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SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND POTENTIAL FOR
SOCIAL CHANGE

(A Study of Forests and People of Hazara)

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ABDUL WAHEED RANA
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABD

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD

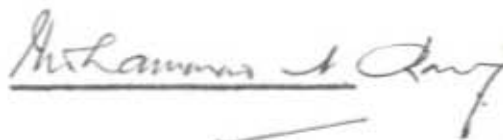
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FINAL APPROVAL OF THESIS

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by MR. ABDUL WAHEED RANA and it is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the degree of Master of Science in Anthropology.

COMMITTEE

1, Dr. Mohammad A. Rauf
Chairman



2. Dr. Anwar-ul-Haq
Member
(External)



3. Mrs. Christine Cotton Ellis
Member,
(Supervisor)



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MAPS

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MAP OF MANSEHRA & ABBOTTABAD DISTRICTS



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Research area	
District H.Q.	□
Town, Village	●

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

Growing population and decreasing resources are the most acute problems enormously encountered by most of the third world countries like Pakistan at present. On the one hand they lack advanced technology to evoke the potential of scarce resources, and on the other, normative social pressures sustain the retention of the present life style. Natural resources present in these countries either remain unexploited or are being badly utilized. The squandering of the forest wealth of Pakistan is a typical instance of this, particularly the mismanagement of Chir Pine wealth in Hazara. In Pakistan this situation has many reasons:-

1. Lack of industries to support a burgeoning population and to release land from subsistence production.
2. Lack of technology and technical knowledge to exploit and improve present resources and find new ones.

Industries in Pakistan are clustered in urban centres, mostly, while the raw material producing areas are deprived of opportunities to exploit their latent wealth in a proper manner.

Industrial areas recruit manpower from rural areas to run the factories. Scarce resources act as a push factor which results in an ecological imbalance between man and his immediate environment (resources). This imbalance causes side affects on the life style of people i.e. break in traditional social relationship and in the social organization of production. Any attempt towards a better utilization of Chir Pine on Industrial scale requires some pre-considerations:-

- a. People are cutting their trees in terms of "wood hunting" in forest.
- b. Forest has an immense importance in the economy of the area sepcially in the mode of production.
- c. People 's own attitude towards a better use of forest is more countable than any economic incentive.

The industrialization process brings a change in the traditional agrarian mode of production, which in fact, has its roots in traditional attachment to the land and its produce. The present study is an attempt to understand the feasibility of change and its consequences on the life style of the people and to record their response to innovation in terms of acceptance or rejection of new economic incentives.

1.1 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY AT LARGE

Principally this study was conducted under the following objective:

The Government of Pakistan is intending to establish a pulp and paper factory in Hazara, to utilize the Chir Pine Forest wealth in a more productive way. This study was carried out to see the consequences of industrialization in Hazara, knowing the great dependence of people on forest for agricultural, as well as domestic purposes. The aim of the research was to examine the drawbacks and benefits of the change in relation to the people's attitudes towards the industrialization and its expected benefits.

Naturally present raw material is insufficient to run the factory for a long time, hence large scale tree plantation is required on present pasture lands to renew ^{the} resources. The expected effects of these measures on agriculture and social relationship were to be studied in relation to present social organization of Hazara, in particular the economic structure of Hazara society. Thus the major purpose of the study was to analyse the feasibility of the proposed industry in terms of social and economic implications.

1.2 ✓ PROBLEM

To explore the existing pattern of subsistence and examine their relationship with the potential for alternative means of living.

1.3 THE PROBLEM STATED

Villages in Hazara are basically agrarian in nature. The people extract their livelihood from agriculture and forest. Land holdings are small and inadequate to meet the growing demands of the people. In these circumstances people have to seek other sources of income, ^{the} as farming is an insufficient means of subsistence. These sources are sought either locally or outside the area. The only supporting economic asset in Hazara is Chir Pine. These forests are reserved by the Government for industrial purposes specifically to prepare pulp and paper. People in the absence of any industry are exploiting their wealth for petty purposes like house construction and consumption of firewood rather than otherwise. This is a great wastage of these forests for both the local people and the nation as a whole.

An attempt has been made to locate all the possible means of subsistence and their relationship with existing life style. Secondly the purpose of this study is to find out the nature of response if some new incentives are provided in terms of industry, which will not only absorb Chir Pine raw material but also provide job opportunities to the local people. Above all the industry will provide them the real output of their forest wealth in terms of immediate rewards.

Basically this study has two phases. One is to collect data on existing subsistence activities. The other phase performs

to the study of relations of production with associated norms and values. The information will, then, be evaluated in terms of future planning. The endeavour of the study is to find out a correlation between existing life style and the potential of inhabitants for alternative means of earning when the forest wealth ceases to provide material for agriculture and allied sectors. Better economic opportunities, alone, are not always sure criteria for the adoption of a change; it is more a question of peoples own perception of the new incentive. A first prerequisite for these incentives is that they should be in a reasonable harmony with existing norms and values of the society. These values and norms define the potential for the acceptance or rejection of a change. Means of subsistence are not economic functions only, but they have a great relevance with social system. In this regard change in productive sector is associated with the change in entire social order.

1.4 THE TARGET AREAS

The study would, therefore, focus on following areas:-

- a. Social organization of the people, including inter-ethnic differentials, group behaviour, and authority patterns.
- b. Nature of existing subsistence patterns including emotional and habitual attachment of people with them. + Economic factors favouring or disfavouring the retainment of present life style.

- c. Role of forest and benefits associated with present system of its exploitation, with special emphasis on to derive a correlation between present benefits and future opportunities in relation to peoples' own perception.
- d. Measurement of the adaptive potential of the inhabitants towards industry and (entrepreneurship) and factors stimulating and retarding change.

1.5 METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

This study was carried out in the villages of Bazara. Sixteen villages were selected to derive a comparative apprehension of the area regarding ethnic diversity and variable means of subsistence.

Jaba was selected as a field station due to following reasons:-

- i. It is ⁱⁿ the middle of the area.
- ii. It contains biggest reserve forest in the area.
- iii. It is typical in the sense that most of its inhabitants are Gujars, who rely upon forest wealth through illegal cutting of wood.
- iv. It is the biggest village in the area.

- v. More than 70% residents are full time agriculturists.
- vi. People of Jaba have frequent contact with the other villages with whom they provide wood.

Present project was launched jointly by the Pakistan Forest Institute and World Bank.

I was offered housing facility by Forest Department but being aware of the hostility present between the people and foresters, I did not accept the offer. Afterwards I was accommodated in the rest house by the local people. According to them I was an impartial person so my stay with any local person would annoy the rival groups. In fact the rest house was my camp headquarter, otherwise I kept on moving from village to village.

My first acquaintance was with Sardar Mohammad Jee, a local Gujar leader who was lately elected member of the Union Council. Through Sardar I could develop contacts with other Gujar leaders, not only in Jaba, but also, in other villages.

My second contact was Shah Jahan Shah, the big landlord of the area who owns one fourth of the total land in Jaba. These contacts introduced me in the nearby villages.

I would travel from Jaba to Mansehra in the bus daily, in the morning and then back in the evening. The bus would pick passengers up, from villages along the way. I could develop a friendship with local people through this two hour journey.

After the initial stay of about a week in Jaba, I started travelling with Jaba people to other villages. There, I was invited by local inhabitants to stay with them. After a month, it was quite possible for me to move around without the agency of any other person.

1.5.1 Multi-Stage Sampling

Multi-stage sampling techniques were adopted to collect the data. Villagers in the first stage were selected on the basis of ethnic and economic criteria.

A very careful sampling was made for the selection of villages. I selected multi-ethnic and multi-ethnic villages to see the diverse conditions of relationship between groups, and the nature of hierarchy. In the sampling, economic conditions were also strictly kept into consideration. Only those villages were studied which had dissimilar economic characteristics. Out of such sampling I could deduce two things: response of people of the same ethnic group living under different economic conditions, secondly the response of different ethnic groups living under similar economic conditions.

Then a critical comparison was made on the basis of information collected from two kinds of villages.

In the second stage sampling, people were selected, whom I had to interview in depth. Sampling population was stratified into categories of:

- a. Big landlords
- b. Big forest owners
- c. Small forest owners
- d. Landless guzara owners
- e. Servants and tenants

In addition to the above mentioned categories, forest employees were also interviewed. Target population was interviewed through informed discussion in the bus, in their fields, hotels and at their homes. A bulk of information was gathered from village meeting places, where villagers used to sit in leisure time and talk about personal and communal affairs. The ^{bus} stations at Gari Habibullah and Mansehra were the places, where I deduced information about inter-village matters.

1.5.2 Structured Interview Schedules

Four types of schedules were run. There was one observation schedule for each village, covering basic information. Three interview schedules were used at the end of fieldwork. Each interview schedule was structured for specific sort of data, filled through distinct categories of population. Observation Schedule 'A' was for Guzara owners only as they are the target of the project's objectives. Interview schedule 'B' was of general type, covering all income groups whereas interview schedule 'C' was structured for influential people and local leaders only.

1.5.3 Inter-Disciplinary Approach

An inter-disciplinary approach was employed in collecting data on economic aspect of the study. A study team from Peshawar

University, Department of Applied Economic was also working in my field area, at the same time. I used to talk with them especially regarding the economic side of my study. I myself could check the validity of their data, since we worked together and vice versa. I enriched my qualitative data with their quantitative data, which I have carefully compared in the context of entire social structure. I trust that their information are an extension of my qualitative data.

1.5.4 Secondary Sources

- a. Forest Department records
- b. Population and agriculture census reports
- c. Records of Land Revenue Department
- d. Studies conducted by forestry teams from time to time.

1.6 SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

In this section some key concepts will be discussed, which are used in later chapters.

1.6.1 Ethnic Groups Discussed

Following characteristics of an ethnic groups are defined by Hunter:-

- a. Seperate language or dialect
- b. Distinctive tradition or social customs
- c. Distinctive culture, food and mode of life and
- d. circumscribed land base.

These are the possible cohesive factors, but in peculiar cases subtraction or addition of a factor may take place there may be a chance of omission and addition of a factor. In some societies ethnic groups may be identical to social classes or castes. They may act as income groups or suppressed or privileged classes, and these conditions ultimately become a characteristic for the distinctiveness of an ethnic group. At present distinctive ethnic groups have the following reasons for coming into existence.

- a. Migration of people from their original home land.
- b. Incorporation of several small separate cultural units into one large nation-state.

As a result of migration, when a group settles down in a particular culture area, process of ethnogenesis starts.

"Creation of a new group, with its own new culture and language, generally involves the splitting of one society, for example the development of Navajo groups, refugees from several tribes may form a distinctive new society."

(Hunter;1976 : 147)

Emerging new groups may be strapped into classes or stratified categories,

"Class is a division of society into groups which are ranked and have an unequal share of power, prestige, and worldly goods."

(Haviland; 1974: 606)

Ethnic groups differ from a class in the sense that they emerge as a result of ethnogenesis, or intermingling of various groups, so they can never be equated with caste. A caste system defines following criterion:

- a. Social recognition
- b. Hereditary title
- c. Religious sanction
- d. Internal hierarchy

Ethnic criteria do not accept hereditary, religious or internal hierarchy. Within an ethnic group there is no hierarchy but outside it; stratification can be recognized on the economic basis or on racial or cultural grounds. "Ethnic groups are categories of population." (Encyclopedia of So/Sc 1968) Vol.5-6 P.168)

Michael Moerman provides more weightage to this assumption by saying:

- a. Ethnicity is impermanent
- b. Non-members may use ethnic terms differently
- c. Members may not use the same terms for themselves

"Criteria of ethnicity by which people identify themselves and are recognized by others, may vary from level to level and from culture to culture.

(Moerman: 1965)

In fact the binding factors of an ethnic group are loose in their definition. Other than cultural factors, all other criteria

are ambiguous. This term has the advantage over tribalism in that, it is more free from value judgements and can be applied to a much wider variety of grouping, particularly in urban situations.

All societies are stratified in one way or another, but stratification is on different basis. Unlike caste where ranking is permanent and immobile and unlike class where ranking is based on purely economic grounds, ethnic groups emerge as cultural groups which may act as classes due to the different economic opportunities available for different groups. Their functions are, however, different from class and caste. Ethnic groups are political entities too, their combining factors are cultural identity and relatively similar economic conditions.

"They act as political group to maintain their distinctiveness but in the course of time one ethnic group may shift from an articulating principle to another as a result of change within encapsulating political system."

(Cohen Abner; 1979:3)

The above discussion shows how an ethnic group differs from a class or caste. It underlines the basic principles of functioning of an ethnic group within a community, though this functioning changes its mode from culture to culture.

1.6.2 Subsistence and Social Change

Subsistence and economy are often used ambiguously. The term "economics" includes phenomenon usually labelled as "subsistence." Economics denotes a science which significantly separates production

from other parts of economy i.e. distribution, exchange, consumption. Production is regarded as the aggregate of raw material and goods generated in response to demand. Subsistence is referred to as a form of production (means of subsistence), technological skills, tools, and behaviour that a society requires to meet its subsistence needs. These are generally referred to as subsistence strategies. These methods of exploring means to meet survival needs at the same time are the ways of maximizing the return. It should be understood that, subsistence farmer's efforts towards production are utmost while ecological pressures are the limiting factors. The idea of an economically inert peasantry has been challenged by a group of economists. Professor Jones (1961) and T.W.Schultz (1964) are of the opinion that "Subsistence farmers are economic men; who try to maximise in the utilization of their available economic resources given the available technology." Such farmers may be operating at absolute levels of production but, none the less, they are optimizing at the ceiling of available technological possibilities. They say, "what is fundamentally lacking is improved technology and better economic assets." Motivation of subsistence farmers to adopt new patterns, involves further complexities. Margret Mead while discussing the impact of change on the other sectors, states,

"Changes from subsistence agriculture to cash crops, a number of disruptive factors enter the picture---we now have a radical change from making a living to earning a living."

(Mead; 1955:181)

A change in existing patterns of economic life carries further modification in the system:

"Associated with every technical and material change is a corresponding change in attitudes, the thoughts, values, the beliefs, and the behaviour of the people who are effected by the change."

(Foster; 1973: 4)

It is evident that, subsistence farmers tend to acquire economic gains and change in ways of production defines changes in the organization of production. T.S. Epstein contradicts the above assumption in her study of Dalena and Wangala (villages in South India). While viewing their attitude towards new incentives

"Economic development may occur without any changes in economic roles and relations, provided it does not result in a reallocation of resources or in an increased range of economic relations. Far from undermining the economic structure of any society such economic developments may even strengthen the existing patterns of economic relations.

(Epstein; 1962: 318)

Thus we have established a positive correlation between economic, rituals, and organizational changes, with economic change being the determinant factor. Scarlet Epstein is concerned with the effect of a seemingly "accidental," externally imposed, technological change on small scale society. The problem of planned change comes out to be different from the change in a random manner. Planned change in terms of development schemes, require a keen look on the level of perception - people retain for the acceptance of a change.

C.R. Whortan says,

"A new technique or practice has associated with it some expected probabilities for yield increase and consequent income figures."

(1971: 569)

If planned measures are leading towards a new pattern of economic activities then the farmers attitude is different. When a subsistence farmer confronts a possible innovation, he will be concerned with two questions. Whortan lists them

- a. "Will the new means provide a higher income and better incentives for livelihood."
- b. "Is there a reasonable probability that something will go wrong; that the new incentives will result in a prosperous future in terms of immediate rewards."

(Whortan; 1971: 571)

Whartan's assumptions are incomplete in the sense that he omits the role of norms and values, dominant in the society. Economic change is a part of that great process which brings about the entire society into a flux. Thus the social change here means the change in basic institution, ideas and goals.

1.6.3 Measuring Social Change

Wilbert E. Moore defines,

"Social change is the significant alternation of social structure (pattern of social action and interaction), including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values and cultural products and symbols."

(Moore; 1968: 3)

The above definition suggests that change, whatever its dimension, affects social structure at first. As a result of social change either symbols and norms of the society redefine their existing meaning or change their shape.

Francis R. Allen gives a more comprehensive definition,

"Social change comprises modification in social system or sub systems in structure, functioning, or process over some period of time."

(Allen R. Francis; 1971: 39)

Change and its significance, need to be assessed in relation to the existing social structure. Prior to the study of change in a society, some specifics should be kept in mind. Who are the people? What is their interaction pattern? What norms are predominant in the society? And above all, what is the base situation from which change arises?

"A change need to be viewed in terms of system level concerned. That is to say a given change may relate to the entire social system or sub system."

(Allen R. Francis; 1971: 48)

The above comment very clearly suggests, the need of studying social structure, prior to the understanding of any specific situation.

It seems evident that many changes are spontaneous, unwilling, accidental, and consequences of cultural processes, In brief they are socially unplanned.

On the other hand, other changes have been carefully planned like development plans. They testify to the current livelihood interests in setting goals and then trying to devise the most efficient and workable means of reaching them. This planning requires certain fundamentals to measure socio-cultural change.

It is necessary to look into the model of Gross, who pointed out indicators in social change. His model presents two elements:

a. System Structure

This consists of

"People and non-human resources grouped together into sub-systems that interact among themselves and with the external environment and are subject to certain values and a central guidance system, that may help to provide the capacity for future performance."

b. System Performance

The elements of system performance are

"Satisfying interests, producing outputs, investing in systems, using inputs efficiently, acquiring resources, conserving codes and behaving rationally."

(Gross; 1966:Ch.3)

Gross points out that producing output is instrumental in satisfying interests, and efficiency is measured both by the ratio of actual to potential output and by total productivity. Thus the characteristics of society and nature of its value system embodies the response to a proposed change.

Spicer's view in this connection is more relevant when he discusses the resistance as,

"Once resistance is seen as a symptom of social conditions rather than as a constant element, it becomes possible, through the study of cases in which resistance appears, to discover cases of success and failure."

(Spicer; 1967: 18)

He further describes the reason why people resist change,

"People resist change that appears to threaten basic securities, they resist proposed changes they do not understand. They resist having forced to change."

(Spicer; 1967: 18)

1.6.4 Concluding Remarks

Above discussion was focussed on two points. One was that the ethnic groups are different from caste and class though they may share some of their characteristics and in special cases they act as hereditary cultural groups or economic categories. The consolidating factors for such groups are similar economic conditions and political factionalism. Their response towards new ideas is generally similar regarding underlying code of control

and sense of security and group distinctiveness. /Other point discussed was the process of economic change. Economic change here was taken in its wide perspective i.e. social change. Change in one institution brings about change in the whole society. Different view points regarding innovation and acceptance in subsistence economies shows, that two factors are more countable. They are the perception of people and the endowment of needs. First is related to the social system which requires the sustainment of current life style and security of future. Second is related to the needs of the people. A proposed change not only should fulfil the needs but also should harmonize with the norms and values of the society. Measurement of change requires the understanding of social structure and its functions. Resistance to change is a crucial aspect of lack of understanding and fear of its outcomes. In brief change as a whole requires many pre-considerations, including the apprehension of economic life and the social system. Whatever may the nature of society be, change is always a continuous phenomenon.

CHAPTER-2

THE AREA PROFILE

This chapter shows the main geographical, demographic and economic characteristics of the area. Since the problem dealt in this thesis is mainly economic, hence the emphasis is made to define the boundary corners of the area which will later prove a base for the understanding of the total situation. This chapter encapsulates those elements which will come frequently in later chapters. However those explanations are left which are due for respective sections.

2.1 THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

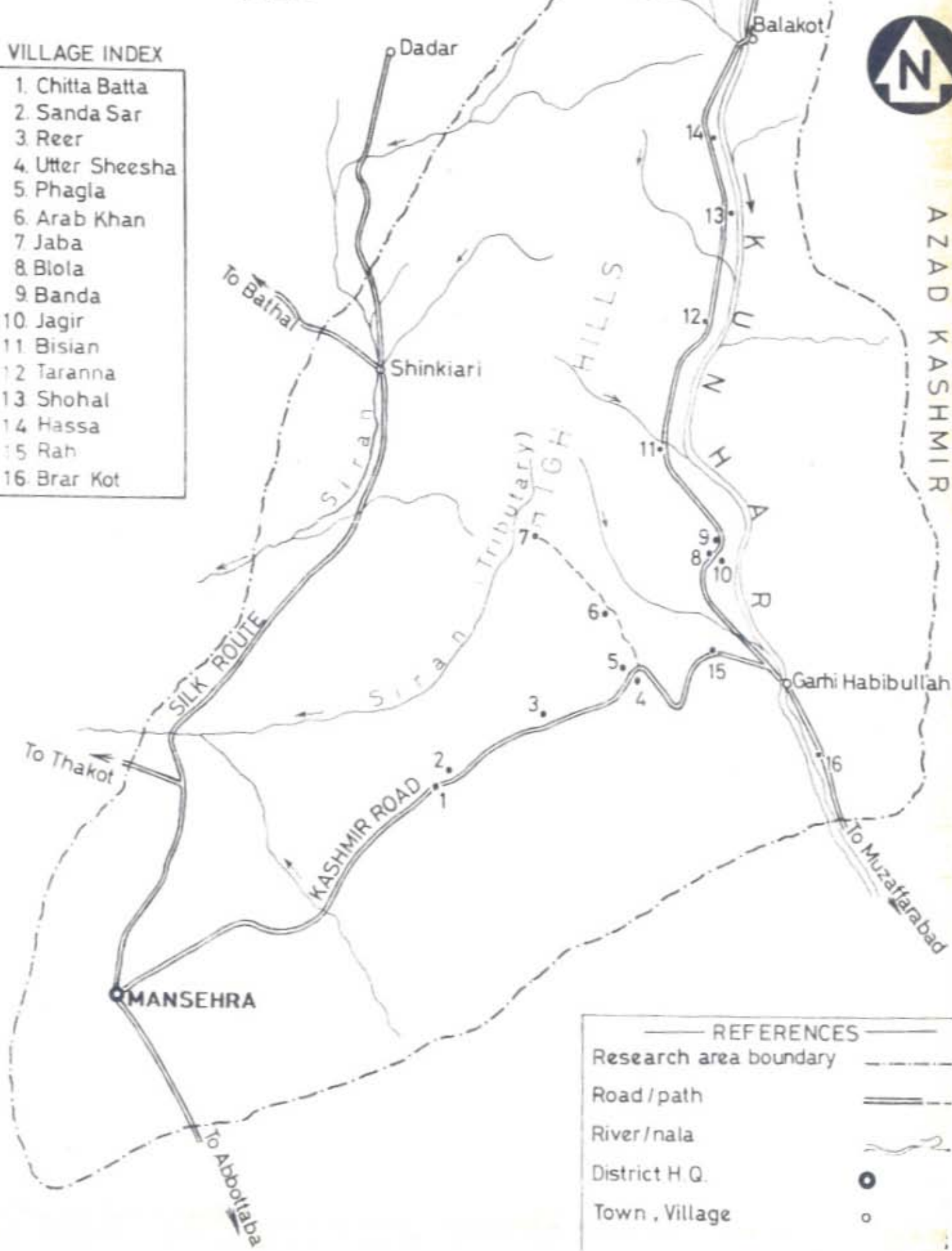
The study was carried out in the District of Mansehra, Hazara Division, N.W.F.P. Hazara lies between river Jhelum on the east and the Indus on the west. The states of Azad Jammu and Kashmir lie in the east, while in the west are the districts of Mardan and Swat. In the north lies Chilas in Gilgit and a part of Kohistan. On the south and south-west is the district Rawalpindi. Hazara is located in the north-west of Pakistan at the base of Himalayan mountains. It lies between $33^{\circ}44'$ to $35^{\circ}35'$ north latitude and $72^{\circ}35'$ to $74^{\circ}05'$ east longitude. Hazara is the largest division of N.W.F.P. with a population of 2,022,306 according to the 1972 Census Report. The total area

MAP OF RESEARCH AREA



VILLAGE INDEX

1. Chitta Batta
2. Sanda Sar
3. Reer
4. Utter Sheesha
5. Phagla
6. Arab Khan
7. Jaba
8. Blola
9. Banda
10. Jagir
11. Bisian
12. Taranna
13. Shohal
14. Hassa
15. Rah
16. Brar Kot



AZAD KASHMIR

REFERENCES	
Research area boundary	- - - - -
Road / path	==
River / nala	~~~~~
District H.Q.	●
Town, Village	○

The total area of Hazara is 5282 square miles, which gives a population density of 383 per square mile. The urban population of the area is 142,966 (i.e. 7%) and the rural population is 188,0340 (i.e. 93%).

The research area was sliced out of Mansehra District starting from the city of Mansehra to Garhi Habibullah, 25 miles eastward upto the frontiers of Pakistan where Azad Kashmir starts. Northward it falls to the city of Balakot 10 miles from Garhi Habibullah on the bank of river Kunhar. The total study area is 'U' shape covering a total of 35 miles along the roads. The total study area is divided into two geographical and administrative units called range. These ranges are separated by the Batrasi hill tracts. Sample villages are scattered at intervals along local routes. The distance of villages from main cities of Mansehra and Garhi Habibullah is given in the table and map shows the location of the villages in the area.

2.2 ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE AREA

All the 16 villages selected fall in the administrative control of Deputy Commissioner, Mansehra, bared at the city of Mansehra.

The other administrative division of the area is concerned with the forest. Forest division is divided into two ranges of

TABLE-1

DISTANCE OF EACH VILLAGE FROM
MAIN ROAD AND MAJOR CITIES

Sr. No.	Name of the village	Main Road	Garhi Habib-ullah	Man-sehra
1.	Chitta Batta	0	18½	7
2.	Sanda Ser	½	18½	7
3.	Reer	½	16½	9
4.	Utter Sheesha	½	14½	11
5.	Phagla	1/2	14½	11
6.	Arab Khan	2	16	12
7.	Jaba	6	20	17
8.	Blola	1/2	4	29
9.	Banda	1/8	4	29
10.	Jagir	0	3	28
11.	Bisian	0	5	30
12.	Taranna	0	7	32
13.	Shohal	0	5	30
14.	Hassa	1/8	7	32
15.	Roh	0	2	27
16.	Bran Kot	0	2	27

Garhi Habibullah and Mansehra. Villages under these ranges are listed below:-

TABLE-2

FOREST DIVISION

R A N G E S	
Mansehra	Garhi Habibullah
Chitta Batta	Roh
Sanda Sar	Jagir
Reer	Bisian
Jaba	Brarkot
Utter Sheesha	Hassa
Phagla	Tarrana
Arab Khan	Shohal
	Banda
	Balola

The District Forest Officer controls these two ranges while the concerned administrator of these ranges is the Range Officer. The forest administrative division is important in the sense that most of the cases over illegal wood cutting are filed against the Forest Divisional Officer who refer them to the Forest Magistrate. Forest Magistrate visits the affected area once in a month and decides the cases.

2.3 CLIMATE

The climate of the area is varied on account of the variety of its topography. The hot weather starts a little later and ends a little earlier as compared with the Punjab and Sind. The hot weather commences by about June and lasts up till the end of August. The month of September is less hot than the adjacent districts. The heat of the lower hills sometimes is very severe and the temperature often goes above 110°F. The winter in these tracts is, however, more severe than at Haripur. Frost is frequent and snow falls at times in the month of January, but it is very small in quantity in the plains though the snow fall in the mountains is heavy. The months of December, January and February are extremely cold. During the month of severe cold, people living in the hills come down to plains. In summer the plain dwellers, especially herders go ^{to} the hills in order to preserve their pasture lands for winter, when the hills are covered with snow and provide no cattle feed.

2.4 RAINFALL

In a district of such varied characteristics, with the hills and plains, a corresponding variety in the precipitation is also found. The annual average rainfall in Mansehra Tehsil is about 32 inches.

About two thirds of the rain falls in the summer months from April to September and the remaining one third in the winter

months from October to March. July and August are the wettest months in summer and January and February in winter.

2.5 RIVERS AND STREAMS

The important rivers of the Hazara area the Siran, the Dor, the Haro and the Kunhar. The Indus skirts it on the west for 30 miles and the Jhelum river on the east for 25 miles. The Siran and Kunhar flow in the study area.

The Siran river rises in the north of the Bhoogarmang valley, flows through the western portion of the Pakhli, then dives into the Tanwal Hills and flowing through the former states of Phulra and Amb, emerges in the Haripur plain and turns north-west to join the Indus at Tarbela. Its total course is between 70 to 80 miles and it irrigates substantial area in Mansehra, Abbottabad and Haripur Tehsils. It contains a considerable volume of water particularly during spring and Monsoon seasons.

The Kunhar or Kaghan rises from lake Lalu Sar at the head of the Kaghan valley and after a fairly turbulent course of 110 miles joins the Jhelum at Pattan. It flows through deep mountain gorges from its source upto Balakot from where it enters a broader plain down to Garhi Habibullah, below which it again flows through deep gorges until it joins Kishanganga.

These rivers have innumerable tributaries, some with a permanent flow, others with a scanty trickle. They are known as 'Kathas,' as distinct from 'Kassis' which are dry 'nala' or

ravines. In this hilly district the dry 'nalas' are numerous with wide stony beds and many of them testify to the occasional violence of their floods due to heavy rains during Monsoons.

2.6 MODES OF IRRIGATION

All areas covered under forestry ranges are to be classified as 'Barani' areas where the main source of irrigation is rainfall. The rain water is channelized into the fields through naturally made passages popularly known as 'nalas' and man made passages called canals. During rains the water is also stored in 'Kathas' (ponds) and used for cultivation when necessary. The use of these methods is dependent upon the natural topography of the area and the nearness of the village to the creeks and rivers which flow in the area almost all the year round. For instance in Garhi Habibullah the main source of irrigation is the rain water that flows through 'nalas' although other methods such as artificially made water ways, canals and 'kathas' are also used when necessary. Similarly in Mansehra the irrigation is done mainly by 'Kathas' and canals. (See Appendix: Table-21).

Thus the mode of irrigation in all area reflects a strategy of adaptation to the natural environment and a submission to the dictates of topography.

2.7 AGRICULTURE

Farming is the main occupation of the area. It is the only stable source of livelihood in the absence of other resources. People depend on land more than any other economic resource even if it provides insufficient produce. They augment their income through other sources. Major crops produced are discussed here.

2.7.1 Crop Cycle

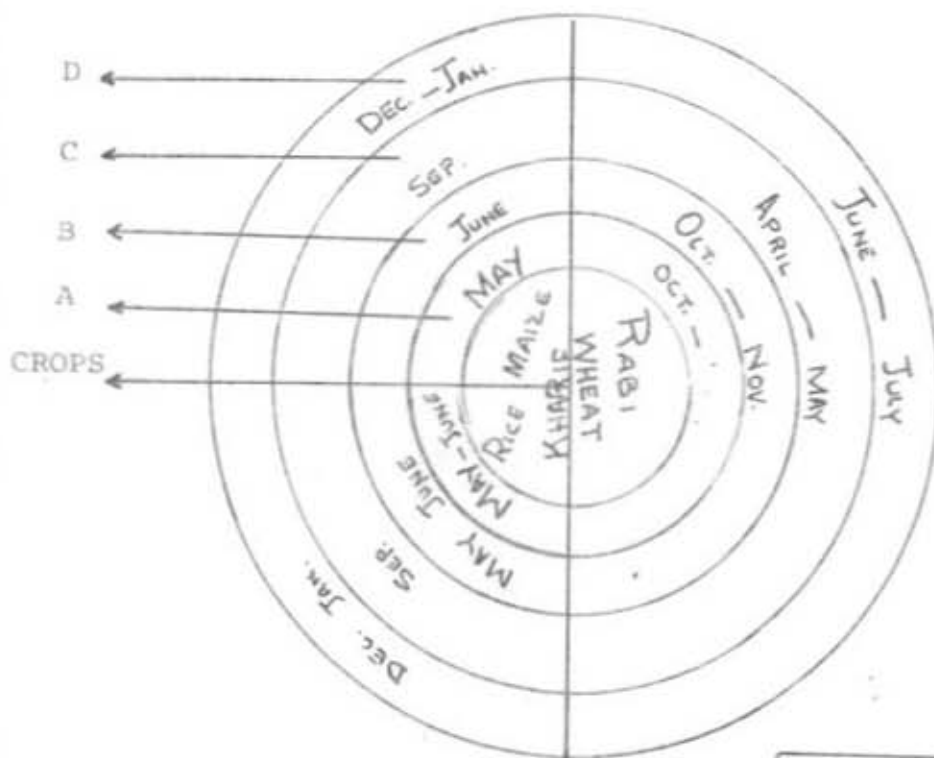
There are two major crop sessions:-

- a. Kharif : 'Baisakh' to 'Asuj' (May-October)
- b. Rabi : 'Kartak' to 'Chat' (October-April)

During Kharif, maize and rice are cultivated. Rabi is the wheat season during the months of May and June. When land is fallow, fodder, locally named as 'shaftal' is cultivated on small scale. Due to uncertain rains and lack of irrigation system more attention is paid on maize as a main food crop, which requires dry season and less water. Land is cultivated only for one crop, either wheat or maize.

DIAGRAM-4

TIME ALLOCATED TO EACH CROP FOR
VARIOUS FUNCTIONS



- A. LAND PREPARATION
B. SEEDING
C. HARVESTING
D. STORING

2.7.2 Major Crops

There are three major crops:

Wheat: This is a Rabi crop. It is cultivated throughout the area but particularly in the plains where irrigation facilities are available. Wheat is a preferred food grain and is the only one grown in this season.

Maize: Maize however is the main food crop in this area. It is cultivated in kharif season and due to lesser water requirements it is cultivated throughout the research area. It does not require irrigation. Maize grown in Balakot is of a superior quality which deserves special mention.

Rice: Rice is the other kharif crop which is mostly cultivated in irrigated area due to its greater water requirement. In Garhi Habibullah, near the bank of river Kunhar rice production is increasing due to its higher commercial value. Rice is cultivated in the same season of maize hence the land is divided among these crops according to the accessibility of water.

TABLE-3

INTENSITY OF CROPS AND LAND UNDER EACH CROP

AREA	CULTIVATED AREA (KANALS)								YIELD PER KANAL (MAUNDS)							
	Wheat	Rice	Maize	Pul- ses	Vege- table	Toba- cco	Sar- son	Bar- ley	Wheat	Rice	Maize	Pul- ses	Vege- table	Toba- cco	Sar- son	Bar- ley
Garhi Habib- ullah	16850	6065	17635	770	600	720	1423	823	2.1	2.1	3.2	0.7	-	-	0.9	-
Man- sehra	24540	2565	26515	1230	230	-	2392	566	3.3	2.6	4.1	1.1	-	1.0	1.1	1.0

Rice grown on the river bank Siran is only of lower quality and consumed locally. Other crops are barley, jawar and peas, but these are cultivated on a small scale. Due to the small landholdings and weak nature of soil.

Tobacco is an important cash crop, but acreage is small. Tobacco of good quality could be grown in this part of the country. In some of the areas 'Sarsoon' (mustard) is cultivated on small scale.

ANT-106
In Garhi Habibullah area, river Kunhar flows, but fields and river land are not in balance, where they are in balance Rice is the main crop for the excessive availability of water. Cropping pattern changes with the change in quality of land. Land near the 'Kathas' or 'nalas' are used for rice cultivation, as it is considered as a better food crop as well as a precious cash crop. The people are changing their food habits, moving from maize to wheat. Practically all area is used in Kharif season. Commonly cited reasons for this are:-

- a. Low fertility of soil following exhaustive crop such as wheat and 'Sarsoon.'
- b. Limited time for preparing the soil after a Rabi season.
- c. Lowering a soil moisture after a Rabi season.
- d. High risk associated with Rabi crops due to uncertain rain falls.

The problems of fertilizers, seed and distribution and irrigation system is also a major limiting factor. Table-30 shows the effect of relative use of land, both twice a year or once a year. Maize production is highest in yield per acre, due to favourable climate for this crop.

2.7.3 Early and Late Crops

Early crops are sown at the proper season called 'Ageti.' Some times due to heavy load of other works and involvement in other subsidiary economic activities 'Pacheti' a late crop is sown. Quality of seed sown for both the crops is different.

TABLE-4

DISTRIBUTION OF FARM WORK BY SEASONS
FOR LATE AND EARLY CROPS

CROP	EARLY CROPS		LATE CROPS	
	Seeding	Harvesting	Seeding	Harvesting
Wheat	30 Oct to 30 Nov	30 May to 30 June	15 Oct to 15 Nov	15 May to 15 June
Rice	30 May to 30 June	30 Sep to 30 Oct	15 May to 15 June	15 Sep to 15 Oct
Maize	30 May to 30 June	30 Oct to 15 Nov	15 May to 15 June	15 Oct to 30 Oct

2.8 HORTICULTURE

The main fruit grown in the district are oranges, peaches, plums, loquats and apples.

The area under orchards is small. The apples of Jaba are famous for their good quality but are not used commercially. In other villages some farmers have planted apples on an experimental basis. But due to the non-cooperation of Agricultural Department and lack of perception of their commercial value people do not dare to plant fruit trees.

For the supply of vegetables, people are dependent on Haripur market. In the hills, the main vegetables produced in the winter are potatoes, cabbage, cauliflower and turnips. In the summer, lady-fingers, tomatoes and spinach are produced. Hence people mostly depend on markets of Mansehra, Garhi Habibullah and Brarkot for vegetables.

2.9 FORESTRY

Hazara is one of the richest districts as regards forest wealth of Pakistan. The major type of forest trees are Deodar (blue pine) Biar, Chir (pine), Akhrot (walnut), Pludor (silver pine) and many others. The most useful one which is required for the paper and pulp industry is Chir. Chir is found at an elevation of 3000 feet to 5500 feet. This constitutes the species of Chir Pine grown in an almost pure stand in one elevation. The zone of Chir Pine does not permit any under wood or under growth, even

grass does not grow under the shade of these trees. Chir is a very slow growing tree as compared to blue pine and silver pine found in the area. An average estimate for a tree to achieve maturity age is approximately 60 years.

Forest acts as a subsidiary source of income in the area. People fulfill their needs of firewood, timber, and fodder demand through the forest. The forest provides support in agriculture as well as in the cash sector. Due to the high dependency of people on forest, wood cutting has become a permanent source of livelihood in the area.

2.9.1 Classification of the Forest

Forests are divided into two basic categories:

- a. Reserve These are government owned forests, and the indigenous people are not entitled to use forest products from such area. No rights or priveleges over such forests can be claimed, and no produce can be utilized other than by government itself. The area under such forests is 157423 acres.

- b. Guzara The other class of forests is the 'Waste Lands' or 'Guzara' owned by local peoples, jointly or severally, as the case may be. The land owners

of such forests are entitled under the Forest Act to use, free of charge, for their own domestic use or agricultural requirement, any tree in or produce of these Guzara lands. However, if land owner wishes to sell any tree or brushwood growing in these areas they have to obtain the prior permission of Local Forest Officer.

Guzaras are divided into three further sub-categories:-

1. Milkiti: 'Milkiti' or individually owned. This is owned by an individual or family with proprietary right defined by Forest Department.
2. Shalmat: Shamlat or communal land. This is owned by groups. It can be on three basis of
 - a. Ethnic group Shamlat that includes several villages, at times, who have joint ownership over land.
 - b. Village Shamlat. In this Shamlat, all the people of one village are the owners regardless of their ethnicity.

c. Lineage Shamlat. This is owned by a family or a kin group, who jointly enjoy the rights of its usage.

Individual shares in Shamlat are defined on the basis of the land revenue paid for their agricultural lands. There is no demarcation of such lands for an individual, it is like a house owned by several individuals without knowing which room belongs to whom. The grave yards and mosques are on this land.

Shamlat describes one's membership in the community. Shares can be sold but no such case was observed, because of its low output and undefined boundaries.

At the selling of agricultural land it is necessary to mention in the revenue paper whether a Shamlat share is included or not. Landless people can get wood from Shamlat land as it is a joint property of the villagers, and no one raises an objection. Most of the illicit cuttings occur in this land as it is jointly owned. People hardly bother to reckon who is getting a loss. When wood and resin are sold the income is divided among the shareholders according to their relative share.

2.9.2 Types of Forest Land

Outside agricultural land, forest land has several types called 'Dhakas'.

1. 'Dhaka Darakhtan': These lands are occupied by trees where grazing or grass cutting is prohibited.
2. 'Dhaka Rakh': These treeless lands are called 'Dhaka Chiragah' (grazing pastures) as well. These are grassy fields where cattle can graze freely.

Table-4 shows the distribution of land into several categories.

Table-4 shows that a most part of the land is not under cultivation but is in the form of forests and waste land.

2.10 WASTE LAND

Waste land includes those plots which are not used for agricultural purposes. It has two types:

- a. Uncultivable Waste Land: This is the land which can not be cultivated due to several reasons either it is 'Kalsi' (stony), 'Baila' (wet).
- b. Cultivable Waste Land: This is the land which could be cultivated but is not under plough. It may be far off the village or is used for grave yards or housing. This land is kept fallow for long time and could be cultivated if good quality of fertilizers and seeds are used.

TABLE-5

LAND USE PATTERNS (LAND IN KANAALS)

Ranges	Farm Land	Pastures	Reserve forest	Guzara forest	Orchards	Waste land
Garhi						
Habibullah	26239	31799	1000	19904	118	42218
Mansehra	40922	5952	33000	9527	100	18804

Note:- Out of total reserve forest 32000 kanals is in Jaba.

2.11 LIVESTOCK

The livestock of the district particularly the cows and buffaloes are not of notable breeds. The yield of milk of an average cow or buffalo is below than that of their counterparts in the other districts. Goats and sheeps are also the milk animals of the district. Poultry is kept almost in all the areas of the district, but there is no trend towards the development of better varieties. The buffaloes and cows are short in stature and are hardly sufficient for agricultural needs of the farmer. There is a sheep breeding farm at Jaba in Mansehra District. Livestock in the area are vital for farm practices as well as for the self consumption of 'ghee' and milk (Table-7 shows the livestock situation in the area).

Other kind of livestock is donkeys and mules which are used for labour and for wood hunting in the forest.

2.12 OCCUPATION

A vast majority of people are engaged in agriculture and in a few small scale industries which are in their developing stages. The majority of the population has adopted two occupations at a time, one common occupation is agriculture and the other is labour in local areas; If people migrate out in search of a better job, even then they remain intact with land by doing seasonal farming. Few are engaged in business and service.

TABLE-7

LIVESTOCK SITUATION IN THE
AREA

Sr. No.	Village	Cow	Buff-alo	Bull	Goat	Sheep	Donkey & Mules
1.	Chatta Batta	150	200	150	40	340	5
2.	Sandaser	50	200	300	20	300	5
3.	Reer	25	300	240	15	10	62
4.	Uttershisha	60	300	120	10	60	105
5.	Phagla	300	600	600	15	50	150
6.	Arab Khan	22	50	50	10	30	35
7.	Jaba	50	450	350	100	40	56
8.	Blola	5	10	10	15	0	10
9.	Banda	8	20	24	10	0	5
10.	Jagir	50	350	40	30	5	6
11.	Bisian	100	200	40	40	40	35
12.	Taranna	25	90	56	250	200	20
13.	Shohal	120	250	60	100	200	50
14.	Hassa	35	60	45	20	0	8
15.	Roh	50	40	40	12	0	13
16.	Brarkot	100	250	40	20	0	10
TOTAL		1200	2970	2165	692	1225	1105

TABLE-6

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL
GROUPS

Forest Range	Farming/ labour etc. Percentage	Clerical and related jobs percentage	Production workers Percentage	Professional workers Percentage	Armed Forces Percentage	Others Percentage
Garhi Habib-ullah	38.19	9.55	12.06	12.36	1.5	26.13
Mansehra	59.52	14.16	9.73	10.62	3.54	9.74

Note: 'Others' includes administrative, sale workers, service workers, and those occupations not classified by occupation)

Source: E.R.T. (1980:14.4)

2.13 EDUCATION

The people of this area lack educational facilities. Generally, educated people are the Swatis and Syeds who are engaged in services and trade. Gujars are the most illiterate people because of their involvement in wood cutting, they prefer to send their children to jungle for wood cutting or for collecting dry branches of Chir trees. These children earn Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- a day. In this situation, sending a boy to the school means a loss of earning and the extra expenditures of schooling.

In Gujar villages, students enrolled are more than the actual operative strength. Boys are much more interested in woodcutting which gives a lot of time to chatter and travel to other areas to dispose of the trees. The teachers on the other hand, prefer to work on their farms rather than teaching the students. This situation is peculiar to Jaba and other Gujar villages, however, Syeds and Swatis look after the progress of their children's education and prefer to send them to cities for better education. Most of the teachers in this area are Swatis and Syeds.

TABLE-8

TOTAL NO. OF SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS
IN SAMPLE VILLAGES

	PRIMARY SCHOOLS			MIDDLE SCHOOLS			HIGH SCHOOLS		
	Boys	Girls	Co	Boys	Girls	Co	Boys	Girls	Co
GARHI HABIBULLAH RANGE									
No. of schools	7	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
No. of students	800	230	190	170	130	-	-	-	-
MANSEHRA RANGE									
No. of schools	3	3	1	1	1	-	2	2	-
No. of students	400	240	130	100	90	-	600	2185	-

TABLE-9

TOTAL NO. OF SCHOOLS AND
STUDENTS IN HAZARA

	Primary School	Middle school	High School	Inter College	Degree College
No. of Schools	1415	84	78	1	5
No. of Students	120925	43252	38114	181	2182

Source: (District Census Report 1972: 18)

2.14 INDUSTRIES AND SERVICE AREAS

At the time of independence in 1947, there was only one match factory in Hazara. This has, however, made long strides in industrialization and the following factories exist now:-

1. Textile Mills: There are two textile mills i.e. Khyber Textile Mill and Swat Textile Mill.
2. Flour Mills: There are five flour mills, i.e. Kohistan Flour Mills, Indus Roller Flour Mills, Sartaj Roller Flour Mills and Habib Roller Flour Mills.
3. Telephone Factory: The Telephone Industries of Pakistan (T.I.P) is located at Haripur, which is the only factory of its kind in the country.
4. Cement Factory: The Pakistan Cement Factory is situated at Farooqia in Haripur Tehsil.
5. Match Factory: There are three match factories. They are, Khan Match Factory at Garhi Habibullah, Ali Match Factory at Baldhar, Saeed and Co. at Baldhar. Ali Match Factory is under construction and will start its production very soon.
6. Mining: There are several minerals in the district but these have not been fully exploited yet. However, China clay, soap stone and quartz are extracted on a small scale.

7. Woollen Spinnery: It is situated at Mansehra under the auspices of PIDC (Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation) and was started in 1971.

Small local domestic industries are also found but very scarcely. In the village, some industries are set up to meet the immediate needs like clothing, flour mills etc. However, maximum dependence is on the industries mentioned above. These industries are providing job opportunities to the people of the area.

2.15 ETHNIC GROUPS

Five main ethnic groups are present in the area:

1. Syeds
2. Swatis
3. Khankhels
4. Gujars
5. Awans

Other than these five groups, there are other small groups who act as allied factions of these categories.

Looking at the whole picture of the research population, these groups could be grouped into two main economic categories:-

1. Gujars + Awans
2. Syeds + Swatis + Khankhels

(See appendix: Table-16)

These two categories claim authority on different grounds. Syeds, Swatis and Khankhels claim superiority on the basis of their higher origin and economic position. Gujars lay claim on the basis of their being original inhabitants and owners of the area.

The tension and competition present between the factions have the social, political and above all, economic implications which will come in the later discussion.

2.16 CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have emphasized information about the entire district, since the villages are not isolated islands. They have a frequent interaction with each other and good accessibility to the cities. The features of the area show the environmental conditions under which people are labouring to explore betterment. As my study area is a slice of District Mansehra, it may lack few characteristics of the areas of the district. It may have some additional qualities in a larger context. Another purpose of discussing the characteristics of the entire division is that it removes few confusions. For example, the selected area does not have a Degree College but in city Mansehra, there are two colleges, one Degree Collage and other the Inter College. These colleges are accessible for every body. The structure of the ethnic features have been introduced to enable a deeper study which is the subject of the forthcoming chapter.

CHAPTER-3

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

This Chapter ventures to deal with the institutionalized relationship of people in the villages. An attempt has been made to capture the form of Social Organization of the inhabitants of Hazara, the function of each Social Institution like marriage, family collective labour organization and the political organization are brought into the discussion. Ethnic groups present in the area are the focus of analysis as their mode of social interaction and response to change, differ greatly from each other due to varying socio-economic conditions. This chapter shows that how the function of each social institution reflects the effects of social change and adoptive potential for future.

3.1 ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE AREA

The study area is multi-ethnic in nature, inhabited by various groups of different languages and cultures. There is no clear-cut demarcation of the area but some villages are mono-ethnic whereas some are mixed type. (See appendix: Table-16)

I will discuss only Swatis, Khankhels, Gujars, Awans and Syeds, leaving aside Mughals, Gakhars, and Tanolis since they are of lesser political and economic importance and this is not intended primarily as an ethnographic survey. I will not discuss myths, legends and folk-talkes regarding their origin. The sole

purpose of my study is to find out the impact of ethnicity on socio-politico-economic sphere of life.

3.1.1 Gujars

I will, here, only describe the Gujars of Hazara as an ethnic group. Though there are Gujars in Punjab, Sind and Swat as elsewhere in Northern South Area there are quite separate ethnic groups. They are the oldest inhabitants of the area and were in occupation of Hazara plains before the Pathans, Swatis, Syeds obtained a footing there. They trace their origin from Punjab.

Sir Olaf Caroe suggests that they came into the sub-continent with Ephthalite-white-Huns, in 600 B.C. (Caroe 1957 A.D.) The Gujars appear to have occupied Punjab and Rajputana, and perhaps at this very time they occupied Hazara. (Panni; 1969:80) Gujar leaders are called 'Muqadam,' a title honoured by King Aurangzeb when he was on his way to Kashmir. Out of 101 branches of Gujars about 45 are present in Hazara. Their leaders are called 'Sardar.' Two types of Gujars were observed:

- a. Settlers
- b. Nomads

The social organization of these groups differ from each other but nonetheless it is hardly possible to imagine a Gujar without a goat, it is a symbol of Gujarhood. Nomadic Gujars mainly occupy the area of Balakot and start moving downward in winter with

their herds of camels, mules, and donkeys. Their goats are a permanent problem for forest owners and Forest Department because these flocks destroy their pastures and the newly planted Chir trees. They depend on the income earned from making ghee and selling goats.

With the development of the forest and emergence of new economic incentives they are settling down in different villages and their nomadic population is decreasing upto a remarkable scale. The settled Gujar's original vernacular is Gojari. The women bring the cattle and sheep to the forest and they are helped by the children. Another characteristic of settled Gujars' group behaviour is their strong emotional attachment with the land. They are good farmers, although the land holdings are small. Hence most are divers to work on other's lands as tenants or share-croppers and some times as wage labourers too.

Initially they had no rights on the land but after the reforms of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, former Chief Minister of NWFP they were allotted the rights over farm land as well as on forest. There are villages like Jaba, where more than 70% Gujars are land holders. Gujars call themselves "sons of the soil" considering others to be aliens, the land and forest as their ancestral property. The notorious gangs of out-law wood cutters are often Gujars.

3.1.2 Swatis

They are inhabiting a larger number of the villages of Hazara. Swatis are economically a strong group passing through

a rapid social change because of their education, skill and land (arable and forest both). Swatis sometimes are referred to as 'Dehqans.' They were rulers of Swat valley some 500 years ago, before Babar (the first Mughal King) conquered Peshawar in 1505. They were exiled from Swat after the invasion of the Yousaf Zais in 1515 A.D. and fled across Indus to Hazara (Panni; 1969:43).

They strengthen their claim of superiority with reference to their origin from a more fertile and wealthier area i.e. Swat. Till today they have not developed any emotional attachment with the soil of Hazara. All the big landlords in the area of Garhi Habibullah are Swatis and Khakhels, whereas in Mansehra they are not very well off. Excluding very poor Swatis, most of them are rarely engaged in farming directly. Mostly their lands are cultivated by Gujars on share cropping basis.

They are politically strong and show a great group solidarity for political and economic purposes. Swatis prefer business to farming, establishing new professions in the cities. Such as serve industries and transport. Drivers found in this area are mostly Swatis. The original vernacular of this group is Pashto but like others now, common language is spoken called Hindko. Unlike Gujars and Awans, they call their clans as Khels. A few Swatis, not many, do take bride-price. Their food habits also vary from other groups. Rice is a permanent part of their diet, also they eat meat, thus underlining their claim to superior status.

Their clans are defined as:

"Sirkheli", "Dodal," "Jahangiri; Pir Imami"

"Mathal," "Thirkri."

3.1.3 Khankhels

They are found only in Garhi Habibullah area. Their ancestor Habibullah Khan was appointed Chief of Garhi by Jalal Baba. He was a Swati but being Khan of the area, his descendants take the title of Khankhel (which means clan of Khan).

There is a confusion about their ethnic identity: Swatis do not include them in their groups and say that Khankhels are originally a different ethnic group. Khankhels are of the opinion that they are a sub-section of Swatis, (leaders of Swatis) i.e. Khans, that is why they do not have sub-khels among themselves. The customs, traditions and ethics of Khankhels are the same as that of Swatis.

Some Khankhels claim Arab origin in Qureshi tribe, this may be true in the sense that Swatis were a heterogeneous group including every body regardless of ethnicity or caste, when they first entered in the area.

3.1.4 Awans

They are scattered all over the Hazara. There is no single village without Awans. They occupied the area of Jhelum in the Punjab in 17th century. They were pushed back to sub-continent

from Harat. They occupied the area of Hazara in 1783. They claim their ancestry to Qutab Shah, a descendant of Ali the cousin and friend of Holy Prophet (May peace be upon him). (Panikar, 1969:83)

There is confusion among the people about the social status of Awans. They are of two types:-

- i. Farmers, Businessman etc.
- ii. Village servants (Kasbis)

First category involves the rapidly changing Awans who are highly literate businessmen, and government officials/ For example, in Utter Sheesha, where more than 10 are doctors, 15 are engineers, and a remarkable number of educated and professional youngsters. Their village is most productive in the entire area. In other villages they are also well off and starting new businesses in Jaba and Phagla for example.

The other category of Awans consists of village servants, each occupational category, barber, butcher, weaver, carpenter, and blacksmith claim to be Awans. It is difficult to differentiate either of the category described above. High status Awans refuse to admit the other's claim of being Awans whereas the others emphasize their own purity of descent. Locally people refer to them in this way:

"Is he Awan?"

"Yes, but a Kasbi."

OR

"All the kasbis are Awan but all the Awans are not Kasbis."

However, the kasbis do not claim Qutub Shahi descent. Awans are very change oriented, at the top in literacy ratio and they are sending their children abroad for better economic assets.

3.1.5 Syeds

These descendants of Hazrat Ali are the most privileged people in Hazara, belonging to the Termazi Mashdi, Bukhari, and Gilani sects, most of the Syed are of Termazi sect.

They allegedly entered in the area when Syed Jalal Termazi invaded Hazara in 1703 A.D. and conquered the area. These Termizis claim to be his descendants. Mostly the Syeds are immigrants from Kaghan who took partial refuge from there in 19th century and left rest of their families in Kaghan. All the Syed have estates in Kaghan and they use to visit there frequently during the whole year. There are some Syeds who were settled in Hazara when they first entered with Jalal Termazi. Syeds, land holders or landless, enjoy political authority, backed up by religious sanctions of such power.

Their women observe strict pardah (veiling). They are strictly endogamous and do not give daughters outside of Syed 'Qom' (group).

Syeds do not work on other's lands, but depend on tenants, who mostly are Gujars but some times Swatis too. In a few cases I have seen Syeds working as tenants but only on another Syeds' lands as in Jaba. They show a great group solidarity, for political motives. Numerically they are few but their participation in decision making is inevitable.

Syeds are also very change oriented who want to adopt new occupations and are involving themselves in trade and business.

3.2 EXOGAMY AND SOCIAL STATUS

The marriage ideal type in Hazara is endogamy. Three big groups, Gujars, Swatis and Syeds prefer endogamy but cases of violation are still there. Practice of exogamy is related to the economic conditions of respective parties. Syeds prefer to marry a Syed but they do practice hypergamy with Swatis and Gujars and Awans. Swatis are hypergamous, marrying with Gujar and Awan girls. Gujars are the only people who give out their daughters in marriage to Swatis and Syeds and sometimes to Khankhels.

Gujars and Awans practice daughter exchange, in special cases if both the parties are very poor. Group status is taken into account in daughter exchange practices rather than individual one. For example, a poor Swati and a poor Gujar will never intermarry mutually regarding the higher status of Swati ethnic group, but a rich Swati may take a girl from a poor Gujar or Awan. Well-off Gujars and Awans never mutually exchange their daughters. Awan case is a peculiar in nature. They are, as discussed elsewhere, of two categories, one farmers and other kasbis, they both claim the same ethnicity, but farmers do not intermarry with them to preserve their status and prove their claim of kasbis as not being Awans.

The village kasbis who claim to be Awans intermarry frequently regardless of their occupation. Since they all claim to be

Awans and thus these marriages could be considered as 'endogamous.'

"I am a carpenter and my wife is from a barber's family, but we both are Awans."

As far as the question of mobility is concerned there is no such concept as all kasbi categories enjoy and claim equal status. Nevertheless economic conditions are variant. Occupational identity does not coincide with kinship identity regarding a frequent mobility in occupations. A barber can become a shopkeeper or carpenter, because that is considered his occupation but 'Qom' is still the Awan.

Rules of marriage followed by all three big groups are shown in Chart-1.

CHART-1

RULES OF MARRIAGE

	Gujar	Swati	Awan	Khankhel	Syed
	WIFE GIVER				
WIFE TAKER	Syed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Khankhel	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Awan	Yes	No	Yes	No
	WIFE TAKER				
	Swati	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Gujar	Yes	No	Yes	No

Marriage rituals are only performed when the families of equal status come in contact. In case of hypergamy no customary practices are necessary. Swatis practice preferential matrilineal cross cousin marriage with mother's brother's daughter. Syeds and Gujars practice both patrilineal and matrilineal cross cousin and parallel cousin marriage, but the mother's brothers' daughter is considered more suitable.

Girls are married at early stage, but when there is no son and daughters are the heirs of the property, parents especially Swatis and Syeds, hesitate to marry them with an outsider to keep their land intact.

In the case of hypergamy, Syeds and Khankhels pay, bride-price. But Swatis do not demand bride price when a marriage takes place between a well off and have-not, though both are Swatis. With the passage of time, they are giving up this custom.

In the marriage ceremony, two types of guests are invited to the bride's household:-

1. 'Janji': who come with the groom
2. 'Manji': Bride's kins and kiths participating in the marriage ceremony.

'Janji' do not take a meal at bride's house. It is considered indignified. The feast prepared is served to 'Manjis' strictly following the principles of social hierarchy.

- a. A better quality of food is served to bride's kins and high ranked friends.

- b. Second quality is for low status people and village tenants. It should not be confused with ethnic discrimination, but is a question of socio-political and economic status. I observed many Gujars and Awans taking feast along with other Syeds in the wedding of Zahid Shah Baji, the son of Shahjahan Shah Baji, at Jaba; where the poor Syeds were served with village tenants. The same principle is followed in 'Walima' (the post marriage feast arranged by the groom's household).

'Bari' the presentation from groom's house and 'Daj' (dowry) are displayed together. This is a manifestation of wealth and prestige. If families are not of equal status and a great imbalance is found between 'Daj' and 'Bari', then these things are not exhibited. All other rituals are performed in endogamous marriages. Exogamy or hypergamy does not need such customs.

'Walima' is also related to the bridegroom's family's economic position. Unlike the feast offered by bride's family, 'Walima' is served in two shifts. First for lower status people and second day for kinsmen and friends. Marriage serves to resolve conflicts too. Syeds and Swatis resolve their disputes by giving their daughters to the offended family. In this case customary laws were violated by providing share of land to the daughter.

Exogamous marriage in its true sense is not merely an alliance between two ethnic groups, but it is an acknowledgement of the acceptance of status between respective parties. A Gujar who gives his daughter to a Swati or Syed, in fact recognizes the relative higher status of the other party. That is why well-off Gujars never give their daughters out of the ethnic group in marriage and the same is the case with Swatis for Syeds.

Exogamous marriage practices, therefore, are not very common but show the economic disparity of different ethnic groups which are placed in different economic conditions, otherwise the patrilineal descent groups of Hazara are strictly group oriented and prefer to retain their "blood purity" and closely knit kinship bonds.

3.3 FAMILY STRUCTURE AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Family types are extended, sharing a common kitchen. A normal family consists of a father, his married sons and their children. Sometimes a new house is arranged for a newly married couple, as the people are very fond of constructing new houses, but still sharing a common kitchen and common economic enterprise.

Due to high flow of outmigration, a large number of young males are away from their homes and their wives and children are looked after by the elder of the family, who is solely responsible for economic matters. He is one who receives money from out-gone children.

The family is a basic economic group in Hazara. Men are responsible for the direction of farm activities. A family is a unit unto itself in production: the family members produce collectively for the whole family not for an individual member.

Work is distributed among the members according to their physical ability and cultural sanctions. An elder woman may go to the field but a young girl may not. Similarly daughters can fetch water from spring whereas daughter-in-law cannot. The reason for such restriction lies in the presumption of limiting young girls free movement to save her from scandals and rumours and to safeguard her position as a future daughter-in-law for an other family.

"Daughter-in-law is the veil of the household."

The position of a girl in her husband's household determines the importance of the son in the family.

Yousaf Khan of Shohal (Balakot) has three sons working independently in different countries. He receives money from them annually or twice a year, and has full rights to spend it without telling their wives. These women cannot even enquire about this, except asking some amount for clothes or jewellery. Money earned by an individual belongs to the family and every one has equal rights of use. If someone hides his income, he is considered and suspected as doing something against the interest of family integration. The dowry (brought by the daughter-in-law) is not a part of family income, but is still considered as family property. She has no right over her ornaments or crockery, sometimes her personal

jewellery is given to her sisters-in-law at the time of their marriages and is sold or kept in mortgage to meet the severe needs like purchase of new piece of land etc. Since the members of the family work together, they share common interests and equal treatment but preference is given to few members. Young boys are provided with better food like butter and curds in breakfast and ghee is poured in their food. The justification for such treatment is given as under:

"Younger people should be stronger and well-fit so that they work hard and produce more."

A member, who earns more for the family is honoured by the others and he may even enjoy some prestige, without any jealousy but he cannot claim the ownership of the property more than others. On the other hand, a member, who produces or earns less is considered equally acclaiant of the property. Even one, who does nothing, has equal rights in the family property. The money invested in family entrepreneurship by a single member is never ploughed back to him, for example, if a son helps in the construction of a house by giving money, he cannot claim more share in the house after the death of the father. Share of respective property will be divided equally among all the brothers.

The dowry items are distributed among daughters-in-law after the death of mother or in old age she can also distribute her possessions to her married daughters before she dies.

In case the mother is residing with one of her sons, her belongings like jewellery, utensils, boxes etc. will come to be owned

by the respective daughter-in-law. The continuity of family depends not only on the following generation but also upon uninterrupted transaction of family's common property. The inheritance becomes an important bond in Hazara families.

As we have noted, families are not merely a group of related people but also the land, the household and livestock, and the family reputation. A prosperous family is one which is increasing in members and in property. In declining families, both are disappearing. This is what the reason, a dying father feels guilty before his offsprings if he has left behind nothing or minor. This is not only because that property is most dependable insurance in next generation but also because family is an economic unit. Thus it is the property which holds them together. As long as the land is intact, the family exists, when the land is diminished or sold, the individual members may still remain but the family is gone. So many respondents said,

"We are dying in peace as we have left behind a good deal of land. It is our sons' duty to enlarge the estate."

Family controversies occur over movable property (jewellery) because they do not come under the law of inheritance. Though the parents are well-aware that with the increasing number of sons, their piece of land will be further sub-divided but even then they expect more sons, considering not the division of land but the more members to work for the joint economic enterprise. Collective economic venture is not only necessary for family

consolidation, but for the purpose of survival too. Thus the land is a symbol of family integration and prestige.

3.4 COLLECTIVE LABOUR

The types of collective work are prevalent among the people of Hazara. These activities are not purely economic but traditional, ritualistic, ceremonies, involving many cultural, social and economic implications. Each is performed by the exclusive sex.

3.4.1 'Hashar' (Men's collective labour)

'Hashar' is a cultural ceremony of grass cutting, usually arranged from 15th September to 15th October. This is a collective labour of the people belonging to one village or sometimes of different villages. 'Hashar' is generally arranged for the purpose of grass cutting from 'Rakhs' and fields to store for winter season for their cattle. Sometimes 'Hashar' is also called for house construction, wheat and maize harvesting, though not very regularly.

In theoretical sense it is a man's collective labour to help each other; a mutual help practice. Its social importance is more emphasized than an economic one. One of the respondents said,

"It is a formal get-together of the Biraderi, in which we work for each other to re-assure our strong ties of friendship and kinship."

'Hashar' is arranged just after the harvest of maize in September when all the men are free from other activities. When a family or household arranges 'Hashar' he sends invitations through a 'Nai' (barber) to his relatives, friends and kinsmen, sometimes head of the household goes himself. It is more or less like the invitation, of a marriage or circumcision. Big landlords arrange transport facilities for their kinsmen and friends, on such occasions. There are more than one drummers and pipers, who play for the whole day on the spot. These people are village 'mirasis' (doms) who are remunerated for that by cash or kind. Every one brings his own sickle. The work starts with a beat on the drum. People raise a slogan of

"Ya Ali Madad - (Oh Ali, help)

"Ha-a-a-aw - (meaningless)

"Ya Sain
Sahailee - (help my lord Sahailee, a saint of
Azad Kashmir who is deeply admired
by these people.)

They set to work with vigour and enthusiasm. Pipers and drummers keep on playing for the whole day. When it is found that someone is losing his pace, pipers and drummers start playing and beating right in his ears to provoke him for keeping pace with others.

People sing and dance during grass cutting. I observed a seventy years old Gujar dancing like anything. After short interval, they shout a slogan from one corner to another. Every one holds his grass in left hand, there are different bundles of grass collected

by each individual when one watches the bundle of an other, he accelerates his work to complete with him. Grass cutters keep on moving onwards and at time cover a long distance (even a mile) if a land holder has a big estate.

At the time of lunch, which is served by the host household, there is a short break when, announced,

"Lunch is ready."

They eat in big plates (trays) sitting on the ground sharing two or three persons a tray.

Second interval is for tea, in the afternoon. After the work is finished, host elder pays his thanks to everybody. In some cases 'hashar' continues for two or three days. At the end, in the evening when everyone departs, there may be an other announcement by one of the participants for an other 'Hashar,' in this case there is no need of sending 'Nai.'

Participants are not remunerated for their labour while in return host is bound to feed them well. The 'Hashar' serves the following purposes:-

- a. It saves money.
- b. It provides chance to get the biradri/Qom or friends together.
- c. It is a sort of ceremony which also provides pleasure.

Underlying behaviour in such ceremony is of common-sality, brotherhood and ceremonial gathering, in which everyone takes part to help his friends. No ethnic criteria is involved in it. People irrespective of their ethnic group, village and kinship relations participate in 'Hashar.'

1. Big farmers call the 'Hashar' in which their tenants and poor people take part. They themselves never participate.
2. Relatives and friends of such farmers are invited but they particularly do nothing except sitting near the labourers like spectators, raising slogans to encourage them and discussing their own affairs. In some cases, they take a sickle from one of the participants for a short while to show off their deep interest.
3. Meal served to them is of two types, one for the friends of the host, containing chicken and pilao, other for participants, usually potato and meat curry.

This institution has very much damaged the concept of 'Hashar.' People are reluctant to attend such occasions, knowing that they will not get any help for their own grass cutting. As many times one attends a 'Hashar,' he expects others to come for the days he has worked for them. Instead of attending a 'Hashar'

poor people demand net payment of their job.

In my presence, Rafiq Baji, a landlord invited a Gujar on 'Hashar.' He said, 'Banji, do not call me on 'Hashar,' call me on wages.

'Hashar,' even among small land holder is losing its true sense. They collect grass by themselves in extra time with the help of their children during whole summer instead of cutting at the end of the season.

Poor landless people prefer to find a job or labour rather than going to a 'Hashar.'

"When I can earn Rs.15/- a day in road construction, why should I go to a 'Hashar' and get an inferior quality of lunch." said one of them.

In very few cases i.e. Jaba I found 'Hashar' prevailant among small landholders, but it is still on reciprocal basis. On big farmer's part, I found a variety of complaints about people's disinterest towards 'Hashar.' Only tenants are those who attend 'Hashar,' but it is a kind of forced labour.

'Hashar' today has the following latent functions manifested in ritual way.

1. Recognition of one's status and power while working for him when he is not a participant.
2. Demonstration of political and economic power.

3. Political gathering of various influential people.
4. Political campaign for election etc.
5. A very deep sense of competition with fellow landlords, more the participants more the
6. Exhibition of hospitality to fellow farmers.

3.4.2 Lahari (Women's collective labour)

Women's collective labour is performed at mid-night in the same season of 'hashar.' 'Lahari' is not confined to grass cutting but involves peeling of maize and rice harvesting. Invitations are sent through a 'Nai'. Women collect at the host household and come out at mid-night, they do not sing in the fields and there is no drum or pipe playing.

Male entrance is strictly prohibited in the fields during 'Lahari.' Mostly Gujar women are called for 'Lahari.' Hierarchy and differentiation is also found in similar way like that in 'Hashar.' 'Lahari' practice is very rare, people do not like to send their wives, sisters and daughters for 'Lahari', except forced tenants and village servants. People of equal status do practice 'Lahari' but very occasionally on severe needs, when the load of work is too high.

Another reason of giving up this practice is the possible side consequences like seduction, raping of women. Some girls take extra benefits out of this, and start meeting their lovers. Men feel it insulting when asked:

"Your wife was not at home last night."

A Gujar, whose wife would attend 'Lahari' killed a Swati in 1980 when he said,

"'Lahari' is a ceremony when Gujris (female Gujars) harvest the crop of their lover's hunger." This started creating social complications in families so it is now almost abolished.

The most understandable reason for giving up such ritual is the lack of people's interest in farm activities like peeling maize and harvesting.

Final reason is of course the 'Lahari's' nature of being no output economic incentive, i.e. it gives no immediate reward in cash or kind, further more on the same occasion tenants and small farmers can get no help from the household they had visited.

In brief the chief motive of collective work is reciprocity or exchange of services. If this is not provided, functioning of such practice is merely a hypothetical expectation.

3.5 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic political institution in the village is 'Jirga.' There are mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic villages in the area, hence the criterion of decision-making varies from village to village. However the main determining factor of authority could be classified into two categories:-

3.5.1 Religious Authority

- a. Acquired: This authority lies with saints, priests, (Imam Masjid) and religious reformers. Religious scholars enjoy this sort of authority as well. This could be a temporary power. They do not come into open contest but strengthen some groups.
- b. Devolved: This type of authority involves Syeds, and disciples of Saints. This is an hereditary power perpetuating from son to father, personal ability and struggle counts least in this kind of authority.

3.5.2 Secular Authority

- a. Acquired: This category includes local leaders, government officials in job or retired; lamberdar, and village elders. Richer people, landlords and sometimes outspoken people are those who enjoy such authority.

- b. Devolved: This kind of authority is enjoyed by the people who are genetically related to the ancestors of the tribes, and villages. The sons of famous persons and also the children of village leaders who have served the community by his services, are included in this category.

3.5.3 Determinants of Authority

In my study area, no single type is valid for each village, it changes from village to village. As stated earlier, ethnic superiority is a self perceived criterion. There is no over all agreement on that. There are two determinants of power:-

- a. Numerical strength
- b. Economic strength

If either of the condition is fulfilled, one can enter into the court. It depends on the relative strength of the variable which determines the political power. Among the patterns described above, no sole category decides the result.

It is obvious from the above classification that criterion for enjoying authority in mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic villages is different. In former case, the point of numerical strength is altogether excluded. While in latter it counts much along with other qualifications.

At village level, authority is enjoyed at several levels and patterns described above strongly overlap. These patterns are institutionalized at the level of 'Jirga.' Speaking men in 'Jirga' are those who represent different categories of groups i.e. ethnic groups, entire village, landless people, and landlords, depending upon the nature of the conflict.

'Who decides for whom' is a phrase having no answer in the area. There is no sole leadership criterion for the persons to enjoy the authority, in fact there exists no claimant who could say that he can speak for his village for all matters.

If we look into the nature and function of the 'Jirga' it will be easier to apprehend the situation. 'Jirga' has various forms:-

- a. Ethnic Group 'Jirga': In this 'Jirga', problems faced by an ethnic group are discussed. No one, other than the respective ethnic group, can enter the meeting however in special cases village landlord and lamerdar or Syed are invited to resolve the matter with the consent of the competing parties. Other way out for such problem is, if both the parties belong to the same village, an elder from another village is called to express his opinion. In case fighting groups are Syed or Swati and lamerdar or landlord is Gujar, he will never be called.

- b. Village 'Jirga': In this 'Jirga' village matters are resolved and ethnic criterion as such is not valid though the participation of each ethnic group is necessary. Decision-making authority lies above and level of ethnicity, but use their influence by virtue of wealth and numerical strength. Individual influence sometimes counts much if there is someone whose services for the village are unignorable. He may be retired government official, or an outspoken person who had served the community through the use of his ability, like negotiating with Forest Department and helping people in law suits.

3.5:4 Patron-Client Relationship

These are social relations tied through an economic contract:

"A patron combines status, power, influence, authority, attributes useful to anyone in 'defending' himself. A person however influential and powerful is a patron only in relationship to someone of lesser position, a client under specific circumstances, he is willing to help."

(Poster; 1963: 1281)

A patron due to his economic influence may get the favour of client and speak and decide for him on several matters regardless of ethnicity. In this case a client, poor landless tenant is obligated to accept his decision. This type of political

relationship at the same time shows the importance of land. These are contractual but perpetual relationship between two persons or families.

3.5.5 Administrative Power

On administrative level political power is held by lamberdar, who works as a coordinator between people and government. His influence is due to the office he holds and rights given to him for the management of village affairs.

Other administrative power which influences village level decision making process is a forest officials. A forest employee may not be a local person but his interference in village affairs is remarkably high. The forest employees do not acquire rights of influence from the legal ways, their power lies in the fact that they are the manager of local forest wealth. Their influence on wood cutters and Guzara owners is due to the heavy demand of wood they put before them.

3.5.6 Organizational Complexity

Over all picture of political organization emerges to be of an acephalous society. Villages, an ethnic group lack permanent leadership. However individual alliances are somehow permanent.

An individual acts according to the consent of his ethnic group, with which lineages and families act differently. Political alliance and recruitment of individual is different from that of

Barth's model as far as the case is concerned to individual choices.

"The freedom of choices alters the way in which political institutions function, in system where no self choice is offered self interest and group advantage tend to coincide."

(Barth; 1072:2)

Ethnic groups do lack a leadership but act as an integrated force under an internal code of control.

As a whole society fails to show a system of political organization in intergrated form. As far as matter is concerned to an individual he improves and protect his position through his group. Self interests coincide with group actions strongly regarding the lack of a controlling authority.

This situation has made the decision-making process very complex. 'Jirga' then acts as an arbitrator rather than a judge. In case an individual or a group challenges the credibility of a 'Jirga' the matter expands to the Tehsil court and an other authority comes into function i.e. big landlords or an influential person from other village who could help them in the court. In general the power of a person over others is a matter of the nature of the crisis rather than the acceptance of an individual as a leader.

3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Prior to deal with the problem of economy, it is crucial to look into the social structure and its allied institutions.

This chapter shows the nature of relationship and the network of interaction prevalent among the people of Hazara. Marriage ideal type is endogamy which shows the in group solidarity concept and the trend towards ethnic identity. Violation of endogamy is an outcome of different economic conditions of people, that is why well-off people are mostly endogamous. Family in its nature functions as an economic unit which serves to keep the land intact and to meet the needs of livelihood.

Out-break of social relationship is shown by the decline of collective labour practice, people in turn try to maximize the economic return of each social action.

Political system shows the decentralized authority pattern in Hazara. Ethnic group at the same time have retribalized themselves internally emphasizing on the myths for origin and claims of superiority, whereas on the other hand outside contracts and diminishing economic resources are leading towards detribalization i.e. people are breaking ethnic ties for outside interaction.

Ethnic picture of social structure manifests—the bonds of social relationship are a prerequisite of economic conditions. Social organization of people provide some opportunities and limiting factors in the struggle for livelihood. How people explore the means of livelihood is the problem of the following chapter.

CHAPTER-4

EXPLORATION IN THE EXISTING SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS

This chapter deals with the current patterns of subsistence adapted by the people of Hazara. An attempt has been made to explore all possible means of livelihood and their relationship with socio-cultural milieu.

George Dalton says,

"In all subsistence economies there is a network of labour, land and product transactions, a local and contained economic system which integrates community life. It is their positive characteristics as these relate to social organization and cultural practice which must be appreciated if we are to understand why social malaise sometimes accompanies economic change."

(Dalton George: 1967; 157)

The greater emphasis is laid on the organization of production and the network of relationship between subsistence farmers. This chapter has been divided into two main sections. The first section deals with the mode of agriculture production and its allied functions, plus the moral and social obligations acknowledged by the people and their nature of operation. This section also shows the central importance of agriculture in economic sphere of life due to numerous reasons. The primary means of subsistence is a security measure and a consolidating factor in social structure as well.

The second section deals with the outcomes of primary economic activities. Due to environmental conditions, people have to seek double sources of income. One is primary and the other is a subsidiary in nature which acts to support the former in most instances. This section examines how supporting activities back up the major subsistence practices when the resources are scarce and land is inadequate to meet the growing demand of food and money. In fact a vast majority retains a double source of livelihood. The impact of these secondary sources of agriculture has been examined in this chapter, keeping; the social and cultural importance of farming, in view.

4.1 PRIMARY SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Primary subsistence pattern includes all agricultural activities and their allied functions. It also includes production work and specialized functions. It takes into account the direct and indirect methods of food production, vital for subsistence. The agricultural sphere draws into the farmers (land holders), tenants or share croppers, wage labourers, village servants, and specialized group of workers, they all get their livelihood from agriculture.

4.1.1 The Occupational Categories in Farming

a. Farmers: Farmers are land holders. Generally Swatis and Syeds own a good deal of land and partly are engaged in farming. Average land held by an individual or family varies from 12 Kanals to 15 Kanals (8 Kanals = 1 Acre) though some do acquire big land-holdings in exceptional cases. (See appendix: Table-13)

Two types of farmers are there:

i. Owner Cultivators: They cultivate their land by themselves with or without the help of servants. They are, mainly small holders and in majority. Mainly Gujars and Swatis cultivate their own farms. They are subsistence farmers engaged in other activities too, to subsidize their income. Increasing trends towards self-cultivation reveals the fact that the vast majorities of people are migrating outside and there is a great shortage of tenants and wage labourers.

TABLE-10
CLASSIFICATION OF PRIMARY ECONOMIC
ACTIVITIES

Categories	Garhi Habibullah %	Mansehra %
Owner Cultivators	30.0	35.3
Owner Non-cultivator	15.0	11.5
Tenant Cultivator	0.9	1.7
Wage Labourer	5.3	3.3
Owner Cultivator/Tenant Cultivator	3.3	2.9
Owner Cultivator/Tenant Cultivator	-	-
Owner Cultivator/Wage Lab:	17.0	21.0
Owner Non-Cultivator/ Wage Labourer	2.3	3.7
Owner Cultivator/Other Activities	14.2	10.0
Owner Non-Cultivator/ Other activities	12.0	10.6

Table-10 shows the involvement of a higher proportion of population is self cultivation.

ii. Owner Non-Cultivators: Big land owners are usually non-cultivators. They have given their lands to tenants. The inducement for tenants to work on their lands is that a big plot can give a handsome yield adequate for the family requirement. Second type of owner non-cultivators are those who carry small land holdings and are engaged in other economic activities. These small owners either hire wage labourers once or twice a year on plough and harvest time or give their land on tenancy. For them, getting a tenant is difficult because out of small land tenant cannot get adequate food for his family. It is only possible if two small land holders having adjacent fields give their farms to the same persons, which practically is very seldom.

b. Tenants and Share Croppers: I am dealing both the term tenant and share cropper differently in this section for the purpose of classification:-

"A tenant has the right of usage over real estate, usually by virtue of renting or leasing. Tenants do not own land but rather acquire such rights through contractual arrangements with proprietors."

(Encyclopedia of Anthropology: 1976; 384)

Muzara come under the definition of tenant. Only big land lords have tenants. Mutual agreement between 'Maalik' and 'Muzara' is prescribed in the papers of 'Patwari', (a Land Revenue Department Clerk). Tenant have to pay a fixed amount to his patron in cash

or kind annually. Sometimes he occupies a small plot for his own use and accepts ritual obligations. The relationship between a farmer and tenant is of patron-client type. Amount paid by tenant is 'Tawan.' The owner provides clothes and houses to tenants. Tenants accepts some ritual obligation for his master, such as serving in ceremonies of marriage, death and on special occasions. Their women and children work in landlords' house as well. They provide political strength to their landlord by putting weight in his favour at the time of election or conflict.

Tenancy perpetuates from generation to generation for one family. Tenants are "Dakheel Kar" who can never be ejected in ordinary conditions. Some times, in case of conflict between master and tenant, issue expands to law suits. In some cases tenants have acquired rights of ownership after a long law suit when a piece of land is under tenancy of a person for a couple of decades.

'Hali' are a kind of tenant working on share cropping basis, purely on temporary seasonal contracts, these contracts can be renewed if services of a share-cropper are found satisfactory. Small as well as big landlords give their lands to share croppers on some customarily prescribed conditions, oftenly on 50% share basis. Conditions of share are on profit and loss terms. Both share croppers and proprietor make the arrangement verbally without entering into revenue papers. Both parties bear 50% expenditure of cultivations, like purchase of fertilizers, water costs and rent of tractor.

Generally the 'plough' and 'bullocks' are of 'Hali' or if provided by the owner then terms and conditions are re-settled. In this case 'Halis', share decreases to 33% or so. 'Hali' have to cultivate in accordance to the choice of the owner. In few instances 'Hali,' if he is cultivating the same land for second or third time, grows any crop according to the choice of his own. 'Hali' have to work hard because increase in crop means increase in his share. Tenants are not obligated to give a share to village servants, as they are landless. Farmer loose a pretty good amount of grains by giving it to different occupational categories.

Hali-farmer relationship are temporary, friendly and do not perpetuate from generation to generation. Landlord can change his 'Hali' whenever he needs. Hali has no claim on the land he brings under the plough, he is a "Gher-Dakheel-Dar," (non-claimant).

For the next discussion, I always will use the term-- 'tenant' for both the categories, as the tenants (Muzara) in true sense are almost extinct in the areas.

c. Farmer-Cum-Tenants: They own small plots of land, inadequate for livelihood (below subsistence requirement), and hire other's lands for cultivation on the same terms described in previous section. Farmer-cum-Tenants prefer to cultivate adjacent accessible lands rather than working on distant farms.

Emigrant Swatis and Syed generally give their lands to farmer-cum-Tenants. A vast majority of this category is Gujar. Big landowners prefer tenants rather than farmer-tenants, to

cultivate their lands. Farmer-tenants enjoy a good position in the area. They are partially dependent on landlords for additional produce, whereas tenants solely depend on the land, hired in tenancy.

Relationship between farmer and farmer-cum-Tenant are symbiotic on reciprocal basis. In excessive cases farmer-cum-Tenant get more produce than a farmer himself, because of their dual source production, i.e. from own land and from hired land.

d. Wage Labourers: They are landless peasants who work on the land of others on daily wages. Small land owners, who are engaged in other economic activities hire these labourers on daily wages temporarily. Agricultural work in Hazara require not much time, it needs man power only on cropping season and harvest time.

Small land owners hire them for help specially at the time of harvest. Sometimes small farmers work as wage labourers when their own agricultural job is finished. In fact wage labourer, as a sperate category, are very few. Mostly they are small farmers, tenants and in some cases landless people, who subsidize farm production from labour. This is why they prefer to call their occupation as 'Zamindari' rather than otherwise.

e. Plough Servants: There is a strong competition to find plough servants, particularly as local man, are reluctant to take on the job. A plough servant is engaged before the first rain

in April and dismissed eight or nine months later when, agricultural work is finished. The plough servant lives with the family of his patron. They cloth him and feed him, he is paid monthly or sometimes he is given grains according to his requirement. He is allowed, even to work some where else as a labourer.

Plough servant practice is very rare, only plough servants are hired by very rich people and are always among the very poor. Sometimes they are called as Kasbis and given Khaleend. They are generally Gujars, in the villages where Gujars are not present, Swati, Tanoli and Awans do this job. Khankhels rarely do this work and Syeds never. Demand for plough servants exceeds supply because a better, although more certain living can be made doing casual labour and petty trading. They are poor, and have no land. The situation has become worse because of the second settlement¹ of land by Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, after Pakistan, when every landless was given land. Now they prefer to share the crop, rather than working as a plough servant.

f. Village Functionaries: This category includes artisans and occupational group who do manual jobs in the village and they perform side duties like Maulvi and Marasi. For them, terms and conditions for remuneration are prescribed.

1. Chief Minister of N.W.F.P. in his land reforms in 1949, gave rights of ownership to landless people on fallow or barren lands. These reforms are called second settlement.

They are,

- a. Lohar (Blacksmith)
- b. Turkhan (Carpenter)
- c. Mochi (Sheomaker)
- d. Nai (Barber)
- e. Mirasi (Musicians/Singers)
- f. Maulvi (Religious Practitioners)

They are all called 'Kasbis.'

They are of two categories:-

- i. Artisans and occupational categories
- ii. Non-occupational.

Persons specialized in particular jobs are called by the name of their relative occupation, like 'Nai', 'Mochi' etc. While non-occupational labourer like 'Mirasi' and villager servants, are referred to as 'Kasbis' only. Both the categories are remunerated by the same terms. 'Kasbis' claim themselves to be Awans though the position of 'Kasbi' is hereditary but mobility is always possible (See Awans Chapter-3).

Nai

House-servants work in big landlords' houses and serve the guests and do all petty duties, like cooking and washing houses. They are not paid in cash, but are provided house, clothes and grains annually, after the harvest. Village functionaries perform

certain jobs in agricultural work for farmers. In traditional pattern they are linked with landlord in 'Khaleend'¹ relationship.

Carpenter is paid Khaleend only for the repair of plough, handle of hammer, handle of sickle. He makes these things free of cost, only the wood is provided to him. He charges money for the job, other than this, like making furniture, beds, and shelves for utensils. Blacksmith prepares handle of plough and hammer, if some one needs a good sickle of hammer of superior quality, he will have to pay in cash.

Nai, (Nai circumcise the boys and paid in cash on that occasion), works as messenger too, but only on death, on marriage or other ceremonies, his services are remunerated by cash. 'Nai' shaves once ~~of~~ twice a month, his extra services are paid with money. 'Nai's wife also serves as messenger and cooks food on death and marriage for guests. She also helps in daily duties for busy days of such ceremonies and reside in respective household for couple of days.

1. 'Khaleend' is that amount of grains which is paid as a reward of their duties drawing the whole year, after the harvest. 'Khaleend' is measured in Odee. Odee is a wooden vassel which contains:
 a) 5½ ser maize, b) 6 ser wheat, c) 7 ser rice (1 Ser=2lbs=1kg approx.)
 All the produce is measured in Odees. Scheme of distribution is as 1 Chat = 60 Odee). 3 Odee on one chat goes to 'Kasbis.' If one produces 6 chat, he will spare 3 Odee from each chat. 6x3 = 18 Odee for 'Kasbis,' and then distributed equally. If crop is less than one 'Chat' then the farmer is considered as a low grade person. At time to save his prestige farmer who produces less than one 'Chat' do give 3 Odee to 'Kasbis.'

'Maulvi' performs certain duties other than leading daily prayers like washing and taking care of village mosque. He lives in small house adjacent to mosque called 'Hujra.' He recites 'Azan' (Holy call for the prayers) in the core of newly born child, recites 'fatiha' (recitation of verses from Holy Quran on meals, on special occasions like death, etc.) He gives the bath to coffin. Maulvi is paid Khaleend except when he performs 'Nikah' on marriages. His share is twentieth Odee of total produce. Though the Maulvi gets Khaleend but he is not treated with 'Kasbis.'

'Kasbis' who directly help in agricultural work are rewarded with a special amount of grains called 'Gadda'. 'Gadda' is paid by landlord and tenant jointly whereas 'khaleend' is paid by landlord only.

Carpenter and Blacksmith have started new shops in the cities. They give very minimal time to villagers. Barber also take money for his services. But all the same, they are paid 'Khaleend' because they are village servants and it is obligatory for a farmer to remunerate them. 'Khaleend' ties both land owner and 'kasbis' in a bond, which defines their relative status in the village. It allots status and prestige to farmer, if he pays good amount of grain to his 'kasbis'. The relationship between farmer and 'kasbi' is not of patron-client type, but an economic agreement between two parties. Neither landlord and nor 'kasbi' are in permanent contact. With the changing economic conditions of the area, the kasbi are adapting new professions in the local areas

and in cities as well.

In conclusion, it is evident that both the groups accept present relationship for different purposes, landlords for social ^{position} and kasbi to get their livelihood.

4.1.2 Methods and Techniques of Farming

Agriculture is predominantly dependent on the traditional methods and implements. Except three tractors in the entire research area, no thrasher or other modern machine was found. One tractor is owned by Yousaf Khan of Banda, who runs it on rent of Rs.50/- per hour. People get this tractor for preparation of land at the time of harvest. Especially the small farmers who do not cultivate their own land, prefer to hire a tractor, rather than giving their land to a tenant or share-cropper, to save half of their produce. These farmers prepare the land with tractor and at the time of need, like fertilizing or seeding, they hire wage labourer, without participating in farm activities by themselves. This practice is not very frequent because of lesser number of tractors available.

Tractor owner on the other hand said:

"This is my business, my own land is small, not needing a tractor work. I earn more than expected."

Big landlords of the area like Qudus Khan and Shah Jehan Shah, who own thousands of Kanals, do not need to purchase

the tractor for their farms because they are not self-cultivators and are solely dependent on tenants. Small land owners cannot afford to hire a tractor for their farms. Fertilizer use is also very rare. Generally land is sown without fertilizer. Animal dung is not available too, because the cattles graze in the forest for the whole day and their dung is wasted. Stall feeding of cattle is very low.

Land is ploughed with 'Jori' (a couple of bullocks). Every farmer has a 'Jori' or two, some who do not have, hire from others on rent. One who gets other's 'Jori' have to plough his one or two kanals in return. People bother a little about the quality or type of seed, they do not even know the names of the various varieties of seeds and fertilizer, Despite the fact that agriculture is the primary economic support, farmer's knowledge about methods and techniques is little. However a strong willingness towards the use of modern technology was recorded through the views they gave.

4.1.3 * Livestock

Importance of livestock in agriculture is indispensable, regarding the following factors. Livestock are

- a. Vital for agricultural practices
- b. Vital for daily consumption of milk, ghee and curd
- c. A source of extra income by selling its by-products.
- d. A symbol of prestige

Table-7 shows the livestock situation in the area. As discussed above traditional ways are followed in agriculture. A Jori (a couple of bullocks) is used to plough the land. A good 'Jori' also gives a prestigious position to a farmer.

Goats are the most dangerous animals for forest, hence due to the restriction on open grazing they are becoming fewer in number. Cows and buffaloes are reared for self consumption and marketable production of milk and ghee. Selling milk and ghee, though, is not considered very appreciable but the people are compelled to sell these by-products, to their higher value of ghee (Rs.40/- per seer) while purchasing vanaspati ghee for self use.

Mules and donkeys are found in the dense forest areas, where they are used by tree hunters for the transportation of wood to other areas. A corresponding figure of Jab shows the astonishing number of donkeys in the village, regarding that Jaba has the largest forest in the area (Table-7). Landless peasants and local labourers also keep donkeys for the purpose of loading, house and road construction material.

If the cattles are good in number, owner can sell few of them in hard times, at severe needs like marriage of a daughter or at a crop decay, or flood. In fact the cattle rearing requires not much expenditures regarding that the most part of fodder requirement is met from grassy fields (Dhaka Rakh). Farmer produce very little fodder on farm lands. The fodder situation is becoming

worse with the increase in measures, towards forest regeneration, done by Forest Department. Trees are being planted on the grazing lands from where people get fodder for their cattles. In short the forest development and cattle rearing are two adversaries in the area (See Chapter-5).

4.1.4 Role of Female in Agricultural Practices

Whenever man power is assessed, females are often exempted from such classification. Planners of development scheme though realize the role performed by women but hesitate to consider them as a functioning factor. Female participation is vitally underestimated by social researchers which is a draw back.

Role of women is confined to certain limits but of course, very countable and worth analyzing. Fields, under which women perform their duties, are latent, not open for observation. The most important job done by women is the domestication of animals. They bring cattles to forest, and let them graze in open fields. They take care of cattles at home too. Young girls and young married women do not go with cattles, this duty has been allotted to older women, small girls and married mature women. Young women are a symbol of sanctity in the society, any mishap with them means dispossession of honour and prestige for respective family. Women also collect grass from forest for cattles. they bring cracked branches of chir pine tree from 'jungle' for fire uses.

Females task is to build ovens to store the grains in the home too. In direct farm activities female duties are

TABLE-11

SEXUAL DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR IN FARM PRACTICES

CROP	Land Prepa- ration	Panery	Seeding	Fertiliz- ing	Weeding	Harves- ting	Pack- ing	Thrash- ing	Storing	Grass cutting
Wheat	ExM	-	ExM	ExM	-	ExM	-	ExM	WF	MMC
Rice	ExM	WF	WF	Exm	WF	ExM	-	ExM	WF	MMC
Maize	ExM	-	ExM	ExM	MM	ExM	MM	WF	WF	MMC

KEY: Exm = Exclusively men
 ExW = Exclusively women
 WF = Whole Family
 MM = Mainly men
 MMC = Mainly Men and Children

specified to specific areas, like seeding rice, preparing 'panery' for rice, storing wheat, rice and maize. They also take part in thrashing, peeling and packing of maize.(See Table-11)

Generally Gujar women more actively participate in farm activities, while Syed women never contribute in any of these practices. Participation of Swati women is conditional to their economic position and sometimes to the political position of their males in the community. A Khan's woman cannot go and participate in farm activities as this is against the norm of 'Khanhood'. Regardless of their economic and social position all the females are responsible for preparing ghee and curd at home.

With the changing conditions of social and economic contacts with cities, and decreasing ethnic group solidarity female participation in agricultural activities is declining. It is becoming norm, not to send women outside the home, hence males are taking all the responsibilities. Another aspect of change in women's role is emerging 'parda' system. As soon as one acquires a position or earns wealth, his women start veiling themselves. A farmer would proudly say

"I am an honourable man how can my women go to fields."

This situation has caused:-

1. Over load of agricultural work on men's shoulders.
2. Unavailability of labour.

3. As soon as a man acquires a position, a pretty good number of family members i.e. women cease to work.
4. Changing mode of relationship between male and female with the change in their functions.

4.1.5 Farming Under Norms and Values

There are some push and pull factors favouring or dis-favouring existing subsistence fashion, concerned with agriculture. I have already discussed the smallness of land holdings, hardly upto the subsistence level. In average land price is very high in the area. People can hardly produce sufficient for their domestic needs. Businessmen and transporters are more well off than farmers. Land is a pivot of the economy of the area. There are some normative and cultural pressures which compell the people to retain their present mode of living, attached with land.

"There is no economic system to be analyzed independently of social organization."

(Daltan; 1967: 157)

Land defines social position and membership of an individual in the community. In subsistence economies an individual tends to hold his economic position by virtue of social position. Hence to "displace him economically means a social disturbance" (Firth; 1951: 31). Emotional attachment with land has many

reasons, overt and covert:-

- a. Land provides food
- b. It has a permanency in nature
- c. It binds family together
- d. It gives social status

In general protection, security and income are three fundamental binding factors for an individual to rely on land. Low production and natural calamities are there, but even then, it provides secure livelihood, kinship affinity and family ties alongwith the roots in native soil which compell a farmer to continue his relationship with land.

"Serious role of land is to stimulate social and political harmony."

(Gallin; 1967)

In an organization of semi-tribal nature as is in Hazara, land remains always a focus of concentration. It Allots status and economic position. This deep rooted love for land has caused side complexities, like a concept of own food produce for domestic consumption. In true sense it is impossible, seeing the inadequacy of land. (See Appendix: Table-18)

A farmer falls into an inferior position if he is a landless, even if he is earning much out of other occupations. That is why business men prefer to buy new land rather than ploughing back their surplus income into running business, even theses lands are left fallow some time. Concept of own-food

produce is not limited to the consumable food, but about food production of any sort. In the villages of Hassa and Taranna and Shohal on the river bank Kunhar, people have changed a food crop of maize to cash crop i.e. rice. They sell rice in the market and buy maize from bazar. This situation has not harmed their position any way. They are as respectable as a maize producer in any other village. Apparently a rice producer and a landless both buy their food crop from market, but a rice producer can say his guest

"Please, have a lunch with me, I am not going to buy food stuff from bazar for you, it is my own farm produce."

Underlying behaviour in this concept is the ownership of land, which allots a prestige to an individual

"Kara nee kanak and kara ne mak"
(Self produced wheat and maize)

are the common phrases used by Hazara people. One of my host used to say, when I would stay with him

"Do not hesitate to ask for any thing, you may be a rich, but buy your food from bazar, We have a 'Khula-Khana' (free food) for our guests." My host, Sher Afzal, agreed to charge for the food he would provide us except for flour. "It is my own produce how can I charge for it."

Generosity, prestige and wealth, all are related to agriculture. During last three decades some outstanding features have emerged in the social life of Hazara people, these changes

are the result of following factors:-

- a. High out flow of imigration ✓
- b. Larger contacts with cities ✓
- c. Frequent inter-village contacts ✓

Youngsters have adopted new behavioural outlook towards agriculture unlike elder members, who still are dominant in the social system. Youngsters calculate things on rational grounds. An educated person said that land is important not because it gives prestige, but it provides security, a place to live and chance to carry cattles for domestic use, "giving up agriculture , means that we have to purchase everything from market, which is crucial in present insufficient resources of the country." Both the groups consider land as an important factor but on different basis. An elder member will prefer to keep the land fallow rather than selling it but a youngster will not.

"If land is mother it should feed us, otherwise we cannot afford such an expensive 'keep'."

Agriculture is also important for them in present circumstances keeping in view that it contributes to many extra expenditures of living. Emigrants have left their families behind due to the less earning to meet the heavy needs of city life. They want to retain their contact with village and to live in a village land is inevitably needed due to the fact, described above. 50 years Education Office in Utter Sheesha who is working

outside in Karachi said:

"All things are temporary, we are doing everything for time being, ultimately our destiny is village and farming, it will never betray us."

4.2 SECONDARY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

I have discussed the farm activities and people's cultural and emotional attachment towards farming. We also have seen the inadequacy of land situation for livelihood. Table-10 shows that no single group (considerable) is found dependant on a single economic source. Resources are scarce and rare. People are engaged in secondary sources to subsidize their income. Industrialization process is at its lowest pace at present (see Chapter-2). Industries are insufficient incapacity to accommodate reasonable number of persons. Result of this situation is non-involvement of people is skilled labour. In the presence of scarce resources it is difficult for people to squeeze their livelihood out of insufficient resources. I will look to the possible means of earning, adapted by the people, in this section.

There are only two alternatives left, for an individual, either to explore secondary income source in the local area or to migrate to other places for better economic opportunities.

4.2.1 Migration

Following aspects of migration will be discussed here:

- a. Factors responsible for migration

- b. Socio-economic impact of the migration on the families of emigrants
- c. Change in the world view of emigrants and on respective families they have left behind.

We have already seen that the economic factors are solely responsible for migration. Studying rural societies, one should know:

"Who is leaving the village, to which destination and for how long, depends on great deal on,

- a. Whether the migration is in response to recruitment drive by employers outside the village e.g. factories, mines or plantation.
- b. Whether migration is organized or involuntary, and is related to perceived variation between economic opportunities in the village and opportunities outside the village."

(Dasgupta; 1978: 2)

Hazara migrants are neither of the category described above. This migration is a sort of forced migration, induced by eco-economic factors, This migration is not a result of disparity between village and city resources but a natural outcome of severe poverty and scarcity of resources.

The categories under forthcoming discussion are:-

- i. Seasonal migration
- ii. Temporary-non-seasonal migration
- iii. Permanent removal

a. Seasonal Migration: Small land owners or landless people migrate when the plough season is off. These non-skilled people, usually go out alone. Their destination is Punjab and Sind in development projects where manpower is needed severely. They spend most time of the year outside the village. They re-join fields at the time of harvest. In their absence farm is managed by their children, elder family members, and women. These migrants work as wage labourers, hotel servants, or domestic servants in the cities of Karachi and Lahore. They remain connected with their land permanently and are absent in fallow seasons. They take part in village affairs and politics, and are considered as permanent village members. They get their basic food from farms, while subsidize other needs from the income earned in cities. The family structure is relatively less effected by this migration, due to the continuous contact of male members with their families. These seasonal migrants identify themselves as farmers,

"basically I am a farmer, rest is for living"

is a common interpretation given by them. When a person come in contact with city for a long time he acquires skills like cooking, driving and as a factory worker, as a result of that he gives up seasonal farm practices and adapts city profession permanently. This migration converts into non-seasonal temporary migration after few years.

b. Temporary Non-Seasonal Migration: A wide range of labour surplus exists in Hazara, which if not engaged in agriculture, otherwise is idle. These are those migrants who are engaged in permanent jobs in factories, transport, government offices and in other organizations, and some of them have established petty business. This category also includes skilled labour and educated persons, working in cities. They have not ceased their links with the land, nor have they sold their lands; They have their families behind, to meet whom they oftenly visit the village. Their earning is exploited in the native areas. The families are looked after by elder members who perform farm activities, with the help of wage labourers or share-croppers, in the absence of youngsters. Farming in the villages is inadequate to meet family expenditures, so a nuclear family migrates, while parents still dwell in the village.

This sort of migration have considerable effects on family structure, women have become more perceptive, and have to look after children alone. Another effect of this migration is significant on contiguous generation. The authority of parents over their children has decreased tremendously. Children are no longer dependent on their fathers when they get a start in life.

This sort of migration is close to the category of "Recurrent migration" described by Ganzalez who borrows the term "migrant labour" from Wilson (1941; 46-American Anthropologist).

Ganzalez (1961; 1268) says "In this type of migration migrants do not break down their relations with village. He is considered as a visitor not as a resident. His social identity can no longer be separated from his work identity." This is a differing point. Hazara migrants are affiliated with lands, as long as land is there he is identified with that. It could somehow be applied to a land less person, who is known by the work, he is doing outside.

It is difficult to make a comparison between, the income one earn outside and what the land in the village pays. Closely looking at entire situation, it demonstrates that the expenditure required for a family outside village are certainly more than that if the family live in village. This justifies that land still remains a primary source of economic dependence for them. The impact on social organization is worth analysing. Husband-wife ties becomes weaker, and men loses his say in the family crisis and village affairs. He is considered as a person who is ignorant of family or vaillage matters. They, if earn a good deal, are considered respectable but are still unworthy to be indulged in the family affairs. This is not the case always valid. Educated people working in government departments acquire more position in the community; they speak for village, to the department of forest and agriculture, they are involved in decision making process as well.

The most significant aspect of temporary out flow is international migration. A person working abroad enjoys higher position more than any body else. He is considered wealthy

and knowledgeable, and can influence family affairs more effectively. International migration effects life style of the other natives remarkably. Interesting case of such sort is seen in village "Chitta Batta" and "Sanda Ser". Both the natives are agnatic kins, belonging to "Jahangiri Khel." Quite a good number of "Chitta Batta" youngsters are in Europe and Middle East. They send modern luxuries of life to their homes. All the houses are 'Pakka' equipped with tape recorders and televisions. Their women use good clothes and cosmetics, which Sanda Ser women cannot even dream of. This resulted in break-through of family relations and marriage ties. Chitta Batta people prefer to marry their daughters to a person who is working abroad rather than giving to a poor 'Sanda Ser' farmer. Strong clan relationship is damaged by this attitude and a sense of internal consolidation among Chitta Batta came out. Chitta Batta and Sanda Ser cannot exchange prestations on equal level, which encouraged Chitta Batta people to cease mutual exchange practices.

This migration is temporary in the sense, that migrants have to come back to their native villages ultimately, sooner or latter, which is the topic of coming discussion.

c. Permanent Removal: Permanent removal includes all those patterns in which workers move from their home area to other specific locations, which offer more opportunities. This is a family migration, usually a nuclear family, leaving elder members behind. This is a result of seasonal migration and

recurrent migration; when one establishes living in city, he take his wife and children along. They adapt city life as primary economic assets. The effect of this migration is rare, in view of migrants seldom contact with village and family. They rarely sell their lands which is cultivated by other brothers in the village. Sometime, they even do not demand their share. Their visits are less frequent and participation in rituals is occasional, except on death of a near relative.

Permanent imigrants intend to come back, but in very few cases people were found returned, when once they have gone out with children. It is evident that they do not break their relations with village, which remains an insignia of identification. In some cases I saw people come back after a long out stay, whereas their children are still in cities. Retired Education Director, Badrul Islam, who is a councillor in Uttar Sheesha spent 30 years outside, has now come back. His son is a doctor and daughter is married in Lahore. Sardar's children use to come to see their father, and reside with him for quite a long time even for months, his family is re-establishing its ties with native village.

4.2.2 Local Labour

Persons seriously involved in farming opt to remain in the village, and try to explore means of earning out of their immediate environment. The most common form of secondary income is casual labour. Farmers when are free from plough work seek labour in nearing areas. Most accessable job areas are forest and construction. They work with forest contractors in jungle.

or find a labour in an under construction building. They get Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- daily. Problems of manpower become acute in harvest and plough season when every one is needing a labourer. At this time only landless people who are not working as tenants, or share croppers are available. The shortage of manpower has increased the daily wages remarkably. Labourers are used for other tasks too, much of course, depends on the wealth of employer but a moderately well-to-do man, will need one to fetch wood for his fire from jungle, to carry manure to his fields, to bring wood and build a broken ceiling of the house, apart from the agricultural tasks of ploughing, sowing, weeding, and harvesting of different crops.

4.2.3 Skills

Skills are not required prior to emigration, instead the training is sought during the involvement in a particular job; for example a man starts working with a transporter as conductor, after a year or so when he is properly trained gets a job as a driver. Same is the case with other handy people. Most of the skilled people have migrated out. Except drivers whose good proportion is still in the local area, working with local transporters. An outstanding result of people's involvement in transport is, an increased need of mechanics. Villagers, though very few, do get some training in motor bus repairing.

Three big cities of Mansehra, Garhi Habibullah, and Balkot have already absorbed maximum required skilled people, now there is an over saturation of skills. The only alternative left

for skilled people is to migrate out. The problem becomes more acute, looking at the static situation of industrialization. The majority of the villages are electrified, for that matter an intense need of electric mechanics brought out. Villagers learn repairing electric implements to work within the villages, few have opened shops. When a defect in local electric system is found, they are called by the villagers, they also repair radios and electric fans.

TABLE-12

SKILLS ACQUIRED
(Percentage of Total Skilled Persons)

Range	Fit- ter	Steno- gra- pher	Radio repair man	Dri- ver	Mill Tech- nician	Car- pen- ter	Fuel Ope- rator	Teach- ing	Auto mech- anics	Sto- cut ter
Garhi Habibullah	8	-	5	55	10	3	2	1	9	7
Mansehra	10	-	2	73	3	-	2	-	8	2

4.2.4 Business

Trend toward business enterprise is flourishing enormously. Swatis and Syeds adopt business readily than Gujars. They are opening shops in the villages and on road side to provide passengers and villagers with daily needs. We have already discussed the relationship of different ethnic groups with land. Swatis and Syeds

attach less normative devotion to land and farming. In some extreme cases they dare to sell the lands even. Transporters are fairly among those who have bought buses and transport out of selling their lands but none can venture to be a landless. He prefers to keep somehow a small piece of land. Owners, except in few cases when proprietor is a big land lord or own two or three buses, suzuki, truck or wagons; are drivers themselves, keeping their son or nephew with them as conductor.

Other business enterprises require less money while more hardwork and ability, This is contracting in the forest. Forest provides a lot of opportunities for work in, for example, extraction of resin, and cutting of marked trees (see Chapter-5). Contractors hire labour for that purpose on daily wages.

They are government registered people who submit tenders and on the basis of lowest provided rates, contract is assigned. They buy the marked trees and sell them in the market. Contractors are often very influential people. Political authorities and big landlords are engaged in this business because due to their influence they can get contracts easily. They do not dare to hesitate cutting un-marked trees, and earn enormous amount of money. After the formation of Forest Development Corporation in 1977 the system has changed. F.D.C. (Forest Development Corporation) has taken over the contractors job on its own shoulders. Though this change has discouraged many irregularities in the jungle but also closed an area of business enterprise.

4.2.5 Illicit Wood Cutting

Forest are owned by the people, under the managerial control of Forest Department. Wood is cut both for domestic uses and for earning money. The tree cutters are Gujars generally. Wood cutters call themselves as 'labouers.' A man who goes for cutting a tree would say

"Me Mazore Tay Gai San" (I will go for labour)

Some people have adopted this profession as a permanent source of living. Social organization of wood cutters and its impact on overall economy will be discussed in chapter on forest.

4.2.6 Handicrafts

Handicrafts are made on a very small commercial scale. Women are handy in preparing so many things which could be used on large commercial scale. Two types of handicrafts are manufactured. One for domestic use and presenting to the friends as gifts, others for commercial purposes. Things prepared for home usage are:-

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| a. 'Changair' | Small tray made of tree bark for Roti.(bread) |
| b. 'Musalla' | Bark-sheets for prayer. |
| c. 'Kashida Kari' | Embroidery on bed sheets, pillow covers and on cushions, |
| d. 'Tughra' | Wall hanging sheets almost found in every house. |

Following handicrafts are used on commercial scale though not very oftenly:-

- i. Embroided woolen shawls, are famous of Balakot prepared by men too, weavers of this area are famous for their skill throughout Hazara. These shawls are woven with the wool of sheeps.
- ii. Wooden furniture made by some carpenters in Shohal.
- iii. Wooden-sticks. Broken branches of Chir Pine wood are used to fashion walking sticks. Elder people make these sticks but are sold occasionally.
- iv. Carpets. Weavers of Balakot area prepare good carpets, which are sold to the tourists.

Carpets are made collectively by women and children. Due to the lack of proper encouragement, very few people are occupied in this skill. These handicraft skills could be utilized on marketable levels and be extended to a degree, where it would get its proper output.

4.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Agriculture, inspite of small land holdings, is still main economic activity in Hazara. The area lacks industries while natural resources are unexplored or badly utilized. Insufficiency of land has led people to adopt some subsidiary sources of income, which are labelled as secondary sources. The viability of both of the sources is unignorable.

Agricultural practice fulfills not only an economic need but a socio-cultural and structural need as well. The pattern of the society is semi-tribal which supposes a need of great affinity and strong kinship. People are considered rootless outside their environment even if they run a good business or earn a good deal of money. Earning outside agriculture, granted that it exceed the income acquired through farm production, is always weighed as a subsidiary asset. A noteworthy aspect of both types of earnings is their overlapping on some points, such as migration to other areas and selling land to establish new business (mostly transport).

A significant effect of secondary sources on primary subsistence pattern is the increasing dependence of people on secondary sources. This trend has been introduced by the migrants whose living standard is escalating considerably. Migrants, when they first step out, are in a fear of loss of their land and the uncertain economic ventures of the city. After, when they are well adjusted, they gradually find a better job or acquire a skill. The logical result of that is, their recurrent migration to the cities. The non-seasonal migration disentangles their traditional ties with land more readily than the natives.

At the end of this situation the secondary sources, replace the primary. The migrants measure the possessions (land forest, property) in terms of their immediate reward, rather than justifying their retainment on normative or cultural grounds. It also has been observed that the man-land relationship becomes more sturdy, in the absence of other available resources.

Traditional ties with present economic patterns is a result of uncertainty of future and lack of other resources which encompass the entire social structure. It is not personal motivation but a group behaviour which binds ^{the} individual with tradition. However when a group or vanguards of a group accepts change, other do change reasonably, without the fear of loss of status and prestige.

Position of forest is dual in the economy, it can neither be placed in primary and nor in secondary category. Dependence of people on forest in various ways, is discussed in next chapter.

CHAPTER-5

FOREST: THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS

The forest is a living wealth binding social and commercial needs together. Despite the economic value it has a social function which determines the mutual relationship of inhabitants. Forest also has an ecological importance regarding relationship of man, both agricultural and forest land, in the context of Hazara in particular.

It has three dimensional significance:

1. Ecological i.e. man vs land relationship
2. Economic
3. Social

As a wealth forest is the biggest asset but on the scale of economic output it is not very feasible.

In this chapter, forest is treated under the framework of its role in the economy and associated sectors like agriculture and domestic requirements. Basically the function of forest in an agrarian society in relation to its particular hilly environment is the theme of this part of the thesis. All those ways are brought into examination, which have somehow a relevance with its exploitation. This ultimately involves the administrative problem of management, regarding overt and covert means adapted by people and government functionaries.

An attempt is very carefully made to make understandable, the ramifying causes regarding regeneration and increasing degeneration.

5.1 FORESTRY IN LARGER CONTEXT

A burning question in the world of forestry today is about the full economic consequences of uncontrolled deforestation and forest product scarcity. Commercial wood demand is rising fast in Third World countries, most of which combine rapid population growth and relatively high economic growth rates with low current levels of industrial wood consumption.

The fact is that "major forest products used by most of Third World residents never enter the market economy." (Eckholm; Feb.1981: 17).

Thus in Pakistan, which is an extreme case, the actual consumption of industrial timber is only about half of what we would expect even considering the country's income level. This situation becomes more acute when the situation of rapid deforestation is comprehended. Forest crop areas are undergoing severe changes, encompassing socio-economic uplifts.

The British occupied Hazara in 1847, in exchange for a tract near Jammun, from the Kashmir Darbar. It was then absorbed in Punjab. Lord Dalhousie realised a need for preservation of forests for the supply of timber and fuel to the Punjab. In 1857 rules for the management of forest were sanctioned. Under these rules forests were placed under the management of Deputy Commissioner, Hazara. In 1872, forests were divided into RESERVE & GUZARAS.

"What is occurring in forest areas" is a question needing attention more than ever before. Socio-economic causes of deforestation, chances of reforestation and the implementation of acceptable schemes is the demand of the time.

5.2 FOREST AS A DEPENDABLE SOURCE

People depend on the forest in many ways and utilize its produce for domestic and commercial purposes. The chief requirements of the people from the forest are fuel-wood, grass cutting, and grazing for the cattle, chir timber for agricultural implements, poles for construction of houses and cattle-sheds.

Forest produce and its by-products are accumulated through legal and illicit means. Legal means carry the selling of marked trees, cutting of trees for domestic uses with permission, annual selling of rasin, collection of firewood and grazing of animals in pastures.

Illicit means include cutting of trees, extraction of fire wood, and destruction of early plants by grazing.

5.2.1 Wood for Domestic Use

An average owner is allowed to cut 3-4 trees a year by permission. An application is filed before the Forest Department explaining the genuinity of need, such as marriage, or house construction. After the permission is sought, tree is marked by the Forest Department and cut in the presence of local Forest Guards.

every other way is the marking of tree after few years, when forests are sold and owners get their share, Forest Department extracts 20% of the total income as management cost and expenditure. This is a very slow process, often trees are not marked properly, which results in their decay.

5.2.2 Resin Extraction

Forest Department leases the forest to contractors for resin extraction. Minimum extraction age for a tree is 45 years.

A clay cup is attached to slashed trunk of the tree which stores dropping resin, when the cup is filled, it is replaced by a new one.

This resin is sold in the market and share is given to the owner by 20:80 ratio.

Money earned out of resin reaches to the owner twice or thrice a year. This earning is very minimal. A tree which has had resin extracted loses the quality of timber and dry out after sometime.

The resin is collected by coolies in open puffed tins, which are carried to road side and then poured into 8 gallon and 40 gallon barrels. These barrels, when filled, are secured by lids and sent to Jallu Resin Factory near Lahore.

5.2.3 Grass Cutting

People can cut grass from 'Rakhs' under the forest rules. Grass cutting is allowed only in those fields where new plantation

of Chir is not done.

5.2.4 Grazing

Grazing of cattle is allowed in the fields. Livestock is a supplementary asset in agricultural economy and inevitable as well.

5.2.5 Felling and Lopping

People have the right to use their fallen, and dry trees. They can use this wood for their own domestic needs. Lopping of trees is done by the Forest Department while branches and other material goes to the owner.

5.2.6 Collection of Pine Leaves and Seed

Some people exploit forest resources by collecting dry leaves from the jungles to be sold in the market at the rate of Rs.20/- per maund.

An ordinary man can collect 2 maund leaves in a day; in that way he can earn Rs.40/- . Among other things collected, are seeds from the dry chir cones, which are also a marketable by-product.

5.2.7 Wood Hunting

There is an organization of wood hunters in the area. This work is done by gangs or on individual basis. This is becoming a permanent secondary occupation due to the contraction

of land holdings and increase in population.

The amount prescribed for each owner is insufficient to meet the need of a family. The money earned through forest property either not at all reaches the owner or in a minor amount.

Gujars are chiefly involved in wood-cutting practice, this job is done at mid-night with the help of mules and donkeys. Generally female donkeys are used for this purpose as they bray lesser than the males. Table-7 shows amazingly larger number of donkeys and mules in densely forested villages. This has increased the prices of mules and donkeys in this area.

A good mule is worth Rs.15,000/- sometimes. These animals are well trained that at the time of Forest Guards' intimation, they can bring wood to a safer area without the company of the wood-cutter. An average mule can lift a big tree, cut into two pices, which is used as timber.

A donkey can lift one small tree cut into small pieces, which is used as fire wood or as a material for petty purposes, like house construction. It is worth noting that statistics of mules and donkeys signify their importance in wood-cutting occupation. Table-7 shows the significantly higher number of mules and donkeys in these forest areas of Uttar Sheesha, Phagla and Jaba.

People permanently engaged in this business are locally called as 'Blackia.' They also keep rifles and pistols with them. Others who are casually involved or who cut wood only under pressing

need are excluded from this category.

Even Forest Guards are afraid of armed 'blackias.' They do not dare to encounter them at night, because they are not allowed to keep any fire arms with them.

The market places for the wood are Garhi Habibullah and Balakot. 'Blackias' have their agents in the villages, who buy the timber and dispose it after few days to other places. These notorious out-laws are sometime led by the influential people, who patronize wood-cutters for this purpose. Qaddus Khan said,

"We are not thieves, we are cutting our own jungles."

In wood-cutting practice a bulk amount, thereof, is wasted when the timber is slashed into pieces and being of not good quality decreases its value.

An average 60 years tree is worth 5-6 thousand rupees, whereas 'blackias' charge only 1500-2000 rupees, out of which they pay a pretty good amount to Forest Guard as bribe.

Jaba (the field headquarter during research) is the centre of wood cutting, for many reasons:

1. Small landholdings compell them to subsidize income from forest.
2. Forest in Jaba is very large, especially the reserve forest.

3. There is no ethnic diversity, every Gujar tries to hide other's misdoings.
4. Out-migration is low so their secondary source is only the wood-cutting.
5. It is far off from the main road, so accessibility to damaged area is difficult.

The inhabitants of Jaba do not leave their village for jobs and business. They totally depend on the farm land and forest. These people are most troublesome for the local Forest Department because of their wood-cutting activities.

Jaba supplies wood to surrounding areas according to the demand. No villager other than Jaba natives can enter in the territory to exploit the jungle.

Both owners and non-owners are involved in tree cutting but non-owners are not encouraged in any way. Jungles are exploited in the following ways according to the preference of wood cutters:-

- a. Shamlat: It is a communal property and individual shares are not demarcated, hence neither Forest Guards nor any individual files the complaints against illegality.
- b. Reserve: This government property, foresters keep a strict eye, hence it is second in priority.
- c. Guzara: Both, guards due to the fear of owner, and owner himself, takes care of it.

A 'blackis' earns a handsome amount in one day cutting and spends rest of the time in chattering and roaming.

5.2.8 Cattle Grazing

As mentioned already, people are chiefly agriculturists and pastorals who keep the cattle herds, some for dairy produce and other for agricultural purposes. Provision for grass reserve and pasture land were made by Forest Department. Damage done by wild animals is insignificant and not of any economic importance. It is the grazing of domestic animals, buffaloes, sheep, and goats that deserve some consideration. Although the goats are excluded from the category of animals allowed to graze in the forest, yet it cannot be acclaimed that this prohibition is carried to the latter and the goats do not visit the forest. People putting sole dependence on forest, produce little or no fodder for their cattle in agricultural land. (see Table-13 & 14)

TABLE-15

REQUIREMENT OF FODDER MET FROM DHAKA RAKH

Portion of fodder require- ment met from Dhaka Rakh	Household percentage
Less than 25 percent	4.4
26-50 percent	11.3
51-75 percent	18.6
75-less than 100 per	25.6
100 percent	39.8

Source: Forest Report, 1980: 168

TABLE-14

REQUIREMENT OF FODDER FOR EACH
ANIMAL

Sr. No.	Types of animals	Approximately k.g. fodder per animal per day
1.	Buffalo	12
2.	Oxen	8
3.	Cows	8
4.	Goats	4

Source: (Agricultural Research Council Report
1980: 270)

A very high proportion of the households depend on Dhaka-Rakh for fodder supply. This higher dependency on Dhaka-Rakh for fodder requirement shows the over load of supply, which results in exploration of illicit means.

5.2.9 Torch Wood Extraction

Villagers hack out rasinous wood from the standing trees. This wood is called 'Dilli.' Such injuries to the trees at their base render them more inflammable in an event of fire and often result in the trees either toppling over or being blown down over by wind, breaking through at the wound. The rasin mixed wood is sliced from the lower thick trunk of mature tree. The rapid

extraction of 'Dilli' results in wind-fall.

'Dill,' the wood from the trunk of blazed tree is used as a torch in the houses. In total out of 16 villages under investigation, 15 are ^{partially} electrified while one (Brarkot) is non-electrified, due to the scattered topography. They fetch the 'dilli' to light their houses. This wood is kept burning for the whole night. 'Dilli' is also used for burning green branches in domestic use. It is also used as lantern by the villagers who go to and forth at night.

A ritual associated with the 'dilli' is to hold it burning in the hands at marriage and death ceremonies.

5.2.10 Fire Wood

Guzara owners are permitted to use dry, wet and fallen trees for domestic uses under the forest rules, but heavy demand requires much more exploitation. The climate of the area is cool and each household needs a bulk of fire wood in winter to keep the houses warm. An average household, according to a rough estimate, consumes 4-5 trees in the whole season.

Measures adopted to fulfill such requirement is illegal cutting of wood, false reporting of wind fall, excessive extraction of torch wood, and stealing the rasin pots. People do not bother to unlit the fire, when the cooking is finished. They say

"We are saving the extra expenditure of match sticks."

The underlying reason of the destruction of forest wealth could be viewed in the context of its improper utilization. People consider forest as a temporary wealth so they are getting the utmost out of it, whatever may be the method.

5.3 MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL

Forest Department is responsible for the management and control of forest wealth. It works like a trustee of people's property, accountable to them. Widespread jungles are managed through the control at various official functionaries, who perform differently.

Forest are divided into sections and sub-sections for the purpose of management.

Hierarchy of the functionaries is as follows:-

1. Forest Guards: Tributary under the control of Forest Guard is called a 'Beat' varying from 1 mile to 3 miles. He is responsible for all the mishaps done in a beat. The area of a beat varies with ^{the} nature of forest.
2. Foresters: There are few beats under his control. His tributary is called a compartment.
3. Range Officers: Many compartments constitute a range. Range Officer sits at Range Headquarters.

There are two ranges in the field area:

- a. Garhi Habibullah
 - b. Mansehra
4. Divisional Forest Officer (DFO): DFO is responsible for an entire zone, containing more than one range. Whole study area is under the administrative control of D.F.O. Mansehra.

5.3.1 Areas of Mismanagement

Internal conflict and rivalry regarding forest employees has a great impact on management procedure. Lower rank employees and officers blame each other for the mischiefs. This rivalry influences their contact with guzara owners. Other loopholes are related to the forest rules. Some of them are listed below:-

1. Guards are un-armed. They cannot dare to catch a culprit at the spot, when he is armed.
2. Guards have to present some evidence, as a proof, for example, 'hatchet, with which the tree is slashed.'
3. A wood-cutter prefers to pay fine rather than pointing out the place where the wood is disposed of.

4. Long term working plan (these are the working plans made by Forest Department for the development and exploitation of forest).
5. Lack of residential facilities for the Forest Guards and Foresters. They have to depend on village natives, who in return get undue advantage. This causes cross cutting ties of friendship/duty etc.
6. Low pay of Forest Guards and Foresters.
7. Improper and irregular arrangement of marking of trees.
8. Lack of transport facilities for the removal of timber and rasin from the jungle, which results in the wastage of wood. These are the few obstacles in the better management of forest. Side effects of all these draw backs are un-concievably large.

5.4 RELATIONSHIP: FOREST DEPARTMENT VS. PEOPLE

A very strong hostility was observed between Forest Department and the people. People lay their claims on forests referring to the rights on their property. As already discussed, guzara owners enjoy very limited rights on the forest and its produce. They adopt variant measures to procure the benefits

from their forests. On the other hand local forest functionaries in compliance to their duties, try to enforce more strict control. In fact situation is somewhat different, and needs a more critical view.

Existing relationship is based on indifferent attitude. Both the parties try to squeeze the maximum; owners are directly dependent on forest officials, whereas forest functionaries are free to exploit the forest resources without ^{the} consent of the proprietors. Indifference appears on many levels, starting from cutting of trees to its large scale export, by both the parties.

5.4.1 Bribery

Bribery is paid to forest officials for the purpose of cutting, and getting permits. It is also made, when some one is caught red handed, to the Forest Magistrate. When a Range Officer or D.F.O. visits the area, local Guards and Foresters are liable to arrange his food, these low paid employees approach villagers for that purpose. As a reward of a chicken and tea, foresters feel indebted to permit them to cut ^{the} wood.

An interesting picture of such situation is the highly luxurious living standard of Range Officers and D.F.Os., who keep more than two servants at their homes, and send their children to Burn Hall School-an expensive institution of the country.

Big landlords are the most privileged class, who not only help forest officials in their rapid promotions through their

political influences, but give them a bulk of trees from their own land. They are on full liberty to hew down as much timber as they want. As the big landlords are fewer in number, a wide majority is on the vanguard against Foresters. Small guzara owners do bribe them, but are dissatisfied with the present system of management.

Big guzara owners were reported to file law suits against Forest Department but they still retain cordial relations with Foresters. The difference of relationship between big guzara owners vs. Foresters and small guzara owners vs. Foresters is worth noting. Big owners blame forest management and entire department while supporting local functionaries referring to their helplessness. Small owners, however, develop a personal type of hostility against local Foresters referring to their manipulatory interpretations of forest rules.

5.4.2 Ethnic Factors

The Gujar's involvement in tree cutting reveals not only the factor of economic needs but a strong ethnic rivalry as well. Being small owners or landless and illiterate, they have to seek solely the resources present in their immediate environments. Very few Gujar's are employed in Forest Department as Forest Guards, Foresters and Forest Officers. Each action taken by the Forest Department is considered against the entire ethnic group. A significant feature of the area is Swatis with big estates and their employment in the Forest Department. Khankhels and Syeds

hesitate to be involved in wood-cutting and opt to remain outside the picture while patronizing Gujars for that matter, through their bales and protecting them from the punishments by using their influence, to Swati and Syed Foresters. Real competition exists between the Gujars and Forest Department.

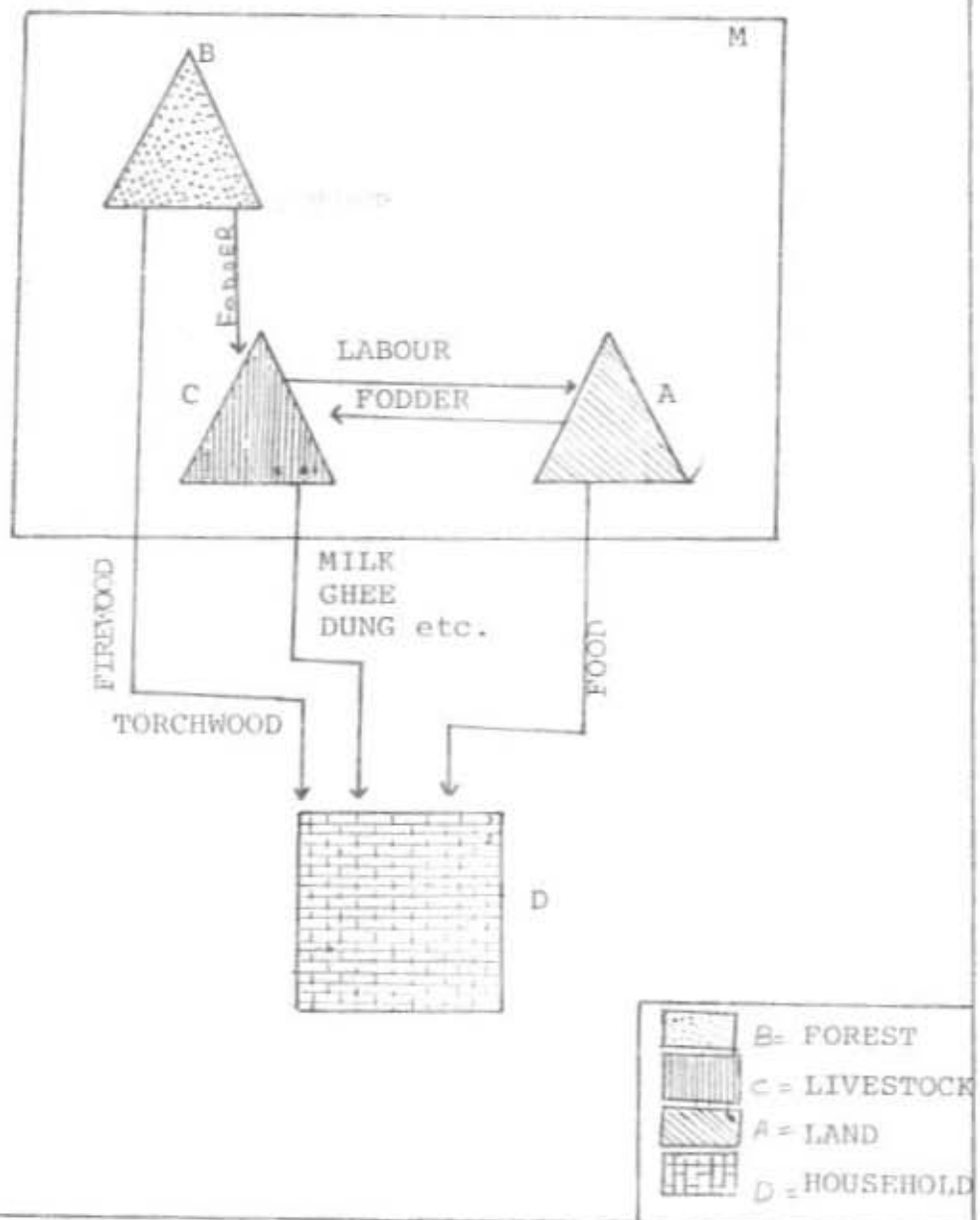
In fact, all the guzara owners hew down the trees by themselves or with the help of some professional wood cutters, and the antagonism towards the Forest Department is found throughout the area regardless of ethnicity. It is not more than a chance however that thick forests are mostly in Gujar areas, like Jaba, Bissian, and Batrasi which obviously are problematic for the forest functionaries.

5.5 AGRICULTURE AND FOREST LAND

It is difficult to find out correlation between income generated through arable land and forest produce. A triangular relationship exists between forest, livestock and farming. Livestock is vitally important for the farm work and fulfilment of domestic needs. Energy flows from forest to livestock in the form of cattle feed. Farm activities are dependent on livestock for plough service and partial consumption of daily food. Cattle in return, rely on forest grassfields for the fodder, as the small plots are inadequate to produce feed for them.

This is one sided flow of energy, moving from forest to farm land.

ENERGY FLOW DIAGRAM



'D' depends on all the three variables. If each 'D' variable is treated separately; 'D' is always dependent and 'A', 'B', 'C' are independent variables. If 'A', 'B' and 'C' constitute 'M', the source of livelihood then 'M' is independent and 'D' is a dependant variable. Within 'M' correlation exists like this. 'C', 'A' are dependent on 'B' whereas 'B' is the only variable remaining always independent that proves its prime nature in the over all economy of the area. But still it can not function as a single dependable source. Entire economic structure proves the inter-dependability of all these sectors which the man exploits for the purpose of subsistence. Elimination of any one variable can disrupt the entire structure. The above examination is valid to the forest land but not the chir trees. A farmers depends on forest in variant ways, by getting daily needed wood, fodder and using its timber to earn cash. One who lives on agriculture has to approach the forest to meet these demands.

5.6 DEGENERATION

Though the importance of forests is inevitable for agriculture, but it is interesting to see the agriculture as a factor of degeneration of forests. As long as people rely on farming they will subsidize side needs from jungle which will lead to the degeneration of natural resources. In simple sense agricultural life is directly proportional to the degeneration of forests. The more ^{the} dependability on farm land, the less will be the decay of jungles. Increasing population has arisen the need in expansion of farm land. They cut the trees for the purpose

of farming and are converting jungles into farm terraces. Increase in population has also enlarged the number of dependent people on forest. Trees present now are in no way comparable to the density of two decades ago. Resources utilized by the people through various means are responsible for this decay.

Following are the main causes of decay:-

1. Expanding need of grassy fields for livestock.
2. Increasing population
3. Forest fires
4. Extraction of by-products
5. Tree-cutting

First two practices are specific to the villagers, while the last three are mischievously done by foresters as well as local people.

5.6.1 Effects of Degeneration

Degeneration has a wide spread and long term impact on the economic life of people and in larger context to the whole country. These effects are related to each other in a sequence. Decreasing forests have first hand effect on environment which results in less rainfall, ultimately a danger of crop decay is obvious, as the area is 'Barani' and already rainfed. Flood from the top of mountains erode the mud which is thrown down in rivers of Kunhar and Siran. Erosion of mountains results in dearth

of fertility for grass production. Second effect is the mixing of mud with the river water, that flows down to the Tarbela Dam, which in return is losing its depth, and age. A danger for water supply and electricity generation schemes on national level is also involved.

5.7 REGENERATION

Reason of people's least interest in tree plantation on the grassy fields is discussed earlier. The only regeneration possible is through natural growth which is not very rapid. Seeds fallen from the trees are mixed with dry needles spread in the forest, which kill their fertility for further growth.

Regeneration also is effected by the cattles who destroy the early crops. Goats like chir plants more than anything else.

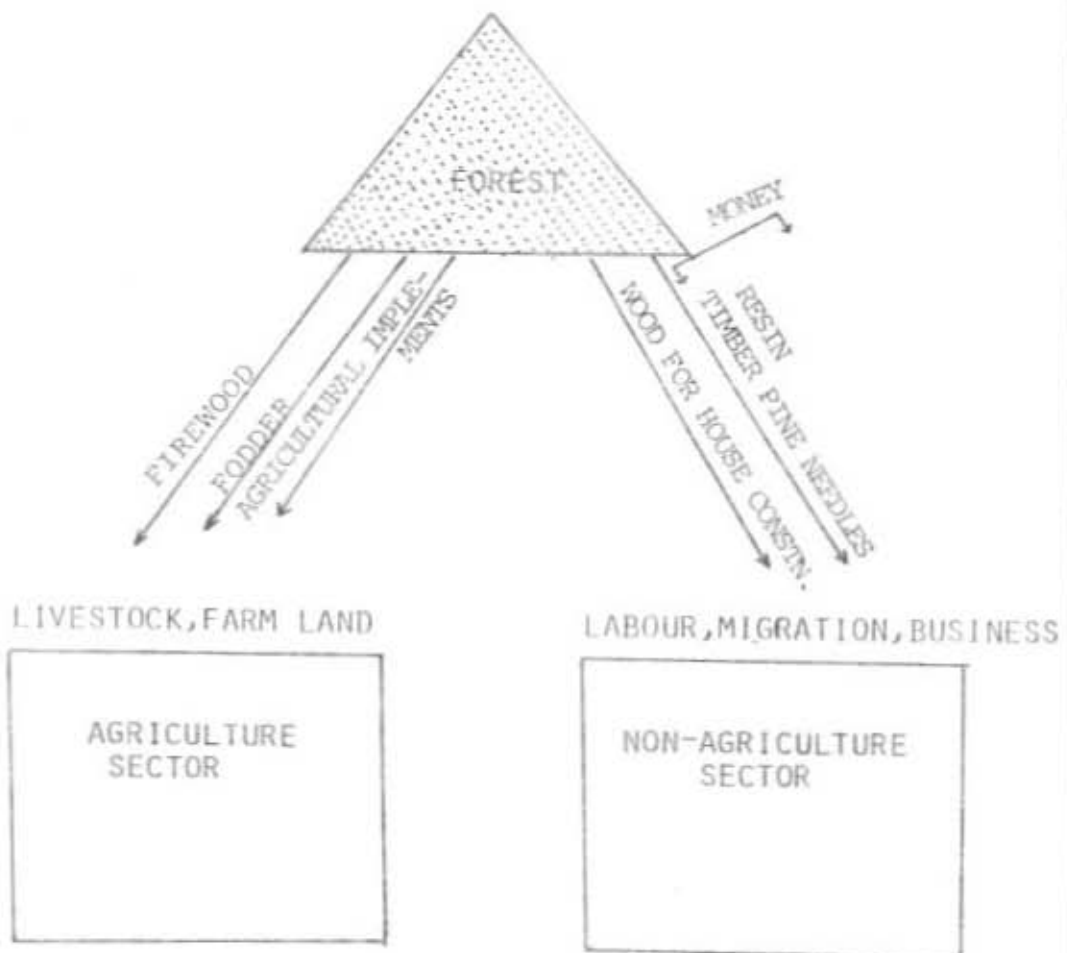
5.8 DICHOTOMY OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

The role of the forest in the economy of the area is multiple. Firstly it contributes in the agricultural requirements, and secondly it shares in secondary sources of income. Its role in both the spheres has been discussed in previous section.

The forest is an important source of cash income in two ways. Firstly by saving cash expenditures i.e. on house construction, and fuel consumption; secondly by providing a direct cash earning, with the marketing of rasin and timber through legal or illegal means. (see diagram-5 next page).

DIAGRAM NO. 3

ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF FOREST



It could be assessed how worsen the situation was, if forests would not have been there. Following are the possible purchaseable goods in the absence of forest:-

1. Fodder
2. Timber
3. Fire wood
4. Fuel for lighting the houses

A loss of timber and rasin earning is also a significant feature. The contribution of forest in this context is relatively important. If only legal measures of gaining areas to forest wealth were adopted people would have to survive below subsistence, because even in the presence of forest and farm land they have to search out other means of earning.

Products of forest other than timber and resin, contribute in agricultural economy. In the absence of farm practices all by-products like tree branches, and grass will be needed no more. This situation may contrive a regeneration of forest which is a long term incentive. All the exploitable resources are equally weighty for survival in connection with the scarcity of each other's output. The lack of peoples reliance in forest wealth is understood in the light of following facts:-

1. Long term incentives
2. Control of Forest Department
3. Slow growth of chir pine tree

These are the barriers in the development of forest industry. A change in forest manipulation means a drastic shift in the gamut of the economic system.

CHAPTER-6

POTENTIAL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Social structure, existing patterns of subsistence, and role of forests have been discussed in previous chapters. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to find out an inter-relationship among all these sectors, to assess the pace of modernization and to evaluate the potential for alternative means of subsistence. Primary objective of the study is to locate the feasibility of industrialization especially with regard to the proposed pulp and paper mill, whose raw material would be drawn from the present resources of the area.

To direct people towards new economic incentives is a difficult task, not that people do not need it, but they cannot adapt to the change readily without unfolding the ties of social pressures and normative constraints. Factors favouring and disfavoursing the change will be discussed in relation to the change which had occurred so far, In the context of the peculiar nature of the area. The basic need is not the resource endowment study but apprehension of people's attitudes.

Prof: Scarlett Epstein proposes three fundamentals for the study of development process:

- a. Resource endowment
- b. Types of social system
- c. Manner of external contact

(Epstein; 1972: 245)

The purpose of this chapter is to show the system structure and the performance of the system. In addition to others the aim is to see the mode of social change, and all possible entrances through which new ideas could be induced.

"The study of development requires the simultaneous analysis of a large number of variables and relationship on both the individual and social level, and in the several major institutions of any community, to focus on only one aspect is to invite distortion."

(Epstein; 1972: 241)

Like all other poverty stricken areas in South Asia, inhabitants of the Hazara are more keen to achieve immediate goals rather than waiting for the fruit of long term planning. An attempt is made to show the feasibility of such proposed or planned change. This change obviously is not just in economic sector but in the whole system.

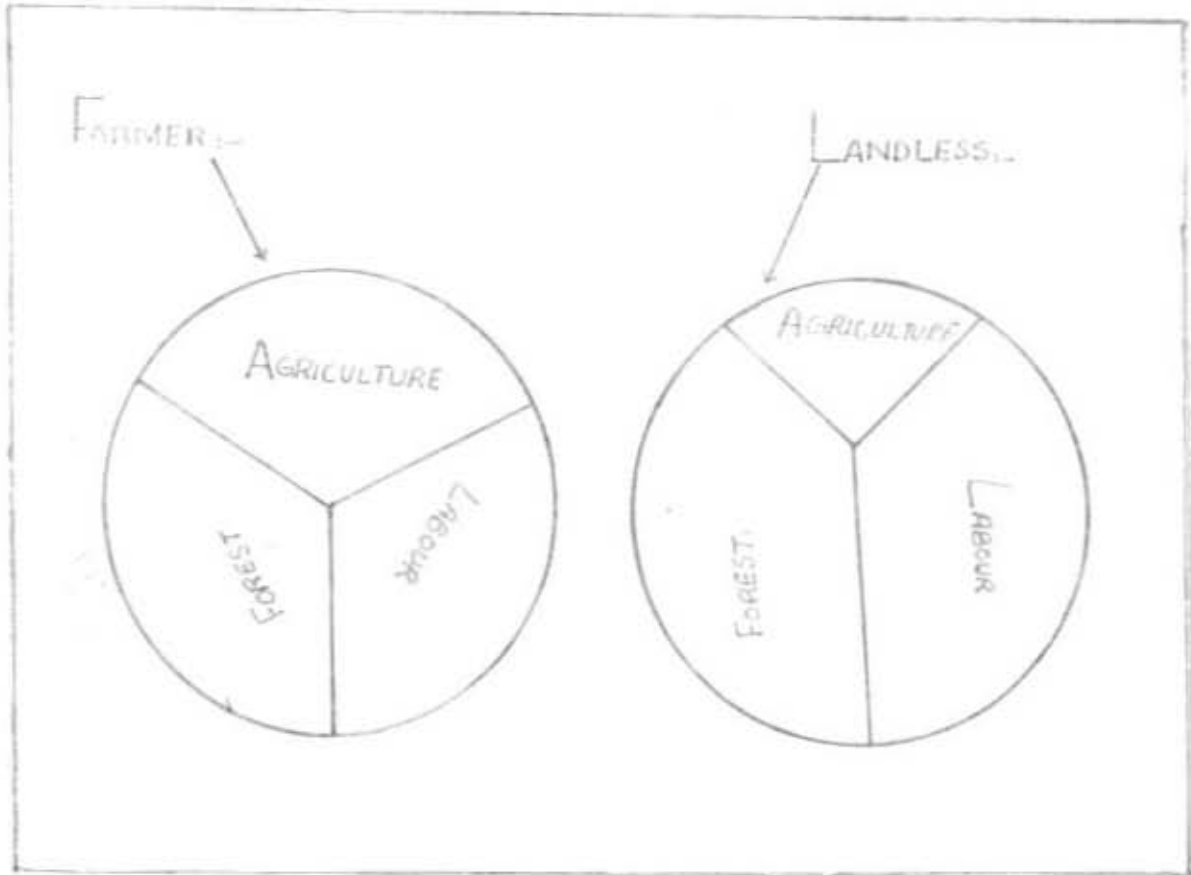
This chapter will deal with those factors which somehow or another contribute in the process of social change. Stimulants are those factors which help to promote change while the barriers are running counter to the pace of modernization. A conclusion will be drawn, out of the total magnitude of both the elements, for future planning.

6.1 ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Economy of the Hazara has three major overlapping spheres. One consists of subsistence which is produced locally and distributed

without the use of cash. Second is naturally grown forests, supporting both agriculture and cash income. Third is labour inside or outside the village, not associated with the agriculture or forest. The degree of dependence on any of the sources is incalculable. Out of these factors, two are tightly inter-linked i.e. forest and agriculture. Distribution of land in forest and farm is shown in Table-5.

DEGREE OF DEPENDENCE IS SHOWN IN FIGURE-1;



✓

Dependence on any of the patterns is related to the other. The mode of dependability is coupled with the nature of the occupation and amount of land owned. In both the cases this rate changes. Forest and land carry more weightage than labour and service. Even landless people have to seek the maximum from village resources. This situation changes when migration takes place and people's contact with village becomes relatively lesser. However, the farming is only a source which is adapted locally even if it is undependable. In the economic structure cash and food consumption sectors are inseparable and both are significant for several purposes. Cash sector of the economy is dominant in the sense that it contributes in food consumption. Keeping in view that crops are insufficient to earn money due to inadequacy of production.

The imbalance between cash earning and food consumption signifies the need of promoting the potential of either of the patterns. Manpower and raw material are the two basic needs of industry. There are several evidences of change or leading towards change in Hazara as regards the proposed scheme of industry. Pre-requisite of industrial process is the change in living mode of subsistence and provision of alternative means for livelihood.

Potential for social change will be measured regarding two major forces retarding or accelerating change. These factors are discussed under the same conditions to apprehend their relative effect. Working of stimulants and barriers is examined in relation

to resources, social structure and manners of external contact.

6.2 SOCIAL CHANGE: THE STIMULANTS

Stimulants are those variables which help to promote the process of development and function as supporting factors in adaptation to proposed innovations.

6.2.1 Market Orientation

A very active trend towards the market is observed. People have to approach markets for the necessities other than food staple. Very few Villagers were observed using 'Desi Ghee' they sell their consumable ghee in the market and buy 'banaspati oil' for domestic consumption. Foodstuffs (except wheat and maize) like vegetables, dals (peas) masala (spicies) are purchased from market. From this arises the need of money which the locally produced crops cannot contribute to earn. This requirement is met through secondary sources of income like wood hunting and labour. Needs of the people have gone beyond the mere subsistence produce and a need of cash has crucially emerged. Frequent contact with market compells the farmers to earn more and permanently which only an industry can provide. A common phrese 'Mulk Tang Hay' (resources are scarce) which signifies the people's realization of local scarce means.

6.2.3 Changing Crop Pattern

A drastic change has occured during two decades in the crop pattern; though the lands are insufficient and hardly can meet

the domestic requirements, people still have started growing cash crops. Maize and wheat could be cultivated anywhere, whereas rice and tobacco need a special environment. The fact of small observable change can never discard the change in attitude towards cash crops in the light of disfavoured ecological conditions. Some farmers prefer to buy wheat and maize from ration depot while selling rice and tobacco in the market.

TABLE-15 A

AREA OF LAND USED UNDER EACH CROP NOW
(AREA IN KANALS)

Forest Range	Wheat	Rice	Maize	Pulse	Vegetable	Tobacco	Sarson	Barley	Total
Garhi Habibullah	16850	6065	17635	770	600	720	1423	823	4488
Mansehra	24540	2565	26515	1230	230	-	2392	566	5803

TABLE-15 B

AREA OF LAND UNDER EACH CROP TEN YEARS AGO

Forest Range	Wheat	Rice	Maize	Pulse	Vegetable	Tobacco	Sarson	Barley	Total
Garhi Habibullah	14050	4500	17000	3000	250	-	1000	880	40680
Mansehra	23920	1700	25000	1500	120	-	1995	700	54935

An estimate of commercial crop viz food crop shows the relative higher output of commercial crops. These crops not only meet the cash requirements but also provide sufficient money to buy cereals. An estimate is shown if a food crop is replaced by a cash one:

Average wheat per kanal	= 2.7 maund
Average Rice per kanal	= 2.3 maund
Present market price of Rice	= Rs.250/- per maund
Present market price of wheat	= Rs.60/- per maund
Income per kanal of Rice	= 2.3 x 250 = Rs.575/-
Money required to buy wheat produced in one kanal	= 2.7 x 60 = Rs.162/-
Net cash earned	= Rs.575/- - 162/- = Rs.413/-

which clearly shows the comparative advantage in growing cash crops. Same is the case with tobacco cultivation.

6.2.4 More Dependence on Secondary Sources

The agricultural practices have been reduced to the mere part-time activity, for small farmers. More time is spent on other sources, whereas lands are kept only to support the food requirements whose most part is purchased from market. Increasing need of cash income has led the people to depend more and more on labour, service and business. In fact secondary sources sometimes exceed the income earned from agriculture. But it is a question more of people's own perception who consider farming as a secure means of earning which also subsidizes other needs like livestock and comparatively cheaper village life (See migration). Increase in population is

reducing the importance of traditional subsistence patterns. Another important result of population increase is the disintegration of lands into further smaller plots, inadequate to produce sufficient food. A larger human population has to squeeze the maximum out of present resources. It is pointless to try to increase existing natural resources, the only way out is to utilize them in a better way.

6.2.5 Ecological Factors

The ecology of the area does not permit the inhabitants to explore the potential of agricultural output. Uncertain rainfall, excessive run off lack of water for irrigation and difficult accessibility to the other areas, are effecting the traditional economic structure. People are found complaining against natural calamities and lack of sufficient resources for livelihood. Ecological factors also demand a relatively expensive life style like heating arrangement, warm clothese in winter, and storing food for heavy snowfall months. All these adversities caused by the ecology are harder to neglect. Due to an uneasy and uncertain life people's attitude is focussed upon stable life style.

6.2.6 Migration

All the adversities described in above paragraphs have led Hazara people to expand their area of exploration for a livelihood that includes migration. The causes and types of migration have been discussed earlier. Urban contacts and experience of industrial life affects the traditional structure of society,

inter-group relationship and family patterns. Migrants do not sell their land but gradually their dependance on land decreases with the passage of time. An over all result of such situation is money consciousness among the people. They extract very few or nothing out of forest wealth so they readily opt to accept any new arrangement regarding forests. If this migratory labour is ploughed back into the native areas it would solve the manpower requirement problem for industry. People willingness towards local industry could be understood by assessing comparative extra expenditure due in city dwelling.

Case - 1

Mian Gul is a weaver in Faisalabad. His children and wife reside in village Jaba. He owns 4 kanal of land cultivated by his brothers. Gull earns Rs.12000/- per annum. A correlation between his earning and expenditure is shown below:-

EARNING	= 12000/- per annum
EXPENDITURES	
a. House Rent	- Rs. 840/- per year
b. Food and Clothing	- Rs.3,600/- " "
c. Fare for two visits to village	- Rs. 600/- " "
d. Present he bring	- Rs. 300/- " "
e. He loses two month pay during the stay in village	- Rs.2,000/-
	<hr/>
	Total: Rs.7,340/-
	<hr/>
Earning	= Rs.12,000/-
Expenditure	= Rs. 7,340/- = <u>Rs.4660</u>

Expenditure on special occasions like death and marriage are excluded when he has to pay emergency visits.

Case-II

Mohammad Zarin is a wage labourer in Mansehra. He lives in village Phagla. Zarin earns Rs.25/- a day. He works for 250 days a year approximately, excluding holidays and special occasions. Total income per year is Rs.6250/-.

Zarin takes breakfast at home and takes lunch box along to work.

EXPENDITURE

2 cups tea @ Rs.150/-
per day =Rs. 375/- a year

Daily bus fare,
@ Rs.3/- per day =Rs. 750/- a year

Miscellaneous
@ Rs.1/- per day =Rs.250/- a year

	Total	Rs.1375/-
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Total money earned:	Rs.6250/-
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Total Expenditure:	Rs.1375/-
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	Balance:	Rs.4785/-
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He enjoys all the family advantages and stays with his children. He also collects grass and some time on leisure days, work on his farm and work as a wage labourer on others' land. His land produces more due to his own supervision.

Two above mentioned cases show relative advantage of labour in local area even on low pay.

People working outside, in all the circumstances, prefer to come back if an industry is established in the local area. In this case outmigration is an insignia of need of an industry. 'Stay at home,' benefits are likely to be more readily accepted regarding the old age retrospective migration to the villages.

6.2.7 Economic Based Stratification

In Chapter-3 it has been discussed in detail that the social stratification is determined by the relative economic position of different groups. The ethnic hierarchy has its roots in the criterion of wealth acquisition. In Hazara hierarchy is economic rather than structural. The acquisition of land defines the social position of an individual not because of cultural value of land but the more dependable position of the land. In the presence of scarce resources, land is the only source which has a permanency and capacity of providing continuous, though small, income. This could be understood by taking comparative position of farm and guzara lands. Guzara land does not define much status because of its uncertain supply of income and lesser control of the owner. At the time of need, the first preference is to sell guzara land rather than the farm land.

Ethnic groups are placed in different hierarchical levels regarding their economic position. Gujars occupy the lowest level for their being landless as a group. On the other hand Swati and Syed own big estates so are at a higher level of hierarchy.

Inferiority or superiority of a group is less a cultural phenomenon and more economic. Gujars are inferior not because of their ethnicity but for the land they possess. The immediate motive of the people is to gain economic strength which ultimately puts them on a higher level. New economic incentives provides a ready chance of social mobility.

6.2.8 Shifting Relations of Production

Traditional organization of production is under attack from three sides:-

- a. Weakening trend of reciprocal labour
- b. Landlord-tenant relationship is changings its traditional pattern
- c. Lack of female participation in farm activities

It has already been observed that the mutual help organization of Hashr is losing its vitality, which in turn effects the social and political relationship of the poors among themselves and with landlords due to high flow of out-migration. The acute problem of unavailability of labour has undermined the tenant-master

contracts. This relationship still persists but on entirely different basis (Chapter-4). A third significant feature of the farm organization is the growing female exclusion from participation in production. Women are confined to their homes and to the jobs specifically performed behind the four walls of a house. This change puts all the responsibility of farm activity on the shoulders of men, whereby the number of dependents on land are increasing enormously i.e. increase in population. The shift in agricultural practices leads people to explore new means for survival.

6.2.9 Education and Communication

Awareness of people about outside world is chiefly due to the education and widespread communication through transistor radio. The affairs of outside world come frequently into the notice of villagers through transistors and newspapers. It has been discussed in chapter-2 that Swatis and Syeds are comparatively more oriented towards their children's education. Obviously these ethnic groups can perceive change more than Gujars and Awans. Due to the education, these ethnic groups are more conscious to acquire economic benefits and they know the means of acquisition. Swatis and Syed also presume that the proposed industry will provide them better opportunities and their educated children will get key positions in the mill. In defiance to above mentioned fact Gujars are afraid of the same situation, of Swati dominance. News spread through transistor and radio, about industrial areas, are also one of the motivating factors. Education and communication are, infact, two aspects of the same consciousness, i.e. education communicates

innovation and communication innovates education.

*6.3 SOCIAL CHANGE: THE BARRIERS

There are some impediments in the process of social change. The study of economic development requires a keen look on affecting sectors i.e. social organization, people's attitudes towards change and the expected benefits. Clifftan R. Whartan (1974) gives two reasons why innovation results in failure. A basic distinction relevant for the decision making framework of the subsistence farmer is between

- a. Those future events to which he can assign probabilities based upon past experience and personal knowledge.
- b. Those future events to which he can not assign probabilities offered and which are not designed from his personal experience but are based on external knowledge provided by other.

(Whartan; 1974: 568)

Despite the importance of ecological and economic factors, people's own perception of new incentives is worth considering, and their personal attitude attributed by the society is the major limiting factor.

We have seen that the economic structure of the area surely necessitates a reshuffle from present means to new opportunities. There are some concrete grounds on which people's septicism is based.

6.3.1 Lack of Technology

The first pre-requisite of industry will be disposition of livestock which at present are vital for farm activities. In the course of new arrangement, due to reforestation on grassy lands, either people have to give up cattle rearing or obtain alternate arrangement of fodder supply. Livestock and regeneration are two adversaries in the area. The area lacks agricultural technology which has heightened the need of bullocks for farming which in fact runs counter to the objective of the innovation. People will not accept change in forest management unless the need for the cattle is replaced by tractors, thrashers and other implement of modern agriculture.

6.3.2 Long Term Rewards

Another hinderance in development is the slow growth of Chir Pine trees. In case Chir trees are planted on pasture rukhs, people have to wait for a long time to get the fruits. in the transitory period there is no alternate arrangement provided so far, they can depend upon, attachment to land is quite rational here. It is the only stable source they have, which also defines the prestige game rules quite clearly. In the absence of other stable resources their attachment to land is definitely a rational economic phenomanon. Thus the scarcity of present resources and absence of alternative means is, a major factor, limiting change, while the fruits of planned change are far to grow.

6.3.3 Migration

It is quite uncertain to say that people will surely come back after sometime if are to be provided with better job facilities in local area. It is irrational to say that migration, inspite of their attachment with land, has not caused any charm of urban dwelling. It is very possible that migrants refuse to come back, and in that case it will be difficult to get their lands for tree plantation, regarding that their immediate needs are not sought from forest but from jobs in urban areas. Another barrier to change is the partial migration of families. In case the lands are taken for tree plantation, families of migrants in the village will lose a source of subsistence i.e. livestock, agriculture, forest produce, etc., putting their total reliance on the men outside the village. In present circumstances, till the transitory period is over, migrants cannot bear to accommodate the heavy expenditures of their families in the village.

6.3.4 Past Experience

In most of the rural development programmes past experience has counted much. Technological and economic innovation is resisted because past experience has taught Hazara people to be suspicious of governmental actions on their behalf. An example of water shed management programme is cited here.

A water shed management programme was initiated in 1962. Main objective of this programme was to grow new species of Chir Pine

on a large scale. A contract was signed with water shed agency according to which people gave up their rights of grazing on Rakh pastures. They were promised to be provided with cattle feed for their livestock for oncoming years untill chir trees grew to the hight unaccessable for cattle. Due to disatisfactory arrangements of fodder supply and Forest Department's irregularity and corruption, they could get nothing. The result was rapid destruction of the immature trees through wide range grazing and a loss of trust on any new scheme formulated for their own benefit. Plans for the regeneration and development of forest are conceived in the light of the experience of two decades. Although the forests are no longer under the owners control, however, they hesitate to accept any new arrangements. And quite understandably one feels:

"first they took over grazing rights, now they will dismiss our proprietary rights, so we will sign no agreement."

6.3.5 Governmental Control of Forests

Another contact of people with outside world is Forest Departments. Biggest obstacle in the path of change is Forest Department's control of guzara lands. People can not utilise forest wealth independently, as decisions regarding the forest are taken by the Forest Department, any attempt to improve forests is considered as a trick against guzara owners. An other feature of such case is, insufficient output of forest wealth. People's positive motivation towards better utilization of forest land remains clusive unless they acquire full control over their property. The present

system of management of the forest is very much favourable for forest employees. Any new managerial arrangement will put forest in the hands of (non-indigenous) external agency who will openly bargain with guzara owners. The establishment of industry will motivate people towards a better care regarding commercialization of forest this arrangement certainly runs counter to the specific objectives of the forest employees and officers. Local forest employees in one hand misguide guzara owners and on the other hand prove falsely, before external agency the insufficiency of available material.

6.3.6 Ethnic Diversity

The big factors present in Hazara are Gujar vs Swati and Syed and Khankhel. People generally perceive things as adverse which goes in favour of others. Each ethnic group takes chance according to his own social conditions. Lack of unified response to new opportunities disturbs the direction of social change greatly. Dissimilar attitude towards change is not always a sole cause of cultural factors but it is due to the different economic conditions as well. This situation is clear from the example of second settlement of lands in 1949. Allotment of land to landless people, by Khan Qayyum's regime in 1949, was taken as a direct interference in political relationship by Syeds and Swatis who declared this act as an intrigue against Swati and Syed dominance, reason is very simple. Maximum benefit of these reforms went to Gujars whose majority was landless and Syed and Swatis being already

land holders could not get much. In fact the beneficiaries were the landless people not any particular ethnic group.

In the case of present scheme, Gujars are mostly wood hunters whereas Swatis and Syeds own big guzara lands and are least involved in wood cutting. Commercialization of wood is a gain for Syeds and Swatis while Gujars will be the losers so they consider pulp and paper industry as a step towards Swati welfare. Economic disparity and ethnic diversity strongly coincide here. Different ethnic groups extract wealth from forest in different ways, hence the effect of change on each of them is different, so the response to change, logically, is dissimilar.

6.3.7 Land Lords

Change effects landlords in following ways:-

- i. The loss of traditional position in the society.
- ii. Participation of common farmers in entrepreneurship.

It has been examined in Chapter-5, to what extent land determines social position due to the associated benefits and its permanent economic position; glimpses of change started emerging when first tenant-landlord structural relationship broken down. Disintegration of the relationship could be stimulated by the further improvement in management and exploitation systems of forest. Shift from agricultural or more specifically subsistence economy to

entrepreneurship effects landlords at first hand.

If lands are planted with chir trees, which will be used for industrial purpose, the guzara owners even very small holders, will act as entrepreneurs. They will fix a market price of trees and openly bargain over the rates of timber and by-products with industry. They will act as producers of wealth and not only sell their produce but also try to improve it to get maximum benefits. Involvement of small guzara owners in entrepreneurial domain will give rise to a new sort of relationship. Big landlords and small land holders will act like two businessmen with unequal business enterprise, free of any customary obligations.

At present big landlords manipulate forest wealth according to their own will. They can make an arrangement of marking of trees on their own consent. They bribe forest employees and use personal influence for the marking of standing trees whenever they want. Once forest come into open market, there will be no chance of being settling such manipulatory arrangements. Big landlords are in a state of fear being assuming small guzara owners as equal in opportunities and competition.

Political authority of big landlords is attributed from, the lands and the manipulatory techniques adopted for the exploration of forest. They influence poor villagers, by protecting them from Forest Department, when they hunt a tree. They also please local government officials by providing them timber from their own forest and in return get permit for several trees. Present

arrangement of forest is favourable for land lords in a way that it provides a lot of opportunities to exercise their influence over local people.

Commercializing forest means a change in the relationship which are killed through the unaccessibility of small owners to their wealth (forest). In case the forest wealth is marketed, the big landlords will lose their predominant control over scarce resources and access to alternative resources which present a further challenge to them.

6.3.8 Normative Pressures

People in a social setting, acknowledge few norms of the society which predominantly effect their attitude towards material changes and new ideas.

"When they are confronted with new opportunities acceptance or rejection depends not only on the basic cultural articulations, on a favourable pattern of social relations, and on economic possibilities, but also upon psychological (normative) factors."

(Poster; 1962: 120)

First problem encountered during change is the fear of loss of prestige and status. People generally perceive that their present position in the society is tightly interlocked with the existing social system, which makes them suspicious about the outcomes of the innovation. Presently Syed perceive change as though

it will harm their present religious, social and economic position in the society; on the other hand Gujars are afraid of the Syeds monopoly, which is obvious if industry is established, as they are the big landlords and will get a heavy share in the industry. These views are a reflection of diverse social and economic conditions, of both factions, imposed by the society. Industrialization process is different from other incentives in the sense that it puts people into an entirely new situation i.e. from farming to machine factory, where the concept of ownership is pointless. It is obvious that in agricultural economy all the possessions right from livestock to land and implements are personally owned, and utilized as a mercantile wealth. Dispossession of full control on the property and danger of the loss of status and prestige are the chief hindrances in the acceptance of a new arrangement.

6.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF CHANGE

"An innovation to be successful, requires among other things a supporting social structure onto which it can be grafted."

(Foster; 1962: 162)

In all societies, traditional institutions have some recognized roles. If new forms can be associated with these traditional roles they have a better chance of being accepted than if there is nothing to tie to.

Unlike the change in crop or alteration in the existing means of production, industry induces a shift in the entire social structure integrated with the tools, and activities which characterize daily life. Two variables are working at present, favourable

factors to economic change, and retarding factors in the path of development. As far matter concerns to 'stimulants,' they are mostly economic factors, which have emerged from the need of the people. On the other hand barriers are chiefly social, linked with the preception of people to change. Barriers include a fear of future, loss of status and disorganization of traditional political structure.

Future planning could be made on the ground of following informations:-

- a. Intensity of need.
- b. Speed of change occured so far.
- c. Current economic activities of the people; and
- d. Co-relation between existing economic conditions and proposed incentives.
- e. Peoples own perception and understanding of the innovation.

Planned change differ from the change which occurs in due course of natural events without any planning. In defiance to worsening conditions of life, people prefer to believe that their present life is better than a proposed one.

In previous part of this chapter, it has been examined that a dynamic change is occuring in the society, though without any orientation. The mode of production is shifting from subsistence to monetary economy. Traditional values still retain their vitality, however, the dependence on subsidiary sources and approach to market for food stapple and daily necessities is a major motivation to

change. Other motivations are supplied from the inner care of society which is crystalizing its traditional institutions and their classical functions.

There are some push and pull factors in the society. Disfavouring economic conditions is a push factor and cultural pressures are pull factors. Society is in a state of transition at present change not only results in dismemberment of the society but need a great economic sacrifice for an alternative incentive which is unforeseen. Both the competing factors, stimulants and barriers, are not symptoms of the society but an outcome of the worst economic condition of the area, which now due to their long retainment have become norms.

The economy essentially is non-productive and as a result of static techniques of production, the produce is constant. Total productive pie of the villages does not greatly change and moreover there is no way to increase it ~~however~~ hard the individual work, unless improved techniques and new resources are available.

"Cultural, social and psychological barriers and stimulants to change exist in an economic setting."

(G.M.Poster; 1962: 60)

Economic factors receive extensive treatment for they seem to get the absolute limits to change. People are quite aware of the values of change and anxious to alter their traditional ways as is seen in the drastic reshuffle of the society from subsistence to monetary economy. Economizing the productive output is an insignia of peoples strong motivation towards the exploration of alternative means of production.

In concluding this chapter, it is again emphasized that stimulants are the result of need where as barriers are causes of disfavoured economic experience of past and a strong fear of loss of what is present. Frequently the reasons for acceptance of change are very different from those that initiate change agents. There is a tendency in culture to interpret the preferred innovation in terms of dominant the meg and existing needs of the society. Because while planners think in the long run, people live in the short run most or the more influential decisionmakers in the villages will probably be dead in twenty years, which is just about how long it will take to stimulate sustained economic growth (even at the most optimistic estimates).

CHAPTER-7

CONCLUSION

This study is one of the few attempts in the field of applied anthropology in Pakistan specially regarding subsistence and social change. Research was conducted to assess the feasibility and implications of induced planned change in the area of Hazara under the 'Hazara Forestry Pre-investment Project.' The endeavor of this study was to assess the feasibility of industrialization process on large scale. The area under investigation is rich in chir pine wood which is to be utilised in pulp and paper industry. Industry on such a large scale requires raw material and manpower. The basic objective of the proposed innovation is to turn over pasture land, forest land and possibly agricultural land too in future, for large scale chir plantation.

The problem is to locate alternative means of living for the people, when land is taken over for the purpose of large scale tree plantation. Also there is the difficulty of assessing the correlation between the existing means of subsistence and the oncoming opportunities allied with industry and its off shoots. The prime purpose of the study is to locate existing means of earning which show the potential, for other adaptations, present among the inhabitants of Hazara. Basically the study deals in the data of Economic Anthropology, all the institutions are examined in the relevance of their economic viability. The social factors still retain their importance, and that is the basic reason of emphasizing social structure, in detail.

In the Chapter on Social Structure only those aspects of mutual relationship and group organization are touched which have in one way or an other, some impact on the economy of the area. Examples of this are collective labour of male and female and the family as a unit of production. The changing role of these institutions signifies the rapid trend of shifting mode of economic activities. The lesser participation of people in 'Hashar' has a great relevance with the new style of inter-group relationships defining inter dependence of people on village productive activities. 'Lahari' the female collective work is also losing its traditional characteristics.

On one hand womenfolk are changing their role and obligations towards traditionally prescribed patterns like increasing 'Purdah' among Gujar women, lesser participation of female in farm activities and womens increasing control over children due to the out-migration of male members. On the other side local resources are becoming scarce with the increase in population and ecological changes i.e. changing man-land relationship. Group and family obligations are acknowledged in relation to their economic importance, as soon as economic incentives attached to the folk institutions deminish, people change their relationship with them sometimes very rapidly. A recent example of such is again 'Hashar' which now is no more a functioning institution because it provides no further economic incentives. Another example is of family which emerges as a unit of production but with the division of land and scarcity of water and unfavourable

climate it is no more a functional institutions as regards economic benefits.

Local level politics in the area is complex. Authority patterns are generally of a mixed type. The basic determinant of authority is wealth and numerical strength of a particular group in a village. Other social factors like ethnicity obtain a more vital importance if a group lacks two basic criterias. Looking into the hierarchical organization of the population it appears significantly that the lower category groups are those, who hold small plots of land.

In Hazara, two factions are present who struggle for authority on different grounds. These are Gujars and Swatis+ Syeds. Gujars being original inhabitants of the area claim all the land as their own which is presently occupied by others. They refer to the past when Syeds and Swatis entered the area and snatched their properties. The others, however, refer to their higher tribal ancestry and superior ethnic origin from Swat and Kaghan. These claims lose the vitality when comes the question of land holding and numerical strength. The source of authority within the group is determined on four principles:-

1. Amount of land holding.
2. Age grouping i.e. elder's role.
3. Devolved authority which perpetuates from father to son.
4. Services rendered for community or ethnic group.

The ethnic groups as well as villages lack any centralized authority. Decisions are not dictated but 'emerge' at different levels. In a village there exists many decision making authorities. One is the ethnic group, within which an internal authority system exists on above mentioned four principles at village level. Unlike the Barthian criticism the rule of free individual choice is not valid (Barth; 1972:1). In wholesome fashion society emerges to be an acephalous in nature, regarding that no individual can claim to be the sole leader of a group.

Social structure as a whole manifests the re-shifting from tribal to de-tribalism, giving up old customs and adapting to a new life style in the framework of changing social organization but internally ethnic groups are re-tribalizing themselves.

"An ethnic group adjust to new social realities by adopting customs from other groups or by developing new customs shared with other groups. In other case ethnic group adjust to new realities by recognizing its own traditional customs process in the first case in detribalization and whole the opposite is retribalization."

(Cohen; 1979: 1)

These glimpses of change are examined in the cases of family, marriage and group loyalty in Chapter-3. An attempt has been made, in this study, to calculate the means of subsistence which the ecological factors and social structure allows. Limits imposed by the society on people, in exploitation of livelihood, are classified into the spheres of primary and secondary sources.

Land is treated as a primary source of income due to following reasons:-

1. It has a permanent dependability and output.
2. It defines social status in the area.
3. It is in the full control of people.
4. It keeps the family together and dependent on each other.
5. Lack of other sources of income.

Another reasons for treating land in primary category is people's own attitude towards farming they consider all other income sources as supporting assets. Land defines their membership and justifies the residence in the village. Land holdings in average are insufficient to meet the family needs excluding very few cases of big land holders.

Organization of production is re-fashioning in a new pattern. It has two aspects. One is migration and other is the smallness of land holdings. A tenant, out of a small plot, cannot get sufficient output of his work so he prefers to work as a wage labourer. Landlords are effected severely as a result of this situation either they have to work themselves or they sell their lands and adopt transport business. Inadequacy of land has led people towards secondary sources, that are either locally explored or sought outside the area in big urban centres of Punjab and Karachi. A vast migration of people has affected traditional

family and political structure. Majority of the population depends upon double sources for livelihood. An important feature of migration is people's ultimate attachment with local area. Other than social causes there are economic reasons for such attachment. One of the big reasons is a comparatively expensive life in urban centres, so immigrants have to leave their families behind in villages. Land in the village is also a support in old age, when the migrants come back to rejoin their families. Whatever profession is adopted it remains a hard fact that land is a pivot around which all economic incentives revolve. It has been discussed in Chapter-4 that even if lands provide minimal output, but still, it is kept in possession regarding its multiple importance given above.

In conclusion to the analysis of primary and secondary practices, it has been observed that some time secondary sources are more paying than agricultural works, but they are still considered supporting activities. This attitude has few reasons:-

1. Land has a permanent value.
2. People trust a little on secondary sources due to their uncertain nature.
3. Land provides food.

In view of above facts, it is desirable to believe that both primary and secondary sources are inevitable for the livelihood for a farmer and people strive to maintain both of them at a time.

Forest and its role in the economy of the area is very important. It is dealt in a separate chapter. It is very difficult

to place forest in either of the primary or secondary category. Forest due to its multiple nature cover both the patterns. Proprietary rights over forest land are like there over arable farm land but right of usage are restricted to certain limits. It has been described in detail, how it pays in farm practices and cash through overt and covert ways. The forest as a whole is a support for both agriculture and cash sectors. The forest above is never a dependable source of income but becomes a back bone of economy in its larger context. Reasons for its non-dependability is the control of Forest Department on its exploitation and improper usage of raw material.

Illicit wood cutting and corruption of forest employees are the main reasons of rapid deforestation. The former reason is interlocked with inadequacy of land and unavailability of other resources. Other aspect of wood cutting is the lose managerial control and unfavourable laws of Forest Department. Despite the fact that forest degeneration is at its highest peak and its raw material is not being utilized properly, it significantly plays a vital role as a supporting sector in the subsistence economy and in subsidiary economic activities. Agriculture is highly dependent on the forest for the supply of fodder for livestock. Demands for fodder require a larger area of grassy lands. An increasing population needs more livestock and more arable land for extensive production of food.

Increasing population and farm practices encourages deforestation to meet immediate needs of grass production and cultivation

of food staple. Consequently agriculture runs counter to the objectives of the betterment of forest. A second aspect of this situation is preparation of terrace lands on pastures which in the coming twenty years will arise an acute shortage of grass as the grassy lands will become farm terraces.

People recognize the precious nature of trees but due to its lessen and distant output their first preference is farming. Prime objective of the planning is to expound the benefits of tree plantation to people rather than promoting agricultural practices because ecological factors like floods will make the hills barren after some time and entire area will be extremely unproductive. In short, forest emerges as an outstanding need of the economy but the various forms of economic life lacks the harmony between all the resources of the area.

Social change occurring in the area has no specific dimension. It is coming as a natural process resulting from upheavals of economy. Change being a phenomenon of nature, if oriented towards specified goals would lead the process of development to its required dimension. This needs to apprehend the factors stimulating and retarding change. Extreme poverty and lack of sufficient resources have led people to deviate from traditional social organization. Economic needs are imposing changes in life style. People are migrating out with a very high frequency, this situation is very different from the emigration of people to foreign countries, has the sole purpose to maintain the subsistence level. Migration is a response to a severe need.

The total economic structure is confined in the sectors of forest, agriculture and labour and service and business. These sectors are mutually dependent but at the same time disorganized mutually. People lack reliance on any of the sole sector but squeezing from all of them at the same time.

In short, resources of the area are quite sufficient to meet the livelihood of the inhabitants, if they are re-organized in a systematic manner. It needs a promotion of each sector independently and separately, providing full economic motivations to the people. People's trend from subsistence to monetary economy is one of the encouraging factors to induce planned change. The shift from subsistence cultivation to wage labour manifests the trend towards capitalization of production activities. Development process is at a very low scale but people are conscious towards it and waiting for a helping hand. Even if agricultural lands are taken for tree plantation and people are remunerated for transitory period, taken to grow a tree, area could become an industrial zone, highly productive comparable to the any other rural industrial domain in the world. Change caused by the economic upheaval of the area is very slow whereas retarding factors are a result of past experience and fear.

Innovation appears to be easy in the sense that due to unfavourable economic conditions and environmental drifts, traditional social structure and organization of production has already been altered. Stimulants to change are result of severe need whereas barriers are just a fear of new economic assets and lack of adequate information.

Critical evaluation of both these factors suggests that the balance between stimulants and barriers should be shifted since it has placed society into a static position as regards the matter of economic change. Picture of complete economic life shows the vitality of stimulants whereas the weight of retarding factors are conditioned to the improper planning.

The principle need is to change living wealth of forest to the mercantile domain, where people can act as entrepreneurs in the open horizon of marketing, whose early glimpses have already been shown at times.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A big industry of pulp and paper is difficult to establish at first step. It requires following prior measures:-

a. Small Industries

Some side industry on small scale can introduce people with fruits of industrialization.

b. Localtion of Change Agents

People with small land holdings could act as change agents or innovators, because they are those who will get maximum from industry by self-participation and providing raw material from their forests. Gujars in this connection may act as adversely while small land holders of Swati and Syed ethnic groups prove to be perceptive and positive towards this end.

c. Elimination of Forest Department

Forest Department acts as a biggest hurdle in the process of change. Its elimination can remove doubts.

d. Full-Control of Guzara Owners

Guzara owners should be given full proprietary rights to explore their jungles.

e. Purchase of Trees

Government should buy all the mature and immature trees and should pay in installments if a Gujjar owner cuts his tree, his share could be extracted from the due installment.

f. Provision of Agricultural Technology

Technology will decrease the need of livestock and grass grown on forest lands. These lands in return could be used for plantation. Use of technology can increase per kanal production as well.

g. Fodder Supply

Stall feeding should be encouraged at first step, and for that purpose fodder requirement be met from other areas like Punjab.

h. Loan and Credit Schemes

As a prior measure, people should be given loans, on individual basis as well group basis, to start small scale local (domestic) industries. It not only will make them industry minded but also make them to experience the practical benefits of industry.

i. Free Provision of Plantation Stock

Species of Chir Pine should be provided to the guzara owners to plant them by themselves. However Forest Department should work as a "Technical Advisor."

It is expected that if the above steps are taken, guzara owners will surely react in a positive way towards the proposed arrangement necessarily for pulp and paper mill.

APPENDIX

TABLE-16

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES BY POPULATION
AND HOUSEHOLDS

VILLAGE	AWAN		GUJAR		SWATI		KHAKHEL		SYED		MUGHAL		TANOLI		OTHERS		TOTAL	
	No. of persons	No. of HH	No. of persons	No. of HH	No. of persons	No. of HH	No. of persons	No. of HH	No. of persons	No. of HH	No. of persons	No. of HH	No. of persons	No. of HH	No. of persons	No. of HH	No. of persons	No. of HH
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.
MANSEHRA																		
Chitta Batta	-	-	-	-	3500	437	-	-	-	-	-	-	700	100	-	-	4200	537
Sandasar	140	20	170	24	2300	285	-	-	-	-	-	-	600	85	300	40	3500	454
Reer	62	-	120	19	450	62	-	-	60	7	-	-	-	-	50	7	750	95
Uttar Sheesha	630	-	400	60	-	-	-	-	30	4	-	-	-	-	40	6	1100	70
Phagla	-	-	350	50	326	48	1700	242	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	3	2400	340
Arabkhan	350	50	30	4	30	5	-	-	70	11	-	-	-	-	75	10	600	80
Jaba	80	12	4685	670	80	11	-	-	30	4	-	-	-	-	625	90	5500	780
Total Mansehra range	1200	82	5755	827	6686	846	1700	242	190	26	-	-	1300	185	1115	157	18050	2294

(Contd...P/)

TABLE- 17

FARM LAND AND LAND USED IN DISTRICT MANSEHRA
(Kanals)

	TYPE OF LAND			COMPOSITION OF CUL.LAND			COMPOSITION OF UN-CUL:LAND		
	Cultiva- ted	Un-culti- vated	Total	Net Sown	Fallow	Total Cultiva- ted	Cultiva ble waste	Unculti- vable	Total U Cultiva ted.
Area	322112	519160	841272	298368	23744	322112	414856	104304	519160
Percentage	32.29	61.71	100.00	92.63	7.37	100.00	79.91	20.09	100.00

Source: E.R.T. 1980: 13.

TABLE- 18

AVERAGE LAND HOLDINGS PER HOUSEHOLD (KANALS)

Range	Farm Land	Pastures	Guzara forest	Orchards	Waste Land	Total Non-Ag cultural Land
Garhi Habibullah	16.57	20.1	12.5	0.07	26.6	59.4
Mansehra	17.8	3.75	4.15	0.04	8.19	29.3

TABLE-19

AVERAGE HOLDINGS OF CATTLES PER HOUSEHOLD IN
ENTIRE AREA

Cow	Buffalo	Bull	Goat	Sheep	Donkey
0.6	1.58	1.15	0.3	0.6	0.5

TABLE-20

EFFECT OF TWICE USE OF LAND
(Yield per Kanal)
Maund

Crop	If no other crop	If Two crops a year
Wheat	3.2	2
Rice	2.3	1.5
Maize	2.4	1.5

TABLE-21

MODES OF IRRIGATION

Modes	Garhi Habibullah (Percentage)	Mansehra (Percentage)
Rainfall	37.5	12.5
River	0.0	0.0
Nala	0.0	0.0
Katha	0.0	0.0
Rainfall/river	0.0	0.0
Rainfall/nullah	18.2	18.2
Rainfall/canal	20.0	20.0
Rainfall/katha	7.1	21.4

TABLE-2 2

TIME ALLOCATED TO EACH CROP FOR VARIOUS
FUNCTIONS

	Land prepa- ration	Panery	Seeding	Fertili- zing	Weeding	Harves- ting	Packing	Thrashing	Storing
Wheat	15 Oct - 15 Nov	-	15 Oct 15 Nov	15 Nov 15 Dec	-	15 May 15 Jun	-	15 May 30 Jun	30 Jun 15 Jul
Rice	15 May 15 Jun	15 May 15 Jun	15 May 15 Jun	15 Jul 30 Jul	15 Jul 15 Aug	15 Sep 15 Oct	-	15 Nov 15 Dec	15 Dec 15 Jan
Maize	15 May 15 Jun	-	15 May 15 Jun	15 Jun 15 Jul	15 Jul 30 Jul	15 Oct 30 Oct	15 Nov 15 Dec	15 Dec 15 Jan	15 Jan 30 Jan
Grass cutting	15 September to 15 October.								

(See Chart on next page)

DIAGRAM-5

INTERRELATIONSHIP OF ENGLISH AND LOCAL MONTHS



GLOSSARY

1. Blackia Persons who cut the wood from forest and sell it to other areas.
2. Bari Presentation for bride from groom's household.
3. Chalothar Pine needles (dry leaves of pine).
4. Changair A tray used to put Roti (bread) made of wood or fragile bamboo bark.
5. Dilli Torchwood extracted from the lower trunk of Chir tree.
6. Daj Dowry.
7. Gadda (Means a bunddle or package of grains)
At the end of harvest a kasbi who helps in agricultural work is allowed to lift an amount of grains as much he can lift on his back at a time.
8. Hali Share Cropper.
9. Hujra a. Adjacent room to a mosque reserved for Maulvi.
b. A common place for guests.
10. Hashar A ritualistic men's collective labour.
11. Jangi Guest who come with groom's household to brides house.
12. Jirga Council of elders, a political institution.
13. Jawar Barley
14. Jori A couple of bullocks.
15. Kanak Wheat

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 16. | Kar | Household |
| 17. | Kasbi | A village functionary, artisan and manual worker. |
| 18. | Kashida Karee | Embroidery work. |
| 19. | Khatna | Circumcision. |
| 20. | Khel | A term used to denote sub-ethnic group for a clan or lineage by Swatis and Khankhel and Pathans. (Biradery is an equivalent term generally used by Gujars). |
| 21. | Khaleend | Amount of grains paid to kasbis as a reward of their services by farmers. |
| 22. | Lahari | A ritualistic women's collective labour. |
| 23. | Mazori | Labour. |
| 24. | Mak | Maize. |
| 25. | Malik | owner. |
| 26. | MMAulvi | A priest. (Religious performer) |
| 27. | Manji | Guests invited by bride's household. |
| 28. | Mirasi | A village servant who performs various duties sometimes is a singer, musician or messenger. |
| 29. | Mochi | Shoe-maker. |
| 30. | Muqaddam | Gujar leader. |
| 31. | Mulk | The native area. |
| 32. | Muzara | A tenant (in this study this term has been used for share-copper and tanant). |
| 33. | Musalla | A prayer sheet. |
| 34. | Nai | Barber. He works as messenger and cook on ceremonials as well. |
| 35. | Nikah | Religious announcement of marriage. |

36. Purdha veiling
37. Patwari A Land Revenue Clerk.
38. Qom An ethnic group (used by all the groups)
39. Shaftal A special quality of fodder cultivated
on farm land.
40. Shali Rice.
41. Tawan An amount of money paid to landlord by
his tenant as a reward to the usage over
his land.
42. Tughra Wall hangings of several kinds made by
local women to decorate their homes.
43. Tarkhan Carpenter.
44. Zamindar A landlord. Sometimes every one who is
involved in agriculture calls himself as
zamindar-a title of honour.
45. Zameen Land.

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