horticulture along the forest fringe, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Hausaland, Kanem-Bornu, etc. Timbuktu is perhaps the most famous city of this region. Islam became the dominant religion in the region, spreading down the pastoralist's trade routes from North Africa.

2.12.3 Himalayan Pastoralism

Sheep and goat pastoralism is a constant feature of traditional mountain societies. Gaddis, Gujars, Bakarwals, Kaulis and Kanets of the north Indian Himalayas, Bhutia of Garhwal Himalayas, Bhutia and Sherpas of Khumbu valley of Nepal, Kirats of eastern Nepal, Monpa yak breeders of Arunachal Pradesh, Bhutias of Lachen and Lachung,

Sikkim and Changpas of Changthang, Ladakh are some of the known pastoral communities of Himalayas (Bhasin, 2011). The pastoral communities of Himalayas make use of resources like high mountain pastures in three different ways by characteristic mobility patterns, socio-economic organization and property rights.

There are nomads like Changpa of Changtang in Ladakh, whose economy is predominantly based on animal husbandry; there are agro-pastoralist groups like Gaddis of Bharmour, Himachal Pradesh and Bhutias of Lachen and Lachung in Sikkim, who practice marginal agriculture and raise herds of sheep and goats and yaks (Bhasin 1988, 1989, 1996). The interaction of altitude, climate and soil fertility set upper limits on agriculture and pastoralism and within the range of agriculture, upper limits on types of crops (Troll, 1968 & 1972; Uhlig, 1976; Dollfus, 1981). Transhumance with or without agriculture becomes profitable where high pastures are available. Transhumant that migrate from summer pastures to winter pastures with their flocks have some sort of living arrangement at both the places and use tents as shelters during ascending or descending (Bhasin, 2011).

Among the agro-pastoral Gaddis of Bharmour, Himachal Pradesh, India, although agriculture provides the bulk of staple food, Gaddis themselves give major importance to the care and value of the sheep and goat. From animals they obtain additional food in the form of meat and milk, wool for clothing and cash for buying other necessities. Transhumance of this type is practiced in mountainous regions of many parts of the world. Several authors have carried out studies on these pastoralist groups (Newell, 1967; Khatana, 1976a & 1976b; Nitzberg, 1987; Goldstein & Masserschmidt, 1980; Kango & Dhar, 1981; Rao & Casimir, 1982, Bhasin, 1988, 1989 & 1996). All forms of pastoralism may be regarded as different forms of adaptation, the parameters of which are determined by ecology and level of technological development. The 'multi-resource economy' that Salzman (1972) described in relation to nomads in Baluchistan and Africa also characterize most pastoralists in India.

In the Alpine regions of Himalaya, a peculiar strategy is based on agro-pastoral transhumance, each segment of which is intricately intermeshed with productive areas only during the growing season from spring to early fall, has been described as *Alpwirtschaft* (Rhoades & Thompson, 1975). It is associated with the movement of people and animals in vertical and horizontal space, communal control of pastures

combined with individual control of plots and haying fields and a social institution that schedule the complex movement in space and time (Rhoades and Thompson 1975).

The concept of *Alpwirtschaft* shows how a cultural adaptation, response to a particular set of environmental constraints leads to patterned social and political relationships (Bhasin, 2011). In the Himalayan mountain milieu, we find a full range of mobile practices, in livestock keeping from mountain nomadism through transhumance to combined mountain agriculture (*Alpwirtschaft*). Several studies have been carried out on pastoral groups in different parts of the Western Himalayas (Singh, 1964; Newell, 1967; Khatana, 1976b; Nitzberg, 1970 & 1978; Goldstein & Masserschmidt, 1980; Kango & Dhar, 1981; Rao & Casimir, 1982; Bhasin, 1988, 1989 & 1996), mainly focusing on nomadic routes, regular seasonal movements in a typical landscape, agriculture and human settlements. Some of these studies show the changing importance of animal husbandry in combined mountain agriculture. All societies use animals as providers of food, fuel, fiber, draught power and transportation (Bhasin, 2011). However, nomadic, semi-nomadic and transhumant pastoralist societies have lifestyles that revolve mainly around their livestock. The transhumant pastoral societies inhabiting the high Himalayan areas exploit the seasonal abundance of grazing areas. The demarcation between the nomads and transhumant is not a permanent divide. As social and ecological conditions change, pastoralists adjust accordingly (Bhasin, 2011).

2.13 Ecological Factors for Cultural Development

A number of scholars have analyzed ecological factors that lead to cultural development in different ways. Barth (1956) uses the ecological factors for the form and distribution of cultures which has usually been analyzed by means of a culture area concept (Barth, 1956). This concept has been developed with reference to the aboriginal cultures of North America (Kroeber 1939). Attempts at delimiting culture areas in Asia by similar procedures have proved extremely difficult (Bacon, 1946; Kroeber, 1947; Millers 1953), since the distribution of cultural types, ethnic groups, and natural areas rarely coincide. Coon (1951) speaks of Middle Eastern society as being built on a mosaic principle where many ethnic groups with radically different cultures co-reside in an area in symbiotic relations of variable intimacy. Referring to a similar structure, Furnivall (1944) describes the Netherlands Indies as a pluralistic society. The common characteristic in these two cases is the combination of ethnic segmentation and economic interdependence. Thus the 'environment' of any one ethnic group is not only defined by natural conditions, but also

by the presence and activities of the other ethnic groups on which it depends. Each group exploits only a section of the total environment, and leaves large parts of it open for other groups to exploit (Barth, 1956).

This interdependence is analogous to that of the different animal species in a habitat. As Kroeber (1947) emphasizes, culture area classifications are essentially ecologic; thus detailed ecologic considerations, rather than geo graphical areas of sub-continental size, should offer the point of departure.

2.14 Nomadism, Settlement and Development

There are probably more than 25 million nomads now in Asia and Africa. Nomad settlement, temporary and permanent, is a part of the nomadic system, influenced by internal and external factors. The internal factors which encourage nomad settlement include; (1) droughts; (2) animal diseases; (3) population pressure within the nomadic system; and (4) opportunities for accumulation of surplus and limitations on the investment of surplus within the nomadic system. The external factors which encourage settlement include: (1) a decrease in the economic opportunities open to nomads; (2) an increase in public security for settled communities through stronger central governments enabling nomads to settle in areas with favorable ecological conditions which were previously unsafe; (3) an increase in urban or rural employment opportunities; (4) government programs to settle nomads; and (5) reduction of pasture land in many areas due to the encroachment of agriculture into pasture land and the occupation of land under government departments (Ebrahim, 1984).

Since the turn of the 20th century, nomadism has been on the decline because of the intensification of the external factors discussed earlier. As a result of the worsening conditions and because of misguided concepts of modernization; and a desire to control nomads, many governments attempted to settle nomads. A number of projects were initiated especially in agricultural sector to introduce capital-intensive irrigation and land reclamation. They range from small-scale groundwater irrigation projects, such as the settlement schemes in Jordan with an average of 30 families each to large land-reclamation river-irrigation projects such as the Rahad Irrigation Project in Sudan aimed at settling 10,000 families. Yet for a number of reasons, these projects have been beset with problems and none of them can be described as truly successful. Some in fact have been abandoned altogether or converted into other uses (Ebrahim, 1984).

2.14.1 Settlement Patterns in the Middle East

The Middle Eastern nomads (Ebrahim, 1984) are divided in spontaneous settlement and induced settlement. Nomads decide to abandon nomadism voluntarily at Individual or collective level and seek new livelihood opportunities in agriculture, trade, industry, or the service sector. Sometimes, the settlement is spontaneous while at other times, it occurs in response to government efforts. There are two forms of spontaneous settlement which can be individual and collective; although the distinction is sometimes blurred. Anyone can see individual spontaneous settlement of nomads in OPEC countries. Another example of spontaneous individual settlement is that which Barth (1961) noticed in South Persia, in which nomads at either end of the income scale end up settling.

Nomads usually settle when their herds dwindle below the minimum size required to support household. In this case, a nomad may settle in a village and be employed as a farm laborer or as a hired shepherd until he saves enough money to rebuild his herd then he returns to nomadism in some cases. In some cases, nomads settle collectively through their own efforts. An example of spontaneous collective settlement is the *Hijar* settlements in Saudi Arabia, where a section of a tribe or a lineage applied to the government for land to settle on, and built their own houses and farms with a minimum of help (Shamekh, 1975). Another example of collective spontaneous settlement is the settlement of 40 Yoruk nomad families in the village Nogaylar in south-east Turkey in 1949 (Bates, 1970). Worsening economic conditions for Yoruk nomads made settlement in agriculture a viable alternative, but settling individually was difficult or unattractive due to ethnic differences between nomads and villagers. Yoruk nomads applied through their leaders to the government for public land in a sparsely populated village in which they settled collectively and became farmers. The area exploited by the nomad Yoruk is an inland plain in the district of Islahiye, bounded by mountains on all but the south side. Sheep are taken by these nomads to the mountain pastures (as far away as 200 km) during the dry, hot summer, as is the case in Iran and other mountainous parts of the Middle East (Ebrahim, 1984). In the winter, they graze in the low lands where the nomad Yoruk keeps in contact with their sedentary kin. Nomad Yoruk live in tents year-round. The factors that made settlement more desirable for the Yoruk included: (a) an increase in the fees that landowners charge nomads for the use of pastures; (b) government curtailment of the use of some rich pastures along the Syrian borders; (c) an increase in population leading to the expansion of cultivated areas at the expense of pastures; and (d)

declining income from camel transport as motorized vehicles took their place (Ebrahim, 1984).

2.14.2 Sedentarization in China

Sedentarization has been advocated in pastoral areas of China and other parts of the world by development agencies, conservation groups, and national governments, supported by discussions among anthropologists and sociologists. From their perspective, pastoralism is inefficient and damaging to the environment, and sedentarization appears to be beneficial because it can integrate former pastoralists with the rest of the national economy, thereby improving their material well-being (Fratkin et al., 2006). Some national governments encourage sedentarization because it permits better control and taxation, while also eliminating cross-border migrations (Scott, 1998). Government-imposed sedentarization may jeopardize important cultural aspects of the nomadic society and lead to dependence on governmental subsidies (Ptackova, 2011; Li & Huntsinger, 2011). Scoones (1994) noted that some of these policies are nothing more than Western ranching models that have failed in pastoral areas with different ecological and social backgrounds, such as East Africa.

Many previous researchers who studied the impacts and sustainability of NSPs based on empirical studies have adopted some common approaches. Most of these studies were based on fieldwork in a single sedentary village, and focused on the social aspects of the system, such as the policy design, implementation scope, cultural change, and changes of the customs and lifestyles of the local people (Tsui, 2002; Gai & Song, 2005; Jiao et al., 2008; Zhao et al., 2009; Wang & Wang, 2010; Li et al., 2011). A few researchers have also explored the ecological impacts after the implementation of NSPs in China (Xu, 2001; Chu & Meng, 2005; Du, 2011; Tsui, 2012).

2.14.3 Nomadism as an Environmental Adaptation

Nomadism is one of the earliest professions of mankind, possibly pre-dating agriculture. It is an adaptive response to an environment where arable land is extremely limited and the vegetation is so sparse that the only way to utilize it is to move with the herds over a large area. Nomads have little possessions beside their herds and are generally poorer than their settled neighbors who engage in farming. This is not uniformly true, however. In some areas of Iran and North Africa, nomads have a higher income than their sedentary neighbors (Ebrahim, 1984).

The 'pure' nomads of the Arabian Peninsula are the camel nomads whose migration cycle is described by Shamekh (1977). According to their seasonal movement from summer to winter, they begin early in October from central Arabia when the rainy season starts. Thereafter, the summer camps around permanent wells are dismantled and divided into smaller herding units and start their journey to benefit from the grasses in the desert. The nomads stay in the desert until the end of May when the rain pools are dry and pastures are largely consumed. They then begin their journey back to the permanent wells.

Nomads are reputed to have good health and strong build but in fact they suffer from malnutrition more than settled people as their diet consists basically of dairy products and staples with a marked absence of green stuff and protein (only on special occasions do they kill their animals for consumption). Malnutrition reduces their resistance to diseases, particularly tuberculosis. This is compounded by the lack of clean water and difficulty of obtaining medical attention due to their constant migration. Barth speaks of nomads and farmers as occupants of mutually dependent 'ecological riches' (Barth, 1956).

2.14.4 Induced Settlement

The induced settlement is further divided into five stages for better understanding.

- a. *Settlement which occurs because of infrastructural improvements that were not intended to induce settlement or were not specific to the area in which settlement occurs* e.g. In Iraq many Bedouins have settled near railway stations that were built in their traditional grazing area. In northern Saudi Arabia, many Bedouins have settled near water wells that were dug by the Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company (Ebrahim, 1984).
- b. *Settlement through government persuasion and a minimum of help.* An example of this is the early *Hijaz* settlements in Saudi Arabia. In the first third of this century, many tribes or lineages in Saudi Arabia decided to settle because of government efforts that settlement was the best way to become true Muslim. A similar process took place in Sudan during the second half of the 19th Century. Nomad supporters of Al-Mahdi, the leader of a religious movement, fought with him against the British. They settled and founded the city of Omdurman. Similar

religious settlements occurred in the Sudan in the first half of this century as well (Sabir, 1965).

- c. *Forced settlement involves the use of force to settle nomads against their will, in marginal agricultural areas.* The results are usually catastrophic. Nomads' inexperience in farming and the marginality of the land which they cultivate usually result in very poor yields and widespread famine. Moreover, many nomads flee with their animals to neighboring countries or slaughter them which seriously deplete the country's livestock and reduce the protein intake of the population (Ebrahim, 1984). The Soviet government tried to forcibly settle the nomads of the Kazakh Republic in the 1920s (Bacon, 1966). In Mongolia, force was also used in the first campaign to settle nomads between 1929 and 1932 (Rosenburg, 1977). A similar forceful settlement took place in Persia in the late 1920s. The nomads of Nuristan raise sheep and goats mainly, utilizing mountainous pastures during the summer and the warm low-altitude plains during the winter. They grow wheat in both areas. Thus making it unnecessary to transport large quantities of grain during their seasonal migration. The government of Reza Shah tried to bring the nomads under control by forcing them to settle. The members of each clan were ordered to choose an area in one of the clan's traditional pastures build houses and settle down. Those who refused to obey were dealt with forcibly. "Where they had previously put large areas of poor un-irrigated land under wheat they were required as sedentary farmers to intensify their agricultural efforts on less land of worst quality than before to produce the wherewithal of a balanced diet. Deprived of the milk products provided by their flocks and unprepared to cultivate anything but wheat, they suffered from starvation and sickness." (Black-Michaud, 1974,). The Government was forced to relax its restrictions on nomadic movement by allowing each family to send a few of its members to the pastures. In 1941, Reza Shah abdicated the throne and many of the nomads reverted back to nomadism. The majority however remained in the villages for many reasons. Many families had lost their livestock and thus became unable to resume nomadism or were unwilling to try it again after tasting the relative comfort of a settled life. Another reason was that during the years of settlement, that after spending great efforts in improving the irrigation and drainage network, the settlers were unwilling to abandon and revert to nomadism. Instead, the system of family splitting became

well institutionalized, different parts of the family alternating in taking the flocks to pasture and caring for the fields (Ebrahim, 1984).

- d. *Government-sponsored settlement projects.* El-Jafr project in Jordan, new Halfa project in Sudan, and the Haradh project in Saudi Arabia are examples of such projects. They are usually capital-intensive irrigation projects that require high initial investment and great amounts of foreign exchange. Many of these projects were designed for the nomads by urban government officials, with various amounts of financial and technical assistance from international agencies and foreign governments, and with a minimum of nomad participation (Ebrahim, 1984). Even if they were successful they could hope to settle only a small fraction of the nomadic population in any country.
- e. *Collectivization of livestock.* This involves major social transformation in the direction of collective ownership of livestock and cooperative methods of herding. The range of nomad migration is usually curtailed, and pastures are assigned to different herding cooperatives. Two principal examples of this are the collectivization of herds in Kazakh S.S.R. and Mongolia. One of the major initial aims of the Mongol People's Revolutionary Party, which gained power in 1921, was to eradicate the power of the nobility and lamas (Tibetan Buddhist priests) until 1932. Collectivization of livestock was pushed through by coercion and without sufficient preparation of the people. The results were tragic. Frightened and resentful, a large number of nomads slaughtered their animals or fled with them to China (Lattimore, 1962). While very little is published in English about the Mongolian experience, Lattimore (1966) and Rosenburg (1977), two Americans who did research in Mongolia, paint a bright picture of the development there despite the initial mistakes.

2.15 History and Ethnicity of the Gujar

Ibbetson (1916) notes that the facts on ethnicity in the then Punjab were so diverse from one part of the province to another that it is almost impossible to make any general statement that should be true for the whole province. This section of the dissertation seeks to describe and analyze the process of Gujar identity formulation as they are produced and deployed within the pastoral nomadic and settled Gujar nomads will be described chapter eight and two. Before undertaking a study of the process and factors

that lead to sedentarization, it is important to identify and then situate the Bakarwal nomads' ethnicity. The last comprehensive census of the Indian sub-continent on races, tribes, castes and *biradaries* was undertaken by the British in 1931, although the events of the World War II and the partition of India have changed the demographics completely. That census showed a higher concentration of the Gujars in the northwest.

The Gujar Bakarwals who constitute the focal group of this study are Sunni Muslims who trace their roots to a relatively more restricted area within the larger regional population. The study of nomadic, tribal and peasant communities has attracted attention of ethnologists in Pakistan. But little is found on any ethnographical study of long distance migratory pastoral groups of the total number of ethnographies. Barth (1959) also studied transhumant Swat Pathans.

During the course of this research, the author developed a network of contacts with Gujar nomads who pasture in winter in the Potohar tract described in chapter three. To cover other groups, visits to Bakarwal camping sites were made in all three phases of their annual migratory cycle. Participant observation was reinforced with questionnaires and telephonic interviews but mostly with FGDs. Here ethnic theory is briefly described with a brief history of Gujars in a regional perspective; since the Bakarwals do not keep written history so the published material on the Indian side of Jammu and Kashmir was resorted to. The reason described by the study group is that they were long distance migratory pastoralists who would spend winters in Jammu and summers in Deosai but due to the events of partition of India and the tense border situation after 1947 they had to find alternate sites for winter pasture. There is no record of how they managed to perfect the winter pasture sites in the Potohar and how the pioneers on this route managed to settle their affairs with local population and the forest department officials. At present, the winter pasture though riddled with problems due to lack of clear state policy on nomadic pastoralism, the annual migration is an established fact.

Documentary evidence of History of Gujars in the medieval Indian social history is sparse; therefore, insights are obtained from examination of more complete history of Gujars from about 1800s. Gujar society and culture under the British is relatively well documented as the British scholars documented the events of the 1857 Indian mutiny or the Indian war of independence. 'Caste' refers to all Gujars of the medieval era including those Gujars who never converted to Islam.

Bakarwals with their regular annual migrations have been living this way since the last 5,000 years. The British colonial rulers' realization to conserve nature was driven mainly by the writings of Corbet 'The Jungle Lore'. The writings of other hunters of big game in the United Provinces (India) led to the first and only forest settlement of 1901 in the Potohar.

2.15.1 Gujar Ethnicity

At the very early stage of this research, it was clear that the Gujar Bakarwals have a clear corporate social identity. Though there exists a consensus on the definition on what constitutes Gujars but there is no ambiguity on what is Bakarwal Gujar. The consistent assertion is that they belong to a unified and socio-culturally homogenous ethnic group prevails all over the tract of their annual migration. It is indeed the only belief that defines their shared ethnic identity.

Table 2. Characteristics between Gujar and Gujar Bakarwal

Gujar	Gujar Bakarwal	Source
Does not herd cattle or goats	Is a practicing goat herder or has left the goat-herding profession in the near past	Result of author's own interviews with respondents
Does not speak the Gojri language	Must speak Gojri language	Do
'Tawaa' or bread making pan is horizontal above the stove	<i>Tawaa</i> is oblong and placed vertical on the sides of fire not directly above it	Personal observation
Has no links with his ancestral past	Maintains links with his ancestral culture even if he has quit the profession	Do
Does not wear typical Gujar dress, ornaments and cap.	Women in particular wear typical Gujar dress with typical colors and patterns	
Never longs to camp in summer high pasture	Is eager to spend summers in high alpine pastures	Primary data which finds that settled Bakarwals even in the USA still try to find an opportunity to visit the high alpine pastures
32 clans of Gujars	Same names of Gujar Bakarwal clans	Discussed in chapter three of clans 'gotra' Author's own

Hairstyle of women not special	Nomadic Bakarwals women maintain a typical braided ⁸ hairstyle , the recently settled and completely settled do not	Personal observations
Cannot communicate with animals through whistles	Nomadic Bakarwal can communicate with goats through whistles	Though this skill is gradually being lost as more Bakarwals are settling

Source: Author's self-constructed

2.15.2 Traditional Theoretical Approaches to Ethnicity

“Primordialist” and “circumstantialists” are the two approaches/ schools of thought (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975) that have dominated ethnic studies since the 19th century. For the sake of this study and to locate the Bakarwal ethnic identity it is necessary to give a short comparison of the two approaches so that ethnicity is linked to history to understand the present social status of Gujar Bakarwals as it is today.

The primordialist paradigm postulates that ethnic groups are autonomous who are bounded and to an extent by forming into cohesive social units, that are formed independent of any external causes or stimuli. The factors that lead to the formation of the primordialist group members are social integration, shared identity, collective cultural practices, historical social ties and cultural symbols. Therefore, they ‘crystallize’ ethnically in a gestalt-cultural ethos (Geertz 1973:261) and the time, place and nature of ethnic crystallization is seldom specified neither is the causes and processes responsible for such events analyzed in depth. Ethnic groups have always existed as such. Primordialism is evident in Geertz (1973) interpretive/ symbolic anthropology and historical account of Edward Shils (1957) dealing with ethnicity.

On the other hand, circumstantialists locate ethnicity in interest directed groups and see ethnicity in terms of a response to the contextual demands imposed by dominant societies. Thus, ethnicity provides the socio-political tool that channels favoritism, provides jobs and engages the group in interest directed practices. Studies in ethnicity reveal instrumental qualities of ethnicity. Examples include ecological studies of Barth (1969), historical studies of Christopher Walter Charsley’s historical (1974), and economic studies of Despres’ (1975) and Nagel and Olzak (1982). A shared identity of

⁸ Small, tiny braids (they take too much time to make, when groups come back to winter pastures, women wash their heads) so they open all tiny braids after washing head, and again tie their hair. This is the customary way to tie hair and forms the nomadic identity.

the Gujar Bakarwals provides them access to essential political struggle, because the political patronage appears erratic and dependent on the person in power at a particular time. Gujar Bakarwal ethnicity is just about struggle for survival through access to grazing grounds all along their migratory route.

The Gujars' CNIC provide insights into the political relations of the Bakarwals with the provincial governments who issue grazing permits, occasionally impose bans on their movement, impose grazing and in Neelum Valley fees for passage through the valley. It is these factors that shape and define the nature of the Bakarwal ethnicity in the first instance.

Many Bakarwals are unaware of the contradictions between their claim of ethnic unity and the social realities of inconsistencies and uncertainty. In an era of these uncertainties, the root causes of the conflict of the Bakarwals with the forest department in all the four provinces AJK, KP, GB and the Punjab are explored in this study. There is a basic contradiction on the way nature is perceived by Bakarwal who have to make a living for the whole family and throughout the year from pastures and the Forest department officials draw their belief from textbooks mainly taught at PFI (Peshawar Forest Institute) Peshawar. An entire chapter five is dedicated on this divergence of views on nature between the two. Detailed studies on Indian society, economy and culture that investigate the systems of thought and social organization at a regional level have been made (Bailey, 1962; Bhatt, 1980; Cohon, 1971; Dumont, 1980; Srivina & Beteille, 1964; Pradhan, 1966). These studies include Gujars along with other Castes of the sub-continent. However, the author could not find any detailed ethnographic study of the Gujar nomadic pastoralists per se. In order to locate the Gujar Bakarwals of this study in the overall Gujar ethnicity, secondary literature has been reviewed to give account of Gujar population distribution, social geography and language use.

As mentioned earlier, neither India nor Pakistan have collected census data on the basis of *Biradari* therefore the demographic data needed to examine the patterns of Gujar population does not exist. The data collected by the British colonial rulers in 1871, 1931 and 1941 is the only systematic data on caste and *Biradaris* of India and Pakistan. The accuracy of this data however can be questioned since no independent verification was made to remove the biases that suited the political motives of the colonial rulers. The first population count/ census was undertaken in winter of 1881 that was found

convenient time for the enumerators who had encountered problems in data collection in summers (Barrier, 1981: 9) The timing of the census favored the pastoralists who had established winter camps. However the extent of how the pastoralist nomads were counted is unclear and needs further research.

The available ethnographic studies reveal that with some exceptions like district Gujrat in Pakistan and Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh India, there are very few districts where Gujars own large parcels of land. Moreover, the land owned by the Gujars was not very fertile in Northeast Indian Punjab (Manku, 1986) and Uttar Pradesh (Misra 1959) and their land ownership was negligible as compared to Sikhs, Hindus and Muslim Jats.

Ibbetson's (1916) and other researches depict that Gujars, being buffalo herders or pastoralists, did not enjoy a social status at par with the upper classes of the Indian society even before the events of 1857. The British policy of 1857 further exasperated their social identity. During the research for this thesis, similar trends were observed amongst the villagers in the earthquake affected hilly areas of AJK and Hazara. In a personal communication with the author, a local of Hazara remarked, '*Zalzala Kyon na Aye, jab Gujar ko MPA aur MNA bana dya hai*' (Why there should not be an earthquake when a Gujar is made member of the Parliament?). In another anecdote narrated by a project manager in Rawalakot; one of the drivers from the elite Sudhan caste refused to perform field duty with an officer who was a Gujar, and subsequently resigned saying that a Gujar cannot be an officer, they work in our agricultural fields and collect dung, "how could he be my officer?" "The local villagers in the Potohar as well as the forest officers call them "*paahlas*" a term the Gujar Bakarwals consider derogatory. The local residents do not call them *Paahlas* upfront or in official correspondence where they are referred to as Bakarwals only.

For the purpose of this study a deep analysis of the 1901 Forest Settlement Report for the *rakhs* (forests) of the Potohar shows that while the Forest Settlement officers considered the claims of the local population on the forests prior to notifying them as Reserved, but there is not a single reserved forest that has admitted any right of grazing, passage or right to water to any nomadic group including the Gujar Bakarwals. Interviews and literature search of forest records are all silent on Bakarwal grazing in the forests of the Potohar prior to the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan in 1947. This lack of recorded evidence is partly answered by the oral history provided by the key informer

and old forest officers. Oral history of the Bakarwal nomads studied in this research states that prior to 1947, the annual migratory route was Deosai/ Skardu in summer and winter pastures of Jammu and Rajori that is now part of the Indian held Kashmir. The information provided by the present elders of Bakarwals states that after the wars and tense border, the group that is now migrating inside Pakistan found their new winter pastures in the Potohar while their relatives that stayed back in the Indian Kashmir continue their age old seasonal migration on a business as usual pattern. Literature on seasonal migration of Gujar Bakarwals in the Indian Jammu and Kashmir is available. The Bakarwal group that spends winters in the Potohar and AJK state that they are refugees of the Indian side of Kashmir, some migrated as early as 1965, immediately after the 1965 war between India and Pakistan.

According to the 1931 Population Census of the British India, Gujars constituted 11 percent of the population of Jammu and Kashmir, five percent of Punjab, and over two percent of the then NWFP (now KP province). In KP, the highest concentration of Gujars was in Hazara and the overall highest concentration was in the northern districts of the Punjab (Potohar). The relationship of the arable fertile land, water and climate provided limited subsistence to human habitation. However, rain fed subsistence farming supplemented with pastoral nomadism was possible to withstand the harshness of weather. The canal irrigation schemes initiated by the British signify how history interacts with ecology in determining the history of demography in Punjab.

2.15.3 Historical Development

Ibbetson (1916) identified the Gujars to have moved with the Kuhun a tribe of eastern Tatars into the sub-continent about one century B.C. while others agree with Smith (1924) who place the Gujars arrival in the fifth century A.D. and trace their ancestry to the white Huns. While there exist a larger community of scholars who attribute the Gujars of indigenous origin James Todd (1989), argues that Gujars are not descendants of Turkey or Arab and they are Greeks and resided in Rajasthan and Punjab region. He further mentions that Gujars have come from Turkistan, and that they are descendants of Noah (Ahmad, 2017). The most important evidence is the Sankaravarman expedition towards the Gurjara desa, which was located in the Punjab area (Stein, 1989). According to Ashraf (1984) descended from a pre-Aryan *jati* (caste) of north India. Vaidya (1979 [1924]) on the contrary has set Mount Abu Rajasthan as the origin of Gujars who come

from Rajput ancestry. The other Indo-European races of India who trace their origin from the Aryans e.g. Jats, Arain and Rajput appear to have descended from Europe and much had established their culture and social stratification on the Indian context much earlier than the Gujars if we accept Smith (1924) that the Gujars have ancestry from the Huns of Europe. The 1931 census of British India noted a low rate of literacy amongst the Gujars relative to other groups; Gujars have been subject to discrimination and prejudice.

The term Gujars referred as agro-pastoral appears in the memoirs 'Baburnama' of the first Mughal emperor of India Zāhīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Babur (1483-1530 AD). Beveridge (1979 [1922]) indicate that a distinct social identity of Gujars had been established by the medieval period. Babur mentions Gujars at least seven times in his book and only in one occasion refers them as thieves. In his accounts of other expeditions and conquests of India, he invariably mentions a Gujar as his guide in his invasions in India. The religious identity of the Gujars during the early mediaeval period is unknown. Scholars are in agreement that conversion to Islam amongst Indian rural masses occurred during the medieval period; during the Delhi Sultanates period (1206-1526) to be exact. In the case of Gujars, the date of conversion varied widely by region. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann 1993) also notes conversion of Gujars to Islam (Jarrett, 1993). Elliot (1869) suggests that conversion was an ongoing process in the late medieval period. However, the Gujar Bakarwals studied in this dissertation are all Sunni Muslims and they do not recall any pre-Islamic ancestry.

There are multiple factors that encouraged the pastoral Gujars' conversion to Islam. Proximity to shrines was the single most important factor for pastoral Gujars conversion to Islam in the broader Indian context. The fact that pastoral Gujars were not subjugated to a dominant caste, and enjoyed this factor provided a higher degree of autonomy and independence to convert to Islam. As a disparaged caste, they had not much to lose by conversion to Islam in the hierarchical order of the Indian caste system. Shrines and association of the Gujar Bakarwals studied in this thesis are discussed in chapter three.

2.15.4 Gujars under the British Rule and the Aftermaths of the Mutiny of 1857

The treatment of Gujars by the British imperialists, which is well documented, provides a peep into the present-day encounter of Bakarwals with the forest departments.

Before 1857 the British rulers had set to reform and reshape the Indian society by a combination of evangelism and utilitarianism (Metcalf, 1964; Stokes, 1959 & 1978). The British were set to assault on the 'moral decadence' and 'social inequities' of the Indian society. However, the insurrection that started in May 1857 among the sepoys of the British Indian army engulfed much of North India. The Gujars were considered as the most treacherous of the mutineers. Elliot (1869), also records that the Gujars did not enjoy a good in Bulandshahar. Others report the swarms of Gujars plundering villages in Gwalior and Rajputana (Holmes 1882). In the History of Indian Mutiny, T.R.E Holmes (1882) refers Gujars as hereditary thieves. The Gujars suffered badly in the aftermath of the mutiny that was crushed by the British. They were termed as non-martial race, and many Gujars were summarily executed (Misra, 1959) or were barred from enlisting in the army and discriminated in other trades and jobs. This in turn reduced Gujars' participation in land market and government employment. These British sanctions served to lower the Gujars' social status that further reinforced anti-Gujar prejudices.

These readings in Gujar history are important. These chapters of history explain their prevalent status as an economically depressed community and their traditional occupation of pastoralism. They argue that the loss of ancestral lands as a result of the aftermath of the 1857 mutiny left limited options other than adopting a wandering life nomadic pastoralism perceived as most respectable amongst all wandering tribes.

During the two centuries of British rule in India till 1947, Punjab experienced an unprecedented economic prosperity and expansion (Ali, 1988: 10). This was achieved through a vast network of canals that brought large wastelands under irrigated agriculture. The British allotted the new lands to tribes and castes that were considered efficient like Jats and Rajputs, while the post mutiny mindset of the British ruled out allotments of new lands to Gujars. Imran Ali (1988) suggests that the Gujars did not participate in the canal colony settlement commensurate to their population. He further suggests that the data on the Gujars testify the fact that canal colonies' settlements 'involved the reinforcement of the strong, and by implication the further emasculation of the weak. Gujar pastoralists were seldom fully integrated into the system and this set the pace of the social status of the Gujars in the long term.

2.16 Theoretical Construction

The Gujar Bakarwals who are the subject of this study face many challenges categorized as the push and pull factors and discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis. The most important one is the conflict in the divergent perception of nature between the Bakarwal and the forest officers. According to Davis (2016), desiccation theory was the predominant thinking of the colonial European rulers about arid lands (systems in disequilibrium) in the colonies from the 19th century. She argues that the notion that the natives are responsible for over-exploitation of their lands formed the basis of the desiccation theory and was shown to be intimately linked to the increased colonization and the expansion of capitalism during the same period. Hence, desiccation theory served to justify dispossession and colonial capital accumulation - a process Davis calls 'accumulation by desertification'. The little exposure to the developments that are reshaping the perception on nature and the colonial sciences on which the forest officers are trained, the conflict between the Bakarwals and forest officers is perpetual in the four locales of this study.

A grounded theory approach was used sequentially to collect information and the process of data collection was continued until patterns surfaced and saturation was achieved. After analysis of data, themes were segregated and grouped into patterns and these patterns were matched with existing theories for getting a clearer understanding of the ongoing phenomena in the nomadic Bakarwal community.

A systematic approach was subsequently followed. This included the review of curriculum of the forest education in Pakistan, interviews with forest officers and Bakarwals, deep historical analysis on the State's interaction with the Gujar Bakarwals and review of global status of nomadic pastoralism. This was followed by shortlisting of theories that appeared to the author as the most relevant and fitted with the bigger picture process. The theories and discourses from social and biophysical sciences appeared most applicable to this situation are discussed in the next sections. Based on the outcome of this analysis, the theory was constructed, which is discussed in chapter 8.

Foucault and Gramsci's writings on correlation between knowledge, power and space is relevant to this conflict between the Bakarwal nomads and the forest Department. Three references are relevant here:

Range management as a discipline was initiated in Pakistan under the influence and recommendation of US scientists during CENTO era between 1965 and 1971. As per

recommendations, a National Range Policy was formulated. Pakistan Range Management Conference (1966) also recommended the involvement of livestock producers and not the pastoralists in the formulation of Range Policy. Forest policies and rangeland policies developed so far in Pakistan including rangeland research is all focused on settled livestock herds while all of the pastoralists are excluded.

2.16.1 The Old and the New Ecological Thinking

There is a general belief that pastoral nomadism as a way of life is disappearing globally. From the African Savannah to the Central Asian republics, China and south Asia, there are no exceptions. The popular belief is that the existing pastoralists are the relics of a bygone era that will disappear after two or three generations. Sedentarization of pastoralists is a centuries old ongoing phenomenon, however, empirical research shows that pastoralism is changing; some are diversifying their livelihood but some like the Turkana people of northwestern Kenya are not settling (McCabe, 2011). Gujar Bakarwals who are the subject of this study face many challenges categorized as the push and pull factors as discussed in chapter five of this document. The most important one is the conflict of the divergent perception of nature between Bakarwals and the forest officers.

The way Gujar Bakarwals perceive the lands they use for pasture and migration, manage their herds and make decisions on when and where to move their herds is completely opposite to the thinking of the forest officers who are the key decision makers. Relationship between knowledge and power is depicted in this case very clearly.

The decision making process of the forest departments in Pakistan is based on the knowledge imparted at the Pakistan Forest Institute, Peshawar that was established in Pakistan to impart the new entrants to the Forest Service on the same lines as was the practice at the Indian Forest Academy at Dehradun, India. Thereby, it is a continuum of the British colonial legacy that subsequently was adopted by UN system in particular the United Nations Convention on Desertification (UNCCD). Davis (2016), Mathews (2011) and numerous authors agree that UNCCD carries forward the agenda of the 'Desiccation Theory'. Desiccation Theory attributes the fate of land degradation to the bad practices of the local and indigenous population and has been imposing a European solution to local problems. Numerous authors including Alan Savory (2013) have provided adequate

empirical evidence that the European knowledge does not apply to the arid lands of Africa and Asia.

The concept of 'ecosystem' and 'ecology' are the backbone of the tools that 'construct' the basis of decision making by forest officers. This knowledge is used to decide whether access to grazing lands is to be allowed or not. This needs some epistemological review on its origin and evolution and the modern trends that are re-shaping the way pastoral grazing is viewed today. With the recent epistemological changes in the understanding of ecosystems, there is a marked change of opinion about pastoralism. Pastoralists are now being viewed as key decision makers who tend to cope with a shrinking resource base and a changing environment. Mobility is viewed as the main adaptive strategy that keeps an economy and the culture that has developed along pastoralism. The notion that environment determines how people make a living or organize socially; environmental determinism of Steward (1972) is replaced by the Marten (2001) postmodern concepts of human-environment relation. However the issue of flow of material and energy within ecosystems is still open to debate in a world with the highest human population ever recorded in history.

As a result of interviews with 20 forest officers, it was found that the prevalent view of the forest officers is based on the PFI curriculum. The belief with forest officers is that Bakarwals are the main agents of land degradation who overgraze the summer pastures and illegally extract wild herbs leading to their extinction and that their herds compete with wildlife. Government and donor agencies' conservation project documents also showed the same belief that keeps on surfacing again and again, though without being supported with empirical research.

Dependency and desiccation theories were linked to the theories of power and knowledge for understanding the processes that are impacting the sedentarization process. In order to empirically understand the deep-rooted conflict between the forest officers and the Bakarwals a deep look into the history, economics, and sociology and in particular the colonial and post-colonial studies juxtaposed with the present forest policies was undertaken. The present era policies play the key role in deciding the fate of nomadism in Pakistan. Marxists interpretation on nature as a means of production could not be ignored during the theoretical construction phase of this study; therefore, resort to the theories of 'production of nature' was also resorted before attempting theory building

and drawing conclusions of the new bigger picture that kept on getting support from more and more theories that were tested to the situation of the Bakarwals under study. Therefore, this study was looking into looking multiple processes that revolved around Bakarwal sedentarization; each process could not give a complete picture if looked in isolation from the other processes. McCabe (2011) who looked into the sociobiological aspects of sedentarization in Tanzania shows linkages to the Desiccation Theory (Mathew 2011). This linkage persists both during the colonial and postcolonial periods. I also borrowed the conceptual framework from ‘Production of Nature’(Haraway 1992, Smith 1984 and Swyngedouw 1999) to look at the whole process of Bakarwal sedentarization from a Marxist perspective.

The life of the Bakarwals is often romanticized that they live nearer to nature and that while living with nature they have adopted mobility to take economic benefit from changes in weather in vertical space. It is thought that with this way of life, their ecological footprint is minimal. All of their cultural parameters like marriage, sale of rams, dress pattern, jewelry, concept of purity and impurity, specialized dogs, herding techniques, whistles as means of communication between man and beast and festivals have evolved with mobility. In the tradition of Clifford Geertz’s (1973), ‘thick description’ was undertaken to get an insight into why particular traits exist at particular times and in particular places for example, why Bakarwals prefer to buy more goats not immovable property whenever they have the money.

The following theories have been applied to interpret the primary data of this study:

2.16.2 Dependency Theory

Available knowledge of forestry inescapably suppresses and silences other forms of knowledge. The appearance of authoritative and knowledgeable institutions reflects the collective imagination of desirable futures rather than lived realities. In Mexico, the knowledge regime of forestry expanded not only because of powerful institutions but because of the instability, vulnerability, and weakness that made officials, foresters, and indigenous people.

Accused of overgrazing, desertification, and land degradation, pastoralists across Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and the Americas have been compelled to become more sedentary, to reduce or eliminate their herds, and often dispossessed of their lands (Awad, 1962; Bedrani, 1983; Ballais,1994; Benjaminsen, 2016; Chatty, 2006;

Lavauden, 1927; Davis, 2007; Jacoby, 2001; Monteil, 1959; Weisiger, 2009; Whyte, 1956). These actions have been taken on the basis of “scientific” theories forged first in the context of colonial forestry (Davis, 2016) and then were strongly influenced by Clements’s (1916) theory of plant succession, equilibrium, and theories of climatic climax developed in the West in particular the USA. The notions that livestock grazing is the main cause of rangeland degradation, and that reducing or removing livestock would always heal or restore the damage, became the accepted sole truth, which is institutionalized in laws, policies, textbooks and development programs (Sayre, 2017). However, a large body of historical and ecological evidence now refutes these claims and suggests instead that in many rangelands, the ecological effects of pastoralism are insignificant (relative to abiotic drivers) and/or indistinguishable from those of wild or natural herbivores (Behnke, 2006; Scoones & Kerven, 1993; Behnke & Mortimore, 2016; Kratli, 2015). The land degradation that does exist in these rangelands more often results from the very programs that curtail mobility, ‘rationalize’ land tenure, and intensify commercial livestock production a phenomenon Davis (2016) terms “accumulation by desertification”.

Dependency Theory was developed after the publication of Raul Prebisch’s paper (1959). The issue was to find why economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Prebisch’s initial explanation for the phenomenon was very straightforward that rich countries exploited poor countries for their economic development. Relationship of Core and Periphery has been discussed by dependency theorists regarding international capitalism as the motive behind dependency relationship.

In the present research, Bakarwals are reified as the people at the periphery while the forest officers who are part of the settled people form the core group. This is based on the exploitative relationship between Bakarwals and the core group comprising of the government i.e. the forest departments of the four administrative units of Pakistan. The army exploits them as cheap labor, the landowners exploit them as they encamp on their lands during the winter pasturage and the mutton traders exploit them by buying their rams at cheaper than the market rates for normal farm bred lambs. The politicians are also part of the core group who has facilitated the issuance of national identity cards for Bakarwals with the aim to get their votes during elections.

Primary data shows that all Bakarwals had adopted resilience strategy and purchased small parcels of land ranging from a few *Kanals* to a few *Marla*⁹ mainly in Fatehjang and all over the Potohar in the 1980's. When asked the reason when at that time there was no ban on Bakarwal grazing in the Potohar and zero grazing fees in Deosai, and no passage fee was levied in the Neelum valley AJK. The response of the key informers is that they could sense the looming crisis as land was being squeezed and the government of Pakistan People's Party had started the issuance of National Identity Cards (NIC) as compulsory document to prove citizenship. So, they had to purchase land to have an address that could be used to get CNIC issued, In the 1970's, sugar, cooking ghee and flour were rationed and only those could get ration who had ration cards. So, the Bakarwals realized that without CNIC they would land in trouble someday in the future. It is another story that the Forest Act of 1927 had a clause that the rights to graze in forests will only be inherited so the Bakarwals who purchased lands in villages having rights were not treated at par with the local sedentary villagers.

Never did any politician raise the issue of Bakarwals including the Gujar members of the legislative assemblies. It may be due to identity issue as none of the pure nomads was ever elected on a legislative seat. The voting pattern in Fatehjang is party based while in the Hazara it is caste based, In Jhelum and Chakwal again it is partly party and partly caste based. The local land owners also charge some amount either in cash or kind for allowing camping or pasturage from their fallow lands.

The forest department is considered by the Bakarwals as the entity determined to exploit them. This exploitation could be in the shape of delayed issuance of grazing permits, restricting camping inside state forests even after issuance of grazing permits, naming Bakarwals for forest cutting done by others and at times imposing section 144¹⁰ and restricting the entry of Bakarwals in the notified districts. Also, amongst the core group is the Neelum Development Board that charges passage fees, but provides no service in return to Bakarwals. Other means of exploitation of Bakarwals are the payments they have to make to settle issues with the lower formations of the forest department in cash and kind.

⁹ Marla is the unit of area in Pakistan and is equal 30.25 square yards, or 25.30 square meters or exactly 1/160th of an acre

¹⁰ Section 144 of the Pakistan Code of Criminal Procedure empowers an executive magistrate to prohibit an assembly of more than four people in an area. For a maximum period of 60 days, violators are arrested and punished with imprisonment

The community at the periphery (Bakarwals) provides services to the military units for dumping food and ammunition, providing mutton to military supply and local butchers, selling hides to the booming leather industry, and paying taxes to the government for services that are never provided by the state.

In the year 2017, two types of fees were collected from the Bakarwals along the migratory route in AJK; one is the usual fee per goat imposed by Neelum Development Authority during the uphill migration at Athmaqam and the other are the fines imposed by the Wildlife Department during their downhill migration for trespassing through Musk Deer National Park, which is an offence under the AJK Wildlife Act 2014 (an amount of two to seven thousand rupees is collected by the wildlife department from each Bakarwal household on handwritten receipts 'Figure 13'). As discussed in chapter five, those who notified the national park are people at the core while the sufferers are the people at the periphery. It is expected that with the passage of time the core group of the Punjab shall also start levying fines for the passage of Bakarwals through the Kotli Sattian and Murree Kahuta National Parks, Similarly GB forest and Wildlife department has also started charging grazing fees from the Bakarwals since the year 2010-11 although the National Park was notified in 1993.

Although the Gujar Bakarwals are the traditional owners (natives) of summer pastures in Deosai and Choti-Deosai since known times. The events following 1947 disrupted the traditional migration pattern of the Bakarwals. Oral history from respondents reveals that the wars between India and Pakistan over Kashmir issue gradually forced Bakarwals to find alternate winter pastures while the summer pasture of Deosai remained intact. How the early Bakarwals found the alternate route to the Potohar and how they addressed the challenges on the new long migratory trail remains a mystery. Records of the Forest Department and available literature were searched to find the answer to this question but with no success. The present generation of living Bakarwals also could not provide any clue to this tricky question.

Not a single Bakarwal living in Pakistan got any claims as part of the settlement between India and Pakistan as did their sedentary counterparts who formed the core group in India and later as migrants to Pakistan got their claims settled. Their rights as citizens of a sovereign state have seemingly vanished but in fact these never existed. The literature shows a similar plight of the Gujar Bakarwals of Indian held Jammu and Kashmir.

Like pastoral communities in other parts of the world, a similar status for the Gujar Bakarwals is prevalent in Pakistan i.e. they remain at the periphery and the people at the core continue to exploit them. They have been pastoral nomads since centuries but the core community has neither admitted their rights to graze on their ancestral grazing grounds nor is there any policy to settle them or to dismantle pastoralism in Pakistan. In this scenario, it appears that they are on the verge of extirpation. Mobility is only the way of their survival. The unconscious acts of the forest officers are backed with knowledge and state power that enables the forest departments to influence political and administrative decision makers.

Forest departments are operating according to rules and regulations in forest lands with the objective of nature conservation. It appears that they are at the neck of a culture and a community that has been living in their traditional lifestyle since millennia. In the current scenario, the participation of local community though provided in forest law is altogether missing and the core community is making decisions that are impacting this unique culture.

2.16.3 Desiccation Theory

Amongst the influential early proponents of the Desiccation theory were Kropotkin (1904) who was supported by Engels (1883) and Marx (1868). The theory was articulately applied to the post-colonial era by Davis (2016). Mathews (2011) posits that that the perception of arid lands as wastelands is politically motivated and that these landscapes are variable, bio diverse ecosystems, whose inhabitants must be empowered. The principal narrative that developed among colonial authorities was an assertion that dry land peoples have deforested their own landscapes, which again led to reduced rainfall and the creation of deserts. This is known as ‘desiccation theory’ and dominated European thinking about dry lands in the colonies from early in the nineteenth century. Davis argues that the development of desiccation theory was intimately linked to the intensification of colonization and the expansion of capitalism in the same period. Hence, desiccation theory served to justify dispossession and colonial capital accumulation - a process Davis calls ‘accumulation by desertification’.

Davis (2016) argues about how Anglo-European assumptions on arid lands are having impacts in today’s outlook on pastures in the developing countries. Davis explains that these environments are not governed by the equilibrium (discussed further) ecological dynamics that apply in most other regions. Moreover, while the world has moved to an inter-disciplinary approach in understanding and interpreting ecological processes of pastures and dry lands, the text of the foresters’ syllabus in Pakistan that decides the fate of the Bakarwals has remained aloof from these developments.

A better understanding of the relationship of the applicability of the Desiccation Theory to the way Ostrom natural resource i.e. the grazing lands are managed by the forest officers is viewed under the influence of Hardin’s (1968) Tragedy of commons. How this was negated by Ostrom’s (1990) ‘Comedy of Commons’ is discussed in section 5.1 “Us versus They” section of this manuscript. Similarly, the concept of overgrazing that continues to dictate the actions of forest officers is a continuum of this theory that was adeptly rebutted by Mace (1991) and discussed in chapter 5.

3. Respondent and Area Profile

In order to examine a society like Bakarwals in the contemporary world, we must acknowledge the societal diversity of their past and see the changes in the present. In this study, the author identified the factors that contributed to changes and the exact way their society has become structured around some fundamental factors. This also includes an analysis on how Bakarwals cope with the physical environment, reproduction through birth, maturation and socialization, how they distribute power, and how they cope with inevitable emotional tension and anxieties that accompany human lives. There is not enough evidence or a set formula. Hence, a profile of the area and the respondents is discussed in detail in this chapter.

Under the given variables, the social structures common to all societies displayed in varying forms and patterns, family and kinship, religion, economy, stratification, law, polity, education and community have been touched in this study. These variables were found to be endemic to the organization of Bakarwal respondents as well.

As discussed in later chapters, the results of this study show that in Pakistan, the positivist science represented by the forest department has overshadowed the social sciences completely. In addition, the respondent forest officers are reticent and are in no mood to take steps to assimilate new approaches on grazing land in the forest policy and practice. We live in the society overwhelmingly controlled by the physical scientists who are able to gain a better understanding of the physical universe but on the other hand, social scientists have also attempted to generate a deeper and more systematic knowledge of societies at the same time.

When the members of a particular society react in a particular way to a given situation that is essential for their survival, they are unconscious of the new complicated normative pattern they are creating (Spencer-Oatey, 2012). The reaction and resilience Bakarwals to changes to these new normative patterns in particular the 1980's has been captured and discussed as under in this chapter.

To have a clearer bigger picture of the respondents i.e. the forest officer and Bakarwals who live, impact and are impacted on the common space and time, an in-depth analysis by resorting to the research methodology and tools described in chapter 1 was undertaken. This chapter is the outcome of this analysis and gives a brief history of

Bakarwals, the services and urban facilities like health and education to which Bakarwals have access, social organization, kinship, language of Bakarwal pastoralism, profile of a forest officer and of a Bakarwals man and woman, socio-economic space of Tehsil Fatehjang where the nomadic Bakarwals spend summers.

The author attended marriage and death rituals of 13 pure nomadic Bakarwals in Attock, Fatehjang, Murree, Islamabad and Mirpur. In seven cases, the groom was from a pure nomadic family, while the bride's parents were recently settled and in one case were permanently settled. During my stay at Garhi Dopatta (2006-7), I was able to interact with one newly married migrating couple to find that the bride was the daughter of a permanently old settled Bakarwal at Kallar Syedan, district Rawalpindi. The bride informed that it was the first time in her life that she is migrating on foot to Deosai and that she was very happy. My local informers attributed this happiness of the Bakarwal wives to the immense nuptial pleasure a married wife derives. This was attributed to the full attention of the husband to goats and his wife thereby a romantic atmosphere is created in the wilderness of Deosai plains for which the lady was willing to pay the price of an arduous long journey. The data presented hereunder is from direct observations of the ceremonies and rituals of Bakarwals in which an outsider could participate. The remaining information has been collected through interviews and dialogues with the key informers.

3.1 Profile of a Forest Officer

As discussed in chapter 1, the term forest officer used in this dissertation refers to both forest and wildlife officers who are the custodians and managers of state forests, rangelands and protected areas both in the summer or winter pastures and areas that Bakarwals traverse and will be discussed in chapter 4.

The British colonial rulers of India established the forest service in 1867 that operated as the Imperial Forest Service under the federal government until 1935. The Government of India Act of 1935 placed forestry as a subject within the mandate of the provinces; therefore, the Imperial Forest Service was abolished. Since 1876, the federal government retained the post of the Inspector General of Forests. The British colonial rulers initially trained the forest officers in France, Germany and later in the UK until a decision was taken to train the selected forest officers at the Indian Forest Academy Dehradun from 1926 onwards. The entire forestry curriculum was developed during this time in Europe.

Among the many tasks of the forest service was to ensure regular supply of fuel wood to the British colonial Railways and river flotilla that formed the backbone of mobility of the British military throughout the Indian sub-continent. The Indian Forest Act 1927 provided the legal coverage to implement the forestry knowledge that was developed and perfected during this period. There was a large change of landscape in the plains of the arid lands of India during this period as more productive and faster growing trees were planted that needed supplemental irrigation and other inputs to replace the native slow growing trees. Changa Manga plantation in district Kasur is the first man-made forest plantation in the world that was originally established in 1866 to meet the growing needs of wood for the Empire.

The existing native vegetation in the arid lands was considered insufficient to meet the growing demands of the British railways and the economy, therefore, the forest service was tailored to fulfill the growing needs of the then British Empire. This is a perfect model of resource extraction from native lands, if viewed from the eye of the 'desiccation theory' discussed in chapter-1 under theoretical framework. With the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the forest departments were inherited from the British India as a provincial subject. Initially, forest officers continued to perform the functions of wildlife conservation till the creation of separate wildlife departments in the provinces in the 1970's. During the British colonial times, the duty of wildlife officers was to arrange hunts for the royalty, keep locals away for game areas and ensure that no hunting occurred during breeding season. However, with the passage of time the wildlife officers became more effective in controlling poaching and conservation. This underwent further improvement with the creation of Protected Areas as discussed in chapter 5 'National Parks and Protected Area System'.

According to the legal definition of forest officer, there are five provincial tiers of the forest officers in the provinces i.e. the forest guard, the foresters/ block officer, the range officer/ sub-divisional forest officer, the divisional forest officer, the conservator while the chief conservator of forests is the technical head in each province. The Secretary to the province who invariably is an officer of the administrative services heads each provincial department. Each tier of forest officers has defined jurisdiction to exercise the powers needed for forest conservation like arresting forest offenders, collection of fines from offenders etc.

The basic unit of Forest management planning is a forest working plan that is prepared strictly in accordance with the Working Plan Code 1970 and the duties of each tier of the forest officers is well defined in the three volumes of the Forest Manuals. The forest officers are imparted mandatory 2 years training in the Pakistan Forest Institute Peshawar, an institute established as a successor to the Indian Forest Academy Dehradun.

The wildlife officers' hierarchy in the three provinces is different from that of forest officers; the former deriving powers from the respective wildlife laws as discussed in chapter 5. The field watchers, game inspectors, assistant game wardens, deputy game wardens or in the province of KP the DFO Wildlife are the positions having defined powers and areas of jurisdiction that correspond to the administrative districts, division and headed by a chief conservator wildlife in KP, Director Wildlife in AJK and conservator wildlife in GB. Both the forest officers and wildlife officers are uniformed services and it is mandatory for the ranks up to Range Officers/ AGW to wear uniforms in particular during inspections carried out by senior officers. The uniform signifies the authority in particular while conducting raids.

The total area of the scrub forest in and around the Rawalpindi forest circle is approx. 0.5 million acres including *Rakh Pabbi* at the borders of district Jhelum. The forest officers who graduate from the Pakistan forest Institute are trained in the theoretical framework of biophysical sciences based on Clementian ecology. There is no mechanism to change the stance or assimilate the latest developments in the basic knowledge that keeps on changing with time. This dilemma of the basic knowledge acquired by the forest officers is discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis. The knowledge that the forest officers acquire at the Pakistan Forest Institute or other universities offering forestry degrees on the resource usage practice is a constant source of conflict not only with Bakarwals but also the local communities.

3.2 Respondent Profile: Space

The space utilized by the respondents cover specific areas of the provinces of the Punjab and KP as discussed in detail in chapter four under "Trails of the Long Migration". The following sections cover a deeper but brief overview of the space used by Bakarwals and the socio-economic power play that goes on between Bakarwal, the forest officers and the local sedentary people.

Table 3 below shows the summary of all Bakarwal clans and the vertical space they use during not only their annual migration but also the inter-generational life. Out of the 24 Gujar clans who identify themselves as Bakarwal, eight continue with pure nomadism, while six are pure sedentized, the remaining 10 are semi-nomadic. This is categorized as newly settled in chapter six (they either hand over the herds to relatives for grazing on sharing basis or cash payments, sometime they go to the summer pasture themselves) have given up nomadism and are living a semi-sedentized life. However, all the sedentized groups surveyed in this study maintain close relations with their nomadic relatives, are always in the list of invitees in marriage ceremonies, and have to go to offer condolences for deaths even if it is after many months. The space in which the nomadic Bakarwals spend summer and winter pasture is briefly described in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Table 3. Tabular Information of Summer and Winter Pastures

Sr. No	Name of Clan	Summer Pasture	Winter Pasture	Migratory Routes
1	<i>Bariyankhel</i>	Chachri Tetwal Nala Gujar Domail	Rawalpindi Attock	Attock Deosai
2	<i>Kathanakhel</i> nickname <i>Kohistani</i>	Bazori Nala Choti Deosai Gaggai	Kharian Chakwal	Chakwal Deosai
3	<i>Kalu-Khel</i>	Mir Malik	Chakwal	Chakwal Mir Malik
4	<i>Dandar</i>	Chillum Choki Bandish	Jhelum Kharian Sohawa	Jhelum Chillum Choki
5	<i>Kasyina Khel</i>	Mir Malik Sher Garh	Jhelum	Jhelum Mir Malik
6	<i>Doai</i>	Choti Deosai	Sohawa	Sohawa Deosai
7	<i>Chechi</i>	Darisa Gaggai Bari Deosai	Dhodial	Dhodial (AJK) Deosai
8	<i>Khatana</i> nickname <i>Sanghu</i>	Kala Pani	Shahpur, Islamabad	Shahpur Kalapani
9	<i>Kalis</i>	Sher Garh	Village Kalisyan Jhelum	Jhelum Sher Garh
10	<i>Poswal</i>	Bari Deosai	Kahuta	Kahuta Deosai

11	<i>Jeendar</i>	Rawalpindi Kahuta summer Kail, Gaggai	AJK (Mirpur, Rawalakot, Muzaffarabad)	AJK Neelum Valley
12	<i>Katiriyankhel</i>	Rayat in Kalapani Astore	Attock	Attock Rawat
13	<i>Sood</i>	Only one family is nomadic rest all settled in Dhodial	AJK (Dhodial)	AJK
14	<i>Khari</i>	Menu Bandish Choti Deosai	AJK (Dhodial, Mirpur)	AJK choti Deosai
15	<i>Phambrakhel</i>	Rayat	Murti (Attock)	Attock Rayat
16	<i>Bajar</i>	Gaggai in summer	Rawalpindi Bharakau Satra-Meel To Gaggai Sometimes Deosai	Rawalpindi
17	<i>Chohan</i>	Chehta	Kahuta	Kahuta Chehta
18	<i>Bokrakhel</i>	Choti Deosai	Chakwal	Previously used to migrate from Chakwal to Deosai
19	<i>Sayal</i>	After migration from Jammu, they were the first to sedentarize. Sedentarization completed in 1955.	Settled in Wazirabad Punjab, a few in Morgah Rawalpindi and two families initially settled in Rawalpindi moved to Mansehra District	Original trail was summer in Jammu and winter in Deosai; they could not adjust the 1947 partition and were the first to surrender nomadism.
20	<i>Badhwana</i>	Settled since 1974, presently four Ministers are in AJK cabinet	Settled in Muzaffarabad, Mirpur, Dherkot AJK and one family in Fatehjang	Followed route of Deosai to AJK and a few to Potohar in Summer
21	<i>Tadwah</i>	They were fully settled between 1960-70	Now settled in Hazara KP and mainly Dhodial	Summer in Kaghan and Winter in Lower Hazara/

			Samahni	Attock
22	<i>Koli</i>	Settled in 1960-70	All settled in Hazara a few in Rawat	Kaghan and a few to Deosai
23	<i>Koshi</i>	Same as Above	Same as Above	Same as Above
24	<i>Sarhadna</i>	Settled after abolition of the independent princely state of Swat in late 1960's they were local short distance transhumant. A few continue local short distance transhumance	Settled in Mingora, Madyan, Bahrain.	All were short distances transhumant within Swat state. A few continue local short distance transhumance
25	<i>Khari</i>	Dhodial Mirpur	Choti Deosai	Kotli- Neelum to Deosai

Source: Author's field data

All the 24 clans of Bakarwals shown in table 3 used to follow the age-old pattern of vertical migration spending summers in Deosai and winters in Jammu (Indian held Kashmir). These clans changed their migratory trails and find winter pastures in Pakistani territory or AJK due to border hostilities between India and Pakistan. About 18 clans adapted and adjusted their winter pastures in Pakistan continued their traditional profession while those like Sayal Koshi, Koli and Badhana completely gave up pastoralism as discussed in table 3. Some successful Bakarwals such as the Badhwana have presently four Ministers in AJK Cabinet.

3.2.1 Profile of Gujar Bakarwals

The history of the caste and ethnicity of the Gujar caste has been discussed in chapter two. The respondent Bakarwals Gujars of this study have an oral history of the Gujar caste. They identify themselves as Gujar Bakarwals and not merely Gujars. All Bakarwals are multi-lingual and know the language of the region they live in as discussed in section under title languages but they all know Urdu and Gojri, the latter being their mother tongue. All the 24 clans discussed in table 3 are Sunni Muslims as discussed in Section 3.19 'Belief System'. Profile of nomadic and sedentarized Bakarwal women are also discussed in the section on sedentarization in chapter six.

3.3 District Attock

The district lies from 33°-00' to 34°-00' North latitude and 71°-43' to 72°-56' east longitude and is selected for this brief description because the key informants of this study belonging to Bariyankhel clan spend winters in the scrub forest of Tehsils Attock and Fatehjang.

The district was initially named as Cambellpur after the name of the then Commander-in-Chief of the British military Sir Colin Campbell, during the British Colonial times in April 1904. The Government of Pakistan changed the name to Attock in 1978. District Attock has an area of 6857 square kilometers and an average annual rainfall of 783 mm and forms the northern border of the province of Punjab. Administratively, it is divided into six tehsils by the government. Correspondingly, the Attock Forest Division is headed by a Divisional Forest Officer, a having five 4 sub divisions and one range. Attock and Fatehjang Sub-divisions are of interest to this study as these sub-divisions have adequate scrub forest that can provide fodder to Bakarwals during the winter season. In the North, it is surrounded by Haripur and Swabi districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, on the East and South by districts of Rawalpindi and Chakwal in Punjab respectively. On its South-West is district Mianwali, and in the West and North-West are the districts of Kohat and Nowshera. The mighty Indus River flows along its Western boundary for about 130 Kilometers. River Indus divides the district from the three bordering districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The climate of Attock is marked with hot summers and cold winters. The Northern part of Attock is more humid with a relatively moderate climate compared to its Southern part since the northern part has a higher altitude. The district comprises of hills, plateaus and dissected plains interspersed with fertile soil that has been mostly levelled by heavy farm machinery.

The total area under the control of the forest department in Attock district 157,805 acres of scrub forest that is notified as RF under the Forest Act 1927.

Figure 4. District Map



Source: Conservator of forests Rawalpindi (2017)

3.3.1 Tehsil (Fatehjang)

Tehsil Fatehjang was selected in area profile due to a number of reasons. It has the best contiguous area of scrub forest; it is surrounded by vast tracts of communal or private grazing lands and the local community has developed a symbiotic relationship with Bakarwals. Bakarwal community is the custodian of an old nomadic culture but with the passage of time, it is under influence of the major or the popular cultures, as discussed in Section 2.16 ‘theoretical construction’. Urbanization is also ongoing in Fatehjang city and its surrounding villages that influence the cultural environment and the intergenerational process of cultural transformation. Bakarwal communities are the carriers of the nomadic culture, and to the local residents they are commonly known for their seasonal migration. Bakarwals belong to a major caste the Gujars having a number of clans. There are similarities of winter settlement patterns all over the Potohar region; therefore, for the detailed study Qadarabad a hamlet in Tehsil Fatehjang is discussed in this chapter.

3.4 A General Model of Bakarwal Settlement

Interviews, FGDs and dialogues with recently settled Bakarwals show that once in every five years, Bakarwals become prosperous. This could be due to the favorable conditions like timely issuance of grazing permits, favorable weather, timely rains, and absence of

losses due to predatory wild animals, diseases or accidents. This results in an increase in herd size and geometric number. The surviving lambs mature in one year and give birth the next year. In the fifth year, one goat could mathematically increase to 16 heads. There is no other business that yields this much growth of 16 times in five years, so a herder starting with 50 goats will in the fifth year will have 800 goats and can easily buy a respectable parcel of land to settle. In reality however, this is not the case, as Bakarwal has to sell rams for survival while some goats die due to accidents or diseases.

In case of good successive years of growth, the prosperity is utilized for the purchase of land as stated by the key informants. In District Attock, a Bakarwal whose elders purchased 100 Kanal of land is now settled and has a steady government job in a factory at Wah, informed that his father purchased this land in the 1990's from a local property owner who was a forest officer and now retired. This newly settled Bakarwal does not undertake nomadic migration but keeps on visiting his relatives in summer as a picnic rather than as an economic activity. The total number of Bakarwal households in Fatehjang is 65; out which 35 are pure nomadic while the remaining 25 are semi-settled who do not move but they send their herds with their migratory relatives frequently. This particular parcel of land was purchased because of affordable rate, and availability of forage inside and around the land that provided forage for the herds in the initial years. In the following sections, an intensive profiling of Gujar Bakarwal settlements in the areas at the periphery of Kala Chita Reserved forest is done. The detailed profiling of the entire range of Bakarwal settlements in the Potohar is beyond the scope of this study.

Before the creation of Pakistan when population density was low, Bakarwals of both Allaiwal and Kaghani tribes used the Punjab province for their winter pastures, and never bothered to purchase lands. However, the barriers to their migration to the Indian held Jammu and growing cultivation and urbanization, the Allaiwal clans finally chose the Potohar as winter pasture. Within the Potohar region, Fatehjang was the first choice due the factors mentioned above.

Bakarwals decided to get National Identify Cards to have a proof of their identity as Pakistanis, and the 1980's saw the trend of land purchase that was nearest to the lowland winter pastures i.e. the state-owned reserve forests. The Gujar Bakarwals who did not migrate to Pakistan and continue their traditional summer pasturing in Jammu have not been dealt in this research. However, the respondent Bakarwals have informed that they

keep in touch with their relatives on the Indian side through postal correspondence and occasionally some of their relatives from Indian Kashmir do pay them a visit.

As part of the partition of India, an agreement was made to compensate those who lost their properties upon migration to either India or Pakistan. Both governments compensated those who were urban landowners or who could provide proof of land ownership. However, the Gujar Bakarwals who were using pastures under customary law were never provided with alternate winter pastures. The Bakarwals who regularly spend winters in the Potohar had discovered this avenue on their own.

I estimated the total population of Gujar Bakarwals was approximately one million on the basis of information collected from the key informants but this is not supported by official data, since official census does not collect data on nomads. The assets of these Bakarwals are fluid as the goats are vulnerable to disease and natural disasters. One such disaster happened in 2010 when an unexpected, sudden and unusual snowstorm struck the first arrivals of the summer migration in the first week of July at the high end of the Musk Deer National Park AJK. This storm killed a large number of goats and mules, thereby, rendering the effected nomads incapable of continuing their uphill journey (this extreme weather event is also recorded on video prepared during the fieldwork of 2010). In a sporadic incident reported by a key informer, 150 goats owned by his married sister died due to lightening that struck the center of the goat herd when they were flocking at night. This entails that Bakarwals remain vulnerable and insecure financially.

The author classified Bakarwals into three different categories according to their residential patterns discussed in chapter six. It appears that these three categories are similar to the three stages of linear settlement that can be predicted. Besides those who have already settled permanently, many of Bakarwals respondents are of the view that if the man-made hurdles were removed they would prefer to continue with this profession while others are of the view that they will settle down as soon as they find an opportunity. Fatehjang provides an opportunity to interact with all the three categories of Bakarwals; the pure nomads, the newly settled and the permanently settled.

3.4.1 Gujar Bakarwal Settlements in Kala Chita

Bakarwal community residing at the periphery of the Kala Chitta reserve forests depend solely on the state forests of Kala Chita for the winter pasture. Watering points in the shape of ponds and mini dams are available all along the periphery of the forests in the

private farms. Natural spring water is also available at some places. More than 65 families are residing in the range, out of which 35 families still migrating. The residential area has brick houses generally but those who are still migrating with their herds make their homes with mud-plastered walls reinforced with wooden planks or logs and thatched with dried bushes of local herbaceous plants or reed on the roof. A typical house is a cluster of circular rooms set in a regular pattern. There is only one entrance and on one side is the kitchen where rice and other kitchen items are stored and on the back is the space for sleeping. For the sleeping place, there is 2-3 feet high mud wall where lots of dried twigs or long soft straws are spread on the floor. The sheds for the lambs are on one side and open space is in the front, often-facing south-east so as to enjoy the day sunshine.

Figure 5. Winter Residential Area of Selected Community at Fatehjang, district Attock



Source: maps.google.com/fatehjang

3.4.2 The Residential Structure of the Community

The houses of Bakarwal residents in Fatehjang are of two types; the brick houses with two or more rooms and a large courtyard inside a boundary wall or the sinter homes of the migratory herders. These homes are made of wood logs or scants, mud and dry grass as shown in the picture below. These temporary houses have to be made and remade and the wooden log or planks have to be replaced very year. At the end of the season, they

have to dismantle these huts and shift the wooden planks and logs to nearby residents to collect next year.

Figure 6. View of winter houses at Fatehjang, district Attock



Source: photographed during field visits

Some of the nomadic families have purchased lands in the area and have built houses while those who migrated seasonally have installed their huts in nearby places.

In exchange for allowing to set up winter camps, Bakarwal have to give the fertilizer (goat's dropping) to the landlord; goat droppings is considered the best natural fertilizer by the farmers throughout Punjab and some farmers purchase dung for spreading in their agricultural fields. The construction material consisting mainly of the wooden planks and thatched material is handed over to the landowner at the time when uphill migration starts in spring who use it as fuel wood.

Figure 7. Inside View of Bakarwal Hut



Source: Field Data

Figure 8. *Tawaa* of Bakarwal family



Source: Field Data collected by the author, Note the vertical Tawaa as compared to the horizontal one used by settled people

The permanently settled Bakarwals have cement plastered brick houses with a number of rooms with concrete or tiled roofs. Separate rooms are for the married children while unmarried kids share rooms with the parents or share separate rooms. The courtyard and the kitchen are shared spaces for all. For the purpose of this study, we define household as the cooking unit for the family. In this specific case, the married sons have separate cooking units but live under the same roof. Therefore, structurally one household consists of four to five families based on the number of married sons. Among the migratory families, each married couple has their separate hut that is erected alongside the hut of the family head. The hut of the family head is often largest in the family hamlet, as it has to cater to the unmarried kids' needs as well.

3.4.3 Accessibility of the Area

As stated earlier the residential area is situated at Fatehjang-Attock Road, 12 KM towards Attock city in Kala Chita Range and 40 KM from Islamabad. For transportation purposes, the community uses public transport usually from Fatehjang to Attock that operate from early morning till a little after sunset. During late hours, Bakarwals have to hire a taxi which is frequently available these days. Almost all the permanently settled Bakarwals have their own motorized transport mainly motorcycles while a few have cars. All the migratory trails are well known to the nomadic Bakarwals with bridal paths

and walkways all along the steepest mountains. Except for the last leg of the migration at the Neelum and Kaghan pastures, metaled roads are available that are used only by a few rich Bakarwals who do not migrate on foot. The road distance from summer to winter pastures is also double the Euclidean distance.

3.5 Available Facilities in the Area

Like all sub-divisional headquarters in the country, Fatehjang city has the assistant commissioner as the administrative head of the sub-division and all departments related to everyday public interest are represented including higher education, health, veterinary hospital, water and sewerage supply infrastructure. Discussed below is description of the necessary infrastructure that is used by Bakarwals and directly or indirectly influences sedentarization process.

3.5.1 Education

At Qadarabad settlement, which is 8 KM from Fatehjang town, there is no primary or secondary school, neither government-run nor private. Children have to ply to the city daily for formal education. 8-10 boys reach their primary and secondary schools daily on public transport. For the migratory Bakarwals, a mobile school run by an NGO 'TEAM Pakistan' is operating for which mobile teachers are provided¹¹. TEAM gives employment to the boys who pass the 10th grade and are deputed as mobile teachers. Due to the cultural restrictions on mixing of women with outsiders, care is taken while selecting mobile teachers that they are either belonging to the same family or are women who travel with the migrating clan.

Two mobile schools operated for 4 years but were closed in 2014 due to financial constraints of the NGO. The salary of the matriculate mobile teachers was PKR 10,000 to 12,000 while those having 12 years education were paid PKR 12,000 to 15,000. The graduates having 14 years of formal education were paid PKR 15,000 per month. The teachers were paid salary at the end of the migration at Deosai or Fatehjang. During this study, a number of other NGOs also informed that they had been running mobile schools for Bakarwals only when they had funds. The key informers told that only one government funded mobile school was operational and that too has been converted into a regular school in Rawalpindi Adiala. The AJK education department meets the whole budget of the school. The key informer also told that there was a condition that the

¹¹ TEAM Pakistan a Rawalpindi based organization that provides educational facilities to the nomads at primary level

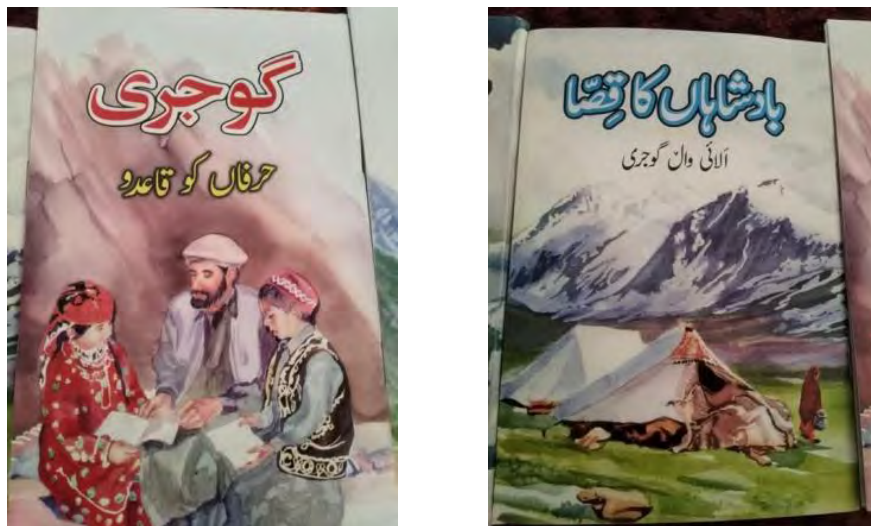
principal of this school has to be a Bakarwal. Name of this school is Azad Kashmir Primary School for Girls Dhok Manga Khan, Adiala Road, Rawalpindi.

This informal and rudimentary education provided to Bakarwals is two phases; in the first phase, children are taught identification of alphabets, words and their pronunciations in the native Gojri language, and in the second phase, they are made familiar with the pronunciation of Urdu language and identification of words and pictures. This is easy since the scripts of both Urdu and Gojri are based on Arabic and Persian. Picture 4 gives a snapshot of the title pages of Gojri textbooks taken during field surveys in 2013-14.

In the first year of the informal education, the pupils are introduced to their native language (Kaghani or Allaiwal, both dialects are further discussed in the chapter). After ensuring that they easily understand the words and meaning as well as pronunciation, the textbooks are replaced to Urdu till grade five. After completion of the sixth grade, the pupils become eligible to appear in the Board of Primary Education Examination as private students.

Nowadays Bakarwal children are inclined more towards education than in the past when they considered it wastage of time. During interviews, a number of children stated ‘migration is our profession and those who are educated they just wasted their time’.

Figure 9. Gojri Kindergarten Reading Books



Source: Author's own Survey 2014-15

Basic Islamic religious education like *Kalima*, prayers and Quran reading are imparted to all Bakarwals (settled, semi-settled and nomads). It was observed that 80 percent of settled Bakarwals knew how to read Quran while 90 percent of pure nomads were

familiar with Quranic texts and basic tenets of Islam such as performing prayers, ablution etc. In women, the ratio of education is 20 percent in pure nomads while the settled and newly settled women are inclined towards education.

It was observed that most of the Bakarwals who could pass 12 years of formal education or more were those who were left by their parents in the custody of a settled or newly settled Bakarwal relative for getting formal education. One key informer who is well settled in business narrates how his father left him in the early 1980's with his cousin who had settled a decade back to study in a government school. Such boys were however allowed to join the family at the summer camp at Deosai during the summer holidays. It was a custom at that time that the settled relatives would walk 30-40 KM with the migrating relatives at the start of the uphill spring migration. The key informer in this case told that he started weeping as they reached near Taxila where they had to say goodbye to the migratory members of the family and return to the city. He did not want to live a city life but his father being a wise man decided to stay back with his son and left the migrating family under the command of his brother. This particular Bakarwal started his real estate business after completing 12 years of formal education and now owns six real estate offices and one Construction Company. He informed that he regularly goes to Deosai during the summer and so does his two elder sons aged 18 and 20. There are several newly settled Bakarwals who reside in what is now an expensive locality i.e. Khawaja Corporation Chowk at Adiala Road Rawalpindi and their case Study is discussed in chapter four and six.

Another high achiever who was left behind by his nomadic migratory family got his master degree from the University of the Punjab and then joined Punjab Education Department. He has recently retired as Director Education and is permanently settled in Islamabad. This process of planned voluntary sedentarization has been occurring since hundreds of years but formal education has been one of the main factors that have facilitated this process in modern times. The respondents informed that the hurdles that have reached intolerable levels in the last twenty years are causing forced sedentarization and some Bakarwals are agglomerating in the peripheries of Islamabad/ Rawalpindi and other districts. These settlements are encroachments according to official records of municipalities. One such slum is located near the QAU. The residents keep close relationships with their migratory nomadic relatives but are unable to join the long migration for want of goats and a minimum of one horse and a mule. A Case Study that

captures marriage between a settled and a nomadic Bakarwal in a slum near Bari Imam is discussed in chapter four.

Among the high achievers with similar simple model of sedentarization are two immigrant nomads; one who have landed property in Qadarabad Fatehjang and the other at Adiala Road. The first one migrated to UK in early 1980's and is successful in naturalizing in the UK. His kids are well placed there and regularly visit the family in particular to attend marriage ceremonies. During their visits to their nomadic relatives, his sons and daughters follow the family cultural norms of dressing and food and never despise the local relatives. The second who is a successful small businessperson in USA who owns a palatial house at Adiala Road in Rawalpindi and keeps close contact with his settled and nomadic relatives.

3.5.2 Health

Although good government and private health facilities are available in Fatehjang city, however, no health facilities are available to Bakarwals within 5 KM radius of their winter pastures. Basic medicine is provided at the government hospital at Fatehjang but expensive prescribed drugs have to be purchased by Bakarwals themselves as is done by the local residents. No discrimination is observed in treatment of Bakarwals and the permanent residents in government hospitals. For serious diseases, Bakarwals like the locals visit the hospitals in Islamabad for treatment.

As compared to the pure nomads, the settled and newly settled Bakarwals have an advantage over the migrants as they have access to medical care throughout the year. The migratory groups avail medical facilities through the major part of their migratory routes except for Deosai and other summer pastures at Gaggai, Shontar and alpine meadows of the Kaghan hills.

Traditional medicinal knowledge was the norm for all Bakarwals and that worked well for both humans and their flocks of goats, sheep and horses. However, over the past few decades, the popularity of traditional medicine with Bakarwals has dwindled. Nomadic Bakarwals collect herbs like Kuth (*Sassauria lappa*) for treatment of common respiratory tract ailments and general health. All migratory groups keep a stock of common medicines comprising of painkillers, headache, toothache, fever, etc. Every migratory household have a bag of tablets, and visit medical doctors in case the common drugs do not cure the ailments. Some also collect herbal medicines for sale in the markets which

results in their conflicts with the forest departments who impose fines for smuggling of medicinal herbs.

3.5.3 Communication

Road network is improving day by day and is available for Bakarwals in most part of the migratory route. The trend of using trucks and wagons for carriage of herds is a recent phenomenon practised by a few Bakarwals during the long migration. They use roads when a single person is traveling or old and sick people are to be transported. Horseback had been the main medium to convey messages like deaths or marriage rituals in the past, but now motorized transport is fast replacing horse rides.

Another medium is the quick adoption of mobile phones by all Bakarwals and mobile signals are available all over their routes except for the summer camps in Deosai where they still have to travel to the nearest town to make calls through landline public call offices.

All the migratory members have more than three SIM cards, since not all mobile phone companies cover the entire route, so Bakarwals have got better communication access throughout their long migratory route. According to one respondent, ‘After getting access to mobile phones, communication has become easy and saves us a lot of time and energy to convey important messages in particular weather conditions before embarking on journeys. It has also helped save time and money to convey death and messages and invitations to marriage ceremonies’.

3.6 Language

A major means of Gujar Bakarwal identity is the Gojri language and they value this language dearly. Based on language, Bakarwal respondents can be divided into two groups, the Kaghani and the Allaiwal variant dialects of the Gojri language. Informal education is provided to the nomads by the mobile schools both in the Kaghani and Allaiwal. The Kaghani has more words from the Pashtu language while the Allai carry more influences from the Kashmiri language. This corresponds to the dominant local language in the routes of the nomadic trails; the former follows the KP routes while the later travel in AJK.

All the 24 clans/ Khels studied in this research primarily speak the Gojri language. Interestingly, all Bakarwals speak more than three languages easily; this is due to their

needs to communicate with the local people as a matter of necessity. These languages are Hindko, Pashtu, Punjabi, Shina, and Kashmiri. With the change of the migratory route after 1947, their interaction with the Kashmiri language is now limited to the pocket in Neelum valley where the Kashmiri language is spoken. They prefer to speak Gojri when amongst themselves.

3.7 Food Habits

Like all living creatures, food is essential for both Bakarwals and their herds. Search for food has been the main human endeavor from the period of the wild hunting to the domestication of wild animals and the evolution of agriculture. Cultural development has also been in parallel to the availability of food.

Interestingly, the goats of the pastoralist Bakarwals were observed to be selective in their food habits. The flocks would not prefer to consume cut fodder raised in farms that use urea fertilizer. The key informants explained that the reason for this habit of the goats is that these herds are used to feed on natural wild folder. They can smell ‘pollutants’ like urea, according to the key informers. The author has repeatedly tested this himself during *Eid-ul-Azha* season and had advised those who purchase Bakarwal rams to slaughter them at the earliest as they would lose weight after remaining hungry for more than a day in the city. This phenomenon needs further research. According to the key informers, even Bakarwal nomads feel suffocation in cities and when they have to stay in city houses, they aspire to go to the open as soon as possible.

According to Islamic teachings, the concept of *Halal* and *Haram* help clearly distinguish between what is good to eat and which is prohibited. As stated earlier Bakarwals are not fond of meat, so they consume only small portion of meat during ceremonies and on occasions. A list is provided below, which shows the eatable of Bakarwals during the whole year.

The concept of purity and impurity amongst Bakarwals is in line with the Islamic teachings of *Haram* and *Halal*. The main feature of Bakarwals diet is similar to all Kashmiris who eat boiled rice during dinners and goat cheese till its stock lasts. Goat cheese is often cooked with wild vegetable called *gorlri* for dinner and eaten with goat yoghurt and is called *bangora*. However, when it is cooked with goat milk and yoghurt, it is called *kalaari*. *Gorlri* and goat cheese are the distinguishing diets that identify nomadic Bakarwals. The settled relatives or those who could not undertake summer

migration demand these dietary components from their migratory friends on their descent from the summer pastures. However, old settled Bakarwals who have lost contact with their migrating relatives as well sedentized people dislike the smell of both *gorlri* and goat cheese.

Bakarwals take two meals every day during the summer and winter camps; the dinner is their main meal while breakfast usually consists of dried leftover bread with tea or yoghurt drink. During the long uphill and downhill migration, they cook dinner if time and space permit. During the migration through the Neelum valley, they buy cooked food from roadside hotels if there are time constraints. At times during the long migration, they may go without a meal for one or two days. Table 4 shows the food items consumed by Bakarwals, the information was collected after interviewing 50 Bakarwals.

Table 4. List of Eatables by Gujar Bakarwals

Vegetables	Vegetables	Lentil	Others
Potato	Pumpkin	Chickpeas, brown chickpeas	Chickpea flour
Tomato	Green bean	Red Lentil	Curd
Cauliflower	Ginger root	White Chickpeas	Beef
White cabbage	Spinach	Mange bean, Green Gram	Goat Butter
Carrot	Peas	Black eye Peas	Goat Cream
Garlic	Courgette/ zucchini	Chick peas	Goat Milk
Eggplant	Okra	Brown Lentil	Pickle
Onion	Beans	Clarified butter (ghee)	Mutton is taken when a goat gets injured during migration or at the Edi ul Azha religious ceremony when those who afford sacrifice rams. Bakarwals were also observed to sell mutton during field work; this is mainly by slaughtering injured animals mainly injured due to falling stones from high hills during migration.
Parsnip	Lemon	Carless	Gorlri (Deosai herb which is cooked with goat cheese for curry)
Turnip	Pepper		Bangora (Deosai herbs which was cooked with goat cheese for curry)
Balsam-pear	Bitter Gourd		

Source: Author's field Data

The Gujar Bakarwals are not meat lovers and occasionally eat meat during ceremonies like weddings, *Aqiqas*, *Sadqa* etc. during the summer stay in pastures; they use wild onions and *gorli* as the staple diet that is cooked in milk or dried goat cheese. Since shops and markets are at least 50 KM away from their summer camps at Deosai, they store staple items like lentils, beans, salt and pepper etc.

The process of making cheese involves boiling of milk and adding a few drops of lemon or any acidic material. The milk coagulates separating the water, which is sieved through a fine cotton cloth. The separated material is again packed in a cotton cloth and placed between two heavy stones for one or two days till the cloth separates from the cheese. The end product is round in shape due to the shape of the stones between which it was pressed.

During stays in winter pastures, Bakarwals have easy access to markets and can buy eatables from nearby shops. Tea is another major food item and is taken at breakfast sometimes with a *Paratha* (wheat bread fried in cooking oil or butter oil). During stays at summer pastures, mid-day tea is an important family event when all family members sit together. Some of the families also eat fresh caught snow carp fish that they catch from the abundant rivulets and streams in the Deosai plains.

3.8 Dress Patterns

Dress patterns in particular those of women are another distinguishing symbol of Bakarwals. Like other parts of the territories where Bakarwals travel, their dress comprises *Shalwar Qamiz*¹². The men take a distinct Bakarwals rounded woolen cap and the women have to take a long and broad shawl that covers their head and upper body. Nomadic women take a handmade cap that has an extension on the backside and is sharp-edged at its end. It is distinct from the Kashmiri and the Kalash women's cap, the former has a little protrusion in the front while the latter's lateral portion is rectangular and extends to the mid-back of the body.

Bakarwal nomadic women use typical thick cotton cloth in bright colors of red and green and shades of blue. The floral patterns on them are invariably of a distinct pattern cloth,

¹² Long cotton shirt that extends to the patella and loose cotton pants that has a ribbon tied below the mid of the abdomen.

which is known as '*Chint ka kapra*¹³'. Bakarwal ladies' cloth is sold only in three shops in Raja Bazar in Rawalpindi where from all Bakarwals women buy the cloth throughout their life. This dress pattern is universal with pure nomadic and newly settled women that gradually changes to the common dress pattern of the settled women in Pakistan. The floral patterns of Bakarwals' ladies dress are never adopted in changing fashions. The sedentized women also use plain cloth for shalwar kameez of any color but the nomadic women never wear plain clothes. The nomadic women extensively use plastic bracelets, headgear and necklaces mostly made by them. They give up plastic jewelry as they become sedentized. A woolen shawl is used instead of cotton in summers. During wedding and other ceremonies and in particular during migration, the women dress in shades of red velvet and are always in their best dress during migration. They wear cotton dress during the winter and summer camping periods.

For men, three things are important i.e. a head cap, a waist-coat, and a big cotton handkerchief which is known as *Rumal* that they place over their shoulders. Waist-coat is the essential part of their dress. During the cold season some Bakarwals also wear Pashtu or Sindhi caps.

Bakarwal women's cap is typical and is part of Bakarwal identity. It is different from the caps of Kashmiri women in upper Neelum valley as it protrudes a bit while the Kashmiri cap is round. Both caps are bright shades of red and garnished with plastic or glass beads. One can gauge the stage of a Bakarwal family by the presence or absence of women caps while male caps signify the same stage of sedentarization.

3.9 Social Organization

Social organization refers to the patterns and social rules of engagement/ interaction within members of a group and how they deal with outsiders. It is assumed that there is some structure that can be narrated within a society and used to assign a behavioral pattern that could be categorized. Group behavior could be analyzed in terms of the political, economic or religious components. Although the people themselves might not make these distinctions in everyday life consciously, yet the unconscious influences on social life is undeniable.

13 A unique type of cloth known as 'Velvet'; that is woven tufted fabric in which the cut threads are evenly distributed with a short dense pile, giving it a distinctive soft feel, colorful spotted cloth.

The following sections describe the social norms of Bakarwals from childbirth to death, succession, marriage and divorce etc. as collected during the field work spread sporadically over a decade.

3.9.1 Kinship

Kinship refers to the definition and organization of societal relations, and provides the basis of social structure in all societies. In traditional or non-Western societies, it has been the focus of anthropological studies because it serves as a pivot in social-cultural interaction of relationships. Although, there is no complete agreement among sociologists and anthropologists over the definition of *Biradari*, consanguine ties appear to be stronger than affinal ties. 'The size of the *Biradari* is as large as the distance at which one recognizes one's relatives' (Wikil, 1970: 700). A *Biradari* may consist of a family, tribe, village, and region and can extend up to the national level. In an indigenous sense, it is used as *quoom* (Meharunnisa, 1972). In the entire system of Punjabi villages, the *Biradari* is but a unit that keeps the interaction among different social, economic and political etc. components intact. Likewise, among the Gujar Bakarwals, it is the *Biradari* which ascribe particular behavior patterns to individual members.

In a strict sense, the *Biradari* has unique characteristics, the most important of which is a set of cultural traits which remain more or less vulnerable to the external influences of alien cultures. This set of traits can be termed as '*Biradari culture*' because it gives a number of ready-made solutions to different difficulties emanating from behavioral situations.

The term *Biradari* like kinship refers to a network of social relationships linking people through genealogical lines. 'The study of kinship system is the study of social system that are built up with consanguine ties as well as ties of marriage and relationships of affinity that marriage creates' (Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 2012), man, and woman such that children born to the woman are recognized as legitimate.

3.9.2 Descent Patterns

A group of people who claim to have descended from the same ancestor forms a descent group in any society. A society is patrilineal, matrilineal or cognatic depending on the reckoning of relatives to form descent groups. The descent pattern is the source of determination of people to whom property, rank and authority will pass and the

assignment of membership in kinship groups. It is not purely of biological consideration but pertains to the social arena as well because if a culture fails to provide biological link and specific significance between two individuals then they lack the bondage of relationship.

Descent relationships can be reckoned through one line (either male or female) or through both. Gujar Bakarwals follow strict patrilineal descent. Considering their patterns of inheritance of property, Gujar Bakarwals possess two types of properties;

1. Moveable Property
2. Immoveable Property

The immoveable property includes small pieces of land and houses, both of which are transferred from father to son at the time of the son's marriage or after the father's death. This mode of inheritance corresponds with the principle of patrilineality. The moveable property includes a) jewelry b) livestock e.g. goats, sheep, horses and mules. The animals are divided amongst the sons of the deceased; each son gets his share at the time of his marriage. Jewelry is transferred to daughters from mothers or the daughter-in-law from mother-in-law. Usually jewelry is transferred to daughters or daughters-in-law at the time of their marriage.

3.10 Social Structure

In social sciences, the social organization is the guide for relationships among individuals and different social groups. When different societies cooperate in a particular area because of difference in cultural traits, there is an uncertainty for solidarity. Wherever differences exist, a lot of similarities also exist there. Such similarities are the prominent key points for the social cohesion. The members of the Bakarwals community move from one area to another area so their interaction with other communities is obvious; that is why their social organization is at one point very closed and at another point it is quite open which incorporate different traits equally beneficial to both the communities.

3.10.1 Family Structure

Among the Gujar Bakarwals, one comes across a combination of both nuclear and extended families. The more common is the nuclear family, which is identified with the '*Tawaa*', the bread-making pan that the couple and their offspring share. A '*tawaa*' also

includes the cooking utensils and other paraphernalia for making bread. In a shared house or camp, the *tawaa* could be separate under the same roof. A newly married couple share the *tawaa* with the bridegroom's parents but after two or three years when the couple have kids and the size of the herd increases, the new couple have a separate *tawaa* as it makes economic sense to look after a smaller herd. A separate *tawaa* however, does not fit exactly into definition of a nuclear family. Normally in a nuclear family, the married couple and their offspring form a residential, economic and social unit.

The other types of family structure among Gujar Bakarwals is the extended family which is formed when a married man leaves behind his wife and kids with his father or uncle and goes to a city. These young men work as unskilled laborer and his meagre income cannot sustain his family in the city so he leaves his family with the extended family. However, he keeps sending a part of his earning to meet their expenses back home.

In Gujar Bakarwal household, the father is the head of the household. All major decisions are made with his consent and his wishes are respected and honored. In his absence or after his death, an elder brother becomes the head of the household. The father also enjoys a dominant position and is held in great esteem by his brothers and nephews. Among the Gujar Bakarwals, the male members of the household buy all the necessities of a house which also includes the dresses of the women. Sights of Bakarwal women's shopping is not a desirable one.

The women of Chechi clan of Bakarwal beg for money and flour from the sedentary villagers and in the bazars on their migration route. Chechi women get in a group of two for up to two weeks to beg. They have developed ways and means to keep their chastity with skills and wits to avoid unfriendly approaches by males and manage to stay for nights in the houses of the sedentary villagers. All the other Bakarwal clans despise this act of the Chechi Bakarwals and often scold them for this habit.

Bakarwal children are expected to be obedient and submissive to their elders in particular their fathers. However, they can talk freely with the mothers and even share jokes. The relationship between brothers and sisters is a very close one. The married women rarely visit back their mother or brother's home (natal houses), however, it is expected that their brothers will always be there in their hour of need. In addition, it is the duty of the brother to settle disputes between his married sister and her in-laws or her husband. The

newly married bride is expected to take care of the household affairs of her in-laws in particular the mother-in-law is expected to be relieved of most household chores and use the free time to socialize with the near relatives. The harder a Gujar Bakarwal bride works the more respect she gets from her in-laws.

The author attended many marriage ceremonies and met newly-wed couples during their migration where the bride was from a pure sedentary relative and the groom was a pure nomad. The bride informed that she has had no problem with the long walk of more than 300 KM and that she enjoyed her marital relations in the new setup.

All marriages take place between cross or parallel cousins; exogamy would pose risks during the mixing of sexes along the migration route. This is because; cousins are not expected to observe purdah while an outsider groom will not be allowed to mix with the bride's female relatives. All Gujar Bakarwals are closely knit and would stand by one another in all situations, in particular if a conflict occurs with the forest department in their bid to evict Bakarwals from winter pastures.

3.10.2 Kinsman

Gujar Bakarwals are patrilineal so the important relatives are the patrilineal parallel cousins called *Dadpotray*. This concept of important kinsmen works throughout all the sub-tribes of Gujar Bakarwal *Biradari*. *Dadpotray* may be living in the same locality or somewhere else but they are under the obligation to help and have the right to call for help. They are considered primary kin for their rights and obligations. Moreover, they are given preferences over other relations when marriage is concerned. This cooperation to extend help from *Dadpotray* also involves *bhanji* relationships. It forms '*khandan*' (a group of people who are descendants of the person who migrated from his parental residential place to establish a new settlement on some other place) solidarity.

Other important kinsmen include father's brother and father's sister, both are given preferences in decisions concerning marriage alliances, land, and house construction or arranging of feasts etc. No joking relationship exists with father and father's brother. On the other hand, parents of the mother show affection for children and children can enjoy the joking relationship with their mother's brothers. Everyone has to respect the decision of relatives. If anyone disagrees or violates, other community members boycott him for his betterment, which is the characteristics of normative societies.

3.10.3 Vartan Bhanji

This is the tradition of gift exchange in Bakarwals similar to that in most areas of the Potohar where Bakarwals spend the winters and many are newly or permanently settled. This tradition of gift exchange plays a significant role in inter clan relationship between cousins and parallel cousins. The literal meaning of 'vartan' is to deal with and 'Bhanji' means sweets, the term means dealing with sweets. *Vartan Bhanji* is a mechanism of gift exchange symbolizing the nature of relationship that exists between the exchange partners. The exchange can be of material, favors, and services like treatment, entertainment and participation in ceremonial events (Zakiya, 1960). The obligation of giving and receiving keeps the concerned parties in harmonious contact with each other.

Women play an important role in *Vartan Bhanji* amongst Bakarwals. The eldest woman of the household is the manager of this tradition. She keeps record of gifts received in marriages and other ceremonies and is bound to remind her husband to reciprocate with a corresponding gift received earlier. The daughters and daughters-in-law assist the mother in oral record keeping of *vartan bhanji*. Men also participate in these relations but they prefer to stay in the background.

The people involved in *Vartan Bhanji* relations constitute a social group that is called *Biradari* of participation (Alvi, 1972). Among the Gujar Bakarwals, the members of the *Vartan Bhanji* group are known as 'Bhanjidari'. The relationship of Bhanjidari has a wide range. They may be spread in one locality or several villages. The people involved in *Vartan Bhanji* are all consanguine or affinal relatives. Amongst the Gujar Bakarwals, this tradition also includes friends and other clans or tribes who expect reciprocity of the gift or assistance in the hour of need.

The categorization of *Vartan Bhanji* amongst the Gujar Bakarwals is of two major types:

1. *Pakki* (permanent)
2. *Katchi* (temporary)

Pakki Vartan Bhanji is seen in the relationship of families and *Biradari* where the relationships are close and important. Whereas, *Katchi vartan bhanji* is practiced where customary relationships prevail instead of the obligatory or permanent blood relationships. *Vartan Bhanji* relations depend upon the degree of kinship, household relations, *khandan* (family), inter-*khandan* relations and inter-tribal relations. The close

kinsmen have more interactions. Leaving the household aside, relations with the other relatives are maintained under the influence of *Bhanji*. *Vartan Bhanji* intensity decreases as the kinship and residential distance increases.

3.11 Marriage

Hoebel (1958) defines marriage as a social institution determined by culture. It is a complex of social sources that define or control the relations of a pair to each other, their kinsmen their offspring and society at large. It defines all the institutional demands, rights, duties, immunities and so on of a pair as husband and wife. The institution shaping the form and activities of the association is known as the family (Hoebel, 1958).

Marriage is considered as one of the most important institutions among the social customs and traditions of Gujar Bakarwals. The initiative to send a proposal is always taken from the groom's side and the selection of bride is made by his parents while acceptance of the proposal is made by the bride's parents, though they do seek the consent of the bride and the groom. The bride and the groom normally meet for the first time after the marriage rituals are over. Love marriages are unknown amongst the Gujar Bakarwal. A girl is expected to talk about her choice or initiate her own marriage proposal. After the parents agree, it is a custom to seek consent of the father's brother (FB), Father's paternal Uncle (FFB), father's sister (FZ) and mother's brother (MB). The first preference for match making is given to the parallel cousins known as '*Dadpotra*'. Second preference is given to maternal uncles' children.

Marriages are usually successful in all cases; the rate of divorce or failure is nonexistent. Failure of childbirth is the main threat to an otherwise secure married life. Children are highly desired and a man is most likely to go for another marriage if his wife fails to produce children. A male child is highly valued in Gujar Bakarwals as men are considered as the caretakers in old age and are expected to look after the aged and sick parents. Dowry is also highly valued and mothers save money to give a decent dowry to her daughter on her marriage. Dowry in Bakarwal culture like other settled cultures of Pakistan is displayed and is a part of the wedding rituals. However, the poor Bakarwals avoid this ritual.

3.11.1 Marriage Rites in Sedentarized Bakarwals

I also attended two marriage ceremonies on the invitations extended by sedentarized Bakarwals. In the city setup, the sedentarized Bakarwals live in mixed neighborhoods with other tribes, clans and *biradaris*. They keep their distinctive Bakarwal identity in many ways. For instance, they speak the Gojri language and eat *gorlri* and goat cheese whenever available. Marriage rituals described in detail in this chapter are the same for the sedentary Bakarwals. However, to cater for the city culture, those who can afford arrange two separate ceremonies, one exclusively for Bakarwals and the second for the friends and non-Bakarwal neighbors. In a recent case when a Bakarwal who has immigrated to the US and lives in Brooklyn came to attend his cousin's marriage in Fatehjang and arranged a separate *Valima* reception for his friends from the Fatehjang town while keeping all Bakarwal rituals separate and exclusive.

3.11.2 *Biradari* and Marriage Rules

Among the Gujar Bakarwals, the family ties are by and large determined by the *Biradari* itself. Endogamous mode of marriage prevails, and is socially accepted. These traditions have continued for generations and all families accept the supremacy of *Biradari's* normative and conventional frameworks.

Biradari's role in the whole process of marriage is twofold, first it appreciates regular practice of endogamy in order to keep its members tightly interconnected and secondly, *Biradari* provides an acceptable market for marriageable age young men and women, making it easier for the parents make the matches. The form of endogamy as practiced among the Gujar Bakarwals is thoroughly backed by the villagers through a locally cherished justification. This endogamous marriage is a channel that ensures matrimonial adjustments of the couple.

3.11.3 Marriage Customs and Rites

Most marriages are arranged in the summers, in some cases in winters and in rare cases during migration. The marriage ceremonies are further divided into three phases:

- i. Pre-marriage rituals
- ii. Marriage rituals
- iii. Post marriage rituals

3.11.3 Pre-marriage Preparations

The pre-marriage preparation is further divided into different headings as under;

Age of Marriage

Parents start worrying to get their sons and daughters married as soon as they reach marriageable age as delays in marriage of children is socially looked down upon and fetches disrespect. The parents feel relieved as soon as their offspring's marriage is finalized and they immediately start preparations for the ceremonies. In particular, poor Bakarwals are most worried about their unmarried daughters and desire to find a match for them and send them to their husband's home as soon as possible.

The Gujar Bakarwals expect their parents to arrange the marriage and if the parents have died then the uncles. Even a widow does not dare to talk of her own marriage and the family is expected to find a match for her. Parents spend considerable time in the search of a suitable match for their son. Various steps are taken before the approval of a marriage proposal is given, which are as under;

Turna

The word literally means 'walk'. In the context of marriage traditions, it refers to making visits to the households of the girl who has been selected by the parents. The family of the boy does not take the proposal directly to the girl's house but they take help from an intermediary, a person who holds a respectable place in the girl's family. Thus the intermediary take the '*sadda*' proposal to the girl's parents who discuss it with their relatives i.e. father's brother (FB), father's sister (FZ), mother's brother (MB). This process of '*turna*' at some instances takes a considerable time, which may be four to five months or even a year. Even though the relatives are well known, the process of accepting a proposal invariably takes four to five months. Instantly accepting a proposal is not considered prestigious for the girl's family. No intermediary is required if the proposal is between cousins.

Dua-e-Khair

The meaning of *Dua-i-e-khair* is to pray for the success of the new couple. This event takes place when the proposal has been accepted and the girl's family invites close kin and the boy's family for the formal acceptance of the proposal. The men sit together and decide the date for the engagement or the marriage. After that, they pray for the particular day. The intermediary messenger who has facilitated the acceptance of the proposal is also invited at this occasion. Meals or tea with snacks are served at this occasion.

Ghandi

Ghandi ceremony is performed two weeks before the wedding when the close relatives of the groom pay a final visit to the bride's home. On this visit, they fix the final date and timing of the wedding ceremony.

Ponattar

As soon as the date is fixed after the *Dua-i-e-khair* ritual, a cloth tailor is called at the groom's home and one woman relative from each relatives and friends is also invited. The event is to hand over unstitched cloth to the tailor who prepares dresses before the wedding event. The barber is also called on this date and is assigned the duty of conveying invitations to all the guests in particular to those with whom *Vartan Bhanji* exists. Both the barber and the tailor are paid tips by all the guests invited on this occasion.

3.11.4 Marriage Ceremonies

This is the first ritual, which is celebrated at nighttime. All the guests are invited to this ritual. The number of guests that are invited from each household has different importance depending upon the *Bhanji* relationship. Members of the near relatives like cousins, sisters, brothers and other close relatives are invited with their families who bring homemade sweets as a gift called '*Gand*'.

A meal is served first to the men and later to the women. Those who are not close relatives return to their homes after the meal. Close relatives stay late at night to participate in the ritual of '*Manian*'. The bride's *Manian* is held two days before her '*doli*' departure to her husband's home. While for the groom, it is held one day before the main wedding ceremony. Usually the close relatives and *Khandan* members who participate in the ritual of *Manian* stay as guests of the bride's or groom's family. Bedding is arranged under a bigger tent as nomadic Bakarwals live in camps or thatched mud houses that are too small to accommodate larger number of guests.

On the night of the *Manian*, a new role will be formulated which is known as 'marriage friends'. Marriage friends are called '*Dostayali Saheli*' (female friend) or *Dostayala* (male friend), or '*Janji*' from boy's side and '*Manji*' from girl's side.

The marriage friends are usually selected from among the close kin. The marriage friend brings with him or her clothes, sweet, sugar, *mehndi*, oil and money. The marriage

friend attends the *Maniaan* ritual with their relatives. The women sing songs on the door while they greet them.

Turana

This ritual is celebrated immediately after the meal of *Maniaan*. The groom with his *Dostayala* is brought in the compound yard (*Sarni*). They are covered with a blanket and surrounded by girls including the groom's sisters, parent's nieces, along with *dostayala*'s sisters. All the girls sing songs. These girls also hold small sticks covered with artificial flowers which is called '*Chatiaan*'. These sticks are moved gently over the head of groom and *dostayala*. The '*Turana*' continues for about an hour. '*Maniaan Khalana*' rite follows in which the bride does not perform the rite of '*Turana*' but she only sits on the wooden seat called '*Peri*'.

'Maniaan Khalana' (Feast)

Both the groom and bride along with *dostayala* eat '*chapattis*' with sugar and ghee at their respective homes. Sisters-in-law prepare soft *chapattis* (bread) made from wheat flour and offered to the bride and groom who sit in the center of the room, while the relatives and *dostayala* sit beside the groom/ bride. The right hand of the bride/ groom is taken out and is spread over the plate with the fingers separated from each other. The ghee is poured on hand which falls on '*Maniaan*'. When enough of ghee has fallen, a dry '*Mani*' is used to clean the hand. This '*Mani*' is not eaten. After this, the sugar is poured in the same style. Now the bride/ groom take a loaf out of plate and give it to *Janjis/ Manjis* to eat. Later, the relatives who were standing in the circle eat the leftover of the '*Maniaan*'. After this ritual, the plate is removed.

At this point of time, some responsible man comes with a paper and pen, and notes down the money received from the guests. The guests normally pay PKR 300, 500 or 1,000 called '*Maniaan Nay Paisay*' the *Maniaan* money. This money is later given to the 'barber who is also responsible to cook food for the large gathering.

Hath Lana (Putting Hand on Wall)

After the collection of *Maniaan* money, *Mehndi* (henna leaf powder) is applied on the right hand of the bride/ groom and also to the *dostayali/ dostayala*. Both of them put their hands on the wall facing the room entrance. After this, the hands of bride/ groom are washed. If boys and girls are of the same area/ village, the boy's relatives come to

participate in '*Maniaan*' of bride. After all the rites are performed, the girls sit together and sing Gojri songs on a small drum called '*Dholki*'.

Bir Gharroli

The literal meaning of '*Bir*' is brother and '*Gharroli*' is a small pitcher. The women perform '*Bir Gharroli*' ritual, as they bring water in small pitchers from the nearby *Bawali* well. The water is brought to bathe the groom on the day of *Janj* or *baraat* (the wedding procession of the groom) when they go to the bride's place. This is the first ritual performed in the early morning when the bride/ groom's sister's or brother's wife carries a decorated pitcher which is covered with red cloth and a small piece of '*Gur*' (locally made rounded brown sugar) on the top. Women who sing traditional Gojri songs accompany her and all proceed to the nearest water channel. Then they throw some amount of '*gur*' in running water while the rest is distributed amongst the girls. Prayers follow for the new couple.

'Sehra Bandi' and 'Salami'

This ceremony is held for the groom; when he is ready and all dressed up for the *janj* (wedding procession). His brother's wife places a decorated headgear on his head called *Sehra*, which extends to cover his face. He sits on the chair along with his *Dostayala*. An elder of the family also sits with them who have the register to record all gift money called *Nandra* or *salami*. Only the close relatives participate in this exclusive ceremony as it takes place inside the home. This ritual is followed by a prayer again called *dua-e-khair* which is followed by distribution of sweets among the relatives.

Janj/Barat (the Marriage Procession)

Janj is the procession, which goes to the bride's place and includes all invited guests and relatives of the groom, the number of men in this procession usually, exceeds that of women. The groom's mother stays back at home to make arrangements for honorably receiving her daughter-in-law. The *janj* also carries the *Bari*, which includes offerings and gifts from the groom's side exclusively for the bride such as dresses and ornaments. The *Bari* is handed over to the bride's mother. When the procession reaches its destination, the bride's family is there to receive the guests. One tradition is that the bride's sister or sisters along with their mothers block the way of the '*janj*' and clear the way only on receipt of any amount up to PKR 5,000 from the groom's side. This money is given in the name of '*Janj ko rokanie ki paisay*'. After the money is given, the *Janj* procession is allowed to enter the bride's house. Soon after the arrival of '*Janj*', the

people are served with a meal (*Janj ki roti*), which depends upon the financial status of the bride's father. A big meal is served to the men and women separately. After the meal is taken, the *Bhanjidars* give *Nandra* money to the bride's father one more time, which is again recorded in a register.

Nikah Ceremony

There is no fixed time for *Nikah* ceremony; sometimes it takes place before or after the big meal *Janj di roti*. The groom's family arranges arrangement of the *Nikah-Khawan*-the *maulvi* (cleric) who performs the *Nikah* ceremony and gets the marriage registered. He is paid as per the paying capacity of the groom's father. In line with the Islamic traditions, dried dates are distributed after the *Nikah* and technically the boy and the girl is declared as husband and wife.

After the *Nikah* ceremony is over, '*Bari*' is shown in the women section to all the guests present. In addition, the guests start returning to their homes, while departure of the bride with her in laws the leaves her parental home, this ritual is called '*Rukhsathi*' (departure) is done subsequently.

Haq Mahar

This is an important part of any marriage under the Islamic law, the *Haq Mahar* is the money paid by the groom to the bride on the occasion of *Nikah* or afterwards. Nevertheless, he must pay this amount in case of divorce. In the case of settled Bakarwal this payment is in the shape of a mutually agreed amount in cash or kind. The amount of *Haq Mahar* is recorded in the marriage contract *Nikahnama* that could be in the shape of goats, horses or mules. In one *Nikah* ceremony that was attended during field work, there was a dispute as the bride's father was demanding a *Haq Mahar* of PKR 150,000. The groom's father refused and the dispute was resolved when both parties agreed to fix the amount in the form of seven goats, however, a disagreement rose again when the bride's father insisted to write that the seven goats include their lambs. This meant that all lambs and their offspring would be given to the bride in case there is a delay in payment of *Haq Mahar*. The dispute was finally resolved when the groom's father agreed to write "*Bemaa Bakrtoay*¹⁴" that is with lambs in the marriage register. *Nikah* is performed when both the bride and the groom say yes thrice in the presence of three adult witnesses of sane mind.

14 Goats along with lambs

Joti Chupai

This is a universal wedding ritual all over Pakistan; this ritual is performed in the presence of close relatives in particular the sisters and cousins of the bride. After all the other rituals have been performed and wedding meals have been served, the groom along with his *Dostiyalas* comes to the bride where the latter's sisters and *Dostiyalis* stop his passage and demand money to get access to his bride. After some arguments and payment of cash, he sits beside his bride. Here the bride's mother brings him some sweets and offers him some cash which he has to reciprocate with a higher amount.

The groom is asked to eat the sweets but is stopped by the bride's sister often by a slap. The sweet that has been brought is given to the groom and he is asked to eat. All the women along with the bride's *Dostayali* and sisters surround the groom at this moment. The groom has to be very careful while eating the sweet as on his right side, the bride's *Dostayali* stands to slap on his hand with the piece of sweet. After the ceremony, the women sit near the feet of the groom and try to take him out while the sisters of the bride take of his shoes and then hide it. Now the groom has to pay the amount of money asked by the sisters of the bride. The money paid by the groom is called '*Joti Chupai nay paisay*' (money from hiding the groom's shoes).

'Doli Turna'

When all ritual ceremonies are over, the last ceremony is the departure of bride with her in-laws and husband. In the past, the *Baraat* procession was on horseback, the bride would sit in a '*doli*'- a wooden box with two long handles, and the *doli* would be carried on the shoulders of the groom's close relatives. The *doli* would be decorated with flowers and covered with a colored silk sheet is carried by bride's father's brother, father's brother's son, mother's brother, and bride's brothers on their shoulders. This ceremony is still practiced in the summer pastures or by a few Gujar Bakarwals. However, these days it is replaced with decorated cars that replace both the *doli* and the groom's horse.

Before the bride sits in the '*doli*', she is given a plate full of maize, wheat and rice, the bride's mother sprays these grains over the head or the back of her daughter. She does this ritual three to four times; this ritual is a signal to the bride's in-laws that their daughter is coming from prosperous family having lots of grains. Then the bride sits in the '*doli*' or car. Some sweets and fruits are put in the '*Doli*' (now in the car). Few female relatives from bride's side accompany the '*doli*'/ car. A female relative of the

bride accompanies and returns back the next day just to ensure that the bride does not become nervous in the new home. *Doli Rokana*

When the *doli* procession reaches the groom's house, the groom's sisters also block it as the bride's sisters blocked the blocked the '*Janj*' on the entrance. The groom's sisters are given money by groom's in-laws. The amount of money given at this occasion is almost equal to the amount given for '*Janj Rokana*'. After this, the '*Doli*' procession is allowed to enter the home and the new couple is set to start a new marital life. *Doli*-car is brought inside the house (if groom's house has enough space) near the decorated room for bride.

'Moath Porrna'

Upon arrival of the new couple back to the groom's home, his mother who stayed behind is the first one to greet the new bride with a cotton sheet spread at the car's door and the bride puts her right foot on the cotton sheet and offers the fruits and other food the bride's mother had put in the car. The mother of the groom stands near the door of the groom's room. After the bride reaches the door of the room where she is to sit, the mother in-law stands by at the door entrance and keeps on putting cotton so that the bride steps on cotton. This ceremony is called '*Moath porrna*'.

Valima

Valima or the food offered by the groom to his guests is in line with the Islamic teachings. The guests from the bride's relations are also invited. After the meal, guests who come from long distances stay back for the night while nearby guests go back. On the first night after the wedding, the bride sleeps with her female relatives. The bride's face is covered throughout this process.

'Gund Kholai'

The next morning guests are served with tea and the home made sweet *Khajooran* that is prepared with flour, butter oil and sugar. Afterwards, the bride is brought to sit among the guests and is offered money by the groom's mother who lifts the bride's veil (*ghugant*). This event is called '*Gund Kholai*'. In addition, the groom's mother puts some sweets in the bride's mouth. After this ritual, the close relatives and *Bhanjidars* of *Pakki vartan bhanji* again pay cash called *Salami* to the bride and a record is kept of all such receipts so that it is reciprocated at the appropriate occasion.

Ghana Kholana'

When the Salami is over, the groom's sister sits near the bride and un-tie the '*Ghana*' that was tied on *Manyiaan* by her *Dostiyali*. The groom's sister receives money from the bride in return. This is known as '*Ghana Kholana*'. Now the guests are served a meal after which the guests return to their homes.

After all this is over, the bride is given homemade sweets by her mother-in-law and the bride returns to her parents' home along with her relatives to spend a few days at her parents' place. This part of the wedding is known as '*Wat Phana*' meaning to allow the bride to go back to her parents'. The bride spends a few days at her parents' place and then is brought back by the groom who comes along with his parents to collect his bride. The groom and his parents are offered sweets by bride's family. This '*Mithai*' or sweet is later distributed amongst the groom's relatives when the bride returns. This '*Mithai*' is also distributed to the *Bhanjidars* by the barber (*Nai*) or any other family member.

3.12 Divorce

The divorce rate among the Gujar Bakarwals is almost zero due to the endogamous marriages. All the families of both sides are fully involved in the marriage ritual and the families understand the customs and values, rights and duties of both partners, this may be attributed to the prohibition of divorce.

3.13 Timing of Marriages and Fertility

Due to high child mortality rate amongst Bakarwals in the past, the trend was to have as many children as possible but with access of modern health facilities, child mortality rate has dropped. The median marriage age amongst the Gujar Bakarwal has increased from 15 to 18 years over the past few decades. Majority of the girls are married by the age of 20. This delay allows the mother to accumulate a respectable dowry for the daughter while it also indirectly contributes to some population control. Population control was not studied in this research. The average number of children was 8 in old days; but now the current average of children is 4 among the new generations.

3.14 Value of Children

More than any other society, Bakarwal community values their children in particular the male child for obvious economic reasons. The pure nomads' dependence on sons is much more than on daughters. Childbirth to the newly married couple is the first announcement that the '*Tawaa*' or the kitchen of the new couple is soon to be separated

from the father's control. The daughter-in-law however continues to participate in household affairs while her husband is engaged in grazing herds. After the 'Tawaa' of their son is separated then he is solely responsible for his family. It was observed in some cases that married daughters would encamp and live near wife's parental camps if they happen to be nearby and she would get assistance from her mother's family for everyday chores.

Children often help the parents; the girl child helps the mother in jobs like cheese preparation in the summer camps and wild vegetable collection while the male child would assist the father in herding. The grandfather and grandmother try to teach the grandsons how to use whistles, how to read stars for navigation at night and how to deal with the many tribes and cultures they encounter during their long migration. The girls are taught how to cope with strangers they come across, the first lesson the young girl's child is told is never to reveal her name to a stranger. The girl child is also taught how to make the typical hairstyle of Bakarwals. They also learn to cook meals, particularly Bakarwal dishes. Horse riding is taught to both the male and female children who also learn to control the horses. If a family has lesser number of male migrating members, the girl child is also taught how to use whistles and control herd movement. In many cases, it was observed that girls of marriageable age were taking large herds during the long migration. The female children are also responsible to bring water for their camps from the nearest spring or well, which they do in groups and never alone.

3.15 Status of Women in Gujar Bakarwal Community

Women in the Gujar Bakarwal community have an important place and they play roles as:

1. A mother
2. A housekeeper and
3. A partner/ wife

As mothers, their role is to ensure the continuation of Bakarwal lineage, upbringing of the children, transmission of the inter-generational knowledge, personality building of the children and keeping the home of her husband intact. They are also responsible to keep cordial relations with relatives and the local community with whom Bakarwals come in contact during the long migratory route. Bakarwals in general and their women

in particular do not like to be seen in bazars and other public places. Women are also custodians of the traditions like *Vartan Bhanji* discussed earlier in detail.

During the long migration, the responsibility of women and in particular the mothers is critical for the success of the long migration as they have to ensure that the male members are provided with food when the family rejoins at dinner time. They have to keep adequate stock of medicines for common ailments and must know traditional cures for common diseases. As they arrive at the summer or winter camps, the women have to prepare the new mud houses. To do this they collect reed and other thatching material and play a major role in constructing the tent. The girls decorate the inner side of the tent called *Gopa* with simple flowers made from colored chalk. An interesting pattern of the floral décor of the inner tents is their regularity and similarity with the pattern of the floral décor printed on the women's dresses. This phenomenon is not discussed here being outside the present research scope. However, future researchers can draw similarities of these patterns with the symbols available in museums.

The love of the Gujars with their wives is famous all over the study area; however, Bakarwals are even more famous for amorous passion. The local sedentary people and the forest officials perceive Bakarwals as total liars who would never reveal the number of goats, the route they would adopt during migration etc. but they know very well that Bakarwals would never swear or take a wrong oath on *Talaaq* meaning divorce. *Talaaq* is an extreme form of dispute resolution when one party takes oath that if he is lying then he has divorced his wife. If a Bakarwal in spite of lying continues to live with the same wife, he is regarded as a sinner throughout his life. Bakarwals never take a wrong oath on this tradition of *Talaaq*. In case he cannot reveal the truth then he refuses to take oath on *Talaaq*. By his refusal, the other party comes to know that he is not speaking the truth. Another way of oath taking is to throw three pebbles and say the truth. Bakarwals believe that a liar will be cursed by the stones.

Bakarwal women also take care of cleaning, washing, plastering and patching of roofs in settled groups. In settled Bakarwals, the plaster of the roofs, mud walls and floors is the women's area of responsibility.

3.16 Economic Patterns

The economy of Gujar Bakarwal is based on three stages of their annual cycle. The first stage is the summer camp where they accumulate capital and have to spend little money

on food because it is almost free in the shape of abundant milk, cheese and plenty of wild vegetables. The winter camp is the time when they use the saved capital. During this time, Bakarwals will avail opportunities as day laborers by working in the fields of farmers or in the construction industry. However, in winters they have to buy favors from the forest department and pay for the grazing permits. The third stage is the migration season when they have to keep spending to buy food, fodder and at times pay rent of camping sites. They also have to pay passage fee to the Neelum Development Board and the AJK Wildlife Department for passing through the Musk Deer National Park. They earn by selling rams on *Eid Ul Azha* and supplying goats to the army in the border areas. At times, they also carry luggage on horses and mules and get handsome compensations.

3.16.1 Economics of Bakarwal Pastoralism

Bakarwal economy operates in a vast expanse, under an uncertain state policy, poor understanding of the bigger picture and big gaps in the scientific knowledge base of the forest officers who remain so far, the major decision makers representing the government. The mandate of the forest officers (including that of the wildlife officers) is defined in the Rules of Business of the federal government and the Forest Manuals of the provinces. These laws and regulations are mainly concerned about the conservation of forests and wildlife and not the culture of the indigenous people whose economy depends on grazing of their herds in forests and government owned pastures.

In international literature, we find case studies on economic benefits of collective movement such as by Agarwal (1998). Behnke (2006) studied the economic contribution of pastoralists in the horn of Africa while Kerven (2006) McPeak et al. (2006) published case studies on pastoral marketing in Mongolia/ Siberia and in East Africa respectively. In the “Global Review of the Economics of Pastoralism”, Hatfield and Davies (2006) emphasize that pastoralism is not tolerated despite evidence on the contrary and decision makers still consider it as economically irrational activity. After a detailed global study Hatfield and Davies conclude that unless a modern alternative is found that could replace pastoralism there is no better land use available.

Davies et al. (2004) conducted a 16 years in-depth historical study in the STEP project and described the ecological processes, politics and history of the land use amongst the Turkana pastoralists in Northern Kenya and gave an account of the decision-making

processes on land and mobility, livestock herding and the usage of natural resources. This study did not study the economics of pastoralism but did show that it is a sustainable activity.

No economic analysis of pastoralism and in particular the long-distance pastoralism of Bakarwal nomads has been conducted in the Indian sub-continent so far. Based on the extensive tools used in this study, the majority of the old settled and newly settled Bakarwals even if they are successful in business and jobs reported that if barriers to nomadism in particular the uncertainty on grant of grazing permits are removed they would still be interested to lead a nomadic life. They report that whenever possible they do visit their nomadic relatives in the summer pastures to escape from the grizzly heat of summer of the plains.

The following table describes the upfront cash payments that Bakarwals have to pay during his annual migration from the northern Punjab to Deosai.

Table 5 Economics for a Unit of 50 goats/ sheep and two horses/ mules

Overheads	Amount PKR	Remarks
Winter Grazing fee in scrub forests Potohar	750 PKR	Winter grazing fee charged on monthly basis by the Punjab Forest Department (Attock, Jhelum, Chakwal, Rawalpindi and Pabbi hills Gujrat)
Winter security deposit with forest department	25000 PKR	This amount is rarely refunded
Neelum Development Board	800 PKR	Levied during migration uphill AJK
Grazing fee Deosai (summer camps)	800 PKR	Collected by the GB Forest Department
Fines by Wildlife Department AJK on return journey	2000 PKR	Collected by the AJK Wildlife Department as fine for passing through Musk deer National Park
Fines and penalties for entry in enclosures	500 PKR	This is occasional fine and is unpredictable
Purchase of feed for horses	5000 PKR	Catering for feed for horses is very important for the Bakarwal, consisting of mainly gram and other cereals
Payment for grazing to landowners during migration through the Neelum valley (both during uphill and downhill migration)	5000 PKR on average	Local farmers retain grasses in their farmlands and sell to the Bakarwals who during migration would buy grazing on hourly basis and pay whatever price is demanded
Payment to landowners in Potohar (winter camps)	Free/ in kind labor work	Most land owners do not charge cash for allowing winter camping, they take dung and occasional farm labor from Bakarwals
Total	39,850 PKR or say 40,000 PKR	

Source: Author's field Data

Assumptions: This is based on assumption that no laborer is hired or paid to look after the herds as such these days such laborers are not available these days. The table does not include income from daily wages earned as day laborer in Deosai or from birth of new lambs (approx. 15 per herd of 50) and the milk, butter and cheese that Bakarwal eat during stay at summer pasture approx. 70 KG milk per goat in three months summer stay is also not included as Bakarwals do not sell cheese or goat milk.

On an average, five rams and five goats are sold per unit of fifty heads in a herd at an average price of 15,000 Rupees so the annual cash income is 150,000 Rupees and the expenses are 39,850 or say 40,000 Rupees leaving a net balance of 110,000 Rupees per household that comes to monthly income of 9,595 Rupees. The opportunity cost of

pastoral nomadism is feasible as they don't have any skills or assets to make a living in the urban centers. However, their skills in animal husbandry are very specialized and not every community can undertake this specialized task.

3.16.2 Goat Herds

Apart from the economic benefits derived from selling goats, these herds are socially important for social relation maintenance and identity. Bakarwals do not usually use goats except for ceremonial purposes; they sacrifice goats which are used during birth and *Aqiqah* ceremonies. The meat of bulls, cows, buffalos are mainly consumed in marriage ceremonies. A number of characters make their goats more important and special against the other species of goats. Goats travel all the way long with families from Punjab to Deosai. The whole journey ends in more than fifty days. There are different grazing areas but the route for families who move upwards from Muzaffarabad to Shonter is dangerous and has less vegetation for the herds. Bakarwal breed of goats have strong body, height, wider and firm toes adapted for high hill mobility and long hair, which keep them warm during winters. Every goat has a name, a very interesting tradition, some of which were documented during interviews. This helps every shepherd in keeping stock of his entire herd. Counting of goats is considered a bad omen so those owning large herds never know the exact number or would not tell the strangers the exact numbers. This makes Bakarwal culture and economy a bit secretive.

3.16.3 Horses and Dogs

Every household has a number of horses or mules as per the number of “” sharing a household, and who collectively migrate and encamp in summer and winter pastures. On an average, a family needs two horses to sustain the nomadic system. One horse is needed to load the tent and its related material and the second to carry essential kitchen items for migration and the stay in the summer pasture. Bakarwal dogs are a special breed; an intelligent sheep dog with long hair and short ears and are dearly kept by Bakarwals like family members. Each dog knows exactly the goats that belong to his master and would help the shepherd to keep him or her away from farm crops during migration. Bakarwal dogs are high in demand with the sedentary people but it's very rare that a Bakarwal would give away his dog. Bitches give birth to five or six cubs; one of the newborn is dominant in size at birth and is kept as a prized dog. Another distinctive feature of Bakarwal breed of dog is that they are vegetarian and feeds on bread and milk.

Some experts believe that this breed is on the verge of extinction and needs to be declared as an endangered species (Bukhari, 2011).

The Livestock Census of Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan's first National report to the CBD (Ministry of Environment, 2013) mention six local breeds of horses but no record of Bakarwal horses or any mountain horses could be found in the official records. Bakarwal breed is not mentioned in the official livestock census either. The Przewalski's horse is a critically endangered breed, with only a few hundred remaining according to Dr. Fakhr Abbas¹⁵, which is also confirmed by Nat Geo¹⁶ reports. Bakarwal horse is the preferred horse as it can easily navigate the narrow paths in the high hills and can carry luggage to long distances in steep mountainous areas. These horses provide a handsome income to Bakarwals during their stay at Deosai and other inaccessible areas and are the only means to carry heavy luggage. Further research is needed to ascertain if Bakarwal horse is a distinct breed or the endangered Przewalski's breed. This may entail the global recognition for Bakarwals who preserved this species for the entire humanity.

During fieldwork instances were observed when peer pressure was applied to one key informer to make him agree to sell one horse. After a year of persuasion, Bakarwals finally agreed to sell one horse. However, to bid farewell to the horse, ten family members of Bakarwal household came to the handing over event and asked the new purchaser to look after the horse well. Same is the case of Bakarwal dogs, which are never sold and peer pressure is needed to get one cub. Bakarwals dog has evolved to live in nature and needs a very large space to live. It was also observed that many city and village dog lovers who managed to get a Bakarwal dog could not make it live long in the limited space in their homes.

3.16.4 Breed of Bakarwal Goats and Sheep

Livestock census of Pakistan 2006 record census of goat breeds and acknowledges the Kaghani breed only. However, information obtained from the key informers as well as personal observations by the author show that the Allaiwal breed can be clearly recognized as a separate sub-breed if not a full-fledged breed. The 2006 livestock census reports that 532,210 Kaghani goats among the total number of goats in the four provinces, which stands at 22,959,838 or 2.3 percent of the total goats of Pakistan. This

¹⁵ Director Biodiversity Resource Center (BRC), Islamabad Pakistan <http://www.pbrc.edu.pk/>

¹⁶ <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/animals/mammals/p/przewalskis-horse>

estimation does not include the areas of AJK and Gilgit Baltistan, as they are not provinces of the country in strict legal sense. Bakarwal spend almost half a year in these territories therefore, it can safely be concluded that no complete figures of Bakarwal breed is available.

Bakarwal breed is a hairy goat that cannot bear the summers in the plains and is well adapted to live in cold mountainous areas. This goat is strong with well-built long legs and broader toes as compared to other breeds. The maximum weight of a ram sold in the market has been recorded as 110 KG. The meat of this goat is not popular with the majority of the population as they consider it smelly. On the contrary, there are many consumers who prefer the mutton of this breed and value it as the rams are fed on wild herbs.

In the cattle markets of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, it was observed that the price of the Kaghani goats is lesser as compared to the Deosai/ Allaiwal breeds. Available literature on cattle breeds of Pakistan only mention the Kaghani breed while in the cattle markets of Islamabad, it was found that a clear distinction between the Kaghani and Allaiwal breeds exist. The Allaiwal breed is well built with firm feet adapted to climb high peaks, as these are adapted to feed in Deosai plains while the Kaghani breed are shorter in stature as they covers lesser distance and climb lower slopes in the Kaghan valley. The Allaiwal rams are relatively more muscular due to longer endurance needed to survive the longer migration than the Kaghani breed and fetch better price in the eid ul azha markets where looks of the animal matter.

3.16.5 Role of Children in Household Economy

Bakarwal children live closer to nature and learn herding skills early in life. They also help their parents; the boys accompany their shepherd fathers in the pastures and the girls help their mothers in household chores. In the selected community at Qadarabad Fatehjang, young children may become net producers at an early age. Since this is a semi-nomadic community, they have access to education while they remain in contact with the wild. During the summers, these kids long for visiting their relatives in the high mountains and most of them get this wish fulfilled when they reach 15 years of age.

Cooking, washing, cleaning, fetching water (during migration) are the prominent activities for women and female children. Since these kids are exposed to the reproductive activities of goat, sheep and horses, they get sexually aware much earlier as

observed by a key informant. As compared to the elder Bakarwals, it was found out that the majority of the younger generation has not learnt the skills of navigation by observing stars in the sky, neither have they mastered whistling as means of communication with the herds. The settled and newly settled Bakarwals in Fatehjang area were found to be hosting a number of young relatives who were enrolled in the government schools. These students along with their hosts spend the summer holidays in the high hill pastures and return before the schools reopen after summer break.

3.17 Political Organization

Politics is not only the means of maintaining peace and tranquility among a group but also a device to gain power, define the group aspirations and safeguard the group's economic and cultural interests. Gujar identity and politics has been studied in Pakistan but there is no literature on the political organizations and dynamics of power of Gujar Bakarwals. The difference observed between a Gujar as a caste and a Gujar Bakarwal needs to be discerned to understand the politics and power dynamics of this group in Pakistan. A Gujar is an Indian caste since early Indo-European settlers in India as discussed in detail in chapter 2 under 'History of Gujars' and 'casting of vote' in chapter 5.

An attempt is made to find a definition that distinguishes a Gujar from a Gujar Bakarwal. "A Gujar Bakarwal is one who speaks the Gojri language, retains relations with his nomadic relatives even if he has quit pastoralism, loves to eat goat cheese and gori and their women wear typical Bakarwal dress and caps. The recently settled Bakarwals may have been influenced by the dress, food habits and language of the people with whom they live but retain the language and customs in their inner circles"

After having discussions with the key informants and dialogues with other Gujars, the differences between a Gujar and a Bakarwal Gujar have been recorded and are given in table 6 below;

Table 6. Identification of Gujar Bakarwals

Gujar	Gujar Bakarwal	Remarks
Does not herd cattle or goats	Is a practicing goat herder or has left the goat-herding profession in the near past	Author's own data
Does no speak the Gojri language	Must speak Gojri language	
Has no links with his ancestral past	Maintains links with his ancestral culture even if he has quit the profession	
Does not wear typical Gujar dress, ornaments and cap.	Women in particular wear typical Gujar dress with typical colors and patterns	
Never longs to camp in summer high pasture	Is eager to spend summers in high alpine pastures	Primary data finds that settled Bakarwals even in the USA still try to find an opportunity to visit their nomadic relatives at high alpine pastures
32 clans of Gujars	Same names of Gujar Bakarwal clans	Discussed in chapter of clans 'gotra'
Hairstyle of women are not special	Nomadic Bakarwals women maintain a typical hairstyle, the recently settled and completely settled do not	Author's own field observations
Cannot communicate with animals through whistles	Nomadic Bakarwal can communicate with goats through whistles	Though this skill is gradually being lost as more Bakarwals are settling

Source: Author's field data

As discussed in chapter 5 under 'casting of votes', all Bakarwals are now registered voters in the districts of KP, Punjab, GB and AJK, therefore their voting power is diluted. However, their vote plays a crucial role in the election results of Malakand and AJK legislative assemblies. A handful of legislators do attain the status of cabinet ministers yet there has never been any move that talk about the rights of Bakarwals such as the right to access grazing land and the right to pass through the migratory trails. These problems are the major push factors for these nomads to adopt sedentarization as per respondents.

Some Gujar Bakarwal youth have organized themselves to lobby for their rights to pastures from the pastures previously held by the Mehtar rulers of Chitral. The Indian Forest Rights Act 2006 discussed in chapter 5 does provide a framework that has the

potential to change the existing status of Bakarwals who continue the age-old tradition in a vacuum with no policy or say with the decision makers.

Power structure within the Gujar Bakarwal is complex and their collective power is diluted due to their wide geographical spread where each locale has a different legal regime and provincial parliaments. The 18 Bakarwal clans described in chapter 3 have found a way out for collective struggle for their rights in the shape of electing a Chief who represents them in courts of law and appears before the forest officers at the provincial and district headquarters and seek approvals for grant of yearly grazing permits. Haneef Parwana is the present elected chief who has been performing this service for the entire community for the last 15 years. This position does not have a long history and has evolved in Bakarwals because of a natural demand after the 1990's when the provincial forest departments became stricter in giving access to grazing lands in summer and winter pastures. Chairperson of the tribe (key informant) gets regular approval from the Pir of Kotli without which his position would not be acceptable to Bakarwals at large.

Within the household the head of the household is the main decision maker, his decisions are obeyed by his sons and daughter in particular those who keep their Tawaa under his umbrella home.

3.17.1 Power Structure

According to the Encyclopedia of anthropology, 'power is a social process, it refers to the ability or the process by which such ability is implemented by one individual or group to control the behavior of others or produce a desired reaction in them (1976). The stated definition encompasses various types of power, i.e. economic, religious political etc. which is suggestive of the fact that power is something present in all spheres of life. There are schools of thoughts regarding the determination of the sources of power. However, the fact is agreed upon that the study of power and politics is the study of influence and the influential.

Radcliffe-brown has defined power system as 'the systems for the maintenance of establishment of social order within a territorial frame work by the organized exercise of coercive authority through the use of possibility of use of physical force (Brown, 1940). Turner argues that 'the basis of power in small societies is in social territory and not geographical territory comprised of these kin groups in a band or village willing to take

orders from a headman'. According to Turner the basis of a leader's power of decision making is authority rather than threats of physical coercion.

3.18 Power Structure among Gujar Bakarwals

Keeping in accordance with theoretical perception of power, the power structure as observed in the Gujar Bakarwals of Fatehjang is given as below:

1. Power at the level of family
2. Power at the level of village or community (*Jirga* system)

There are a number of problems in which the traditional justice system (*Jirga*) will be helpful to overcome the conflicts between family, tribe and with other tribes as well. In case of decision regarding marriage power is exerted without communal participation while in case of conflicts abduction murder or other social evils the power is exercised by virtue of villagers.

3.18.1 Power at Family level

The objective of this section is to see who have the ultimate authority within the family for making major decisions that affect the family. The major matters in which a family needs to make such decision are:

1. Economic and
2. Marriages

In economic sphere, the nominal productive unit in this community is a single household or family. Nominal productive unit here refers to the smallest group that works collectively to produce economic assets, and share the benefits of these assets. There are two major types of 'family' the nuclear and the extended family.

In case of a nuclear family, it is always the father who makes the decision concerning economic matters such as his son's role in the family's livelihood, whether he will work as shepherd or stay back for education or work as day laborer etc. However, at old age the parents invariably stay with the youngest son who being the main earner is the decision making authority.

The main decisions regarding marriage are two; first is the choice of the spouse and second is the timing of the marriage. The decision on choice of spouse is purely the discretion of the parents. To some extent, the choice of the son has weightage while in

the case of the daughter she has not much choice though her elder brother's opinion carries weightage. The father, father's brother, mother's brother and the real brothers, makes decisions on the timing of the marriage decisions collectively.

3.18.2 Power of Community/Communal

Political organization according to Haviland is the system of social relationships that provides for the coordination and regulation of behavior in so far as that behavior is related to the maintenance of public (Haviland, 1973). Political system is an instrument, which operates to integrate and stabilize a social order and fights disintegrative forces.

The socio-political system existing among the Gujar Bakarwals is known in anthropology as the un-centralized or acephalous political system, as opposed to 'centralized political system' that is chiefdoms and states. The basis of their political organization being kinship and descent rather than any fixed government as such. Among the Gujar Bakarwals, the seat from where the political authority springs is the *Biradari*. Some decisions in the Gujar Bakarwal community have to be made at the level of family, which already discussed earlier. For the imposition of control outside these spheres and to punish deviants from the normative pattern of the community; there is a council formed from within the community called '*Jirga*'. The institution of *Jirga* is an administrative council at local level. Its constituents are mainly the heads of households who sit together to settle the issues involving two parties.

This institution ensures justice to the disputants who by tradition have faith on the *Jirga*. *Jirga* meetings can be called for any sort of issues of inter-household, intra-household, inter-khandan, and intra-khandan, intra tribal and inter-tribal. *Jirga* solves various problems of the Gujar Bakarwals such as social evils of thefts, cheating, murders, trespassing, abduction and divorce. The members of *Jirga* are respectable and influential people of the *Biradari*. The number of *Jirga* participants depends on the nature of the issue to be solved. There is no limitation to the number of *Jirga* participants. The composition of the *Jirga* keeps on changing with the change of the locale, as these are migratory people.

3.18.3 Traditional Justice System (Jirga)

There are all sorts of problems discussed in the *Jirga* meetings, which include both the major as well as minor issues. The issues of major nature are abduction or a murder case, a conflict between two families considering divorce. Such *Jirga* meetings can be

arranged on the request of either the offenders or the defendants. The aggrieved party contacts an influential and respectable person both sides of the dispute. The intermediary during a *Jirga* called as '*Salis*' condemns the offenders and sometimes has to appease the aggrieved party till a compromise is reached. The process of negotiations during a *Jirga* continues until the decision is acceptable to both the parties to the conflict.

Jirga system is operative for both the nomadic and sedentary people who identify themselves as Gujar Bakarwal. The issues of minor nature like trespassing, dispute between two neighbors concerning grass cut from other's land, misunderstanding between husband and wife, blocking the way by wall, theft of chicken, herds grazing at other's territory etc. *Jirga* meetings for such issues are quite frequent in the area. Such minor issues of conflict normally do not involve punishment, fine or compensation. Parties involved in minor issues are advised to be nice with each other in the future. A number of *Jirgas* are discussed below to understand the efficacy and quick dispensation of justice.

a. Jirga for Land Disputes

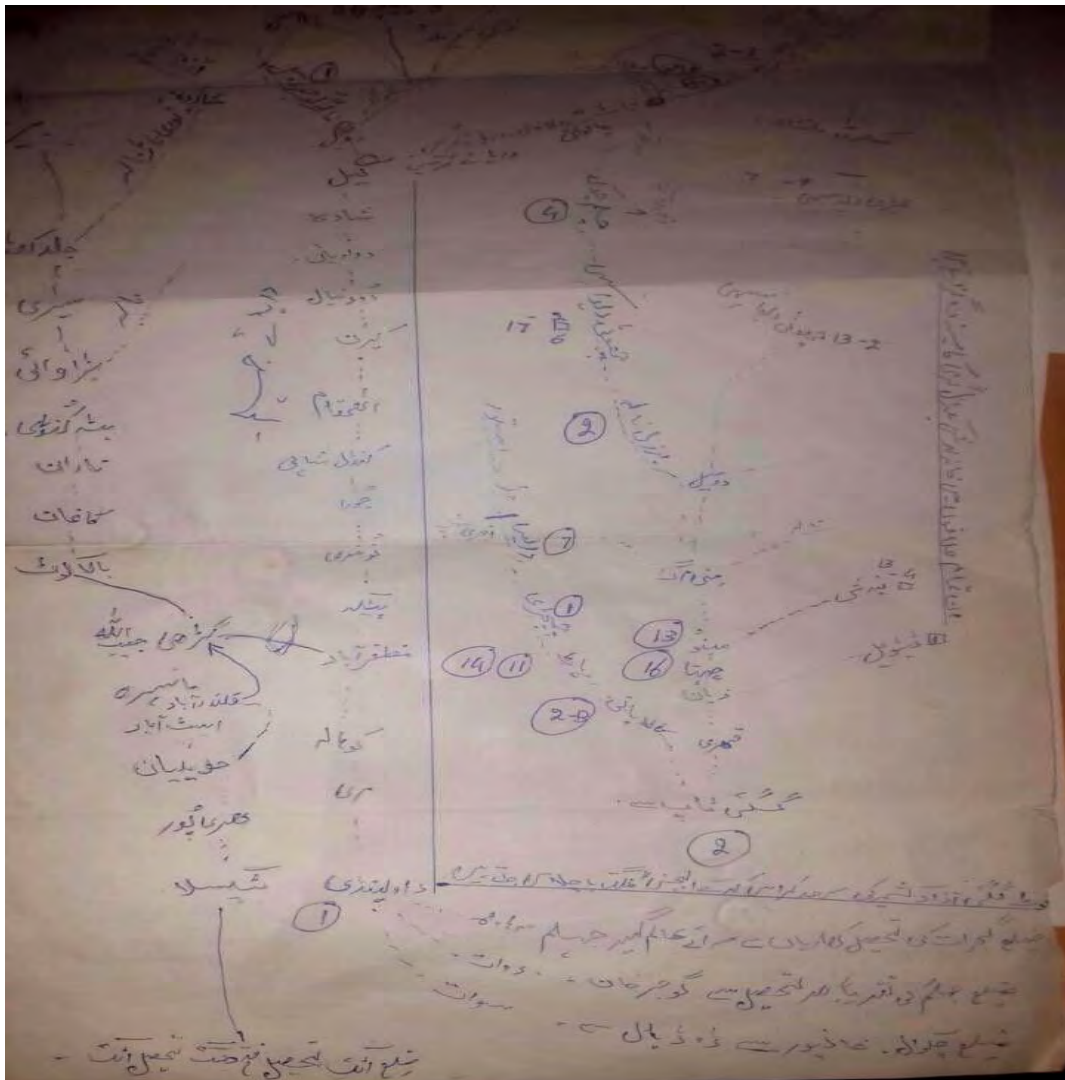
Grazing and land cultivation have vital role the lives of Gujar Bakarwals in the study area. Bakarwals have divided the entire Deosai pasture amongst themselves under customary law (Map below) all Bakarwals respect the other's territory. It happens many times during the summer migration that the herder who is the first to reach takes benefit of late arrival of the traditional owner. And encroach on the pasture of the traditional owner. Another dispute arises when during migration the goats enter cultivated fields owned by local villagers; such disputes between Bakarwal and landowner are amicably resolved through *Jirga*. The *Jirga* also decides who will graze in which locality of the pasture, any deviations are punishable by the *Jirga* as the *Jirga* is the main decision making body that is socially accepted and respected by Bakarwals.

During this study a case was noted when a dispute arose in the summer pasture within the *Bariyankhel* clan, the respondent said that since in 2010, he was left with only ten goats, and it was practically impossible to migrate from the winter pasture with this limited numbers. Therefore, he decided to stay back in the winter pasture and handed over the goats to his cousin who would take them along with his own to the summer pasture. Against this favor he gave the cousin the right to graze all the goats in his pasture in Shontar, but the cousin took the goats to his own pasture leaving his area

unoccupied without informing the owner. This act was repeated for two years and the number of goats increased from ten to twenty-five in the third year as the conditions remained favorable. He visited his pasture to find a third person Bashir from the *Kalas* clan camping at his summer pasture with his own goats. On query Bashir informed that he has been camping here for the last two years. A dispute arose when Bashir refused to accept the ancestral right of the rightful owner claiming his right based on two years usage. To resolve this dispute the chairperson of Bakarwals was called. The respondent said that “my luggage remained unpacked because there was uncertainty about the stay at my summer pasture”, the chairperson reached the next day and ‘I had to spend the night under open sky.’

The chairperson along with the heads of the *Bariyankhel*, *Kalis* and the *Kathanakhel* came to resolve the dispute. In addition, a Jirga was held with the participation of other the cousin who was supposed to use the pasture. Testimonies of claim on land that surfaced were that one claimant was able to prove ancestral ownership while Bashir could produce witnesses for two years ownership only.

Figure 10. Handmade Customary Map in Summer Pastures



Source: map prepared by a key Informant during the author's Field work (2010-12)

After the hearing both side the Jirga decided imposition of a penalty of PKR thirty thousand on Bashir, because he used the grazing land without the consent of the rightful owner. On spot Bashir paid only PKR ten thousand and the balance is still pending, however the pasture is back to the rightful owner who still keeps reminding the chairman to help get the balance twenty thousand rupees. “I am hopeful that one day I will get back the money, but unless the *Jirga* has helped me regain the control of my ancestral land” he said.

a. *Jirga for Land Sharing and Wages*

Such type of *Jirga* most of the time takes place in the areas where Gujar Bakarwals are settled. In such areas, the Gujar Bakarwal is normally the tenant who works for the landowner on crop sharing basis where the labor input is by Bakarwal and the landowner provides the agricultural inputs. Disputes arise when the landowner refuses to pay the tenant the agreed share. Conversely, the landowner can call the *Jirga* when Bakarwal takes advantage of the land by grazing his herds, or chops trees or branches that were not agreed at initially. The *Jirga* is called that normally settles such disputes without going to the police or litigation.

Other disputes with settled Bakarwals arise when the father refuses to equally divide his small parcel of land amongst his sons. In such cases the son calls the *Jirga* and the case is decided by the *Jirga*. The *Jirga* for such issue has to be from the same *Khandan* family, because it is entirely a family dispute and involvement from outside the *khandan* is considered as an insult to the family.

There is no distinctive line that demarcates the boundaries of the summer pastures. Therefore, disputes on boundary issues are common. However, boundaries are known from the ancestors' times but disputes arise between brothers when the sons separate from the father. One such dispute arose in 2009. The respondent narrated that 'we are six brothers and three sisters, we all are married and according to the custom, my father divided what he had, the main herd was divided into six parts gradually as the siblings got married and separated. We lived in summer pastures at *Janawi Nar*'. He further added that as the number of goats increased with time the pressure on the grazing land was felt. Resultantly exchange of harsh words between the brothers started over grazing land, as the father had divided the goats but not the pasture. None of the brothers was willing to cull the goats and the situation became tense when two of the brothers exchanged harsh words. Because the father failed to resolve the dispute during his lifetime; that could gag the disputing parties, who out of respect would remain calm.

On the death of the father, all six brothers and their widow mother agreed to call a *Jirga*. The *Jirga* after following the socially acceptable norms finally decided to divide the pasture into seven parts, six for the brothers and one for the widow. No share of share of pasture was given to the married sisters as per Bakarwal customary law.

b. Jirga for Apology for Delay in Marriage

Decisions on marriages amongst Bakarwals are an important matter that is decided collectively as discussed in the preceding sections. It is not just that the matches are decided during the marriage proposal rituals but also the timing of the event is finalized after both parties agree, since the dates of the marriage is announced in advance it becomes insulting to the girl's family when the groom's family delays the marriage. The matter becomes serious if the marriage is from outside the near relatives and people start talking about the possible reasons for the delay. In such a situation, the girls' parents call the *Jirga* where the boys' parents have to give cogent reasons for the delay and if no solid reasons are presented the girls side may threaten of breaking the marriage promise. It is also customary to impose a fine on the boy's father if he fails to give cogent reasons for the delay. Though accepting payment as fine is not considered respectable with most of the clans.

Delay from the girl's side is very rare, as late marriage of a girl is socially not appreciable in the Gujar Bakarwal community. The decision to break a marriage promise is a serious matter that is made by the girl's father, father's brother, father's brother's son/s, *Dadpotra*; mother's brother/s. Influential people of the *Biradari* also attend the *Jirga*. The boy's family members attending the *Jirga* have to present reasons for the delay. An apology from the boy's father is expected in the presence of the entire *Jirga*.

After the apology assurance is given to the girl's family that marriage is intact, however some Bakarwals demand a token penalty for the delay, which most of the time is in the form of gold and the boy's family has to accept the penalty imposed by the *Jirga*. But this is not a common practice because it is also considered as shame for the girl's family when the community talks about the compensation demanded for delaying the marriage promise.

During the long time of this study, I could not attend any *Jirga* that aimed to resolve the dispute for delay in marriage. The key informants also confirmed that such events are rare. This is because Bakarwals are sensitive on such matters that relates to honor.

c. Family Conflicts and Divorce

Minor disputes between husband and wife are first attempted to be resolved within the family without invoking the institution of *Jirga*. Main family dispute arises when the husband beats the wife and she goes to her parent's home. To look after the sister is the

brother's responsibility. Not taking any revenge is considered as an insult. In a situation when the close family cannot resolve a dispute between husband and wife the *Jirga* is called that often comprises of near relatives or in case the parties are from different families then respectable elders from both sides sit in the *Jirga*. Beating of wives is considered disrespectful and is considered to be an act of shame and bad name for girl's family. Therefore, the brothers have to be very careful in such matters, because their attitude can either settle or spoil the issue. The girl's brother calls the *Jirga* meeting and if she has no brothers then her father's brother, father's brother's son (*Dadaputry*), and mother's brother are expected to take revenge. The situation is easily controlled if both the families belong to same *Khandan*. However, if the disputing parties are from different *Khandans* then the conflict may be resolved very carefully and the '*Saalas*' has to be very careful, impartial and influential persons commanding respect from both the sides.

At the end of the long *Jirga* hearings after both the parties have presented their case, the *Jirga* decides and declares the side at fault. As compensation, the party found at fault has to make an apology in the presence of both the *Khandans*. The intermediary is entrusted with an additional responsibility for being an insurer that the act of wife beating shall not be repeated.

Not a single incident of divorce was noted or reported during the fieldwork for both the nomadic and sedentized Bakarwals. The key informants also confirmed that Bakarwal's love for his wife is exemplary. As the institution of solemnizing marriage rituals is lengthy and takes place with the concurrence of family, the clan and the neighborhood, therefore the probability of a divorce is almost zero.

d. Theft or Murder

The serious offences presented to *Jirga* are theft and murders. Murders amongst Bakarwals are unknown, however if murder takes place and the offender is identified by the *Jirga* the punishment is called '*Dant*', it is compensation to be paid to the family of the dead in the form of land, cattle and women. Payment in the shape of women is only made in case the offender is from outside the *Biradari* or from another tribe. No murder case was observed during this long study.

The usual punishment for theft is a fine worth the value of the stolen objects. The *Jirga* assesses the value of the stolen items. In cases where there remain doubts about the guilt

of the suspect, monetary value of the stolen items is assessed and the cash is kept inside the Holy book the Quran, the guilty normally avoid such an extreme test as it is believed that a liar would fall victim to the curse of the holy book.

No theft case was observed during the fieldwork, which was committed by a Bakarwal not even of goats. However, one incident was reported in which the victims were Bakarwals and the offenders were local vagabonds. This event took place when five *Tawaas* of the *Bariyankhel* clan in 2016 were camping near Murree hills during the downhill winter migration. Three masked burglars who spoke the local Murree dialect and carried automatic weapons attacked them. The burglars injured the hapless Bakarwals and took away three goats and the only cash of PKR 2000 that Bakarwals had at that time. The respondents informed that burglary along the migratory route was unknown in the past and that this is a recent phenomenon.

3.18.3 Regional Politics

The politicians seek votes during the election season as discussed in the chapter 5 'Casting of votes in the elections'. Gujar votes are large in numbers and can make a difference in the overall election results, but the political and economic interests of the Gujars as compared to those of Gujar Bakarwals are not in the forefront of the community itself. During the course of this study, it was found that a political party is active in canvassing for a Gujar vote bank. However due to the wide dispersal of the Gujars over a large area each under a different electoral college and the existing electoral system where constituencies are based on districts and not the castes, only time will tell the final results of these Gujar movements. Assessing regional and national politics is not in the scope of this study. The dialogues with the Settled and nomadic Bakarwals, native notables as well as the forest officers reveal that the system is indifferent to the sedentarization process. While the forest officers are focused on conservation of forests and wildlife, Bakarwals continue to struggle for their survival. The district administration and the administrative departments take decisions like imposing grazing fees, passage fees, notification of protected areas that make Bakarwals' existence illegal, the yearly decision whether to allow or not the entry of Bakarwals in the scrub forest of the Potohar are made in a vacuum. In this vacuum the voice of the forest officer is heard and most decisions are made without any consultation with Bakarwals.

Many Bakarwals are settling down due to the induced hardships by the forest department, since pastoralism is not well studied and is not an issue in the local, regional a national politics in Pakistan.

3.19 Belief System

To understand any society, and the behavior and customs of its people a study of their belief system becomes indispensable. Understanding of religion is very helpful to understand the general thought and pattern of the people in any particular community. The term belief has been defined by the Chamber's 20th Century Dictionary as faith or an opinion or doctrine believed by anyone.

Men living at any corner of the world are rational by nature. They think about every event and phenomenon and try to understand it within their own context that could be cultural, religious, or economic. As a result, a phenomenon that is beyond the conception or imagination he ultimately begins to worship or fear it. The concept is briefly described by Tylor's (1871) animism, and in Boas's (George & Stocking, 1974) unilinear scheme of magic then religion and at last stage science. Such beliefs can lead to two kinds of gods according to the human behavior as benevolent and malevolent. Along with this type of belief in God we come to know another type viz. godless belief. It depends only upon fear and awe and does not refer to any specific god to worship. It is reasonless awe and belief in superstitions. The etymological meaning of superstition is 'standing over a thing in amazement or awe'. Literally, it is proposed as 'excess in devotion over scrupulousness or over ceremoniousness.

Therefore, all human societies, irrespective of the degree of material and social advancement, have a set of beliefs which provide the community with the knowledge of man's place in nature and a general charter of behavior in the realm of sacred and profane. The belief system of any society also provides the members with the principles of symbolic thought and action. It is often thought that belief can only be discussed within the domain of religious activity, this however is erroneous, as almost all societies hold some beliefs, which have religious sanctions along with others, which are secular in nature.

3.19.1 Beliefs of Gujar Bakarwals (Religious and Secular)

All the 24 *khels* or clans of Bakarwals found in the study locale are Sunni Muslims. Bakarwals who are pre-occupied with migration and herding are practice basic Islamic religious teachings and are not found arguing about religious schools of thought or interpretation. The universal beliefs of monotheist religions, Islam is this case in God *Allah*, the Angels and the life after death are also held by Bakarwals.

The residential pattern of Bakarwals as discussed earlier in chapter 3, invariably include a mosque *Masjid* for the inhabitants. The settlements in the summer and winter pastures for each '*Tawaa*' there is also a place reserved for worship and prayers.

In the residential area of the selected study group at Fatehjang they have a *Katchi* Mud plastered Masjid, one member of Bakarwal who has some basic religious education teaches the young kids the Holy Quran. In the summer and winter camping the offering of prayers, recitation of Holy Quran is practically convenient therefore Bakarwals offer prayers regularly.

However, during migration, irregularity has been observed in prayers, as at times there is not enough time to eat meals on time. From early childhood, parents motivate their children to observe prayers. During the fasting month of Ramadan, they are very regular in fasting and other customary activities such as, recitation of Holy Quran. If the month of Ramadan happens to fall during migration season most Bakarwals forego fasting, but avoid eating in the open to respect the holy month.

Superhuman Powers

Like all other religions, Bakarwals also believe in unseen spirits and angels. They also believe in evil spirits, which they have frequently come across in their nomadic live. On sighting unexplained huge balls of fires in the month of July in Deosai during fieldwork that I saw, Bakarwals later explained that these were *Jinns* who did not welcome my presence and wanted me to go back.

Being more exposed to the wilderness, most Bakarwals do narrate the sighting of spirits and *Jinns* in the wild. According to the respondents during stay in summer camps Deosai Plateau, the frequency of sighting *Jinns* and spirits is frequent as compared to other areas. A number of elders shared 'spirits and evil-spirits occupy haunted and uninhabited spaces.'

According to some elder Gujar Bakarwals the population of evil spirits, Jinat (plural of Jinn), and other creatures of God exceeds the human population; they are not visible to man therefore their presence cannot be ascertained. Bakarwals also explain that since the ‘populations of cities are increasing day by day so the population of spirits and *Jinns* have moved towards the uninhabited hilly areas’. In one instance a Bakarwal lady who was normal at daytime was seen screaming the whole night, her husband explained that she did a mistake of taking bath from a spring at a night with full moon so a spirit has taken over her body and would make her restless. Such incidences are not infrequent in the migratory pastoralist Bakarwals. Some Bakarwals hold the view that many spirits love their place and do not move when urbanization takes over the space. Moreover, that they keep on living even in the human settlements. They later start teasing the occupants in different ways. According to Bakarwals respondents, evil spirits freely move in jungles and mountains sometimes they come near the water channels and inside the residential tents. They terrify goats causing a drastic reduction in milk production, the goats according to the key informers were at times seen behaving strangely as if they had seen some object and react to the object at a specific point thereby meaning that the goat can see something not visible to the human senses. Sometime newly born lambs are found dead in mysterious unexplained circumstances that Bakarwals attribute to the evil spirits.

The beliefs in right and wrong, good and evil, pure and impure held by Bakarwals is associated with their religious conceptualization of the world. In the community under study, the concept of darkness and light is conceptualized as good and bad. In the darkness of the night since no one can see therefore the evil is usually done at nighttime. Evils like theft and murder are all committed at night. They also hold same in the case of evil spirits; which are experienced during the nights. Those Bakarwals who report of having seen them cannot describe as the inner fear made them senseless. Whenever the evil spirit harasses a person he seeks protection in the Masjid or immediately visits to get blessing from a spiritual person like the *Ulema*, *pirs* and *maulvis*. The religious men give them comfort through recitations, blow his breath *Damm* on the effected person, and give him blessing in the shape of a written inscription that the person has to keep in his pocket or wear as a necklace.

There is a concept among Gujar Bakarwals that evil spirits shall never possess anyone if they do not interfere in their interests and spheres. Passing near a graveyard at evening or

late night with raw meat in hand or meat without covering, uncovered heads of women in full moon nights, bathing of women in water open air water channels or springs at night, urination at specific objects or in graveyards or under shady trees are some of the places where the evil spirits can harm human beings.

According to the respondents, the young children are more susceptible to victimization by evil spirits as they are more likely to interfere in the domain of the spirits as compared to the elders who are aware where not to urinate etc. They also narrate that if a woman especially an unmarried one wearing red clothes passes by a graveyard she will be possessed by the evil spirits. Spirit possession makes her sick and she will start acting abnormally, and acceding to them this is a proof that she is under the effect of an evil spirit. Another interesting concept that prevails among Bakarwals that spirits are male and female and they take over the opposite sex of the humans.

The concept of hot and cold is very different in Bakarwal community hot means life and cold means death. Young boys are prone to be attacked by the female evil spirits in hot afternoons when they visit water channels for bathing or rest purpose. Female evil spirits also possess babies; they can take possession of a child during breastfeeding if the mother is alone in the open in hot afternoons, so Bakarwals are careful not to leave alone a lactating mother and child. There are lesser elderly victims of spirits because they are experienced and careful in their daily routine. The Gujar Bakarwals are firm in their belief that the evil spirits can harm human and their livestock. They have proofs and signs for damages that are caused by the evil spirits. The remedy and be safe from evil spirits is to call a religious scholar (*Maulvi*) who recites verses from the holy Quran on water and sprinkles it all over the sleeping and residential space of the effected Bakarwals home.

The other remedy is the use of amulets, in the case of a room being under possession of an evil spirit, an amulet is hanged inside the room. In the case, a human is under the influence of an evil spirit the amulet is tied around the arm or neck and in case of animal is hung on its neck. There is no specific time to hang or tie the amulet to get rid from the evil spirit. The amulet could remain in some cases till the death of the man or animal or till the demolition of the house.

Evil Spirits

There are a number of evil spirits according to the respondents, which are responsible for different unexplainable happenings. For example, *Jinn* can take over and possess a person who passes near the graveyard in the afternoon or in the night. Or if a young girl wearing bright red dress and has put perfume passes by the graveyard, or takes bath and sits under a tree with wet and open hair will surely let a *Jinn* take over the possession of her physical body. According to a respondent, her wife, her brother's wife and her daughter were passing by a house in the evening to attend a marriage ceremony; the house was known to be haunted and occupied by *Jinn*. His daughter was wearing red dress and had applied perfume, on return from the ceremony the daughter suffered from high fever and starting behaving strangely. The respondent at once realized that a *Jinn* has taken her possession. In the morning, the respondent and his wife took her to the *Alim* who drew a circle around the victim's bed and whispered Quranic verses and blew his breath on the girl's body seven times. After a struggle lasting three hours he succeeded in releasing the girl from the *Jinn*. During the whole process the daughter was crying and calling for help because she was being beaten by the *Jinn* from inside.

Another belief of Bakarwals is the existence of the female evil spirit (*Churail/afat*) witches that is described by the respondents as 'she has very long hair that cover her whole body, resultantly she does not wear any clothes. Her feet are turned backwards and nobody has the courage to look directly into her eyes. Her teeth are very long and turned upwards, long and curved nails of hands and feet; in short, she is ugly and disgusting. A popular belief amongst the community is that if anyone replies the call of a witch she would take the possession of the individual and would kill him/her and eat his heart. A respondent revealed that a witch teased his father while he was cutting wood in the forest. When he paid no attention, she followed him to his home. She kept on calling his name and insisted that he should reply to her. He survived the advances of the witch by adhering to the belief of the community of not responding to such advances.

Another evil spirit is '*bhotanian*' evil dwarfs the word is used for small *Jinns*. They occupy particular areas; their special feature is they dance in circles with lights in their hands after sunset, they tease small children, and mostly they take possession of young children due to the reason that their size matches that of the children they target.

Demon is another form of spirit, which is commonly known as '*Ghora Dahnctha*'. People are confronted with demons while traveling alone in the jungle at night that is why they avoid traveling alone especially during nights. People have seen it in pastures and sometimes even in their compounds. '*Ghora Dahnctha*' lives in graveyards and near water sources. No one knows the actual appearance of a '*Ghora Dahnctha*' because it keeps on changing appearances. It can be seen in the shape of an animal object etc. Usually '*Ghora Dahnctha*' tries to horrify the travelers. The traveler hears the sound of jingling bells which gradually come closer and closer, when the traveler turns to look at it, it appears in the shape of a horse, goat or even chicken. It throws pebbles and stones and damaging the luggage are some of the characteristics of the '*Ghora Dahnctha*'.

Magic and other Beliefs

Some people in the county including Bakarwals believe in sorcery and black magic. The normal act of this evil act is in the shape of a *taveez* it is a form of a curse. To make a *taveez* three parties are needed one is the person who wants a curse on the second party and the third is the *Aamil* or sorcerer who performs this evil act. The other type of *taveez* is benevolent and is made by an *Aamil* or a religious scholar to bring good luck and blessings or to safeguard against evil eyes. Counter *taveez* is also made by the benevolent *Aamils* in the study area. People who go to the malevolent *Aamil* are those who out of jealousy or being aggrieved from some dispute involving property want to send curses or even death of the second party. Women mostly practice this type of sorcery. According to Pritchard, 'magic is an aid other than subsistence (1970: 201).' Here sorcery *taveez* is an aid to understand the structure of familial disputes.

Evil eye is an unconscious phenomenon; babies and animals cannot express the cause of their affliction. The unconsciousness and lack of expression and conjunction are symbolized in the form of an evil eye. The term evil eye is also known as '*abynag*' and sometimes '*kifu ayn*' it designates the power to curse and destroy and reincarnate, harnessing the labor of dead for one's own ends. The custom common with Bakarwals is the shaving the heads of children and leaving only a tuft of hair for the boys and a ring of hair around the heads of girls provide protection against minor attacks of lice, often considered initiated by an envious *Bad-dua* (evil eye). According to the respondents evil eye even can harm objects, evil eye is not only the harmful act in negative sense if someone looks beautiful to her mother or her father too; the parents' eye may also affect

the child as same evil eye. To protect the child from ‘*nazar*’ of love and likeness a black spot is made on the child’s forehead. Evil eye of any sort can bring illness to the victim.

Bakarwal community believes in amulets and wears as a protection the evil. Upon enquiry, a large number of respondents the reply of the respondents was that since they are in direct contact with nature and live in the open, shady, mountains, valleys, so they are vulnerable to *Jinn*, *churail*, and other unseen creatures of God, so these amulets would be a protection from such evils, including the evil eye.

3.20 Bakarwals’ Saints and Pirs

A saint is the person who is recognized as having an exceptional degree of holiness or likeness or closeness to God (Wilson and Fischer 2005). In the Islamic tradition in the Indian sub-continent saints and *Pirs* have a long history and firm roots in the society, they are the persons who have more knowledge about Islamic teachings and provide help to those who forget the right path and brings them closer towards God. The teachings of Islam and traditions of the Prophet are translated and interpreted under the different school of thoughts in Pakistan. The responsibility of Saints and *Pirs* is to provide spiritual and religious guidance to their followers and disciples. Gujar Bakarwals of the study area have three main *Pirs* according to the allegiance of different clans. The important among Bakarwals is Hazrat Baji Ilaf Din, the shrine *Darbar* is located at Kotli AJK, the second is Pir Chishti at Chatar Kalas and the Pir at Doarian Neelum valley, Hazrat Baji Saheli Sarkar is a Syed who came from Multan and has followers mainly from Muzaffarabad some Bakarwals also frequent his shrine to get blessings. Another worth-mentioning Pir is Hazrat Makhan Shah located at Satra-Meel, Islamabad.

Table 7. Pirs of Gujar Bakarwals

Sr.	Pir	Settlement	Descendent	Annual Urs	Followers (Clan)
1	Baji Alaf Din	Kotli (Azad Kashmir)	Khizria school	April 6-8	<i>Bariyankhel Kalukhel</i>
2	Baji Saheli Sarkar	Muzaffarabad	<i>Chishti school</i>	13-21 January	<i>Kathwal</i>
3	Makhan Shah/ Maroof Shah	Satra (17 miles) Meel (Barakahu) Islamabad	<i>Chishti school</i>	15 Shaban	<i>Kathanakhel, Bajar, Kalas, Chechi, Kalukhel</i>
4	Pir Saleem Chishti	Near Muzaffarabad	<i>Chishti Silsla</i>	18 th May	All 24 clans

The shrine of *Baji Alaf Din* located four KM from Kotli City along with Poonch River towards '*Tata-Pani*' having hot springs with therapeutic Sulphur. The Pir was born in the village Katelia Sharif in the Kaghan Valley. His life showed deep effects of the teaching of Hazart Datta Gunj Bukhsh, Syed Ali Hajveri. It is believed that the saint had the honor of having a meeting with Hazrat Khizer. Moreover, his back is said to carry the marks of the palm of Hazrat Khizer, during the rule of the Dogras people used to visit the saint to seek divine help in order to get rid of misery. Consequently, the Dogras he had to leave and relocated at Kotli. With his deeds and spiritual powers, he attained enormous fame. The annual ceremonies of Baji Alaf Din (starts April 6-8) after three days the ceremony ends up with *Dua/* prayers. In all three days the grave of the saint is bathed with rose water the cover '*Chadar*' is changed. A feast is offered to the followers throughout the three days.

The grave of the Saint situated in the courtyard of the mosque and there is no separate tomb for the saint. Beside the mosque there is another building which is used as a *Madrassa*. The family profession of the *Pir* was herd keeping, that is still continues. The family members of the *Pir* hire Bakarwals from the Kalu Khel clan who take the herds for grazing at *Kala Jindra* pasture. This is located in the Shonter nallah Neelum Valley, this land is owned by the family of *pir* and no one is allowed to graze in this specific area; all the Gujar Bakarwals are his followers and cannot dare enter in the area due to the respect they show towards the *Pir*. After the destructive earthquake in the history of Pakistan 8 October 2005, the family of the *Pir* shifted from Balakot area to Haripur district. Majority of Bakarwal clans are the followers of the *pir* so the annual *urs* is also a gathering of the large majority of the Gujar Bakarwals. The *Urs* gains more importance when we draw a link between the *Urs* that is synchronized with the uphill migration season of Bakarwals. All the migratory clans participate in the *urs* with religious zeal and fervor heartedly along with their offerings. The critical decisions on who will migrate first and who will be the next are all made here during the *urs*. Although the clans are well aware about the long migratory routes as it is a yearly event but major decisions are made again and again during this *urs* that also has the blessings of the *pir* of Kotli.

During the *urs* all the key members from 8 migratory and 10 semi-migratory clans discuss key strategic issues. These include their personal capacities and experiences

regarding the migration, available resources, status of mules and horses, issues with the forest department etc. Another major decision made during the *urs* is the selection of the chairman who will be spokesperson and represent Bakarwals before the forest department to get their problems resolved; this election is made before the final *dua* prayers. The pir of Kotli gives assent for the selection of the chairman. In 2017 the chairman was re-elected for a third term with consensus (and continues till 2021). After the final *Dua* prayers all the followers go back to their winter pastures and prepare for the summer migration and embark on the journey on the dates allocated and fixed for each household during the *urs*.

The shrine of *Hazrat Sain Sakhi Saheli Sarkar* is situated at the district headquarter office complex in Muzaffarabad, he belongs to the *Chishti* School of Sufism (silsila). The shrine has been a center of religious activities and spiritual inspiration for a long time. He belongs to the Syed family of Multan. His ancestors shifted from Multan to Gujrat and finally settled in Muzaffarabad in the year 1890 AD. He used to be deeply immersed in meditation and prayers. Hazrat used to call his male devotees '*Aria*' and termed the female followers as '*Saheli*' female friend. Therefore, he was also known as *Sayin Saheli* and *Sayin Aria*, his real name was Syed Zulfiqar Shah. He was more inclined towards mysticism and had been observing meditation in the regions of Hassan Abdal, Haripur, Havelian, Mansehra and Muzaffarabad. His large number of devotees is from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Azad Kashmir. The annual *Urs* (gathering/ congregation) of the saint is observed every year in from 13th to 21st January. The saint is said to have passed away in the year 1900.

The shrine of *Pir Maroof Shah/ Pir Makhan Shah Bukhari* situated at Malach Satra Meel (Bharakau) Islamabad, the *Pir* is follower of *Chishti silsila/* school. The father of *Pir Makhan Shah Bukhari* traveled from Punjab (Uch-Shreef) and settled here in Satra Meel a century ago. He stayed in a village near Salgaran (main Murree road 15 KM from Islamabad) along with Kathanakhel. The interaction of *Pir* with Gujar Bakarwals is very old, they requested *Pir* sahib for prayers and '*Dum*' on herds; majority of the Gujar Bakarwals becomes followers of *Pir*. The Annual *Urs* of *Pir* is on 15th Shaban (eight month of the lunar calendar). The access to this shrine is very easy as it is located near the Rawalpindi- Murree road having all time access of public transport and a good all weather road,. The shrine has a number of followers from both types of Gujar tribes (Bakarwals and Buffalo herd keepers from the Punjab). Since this study is focused on

'Gujar Bakarwals' the devotees from the buffalo herders are omitted, among the Bakarwal devotees are the *Bajar, Khatana urf Kohistani, Khatana urf Sanghu, Kalas, Chechi, Kasyana, Jandar* are the major clans who are followers of *Pir Makhan Shah Bukhari*. The devotees, before start of their annual migration have to attend the shrine and ask the eldest son of '*Pir Faisal Shah Bukhari*' for prayers and pay gifts '*Nazrana*' (offering) for the shrine in kind or cash. Two spacious rooms are available to the visitors for night stay of those disciples/ followers who come from all over the country

The shrine has an important role for the welfare of the Gujar community other than providing spiritual services. Those members of the migrating families who are unable to undertake the difficult long walks stay at the shrine till the return of the family after spending summers in high hill pastures. Mobile phones are used to know the timing of the arrivals and departures of the groups when the sick and elderly join their kin to spend the winters in downhill areas that are easier to tread. The custodian of the Shrine has the responsibility to feed and provide shelter to the sick and elderly during their stay at the shrine. According to a devotee four elders of his family spend the whole summer camping time at the Shrine free of cost.

3.21 Rituals and Ceremonies

Beliefs and practices make religion. Without practice there is no validity of beliefs. Rituals, beliefs and spiritual experiences are considered to the foundation of all societies. Ritual is a sort of role behavior; it is the type of behavior which addresses the supernatural. According to the Anthony F. C. Wallace, the context of ritual and ceremonies varies tremendously and can involve at least these forms of behavior, prayers, dancing, music, making sacrifices, congregating, singing, exhortation, reciting (Wallace, 1966: 52)'.

There are types of rituals and ceremonies. Yearly rituals and ceremonies have fixed time and code of religious practices which are announced in advanced that allowing people to make arrangements for the celebration and prepare them mentally. They are normally considered as having value for the whole society rather than for a particular individual.

Eid-ul-Fitr, Eid-ul-Azha, Shab-e-Qadar and Eid-Milad-un-Nabi are the major cyclic ceremonies every Muslim can participate in it. There are some specific rituals and ceremonies which every tribe can practice according to their culture. In Gujar Bakarwal

community overall, a number of rituals divided into two major categories such as birth ceremonies and death rituals.

3.21.1 Birth Ceremonies

On the birth of a child, like in all the Muslims the call for prayer 'Azan' is recited in right ear of the child. This is the religious ceremony which can be taken place right after some hours. Those family relatives are present at that ceremony give greetings to the mother and father of the child that he/she is now formally entered in the religion of Islam. In some families the elder of the house father, grandfather of the child calls the prayer. Elders of the families mostly regular in prayer and recitation of Holy Quran and they do all the religious activities so, parents of the children requested them to call the prayer.

Within a week another ceremony held under the supervision of the elders of the families. They searched a new name from Holy Quran for the child which may positively affect child's future and make him/her obedient. Impact of names on the personality development can easily be judged in the community. According to the elders of the community, 'it is name which shows you the right direction, and name also distinguishes someone from other religions. Name of Allah Almighty and the Prophets ﷺ given to the children for good faith'

A third ceremony which contains more relatives, friends is the 'Jamal' when a barber from village called to shave the head of child. On this occasion the parents of the child distribute sweet rice according to their economic status, and after *Dua* prayers the rice distributed among the relatives, friends and the guests who are present at the ceremony.

The fourth one is for male child ceremony which is called 'khatnien' circumcision. Generally, a boy can be circumcised from three weeks to ten years after birth, but it is thought best to get the ceremony over in the first week after the birth because boys are less liable to attacks of *Jinns* after they have been circumcised is the prominent concept among Gujar Bakarwals. The circumcision is performed by the village barber 'Nai' who charged according to the economic status of the parents. When the child is circumcised he held by the father (held by mother and grandmother). Mother and grandmother of the child recite First *Kalima* during the whole process of circumcision because natives of the area have the understanding that it lesser the pain. After the circumcised, sweet rice, sweets are distributed among the relatives, neighbors and close *Bhanjidars*.

Another important and unique ceremony held with the birth of a baby girl in previous days. The ceremony could be fit under marriage proposal, but this links to the birth of baby girl that is why it is discussed here. According to the respondents, when family members and the relatives gathered on the occasion of birth of baby girl, those close relatives who are interested to make baby girl their daughter-in-law in future after discussion with parents of the baby and grandparents as well they perform a ceremony. It was quite common in old days, if anyone interested to create a relationship with the family they requested for marriage proposal after puberty (marriage age also discussed). Elder from the boy's family, give a shirt to the mother of the baby girl; she wore it to the baby and one side from front of the shirt tear (just anyone can see) by the male member that means this girl is now the respect of the family. She is considered as the family member of the boy's family. The shirt can be put even two to three weeks over the baby to show the whole tribe that she is '*Mang*'¹⁷ of someone. The shirt was remains with the girl's family a long time as the sign of engagement. If anyone interested to take her in future or he/she want some proof that she is '*Mang*' to that specific family, mother of the girl shows that shirt to them. The custom has been died since decades. No one is practicing it, now the proposal for marriage comes after puberty and like other communities living in Punjab, now the ceremonies are to some extent like Punjabi communities.

The last ceremony which directly linked to the birth ceremonies is the *Aqiqa* of the children. There is no age limit to give the *Aqiqa* on the name of children. For male there are two goats and for female one goat can be sacrificed. The head, feet, entrails and bones are packed into the skin and given to the beggar. The meat is cooked with rice (*Pulao*) and curry and is distributed among the *Biradari* of the new born. The poor are also given a share from this food because the actual aim of this function is to distribute food among the poor who would pray for a happy and long life for the new born.

3.21.2 Death Rituals

The dead person is placed on a '*Charpai*' wooden bed on the '*sarni*' of the house in the center. The close relatives of the deceased stand or sit around the bed and cry loudly. All the *Biradari* members come to the death of a person. Women who enter the house embrace the deceased female relatives and cry loudly. Then they go and sit with the others. Usually this mourning continues for one day. The corpse after two three hours is

¹⁷ Literally mean she is engaged now

given bath. In case of a man the bath is given by the religious person in the area and in case of a female the close relatives give the bath. After the bath the body is again put on the bed, and for fragrance '*Itar*' is applied on the body.

After the washing of the dead body, it is dressed in a white piece of cloth called *Kafan* (coffin) only the face remaining exposed. The bed is again taken in the open. Among the natives the body of a person is not buried with body on the bed but a coffin is prepared for this purpose. This custom of *Kafan* is adapted by the Gujar Bakarwals from the British, because in Islam the body is not put in a covered box. After the corpse is laid in the wooden box, the '*Janaza*' is lifted by the brothers and parental uncles of the deceased and taken to the graveyard. The '*Janaza*' is followed by all men present and the funeral procession proceeds most solemnly to the graveyard. Nobody has food that night and no food is cooked in the house of the deceased on the other day either. The father's brother's family or father's sister's family cooked food for the bereaved family at his own place and send it over and offer tea or food to those who come to condole. After a week of death every '*Jumerat*' Thursday is held on which people perform the ritual of '*khatam*' recitation of Holy Quran for the forgiveness of departed soul. *Jumerats* are held for four weeks. Then after forty days '*Chaliswan*' is held. On the occasion of *chaliswan khatam* is held; *Zarda, Pulao and Alu Gosht* (Sweet and salt rice along with potato and meat) are distributed among the participants and poor.

3.21.3 Other Rituals

Some other rituals are performed on any days in the year. Usually when someone is sick or household suffering from various kinds of troubles, the spirits are asked to bless them. '*Khatam*' is a religious ritual in which of Holy Quran or *Kalimas* is made that is followed by serving food to the poor and participating guests. In the month of Ramadan the ritual of Khatam is performed regularly by all the household members. Quran is recited by the Maulvi. The females cook food, when the food is ready some of the food is taken out in plates to offer along with fruit and water to the Maulvi who act as an intermediary between the spirits and the members of the household who have organized the ceremony. The Maulvi prays for the wellbeing of the family. Likewise, on every Thursday the family cooks a sweet dish and raps over it. This food is offered to the spirits of the dead members of the family. This is called ancestral remembrance.

Sadqa is another form of ritual offered to the spirits. An animal is bought and slaughtered. The sick person asked to move his/her hand over the back of the animal that could be goat, sheep, cow, bull etc. before slaughtering. The belief on this is all the troubles and sickness has gone to the animal which goes out with the blood when the animal is slaughtered. The meat is distributed in both cooked and raw form among the poor and is also cooked by the family member.

The ritual of *Shab e Qadar* is yearly rituals. On this occasion the food is offered in the manner of *Dua*. The night brings an activity for the children who burn the '*Mashaalan*'¹⁸. Children carry '*Mashaal*' in their hands and roam in circles on their compound. If seen from a distance it looks like a circle of light. Children also go to the graveyard and pray for their ancestors with their elders.

3.21.4 Prayer for Rain

This ritual of praying for rain is becoming out of practice now a day. The ritual was held in old days as; under the supervision of village Maulvi, the day for the pray were decided and seeds were sown on the same day. All the natives were informed of the particular day. The place usually fixed for this ritual near water channel. The participants come with corn, which were collected and cooked on the same place. During the cooking process, villagers prayed for rain; after that cooked corn offered to the spirits.

¹⁸ Long thin pieces of pines that are closely tied together in the form of a bundle used to provide night time light. This bundle is then tied on a stick the bundle of pines pieces burn and give light. This is called '*Mashaal*'.

4 Trail of the Long Migration

The present chapter deals with the migratory routes which were used by the nomads for their uphill and down-hill migration. The major clan which was selected for the present research is *Bariyankhel*; the other 24 clans share the same migratory routes which are further discussed in this chapter. These clans spend winters in Attock, Chakwal, Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Pabbi scrub forests in district Gujrat. Spending summers and winters at specific locales are institutionalized within the Bakarwal community under their own customary law. Majority of the *Bariyankhel* clan spend winters in Kala-Chita RF Tehsil Fatehjang and Attock in District Attock. Winters' grazing space for Bakarwals is gradually reducing as population grows (Census of Pakistan, 2017) and the resulting urbanization and expansion of agriculture (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics PBS, 2010-2011). After spending 15 to 16 weeks at Deosai (summer pasture), Bakarwals arrive at Fatehjang walking approximately 400 km. With the passage of time, former fallow lands have been developed and brought under the plough, or urbanization. This has reduced the space for Bakarwals who have to find diversions. Along the traditional migratory routes, diversions have become common as infrastructure like housing, dams and urban centers are erected. Temporary diversions are also noticed where for instance an orchard has been raised. Nevertheless, Bakarwals avoid habitations and contact with settled people as much as possible. Only when alternate route is not available they pass through busy roads and markets like the areas in Neelum valley between Sharda and Taobut where there is no alternate passage available.

Migration is planned in such a way that they travel in groups of up-to seven families. The number of individuals in each '*Tawaa*' may vary according to married and unmarried offspring of the family head who live with him. The migration is also timed in such a way that no conflicts on camping sites arise especially when available camping space is limited, even in the extreme case of Neelum valley. Decisions on sequence and timing of gaps between two groups that embark on migration is normally made during the annual *Urs* ceremony held during spring in the month of April held every year at Kotli (AJK) at the shrine '*Mian Baji Alaf Din*' (*Pir of the Bariyankhel*).

For all clans of the Bakarwals Thursdays or Saturdays are the preferred days to start a journey, but never on Wednesdays and always after sunrise. The entire luggage is packed

in three major portions; one is the travel essentials called '*Zad-e-Rah*', the second is the clothes and beddings and the last portion mainly consists of utensils and other everyday use items which are essential during stay in summer and winter pastures.

Another practice which was observed during the course of field work is at Muzaffarabad. *Pir Saleem Chishti*, lives 15 Km from Muzaffarabad city on Kohala road. All 24 clans generally and those who are migrating specially give one goat during uphill migration to their *Pir*. This is the custom; if anyone cannot do this; it is believed that this disobedience may result in human/ animal/ property destruction or loss. That is why everyone either they are traveling on foot or on vehicles must give one goat to the *Pir* as an offering *Nazrana* for their safe travel. These goats again slaughtered, cooked and offered in the daily meals offered to all visitors and devotees as *lunger* of the *Pir*. When they come back during downhill migration they stay a short while for prayers and continue their journey towards winter pastures. The respondents also shared their belief that in a journey they miss this traditional offering of a ram to the *pir*, a curse would invariably befall on the herd. This could be accidental death of goats; injury die to landslide or falling stones or disease. But if the offering to the *pir* is made the journey is bound to be a success and the Bakarwal would return back with more goats, lots of cheese and goat butter.

Muzaffarabad is the point where two major rivers the Jhelum and the Neelum meet. The Bakarwals have divided their migration pathways along these two rivers; this is attributed to the segment of scarcity of space and feed during the migration. By dividing the path, they have in fact found a way of reducing pressure on space in these tough terrains. The travel from both these valleys converge gain at Nausehri. Travel from Muzaffarabad to Garhi Dopatta along the river Jhelum is comparatively convenient than the same period of travel along the Neelum river, this is due to lesser landslides, availability of more walking space along the road and presence of some fodder on the roadside. While the Bakarwals stay from one week to ten days at Garhi Dopatta on privately owned fallow lands, there is no space of a convenient overnight stay along the major trail in Neelum valley. Jhelum valley is comparatively wider, but the Neelum valley trail has steep high mountains on one side with are made by cutting the mountains, while on the other side deep down is the river any error or miscalculation could lead to serious injury to man and animals or even death. Landslides are not infrequent along the

Neelum valley as well. Injured goats are immediately slaughtered and the meat is either consumed by the Bakarwals or sold to the local population. Bakarwal dogs accompany the migrating groups, while the men flock and look after the goat herds, the women, children and old persons walk with the loaded mules and horses, often the old ride the horses or travel by motorized vehicles and wait for the caravans at known places. Whistles by the shepherd are frequently used to give commands to goats to avoid private agricultural fields and steep slopes during this migration. Families divide the able men to travel with goats and they converge in the evening for supper, but in case a family has got no male members then the young girls herd the large goat herds with the assistance of dogs and whistles.

4.1 Survival Tactics along the Migratory Route

Zad-e-Rah consists of the minimum daily use items required during short stays during the migration because most of time is utilized in mobility, the Bakarwals save time and energy in packing and unpacking. *Zad-e-Rah* is packed in empty nylon bags mostly used for packing sugar or cereals that are beautifully decorated by hand embroidery by the Bakarwal women, as these bags are light, strong and water proof. Other baggage is made of goat hair material where beddings are packed. The three parts of the luggage is in three parts, the first consists of daily use items mainly food, the second is the bedding and the third is the essential utensils that are unpacked when food is cooked whether on the route or at the end of the migration. Each part of the luggage is packed carefully and loaded in separate mules while the horses are preferred not to travel with load unless the family does not have a mule.

Packing material is not only energy efficient but the art patterns embroidered on the bags if symbolic studies are undertaken self a piece of art. The author considers that the art patterns on the bags have similarity with the patterns on Bakarwal women dresses as well as the decoration in the inside of the Bakarwal seasonal summer and winter homes. These patterns would lead to some discoveries if further research is done using these symbols. Some pictures of the symbols on the baggage, dress and interior decoration is shown in the pictures / figures of this manuscript also.

One part of the luggage consists of daily use items e.g. utensils for *curry*, tea, milking pots, three to four plates, two earth mats, spices, vegetables, single tents, cover sheets and drugs both for man and animals. Only a limited number of households practice folk

wisdom and herbal cures otherwise all the families have allopathic drugs for fever, cough, headache and also some painkillers. Flour and rice are purchased on weekly basis, as all Kashmiri Bakarwals eat rice at dinner. The migrating groups cannot carry extra load during migration but when they reach at their destinations, they purchase items on monthly basis because they camp far away from cities.

The second portion of packing consists of clothes and bedding. Bakarwals prefer readymade or branded blankets instead of the traditional cotton filled quilts i.e. *Razaie* رضای whether homemade or readymade as the former is easier to clean/ wash. Every household has enough blankets corresponding to the number of residents but one blanket is in reserve for emergency guests. For summer pasture the clothing comprises of four to five suits for adults and six to seven for children. Another important thing is that pillows are not used during migration or summer and winter camps. But round elongated pillows *Gau-Takya* are used in the summer pastures mainly used as support while sitting. After coming back in winter pastures, their residential pattern changes, so they use pillows as the locals of Punjab Province.

The third portion of the Bakarwal luggage consists of the utensils for collection of goat milk/ milking, plates for every member, spices, *curry* bowls, tea bowl, cloth for covering bread and other eatables. Other common usage items such as foot wear, rope; extra metal pegs for tents, horse saddle is part of this luggage.

Migration from starting point for the uphill journey is started very early in the morning and stopovers are made at midday. These stopovers are made till Muzaffarabad, where camping sites and grazing grounds are still available. However, the journey from Muzaffarabad onwards is a day and night affair due to non-availability of reasonable camping sites or grazing grounds. The Bakarwals never travel on Wednesdays, even during migration as it is considered a bad omen. According to the key informant, it is advised by their *Pir* not to start migration on Wednesdays because according to Islamic teachings this is not the good day to start traveling.

4.2 Bariyankhel Clan and the Migratory Route

There are overall 24 clans of Gujar Bakarwals in Pakistan, out of them eight are more inclined towards migration these include the *Bariyankhel* , *Kathanakhel* or *Kohistani* (sub-cast), *Kalu-khel*, *Dainder*, *Kasiyankhel*, *Dooi*, *Chechi* and *Kathanakhel* or *Sanghu* (Sub-caste). There are only six clans who have left the profession of keeping herds and

have changed their life style. They are permanently settled now e.g. *Sayal, Budhyana, Tadwah, Koi, Koshi* and *Sardahnah*. The remaining 10 are in the middle of migration and sedentarized life; some of them often send their herds with their kin and some only travel for their personal satisfaction and continuity of their Bakarwal identity and camaraderie with mountains and valleys. They are hanging like pendulum between pure nomadic and sedentarized lifestyles.

Bakarwals are cautious of travelling light and fast and conserve energy as far as possible. They do not carry necessary items that they can purchase along the migratory trails. They do not carry extra load especially eatables during migration. At summer pastures, they have strategies in place to cope with issues regarding provision of food for the family or herds. During migration, daily food items for humans e.g. vegetables are purchased from the markets along the route, as compared to the past hotels and restaurants are available in most sections of the route. They cook food only in areas where restaurants are not available. The overall eatables are of two categories one for human and the second for the animals. Former part eatables are purchased on daily or on alternate days from nearby areas till Janawie or Phalawie villages located in district Neelum of AJK (figure 11). But when they reach near the ultimate destination, eatables in bulk are purchased Bakarwals cannot afford to be away from the summer camps without any serious issue.

The herds' feeding on the route during the uphill migration is again divided into two segments. One before Muzaffarabad from Lohar Gali to Garhi-Habibullah and Boi (figure 11: Muzaffarabad to Sharda) onward till Taobat the end point of the Neelum Valley; in the first part, the herds eat to their full due to abundance of grazing land but in the second part, there is scarcity of grazing land, which forces the Bakarwals to purchase small parcels of land. Arable land is scarce along the Neelum valley, locals own small parcels of agricultural or grazing land; many local landowners protect grass and sell to Bakarwals for grazing by goats and charge grazing on hourly basis. From Muzaffarabad to Taobat Bakarwals pay a hefty amount of PKR 5000 to 10,000 as grazing fee for two to three hours to local landowners. It is quite interesting and alarming that they have more than nine¹⁹ these are not camps but stopovers '*Parao*' along with Jhelum River and at all short stays. Stay at these stopover camps is of short duration not more than three hours)

¹⁹ Office Order of the Conservator of Forests, Muzaffarabad

after which they moved for next camping site. During this time, herds lose weight fast as the available fodder is just enough to keep them moving. There are many segments of the trail where there is no fodder at all, due to rocky terrain or landslides or extremely steep slopes. The Kashmiri breed of the Bakarwal goat survives this hardship and is adapted to withstand this period of scarcity.

The migrating Bakarwals purchase horse from Pattika the first town located at the start of the journey to the difficult path through the Neelum Valley. This feed is mainly protein rich gram. They wisely transport the horse feed through motorized transport and drop bags at predetermined points along the route. In this way, they save energy of the horses and mules along this tough terrain. The bags are dropped in advance of arrival of the migrants at *Janawie* and *Phalawie*.

Two major routes have been described in this chapter; both these routes lie in four administrative jurisdictions of the Punjab, KP, AJK and GB. The upper route from Jhal-Khad to Sharda is only used during dangerous situation such as volatile military situation between Indian and Pakistani militaries along the Line of control LOC in Azad Jammu & Kashmir, firing or tense border situation is not infrequent here. However, when the borders are calm the Bakarwals, use the Muzaffarabad to Taobat route along the Neelum river both for the up-hill and down-hill migration.

Mr. Khawaja Nazir (former Conservator of Forests Muzaffarabad AJK) issued a notification on 2012, referring the camping sites of Gujars notified during in 1912 by the Dogra Government through decree. This decree gave camping rights to these nomads throughout their annual migratory route. Actualization of this notification by the identification of camping sites as well as pasture sites is yet to be confirmed. Throughout the route from Muzaffarabad to Taobat they purchase fodder crops from local farmers and continuously have to request the local forest officers as well as the local landowners for short stays so that their herds get nourishment during this hard journey. It was evident that the grazing fee is charged at Authmaqam by the Neelum Development Authority for entering into the valleys for pasturing in summer, however there no services are provided to the nomads in exchange. The notification of Camping Sites has divided the stays into two major parts one is the Camping and other is Passage Sites as given below:

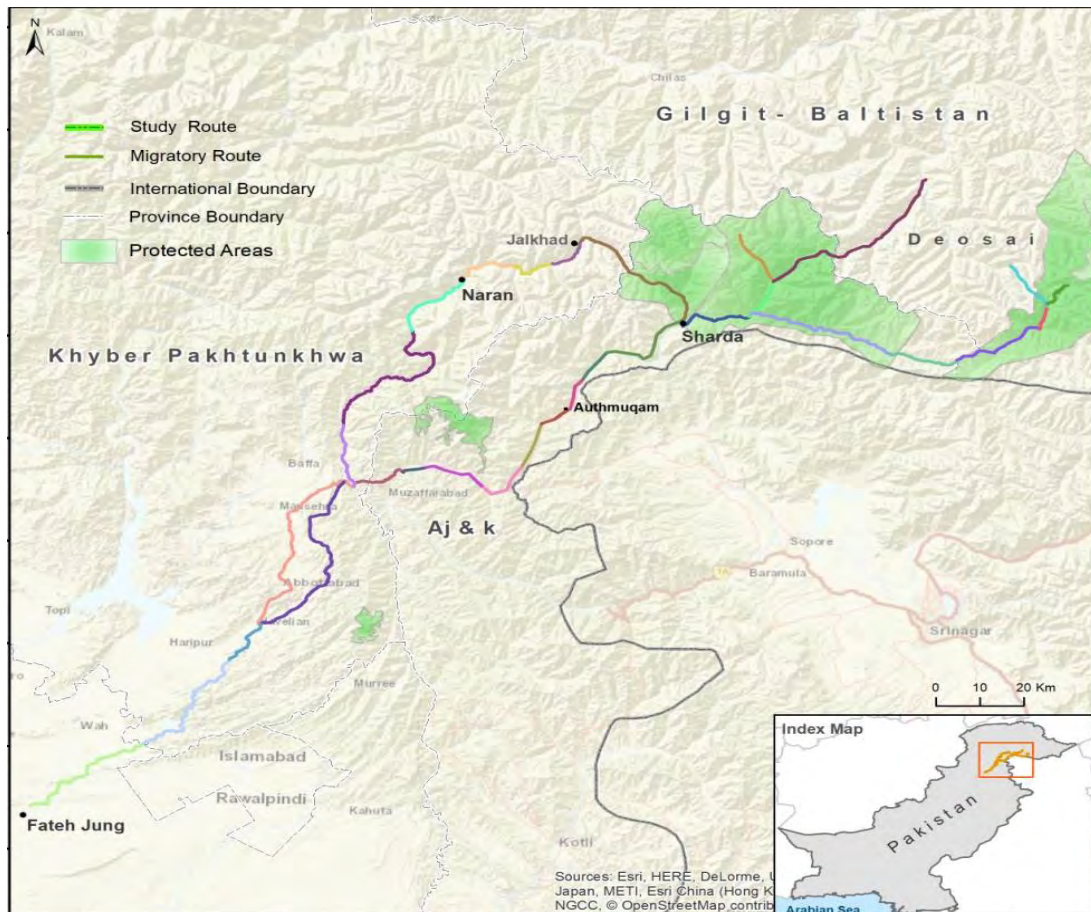
Camping Sites

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| a. Muzaffarabad to Nausehri: | Pattika to Khawarmang |
| b. Nausehri to Joora: | Chahelyana to Seemari, Barraian and Joora |
| c. Keran to Dhudnial: | Changan |
| d. Sharda to Kel: | Kel Seri, Kas Kinarri |
| e. Kel to Janawai: | Machal |
| f. Janawai to Sawnar (Taobat): | Sawnar |

Passage:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| a. Joora to Keran: | From Joora bridge both sides of the River Neelum |
| b. Kel to Janawai: | From Machal both sides of the River Neelum |
| c. Janawai to Sawnar: | left Bank of River Neelum |

Figure 11. General Overview of Migratory Routes



Source: Researcher's own work

4.3 The Allaiwals Winter and Summer Camping Sites and Migratory Routes

The Allaiwal Bakarwals undertake well defined migratory routes that are formalized both by customary laws and have the blessing of their Pirs. The routes and stopovers of

the clans are discussed in detail in the following sections; case studies that follow reinforce and enrich this study with real life examples.

4.3.1 Fatehjang

Overall 70% *Bariyankhel* people live in Attock district especially in Tehsil Fatehjang and Attock; the remaining live in Rawalpindi District. Among all the 65 households, 35 households migrate, the remaining are living in winter pastures, some of them have their own houses and goat farms on their purchased land. Those who are properly sedentarized also have goat herds which most of the time are given to a close relative for grazing on wage basis. Uphill migration starts after ‘*Nau-Roz*’ (mostly in mid of March and April). In early morning, groups start their journey with happiness which can be seen on their faces along with their animals that are excited to go to no-man’s land. The first stay will be the Taxila Mountains. There are two ways from Fatehjang to Taxila; one from Jhang Bhatar (North-East corner) and the other from Wani village (North West corner), both end at Taxila foothills.

4.3.2 Taxila

Some groups have their first night stopover near the stone crushing plants located at the far end of the Margalla hills located near Taxila; the Margalla crush is a prized building material for road and house construction all over the country.

First journey halt is relatively longer than the halts during the next phase of the migration. This longer stay is part of the nomadic strategy and is designed to enable both the community and the animals to adapt to the colder and higher altitude before the long journey ahead. This halt has traditionally also enables them to complete the essential items in case something was missed as purchase of essentials would be difficult in the wilderness. However with an increasing trend of urbanization small markets are coming up at a fast pace, these shops in particular village restaurants facilitate the migrating nomads. After crossing the Taxila hills, the duration at camping becomes shorter and traveling become longer which reaches up to 20 hours per day at the last leg of migration, where the terrain becomes hostile with no camping sites or fodder for the herds.

There is a big cattle market in Taxila where the Bakarwals sell their marketable in particular the older and weak that otherwise would not withstand the hardships of the

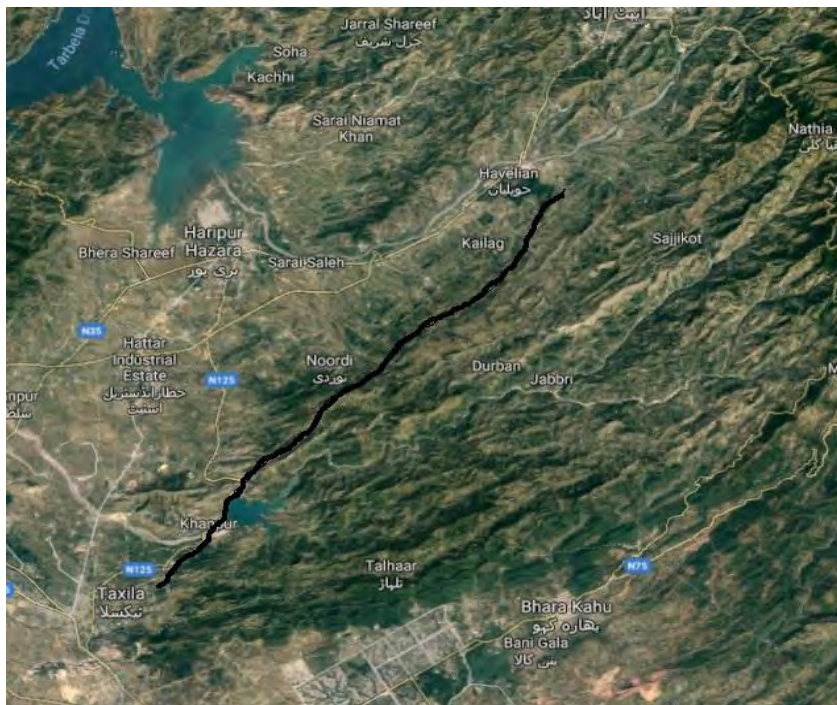
long distance uphill migration. A small number is also to meet the expenses of the long journey (*Zad-e-Rah*).

4.3.3 Haripur

After spending a few days (in different situations) in Taxila, Bakarwals start their journey and enter in Haripur District while crossing Khanpur Dam. The groups who use Jhang-Bhater route they make the first stopover at Hattar a town a few KM ahead of Taxila and on the migratory route to Deosai, then move towards Havelian city via Mohra. Later groups use Khanpur Dam Road towards Pind Jamal Khan, Noordi etc. and then reach Havelian (figure 12).

All the members of family and their herds travel together. During migration the horses and mules are solely meant for use by the women, children and aged parents. While the men are with the herds, that are not always on the roads but take advantage of the fodder on roadsides and fallow agricultural fields. Family camps are installed subject to availability of space side by side and the men bring the goats nearby and join the family at early dinner.

Figure 12. Taxila to Havelian Route



Source: google. Maps accessed on 12/11/17

4.3.4 Havelian

From Havelian, the migratory route separates into two different pathways. One of these groups has been using the uphill route till Kaghan and Naran and the other adopts the Muzaffarabad-Deosai route since 1947. The groups avoid the residential areas of ever expanding towns and cities and try to disappear in mountainous areas and reach Boi (بوی) which is a border town between the Punjab and KP Province. From Havelian to Boi, the groups take three breaks at Rajoya, Nawanshaher, Sawan Gali, Thanda Pani and then Boi. The group again divides into two; one uses the Lohar Gali route after crossing the Kunhar River using the Hydro Power Bridge. The other group stays on in the KP territory around Garhi Habibullah.

During in-depth interviews, it was identified that there are four families who are living in Havelian in winters and their destination for summer pastures are Batakundi. The said families use the later route to reach their summer pastures.

4.3.5 Qadarabad

The groups that camp in summer at Batakundi located in the Kaghan region mostly follow the Qadarabad route. Abbottabad is the city between Qadarabad and Havelian but it is avoided and the groups pass through the city using Dhamtor area. It was observed that those clans who live together at summer and winter camping sites also travel together. From Qadarabad onwards Garhi Habibullah, Bakarwals use the water channel Khairabad Katha which leads them to River Kunhar at Roh (residential area along with Kunhar River on Garhi Habibullah-Muzaffarabad Road). Groups have animals so they always try to remain close with water channels which are used for drinking and washing purposes.

Qadarabad is the central point to Garhi Habibullah; there are a number of small villages (*dhoks*) present along this migratory route from Qadarabad to Garhi Habibullah. Majority of the groups spend their night at Khairabad Katha; one night stay warm up and energize the Bakarwals who become ready to tread the toughest segment of the long migration.

All the migratory groups try to avoid city areas due to herds' grazing and interaction with local community. The camps are three to four kilometers away from cities. Those groups who camp in Kail and Shouter areas during summer; half of them use the same route as stated till Garhi Habibullah and onwards to Lohar Gali via Garhi Habibullah-Muzaffarabad route. The other group traveling separately from Havelian also reaches Lohar Gali after crossing Kunhar River from Boi.

4.3.6 Garhi Habibullah

This is the last point common route of seasonal migration, as from this point the groups separate, each family walks towards its final destination on separate routes. Garhi Habibullah route has been further divided into two directions; one is upward towards Balakot via Bisian and the second is Muzaffarabad via Lohar Gali. Those who spend summers in the mountains of Kaghan and Naran use the same route via Bisian to Balakot.

The former group spends two nights at Garhi Habibullah, to carefully re-check and re-pack their luggage as the next journey is in the wilderness of the hills. The migratory group further gets divided into two parts. Part one is the luggage section consisting of loaded horses, mules, children, women, old parents and part two the main section

comprising of 2-3 male members who take care of grazing animals. They are also responsible to rescue animals that may be injured during the entire migratory trail. The Luggage section travels along roads and easy paths while the second section with goats travel through the hills where some grass and springs are available for the goats, this group also attempts to avoid metaled roads and human habitations. Dogs are equally important and they are kept as family members who also know exactly the owner of each and every goat and vice versa. Every goat has a name and responds on the call by the owner. Whistles play an important role in giving direction to the goats in particular the deep tone whistle is the command not to enter any private agricultural lands and loner whistles with breaks to encourage and boost the goats to continue moving in an otherwise tiresome journey. Whistle is also used keep the herd intact and directs any single head that goes astray from the herd. In case of shortage of male family members, it was observed that girls singlehandedly ensure safe journey of the luggage section. At occasions it was observed that the dog was tied to the belt of the girl that helps to keep away advances from strangers and also that the dog may not bark or harm any traveler.

4.3.7 Lohar Gali

More than 70 percent of the migratory groups from the selected *Bariyankhel* clan use Boi to Lohar Gali route. Kaghani clans use the second route for example Garhi Habibullah to Balakot that ends at Jalkhad. During travel from Garhi Habibullah to Lohar Gali, one-night stay is mandatory because Lohar Gali and Muzaffarabad are densely populated to stagger and avoid too many herds inside the city area. There are three different ways to reached at Lohar Gali, two are metaled roads one is Garhi Habibullah to Boi Muzaffarabad road, and other is Garhi Habibullah to Muzaffarabad road both are on both banks of Kunhar River. The third one is the short cuts avoiding every residential area from Qadarabad via Boi. People of the groups as stated earlier spend two days and one night in Muzaffarabad and some times more than two days, because from Muzaffarabad to Neelum Valley till Taobat, the road is the most hostile area for the migratory trail. This narrow-metaled road is used both for herds and traffic, with extremely steep mountains on one side and the gushing river on the pother again with very few patches for resting, camping or grazing. The dynamics and survival strategies of the Bakarwals along this route are discussed in further chapters. The grazing area is scarce, camping site is scant and fodder is almost not available.

4.3.8 Muzaffarabad

After crossing Lohar Gali, all groups enter in Middle Rakhs, Tammi and Lower Rakhs, which are the adjacent suburbs of Muzaffarabad along the river Jhelum. Jhelum valley has some open spaces where camping is possible and some grazing is also possible in fallow agricultural fields and some wastelands.

Muzaffarabad is an important turning point for Bakarwals, because from here onwards, they are very few places for their camping, so at some segments of this journey they travel nonstop for up to 20 hours to cross the non-favorable land. The risks here include camping on road sides where one side of the road is occupied by hills and on the other side is the roaring Jhelum River. Moreover, there is limited grazing spaces here and virtually no space to cook or even space for the family to sit and take meals. The third major problem is the heavy traffic of Muzaffarabad Jhelum Road as it is the only major road which connects Muzaffarabad to the districts along the River Jhelum, and towards Neelum district along both sides of Neelum River.

Feeding the herds to their full is necessary to survive in this tough terrain, so the Bakarwal would do anything to feed his herds here, therefore lopping of tree is a common practice.

4.3.9 Pattika

After reaching Muzaffarabad-Neelum Road, where vegetation is scarce and landslides are common, the first town is Ghorī which is a small town, but basic necessities are available for the Bakarwals' needs. At this segment the fodder and grazing land is negligible that hardly caters the needs of the local population. Conflicts between the Bakarwals and the local farmers on scarce fodder are not infrequent. The Bakarwals their goats and horses have to travel 8-10 days along this segment of scarce resources till they reach Taobut which is still 200 KM away. Pattika is also the point where the migrating groups buy dry ration and horse feed that is transported in motorized vehicles and dropped at known points along the migratory route. The sick and old family members also take ride on buses or trucks and drop at camping sites on this route after crossing the steepest slopes till Kundalshahi town.

4.3.10 Deolian

Deolian to Sarsangar gali on the right bank of River Neelum, on Defence road, Sarsangar has large grass lands, and some of the Bakarwals uses this route to reached Jagran, Khains, and Seri pastures.

4.3.11 Nausehri

From Pattika onwards, the area has state and privately-owned pine forests again on steep slopes till Deolian. From Deolian to Dhani, Most Bakarwal groups try to camp between Deolian to Dhani due to available land along side road. At Nausadda, the Bakarwals again cross the river because it is site of Neelum Jhelum Hydro Project. Till Taobat, the river remains at right side of the road. There are two different bridges; one before entering the town and the other after crossing it. Usually, people use the first bridge to avoid traffic jams.

4.3.12 Chilliana

From Nausadda (Nausehri) to Chilliana, the slope of the hills is dangerously steep and prone to frequent slides and falling of heavy boulders and stones. No space other than the metaled road is available to move on. There is a slope at the left side of the road and on the right side is the river Neelum that flows 20-30 meters below almost vertical slopes. It is the boundary town of Azad Kashmir and Indian held Kashmir. One kilometer before Chilliana, the river enters into the Indian side (the opposite side of Chilliana is Teetwal, a town with Muslim majority in Indian Administrative Kashmir) and comes to the Pakistani side after 3-4 kilometers.

4.3.13 Jora

The next spot for camping is Jora in Azad Kashmir's territory. Here, the gradient of the road is less steep and less dangerous. However, no grazing spots or fodder trees are available so the migratory groups try to reach *Kundal Shahi* town at the earliest.

4.3.14 Kundalshahi

At Kundalshahi, all the groups get some comfort, being near to a major town with some camping space and some grazing on private lands. From Jora till Kundalshahi, the span of the river is wider, the riverbank is not on high ground and the velocity of the water is lesser; meaning lesser vulnerability to the goats in particular the lambs to fall. Available space on the riverbank provides some camping ground and space to rest. The available vegetation is also utilized with the consent and permission of the local landowners. For a few kilometers there is a new road that is used by some groups to avail the vegetation, this bypass joins the main Muzaffarabad-Taobat road again. Islampura is another locality that is situated parallel but in opposite direction of Kundalshahi.

At Kundalshahi, the Jagran Nala coming from a hydropower project upstream falls in into the River Neelum. Here, another road from Kundalshahi to Seri (Jagran-Jagran Road II) connects with Muzaffarabad-Taobat road.

Bata is the next settled area after Kundalshahi towards Taobat. Vegetative cover is poor in this area, with more human population. On the other side of the river Anshunbi followed by Salkhala are towns having lush green vegetation.

1. Athmaqam

Athmaqam is the most populous area on this migratory route. It is a district headquarter having offices of all government departments, a degree college and a Radio station that also broadcasts programs in the Gojri language. Neelum Development Board collects fee from each of the Bakarwal groups at this point. The grazing fee is charged on herds than on camps. The fee is decided by the competent authority which is (five rupees per goat and 15 rupees on mule or horse).

The Bakarwals in need of cash sell some of the goats in this city as the prices offered are a bit better. The river Neelum divides the LOC between India and Pakistan, noticeable is the abundance of vegetation on the Indian side than the Pak side. This should be attributed to dense human population on the Pak side while the on the Indian side human habitations and appear relocated away from the border areas. Another noticeable feature is that while every arable piece of land is under the plough on the Pak side while the Indian side former agricultural fields appear abandoned.

4.3.15 Keran

Keran is the next stop of Bakarwals where Bakarwals stay only for few hours as vegetation is scarce. The few available grazing plots are owned by locals who do not allow Bakarwal herds' grazing, some locals charge heavy per hour fee in exchange for a few hours grazing in their private plots.

4.3.16 Doarian

At Doarian segment of the migration the same features namely absence of grazing lands, steep slope on one side is the high-speed river on the other. After Keran, the next stop is Doarian which is on the edge of the meandering river. It has some vegetated land and some plots with trees. With a large local population, and scarce fodder, the local owners do not allow free of cost grazing to the Bakarwals.

4.3.17 Doriyan

Before reaching Sharda, the last spot is Doriyan, which is situated between Doarian and Sharda. The River has two names in this area Jhelum River / Krishenganga River. After Doriyan, Bakarwal cross Kharigam area and then enter Sharda.

4.3.18 Sharda

Sharda is the junction point for all the nomads who travel in summer and winters. Those who choose Muzaffarabad to Gaggai route and those who choose Kaghan-Naran route, all reach at Sharda. If anyone examines geo-physiology of Sharda, it is very prominent and central point for uphill and downhill migration. It has two major routes downward to Muzaffarabad and uphill towards Gaggai till Astor and then to Deosai plains. Sharda is the point where all Bakarwals spend more time because of presence of open space for grazing and camping for herds and humans respectively. From Sharda to Taobat, is the toughest segment of the migration and they have no option but to travel days and night due to absence of forage, steep gradient and non-availability of space enough to camp. In this segment there is a higher risk of loss of animals and even injuries to the migrating group due to road accidents, slipping down a steep slope or falling into the river flowing at a high velocity. Any goat injured and is retrievable is immediately slaughtered and most of the mutton is sold to the nearest habitation or markets, this provides some petty cash to the owner. The sale of mutton is mostly by women who go door to door for such sale. The mutton is packed in clean cotton sheets to maintain its freshness. The next residential area after Sharda is Kail.

4.3.19 Kail

Kail is the first diversion of the nomad groups. Two ways emerge from here, both end at Chilas region and Deosai. One route is alongside Line of Control (Janawai, Phullawai and then Taobat) and the other in opposite direction (Domel, Mir Malik mountainous region and then Chilas). Kail has some cultivated land but for subsistence/ kitchen products only. Kail town located on the main road is the only and last market in this track, from where they refill consumable items and also items for use in the long stay at the high hill pastures the next town from where consumable items can be purchased is Chilas located on the other end of the pastures while some shops are available in Shontar to cater the needs of those who encamp nearby.

4.3.20 Shontar

First stop along this route is Shontar. Road networks are available but not in good condition. Lower/ right side of the road is occupied by the Shontar Nar. Left sides are occupied by hills which are covered by trees. Last grasslands are available here but they are not easily accessible, nomads cannot spend their time here for search of grasslands,

they carry on their journey till they reach at their destinations. For some groups in particular the pir of Kotli this area is used as summer pasture.

4.3.21 Domail

The word Domail means the junction of two paths. The route is further divided into two; one along with Shontar Nar and the other towards Gujar Nar. Some families of *Bariyankhel* settle for summer in Gujar Nar which leads them to Chilas region. They spend all the summer in different pockets from Gujar Nar to Chilas region. This area has pasture and some edible herbs that the migrating group collect free of cost for cooking and eating. Community members who want to stay in Gujar Nar purchase household goods from Shontar and from Kail. Horses and mules are used for transportation from summer settlement to the settled areas for goods and health services.

4.3.22 Mir Malik Mountains

Some of the families settle in Mir Malik Mountains. The area is named after the mountain range that is located at the border of AJK and Gilgit Baltistan. The *Chechi* and *Kasyinakhel* clans has customary rights to camp at Mir Malik pastures at the facing the direction of Chilas, during summer.

4.3.23 Machal

Those Gujar Bakarwals who are settled in Deosai, they continue their journey along with LOC. Machal is the first stay, then Mano, Jandar Seri, Doga and Janawai. There are only short stops along the way because there is less open space for grazing and camping between the road and the river.

4.3.24 Janawai

Janawai is again the division point where seven to nine households select Janawai Nar route. After Kail, such divisions or route segregation are done because the group members have become weak as they have spent too much time on route. So, they disperse according to the strength of the groups. Large groups which have more than 500 goats continue moving till they reach Deosai plains but small groups with less than 500 goat herds change their routes towards grasslands. Janawai Nar is linked with Snow Mountains of Deosai. The area has water channels and lush green grass but the nomads continue moving till they cross Kashmir and enter into Gilgit-Baltistan region.

4.3.25 Phullawai

Both Janawai and Phullawai are residential centers around one top. Both sides of the range have two *Nars* (water channels), Janawai Nar and Phullawai Nar which further divide into two *Nars* e.g. Dobinar and Phullawai Nar.

Both the *Nars* have lush grassland and open space for camping and grazing. Water channels provide drinking and useable water. The sources of water channels are glaciers, the groups use this cold water for cooking and washing purposes.

4.3.26 Taobat

From Phullawai to Taobat, there are a number of hotspots which are used for short stay camping of three to four hours because space is limited here for herds and camping till Taobat. There are four different stops i.e. Marnat, Thingi, Hanti, Hilmat, Nikron before reaching lower Taobat and then Taobat.

Now a day, the community is facing a new problem i.e. grazing tax of herds. As stated earlier, Athmaqam was the only point where govt. officials collect grazing tax according to the prescribed rates. However, in Taobat the forest guards have started creating trouble for the community by asking tax for grazing on a national park. The area from Marnat to Taobat was notified as a National Park where all of a sudden the entry of the Bakarwals is banned legally, therefore the Bakarwals are forced to use any means to pass through the checking by the Forest and Wildlife staff since no other route is available. Fig 13 gives some details of the moneys paid by the nomads while passing through this passage. These are fines collected by the Wildlife department for passing through the Musk Deer National Park notified in the year 2007, this route is the only passage for the nomads to reach the centuries old summer pastures at Deosai. Deosai again was notified as a National Park in the year 1993 but grazing fees were imposed in 2000's. The amounts collected from the nomads are Kala Khan son of Sooba Khan PKR 500 for illegal entry of livestock, Yunus Khan/ Rahman Sharif sons of Makhan resident of Rawalpindi PKR 2000, Ghulam Gilani son of Ghulam Qadir and two others residents of Fatehjang district Attock PKR 3000 for the same crime of entering the 'livestock' inside the National Park.

4.3.27 Gaggai

Gaggai is the last stopover of the migration in AJK region. Taobat is the last residential area in AJK and Qamri is the first residential area in GB. Both the areas are divided by the Gaggai Mountains and Gaggai Top. Some of the area is covered by snow but majority of the area in AJK as well as in GB has grasslands but fewer open spaces for camping and cold water. There are only two or three houses on this road. After crossing the Gaggai top, the migratory route further divides into two routes; one towards Astor and the other towards Skardu crossing Deosai. From Qamri onward, all the *Khels* settle for summer camping.

Route A which ends in Astor has five major settlements, divided as per lineage of the community. *Kala Pani* is the destination of the *Kathanakhel* clan to spend the summers. The other destination on the route is *Riyat* that the *Katriyankhel* and *Phambrakhel* use as summer residence. Moving further towards Astor, the third destination is *Chamri* which is the second destination of *Bariyankhel* lineage. The next stopover in the area is *Daresa* which is the last stop on this route before the Astor region.

4.3.28 Qamri

Qamri is the first destination after crossing Gaggai top towards Skardu. It has some plain area but usually after crossing *Gaggai* top, the last destination of Bakarwals who settle before Minimurg into their summer camps. After crossing Gaggai Top, the area till Minimurg is a Protected Area. Five lineages settle in the area for almost four months. After crossing *Qamri*, the next place is *Zian* and then towards right is *Teetwal* which is the third settlement place of the *Bariyankhel* lineage.

4.3.29 Chehta

From *Zian* to *Chehta* stop, there are fewer local households. The whole area is populated in summers by *Chohan* and *Khari* Bakarwals. They spend three to four months of summer in the area and return to their winter pastures in mid of the September.

4.3.30 Meno

Chehta and *Meno* are nearby places. *Meno* hosts *Khari Bakarwals* while *Bandish* area hosts both the *Dandar* and *Khari Bakarwals* for the summers, *Bandish* is located downhill on the right hand side of *Bandish* area.

4.3.31 Minimurg

After *Meno* the next town is *Minimurg*, in this locale Bakarwals do not establish summer camps. The protected area of *Minimurg* covers all the land from *Gaggai Top* to *Deosai National Park*. *Minimurg* has two *Nars* at left and right side of the local hamlet of local residence all houses here are made of local timber, therefore due to insulation are energy efficient during the harsh winters.

4.3.32 Domail

From *Minimurg* towards *Domail*, the route is divided into two; one diverts along the *Bazuri Nar* ends at Astor, and the other along the main route enters the *Choti Deosai* and then opens up to the huge pasture of *Bari Deosai* that extends till Skardu city. The Bakarwals benefit from the ecosystem here with Golden Marmots and the Asiatic Brown Bear by share the grasses and other vegetation *Bari Deosai* region is full of many running fresh water streams and has become a main touristic attraction in recent years. Due to non-availability of effective solid and liquid waste management systems this ecosystem is at risk of ecological changes.

In *Bazori Nar* the *Kathanakhel* alias *Kohistani* settle in summer. After crossing *Bazori Nar*, the area of *Deosai National Park* starts which is further divided into two major pastures; the first is smaller and at lower elevation called *Choti Deosai* and the other is at a higher elevation and much bigger in size is called *Bari Deosai*. A metaled road links Astore to Skardu city and passes through the *Bari Deosai* and is the only road link with Skardu city.

Kohistani, Doi and Bokrakhel settle in *Choti Deosai*. The only clan that crosses the entire *Choti Deosai* plains is the *Dandars* who establish camps at *Chilum Choki*, which is the last destination of the long migration.

4.3.33 Choti Deosai

On major route, after crossing *Domail*, the *Khari and Kohistani* reach in *Choti Deosai* and settle in different parts of the plains. The journey does not end in *Choti Deosai* and there are some other lineages that cross *Choti Deosai* and enter in the major plains of *Deosai* (meaning as the valley of angels).

4.3.34 Bari Deosai

Only two lineages from Bakarwal tribe i.e. *Chechi* and *Poswal* settle in central plains of *Deosai National Park*. Some of the *Chechi* clan settles in *Skardu* region but the majority

settles here for the summer. When they reach at this prized destination, they feel as if they are in heavens. It is here that the animals gain weight and the lactating goats produce maximum milk while this is also the mating season. Majority of weddings are solemnized during this period, while it could be called as the honeymoon destination of all old and newlywed couples. Huge wedding meals are offered and hosted during this period where lamb mutton is the only dish offered to guests.

4.5 The Kaghani Bakarwals' Migratory Routes

The next section discusses the alternate route which is used by the Kaghani Bakarwals and at times by the Allaiwals when the Line of Control with between the Pakistan and Indian armies is hot along the Neelum River route. Clans/ gotra of the Kaghani Bakarwals and their interactions with other nomads and settled people re not mentioned to keep the length of this manuscript manageable. However the rituals, issues and problems along the route are almost the same for the Allaiwal Bakarwals that have been mentioned in detail in other sections.

4.5.1 Balakot

From Garhi Habibullah onwards, there are two major stops. The distance may be covered usually in two or three days but though it is always flexible. The first stay is at Bisian and the second at Hassa. Both the groups are separated but they travel parallel to each other. The herds are escorted by some energetic male members of the family and dogs who take care of herds during day and night all over the route. There are many valleys in this area and the herds graze in different pockets the space and boundaries of each pasture is known to all nomads and ownership rights are duly respected. Even the Bakarwal dogs and herds know the boundaries of their pastures.

4.5.2 Kaghan

From Balakot to Kaghan, the distance is covered in two days on foot. The group with luggage travels slowly along the road as they less time is needed to reach the final destination. While the family members handling the goatherds and travel uphill the road take up to three days to reach the same final destination. This is because of the availability of land and water ponds that they fully utilize. From Balakot to Kaghan, the groups stay at Paras and Jared areas and often near *Khanian*. Both the groups travel along the same road. The lower group always remains close to water channels and the upper group in the uphill pastures. After spending three nights, both the groups enter Kaghan valley.

4.5.3 Naran

From Kagan to Naran, there is only one stop which is prominent is *Palodran* it is the quite the half of the total distance from Kaghan to Naran. During the journey from Kaghan to Naran the group handling the goatherds avoids the snow clad mountains by changing position. This distance is covered in two nights and three days. Some Bakarwals stay back with their horses, to make some extra cash (horse riding) from the tourists during the summer season.

4.5.4 Batakundi

From Naran to Batakundi, the distance is covered in two stops. At Dam-dama, the area which has alluvial plain between two water channels (*Nars*), which run snow and rain water from the left mountain to Kunhar River. From Naran to Domel, the basin of the river provides opportunity for both the groups to rejoin as one group because of the grazing land and water at the same place. Bakarwals spend some good time at this place. Exchange of goods takes place such as spices, rice, and mutton mainly from injured animals that are not fit to undertake long distance migrations. Some permanently settled Kaghani groups at Batakundi, Barawie and nearby areas do welcome and facilitate their migratory brethren. They remain here in summers and in winters they migrate downward till Taxila hills located in district Rawalpindi the twin city of the capital Islamabad.

4.5.5 Barawie

From Batakundi to Barawie the group again is divided into two; the grazing group moves uphill till Batakundi. It was observed during fieldwork that three families from Havelian spend their summer time in Barawie areas. The area has cultivated land and the locals of the areas cultivate pea as a cash crop during summers. Some of Bakarwals also cultivate pea that provides some extra cash while keeping their herds that graze in the nearby hills. Downhill at right side of the road, there is a large flatland, which is utilized for grazing.

4.5.6 Seri

After Barawie, the area of Seri starts, it is not a conspicuous settlement but its geographic location is noteworthy as it provides a market for sale and purchase of goods for the nomads as well as pasture including some summer camping spaces. A larger part of its lands is cultivated on both sides of the river. More land under agriculture is at its upper or left side compared to the lower or right side of the road. It is also the final destination for a few Bakarwals that spend winters at Havelian as there is adequate open space where nomads can get some earnings as day laborers.

4.5.7 Jhal-Khad

Alpine pastures at Jhal-Khad are the last stopover for the Bakarwals in this route at in the province of KP. They divert from this point and move towards AJK with the final destination at Sharda traveling along the Noori-Nar water channels; however at some points due to narrow passages the migrating groups have to pass through snowcapped mountain peaks. The journey along Noori-Nar takes two days and three nights. The strategy adopted while passing through the snow clad peaks is to combine all herds into one (Jhal-Khad towards Sharda route). Along the water channel at located in the valley between the snow clad mountains, grass is available for herds. Purchase of essential items is made at Jhal-Khad and Barawie as there is no settlement on this route. All the groups who travel through this route cross Noori Top, which is situated at the eastern side of Deosai National Park but due to year round snow there is no room for any stopover at this section of the migratory route. The name of the road changes after crossing Noori Top; called Jalkhad-Sharda road and after the top its name changes to Muzaffarabad-Neelum Road. After crossing Noori Top, the first settlement is *Bakwali* that has a few houses and two shops on the roadside. Three shops are located in the residential area. *Bakwali* and *Surgen Din* are major residential areas that give the looks of a town. The area has good pastures and some plain space used for cultivation. Major crop of the area is peas. From *Surgen Din* onwards, the grassland provides fuelwood and feed to the nomads and their herds.

Before crossing Noori Top, the group makes two stays because in the area leading to the Deosai National Park where there is be no forage for herds for two days as the area is covered with snow. After crossing Noori Top, the groups take two to three short stays because from Sharda till Taobat, they have to spend all the time on the roadside. The narrow road has gushing Neelum River on side and steep high mountains on the other with little space for the herds or people to rest, so they rest on one side of the road while leaving space of vehicles to pass.

4.6 Case Studies

Eleven case studies are presented here that were collected during many years of my field work and many of the persons were visited after gaps of a year or more. One case study is from a senior forest officer who served in the Punjab. These case studies cover all phases of the migration as well as the summer and winter camps. All the factors and

issues discussed in earlier chapters were found active whether in the background or ostensibly.

4.6.1 Case Study 1 (Educational)

I am a university graduate. I am a property dealer here in Rawalpindi and living in *Kashmiri Muhallah* at Adiala Road. I have four children, three boys and one girl and living a happy life. I belong to Khatana Khel clan, my mother belongs to *Bariyankhel* tribe and my father is from Khatana Khel. When I was a child, my parents were seasonal migrants; they travelled on feet to Deosai with our herds and family which also included my three brothers and two sisters.

I was living with my maternal uncle, who was permanently settled in Fatehjang, my parents dropped me here to continue my education. I still remember we used to see off our family at Taxila Mountains and come back to Fatehjang with maternal uncle. Once and probably it was the last time, I said to my father while my family was to start the uphill migration at the end of spring season “I will go with you, I am not happy here, I don’t want to go to school, I want to live a free life like my family”. My father was surprised at my decision at the eleventh hour. He tried to convince me “when we come back, we will live together. If you accompany us it will disturb your education”. I persisted however, “I will go with you. If you want me to be happy, you should stay with me’. It was a very disturbing situation, because the entire group was ready to move and my father was upset seeing me crying. His decision to stay back with me disturbed the family. My elder brother and father had exchange of hot words on this decision. Finally, I won, my father stayed with me at maternal uncle’s home while my family moved on to the next destination.

After that he never migrated with the family. It was in early 80’s that he purchased a piece of land at Adiala Road (our current residence). There were two or three houses in the area at that time. The whole area was covered with bushes and in nights the sounds of wild jackals etc. could be heard and that was scaring. But now (2017 it’s like a downtown). Settlement is not an easy task and within two to three years, my father sold all the herds and constructed a house here. It was in 1983 when the entire family permanently settled after selling all our animals. Nowadays, it is difficult to keep any cattle here, but my mother still keeps a cow at home to get pure milk (a rare commodity in the city areas). It is very difficult to take care of the cow but to keep our mother happy

we keep maintaining it we have to buy its feed and the adjoining grazing land has gradually been replaced with concrete houses.

My father started permanent residence in the area with the sole purpose to impart education to his children. Had the government provided us effective mobile educational institutions, then the situation would have been different. At that time despite many problems and hurdles to our annual migrations the situation remained under control. However in the last two decades, the involvement of Forest Departments all along the migratory routes as well as increasing hostile attitude of the settled communities all along the migratory routes have made the mobility of Bakarwals along the traditional route more difficult. The situation of existing Bakarwal nomads is very critical; grazing fee and inclusion of grazing pastures inside the newly declared National Parks, Game Reserves or forest enclosures have squeezed our summer pastures as well as the migratory routes. That is why; this transformation towards sedentarized lives is increasing with every year passing year. He further added that “The government must facilitate the community for the continuation of Bakarwal culture and way of life in modern times”.

Decisions on marriage and matchmaking are still the made by the parents of the settled Bakarwals, although we live an urban life but the customs and respect as well as supremacy of parents still is respected in total. Matchmaking is still the decision of the father. Modernity comes with a number of different cultural traits but closeness of our community with other ethnic groups in the city has made us unique in this regard. We preferably marry our children in the same clan; if there is no one available then a request will be forwarded to filial clans and then to other close clans. There is little difference in most of the morays and folkways in Bakarwal lifestyle whether settled or those who continue living a nomadic life. A number of cases still exist where nomadic girls marry with settled boys and vice versa. Respect of elders is the most important aspect of the community. That is why we still retain the identity of Kashmiri Nomadic Bakarwals.

4.6.2 Case Study 2 (Educational)

My name is Haneef (not real name) I am living at Kashmir Colony, Defence Road at Lalazar Rawalpindi for 35 years. I belong to Khatana Khel Clan which is second in hierarchy among the Gujar Bakarwal tribes. In my childhood I have travelled three times with my parents to our destination at Deosai. We spend four months there and come back

in winters because Deosai winters are not bearable for either humans or animals because of heavy snowfall. We are two brothers and a sister; all are living happy lives in Rawalpindi. After inception of Pakistan, my parents came here. No one in the family knows exactly how the whole tribe switched their winter pastures in Pakistani areas. Before partition, we were residents of Srinagar in Indian held Kashmir. In summers, we moved to Deosai but in winters, we retreated to Srinagar. After the inception of Pakistan it was not possible for our forefathers to go back to Srinagar, so they moved to Pakistani Punjab (plain areas where winters are bearable).

My father was the head of the clan; he was very influential and the most pious person in the whole tribe. We brothers were living with our maternal uncle who took care of our education and other affairs. My father wanted us to be educated and well settled because with the passage of time he was very conscious about the changing situation in nomadic life. It was 1982, when my father started thinking about a permanent solution. It took 3-4 years for permanent settlement here in Rawalpindi.

There were a number of factors which made my father serious about permanent settlement because the increasing boundaries of forests/ Wildlife Protected Areas and conflicts with the local communities were increasing. The traditional passages for migration have become so much squeezed. In winters here in Punjab, the issuance of grazing permits is a very serious issue as we are left at the mercy of low grade forest staff that fully enjoy their unlimited powers when the provincial government imposes a general ban on our entry in state forests. I was herd keeper nomad and the goats that were the only mean of the survival of our economy as well as culture. Delay in permits' approval and restrictions of entry in different districts are making the life of Bakarwals more difficult; this has been the main reason which compelled my father to decide to permanently settle. In 1983, we permanently settled. When we undertook the annual vertical migrations there was only one skill we were adept at i.e. herds keeping which was not sufficient for our development. I am the eldest son my father frequently discussed such things with me as he was much concerned about the future of his children. My brother and I were living with our maternal uncles for education purposes. During the summer school holidays, we used to join our parents and other family members at Deosai.

My father was not very happy of us staying with maternal uncles. Every year, when we joined our family at the summer pastures he used to say, 'next time we will be together'. But it took 3 to 4 years to materialize the decision. "Now we don't migrate, we stay with our children and did work for a living while we also attended school. After completion of education, my children will support the family". All the animals were sold in Taxila cattle market in two years and the money was utilized for purchasing of land and construction of house. After our family's settlement, other Khatana Khel families followed us and started settlements in the same sequence of first leaving a son behind to attend school, selling goats and buying land for house construction. People of the community were disturbed at this conversion to city mode of life but 'permanent settlement' was not an easy process. However, when with time as nomadism is becoming more difficult and seeing success of those who settled in this area. There is a noticeable change as more nomads start changing towards sedentarized city life. Now the residential area is known as '*Kashmiri Mohalla*' as we all are from Kashmir and the first residents of this area, so the name of the area is attributed to us.

The outlook of the children regarding their forefathers' profession is very different. They were born here, lived here and have their social and educational lives here. They were 'born and brought up' in Rawalpindi. Some of them love talking about their past, but no one has the courage to return to the nomadic mode of life. They visit their relatives from the *Bariyankhel*, *Kathana Khel* and the *Khari* during summers when the mercury soars in Rawalpindi and relatives at Deosai plateau enjoy the cool weather, but this stay is only for a few of weeks.

Marriage rituals in our clan, is very important and unique in nature. We do not accept bringing brides from outside of the Gujar Bakarwal clans, and marrying of our girls outside is also prohibited. If anyone violates this norm, he is considered as a deviant and the community stops socializing with such violators as we are a closed community. Although, a number of families are permanently settled yet they retain contacts with whose relatives who continue with nomadism. Some changes are happening in our settled life as we do not name a groom at the birth of a baby girl. Old mothers and grandmothers keep an eye on girls and boys and they make the matches wisely. Marriage is revered in our society as it strengthens the bonds between both families and is considered good for clan. Now when the children are city educated yet they honour the decisions of their elders regarding selection of life partners. In our community there is no

concept of love marriage, all marriages are arranged and love and affection is a post marital indulgence.

4.6.3 Case Study 3 (Marriage)

A Bakarwal marriage was attended by the researcher in March 2016. The groom's father from the *Bariyankhel* clan died three years ago. The boy has three paternal uncles and three paternal aunts. One of the uncles is living a happy life and is permanently settled in Bari Imam near the QAU while the remaining family members are pure nomads who according to their own perception successfully struggle to live a happy life.

The elder brother is settled at a slum near the shrine of Bari Imam in Islamabad the capital city of Pakistan where a number of different tribes are living. Many Afghan families are settled in this slum; thereby it is called as the 'Afghan Colony'. He has a daughter who was given in marriage promise to his younger brother's son at the time of her birth. The boys' family is pure nomadic and consists of his mother and three siblings (one sister and two brothers) who are all are married and living a happy life. The group migrates through Murree to Muzaffarabad and then joins the other members of the clan who use the same migratory route to Deosai in summers. The whole group with seven '*taawas*' winters together in '*Salgaran*' near *Chatar* Park, on the outskirts of Islamabad.

The marriage was unique in the context that the boy's whole family is nomadic while the girl is from a permanently settled family. Marriage ceremonies in Bakarwals end with joy and happiness as described in chapter 3. On '*Barat*' (procession of the groom's family that go the bride's home) the breakfast was served by the bride's father with tea and 'paratha' very early in the morning, the lunch was served at noon and the departure of Barat was at 1 pm after the *Zohar*²⁰ Prayer. The Barat returned back after one and a half hours. Unlike the other *Barats* in the settled areas of Islamabad and the Punjab, they do not have any musical instruments except a drum beater. The Barat was welcomed warmly, males were seated in a neighbour's house and females went to the bride's house. After sitting, shortly the '*Nikah-khawan*²¹' came and the process of Nikah registration

²⁰ Afternoon prayer

²¹ One who solemnizes Nikah/ marriage.

started. Forms were filled by the paternal uncle of the Groom. The '*Haq Maher*'²² was mentioned along with the timelines when it has to be paid. The names and signatures of two guarantors from the boy and two from the girl's side were entered. Then, 'Nikah' form was sent to the bride's home. '*Islami Bhai*'²³ or '*Wali*'²⁴ along with two other fellow men (from the same clan, because observance of *Pardah* is crucial), went to bride and asked her for acceptance. She gave her rights to '*Wali*' and he transferred them to the groom on '*Haq Maher*'. In the presence of two guarantors who come with '*Wali*', he (the *Wali*) announces the name of the groom and his father's name along with *Haq Maher* amount three times for acceptance. The brides had to say thrice 'yes I accept' and then signed and imprinted her thumb impression on the marriage registration form (*Nikahnama*). All three men came back to men's section and gave the form to the *Nikah-khawan*. In high voice, the *Nikah-khawan* asked '*Shahadat*'²⁵. One by one, both the fellows testified that 'the girl has accepted the boy at the agreed *Mahar* as her groom'. Then the *Nikah-khawan* asked for silence and the formal process of '*Nikah*' started. After recitation of verses from the Quran, the *Nikah-khawan* asked the boy to repeat different verses after him that are *Eman e Mufsal*, *Eman e Mujmal*, all six *Kalmas* and then he loudly called for anyone having objections about this marriage. When nobody objected '*Khutba*'²⁶ was recited followed by prayers for the prosperity and happy life of the couple. The ceremony ended on '*Mubrakbad*'²⁷ greetings from friends, relatives and guests.

Shortly, tea and some snacks were served (first in the men's' and then to the female section). The food is always simple so that it may not financially burden the family of bride. This is a custom that 'the volume of expenses of female side always remains very low to facilitate the parents of bride'. After tea, the *Barat* came back to the groom's house. Maternal uncle of the bride along with two-three women from the bride's family accompanied with the *Barat* to leave her at her new home. This is the custom both with nomads as well as in the settled communities of the area.

²² The mandatory gift (money) paid by the groom to bride under Islamic law as the price of marital relationship.

²³ The male member of the house who are not eligible to marry with the girl e.g. father, brother, brother-in-law, maternal and paternal uncle etc.

²⁴ Authorized person who can take responsibilities on behalf of bride

²⁵ Testify the 'acceptance from girl' by two fellow men.

²⁶ Religious Sermon

²⁷ Congratulation

When inquired about the difference of residential structures between girl's old and new homes, the father of the girl shared, "Here in our *Biradari*,²⁸ the girl follows the rules of the household of her groom, every girl faces some problems initially because she switches from her settled life to her groom's nomadic mode, but after one or two months she overcomes the issues. It is very simple to overcome because she is invariably married in her relatives and sees familiar faces seen from her childhood".

The newly married girl travelled first time in her life with her husband and would take care of his herds. She happily reached Deosai following all the rituals and norms of her in laws, and came back at the before the winter of 2016. The couple was very happy with, they were still living with the parents sharing the same *Tawaa* because he is the youngest and according to the mother "he will be with me till my last time according to our customs".

4.6.5 Case Study 4

My name is Ali (not real name); I have been living at '*Rakh Dhamial*' or '*Rakh Adiala*' since 1972. My father was a nomad belonging to '*Kathanakhel* alias *Sanghu*' clan. He sold his herd and purchased 100 Kanal of marginal land at Adiala Road and settled here. Our profession was goat keeping so at that time, the land was purchased firstly because our herd size had increased and secondly due to the tough stance of the Forest Department on Bakarwals; this land was meant to help in partially meeting the grazing needs of our herds.

A number of factors were involved for this change of this land use from grazing to residential. First of all was the vagary of the 400 KM long migration, in which we had to cross lakes, dry hills, and human population. Secondly, the administrative step-up of all four territories with hostile forest officials who used to bring different rules every year on access to our traditional grazing lands made it very difficult to continue the nomadic life. Delay in grazing permits, natural disasters and diseases of goats are the major issues which were faced by the community throughout the year. To cope with disease, a number of things were done by the herd owners. There was a *Pir*²⁹ at that time, he recited some verses from Holy Quran and blew his breath on a rope. Two individuals hanged that blessed rope in the air and all the herds passed under it to get secured for one year

²⁸ Clan

²⁹ Religious leader/ spiritual healer

from any disease. It was natives' belief and worked all the time. But with the passage of time the belief of people became weak and they adopted new scientific medicines due to their effectiveness; but the problem with government and local people increased with time.

After continuous thinking of two years, my father took the step to leave the profession and convert to a permanently settled life. He sold out all the herds, horses, mules and purchased the land but after purchasing the land he came to know he didn't have any skill except goat herding. So he purchased some goats, which grazed on the land. We are 14 brothers and sisters from two mothers. After the death of my father, the land has been equally divided between the heirs according to the law of inheritance. Before the death of my father, the government approved the construction proposal of Adiala Jail and we sold major part of our land at a very good price.

My mother was a school teacher. AJK government provided funds to a mobile school which was on my mother's name. During the migratory life, the school was mobile and she was the custodian of that school. After the permanent settlement of the family, the school's status became critical. Education department of AJK asked my mother if she could provide some piece of land, the government of AJK would provide funds to construct the school building. My father donated a piece of land to the school and the building of school was erected. Now the school is permanent, it is the only school funded by the government of AJK and situated in Punjab's territory. The school is still on my mothers' name. She is no more in this world, but according to the agreement between the land donor and the Government of AJK the principal of the school must be a Kashmiri Bakarwals. Three girls from our clan are employed as teachers in this school.

More than 1,000 Bakarwals are now residing in 'Rukh Dhamial'. After 1985, the situation of availability of grazing land gradually became as urban sprawl kept on expanding. This forced our clans to change our forefathers' profession and live a settled life. One of my sons is working in the Police department and one is the Councillor of the local Union Council. Many of our relatives are now serving in different sectors e.g. education, services etc. The number of permanent settlers has been increasing in recent decades. The government's negative policies and discriminatory rules for Bakarwals is the major factor for this change.

Like many of my relatives I have a meat supply contract with the military. I purchase goats from my nomadic relatives and sell to the Military and some other meat shops and hotels in Murree for my survival. The new generation of the settled people has adapted in the new environment but those of us who are old are directly or indirectly engaged with the profession of herd keeping, which 'was the profession of Prophets'.

*Alhamdo-lillah*³⁰, all my children are educated, three of them are government servants and two are working in private offices. Life is very smooth, but the old (golden) days always remain in front of my eyes which make me sad. That nomadic life was very charming, with no worries and threats particularly in the summer pastures, one would just spend time nearer to nature, and every need was fulfilled by goats that lead to prosperity freedom and happiness. Old Bakarwals are not happy, they want to go back but the situation is very different now. It is very difficult for us to go back and live the nomadic life due to the government policies and the tough nature of that life.

4.6.6 Case Study 5

A respondent was interviewed from '*Gul Dheri*' who spends summers at Garhi Habibullah, KP province. He tells his story:

I belong to *Bariyankhel* and I am permanently settled since Ayub Khan's³¹ rule. A number of different ethnic groups like 'Pashtun, Swati, Mughal, Qureshi are permanently settled in this area as well. I am living with my brother and we are sharing the same residential unit but we have two '*Tawas*' in the same house. My brother has three sons and four daughters; two sons and three daughters are married. I have two sons and two daughters, all are married. In fact, it is like cousin marriage. All have children but the entire unit share the only kitchen. They are a joint family and all the sons are employed as blue collared workers.

Why we leave the profession of forefathers is a very tricky question; the problems along the long migratory route is the major reason, making it a very tough job. We don't have any opportunity so many people from our clan still migrate. Those who have some resources prefer to permanently settle because the harsh environment from here to Taobat is a two-edged sword. On one side is the roaring river and on the other hand, there is scarcity of fodder. Accidents on the route are a big problem because herds and

³⁰ Praise be to Allah

³¹ President of Pakistan 1958-1969

humans stay on a narrow road, any simple mistake can kill the animal or the family member. The second reason of leaving the profession was children's education. They had to migrate with us all year long. When we came back to our winter pastures at Gul-Dheri, schools were closed at that time because winter holidays. All of my children were studying so we opted to leave the profession. They are now living a happy life; no one is interested to go back to their forefather's profession because life is smooth now. They go to offices and come back in the evening; children have their own future which is opposite to what we elders think.

4.6.7 Case Study 6 (Return from Settled to Nomadic Life)

We are three brothers my father was a mason. He left the nomadic life in 1985 and settled here in Garhi Habibullah. He was labourer in house constructions and after three years of day and night work and consistency he became a skilled mason. He invested his money and time on our education and now we all living a happy life. But things changed, my two brothers were not good in education, they left school in second grade and helped my father in construction work. They are not smart and after spending more than twenty years in construction work, they don't have any savings. One of them has three children while the other has five. They were working as daily wage labourers who got small amounts, which were consumed in feeding the family; they never had enough to save for the next day's meal.

My father left the nomadism due old age and poor health. Uncertainty over access to grazing lands and even rights to use the migratory trails were the main factors for giving up nomadism. There were no facilities for the Bakarwals along the migratory routes such as camping sites, grazing land or any mechanism to resolve conflicts during migration. The increasing conflicts with the forest officials and settled communities mainly on grazing and camping kept on increasing particularly during migration. It is this time when the nomads have no time to go to courts or police stations or even the local notables for conflict resolution. He preferred to quit the profession as the hostile attitude is universal both with the forest officials and the settled people. He added that upon settling he had to overcome multiple difficulties but somehow, he survived.

My elder and younger brother after failure in settled life returned back to our forefather's profession after spending many years. I am not with them because I am employed as a teacher in al high school in Muzaffarabad; thus education saved my future. As stated

earlier, both my brothers have large families and their income is very low which is not sufficient even for feeding their families. They were continuously under debt so my father advised them to restart their ancestral profession which would lessen their problems. So, both converted from settled to migratory mode of life. Their children who go to school stay with me while the others who are not good in studies travel with their parents.

They migrate with other migratory groups of '*Bariyankhel*' who come from Attock and Havelian. The summer pasture is '*Chemchri*' where they spend three months. One month each is for up-hill migration down-hill migration. The remaining seven months are spent here in Garhi Habibullah. Here the area is lush green but due to the Billion Tree Tsunami Project (2013-17), there is restriction for Bakarwals to graze their herds. Although there is plenty of undergrowth forage inside the closures made to save the new plantations but the access of the goats is a punishable offence. 'The undergrowth forage inside the closures goes waste and is a major cause of forest fires in the dry season' he insisted. Therefore the herds are forced to graze in alternate lower '*Lohar Gali*' in the red forest under the jurisdiction of AJK and in *Phugar Nala, Hissar* areas located under the jurisdiction of the province of KP.

Usually, they used Balakot route but after the plantation of trees, the route is prohibited for Bakarwals, now they use Muzaffarabad-Taobat route. The route is very dangerous and tough. Less grazing lands are available for vegetation and wherever grass is available the lands are owned by local residents. The owners sell the land for Bakarwal grazing two to three hours for up to five thousand rupees. First two years of the Billion Tree plantation project were the worst; as the Forest Department suddenly closed our traditional grazing lands giving us no time to find alternate pastures, And my brothers were very upset and wanted to leave that profession again, but on the advice of my father and consistent guidance and moral support a way was found to adapt. This year in 2017, they were very happy because more than half of their debts were paid and the remaining will be paid when they come back after selling goats. The profession is good if the herder eats one-meal a day and pays nothing for utilities like electricity or cooking fuel. Lack of facilities like securities and snags along the tough long route are the challenges one has to overcome in order to survive. He however adds that if any of his comrades could withstand these problems, he will prosper because this profession is not only noble but also is a blessed profession of most of the Prophets.

4.6.8 Case Study 7

My name is Israeel (not the real name); I am from ‘*Bariyankhel*’ clan. Many Gujars brand us ‘Kaghani’ as well. In winters, we come down to Hazara division and in summers we migrate to Kaghan-Naran valleys and stay there for four months. Our forefathers migrated to Pakistan in 1950 from Jammu the side of Kashmir under control of India after 1947 and provided services to Pakistan Army in Azad Kashmir. Our services include providing help in dumping food and ammunition at the Line of Control (LOC)³². After spending ten years in AJK, my father, grandfather, his brother and my uncles moved towards Kaghan-Naran valley. We enjoyed our nomadic life unabated till late 1980s. However due to multiple problems we could not continue with nomadism and decided to settle in the late 1990’s. It took two full years to settle down in district Haripur and continue living here since then. I have a small business of sale, purchase and renting of shuttering material used in building construction, the income is sufficient for my family.

My father passed away 5 years ago. I have moved my residence twice in my life. We travelled from Haripur to Garhi Habibullah, then Balakot and moved on to Naran valley. In Naran Valley, we regularly camp in *Domel* area for the entire summers. We love to live in cold areas because our forefathers were nomads who spent summers in Deosai and winters in Sri Nagar (now located in held in Indian held Kashmir). Climate in both the pastures remains cool and pleasant for man and beast. My brother and I left this lifestyle and profession because of some reasons. One year, a large number of goats died because of *Mun-Khur* (foot and mouth disease) disease. Those that survived were sick and died in the next migratory season because of the same disease. At the same time, two mules of my brother died and his mobility was restricted. The loss of goat can be mitigated with the help of other community members who give goats on credit after five years, one goat multiplies to 16. However, the case of mule is different; it is considered as wheel of the migration process and bear all luggage burden and food items during the annual up and down-hill migration; if anyone loses them, his whole livelihood structure may be destroyed. After death of two mules, my brother gave his herds to a relative to graze them at Deosai at an agreed fee of PKR 30 thousand; but unfortunately, less than half of the goats came back home, the rest died due to disease. This is because nobody

³² The term Line of Control (LoC) does not constitute a legally recognized international border but refers to the military control line between the Indian and Pakistani controlled parts of the former state of Jammu and Kashmir.

can survive the long migration without healthy mules, and nobody can love and take care of goats other than his own.

Now we are keeping twenty goats near the Tarbela Dam that supplement my income, and my business is flourishing. My brother owns a tractor, he works as an agricultural labourer as we don't own any cultivated land. We have only 10 *Marlas* of land on which our house is constructed. It is very difficult for us to think about reverting to the previous nomadic life style. My brothers' children and my own are studying; while two of them who are adults are employed at Taxila city in a cement factory. Another son is teaching in a private school. Our life is contented now and there is no need now to go back to our forefathers' profession. Ever since Ten Billion Tree Tsunami Project has been started in KP, those who still migrate share their stories of the problems they are facing all along the trails of the traditional annual migration areas of the province of KP. He also shares an interesting observation on tree plantation; the trees which were planted all over the province, only those flourish which have access to water or where the forest irrigates through hand watering. He further adds that at many places, planted trees are dead due to desiccation, but on the contrary those that come naturally not only survive grazing but also withstand weather extremes including thunderstorms. He says that the plantation could vanish in two to three years because almost all the inhabitants in KP keep animals and they cannot be stopped from trampling and browsing the saplings.

4.6.9 Case Study 8

My name is Hukum-din (not the real name). We are two brothers; we were nomads in childhood and used to accompany our father in the annual migrations. We belong to *Bariyankhel* clan. My father was a nomad of Kashmir and came to Pakistan after 1950. Till the age of six, my brother and I remained part of the migration with our family. We had an extended family consisting of my paternal uncles and grandfather living with us. We used to start migration by mid of March and in the end of June every year we would reach Deosai. We had 50 goats, 3 mules and two horses at that time. Due to problems in getting grazing permit, fee issues and frequent conflicts with the locals throughout the route, my father wanted to leave the profession. He was never happy to quit nomadism willingly but due to such issues, he was forced to leave it. In 1980s, he sold his 15 goats at Taxila Cattle Market and purchased one Kanal Land in Qadarabad (Tehsil Fatehjang). It took one whole year to settle gradually in the area. Only my father left the profession

of goat herding, while my paternal uncles are still nomads who spend their summers in Deosai and winter in Kala Chita RF in district Attock.

After permanent settlement, my father invested on our education. During this time, he became a merchant, he purchased goods from Rawalpindi and sold it at Patikka, Taobat or Gaggai along the route of the Bakarwal migration, and most of the customers were the migrating Bakarwals. He also purchased herbs from the area nomads to sell in Rawalpindi grain market. We, the brothers, passed our matriculation with good grades. Meanwhile, a number of my nomadic cousins were also staying back, with us for education while their parents would undertake the long migration to the summer pastures uphill. My father motivated my paternal uncles to send their children to school, as he was convinced that this was necessary for success in settling down. He saw no future in traditional Bakarwal profession because both the government and locals are prejudiced against the Gujar Bakarwals and think that Gujars destroy the pastures and grasslands. My father's friend advised him to send us for technical field rather than a college for regular study. The friend of my father also informed about the admissions in a government technical training school at Taxila city. My brother and I got admission in a three-year technical diploma. Meanwhile, we gave our goats to my uncle. He was taking care of our goats and my father was taking care of his sons who were living with us.

As time passed, my brother and I completed the 3-year diploma and got jobs in Taxila Industries very soon. During studies, we got married. Now I have 4 children (3 boys and 1 girl) while my brother has 3 (1 boy and two girls). My father informed both of us about our wedding just one month before our marriage date. The marriage was totally arranged by my father and family. We are happily living married lives. In my opinion contrary to Bakarwal customs most of the sedentized people are concerned about partner choices, likings and disliking about marriage. However, in our clan, choosing life partners is prohibited. Till the 1990's, there was not much change in our financial status and life was normal when my brother got a chance to immigrate to the US under the visa lottery program of the US government. And being a skilled technician, he got a job and easily settled in the US. After one year of work, he purchased a taxi and now he is running taxi business. He took his family with him after two years into his business. He is living a very prosperous life in Brooklyn, New York. His children go to school and are fluent in English, but at home, they speak Urdu, but my brother always speaks Gojri with his wife. The whole family visits Pakistan after two years or earlier in case they have to attend

marriage ceremonies. Marriages between nomadic and sedentarized Gujar Bakarwals are common. We never heard of any unsuccessful marriage this is mainly we marry within our own clan or at the most in a closely related clan or broader *Biradari*.

I am still working with the same factory on a pensionable job that also provides medical care. My home is open for the Bakarwal boys of my clan who otherwise could never afford to stay back for educational purposes. I keep them as family members with own children. My father gave his herds to my paternal uncle, who would in the initial years pay us our share from the income from these goats. Over the years my uncle purchased the goats had finally paid the entire amount in instalments. We the Bakarwals know the breeds more than anyone and our breed was a superior one so the price we got was much higher than normal Allaiwal-Kashmiri breed of goats. We the Bakarwals are lovers of cool climate and the hot and humid weather of the Potohar. Therefore, we long to visit Deosai the cool place in summers and spend the summer vacations there and stay with our relatives for more than one month. It may sound strange as to why someone would host a month-long guest. In our case it is a reciprocal arrangement; they facilitate us in summer pastures in exchange for our services that include free boarding and lodging that we provide to the nomadic students who go to school in the town.

We are living prosperous lives, but the situation is very critical among our relatives who are purely dependent on nomadic pastoralism. Involvement of forest department officials throughout the provinces results in delay in issuance of grazing permits, entry of herds before the issuance of permits even when severe winters make us sick, heavy penalties that we have to pay in cash for of over stays at end of the season, conflict with local community on usage of natural resources and more than that the hardships we face all along the route of the long migration are major issues which need to be addressed wisely. It is very important that a culture of about one million people is on the verge of extinction. Instead of facilitating the herders during migration, the government officers are more interested in getting their benefits in both cash and in-kind, and they have to deposit a part of the money they collect in state treasury to show that they are dutiful.

It is necessary to make some policies for the betterment of Bakarwals, because they are nature loving people. Their activities are not harmful for nature and the local communities as well. The community only travels twice in the whole year and remaining time is spent in forests where they use dry wood for heating and cooking purposes and

extra land grass is consumed as fodder. We call this ‘the cleaning of forests’ from extra load which otherwise may cause fire in forests which occur regularly in the well protected Margalla Hills National Park that has no Bakarwal visitors.

4.6.10 Case Study 9

The author met one of the key informers for the first time during six months stay at Garhi Dopatta, AJK in 2007. He is a well-built man with remarkable moustaches and wears classical Bakarwal *shalwar kameez* and cap. Sadiq (not the real name) is a man of good physique and is usually the first to embark on the long journey and others follow suit. He spends his year in line with the normal annual life cycle of Deosai-Potohar winter and summer pastures as described in previous section of this chapter. He is married to the daughter of his uncle and both belong to the Gujar caste of *bana gotra* (sub-caste under Allaiwal Gujars). He and his female family members often lead whenever there is conflicting situation with the Forest Department. In 2007, he had only one son but now in 2017 he has four children. He stays at *Lat-lon* (, (local name of a valley) at Deosai). His pasture in Deosai is owned by him under customs and no other clan can enter this place to graze their flocks without his consent. In summer he camps at Diljaba Reserve Forest, District Chakwal and the camping site inside the forest is established after negotiations with the local lower grade forest staff.

He is also specialized in dealing with the local residents alongside the migratory routes. He also conducts the *Panchayat*³³ if any dispute arises amongst the nomads and local settlers. He facilitates and leads the clan till the destination to both summer and winter pastures.

In case the senior officers posted at Chakwal are tough then he puts camp near the Reserve Forests and has no option but to graze inside the RF. He is happy with his lifestyle and his goats keep on increasing that he sells quite often. He fears that unless there is some change in governmental policies that should remove the problems in particular levy of grazing and passage fees he may soon opt to sell a few hundred goats and settle where he could buy some marginal land. In case he camps in somebody’s private land then he has to seek permission from the owner which is often granted.

4.6.11 Case Study 10 (Loss of ability to migrate)

I am Abdul Hameed (not the real name) Bakarwal from the Allaiwal clan and I am settled in a small town upstream the Mangla Dam district Mirpur. I keep a small herd of 30 goats that are allowed to graze in fallow fields of my master Mr. Raja (not the real name) who has given me a space to put my temporary camp in his lands. Raja is a successful businessman and gets extra income from agriculture. In exchange I work in his fields for free and also work as day laborer whenever he constructs or does some alteration to his house. I had a large herd of 60-80 goats and one mule and would

³³ Informal community-based conflict resolution forum, practiced in many parts of rural and tribal areas of Pakistan

undertake seasonal vertical migration like all my fellow nomads. But three years back my mule died and I could no longer undertake the migration so I had to settle as I could not afford to buy a new mule that is very expensive (approximate price of 150,000 PKR) and there is nobody who can give me a loan to buy a new mule. So I live here and am able to pull on, sometime my master gives me clothes or wheat at the time of harvest but that is not enough to feed my family of 6 including old parents. My only hardship time is summers as I like my brethren cannot tolerate the sizzling summers of the plains. So as an adaptation I move away from the town area and encamp on the banks of the Mangla Lake in summers, where the temperatures are much better particularly at night. However the humidity in monsoon season is also not pleasant for me not my family. I do meet my nomadic relatives twice every during their annual migrations and they sometime spare for me some of the traditional food like goat cheese and *bangora* etc. I am always thankful to Allah as he may someday bring better days.

4.6.12 Case study 11 - (The Five Brothers)

My name is Sardar (not real name). I retired as a senior forest officer from the Punjab 2 years ago. I did BSc (Honors) Horticulture and joined the forest service of the Punjab and attended two years MSc forestry from PFI Peshawar. These two years was of learning new things almost 36 subjects where all courses were taught by in-house staff of the PFI. It is difficult to retain all these subjects over many years in the forest service where there is no culture of academic discussions. lot of field exposure was give through planned tours and practical exercises and camps in the forest, designed on the pattern of the colonial era Imperial IFS (Indian Forest Service) so little changes were made in the curriculum that is still taught at PFI today. I had to submit a thesis as a partial fulfilment of my MSc degree, during my literature review I got chance to get benefit from the latest books and research papers and acquainted myself with the forestry knowledge and practice in vogue in other parts of the world. The criterion of high grades at PFI mattered a lot as our seniority in the service was determined by the position one got at PFI exams. This criterion also plays a positive role to keep students focused towards studies (specific to the notes provided by the teachers) to achieve good grades.

Later I did a PhD in Forestry from another University which further broadens my horizon of knowledge and outlook towards the world.

My home village is located in Attock district so I have been seeing these Bakarwals coming in big numbers to graze either in our fallow agricultural lands or in State forests since my childhood. Most of farmers of my adjoining villages who allowed them to camp and graze in their private lands would charge them in cash or kind or both. Similarly in addition to grazing fee legally collected by the Forestry staff, they would be persecuted by the uniformed officers of forest and police department in the guise of implementation of section 144 (an order that would be issued by the district magistrate on the advice of the Forest Officer that would render entry of the nomad (not only his goats) within the district Attock).

We would hear stories of forest officers collecting heavy amounts of grazing fees from Bakarwals in winters. But when I was posted in the Potohar districts where the Bakarwal are regular winter visitors I found out that the 'Bakarwal Season' was very sensitive for my job. While the written orders every forest officer posted in the field would get from the higher authorities was not to allow their entry in state owned forests otherwise strict action would be taken against the forest staff. On the other hand these millions of goats having no other option would pay any price to graze in the forests and it was a big challenge to stop my subordinates who would always take risks and settle them in private lands near forests or inside the state forests.

We in the forest service performed 24 hours duty of forest protection, attend court cases, inspect forests and go after those who would cut trees but our salary was very low. Basic expenses of traveling in our areas could not be met and almost all of us had to maintain two kitchens (one for the family in home village and one at duty station). The forest service was designed by the colonial powers in such a way that the officer on field duty would meet his expenses from the forest. The field officers were to manage their expenses from the local villagers in return for some favors. So we were like a family of 'five brothers' on field duty this included the Forest Guard, the Block officer, the Range officer and two senior officers who were provided with government vehicles i.e. the DFO and the CF. The Forest Guard and BO would keep a local servant (Thalia guard) who would allow a few nearby farmers to graze his cattle inside the forests and collect some fuel wood as compensation for their services in helping to manage, improve and protect forest. The forest guard is also supposed to arrange meals and stay of the inspecting officers who would mostly stay in the nearest rest house,

In those days there was no gas connection in almost all small cities; towns or villages. So the people were dependent on fuel wood. And the state forests provided in many cases the only grazing grounds for their cattle. Most of the local resident villagers were granted legal permission for grazing, grass cutting and wood collection for personal use rights from the British times and these were based on the Forest Settlement made by the British in 1901. All these rights were reproduced in all Working Plans for each district. None of the Working plans had any provision of grazing rights for the nomadic Bakarwals so they were forest offenders and we could easily use our forest laws to get cases registered against them in police and no court could give them any relief, because the decisions had to be based on the laws. Due to this reason the forest officer enjoyed and still enjoys absolute powers on the fate of the Bakarwals culture. Some of our forest guards would be heard saying "Guard is Lord"

In some years the higher authorities of the Government of the Punjab would allow them to graze inside forests by paying grazing fees. A huge amount would be collected and deposited in state treasury while still depending upon the veracity and integrity of the staff, it cannot be ruled out that a handsome amount is not embezzled to be distributed among the hierarchy of the five brothers of the forest service. The number of goats for which grazing permits were issued was always a controversy and I had to orders enquiries on complaints that the number of goats is much more than the permits issued.

In fact it was practically impossible to count the goats as they were widely spread and the Bakarwal would resist counting.

The Bakarwals would always try to remain hidden from village and town people but could be easily discerned due to their dress, their goats and dogs are also very different from the local breeds.

Annual decisions on Bakarwals grazing permits were always received when the migration season had commenced and they had arrived inside the districts of the Potohar. The orders issued and published by the seniors were just to save themselves of the allegations of being involved in Bakarwal scandals.

I do not recall any scientific study conducted on the 'carrying capacity' of forests or on impact of Bakarwal grazing on the scrub forests during the last 40 years. All our decisions were based on personal views and judgments by higher authorities.

I admit that most of the forest officers equipped with PFI imparted training and knowledge considers the nomads as a curse that would damage our forests. In my opinion if Bakarwals are taken on board and terms, conditions and grazing pattern is negotiated and implemented properly, nomadic pastoral system is the most efficient and sustainable use of seasonal grasses and bushes. Moreover world community including Pakistan is trying to save biodiversity and cultural diversity, it is not understood that why we are bent upon to eliminate this important, centuries old nomadic culture and lifestyle.

I have observed that the number of Bakarwal herds visiting the Potohar has declined over the decades as most of them have settled down while the few surviving nomads would soon vanish. I do not know why the Bakarwals were never given grazing rights by the British and why none of the Working plans prepared after independence addressed this issue.

Now things are changed as the exploitive power of the forest officers has reduced, one reason is dependence of houses on firewood has reduced and people do not keep cattle as they did in the past. "*Thaila guard*" culture is vanishing as many alternate job opportunities are available to locals. With better road networks and social media the power of the "Guard is Lord" is now history. Salaries of the forest officers are now enough that they can meet the expenses of two kitchens. The Billion Tree planting project has also made all the forest staff busy in tree planting. To save young saplings from grazing, staff has to erect enclosures along the paths of the Bakarwals and imposes heavy fines on intruding goats. Moreover with availability of educational facilities for kids in far flung areas many staff members do not need to maintain two kitchens and prefer to keep their families at the place of posting where the government has constructed official houses.

One recent change is that another layer of government officers persecutes the Bakarwals on their own that is the separate Wildlife Department who have notified many forests and even private areas as National Parks, so the very existence of a person in the shape

of Bakarwal whether during migration or in summer camps is a crime worth punishment. Similarly some influential private hunters who make money from trophy hunting of wild game animals in the Potohar also launched a campaign against Bakarwals with the pretext that their goats bring diseases that kills the wildlife and their prized trophies. With so many entities against the Bakarwal from the rich settled people I see no future for this culture that may soon disappear. I have heard that these Bakarwals walk hundreds of KM to spend summer in high hills and return back to the pastures of Potohar that have a mild winter.

5 Pull and Push Factors

Pull and push factors continue to play their role in the Bakarwals quest to continue with their traditional lifestyle and practices. Analysis of the primary data collected during this study gives a clear picture of the 'Push' and 'Pull' factors that are active throughout the years at all phases of the Bakarwals' annual life cycle. Likelihood of taking a decision to settle down or continue with nomadism can be taken at any time; it depends on the strength of these factors. The 'Pull' factors are clearly much more than the; Push' and depending on circumstances the rate of sedentarization is accelerating every year. Some Bakarwals look for opportunities to settle and lead a sedentary life if they could pull on honorably. Others would love to continue with this profitable profession provided the numerous obstacles (Pull factors) are removed.

Amongst the push factors the most significant is the notification by the AJK forest Department of 9 permanent Bakarwals stopovers (annex 1) in AJK during their uphill and downhill migration (this facilitates and gives some legal basis to claim ancestral rights to access to grazing lands). The Bakarwals' love for cool weather and cold running water in summers is a factor that attracts them and gives courage to bear and overcome the multiple problems. As one case study of Garhi Habibullah shows that failure in economically surviving in settled live 'Pushes' them back to continue with nomadism as no alternatives are available. The various shapes of resistance/ adaptation by the Bakarwals that pushes them not to give up nomadism as observed during the field visits were;

- i) Some Bakarwals have acquired Computerized National Identity Cards (CNIC) showing the address of a locale that could cater for their winter grazing needs
- ii) Some have purchased small pieces of lands in the villages that have rights of access to forests.

On the other hand 'Pull' factors are so many that result in induced and rapid disappearance of the Bakarwals from their traditional grazing lands. The Bakarwals community lives in a continuous state of lots of pull and negligible push factors. Adaptation and the strategies of this community to retain their culture even when fully settled has been noted in some case studies in particular in the marriage rituals.

Pull factors like the uncertainties and delays in granting grazing permits in winter pastures in the Punjab have been discussed in detail in previous sections. Another recent factor is the imposition of section 144 under criminal procedure code by the government of KP in 2017; According to this section, entry of Bakarwals and their herd is banned (while in the Punjab the ban has had been not on entry of herds in state owned forests but on entry of Bakarwals as persons). The most significant pull factor is the imposition of a new tax on Bakarwals by the Neelum Development Authority established by the Government of AJK. Copy of notification of Bakarwal stopovers issued by the AJK Forest Department and obtained during field work in AJK is available and placed as annex 1. The Neelum Development Authority (NDA) justifies that the moneys collected as tax shall be used to help the Bakarwal community in projects like establishing mobile schools and mobile health services. The tax is assessed by the NDA after counting the goats whereas the Bakarwals consider counting their herd as a taboo. This results in conflicts between the NDA officials and the Bakarwals. The love relationship of the Bakarwals with goats is to the extent that every goat has a name. An anecdote was quoted by an informant that a blind Bakarwal just by touching his flock could tell which goat is missing yet he would not count the numbers as it is consider a bad omen (*bad-shagoon*) Another recent pull factor is the imposition of grazing tax in Deosai by the GB forest department. It is also a cause of conflict since the forest officers insist on counting the goats prior to issuance of permits, in an otherwise free grazing land used since ages.

Many of the Pull factors are embedded in the knowledge of the Forest Officers who craft the rangeland policies for the country. A perusal thereof reinforces and reveals the following:

- A) No in-depth consultations are made with pastoral people while devising rangeland policies.
- B) The Forest and Rangeland polices are made without in-depth analysis of social, and historical factors
- C) No consideration is given to de-construct the colonial era policies and knowledge.
- D) Forestry practice has little room to adapt to a changing world and resistance to change is ostensible

The other pull factors discussed in case studies and other sections of this manuscript are summarized below:

- a) Absence of a policy on nomadism and lack of definition and recognition of indigenous communities
- b) Uncertain mind of the forest Department in the Punjab and delays of the issuance of grazing permits in winters for access to state forests
- c) Notification of Protected Areas including National Parks that render mere passage through the designated Park that has had been a traditional migratory route since ages as an offence for nomads (and not to the settled people who would react strongly if apprehended by the forest officers)
- d) Not recognizing the nomadic Bakarwals as a stakeholder and consulting them before notification of any new Protected Area (this is required under the wildlife laws but not practiced)
- e) Nomad is not accepted as an entity in the national censuses forcing them to settle otherwise CNIC cannot be issued.
- f) Death of mules due to disease or accident renders the herder incapable of undertaking the vertical migration
- g) Large conversion of formerly waste/ grazing lands into urban centers
- h) With availability of subsidized agricultural machinery large areas have been brought under cultivation
- i) Decision making on carrying capacity of grazing land by the forest department without any empirical studies and resorting to decision making on personal whims (in one case the forest department of the Punjab imposed a ban on Bakarwals entry to the winter pastures based on a report by a forest officer that the Bakarwals' camels damage the forest)
- j) Application of colonial era forest science designed to suit the British crown in a post-colonial period when all forest officers are local. This includes historicity; wherein the British colonial polies of taking revenge from the Gujars for the 1857 Indian Mutiny continues to date;
- k) Silence of the forest and wildlife policies as well as laws on accepting the nomads as legal persons;
- l) Nonexistence of educational or skill development facilities for the nomads

- m) Closure of large areas under the Billion Tree Tsunami Project formerly used as grazing lands without considering its impacts on the Bakarwals and other herding communities;
- n) Unjustified imposition of taxes by the Neelum Development Authority in AJK further strains the financial position of the Bakarwals;
- o) Not considering rights of the nomads in the 'Forest Settlements' done in the colonial period and thereafter under the Forest and Wildlife Laws;
- p) Clear divergent views on nature between the nomad and the forest officers;
- q) No system to record traditional knowledge held by the Bakarwals including their language and musical expressions;
- r) No value by the society on the Customary laws of the Nomads;
- s) Fate of the Bakarwals' economy and culture is left at the mercy and will of the forest officer by the society who are only concerned with grazing;

5.1 'Us' versus 'They'

The study looks deep into the roots of the conflict between the Bakarwals and the forest officers, and links how this conflict adds on the Pull factors that ultimately end up in forcing the Bakarwals to settle. On deconstructing the conflict between the forest officers and the Bakarwals using Geertz theory of deconstruction it was found out that one of the root causes lies in the basic perception regarding the natural resource (pasture in this case). For the Bakarwal pasture is a gift of God meant to provide food and shelter for his herds and family and living closer to nature. The Bakarwals have also their own code of conduct; it mainly entails

- a. not cutting trees completely;
- b. not polluting fresh running water;
- c. move when season changes, and not to re-enter summer pasture till the newly sprouted grasses have taken roots after the snow has melted;
- d. plan lambing season that matches fodder availability;
- e. avoid urban areas and villages and not mingle unnecessarily with the settled people;
- f. not to use firearms to kill wild animals;
- g. use dogs to protect against carnivores;
- h. not to set fire in pastures and scrub forests and
- i. Belief that wise grazing never diminishes forests and pastures.

They have divided summer and winter pastures under customary law amongst them and settle disputes on pasture's ownership within their own clans (table 3, Figure 2 and 10). They follow the traditional ownership religiously, ownership can change on cash payment or if the owner has not enough male herders to look after the pasture. At times they hire services of herders on cash payments. In some cases, the pasture owner marries his daughter to a young man who is able to handle his herds and retain the ownership of pasture. At times there are disputes between the Bakarwals and local settled villagers. Record of one such court was collected during this study where the civil court decided the dispute in favor of the traditional grazer in Astore. With population increase, these disputes keep on rising (a few cases of pasture grazing rights dispute settlement amongst the Bakarwals are discussed in case studies given in the previous chapter).

Contrary to the nomads' perception on nature, the forest officers look at forests and pastures from an empirical lens that is based on the biophysical science taught to them at the Pakistan Forest Institute curriculum on Range Management and Forest Management. The result of ten years of interaction with forest officers reveals that the forest officers consider that the knowledge imparted to them during their training is the ultimate. None of the forest officers was trained to think over the epistemology that created the science that they believe is the ultimate panacea to natural resource management. Hardin's main points in the book 'Tragedy of Commons' 1968 were found to be widely believed as the ultimate truth with the forest officers. While none of them was ever exposed there existed no institutional mechanism to assimilate the latest developments on grazing lands. Eleanor Ostrom's "Governing the Commons (2009)" which was awarded a Nobel Prize in 2009 has not yet been included in the forestry curriculum. The Clementian (1916) and Odom's 1960 ecology still influences all decision making of the forest officers. The studies that are gaining more and more global acceptance that there are two types of ecosystems; one is the ecosystem in equilibrium and the other is the one in disequilibrium. And that the Clementian ecology is applicable only to the later. Therefore the principles of ecology applicable in systems that are in equilibrium are not applicable to the pastures that are the lifeline of the Bakarwals being ecosystems in disequilibrium. Mace-Ruth (1991) in "Overgrazing overstated" and Davis (2016) argues about how Anglo-European assumptions on arid lands are having impacts in today's outlook on pastures in the former colonies (including in India and Pakistan). Davis explains that these environments are not governed by the equilibrium ecological

dynamics that apply in most other regions. Moreover, while the world has moved to an inter-disciplinary approach in understanding and interpreting ecological processes regarding pastures and dry lands, the belief of the contemporary foresters in Pakistan who are the sole trustees of the management of pastures remains aloof from these developments.

The analysis of the science that dictates the policy of the forest department and its relationship with the social sciences is discussed in detail under section 2.16.1 “The Paradox of the Old and the New Ecological Thinking” and in chapter 5 ‘Ecosystems and the New Ecological Thinking’ juxtaposes these developments between social and biophysical sciences do give insight to the big picture.

The way forest officers deal with the Bakarwals is in line with the provisions in Forest or Range-land policy that have roots in the British colonial era. The Forest Act 1927 is the basis of all later enactments in the provinces of Pakistan except the Sindh province where it is still intact. This Act is still applicable in India. The Wildlife laws of the 1970s and other statutory documents like the Working Plans, approved development projects funded by the government or non-governmental organizations all are inspired by the Act of 1927.

The Gujar Bakarwals have developed mobility as a strategy not only to utilize the vegetation that grows seasonally, but also it is the backbone of their survival strategy. Bakarwals perception is that they are the legitimate heirs and right holders to graze in the pastures since centuries but they are denied this right. They consider the forest department as a substitute to the British colonial rulers who are here to exploit their dispossession and deny their rights. The power dynamics in winter pastures of the Potohar tract their struggle for survival is even more complex. This is because the land ownership of the scrub forests vests with the forest department and the fact that their forefathers never came to the Potohar for winter pastures. So, they did not have hereditary claims for wintering in the Potohar.

During the diurnal seasonal vertical migration, there is not enough fodder particularly in the tract between Athmaqam and Taobut in the Neelum valley. Therefore, the herds lose weight and at times the goats have to endure hunger for four to five days during this phase. The fact that these herds are adapted to endure hunger and quickly regain weight

when they reach pastures is overlooked by the range scientists (who all belong to the core group as presented in the Dependency Theory).

At the time of Forest Settlement, the British rulers awarded full ownership/ grazing rights to the local sedentized villagers and earmarked huge pastures/ forests as community grazing lands / shamlats. The basis of the award was correlated to loyalty of the beneficiaries to the British crown, as shown in section 2.15 'History and Ethnicity of Gujars' none or limited concessions were awarded to the villages with Gujar majority in The Potohar.

The history of forest settlement when correlated with contemporary attitude of forest officers is to resist entry of the Bakarwals in State Forests. On the contrary the Bakarwals' traditional knowledge considers the forest department as intruders who aim to create troubles for them and aim to deny them access to the forests that is the lifeline of their survival. The Bakarwals also believe that they had survived and evolved over centuries while grazing in these forests and that the knowledge of the forest bureaucracy is not applicable to the ecosystems on which they graze. "*Allah Baarish waqt par wasay to sab theek hai, hukumat aur mahakma janglat say kuch nahi chaheay*" When God brings rains on time then everything is okay, nothing is needed from the government or the forest department". The tendency of the forest department has been to restrict grazing in forest with the belief that grazing damages the forests and the term Bakarwals is synonymous to forest destruction. On the other hand, the Bakarwals believe that they are the holders of traditional forest related knowledge that is practicable, long tested while that held by the forest department is obscure. They also believe that their knowledge was devised, tested over centuries is more environment friendly than that available with the university educated forest officers.

The conflict between the Bakarwals and the forest department reached its climax when the Government of the Punjab on the advice of the Forest Department abolished the system of issuance of grazing permits in 1990's. Availing the loopholes of the government system, the Bakarwals were still able to graze their goats inside the state forests. Realizing the failing government policies, the senior management of the forest department managed to ban the entry of the Bakarwals into the districts where they spend their winter months. The Bakarwals value their traditional way of life very dearly and worked to find various ways of resistance and were always able to beat the system.

This included the spending the winter months in the private lands of influential political figures in a symbiotic relationship.

The forces running counter to the nomadic way of life appear to be working with a much more vigor. Many Bakarwals find that their resistance mechanism is failing and are forced to change the life mode from mobile to nomadic in predictable well-defined phases. First indication appears to be a drastic reduction in the number of goats then purchase of a piece of land that leads to finding alternate sources of livelihood. The Bakarwals find themselves uncomfortable to compete with the sedentary people in white collared jobs.

The Bairnyakhel clan narrates that they never came to winter in the Potohar prior to 1947; they would spend summers at Deosai and winters at Jammu in the Indian side where they held customary grazing rights. They add that it was due to the wars between India and Pakistan that they could not cross the borders and were forced to find winter pastures in the Potohar on the Pakistan side. No records (neither written nor oral) could be trace on the origin of the Bakarwal wintering in the scrub forests of the Potohar. The informants did mention that they were denied the right to claim grazing rights as was done for the settled people who migrated during to Pakistan after 1947.

5.1.1 Ecosystems and the New Ecological Thinking

The adoption of the 'Ecosystem Approach' by the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992) that recognizes that humans, with their cultural diversity, are an integral component of ecosystems has become a new tool for the "integrated management of land, water and living resources that promotes conservation and sustainable use in an equitable way" and countries including Pakistan have been attempting to assimilate this concept in policy and practice in land resources management in particular on rangelands or pastures. However, there is criticism to this concept in the social sciences as it focuses on the assumption that ecosystems are self-regulating that tend to maintain equilibrium and is too much nature-based while ignoring the human impacts.

Hardin's "Tragedy of Commons" 1968 is based on the notion of ecosystems in equilibrium has been the dominant paradigm till late 1990's It took forty years to be negated by Ostrum who effectively rebutted the popular theory of "Tragedy of the Commons", which was interpreted that private property was the only way for the protection of the common resources from depletion. She successfully documented in

many places globally on how communities had devised ways to govern the commons and assured the survival of a common property (pasture) for their own and the needs of future generations.

Clementian ecology 1916 (Clements 1916) has had a tremendous impact on the understanding of natural systems wherein he provided evidence how ecosystems undergo a predictable pattern to reach climax keeping the biophysical factors constant. Tansley 1935 first coined the term 'ecosystem' for the first time by applying the biophysical parameters on ecological communities. 1960 is a benchmark year whence Odom 1960 book 'fundamentals of Ecology' made a tremendous impact on how ecosystems are structured and function. And the humans were considered as a disturbance in natural order, while ecosystem was accepted as the analytical unit to study nature. The 1970's saw further refinement of the Clementian ecology with Kemp 1971, Rappaport 1971 and Thomas, 1971 who focused on energy flow through ecosystems opened inroads of anthropological thinking into the biophysical world of ecosystems studies. Table 7 shows the development of ecosystems understandings between the biophysical (positivist) and social sciences. Odom's impact was so immense that till the 1980s there was minimal research funding for the social sciences that could dare enter this domain of the positivist scientists.

Thirty years after Tansley (1935) the concept was first introduced into anthropological studies with the 1963 publication "Agricultural Involution" by Clifford Geertz. However, since the 1970's the understanding of non-equilibrium ecosystems gained slow but gradual acceptance. The applicability of the concept of equilibrium in highly variable ecosystems like arid ecosystems was questioned by geographers like Karl Zimmerer (1994) and the prolific writings of Ian Scoones 1999-2017 Scoones in his recent writings is able to depict how have the social sciences succeeded to articulate with the biophysical sciences over ecological thinking since the last few decades.

The inroads of social sciences into the concept of ecosystem on which the range sciences with which the forest officers are equipped in Pakistan has yet not been incorporated in the forestry curriculum. Resultantly the conflicting situation is reflected when theory is placed into practice in the field. All officers of KP, Punjab, AJK and GB are working in the paradigms of the 1960's as has been observed in the fieldwork of this study.

Table 8 summarizes the developments that lead to a better understanding of ecology and ecosystems that form the backbone of contemporary discourses on nature and environment. It reviews the major developments made in both biophysical and social sciences and captures the variations on the same theme i.e. ecology and ecosystems.

Table 8. Tabular statement of positivist and sociological theories

Positivist	Year	Main points	Social	Year	Main points
Plant succession F.E Clements	1916	Plant communities follow a fixed pattern to reach climax. Systems are stable	None		
ecosystem used for first time Sir Arthur Tinsley	1935	ecosystem applied to ecological community	Geertz: Agricultural involution	1965	Ecosystem introduced in anthropological literature
	1930-1940's	Ecosystem concept gained wide acceptance			
		Cultural ecology viewed as dominant paradigm b) not concerned with environment per se but with critical food sources and the way they were exploited	Julian Steward's Cultural ecology	1955	Dominant paradigm to understand human- environment relations b) Importance of understanding the impacts of subsistence strategies to social organization c) criticized for ignoring important environmental variables like disease and population pressure and for being too subjective in identifying aspects of effective environment and culture core. of
Eugene Odom Fundamentals of ecology	1960	Ecological research becomes system oriented. "Eco-energetics the core of ecosystem analysis" Humans relegated as disturbance in natural order. Ecosystem usage as an analytical unit was a departure from the 1950-1960 way of human-environmental relations	Rappaport's "Pigs for ancestors"	1968	Demonstrate the potential explanatory power of ecosystems studies in the analysis of human behavior.
			Vayda and Rappaport	1968	Premise that humans as unique is inappropriate b) human-environment relations could only be understood by viewing humans as part of larger ecological ecosystem c) A cadre of ecological anthropologists adopts the ecosystem as an analytical unit with humans, being one of many species involved in a system of self-regulation.
Caloric obsession era :Kemp 1971, Focus on the flow of energy through human population	1970's		Rappaport 1971 and Thomas 1976		Energy flow Ecological puzzles like religious beliefs/ rituals make people behave contrary to what is expected by a self-regulating ecosystem

			Holling	1973	Question the very basic concept of equilibrium in ecosystems Natural systems are continuously in "transient state" argued to place emphasis on the conditions that lead to persistence of equilibrium in ecosystems
			Andrew Vayda and McCay	1973-87	Emphasis on stability, persistence and resilience and Provided early critique of equilibrium ecosystems Ecological anthropologists would be better served by studying how ecological and human communities responded to natural hazards
Critique of new ecological anthropology by Freidman 1974 ND Ellen 1982 1974-1982 Reductionist Merely a new form of functionalism					
1980's		Perception of ecosystems as 'closed' and self-regulating so strong that it silenced the anthropological community and studies in cultural anthropology became rare			
Positivist	Year	Main points	Anthropologists	Year	Main points
Development of Ecosystem analysis	1980's-90's	Multi-disciplinary teams of biologists and ecologists.) Well-funded research	IBP International Biological Program Michael Little	1980's-90's	Isolated efforts by single social scientist using his or her data into whatever published material was available. Human biologists & physical anthropologists added in the multi-disciplinary IBP Hampered the exchange of ideas between social scientists and ecologists. Problem on how to define boundaries when humans are incorporated in ecosystem analysis Extreme gap between anthropology and ecology within an ecosystem framework widened
			Emilio Moran American Association for Advancement of Science meetings AAAS	1982	Ecosystem concept was a useful heuristic device to quantify and contributed to thinking holistically

					Serious limitations of ecosystem concept when applied to study of human behavior
			Worster	1990 takes up article of 1973 by William Drury and Ian Nesbit	Ecosystem concept Challenged In Forests in N.E USA did not follow Clements theory of plant succession criteria of Odom also found null and void here
Noy –Mier		dry ecosystems controlled more by climate than biotic factors			
John Wiens	1977	Notions of community structure based on equilibrium theory break down in arid and semi-arid climates Population structure controlled by abiotic and not biotic factors in arid and semi-arid lands			
Jim Ellis and David Swift STEP project South Turkana	1988	confirm that structure and dynamics of South Turkana is in line with non-equilibrium concept of Wiens Characteristics of equilibrium and non-equilibrium ecosystems			

		elaborated.			
Scoone, 1992, 1996 and wider citations till 2017	1992-2017	Better understanding that some ecosystems are non-equilibrium systems			
Berkes, Colding and Folke	2003	Dominant concept of systems in equilibrium is incompatible with observations of the complex dynamics of social and ecological systems			
E. Ostrom's "Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action"					
Tragedy of Commons Hardin's 1968 'and Governing the commons by Ostrum 1990	1968-1990	Hardin ruled the development sector till Ostrum challenged and proved it otherwise	Common grazing land versus grazing land with ownership by individuals or groups	This is the crux and closing conclusion of the thesis We supply lot of primary data on Bakarwals sedentarization. Including legal battles	

Source: Author's own construction

5.1.2 The Acrobatics of Power

The visit of Guy Montfort to Pakistan: (1969) led to the establishment of Pakistan's first National Park at Lal Sohanra. His book "The Vanishing Jungle" was the start of an apparently never ending series of bringing more and more lands under legal cover of National Park category that gives immense powers to stop trespassers including the nomads from such protected areas. On one account the interpretation of the Desiccation Theory by Andrew Mathews on how encounters between forest officers and local people in Mexico produce forest related knowledge that is official. And this knowledge is most of the time promoted as the key to solve governance problems does appear to hold good in Pakistan as well. With the growing concern to protect wildlife the Wildlife Departments were created in the provinces of the Punjab and AJK by detaching the wildlife duties from the forest departments in the 1970's. Other province followed suit and all the administrative units that lie along the route of the Bakarwals' annual migratory route. *Mutatis mutandis* all the provinces have strict wildlife conservation legislation in place. The Wildlife laws in Pakistan define various categories of Protected Areas PA as National Parks, Wildlife Sanctuaries and Game Reserves. Figure 2 shows that the entire

traditional route of the Bakarwals falls inside one or more Protected Areas and there is no room for the Bakarwals to lead their traditional life. The power of the forest officers is exercised on the Bakarwals as discussed in previous sections.

5.2 Factorizing Sedentarization of Gujar Bakarwals

The factors leading to sedentarization of the Bakarwal nomads is discussed in the foregoing sections. These factors are derived from primary data analysis, extensive literature review and personal experience both in m capacity of a forest officer and later with extensive interaction with the key informants a social scientist.

5.2.1 Historical Factors

Historical records from National Library of Pakistan were searched and it was found that the profession rather than descent has been the determining factor of Indian castes (Ibbetson 1916), and the Gujar were originally herders of scale and named after the herd they kept e.g. van Gujars of India are the buffalo herders while Bakarwals were and are the herders of small ruminants mainly goats. The Indian mutiny of 1857 called by the British colonial rulers is a landmark year that dictated the fate of the Gujar tribes in India as it the ‘mutiny’ against the East India company (British rulers) erupted by a rebellion in the Gujar regiment of the British Indian army at Meerut, India (Spalding 1994). The later policies of the British colonial rulers till the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935 show tremendous actions and policies that clearly discriminate against the Gujars (Spaulding 1994). This can be seen in the records of land allotment in newly colonized districts Lyallpur and Montgomery now Faisalabad and Sahiwal respectively. The Forest Settlement Award for the Rakhs of Jhelum 1902 that settled forest ownership and tenure issues in the state forests of the Potohar (FAO, 2007) wherein rights including grazing, wood collection for domestic use from forests were awarded to residents of villages.

The Forest Settlement of 1902 is still valid and endorsed by the latest forest legislation. This means that any trespass of cattle and goats into the forests is a cognizable offence under the forest laws enacted during the British times. The forest Act of 1927 was revised in 2010 keeping the same provisions of retains the rights admitted in 1902 without change.

However regardless of the British colonial historic bias against the Gujars discussed in chapter 2 a research question arose as to why these Gujar Bakarwals were not given grazing rights in the state forests of the Potohar during the British colonial Forest

Settlement of 1902. The Forest Settlement is a legal process wherein before notification of a forest as Reserved all local claimants to the forest were invited to record their claims. An analysis of the Forest Settlement Report of the Rakhs of Jhelum reveals that while claims of all ethnic users of forests were entertained. However, neither any claims of the Bakarwals were recorded in the Settlement in the Reserve Forests of the Potohar nor awarded. A reason for not entertaining the grazing claims of the Gujar Bakarwals could either be that the settlement officer conducted this exercise in summer when the Bakarwals were away or the prevalent bias against the Bakarwals did not allow the settlement staff of that time to entertain claims of the nomads. But the most likely reason could be that the Bakarwals groups (Kashmiri- Deosai) studied in this research never came to the Potohar area before 1947, as their destination for winter pastures was in Jammu, now in Indian side of Kashmir. And the Line of Control (LOC) situation is hot most of the time that they can never pass the international borders/ LOC.

The Bakarwals identify of the nomadic groups under study identify themselves as belonging to the Indian caste of Gujars and have the sub-castes that correspond to the broader Gujars in India and Pakistan. They provide oral history that pastoralism was the original historic profession of all the Gujars of the Indian sub-continent. Many Gujars have given up pastoralism long ago, but the Bakarwals continue with the age-old practice mostly in its original form. It is expected that with conscious and unconscious policies of the state that force sedentarization; this profession shall not sustain for long. Hence the documentation in this thesis is an important contribution for the promotion of knowledge and further scientific investigation. The Bakarwals have a unique position as they live nearest to the nature throughout the year. Dependence on the forests and having good relationship with forest officers is important for the continuity of their culture that in turn depends on access to grazing lands.

5.2.2 History Repeats Itself

Forests in the Punjab are classed either as Reserved (RF) or Protected (PF) under the Forest Act 2102. Nobody is allowed to access or exploit the natural resources inside RF except what was admitted during the forest settlement. And everything is allowed inside protected forests except what is prohibited by the provincial government. Procedure for notification of any piece of land as Reserved is well defined in the Forest Act wherein every claimant to forest ownership or customary user is invited to record and prove his claims prior to declaring a Forest as RF. Deep historical analysis and personal interaction

with the forest officers for the last three decades reveals that whereas the British colonial rulers made every effort to give a forest reward to all claimants based on justice as reflected in the Forest Act 1876 and Act of 1927. But all available record shows that there was no implicit or explicit recognition of the Bakarwals as forest users. Resultantly the forest settlement of 1901 has a good record of all the sedentary people residing in and near the forests, but none of the nomadic and transhumant that had occupied an important niche on these forests.

5.2.3 Factorizing Taxation and Grazing Permits

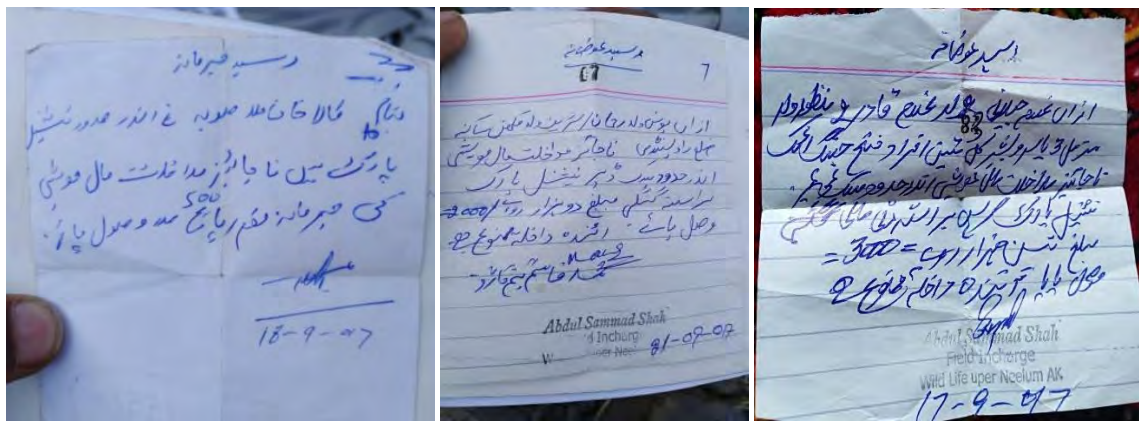
Formal legal title to land/ land tenure including rights of grazing and access to forests was historically a customary practice in the whole of the Indian sub-continent. Emperor Akbar in the late 15th century introduced a system of documenting land ownership in the Indian sub-continent for the first time. However most of wild lands including pastures remained 'no man's land'. The British colonial rulers under the Land revenue Act 1867 introduced formal written records on land title/ land tenure. The Forest Settlement in the Punjab in 1901 under the Forest Act wherein ownership and usufruct rights of forests and pastures were clearly notified. All forest and pastures in the northern districts of the Punjab (Potohar) were recorded. This was followed by forest land settlement in the Hazara areas of the province of KP then NWFP. Forest land settlement has not yet been undertaken in the AJK and GB, therefore the usufruct rights and system of imposition of grazing tax is not formalized in GB and AJK.

In order to gain access to winter pastures in the Punjab the Bakarwals have established a symbiotic relationship with the forest officials and readily pay the grazing fee mostly without getting the goats counted. While the Bakarwals resist the taxation in Deosai and Neelum; the land is their ancestral grazing land and the forest department is considered as an intruder, legally the land of the Deosai plains has not been settled and title of the land is yet to be recorded under the Land Revenue laws. The forest Department has notified Deosai as National Park under the Wildlife laws. The hate-love relationship between the Bakarwal and the forest department continues and in the long term shall determine whether they continue their traditional lifestyle surrender by the Pull forces.

The Bakarwals occupy the ecological niche (Barth, 1973) left by the sedentary people they encounter on their routes; fallow lands after harvesting, margins of agricultural fields, roadsides, state forests and pastures. Swati Gujars were not studied in this

research however the pattern described by Barth for Swati Gujars is the same with the Gujar Bakarwals of this study. In Deosai Plains, they use the vast grass lands in summer pastures, where is no permanent human settlements due to extreme weather conditions. Therefore the summer pastures are unencumbered with usage rights from the local sedentary people.

The Bakarwals have to face hardships at the hands of the forest officials particularly when the decision to issue grazing permits is delayed and winter season forces them to find grazing grounds for the goatherds, and in many case have to offer bribes or gift exchange. There is no grazing policy for the nomads or even the local settled people in any of the provinces and so is the uncertainty on the rights of the nomads. Resultantly there exists a permanent conflict between the Bakarwals and the forest department the dynamics of which is dealt in chapter 5.



Source: collected during field work

Figure 13. Receipts of fines Musk Deer National Park AJK

Through a resistance to the state power, the Bakarwals have been successful in maintaining their traditional lifestyle; through winning access to forest grazing lands by getting grazing permits from the government of the Punjab on yearly basis. Issuance of grazing permits is however made on decisions made every year just before the winter grazing season (October-November). According to respondents from the Bakarwal community in good years early decisions are made in October and in adverse years the government disallows grant of permits. And even imposes restrictions on the entry of Bakarwals in the northern districts of the Punjab. In the KP entry of the Bakarwal goats in the plantation enclosures is banned under section 144 during their downhill winter migration (fig I). This thesis looks into the power and resistance by the state and the

Bakarwals on usage of forest lands in the Potohar for the last thirty years. In most forest lands the local sedentized residents are issued grazing permits at concessional rates while in some areas the local residents are allowed free of cost grazing in state forests. The forest department de-facto realized the Bakarwals as an entity by the issuance of grazing permits at a much-enhanced rate (as compared to the sedentary people)

5.2.4 Casting of Votes

In Pakistan the national census is undertaken under the Constitution of 1973 after every ten years and forms the basis for the electoral lists. Since 1951, only six nationwide censuses were undertaken: 1961, 1972, 1981, 1998 and 2017. Similarly, NADRA the National Database Registration Authority issues CNIC National Identity Cards. The CNICs entitles a citizen to cast votes for legislative elections that are held every five years. Address of the citizen is most important in the columns of both the national census and issuance of CNIC.

Neither the census nor CNIC have provision of address of any nomadic citizen, this in turn implies that the state does not recognize the existence of mobile people in the country. This can also mean about the unconscious policy that the state's aim is to settle the mobile people. In this scenario all the Bakarwals have managed to get addresses in their CNICs. The basis of the address is either on basis of property purchased or the blessing of the political figure / local councilor who attests the credentials of the Bakarwal. The Kaghani Bakarwals who managed to get CNICs from Hazara form a substantial vote bank and 2-3 parliamentary seats are ensured for a Gujar candidate. Currently (203-17) Sardar Yusuf a Gujar from the Gujar caste Poswal is a Member National Assembly and a federal Minister. I have attended ceremonies of Gujar mobile schools and Gojri language books with Sardar Yusuf as chief guest. There are Gujar members in the Punjab provincial assembly, but the issues of the pastoral nomadic Gujars have never been taken up in the floors of the legislative assemblies for reasons that could only be speculated and further researched is needed.

5.2.5 National Parks and Protected Area System

The global environmental movement gained momentum in Pakistan in the 1960's and establishment of protected areas was seen as the best option to conserve nature. The Reserved Forests were already established in the country under the forest Act 1927 but these had defined boundaries of the forests and clear ownership of the land with the

government. Establishment of National Parks was an additional layer on the already existing problems in the name of nature conservation with the establishment of 22 National Parks as of 2016 increased to 31 in June 2021³⁴; five out of these are located within the space used by the Gujar Bakarwals. Other categories of protected areas are the Game Reserves and Wildlife Sanctuaries. Trespassing, hunting, cultivation or erection of any structures is the acts that are prohibited in these protected areas. Out of 22 protected areas 5 lie on the route of the Bakarwals while the summer and winter pastures in Deosai and Potohar are a National Park and RF respectively. While along the migratory route they pass through protected areas from Muzaffarabad to Taobat National Park. De jure grazing in these protected areas by the Gujar Bakarwals being non-right holders is an offence under the wildlife and forest laws. The laws under which the Protected Areas are declared have provisions that the local population shall be taken on board before such notification is made. Records show that the people at the core were consulted but never the people at the periphery (nomads in particular). Dependency Theory, details discussed in chapter 2 Push and Pull factors and history.

5.2.6 Protected Areas Network in the Three Locations

With the growing concern to protect wildlife the wildlife departments were created in the provinces of the Punjab and AJK by detaching the wildlife duties from the forest departments in the 1970's. The provincial Wildlife laws were also passed by the respective legislative assemblies. The Wildlife Preservation Act 1975 GB 1975, Punjab Wildlife Act 2007, Punjab Forest Act 2012 and the AJK Wildlife Act 1975 and Rules 1985 define various categories of Protected Areas as under:

- Reserve Forest
- National Park
- Game Reserve
- Wildlife Sanctuary
- Community Controlled hunting area

All these categories of protected areas aim to minimize or completely wipe out resource use by humans, while some rights and concessions are given to local sedentary peoples;

³⁴ Source : Official website of the Ministry of Climate Change Government of Pakistan accessed on July 31st 2021 <http://www.moec.gov.pk/NewsDetail/MzZmZTg4OGItNWE5My00NjkxLTlhODQtYmUwZGQxMDElZjRl>

no right is given to the nomadic indigenous people even if they have been using the resource for generations.

The Bakarwals have no option but to pass through the new and old National Parks and other categories of Protected Areas. None of the nomads were consulted as obligated by the Wildlife Laws of taken into confidence while declaring the new National Parks.

5.2.7 Punishments for Violations of the Rules Applicable in Protected Areas

Grazing and trespassing in the protected areas is an offence under all the wildlife laws through which the Bakarwals pass, thereby the very existence of protected areas that were aimed to protect wildlife without taking into consideration the needs and customary migratory trail and grazing grounds of the Bakarwals are in fact impediments, that provide a hindrance to the continuity of the traditional lifestyle.

Throughout the long migratory trail of this Bakarwal group they have to pass through protected area which de jure is an offence that is punishable under. The punishment for grazing or trespassing in the protected is clearly provided in the wildlife Acts of all the provinces.

However, in practice the wildlife staff takes little actions to interfere and take cognizance against these nomadic Bakarwals. Under the Forest Act there are numerous cases where Bakarwals had been arrested, fined and many fines were imposed on them.

6 The Process of Sedentarization

Recently sedentarized are those Bakarwals who could not undertake the summer migration due to some *force majeure* like loss of mule, the family pulls on and stays back in a town or village locate on the route. To live they undertake some menial jobs or farm labor for local landowners in exchange of a place to live and some cash to meet both ends meets. A Bakarwal dreams of saving some money to buy a mule that would enable him to continue with his old lifestyle. Many of the recently settled Bakarwals include those who have adopted involuntary or unplanned sedentarization. The food habits, dress and hair style patterns of the recently settled Bakarwals remains the same like those of pure nomads. The pure nomadic women make short snakelike braids of their hair after long labor. Their long shirts are bright colored either bluish or reddish with typical floral pattern made of heavy cotton of *sheneil*. Dress of men remains Bakarwal woolen cap, heavy beard, and dark militia colored *shalwar kameez* and *Kohati chapel*. Food remains the same as long as the family has supplies of dried goat cheese, dried vegetable (local name *Golri*) that they collect from Deosai during summers. Dried goat cheese is put in water with *Makhad* and the cooked whitish curry is eaten with bread at lunch time. All Bakarwals invariably eat rice at supper.

Some of the recently settled Bakarwals are those who planned their settlement and purchased a parcel of land by selling his flock of goats. They normally plan to settle in a land that is away from towns and habitations, with available grazing land or fallow agricultural fields nearby so that their remaining goats could graze. Such people remain in close contact with their nomadic kin for a few generations and sometimes visit relatives at Deosai during the summers. Food habits remain the same as that of pure nomads and the first thing they ask on the arrival of Bakarwals in winter pastures is *golri* and dried goat cheese. *Golri* and dried goat cheese are cooked in water to make a curry called '*bangora*', a favorite dish of the Bakarwals, another favorite dish is '*kalaari*' made by mixing milk and yogurt and cooking.

Dress pattern of women gradually changes to resemble that of the settled women. A Bakarwal of Choa Saidan Shah opened a cloth shop upon settlement; another one at Dhodial purchased a Toyota wagon and a tractor to rent out to locals. Cases were also observed when Bakarwals who failed to make a living when settled, were forced to return to nomadism. 15 Bakarwals were interviewed in the Potohar area that could not

get a job or were struggling in their small businesses, wished to return to pastoralism if there is a favorable and predictable system of issuance of grazing permits, and secure migratory routes.

Old or Permanently Settled Bakarwals are those who were successful in making a living after giving up nomadism and have changed the Bakarwal breeds of livestock (Bakarwal breeds of goats and sheep do not survive the harsh summers of the Potohar) or have taken up farming like the local sedentary population. People who have stayed for five years or more without undertaking migration are categorized as permanently settled. Food, dress and hair style of women change. Language also changes and after a few generations, Gojri language is also forgotten.

Third generation of fully settled Gujar Bakarwal nomads who hold high positions in government jobs were also observed. In one case in Fatehjang a person from the *Bariyankhel* clan, whose grandfather managed to get primary education immigrated to the USA under a US government lottery scheme and is a US citizen. He was successful in the US and regularly sends remittances to his relatives who have managed to purchase 100 Kanals of agricultural land in Fatehjang. The second case is again a man from *Bariyankhel* who immigrated as a skilled worker to the UK and regularly visits his relatives who are settled in Rawalpindi. His three children who were born and grew up in the UK wear shalwar kameez instead of jeans when they come to visit their relatives in Pakistan and take pride in their nomadic ancestry.

6.1 Evidences in Support of Theory

In this research, a number of case studies were recorded after in-depth interviews and participant observation. New phenomenon including survival techniques was separately recorded that enriched this study. Two case studies were recorded from each locality which was pre-defined. A case study has been included on the Women's' health issues they face during migration, including child birth. It was documented during an interview that if a woman gives birth during migration, the herd cannot afford to stop during uphill migration in upper Neelum where the fodder is scarce. So the woman has to stay back with the newborn for a few days. It was also mentioned by one Bakarwal that if a goat gives birth during migration the entire group halts at any convenient spot for up to three days to give the mother some rest; this is the extent of importance of goats in the nomadic community. In another case study of recently settled Bakarwals it was noted

that a horse or mule is the backbone of mobility and the family gives up nomadism if it cannot afford to replace a dead horse or mule. A pack animal carries essential luggage and its health is more important than anything for Bakarwals. Similarly, in case a goat gives birth during migration, the group does not stop; the new born lambs are either loaded on horseback or carried by the shepherd by hand or hung in a cloth over his back.

During the 1980s, when the author was a practitioner forest officer, scandals of some forest officers were rampant who were facing enquiries on complaints of being involved in depositing lesser amount in the state exchequer against the actual grazing fees collected from Bakarwals. These permits are issued on numbers of animals entering the forest. However, it was only after the present study it was realized that counting goats is considered a bad omen by the Bakarwals. Therefore, the number of goats is always a point of contention between the Bakarwals and the forest officers.

All forest officers are under the influence of the curriculum taught at the Pakistan Forest Institute (PFI) Peshawar (training academy of forest officers before induction in the forest service). The training prepares officers in such a way that they are reluctant to accept ground realities not covered in the training curriculum. The curriculum is based on the colonial times theories, including the concept of carrying capacity of rangelands/pastures. The PFI faculty and educational system is geared towards producing forest officers and the system is a continuum of the legacy of the colonial British forest bureaucracy. The author's initial years in the forest service was under the influence of the training imparted by PFI. Although there have been many developments in the biophysical sciences in recent times but the forest service has no system to assimilate to these developments. For example, the very concept of 'carrying capacity' has been challenged by Eleanor Ostrum (1990), the Nobel Prize winner in 2009, that there is a need to make provisions in the forest department to consider the latest scientific research.

6.2 Setting the Scene

I chose to conduct a detailed study a select group of Gujar Bakarwals as my previous knowledge gained during my years spent in the forest service in the province of the Punjab would save time and money. I selected the Kashmiri Gujar Bakarwals who whose vertical summer-winter migration is the longest that covers all the four Northern provinces. This would help understand many aspects that always were in my mind.

This was a tough time for Bakarwals and good time to a few forest officials as there was a ban of their entry in the Potohar and they had to struggle with Neelum Development Authority and the GB Forest Department who enforced new taxes after counting goats. . Some Bakarwals through their representatives filed suits in the courts of law to get access to their traditional and customary grazing lands but none of their lawyers could defend their cases in the courts of law.

Mobile phone has become the best means of communication where signals are available. In Deosai, there are no mobile signals or landline phones but Public Call offices are available in Neelum Valley and Astore. Some shopkeepers also have landline phones and provide communication services on payment.

All Bakarwals use the Gojri language to communicate amongst themselves and also to keep private conversation secret from the local population and the forest officers. The author enjoyed confidence of the key informers as well as the community and the forest officers. This in turn helped collect rich primary data for this study.

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6.3 Recent Global Developments on Pastoralism

This Chapter deals with the overall developments including legislative in some countries. In **Europe**, pastoral nomadism is well documented particularly in the Alps, Balkans, Wales, Scotland, England, Ireland, Spain, the Pyrenees, Scandinavian Peninsula, Caucasus and northern Anatolia. In the Balkans, the Yoruk, the Sarakatsani and the Romanian peoples (Khazanov, 1994) spend summers in the mountains and return in winter to the lower plains. They had to change their migratory routes with the change of political boundaries due to power struggles between the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman empires. The border between Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia remained comparatively unhindered. Some groups could go as far the Balkan Mountains in the north, to spend winters on less hostile warm plains in the neighborhoods along the Aegean Sea. With the appearance of new nation states, in the territories of the former Ottoman Empire, new national borders appeared that divided the summer and

winter habitations of most pastoral groups. These new borders created hindrance for the easy migration across borders, particularly during frequent times of war.

In **Britain**, the same universal pattern existed. For example, the Welsh and Scottish farmer would spend the summer at hillside summer-houses; graze their livestock till late autumn whence families and their workers would bring the flocks to the valleys downhill to stay at the main home. This system of pastoral nomadism has been outdated since the last century; remnants of this practice however, can still be seen in a few countryside farming communities in the region till today. Nowadays, herds that spend summer on many highland farms are carried to lowland valleys in winter by motorized vehicles instead of driven over the land.

In Southern part of **Italy**, the same practice of herding in upland summer pastures dates back to ancient times has a long documented history till 1950's and 1960's when the advent of motorized road transport replaced travel by land. Tratturi is a candidate for declaration as UNESCO's World Heritage site where the network of shepherd's migratory tracks from the pre-Roman time has been preserved by the Italian government to qualify as humanity's cultural heritage and remain a public property with legal cover for conservation. Molise region has a competition with "Tratturi" to qualify as UNESCO's World Heritage site.

In **Spain**, nomadic pastoralism has a long history throughout much of the country particularly in the areas of Castile, Extremadura and Leon where cattle and sheep herders undertake long distance migration between the green summer pastures and the warmer climatic conditions in winter. Spanish nomadic pastoralism is the origin of the cowboy ranching culture of the USA that the Spanish immigrants brought to the Americas. Numerous related cultures are of the Gauchos in Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay. Spain also hosted the World Gathering of Nomadic People in 2007 where a three member Gujar Bakarwal nomads from this study area including another key informer who is newly and is also a key informer of this study, participated for which the author played a crucial role. The 1995 Spanish Law on Spanish Trails provides legal cover to let this old profession survive in the modern world because the pastoral science finds nomadic grazing as an essential element to sustain the health of forests. A detailed discussion on the science and the Spanish law is included in **chapter** six. The 3000 KM long trail was traced to pass right from the middle of the Madrid city where the urban sprawl has taken

over the traditional routes of the migratory herds. The Shepherds have a right to use 78,000 miles of paths for seasonal livestock migrations from cool highland pastures in summer to warmer grazing in winter. The movement is called transhumance and in Spain it involves around a million animals, mostly sheep and cattle. Some paths have been used annually for more than 800 years and modern-day Madrid is in the way of two north-south routes, one dating back to 1372.

In the **Pyrenees**, the similar pattern of relocation of herds (mainly cows, sheep and horses) is found to forage in high mountain pastures in summers. The reason here is that the farms in the lowlands were too small to support large herds. This system that evolved during the Middle Ages survived in the twentieth century but was lost due to pressure of industrialization. This was because the herders left for better and easier jobs in cities. However, unlike the Tratturi that is a candidate, Mont Perdut region of the Pyrenees has already been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997, mainly to preserve its unique association with the transhumance system of agriculture. Its villages, fields and meadows, as the basis of a seasonal migration of men and animals to the high pastures during the summer season, are an outstanding example of a type of transhumance that was once widespread in the mountainous regions of Europe, but which today is rare.

In the **Scandinavian Peninsula**, pastoralism is still experienced to some extent in Sweden and Norway. However, in the manner of other modern day European pastoralists, the livestock is transported between winter and summer pastures through trucks a shift from the traditional characteristics of mobility. Scandinavian pastoralism is marked with the Sami reindeer herders who have practiced transhumance by an altered system. In summer, reindeer are moved to a mountain pasture so that the hay in the home farms and meadows in valleys are preserved for using in winters. As autumn approaches, the livestock herds are returned to the home farm. Recently, the Swedish Supreme court has given a decision in favor of Sami reindeer herders.as discussed later in this chapter.

Legal Framework

Due to increasing realization on the fast disappearing pastoral nomads some countries have responded by legislative measures while some have notified nomadic trails as Man and Biosphere reserves the details of which are given below:

6.3.1 Spanish Law of Nomadic trails

The present study tried to explore how other countries have dealt with the issue of long distance migration. The Spanish law on Nomadic Trail is a pertinent example of the Spanish government's efforts to remove hurdles on migration of pastoralists.

The Spanish like many other Europeans realized the need to restore grazing for health of forests, so they passed this law in 1994 that gives rights to the mobile people to use anybody's land for camping during their 3,000 KM long annual migration.

6.3.2 The Indian Forest Rights Act, 2006

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights Act, 2006 is a law passed by the Indian parliament despite much opposition from the Forest Service of India. The Act recognizes the rights of the traditional forest users/ grazers and other traditional people residing in forests whose rights were not be recorded and recognized at the time of forest settlements or declaration of protected areas under the Forest Act, 1927 (a common legacy for India and Pakistan). In this Act, forest dwellers have been defined as those who have resided and depended on forest for their livelihood for at least three generations.

6.3.3 Supreme Court of Sweden Decision on Sami Reindeer Herders

The Sami reindeer herders of Sweden won a Supreme Court case in 2011 (Sasvari et al 2011) wherein the court gave them grazing rights on northern ice clad tundra, which is privately owned. The Sami petition was that their ancestral land was sold to private persons, hundreds of years ago but they being away from the core society never knew about this transaction.

6.3.4 The Mesta Livestock Trails Spain

The Mesta Livestock trails in Spain (UNESCO Man and Biosphere site) comprise a tight-knit network of interconnected roads in the form of "communicating vessels", 125,000 KM that still exist. In addition to their traditional use by livestock farmers, this network of livestock trails is a global cultural heritage of the highest consideration given the ecological, artistic, historic and social wealth surrounding these public domain sites. The network of Spanish trails dates back to antiquity and has been regulated by laws enacted since the middle ages. Today it is safeguarded by protective regulation laid down in the Livestock Trail Act, of 1995. Generally speaking, the original itineraries have been maintained owing to, inter alia, the fact that transhumance is still practiced today in Spain.

6.3.5 The Royal Shepherds Track Italy

The Royal Shepherds track in Italy has been listed as Man and Biosphere Reserves by UNESCO under the Man and Biosphere category. The network of shepherd's migratory tracks, are traced to the pre-Roman age, later connected to the network of major routes thereby making transhumance an established, organized and accepted economic activity. The network of shepherd's tracks is protected by the Italian legislation as an archaeological site and a state property. According to the Italian law the whole network of shepherd's tracks is protected by a set of Decrees of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage.

6.5 The Search for a Policy on Pastoral Nomadism in Pakistan

The mindset of the post-colonial rulers of Pakistan can be gauged by the enactment of the Punjab Goat Restriction Ordinance 1959, The West Pakistan Goats Restrictions Rules, 1961. Under these rules it was a punishable offence to keep goats without permission from the district magistrate who would also notify their migratory routes. Luckily this law was repealed under the West Pakistan repealing Ordinance 1970. No records could be accessed for any prosecution or punishments imposed for the violation of this Law. Similarly no records were found that led the government repeals this law. However the discrimination against the Bakarwals still persists.

There are many indigenous communities in Pakistan. However, they are not properly defined. The constitution of Pakistan 1973 gives equal rights to all the citizens and protection to religious minorities but it is silent on indigenous communities who are devoid of citizenship in many instances. Without a definition of indigenous peoples, there is little chance of moving forward for a policy on indigenous people or legislation. Although, the courts respect customary law and many decisions are made based on customs particularly in the areas that are not settled.

In Pakistan there is no Ministry to look after the tribal or indigenous peoples, the academia and the civil society could fill the gap and take up this ignored matter that has been left solely at the mercy of the forest officers in case of pastoral nomads.

Pakistan is also a party to a few international treaties and conventions that have provisions on local and indigenous issues such as the Convention on Biological Diversity³⁵, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples³⁶,

³⁵ Convention on Biological Diversity, 1992 ratified by Pakistan in 1994. Article 8-j of this Convention states that all Parties shall respect the traditional lifestyles and indigenous knowledge of the local and indigenous people; And shall take steps to equitably share the benefits arising out of genetic resources;

UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme³⁷. To fulfill its international commitments, the country must move forward by introducing policy and legislative reforms for the rights of indigenous people like Bakarwals.

³⁶ Pakistan also voted for the adoption of the United Nations "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" (UNDRIP) in 2007. This is a non-binding declaration and therefore has no impact on the nomadic Bakarwals so far.

³⁷ Pakistan is a member of UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) which is an Intergovernmental Programme which aims to improve relationships with people and their environment on scientific basis. It combines the biophysical and social sciences for the improvement of livelihoods of local communities and the sharing of the benefits equitably so as to safeguard ecosystems, thereby promoting cultural and environmental sustainability. Pakistan has an effective National MAB Committee and have notified. Six sites have been designated as World Heritage Sites while eighteen sites are on the tentative list. Additionally two Biosphere Reserves have been notified.

1. Conclusion and Way forward

The contribution of pastoralists to the national economy is not reported in Pakistan (PBS, 2010-2011). However, their undocumented contribution to the national economy is significant. This is because the pastoral economy is surviving in many parts of the country as the nomads provide goods and services to a number of sectors. Since pastoral nomads have been forced to register as settled in official records yet many in fact retain nomadism, resulting to their total invisibility in the society. This in turn makes the governments ignore their civic and human rights.

Based on the research findings, the present study identifies the following actions as a way forward to ensure indigenous rights in Pakistan.

- i) Create a Ministry of indigenous peoples or entrust this job to an existing Ministry;
- ii) Develop a national definition of indigenous people of Pakistan;
- iii) Recognize Pastoralism as a highly specialized system that sustains millions of people;
- iv) Quantify the contribution of pastoral nomadism in the national economy; for this purpose, adequate funding may be provided to the academia;
- v) Register nomads as citizens in national databases and in issuance of National Identity cards; this will help plan a sustainable future for the nomadic people through relevant policymaking;
- vi) Fulfil Pakistan's international obligations on respecting the lifestyle and traditional knowledge of the local and indigenous peoples as provided in international conventions and treaties;
- vii) Reserve seats for nomadic people in the Parliament to enhance their participation in the political and civic systems of the country;
- viii) Invest in education for the nomadic people and in particular the long distance migratory Bakarwals;
- ix) Give security of tenure in summer, winter and migratory routes to the pastoralists;
- x) Revisit the Protected areas system in particular the National Parks so that the traditional land uses of the nomadic and other indigenous peoples are given

due consideration. The forest and wildlife managers must not be left on their own to deal with this important issue;

- xi) Initiate an insurance scheme to deal with extreme weather events like droughts and floods, which affect pastoralists the most. The nomadic people must also be compensated like others affected by natural disasters; and
- xii) Protect the right of pastoralists to use their traditional grazing.

**OFFICE OF THE CONSERVATOR OF FORESTS,
MUZAFFARABAD FOREST CIRCLE, MUZAFFARABAD**



FOREST ORDER

It has been brought into my notice by the All Pakistan Gujjar Bakarwal Association that the accepted and recognized right for facilities of camping grounds and passage through forests for their flocks of goats & sheep, under Forest Regulation of 1930, are not being given since long. Resultantly they and their cattle are facing severe hardships. In this regard Divisional Forest Officer Range Land Division vide his letter No. 865-67 dated 28.5.2012 has submitted valuable, workable and justified proposals under rules to provide the facility of camping grounds and passage through forests to these Bakarwals.

Therefore, in pursuance of the Government's Order No. 2040 dated 20th January 1912, Conservator's Circular No. 113 dated 28.3.1912 and Conservator's Circular No. 80 dated 29.11.1912, and in light of the proposals submitted by DFO Range Land Division Muzaffarabad, it is hereby ordered that the instructions given under the aforementioned Government Order and Circulars will be implemented to provide the facilities of camping grounds and way of passage through the forests at the following places and forests of the Muzaffarabad Forest Circle, in letter and spirit.

A. Camping Ground Facility

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| i. Muzaffarabad to Nausery :- | Patikka, Khawarmang (Both sides of River Neelum) |
| ii. Nausery to Joora:- | Chahlyana, Seemari, Barrian and Joora |
| iii. Keran to Dudhnial :- | Changan |
| iv. Sharda to Kel :- | Kel Seri, Kass Kanari |
| v. Kel to Janawai:- | Machhal |
| vi. Janawai to Sawnar | Sawnar |

B. Facility of Passage Through Forests

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| i. Joora to Keran :- | From Joora bridge both sides of River Neelum |
| ii. Kel to Janawai :- | From Machhal both sides of River Neelum |
| iii. Janawai to Sawnar :- | Left bank of River Neelum |

The concerned Divisional Forest Officers are directed to issue the necessary instructions and provide the guide boards at relevant places as mentioned in the rules and instructions thereof for these places and other similar forest and routs in their divisions as they deem fit for this purpose.

(Khawaja Nazeer Ahmad)

Conservator of Forests,

Muzaffarabad Forest Circle

No:- **7512-18**

Dated:- **16-5-2013**

Copy of above to:-

1. The Chief Conservator of Forests Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muzaffarabad for information please.
2. Deputy Commissioners Neelum, Muzaffarabad and Hattian Bala for Information please.
3. Divisional Forest Officer Range Land Division Muzaffarabad for information in light of his letter No. 865-67 dated 28.5.2012.
4. Divisional Forest Officer Sharda, Keran, Muzaffarabad & Jhelum Valley divisions for information, Implementation and further necessary action.
5. Chairman Neelum Valley Development Board Athmuqam for information.
6. Muhammad Hanif Parwana Chairman All Pakistan Gujjar Bakarwal Association Attock for information in light of his application dated 28.9.2009.
7. Master file

GOVERNMENT OF GILGIT BALTISTAN
GILGIT BALTISTAN SECRETARIAT
FOREST WILDLIFE AND ENVIRONMENT DEPARTMENT

Gilgit dated 23rd July, 2015

No. FW&E-1(12) DNP/2015

NOTIFICATION.

The Chief Secretary Gilgit-Baltistan has been pleased to approve the following strategies proposed by Conservator Parks and Wildlife GB, provisionally for promotion of recreational facilities as well as regulate the Gujjar Nomads activities in Deosai National Park:-

Regulation of Gujjar/Bakarwal grazing system.

- i. Only families grazing in DNP since year 2000 will be granted permits.
- ii. The number of livestock brought in should also be frozen at the traditional levels and any increase in livestock should not be permitted. (Summarized member of animals brought in to DNP by Nomads in 2001.
- iii. A token entry fee is hereby levied on the nomads. The amount thus collected will be deposited in the Park entry fee and in the account of Wildlife Conservation Fund which will be established later on.

The fee shall be as under:-

1. Goat - Rs. 15/-
2. Animals other than Goat - Rs. 30/-

2. Recreational fishing in Deosai National Park.

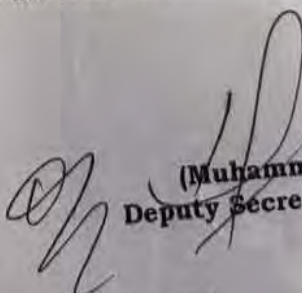
The following strategies/guidelines shall be observed while recreational fishing in DNP:-

- i. The number of daily permits to be issued in the first year will be limited to 500 with a bag limit of five fish per permit and fee of Rs. 500.
- ii. Fishing will be restricted to designated areas. A stretch of the river that extends to 1 km up stream of Bara Pani is recommended for recreational fishing. The DNP field staff will be positioned to monitor fishing activities in this stretch.
- iii. The fishing areas will be clearly demarcated with signboards showing start and ending fish zone.

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- iv. Warning signs for visitors indicating restriction on fishing will be placed at other areas such as Shatung and Kalapani Bridge where fishing has been reported before. The signs will also inform the visitors on where the fishing is permitted.
 - v. The staff based at Bara Pani will issue permits and maintain a register for this purpose.
 - vi. Fish population will be monitored on an annual basis using the same methodology as in the ecological baseline report to ensure that harvesting stays at sustainable levels. Extension of policy beyond 2015 will be considered after monitoring the fish population towards the end of season in 2015.
 - vii. Amounts collected from the fishing permits should be deposited in the existing account in which the park entry fee collected is deposited and later in the Wildlife Conservation Fund.
 - viii. Commercial fishing will not be allowed under any circumstance.

3. Imposition of Park Entry Fee on all visitors:-

- i. A uniform policy of entry fee in national park will be applied on all nationals and parks in GB, including the DNP, KNP and CKNP.
- ii. Entry fee will be levied on residents of GB as well as it is done for the rest of the provinces.
- iv. The residents of villages located in the periphery of DNP similarly communities that use Deosai for passage for transportation of essential supplies will be exempted.
- v. A public awareness program will be launched prior to introduction of entry fee for the residents of GB.


(Muhammad Musa)
Deputy Secretary (Forest)

DISTRIBUTION.

1. The Conservator Parks and Wildlife GB.
2. The Conservator Forest Gilgit Circle Gilgit
3. The Conservator Forest Baltistan Circle Skardu.
4. The Additional Secretary to Chief Secretary GB
5. The Wildlife Management Officer Deosai National Park Skardu.

1389-93
24/7/15

سوالن ابرائے خان بوش بکروال

یہ سوالن اہم صرف ان لوگوں سے ہیو چھا جیے گا جو خلی بدوش زنگی گزر رہے ہوں

سوالن نمبر:

سوالن کا نام

سوالن نمبر ۱: آپ کس برادری / خاندان سے تعلق کھتے ہوں؟ آپ کی برادری یا خاندان سے برابراہ کون سے ربراجکی ذمہ داریاں اور اہمیت کئی ہوتی ہوں؟

سوالن نمبر ۲: یہاں پر آپ کون کون سے خاندانی برابراہ کی لوگ بنا دہوں؟

سوالن نمبر ۳: آپ کے خاندانی یا آپ کے بڑوں نے آپ کو کویلتی اہمے کہ آپ لوگ کئی سی ہجرت کرکے پاکستان میں بنا دہوے ہو؟

سوالن نمبر ۴: آپ کی قوم یا برادری کی اصل تعلق کواہمے؟

سوالن نمبر ۵: آپسردیوں لوگرمیوں ہں کہ انجا کمرہتے ہوں؟ کواہم رسالایک ہی خاص جگہ پے جا کے رہتے ہوں؟ یا ہر سال آپانے ہونے کی جگہ بدی ہرتے ہوں؟

سوالن نمبر ۶: آپ گومیوں اوہ سردیوں کی پہاڑوں کی طرف وار پہاڑوں سے واپس مانی کی طرف ہجرت ہں کن کن جگہ واپس رکتے ہوں؟

سوالن نمبر ۷: آپ کئی وقت تنگومیوں اور سردیوں کی چرگاہیہ گزارتے ہوں؟ کن کن کون سے ہونے؟

سوالن نمبر ۸: کن کن چچی زور کی مدد سے آپ کو پتہ چلتا اہمے کہ اب آپ نے چرت کنی ہوں؟
(مخصوص تعلق، کوئی خاص موسم یا پھی رصاچ کی طرف سے رہنمائی؟)

سوالن نمبر ۹: آپ کتنے ہی سے زمینی کے لہک کو، محکمہ جنگ، تک ایفسرو کو، محکمہ مال، پولیس یا اہورے بکروال کو سا لانتے ہوں، اور کس بویہ اپریہتے ہوں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۰: دوران مچت آپ کس طرح بچوں کی پیدائش اور اگ کوئی فوت ہو جائے تو آپ
لوگ کس طرح ان معاملات کو سنبھالتے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۱: آپ مچرتکے دوران بچوں کی پیدائش کی کوئی فوت ہو جائے تو کون کون سی
رسومات ادا کرتے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۲: آپ لوگ سردیوں اور گرمیوں میں جہاں جا کر رہتے ہیں کیا وہاں صحت اور تھلیم
کی سولت میں سرسختی ہے؟ کیا آپ سب مچتے رہے کہ یہ سولت موجود ہونی چاہی؟

سوال نمبر ۱۳: کیا آپکے سالانہ اخراجات آپکے جنوروں (مثلاً بھیڑ بکری، اور دوسرے دودھ
ڈننے والے جنوروں) سے پورے ہو جاتے ہیں یا آپکو روزانہ اچت کی بھی انیکوام کرنے کی
ضرورت پیش آتی ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۱۴: کیا آپ کو بچوں کے ہوائیل بلکنی کی سولت میں سرسختی ہے؟ اگر ابھی نہیں ہے تو کیا
پہلے میں تھی؟

سوال نمبر ۱۵: ہوائیل بلکنی کے آنے سے کیا فلوئڈ حاصل ہونے لگی ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۱۶: پینیسویوں لوگرموں کی مچرتکے دوران کیا آپ نے بچوں کو تھلیم پوری
کرنے کے لئے چھوڑا ہے؟ ہو گیا ہے یا ان کے اخراجات کو برٹلٹ کتا ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۱۷: آپ کے خیل میں سگلا کوئی وقت تپ کے لئے سب سے اچھا ہے اور کیا ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۱۸: آپ مچرتکے دوران جن جن جگہوں سے گزرتے ہو وہی پلاکی برادری یا خندان
کے لوگ اس سولت میں متعلق ہو سکتے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۹: آپکے انشتاداروں اور قریبی خندان کے لوگوں کے ساتھ کس قسم کے علقات
ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۲۰: آپ کیلپی کہاں ہے؟ اور کون ہے؟ آپ بلن کی کب کسبلن ہے بھتے ہو؟ کیا آپلپن ہے پیرصاحبکونڈرانمبھیپشی کرتے ہو؟

سوال نمبر ۲۱: آپلپن کے لومٹن کی اختلافاتکیسیسے جھکھرتے ہو؟

سوال نمبر: ۲۲: گرمیوں اور سردیوں کی بھگاہ کی حق ملکوتی اور ٹشی چرٹے کی چھوٹ کسی ایکی کخن دانکے مپلس موتی ہے جو وہاں پان ہے ٹشی چرٹے ہے؟ ای چرگٹولہ تقسیسی مکا کوئی اطریتی کہ کاروتا ہے (عاضی سے سرتقل اجارہ دلی/ملکوت)؟

سوال نمبر ۲۳: آپ گرمیوں اور سردیوں کی چرگاہ کی حق ملکوتی ا عراضی کیونت کی چگہ پانی ہجرتکے دوران خرتکے ط بچتے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۲۴: آپکے سامان ہر وہ کون کون ہوں چی زیوں ہوں جن کا ہونا ہجرتکے لے ضروری ہے؟ چ کے لہونے سے آپکا چرت کرن ان مکن ہو جتا ہے؟ برائے ہو بللی ہدرج ہڈی اشیا میں سے ہتتوی بکے سرتکھائی ہیں؟

خچر

گھوڑے

کبویوں کی تعداد

سرتھ جانے والے لگو کی تعداد

گرمیوں کی چرگاہ

سردیوں کی چرگاہ

عظی رہنے کی جگہ ہجرتکے دوران

بکر اورا بھئی ٹکے اچھے نرخ ولی منڈی

لہے دونہ کی چرت کئی ضروری ہارتوں

روزانہ اجرتگھ کے روزانہ خرچکو چلانے کے لے

سوال نمبر ۲۵: پل پوے سال میں ہجگہ بے کتنی اکن اوق ترہتے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۲۶: پان میں ردیوں اور میروں کی ہجرت کے دوران آپ لوگ جن ہلتوں سے گرتے ہو،
بائنٹری پراجیکٹ کے لئے آپ کو ایسے تون میں کن ٹرکلائنگ سائیکل پڑا ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۲۷: پانے ہجرت کے دوران، سائیکل کے لئے کسی سوری کھلت عمل کی؟ گراں، آپ
نے کتنے ایسے اکلے؟

سوال نمبر ۲۸: آپ کی ہجرت کے ہلتوں میں کس ٹیپری بائنٹری پراجیکٹ شروع ہوتا ہے،
اور کس مقلم پر آکر ختم ہوتا ہے؟

Annexure IV

سوال نام براہیستقل سکون تبکروال

(ہمسوال نام صرف ان لوگوں سے ہیو چھا جائےگا جو خلی بدوش زندگی تھکر کے اب مستقل سکونت ایار کر چکے ہوں)

ہیلٹ نمبر: _____

گجھ کا نام _____

سوال نمبر ۱: آپ کس خلی دان کی برادری سے تعلق رکھتے ہوں؟

سوال نمبر ۲: یہاں پر آپ کون کون سے خلی دان کی برادری کی لوگ آباد ہوں؟

سوال نمبر ۳: آپ کے خلی میں یا آپ کے بٹروں نے پانے کو کوہلتی اے کہ پانے لوگکی سہ ہجرت
کر کے پاکستان میں آباد ہوئے ہو؟

سوال نمبر ۴: آپ کی قومی برادری کی اصل تھلخ کی اے؟

سوال نمبر ۵: پانے یہاں کس سے آباد ہوں (گرسال ہی نہی ہے وتپھر یہنٹوں کہ دادا کب آباد
ہوئے امثالاً ایوب خان کو قیامت کا ریفرنسلس تھل عمل کریں؟)

سوال نمبر ۶: کو اپانے خلی بدوشی سے ای کبار ہوں ہستقل سکون تھلخ کی یا آپ لوگ
کچھ فیکے سلت ہستقل آباد کاری وی ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۷ : ایسے کو رگھو نے عوام لتھے جن کی وجہ سے بے لگ لوگ جن بددوش زندگی سے بے بآد کا ای کی طرف را عب وی ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۸ : آپ جو لوگ بآد کار ہی کی آپ کے رشتہ داری بھی جن بددوش ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۹ : آپ کے ان کے ملتھ علق کس سے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۰ : کیا آپ کے اچھے بددوش رشتہ دار ہیں جن سے دور رہنا چاہئے پاس کر رہتے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۱ : کیا آپ لوگ اپنے جن ورچرن کے لئے اپنے جن بددوش رشتہ داروں کو ہٹاتے ہیں؟ گھر میں تو کس قسم کا اٹھارہ دی رکا مہلتا تلخ کرتے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۲ : کیا آپ بھی کبھی کچھ ٹٹی کے لئے بھی بددوشوں کی چلگاہ پہاڑی چلگاہ (پختے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۳ : کیا آپ کسی ایسے اچھے بددوش کو جتنے سے بچو پھلے جن بددوش تھ پھر اس نے پکے کسوت کر لی اس کے بعد وہ پھر سے جن بددوش بن گیا ہو؟

سوال نمبر ۱۴ : آپ کے جن دان کل ذریعہ معاش کیا ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۱۵ : کیا آپ کے پاس آپ کے ہم پے کوئی ذمہ دار کوئی ایسی ملکیت ہے جیسا مثلاً ٹریکٹریوٹن موجد ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۱۶ : اگر آپ کو ایک موقع فراہم کیا جائے تو آپ پھر سے جن بددوش زندگی گزارنے کے لئے راضی ہو جائیں گے؟

سوال نمبر ۱۷ : کیا آپ کو بے بی بیج سے اس پکھولہ سے متقل رملش سے خوش نہیں ہے اور پھر بھی اچھے بددوش زندگی میں واپس جانا چاہتے ہیں؟

سوال نمبر ۱۸ : آپکے گکھڑے کتنے افراد رات چل مفاہات میں؟ اور انہوں نے کس تکپڑھا ہوا ہے؟
کیا خٹل لٹ کے کس مفرد کو استیعج کی سچہ سی رٹکاری ملی ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۹ : کیا آپ کے خاندان میں سے کسی نے ستری بڑھی پالہ پر، ی کوئی اوپیشہ
وارنہ مہارت حاصل کی ہے جس کے وجہ سے آپ کی گھوڑو آمدن آ رہی ہو؟

سوال نمبر ۲۰ : کیا آپ نے کبھی پانے میں بدوش شتہ داروں کے ساتھ کوئی سیالہ کیلیں میں
کی ہے؟

سوال نمبر ۱ : کیا آپ نے بچو کی شہادی برداری کے اندر کرتے ہیں؟ پتہ بچوں کی شادی لے
اچہ بدوش شتہ داروں کو نت خب کرتے ہیں پکے بلڈ کاروں کو؟

سوال نمبر ۱۰ : کیا آپ کو کوئی ایسی شادی یاد ہے جس میں لڑکا یا لڑکی ہون میں سے کوئی
ایک میں بدوش تھا اور دوسرا پکا بلڈ کار؟ اگر ہاں براے میں جھپتلیوں؟

سوال نمبر ۳ : آپ کی روزانہ کی خورک کیا ہے؟ کیا آپ ابھی بھی چاول رات میں کھتے ہیں؟

Annexure V

Snapshots











Annexure VI

Videos

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