

ABSTRACT

Community Needs Assessment Among the Gujjars in Northern India

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The perceived needs of the Gujjars of northern India were investigated in the Gurdaspur District of Punjab, India. The purpose of this study was to provide baseline data on the Gujjars who migrate to and from the states of Punjab to Himachal Pradesh by assessing their basic human needs within Johan Holmberg's sustainable development framework. These baseline data were gathered using a Needs Assessment Survey that represents approximately seventy-five Gujjar families who suffer problems of under-representation and social, economic and geographic marginalization. The analysis encompassed in the approach, defined as advocacy anthropology, suggested that the Gujjars do perceive a need for development and advocacy, specifically in the areas of education, land distribution, medical access, freedom from exploitation, political empowerment, and relief from poverty.

Community Needs Assessment Among the
Gujjars of Northern India

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PREFACE

The scene is a small, roaring rickshaw with 4 seats, and a small engine with more than 12 people and a driver on board traveling down a dusty road at dawn. This is the beginning fieldwork phase among the Gujjar people of the Gurdaspur district on their southern migration in the plains. The mountains are where they desire and love to be. Sitting on the road and observing the surreal scene of a Pathankot Punjab road system, a large, colorful, truck piled to the brim with wooden furniture, boxes, and Gujjars slowly drives by. They wave, as they know this *Chache of Am'rika*, the American aunt who has come to ask them questions and live life with them for one month even after the disastrous bombings of 9-11. A Gujjar moment - an ethnographic moment where the world stops and we smile and engage in each other's opposite lives for a short time.

I am the researcher who purchases a ticket to India and rides the night train to live and be among people of the globe who were woven into my "shawl" that I will wear until I die. My goal is to glimpse through the eyes and hear through the words of Gujjar people the circumstance of their lives and the adaptations that have to be or are forced to be because of outside agents. This is a qualitative and quantitative beginning of advocating with and serving with a group of people who for numerous reasons throughout history are in need of more power than they can conjure up on their own. I know as the researcher that I have a method, though extremely open-ended. I choose to use the powerful but sometimes ambiguously defined sense of intuition.

As I spent those intentional hours of everyday life among the nomadic and settled Gujjars, my goal was and is to seek to write with emotion, realism and accuracy, regarding their expressions in words, as they relayed to me their lives, their loves and their fears. They share with me their buffalo, their chores, their food, their clothes and their endless stories and conversations with laughter and tears. The Gujjars live and breathe a different kind of oxygen and follow an otherly path that I have only glimpsed in my past. Yet, as I was honored to take up a few hours of their labor-intensive days, I found numerous paths that connected us because we are humans sharing the earth albeit on opposite sides.

The Gujjar women shared with me as a woman, and specifically as someone who cares about Gujjars, what life is like in their situation of migration or settledness. They shared with me the values they esteem highly, their goals when they are free to think about them, their tastes for buffalo milk and tea, and their desires mostly for their children as they tend to be culturally fatalistic about themselves. The Gujjar women have a desire for improved health, as sickness is a tremendous weight for them to bear with few resources to give them help or relief.

The seventy-five Gujjars' voices present on the formal surveys spoke of numerous constraints to life, to health, to buffalo, to politics, to views of the U.S. and a frequent belief that Gujjars just do not possess brains that are capable of learning. Appearing frequently were women so depleted and wanting of something; desperate for information, words from afar, words of hope, jokes and laughter of life and love, marriage and child-rearing. Center stage was the woman so tired, who lacked adequate

nutrition, pregnant too many times in her life and pregnant now, desiring attention from anyone who could care for her and ask her for nothing.

This Gujjar patchwork sets the stage showing a nomadic minority people vulnerable to the demands of the majority to provide milk, milk products, dung cakes for fuel, and some days their very soul as they watch their families decay. This is a story of human underdevelopment.

The stories are true. Nothing was well rehearsed for there was no public image management system. To deepen our understanding of a group of people is to acknowledge them and consider them to be important; to care about who they are, and how they claim their ethnicity as Gujjars, descendants of Isaac. Gujjars are people who purchase buffalo as their savings account and have nothing but mud or rice stalk floors to sweep. I believe like Geertz, that to write a true ethnography, it is possible to strive to understand what it is like to be a differently situated human being and it does not require me to get into the head of the Gujjar. This is compassion. I believe that needs assessment can provide a voice to the Gujjars as the answers repeat themselves and clarification and definition is achieved.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Since 1988 I have been aware of the Gujjars of northern India. This thesis has become just one more step over the years to bring into the light the poverty, injustice and inequalities of the people of this world, specifically the pastoral Gujjars. I want to express to my husband, Jimmy, how much I appreciate his investment into my life, to walk beside me and always encourage me to live by faith, even with all the risks involved. I especially want to thank my children, Zach, Christy, Seth and Josh who have endured long hours of my absence and have encouraged me to continue the research among the Gujjars. I thank Marillyn and Bill for always being my biggest fans and encouraging me to be my best. I would like to thank Dr. Alexander and Dr. Cook for the numerous hours of reading, teaching and for sharing their expertise. I would like to thank my thesis committee, for their fingerprints are all over this thesis. To Scott and Desiree, who interpreted, worked and served -without you both, the task would not have been accomplished. To the Church Under the Bridge who stands watch on the walls to bring about the Kingdom here on earth - I count it a privilege to serve with you and be called your friend.

CHAPTER ONE

Community Needs Assessment Among the Gujjars in Northern India

Introduction

The people known as the Gujjars are found mostly in the northern regions of the lower Himalayas of India (Fig. 1). The Gujjars are pastoralists who herd animals such as goats, horses, sheep and buffalo. This research comprises a needs assessment conducted among the Gujjars of Punjab to determine their perceptions about poverty, environmental degradation and their desired future lifeway. It is estimated that the Gujjar population is two and a half to three million, although there is difficulty in counting nomadic peoples (Census, 1931). In Jammu and Kashmir the Gujjars make up about 10% of the population according to a 1976 study conducted by R. Khatana. Many of the Gujjars of the northern states of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, and Punjab, follow a cyclical pattern of a northern and a southern migration that occurs from four to five months each. As the population of the Gujjars increases there is a slow and southern migratory wave from Jammu and Kashmir as they search for pastures for their herds.

The Gujjars are known to own land, and yet it is often marginal land (Rao and Casimir, 1990). Rising costs of migration, grazing taxes, transportation, supplies and maintenance for buffalo herds are all making the pastoral lifeway difficult to maintain. Water is scarce, infections and respiratory illnesses are frequent, and tuberculosis and polio are present among many Gujjar families. Poverty tends to persist among the Gujjars of Pathankot (Fig. 2) who lack physical or human capital. Medical and

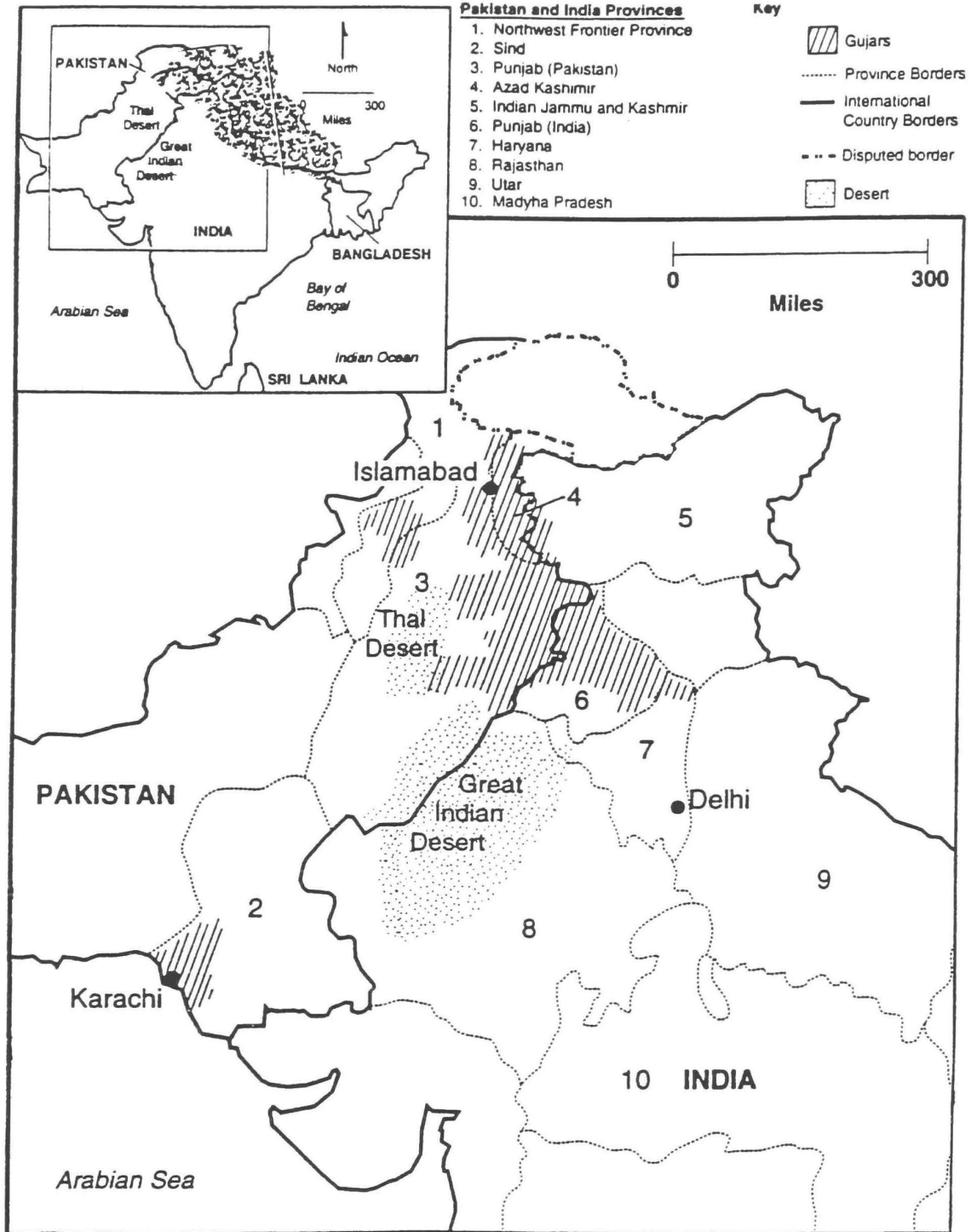


Fig. 1. Northwest India showing Distribution of Gujjars as of 1931 Including physical features insert. Spaulding, F. 1994.

educational access targeting the Gujjars is minimal because of their mobile lifestyle. The status ascribed to the Gujjars affects their corporate ability to have an audible voice in local government. There are discrepancies about whether the Gujjars are considered a Scheduled Tribe or a Backward Caste in the states of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. This status or lack thereof determines how Gujjars would acquire access to equitable resources.

The purpose of this study is to provide baseline data on the perceived needs of the Gujjars and to conduct a fundamental needs assessment for advocacy and development through:

- Defining what is important to the Gujjars by providing an interpretation of their worldview
- Discovering whether or not the Gujjars perceive a need for advocacy or development
- Identifying the unmet needs of the Gujjars
- Exploring Gujjars' access to the human rights and privileges of indigenous peoples of India
- Utilizing modes of analysis encompassed in the approach called advocacy anthropology

Many attempts have been made by governments to bring social development to nomadic populations, through resettlement programs, for the purpose of modernization, political stability and control of frontier regions. In the mid-1960s, the Middle Eastern Governments, as an example, attempted a massive sedentarization program that forced nomadic peoples to settle. Stephen Dinero studied the transition and changing roles of Israeli Bedouin families within the post-nomadic urban environment and found them to be remarkably both negative and positive (1997). Adequate attention must be given to specific cultural needs of the people in focus for development strategies to become sustainable as Elliott Fratkin has stated in his studies of pastoralists in Africa. Attempts must also be made at forecasting the future

of development within a semi-nomadic population so that the group will be aware of the changes that could challenge them (Fratkin, 1999).

Nomadic pastoralists in India, such as the Gujjars, have been seen as insignificant members of the community, and yet pragmatically, nomadic buffalo-breeders have a vital contribution to make to development and the Indian economy. Shanti George bases these findings on the fact that pastoralists utilize land for milk production that otherwise would be useless for foodstuffs (1985).

Pernille Gooch, who studied the Van Gujjars in Uttar Pradesh, states that development projects intended for nomads only rarely materialize into anything concrete. It is always assumed that the nomads want to be settled and brought into 'normal' modernity so, development within a traditional nomadic lifestyle is never seriously considered (Gooch, 1998). Now, it is being realized by those who have spent time among pastoralists, that cultural needs specific to the people in their location have to be the focus in order to attempt any type of advocacy or forecasting (Fratkin, 1999). Cultural specificity leads to the possibility of achieving development amidst the nomadic, who move constantly, or the transhumant, who move in a cyclical pattern.

The target geographical area of this research is just outside the city of Pathankot, in the state of Punjab, India, (Fig. 2). There is an inconsistency of Gujjar status across the borders of individual states. This study explores whether their ascribed and minority status is preventing them from having the rights and privileges normally afforded indigenous people, and what their perceived needs, wants and desires are if any, to address any issues or problems they may have in their lives.

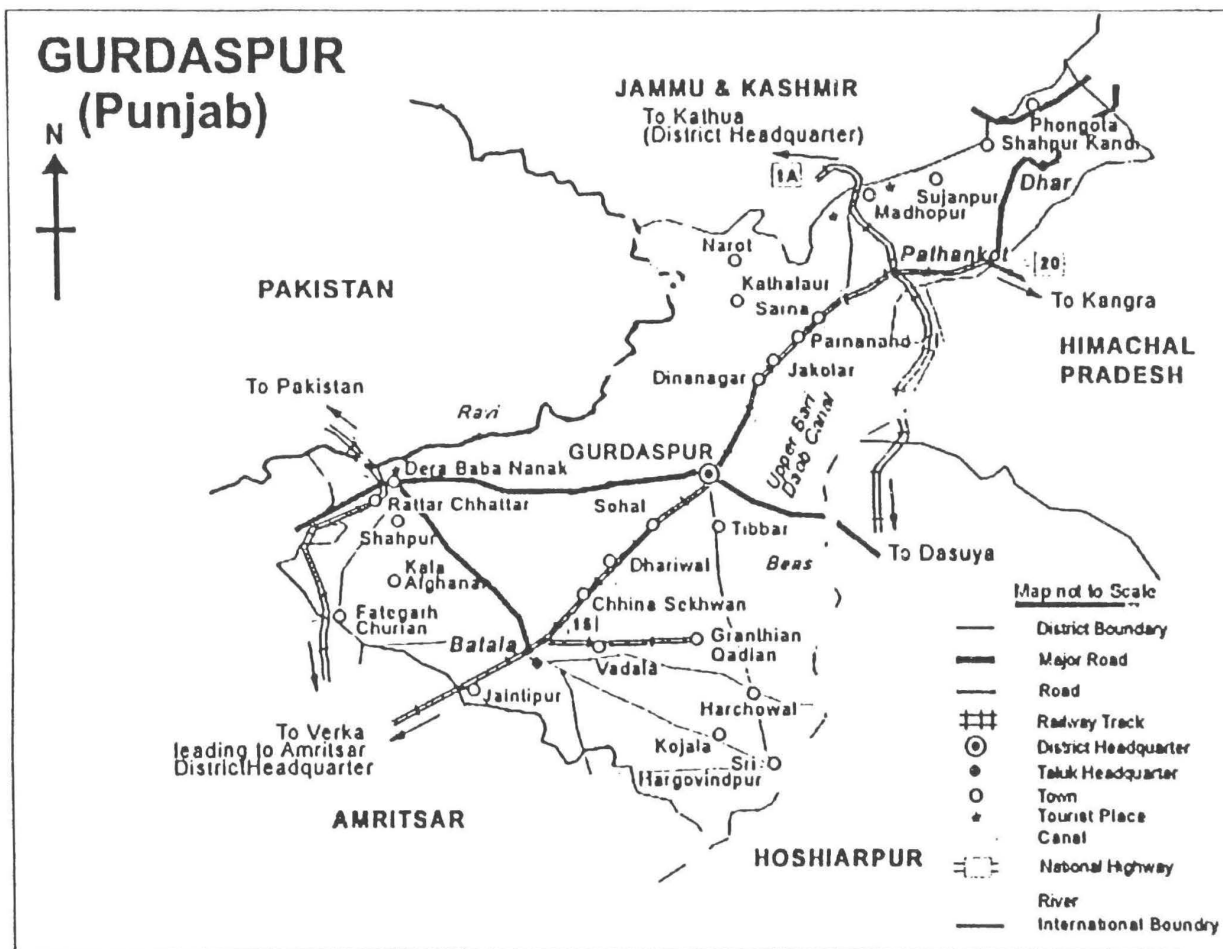


Fig. 2. Gurdaspur District, Punjab, India. Source: Punjab Police Department

This research project is a pilot study. There is no known social anthropology of the Gujjars of the Himalayas and there have probably been no statistical survey or quantitative studies accomplished, and certainly not in this southern migration site of Pathankot, Punjab. The Gujjar's voices represented in the needs assessment portray the energy and chaos of the pastoralists' lifestyle which interferes with sedate systematic formal research, and yet, the families seemed to enjoy a teachable and inquisitive spectator. The Gujjars talked endlessly about systems though they did not call them systems. *Zamindars* or landowners, unpredictable grazing taxes, random veterinarian advice or vaccines, and the deadly buffalo throat disease all compete to control their lives.

Approximately half of the targeted Gujjar population of this fieldwork stated they were settled and the other half stated they were transhumant. Because of the extended family social structure, many families indicated they were both settled and transhumant which creates difficulty in documenting population counts. Over seventy-five percent of these Gujjars have had no formal education. The majority of the families' mode of production is selling buffalo milk, and yet, increasingly many are getting into debt. The children are chronically ill and most have not been immunized. Most Gujjars have no access to loans, land, medical information, or education that could serve to decrease their labor-intensive lifestyles or increase their potential for alleviating their poverty. The Gujjar patchwork is a situation where they, as a minority, whether settled or transhumant, are a powerless and nomadic peoples who are vulnerable to the demands of the majority. Some Gujjar women have watched their families decay after three or more children cannot survive.

Chapter Two explores advocacy anthropology and development where a needs assessment is a critical component as an important strategy for working to facilitate the alleviation on poverty among the Gujjars at this point and time. This chapter also reviews an example of successful development, summarizes a history of development and provides a definition of sustainable development.

Chapter Three provides an overview of pastoralism of the world and the dilemmas they face. Chapter Four provides a mini-Gujjar ethnography describing the social, economic and ecological factors of their pastoralism. The Gujjar's lifeway is a weaving of their mythology, the cyclical flow chart of migration, Islam and politics, the significance of ethnicity and gender, their diet, their health status and the status of education at present.

The contents of Chapter Five through Eight are as follows: Chapter Five presents the research methodology, design, and difficulties of scientific fieldwork among pastoralists; Chapter Six reveals both qualitative and quantitative data in light of the study's research questions, objectives and hypothesis. Chapter Seven analyzes the quantitative data in light of the Gujjar lifeway today; and, Chapter Eight provides conclusions and recommendations for the Gujjars as they pursue their desired lifeway.

CHAPTER TWO

Needs Assessment And Sustainable Development

Why a Needs Assessment?

Needs assessments are used by anthropologists to identify the self-determined values of a locally specific community of people. Given that past developmental efforts have oftentimes been inappropriate on various grounds, needs assessments are a critical analysis tool in defining appropriate developmental interventions (Alexander, 2002). Community members and leaders are asked to participate and lead conversations about what they desire, need and value to create a meaningful life for themselves and generations to come.

The needs assessment conducted among the Gobi women of Mongolia is a site-specific example. That needs assessment spoke to the workings, talents, and local information in the specific environment of the women served. This approach to fieldwork must emphasize the importance of the community within concentric circles of the community, the state and the country. In such an approach to gathering information, reliability can be gained only by comparing stories and various experiences. How the community systems work, and how the people perceive how the systems work, must be understood in order for the anthropologist to include analysis of the context of the community and the nation state.

The interrelationships between economic, biological, cultural, social, and political dimensions of globalization need to be studied with particular reference to how they affect this particular community (Okongwu, Mencher, 2000). What the needs of a

particular ethnic community are, and what the differences between the varied perceived needs of this ethnic community are, become of interest to the researcher in understanding the range of opinion or personal responses in discerning the distribution of the types of needs and desires. When the community's information is voiced and their desire and needs are included, then the potential for sustaining development among the people is extremely high (Fratkin, Roth, and Nathan, 1999). Empowering the people within the community to make it theirs is a critical component to making their development sustainable.

People do respond to researchers asking them for information and their ideas. They feel important and worthy of giving their opinions when asked to participate in discussing and designing projects that they deem to be worthwhile for their families and their community.

Pastoralist families and communities of the world face many dilemmas. Some of those dilemmas change as pastoralists choose between transhumant and sedentary lifeways. In the context of exploring development possibilities for the Gujjars, local pastoral culture and information will need to be the focus for any sustainable development options to be legitimate.

A Case of Successful Pastoral Development

After the fall of communism in Mongolia in the 1990s, a project entitled The Gobi Women's Project was implemented in 1991. With the collapse of the Soviet system, services were unavailable and outside information became rare. Previously the children of nomads were put into boarding schools but a negative consequence was that

families were split up and the curriculum was not necessarily relevant to the realities of nomadic life (www.unesco.org/education).

A needs assessment survey conducted by the government revealed that learning differently and in new ways was the only answer to the nomads' survival. The availability of public services decreased which led to a need for training in self reliance. Boarding schools closed, information became rare, newspapers and other reading materials experienced severe paper shortages, and transportation slowed down resulting in more isolation. Along with UNESCO, the state planned for a project that produced radio instruction aimed to empower the women by providing learning opportunities, but the appeal of income generation was needed to serve as an entry point. The project's purpose was distance learning with the distinct purpose of providing nomadic women with opportunities to acquire income along with insight into the market economy and how it works and functions. This interaction lies at the heart of the success of the program. As a result of the project, women have taken initiative and have asked for their husbands and children to be brought into the program (www.unesco.org/education). These nomadic women have become active learners and agents of change in the desert.

The radio instruction aimed to empower these women contained information on livestock rearing techniques, family care, income generation with available raw materials, and basic business skills. Literacy programs were later added. The topics for additional material, included, family planning, making camel saddles and Mongol clothes, making fuel from animal dung, leather processing, felt-making, vegetable growing, civics and small business development. Some of the booklets included Mongol fairytales, mathematics and environmental issues. Visiting teachers played an important role in the lives of the women so they did not feel isolated and were

given general support. The visiting teacher became the vital link for the system, as she was a learner herself getting feedback from the women.

The government of Mongolia realized that transformations were needed and the redesign and redirection had to target the population of the nomadic women who were most at risk. Most significantly, the levels of local activity increased and small information centers were established. Increased communication and collaboration began to develop between neighboring settlements. The women have now organized local markets with exhibitions of handicrafts and sales of products. The program was so successful that the Head of State asked UNESCO for the extension of the project to other areas. Radio allowed for communication and creating networks between the women themselves but also between the nomads and Government. The Gobi Women's Project has acted as a catalyst in the formation of local groups and collaboration of veterinary surgeons, doctors, teachers and local officials. The population of Mongolia was 2.3 million. The DANIDA funds for the project came to \$1.4 million US. The initial phase of the project reached 15,000 people.

The downfall of communism created a desperate but positive chance for developing new ways of thinking rather than carrying on blindly with a formal system that could not adapt. The project proved effective in using radio to create change, better existing opportunities and even providing thousands of women with the tools to tackle their environment as an example of agents of change in the desert (www.unesco.org/ education). The interactive zone is achieved through this case of intentional development that began with a needs assessment. The biological system was put to use through agricultural education. Economic safety nets that target cultural diversity and gender equity accomplished increased income. Increased goods and

services were accomplished satisfying their basic human needs as the women participated. The impetus to change for the Gobi people came out of necessity and through UNESCO's needs assessment. The people, NGOs, governments, and various programs can serve as the advocate toward poverty alleviation but the impetus must start with the people themselves.

What Is Sustainable Development?

Sustainable development is defined as "improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems" (Kaufman, 2000). It seeks to maximize human resource potential as well as the wealth provided by natural resources by managing all resources – natural, human, financial and physical – so that they can be used to serve the common good. Development is sustainable only when it meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. At present, we can only imagine a world in which a stable human population seeks to nurture and preserve the diversity of both the earth's biota and its human cultures (Kaufman, 2000).

The initial definition of sustainable development was proposed by Barbara Ward and the Brundtland Commission in the mid-1970s (Holmberg & Sandbrook, 1992) and was defined as "a process of enlarging people's choices... at all levels of development through health, knowledge and access to resources needed for a decent standard of living" for this generation and the generations to come (UNDP, 1991). The complexity of sustainable development has made the concept difficult to define, although the visions for developing a sustainable world and the policies required provide a powerful concept and a useful guide for developers (Holmberg, 1992). For the purposes of this thesis, the

definition and target for sustainable development will be found in promoting the checks and balances of the “interactive zone” as defined by Holmberg, within the overlapping biological, societal and economic systems.

One of the most important contributions toward making sustainable development practical and workable has been to encourage coordination and collaboration across the disciplines of biology, society and economics (Solow, R.M., 1991). The complexity of the interactive zone makes this collaboration and cooperation necessary to accomplish sustainable development. Figure 3 (p. 14) shows, for example, that attention given to the biological environment (e.g. potable water, long term environmental land evaluations, planned buffers for seasonal food shortages, protection of common property) results in increased, long-term health and environmental benefit for the community. In the economic and social realm, access to loans and fair pricing for the marginalized brings about social justice and equity, enabling the community as a whole, over time, to put aside monies for hiring school teachers or health post workers. These improvements restore hope and community power that puts a voice behind the felt needs of the community, such as immunizations for their children or acquiring veterinarian expertise in order to build up a healthier breed of buffalo that produces more liters of milk per day. Sustainable development in its complexity involves developing a set of priorities that identifies and accepts trade-offs arising from conflicts among the concerns emphasized by the three disciplines (Barbier, 1987).

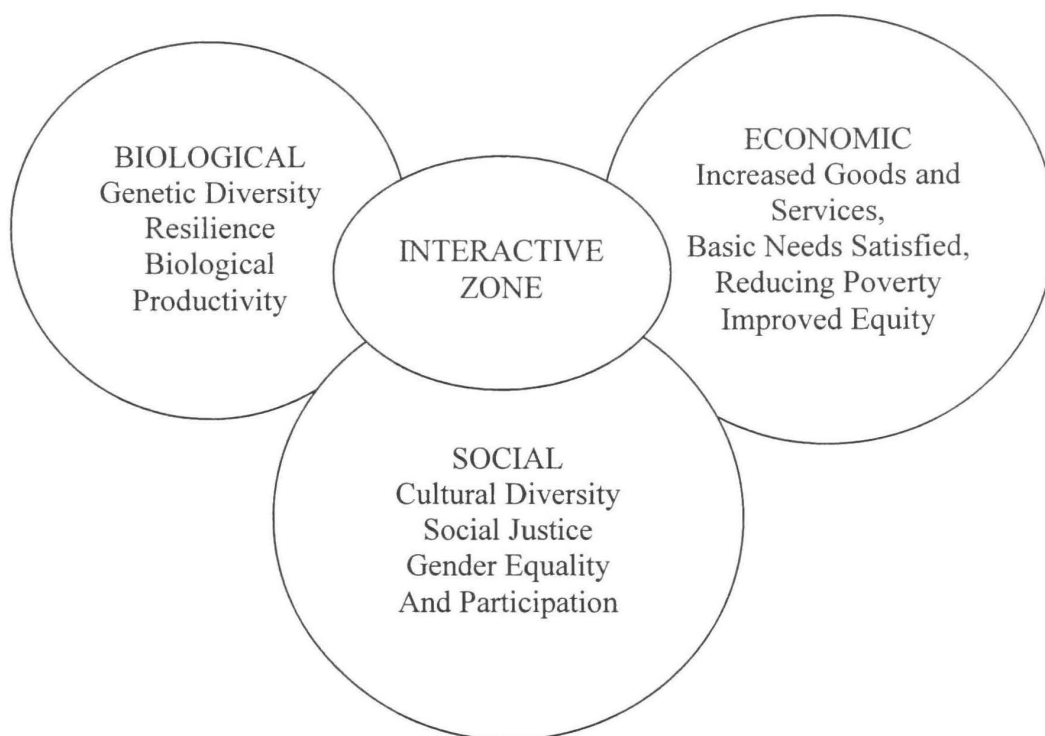


Figure 3. Sustainable Development Systems. Source: Holmberg, 1992.

All three systems cannot be maximized at the same time, but all can be utilized and adapted to what is called the "interactive zone". As goals overlap, the interactive zone becomes the central sphere where the process for the trade-offs will be location specific and adaptable (Holmberg, 1992). Development in all three systems has the potential to be accomplished over time. Through each of the systems, developers and policy implementers seek to respond to five broad requirements:

- Interaction of conservation and development through long term evaluation of environmental degradation and eliminating its causes
- Satisfaction of basic human needs where access to nutrition, education and medicine are guaranteed as a basic human right
- Achievement of equity and social justice through acknowledgement of minorities

- Provision of social self-determination and cultural diversity by giving voice to the local people in determining their future
- Maintenance of ecological integrity- conserving the earth for future generations (Jacobs and Munroe, 1986)

The achievement of these requirements takes collaborated effort. This is required to assure the work is sustainable.

“A sustainable and sustaining earth society is sustainable because human behavior, in harmony with natural systems, acts to maintain the health and integrity of the environment through the attention and health given to the natural world. This type of vision, despite barriers such as culture, politics or economics, continues to nurture and sustain the earth’s rich diversity of life” (Kaufman, 2000).

Over the past decades, development strategies have taken many forms. Many of the designs lacked the integration of all three systems of the interactive zone.

The process of enlarging people’s choices to sustain their livelihoods and the livelihoods for the next generation, again, is one definition of sustainable development (UNDP, 1991). The interactive zone provides the target needed to balance the disciplines, for example, between genetic diversity, basic human needs and social justice by providing information for the local people to choose what is important and needful to sustain that development. “All human beings have the fundamental right to an environment adequate for their health and well-being” (WCED, 1987). The United Nations Center for Human Rights, in collaboration with Institute of International Environmental Development, the Northern Alliance for Sustainability, and the Center of Human Rights and Environment, have proposed the following principles of environmental human rights:

- The right to a clean and safe environment
Specifically, a “clean and safe” environment includes such rights as monitoring and controlling pollution; preservation, protection and improvement of soil, air, water, flora and fauna; prohibition of activities that

are environmentally harmful to persons; strict control in the production and storage of toxic or dangerous substances or waste; timely and effective assistance to the victims of environmental degradation; and annual public information concerning mortality rates and diseases resulting from environmental pollution.

- The right to act to protect the environment
- The right to information, to access, to justice, and to participate in environmental decision-making (Alexander, Pareja, 2002).

Environmental improvements are equally important in the matrix of factors interacting to sustain the future. Safe, sufficient and affordable water supplies, sanitation, low cost housing, affordable sources of fuel without the potential of indoor air pollution must all be packaged for basic needs which help child survival and improve living standards creating an environment for developmental policies to be brought about.

A Brief History of Development Strategies

After WW II, theorists, policy designers and governments promoted development oriented towards stimulating economic growth promotion with no consideration for the causes of poverty (Lewis and Kallab, ed., 1986). Economic growth and restructuring was accomplished by comprehensive economic planning. Development analysts mandated policies and recommended policy changes. "In the 1950s, the neo-Keynesian growth model was preoccupied with industrialization and lifting the capital constraints on development. What was needed were net inward transfers of concessional capital or aid" (Lewis and Kallab, ed., 1986). Satisfying basic human needs was not yet acknowledged.

Many developmental schemes during the 1950s-60s caused the poor to become poorer. The example of over-innovation was the Green Revolution where production multiplied without increase of laborers. Over-innovation required unrealistic increases

in already labor intensive lifestyles that were not targeted to community needs but rather to national development. Under-differentiation resulted in assumptions that Third World communities were more alike than they truly were. The track record left numerous footprints of good intentions but remarkable failures. The most salient negative example of over-innovation was the Green Revolution, where production multiplied in the existing society by displacing the laborers who were in greatest need. Without a specific focus on local communities, development intervention can result in faulty social design increasing class conflict, reducing cultural diversity and sometimes failing completely (Kottack, 1997).

From the 1970s through the 80s, double and triple yields from the Green Revolution technology caused strong tensions in response to the first focused efforts toward Basic Human Needs (BHN). The first identified basic human needs include nutrition, access, food, health, social capital, environment and shelter. These were realized as equity issues and showed that the benefits of past development did not necessarily trickle down to impact those in abject poverty. Not until the 1990s was there a shift to include health, nutrition, population issues, and education (Streeten, 1995) in response to satisfaction of basic human needs as a first step in the poverty alleviation process.

From 1973-1988, NGOs (non-governmental organizations) were involved in only six percent of all World Bank-financed projects. In 1995, The Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP) was established which would further enhance the role of NGOs by promoting replication and growth of NGO-managed programs in providing financial services to the poor. By 1998, NGOs were directly involved in 54% of all Bank-financed projects (Streeten, 1999).

Perhaps for the future with local-level NGOs in place, the complex process of sustainable development is more likely to be enhanced and scrutinized for quality.

The patterns of sustainable development must be built from the bottom up and shown by example what can be achieved at the local level (Holmberg, 1992). Conversely, it is important to know the patterns of what cannot be achieved at the local level. The processes by which a local community develops or does not develop must be researched and understood.

Development is often political. The culture of many mainstream societies creates the condition of disempowerment and marginalization which are social justice issues. The social and political dimensions of marginalization must be recognized (Kratli, 2001). "Among mainstream analysts there is a tendency to treat the developmental process as apolitical. Although the international development community presents development as a universal good, there are winners and losers in virtually every intervention" (Streeten, 1999). Historically, those with wealth increased their equity through development while the poor were bypassed in development, and as a result, their poverty has persisted. The focus again, must be that of addressing the underlying causes of poverty so that the goal of poverty alleviation is achieved through effective policies that give strength to the safety nets of the poor. Possible examples could include:

- long term plans for potable water
- access to quality land preventing seasonal food shortages
- promotion of economic diversification, providing loan access to minorities
- development that changes incomes, giving job opportunities across ethnicities providing them with their own teachers, doctors and store owners
- reduction of child labor
- new educational policies that affect all children in alleviating poverty and diminishing the incentives that lead to high population growth (Perring, C. 1996).

- focus given to ethnic conflict as it intersects resource allocation and access to minorities.

The gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. The poor constitute a large proportion of the population in developing countries and in some cases even a majority. In theory, the poor ought to be able to exercise greater pressure on the government because of their numbers but in reality they are not empowered to do so. The task is to narrow the gap between the poorer people and government by mobilizing the poorest people into some kind of organization from the grassroots level with the goal of a pro-poor perspective (Kaufman & Franz, 2000). Resources such as education, medicine, potable water, road access, environmental information and loans, which are afforded most people, would now be available for the poor.

Poverty, Environmental Degradation and Sustainability

“There is a fundamental interdependence between human rights and environmental quality. An adequate environment is necessary for the expression of human rights, and violations of human rights often cause or result in environmental degradation. Without a habitable environment, all other human rights become either unattainable or meaningless” (Alexander, Pareja, 2002).

People in poverty often occupy ecologically vulnerable areas such as marginal dry lands, tropical forests, and hilly areas, where short-term stress cycles cause the living conditions to worsen. When options are limited, desperate people exploit common property resources such as leaves, roots, grains, and forest products that provide additional food sources and alternative sources of income. Their daily survival depends on the use of detrimental coping strategies. “Numerous environmental violations potentially carry a high, unfairly distributed, human cost. Environmental degradation has a devastating effect on people’s lives (Wilk-Sanatani, 1993). The

consequence of these practices is the environmental degradation of the lands they occupy such as cutting trees to make charcoal, over-harvesting wild foods, overgrazing grasslands, and increased planting in marginal areas (Davies, 1991). All of these strategies further degrade soil conditions already depleted of its health. These are unsustainable strategies employed by many farmers who wish only to put food in their children's bellies. Awareness at the local level of these unhealthy survival strategies is one indicator of impending crisis.

Women are more vulnerable to the effects of environmental degradation since women make a greater contribution to household food security than men. "Much environmental destruction occurs in the first place because the affected communities are powerless to prevent it or do not have access to basic resources to begin with" (Alexander, Parejo, 2002). Women usually have limited or no access to resources which could significantly impact the diet of their children. Local coping strategies and continual monitoring of local conditions are prime indicators for development agents where interventions must be initiated (Davies, 1991). These intervention strategies should include ways and means to sustain assets, increase stores and empower women's access. NGOs with natural resource management experience can provide valuable training and input toward soil conservation, water harvesting and reestablishment of forest reserves for local communities (Frankenberger, Goldstein, 1992).

Development Strategies for Pastoral Peoples

One view of development among pastoralist societies emphasizes restoring or protecting traditional pastoralism through recognition of legal rights to water and

pasture resources. The rights of way for herds to travel through cultivated lands during migration periods, along with the rights to unhindered passage across international borders, are both necessary rights to sustaining pastoral lifeways. Pastoralists' knowledge of water, pasture, and herd management needs to be recognized and upheld. Propaganda for development only through sedentarization must stop. Options for development within transhumant patterns must be explored.

Most planned development among pastoralists was never intended to empower them in their continued transhumant lifeway. However, a locally- specific needs assessment that is supportive of pastoralism is possible. Individual and family input should be heard and self-determined. Strategic local decisions could be the right to fair prices per liter of milk, fair access to loans, access to water and grazing land, and finally, the right to run their own local affairs (Baxter, 1993, Charnely, 1996, Hjortaf Ornas, 1990, Horowitz 1986). Social inequities require exposure for what they are if resolutions are to be found so that social equity can be restored. The focus on a locally-specific needs assessment brings remarkable benefits to the social system's interactive zone in sustaining developmental efforts by giving power and responsibility back to the people.

An opposing view of pastoralism articulated in the environmental journal *Ambio* recommends that pastoralism be abandoned altogether (Steen, 1994). Former herders should be encouraged to plant forage crops, cereals, and fodder to raise livestock in sedentary settings and to integrate into an industrialized, market-based economy.

Both views of development need consideration and have potential for helping pastoralists in their choices for self-determination. Provision of adequate safety nets

is critical for those who choose to stimulate development. During the first five years after becoming sedentary, nomadic populations and their children under five years of age become especially vulnerable. The environmental risks dramatically increase for these poor households. Most attempts at pastoral development have either failed in grazing management strategies or have intensified labor causing many pastoralists to grow poorer (Baxter, 1993). Pastoral production demands spatial mobility among what historically was known as the commons or common property. Pastoralists are less able to maintain their subsistence livestock economies than at any time in their past because of national or international borders and the newer concept of land ownership, which once was part of the commons (Vira, 1993).

In the south of Mali, in 1982, a World Vision project to reduce environmental degradation was initiated among the pastoral, Tuareg nomads. Enhancing the resource base at each oasis site alleviated the adverse effects of environmental degradation and inspired hope for the future. The intent of the development program was to reestablish and enhance the natural resource base at thirty-five oasis sites and to provide points of refuge for the Tuareg in an effort to buffer the devastating effects of drought (Cookingham, 1990). The purpose was to provide environmental safety nets at oasis sites in times of stress. It was not intended that the oasis sites become places for sedentary groups. The program was successful. Poorer families were served with seed capital in barter of food commodities for animals that were loaned to families to replenish their herds, and as income transfer when they were given to families who had received a small herd. This limited the risk that families would have to sell the newly acquired animals to feed themselves. It was found that tree planting, tree care, and wild grass seeding was a new technology to herders and yet

benefited the community at large over a longer period of time. The goals to provide a strategy to help nomadic groups develop new ways of thinking and behavior and increasing the likelihood of sustaining the essence of their way of life in a difficult and changing environment were met (ibid.1990).

Maria Arioti (1997) has documented work among indigenous peoples, specifically the Turkana, the Maasai and the Somali pastoralists. Because of the vulnerability of pastoralists at this time and place in history, she states that development and intervention efforts must focus at the local level. The overall failure of past efforts in African pastoral development is mainly due to insufficient knowledge on the part of the outsiders involved with pastoral societies. "The time has come to change strategies and put forward some practical proposals for a modest but sustainable locally initiated beginning to a process of pastoral development" (Arioti, 1997).

The ultimate goal of developmental efforts targeting pastoralists ought to focus, according to Arioti, on the fulfillment of needs of local communities rather than only on the economic productivity of the land they occupy. "For our purposes, development is a process of change involving a set of value judgments about what constitutes a good society and the means of achieving it. But the value judgments we need to consider are more those of African pastoralists than of various outsiders" (Arioti, 1997).

Advocacy Anthropology and Development

The basic premise of Research and Advocacy Anthropology is to be an auxiliary to the leaders of a locally specific area and not the direct change agent. The discovery of local values, existing economic policies, social equity problems and biological data is used directly and intimately for the good of the community, not through an intervening agency (van Willigen, 1993). When the positive and negative sides of possible solutions are available then the people may choose for themselves.

"In advocacy anthropology there is a distinctive relationship between the anthropologist and the community. The anthropologist as researcher acts to augment and facilitate indigenously designed and controlled social action or development programs by providing data and technical assistance in research, training, and communication to a community through its leadership" (van Willigen, 1993).

Rosen states that anthropologists are agents in a complex political process. Anthropologists do what they do because they believe that their knowledge must serve something more than just academic purposes. They do it because they would not sleep well if they absented or omitted themselves from tragedies along the way (Rosen, 1977). Anthropology as a field has contributed, and continues to contribute, to social policy research, practice, and advocacy in a number of different ways as it has taken on increasing relevance because of the rapid transformation of the world through the process of globalization. Globalization is defined as the ways in which ninety-nine percent of human beings on this planet are affected by the global economy and its social and political implications. Many structural adjustment programs in international economic policies force developing countries to drop their safety nets for the poorest people as a condition for receiving international loans causing the poor to become poorer (Okongwu, Mencher, 2000). Because of these

inequities and increasing destitution, anthropology is expanding to include analysis of current contexts in communities and nation-states to the interrelationships between economic, cultural, social, and political dimensions of globalization (Okongwu, Mencher, 2000). The similarities and differences in the experiences of people are explored, and the dimensions of global, economic, political, and cultural processes on productive and reproductive activities are highlighted so the safety nets for the poor are not eradicated.

Long-term development is of primary importance in solving ongoing problems and helping people become more self-sufficient. The anthropologist conducts a needs assessment as the catalyst for understanding the culture in an attempt to help identify constraints, needs and wants, as well as alternatives and viable solutions. The advocate role is used to help reach the communities' own goals, which they define in the light of knowledge of their expressed needs and of the potential of their physical and social context. Investigating alternatives for development within the continuum of the pastoral sector is one of the critical challenges.

“Action research, action anthropology, and research and development anthropology represent the first generation of value-explicit applied anthropology approaches” (van Willigen, 1993). In the 1970's, culture brokerage evolved around the same time as action anthropology. Culture brokerage is based on the role of the anthropologist as a mediator between two cultural systems sharing the same community (Chambers, 1985). Although many of the disciplines within anthropology are periodically called upon, the advocacy anthropology role is an intentional choice in this pilot project because the focus is on the research conducted in support of community-defined goals, as is the process in a needs assessment. This advocacy role

also justifies further involvement such as proposal writing and program design that gives even the anthropologist living thousands of miles away the potential to play a helpful role.

“A simple reality is that for many poor people in the world today, the natural environment may be as much a threat to their lives as an asset for sustaining livelihoods. The most common victims of environmental and human rights abuses are impoverished minorities who typically already face societal discrimination and who have limited resources for mounting protests” (Alexander, Parejo, 2002). Women and children are the most vulnerable within societal discrimination. Focus and empowerment toward women has proven exceptionally effective as development is offered throughout the disciplines of economic, social and biological principles. Community education toward adjusting inequities against gender, awareness of environmental issues, perception of cultural diversity and offering information about intentional family planning have proven extremely effective over time. Adjustments toward the most vulnerable that live in poverty must become a major focus for development. Women’s advancement through education makes family planning more likely, which reduces both child deaths and child births. Family planning prevents illegal abortions, saving lives of women. In addition, this improves the quality of nutritional health and quality of life of children throughout the developing world. Slower population growth assists economic progress and economic progress can lead to lower birth rates. All these factors are important in themselves and make a direct contribution to improving the lives of people.

Nomadic herders number several tens of millions of people, mainly in Africa, the Middle East, and south, south-west and central Asia. These pastoralists include some of the most vulnerable of all southern populations. A global overview of

pastoralism offers the advantages of a variety of experiences and brings attention to relevant lessons from experiences within other nomadic groups.

CHAPTER THREE

World Pastoral Peoples

In almost every country where nomadic pastoralists are found, they are minorities suffering problems of under-representation and social, economic and geographic marginalization (Kratli, 2001). Social isolation, dialect, cultural homogeneity, and a distinct and different type of social organization are all characteristics of pastoralists around the world (Winick's & Burman, 1997). Many of these groups are isolated in ecology, demography, economy, politics, and other social relations from other ethnic groups (Sinha, 1965). Usually pastoralists are described as not having acquired the positive traits of the modern society. Pastoralists many times are listed among tribals. However, those studied in the past twenty years have exemplified a worldview that values family, quietness of life, living simple and free from superfluous expectations. They choose to experience nature and all it has to offer (Samajdar, 2000).

The Pastoral Dilemma

Pastoralists are resilient people who live on the products of their domestic or indigenous animals in arid environments and in areas of scarce resources. Pastoral populations continue to herd their animals in the lands of Africa, the Mid-east, Central Asia, Mongolia, Tibet, the Andes, and arctic Scandinavia and Siberia (Galaty; Aronsson, 1981).

"Pastoralists, throughout the world today, face more constraints on their economies than at any previous time. They are threatened by growth of human and livestock populations; loss of herding lands to private farms, ranches, game parks and reserves, and urbanization; out-migration by poor pastoralists; increased commoditization of the livestock economy; and periodic dislocations caused by drought, famine, and civil war" (Fratkin, E., 1997).

Pastoral populations usually live simply and in an intimate relationship with their natural environments exposed to a wide variety of stresses without the mediating effects of modern medical care or other means of coping with their surroundings (Bandyopadhyay, 1992). Data on such groups are of significance as they help to reveal the differences, which exist both within a particular eco-system or among a number of them. This baseline helps to give insight into the ways and meanings of pastoral living. In addition, the nutritional, local and specific information of pastoralist groups that have undergone major changes furnishes a baseline from which to evaluate the effects of cultural change on the environmental surroundings and on local families (Bandyopadhyay, 1992). These location specific studies provide the baseline to compare and to evaluate the cultural changes that happen over time.

The need for concise studies of issues and cases for cultural survival relates to problems of ethnicity, marginal peoples, and ethnic minorities (Maybury-Lewis, 2002). The prejudice against nomadic culture is not a new attitude. Settled people often envy the freedom, independence, and simplicity of nomads. Sometimes there are feelings of hatred and fear of them.

For nomads to survive they must be in harmony with their physical environment. Frequently the nomad is blamed for environmental disasters. Numerous critics downplay and degrade the ways and habits of nomads and seldom are their ways and habits considered for their importance and worth. An example of one of the few

remaining nomadic peoples of Eastern Africa is the Gabra. Where they abide is limitless red expanses of the Chalbi Desert but for the Gabra it is considered a wilderness of freedom and fertility for they are ones who know where to look for water, good grasses, and protective trees. But above all, it is good land for the camels that define the Gabra lifeway. The Gabra camps move constantly as the camels stay away from their own dung, which gets infested with ticks that make the camels' lives miserable and can transmit disease that can be fatal. The Gabra spend their lives on an endless migration, which causes them many times to be restless and to pack up their belongings even without moonlight. The Gabra would seldom consider selling their steers because the steers keep the herd together. And yet, for development purposes they were encouraged strongly to sell the steers by those not understanding how much constant labor a herd requires. This development required the Gabra to work twice as hard (Fratkin, 1995).

The Gabra manage their pastures by setting controlled fires to drive back the bush. They live by the philosophy of *finn*, meaning fertility and plenty. Anessa Kasam, who studies the Gabra, writes "*finn* is the earth and the cycle of life that takes place on it." The Gabra contribute to the care of the earth and their animals, exchange livestock, nourish friendships, exchange ideas, tell tales, or sing songs. With ecological knowledge and the appropriate social relations, the best development can take into account the interests of all involved so that development will help the entire community. Where this type of work is done, indigenous peoples will not have to suffer from development in which they had no say (Maybury-Lewis, 2002).

Pastoralist - Transhumant or Sedentary

Transhumant and sedentary relationships are often ones of conflict, particularly because the aims and objectives of pastoral groups are at variance with sedentary, agricultural groups. The history of relations between the two, particularly during the twentieth century, is one that condenses pastoral communities, diluting their culture to nothing, rather than uniting them to work within their heritage (Fratkin, 1997). Philip Salzman carried out ethnographic research among nomadic and pastoral peoples in Baluchistan. He makes the distinction between peasant pastoralists who are decentralized and tribal pastoralists who are independent political entities, centralized and comprised of similar local groups of primary producers. This centralism characterizes many East African pastoralists including the example of the Maasai (Salzman, P,1996).

Before colonial rule from 1885-1963, Maasai cattle herders occupied the Rift Valley savanna plains from Lake Turkana in northern Kenya to the Maasai Steppe in Central Tanzania. Because of an international border that divided the Maasai, their lands were reduced by 60% when they were evicted by the British to make room for settler ranches. This confined the Maasai to the present-day Kajiado and Narok districts. The later creation of game parks reduced their land even more. The government administrators felt that cattle competed for resources with wildlife. Wildlife was becoming an increasingly important source of foreign revenue through tourism. Because of the land changes tensions grew between the agriculturists and the pastoralists (Homewood 1995). The government encouraged its citizens to title their own land in the 1960's. This caused the Maasai to work within unknown territory, for historically, the Maasai were never given title to "own" grazing land or water resources. By the mid 1980's there was a stampede for land claims in the Maasai areas, as both Kikuyu farmers

and Maasai rushed to claim title to some land lest they lose it all. John Galaty (1992) wrote that it is now land, not cattle, that is the most important resource in Maasailand. Now the Maasai are restricted from grazing their cattle in the national park, although the wildebeest and other wild animals move freely among Maasai herds transmitting diseases and competing for pasture (McCabe et al 1992).

Just in the last thirty years, pastoralist communities have increasingly gone to court to defend their rights to communally-held property. The Lapps of Norway and the Barabaig in Tanzania are two examples. The Lapps legal rights as a collective group to use what does not "belong" to them was upheld, but they lost the particular case (Svensson 1992). The Tanzanian High Court ruled in favor of the Barabaig by declaring that their claims were valid, however a technical flaw limited the victory. Frustrated by this ruling, the Barabaig began an international campaign demanding that "indigenous pastoral communities have customary rights to the land they occupy so that their future livelihoods may be protected by the law of the land" (Lane, 1996). The advocacy role is necessary and it has been recommended that the NGOs of specific countries need to provide baseline information for policy makers about local, national, and international processes which increases the vulnerability of pastoralists to drought. The NGOs should help design and implement effective interventions to reduce this vulnerability in the future (Hogg, 1992).

Pastoralists are settling down at rapid rates, either to take up farming or to live in or near towns. This process is occurring in response to loss of lands and livestock, but also to the attraction of new opportunities in marketing and wage labor. Several studies report on the negative social and economic consequences of pastoral sedentarization, including poorer nutrition, inadequate housing, and lack of clean drinking water (Galvin

et al 1994, Hill 1985). In Kenya, settled Rendille children were three times more likely to be malnourished than nomadic Rendille children during the drought year of 1992, which the authors attributed to greater access to camel's milk by nomadic communities. It is important to note that better health care, including vaccinations and disease interventions, are generally afforded settled populations (Nathan et al 1996).

In Mali, the nomadic pastoralists have higher rates of tuberculosis, brucellosis, syphilis, and trachoma and higher child mortality than settled agricultural groups. The settled populations have higher rates of malaria, anemia, bilharzia, and intestinal parasites (Chabasse, 1985). More studies are pointing to increased AIDS among settled pastoralists, as among Barbaig and Maasai of Kenya (Klepp, 1994). The changing economic opportunities, particularly for women, associated with pastoral sedentarization are significant. Women have entered the commodity market trade, particularly selling milk (Fratkin & Smith, 1995, Little 1994b, Waters-Bayer 1985). The poor pastoralist women are offered new opportunities as maids and cooks, and they are also offered illegal or low-status employment such as charcoal making, beer brewing, and prostitution (Dahl 1987, Talle 1987, 1988). Similar findings have affected the settled Bedouins of Negev, Israel (Dinero, 1997).

There will still be a need for adequate external provision of safety nets for those who choose to embark on sedentarism or the environmental risks will increase for poor households. Extreme care must be taken in any attempts to develop or improve traditional pastoralism. Paul Baxter (1993) concludes that most attempts have failed and that pastoralists are growing poorer. Pastoral production demands spatial mobility and yet pastoralists are less able to maintain their subsistence livestock economies than at any time in their past.

Conclusion

Although they are poor, pastoralists perform remarkable and resilient skills in individual and social specialization. They can be very confident, articulate and entrepreneurial, and show a strong sense of dignity and self-respect. Their societies usually have long traditions of self-government, with sophisticated institutional structures and high levels of social capital. While globalization appears to oppose nomadic culture because it seeks more "productive" use of human and land resources there is a need for attitude revision with broader views and a new focus of goals. Policies need to expand, as this broad phenomenon needs to be seen for what it is.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ethnography of Gujjars

Introduction

The following ethnography combines information from published sources with ethnographic observations made by the author over the years since 1988 and during the fieldwork of 2001 in order to introduce Gujjar culture, especially those aspects of the culture that are most relevant to development issues.

Gujjar Overview

The Gujjars are a transhumant, indigenous, Islamic group of pastoralists' who make sense of the world through herding buffalo. They live in and between the forests and foothills of the Himalayas (Fig. 1). They are observed along migration paths and in communities as milk sellers. The Gujjars struggle to survive in a modified, nomadic, hunting-gathering lifeway. Through trial and error they have learned patterns and habits of the animals, which provide them with milk to sell, thereby getting their food and needs supplied. Herding buffalo requires spatial mobility, which is the basic requisite for pastoralism (Vira, 1993). Pastoral nomadism in its most pure manifestation is characterized by the absence of agriculture even as supplementary income (Khazanov, 1983). The Gujjars are the most numerous transhumant pastoralists in the Himalayan region. Transhumance is a migratory movement among pastoral people but is distinct from permanent migration since it obeys a kind of rhythm that repeats itself through the seasons (Vira, 1993).

Many Gujjars migrate between two and three homes as the weather changes every year, from the plains in the winter to the Himalayan Mountains in the summer. Some have chosen to settle in one place, or have been forced to settle, because of government taxes on moving animals or loss of grazing land. They live in simple mud and stick huts or in tents. Often the home is divided into two sections: one for the family and the other for the animals. Inside, the house is dark and smoky from constant fires.

The Gujjars of Punjab herd water buffalo between high Himalayan pastures in the hot season (May -September) and lower foothills in the cool season (October-April). They spend five months in the hills, five to six months in the plains and one to two months in the actual migration (Fig. 4). Some do own land. Their uniqueness lies in that they have their summer pastures as high up as 10-13,000 feet, and unlike pastoralists in the Andes, most of the Gujjar family members travel on the summer migration. The exception is when the family chooses for some of the children to remain in school. The Gujjars' transhumance pattern is a cyclical movement of people and their livestock between previously marked sites (Negi,1998). They do not practice agriculture and have no desire to-do so. Except in planned housing areas, the Gujjars are not allowed to settle in one place. For four months of the year, permits are issued up north and for 6 months of the year permits are issued further south. These permits are for grazing and lopping of trees for buffalo fodder (Vira, 1993).

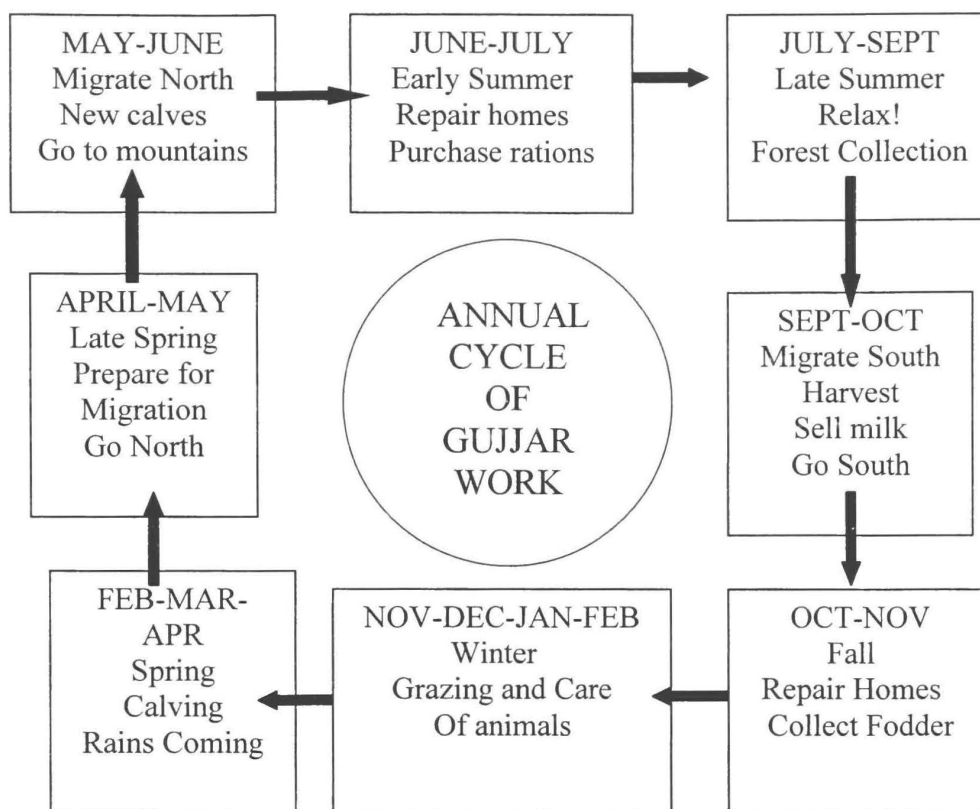


Fig. 4. Annual Cycle of Gujjar Work between Punjab and Himachal Pradesh

The Gujjar's possess property that falls into five categories: various numbers of buffalo, a few pots and tools, burlap sacks, milk cans and the clothes they are wearing. Shoes are rarely seen except on the men. This is significant in that the Gujjars are frequently sick. Many possess and sleep in tents that can be moved, put up and taken down in just hours. Their huts, constructed of mud and dung, can be built in 10-15 days. They have doorways but no doors. Small wooden poles are placed vertically and horizontally to keep the wild animals (tigers, leopard cats, wild boars, jackals, hyenas or muntjac) from entering the sheds at night. In the forest, nothing can keep the Asian Elephant from entering if it desires to, except a high power rifle, which they do not possess (Rawat, 1993).

Gujjar Origins and Social Organization

The British Indian Census of 1931 is the last census to compile comprehensive data on the tribes, races, castes, and *biraderis* (households) of the Indian subcontinent. This census indicated that as of 1931 there were nearly 2.5 million Gujjars in the region. The Gujjars of this focal group of study are Muslims who trace their roots within the larger regional population described as the Greater Punjab on both sides of the border between Pakistan and India (Fig. 1). The Gurdaspur District Gujjars are located in India and move to and from the state of Punjab to Jammu Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh.

In terms of ethnic identities, the Gujjars of Gurdaspur are similar to many ethnic groups in that their claim to Gujar distinctiveness flourishes in family kinship, shared descent, and specific to this area, the ownership of buffalo. This kinship also serves as the basis for their collective and ethnic wedding activities.

The Buffalo

The indigenous crossbreed of the Nill and Ravi buffalo is the only breed capable of walking from elevations of 3000 to 13,000 feet. The buffalo face hardships of very scarce fodder and protect themselves from other wild animals during transhumance (Hussein, 1999). With such animal wealth as the Nill and the Ravi, and getting a fair price for their milk, the Gujjars should be much better off economically than most of the neighboring population and should be able to save after meeting all their expenditures. In 1998, it was noted that Gujjars were being taken advantage of especially by the middleman and were in need of some advocacy (Negi, 1998). Buffalo milk is being sold for ten to 14 rupees a liter and yet, with this pricing, the

Gujjars are continually in debt and cannot seem to pay them off. Weddings, travel costs for migrating, government taxes and fines, or just loans at high interest rates keep them from ever balancing their financial accounts.

Gujjars, Tribes, Islam and Politics

Of the nearly 2.5 million Gujjars enumerated in the 1931 census, approximately one million (1,073,529) denominated themselves as Muslims. The census does not distinguish between Suni and Shi'I Gujjars, nor among the different schools of Islamic law and jurisprudence. The area of greatest Muslim Gujjar concentration was Jammu and Kashmir State, where the entire Gujjar population of 402,781 denominated themselves as Muslims (Blunt, 1931).

The Gujjars outside Pathankot fit most closely into folk Islam. Folk Islam attempts to answer the problems of everyday life as the Gujjars believe themselves to be at the mercy of evil powers: spirits, ghosts, demons, evil eyes, curses and sorcery. Their only protection is to seek the aid of Allah, angels, saints, charms, good magic and other powers as they encounter these along their laborious paths (Hiebert, 1989). During 6-8 months of the year the Gujjars work hard to feed their buffalo. Very few are seen at the Mosque and few are seen praying during Friday prayers. The Gujjars do wear objects of power, their amulets. They go to visit a place of power periodically, a shrine, and a person of power--a holy man. They want to offer a prayer for power, or receive a power incantation to ward off the power of the spirits (Wagner, Pennoyer 1990:314). Around many babies, children, teens and various family members' necks in Gujjar households, one will see a black string with a small metal box attached to it. This box contains an opening for a piece of paper that is

supposed to have some verses from the Quran written for the purpose of whatever is asked for; cure for illness, safety, protection from the evil eye. Even the buffalo wear the amulets. When inquiring about the amulet and its use, usually the amulet was for the cure of a headache or infection, or for the woman to become pregnant. A few times when asked if it worked, the responses were as varied as the reasons they are worn, but most of the time it was put in the negative.

According to Phil Parshal "perhaps 70 percent of all Muslims in the world are influenced by a system defined as folk Islam" (Parshal,1983). Possibly as many as 95% of Muslim women practice an animistic form of Islam (ibid). Because women in Muslim societies often feel helpless, they frequently turn to magic and holy men for help. They tend to make regular visits when able, and also when they seek out blessings. Folk Islam focuses on heart-felt emotion, mysticism, everyday concerns such as health, guidance, success, prosperity, supernatural power and spiritual revelation and inspiration. Formal Islam focuses on the cognitive, truth-oriented legalism, and ultimate issues of life: origin, heaven, hell, purpose, the Quran, sacred traditions, institutions, and supplication (Love, 2000).

Sufism comes from the Arabic for "wool," or *suf*. It refers to the habit of sufi ascetics who gave up all worldly possessions except a wool frock as a sign of devotion and piety. The role of *Sufi pirs* as "spiritual intermediaries between the sacred and the secular worlds has been seen as critical in drawing non-lettered rural populations into the orbit of Islam and the Muslim world" (Eaton 1978; 1984). The brotherhood has held appeal as an escape from the oppressive conditions of the Hindu caste system (Ahmad, 1964:83; Rahman,1966:155).

Sufi shrines are scattered across northern India and Gujjars tend to make frequent visits. One such shrine is just outside the Rajaji Forest. People from around the area come to walk around the long marble shrine to receive power. This particular *pir* blessed the research group with permission to visit in the forest with the Gujjars after we took the time to pray for and treat the illness of his son, who was suffering from a severe infection.

The Gujjars often align themselves with foreigners, especially Christians, as they describe themselves as foreigners of one god living in a land of many gods. They do not have the strict rules of women covering themselves from head to toe, or forbid the women to speak, though the women have more freedom to speak around only women. The Gujar women almost always have a covering over the head as a sign of humility as found in the field research.

The Gujar Social Structure

Gujjar culture places a high value on family and most social affairs take place within family units. Gujar families average from six to eight children but some families can be much larger. A Gujar village is often one extended family. It is common for Gujjars to live in a group of 3-5 huts or temporary tent camps during harvest times of the year, although some communities are larger. While it appears that these communities are isolated, they are connected to other communities by marriage and extended families. The Gujjars speak Gojari as their heart language and either Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, or Pashtu as their trade language. Many of the women only speak Gojari. Gojari is at present an unwritten language although an alphabet has recently been developed and reading primers are being published.

Clans and Marriages

Gotras are the names of the patrilineal clans through which all Gujjars believe they are descendants of a common mythic ancestor. *Gotra* membership regulates whom a person may marry. The parents or members of the family arrange marriages. Child marriage is still very common and marriages may take place before a girl has reached puberty, which later will be consummated when hopefully she is older than eighteen years, but in this study, pregnancy is common under this age of eighteen. Traditionally, the groom's family pays the bride price in cash or buffalo. From many perspectives, though, the women of the Gujjar clans are used as pawns of strategy to be moved around by other hands than their own.

Girls are usually betrothed as young girls or at birth in alliances arranged by their elders but so are the boys. The difference is more one of age than of gender. Girls may be claimed at birth as an outstanding debt; they may be sold for a bride price, or they may be used as 'fines' in the Gujjar judicial system's sentences. The girls are frequently innocent victims used by the family for paying debts or fines of their brothers (Gooch, 1995).

Gujjar women are found to be the deciding factors of marriage alliances. Preferably, the Gujjar mother will try to find a way to strengthen the family lines that trace back to her own mother. Among Gujjars, the practices of cross-cousin marriage alliances create structural relationships by a repeating pattern between paired groups. With so many children per family, the cross-cousin ideal cannot be met in all cases. When this happens, new alliances have to be made seeking more distant cousins, or establishing additional relationships, which create new patterns for cross-cousin marriages in the next generation. "Because we have daughters and sisters, and other

relatives spread around the forest we go to visit them and that is how we Gujjars get to know about each other and about spouses for our children," stated one elderly Gujar woman (Gooch, 1998).

While monogamy is most common, men will sometimes have more than one wife and in some cases one woman will have more than one husband. Making a statement before a Gujar council permits polygamy (Bingley 1899, 1978:43). From the 1990s through 2000, it is found that these same marriage observances are still followed by the Muslim Gujjars (Spaulding, 1994). This demonstrates the historical dimension of Gujar marriage practices as they would say, "*vvasa hota hai*", meaning 'that is just the way it happens'!

Gender and Roles

The role of the Gujar male is grazing his animals, preparing the fodder, selling the milk and buying provisions in the market. The head of the family is the eldest male and elders are given a great amount of respect, enjoying a more leisured life than other family members. Many of the men will take a lead in religious and political decisions, however the oldest woman in many families takes on this role and wields significant power (Gooch, 1998).

The Gujar woman's role is significant, and in folklore, at least, Gujar women are idolized. Their stories relate the attractiveness of Gujar women and their great physical strength, especially those from the Lodha clan. One variation of this favorite myth or story is when a beautiful and strong Gujar woman enthralled a Rajput ruler so much that he married her and ended up following her and her buffalo into the life of a Gujar herdsman. This same story is told in different versions throughout the north,

but the woman is always beautiful and she shows her physical strength by holding a runaway buffalo by a string attached to her foot while carrying a full water pot without spilling a single drop. Men also retell these stories about their mothers and their grandmothers, never leaving out their courage and strength as to beat up bad villagers, or frighten off gangsters or robbers (Gooch, 1998).

Needless to say, following the buffalo leads one into a disciplined life of intense labor, which creates bodies with impressive strength. This researcher has attempted to carry fodder for long stretches of path in high altitudes and it is indeed physically taxing. The life of a pastoralist woman is incredibly difficult. The younger women are the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed. They cook 1-2 meals each day, wash clothes by hand, wash dishes, gather wood for fuel, gather fodder for the buffalo and tend to many needs in between. The Gujjar women have many pregnancies in short periods of time along with intensive laborious life that wears out and taxes their bodies. The Gujjar women are the gatekeepers to the Gujjar lifeway.

Gujjar women are responsible for milking the animals. The buffalo are somewhat timid but large creatures. They have names and know their milkers. Gujjar women are also the ones responsible for cooking and cleaning. Many *deras* (Gujjar huts) have cooking ovens at each end of the hut for the separate sister-in-laws. This is one possible cause for so many respiratory problems. The women haul the water and clean up after the meals while the men smoke *beadies* (hand-rolled leaves containing nicotine), and sing. Women take active parts in domestic rituals and festivals. Women participate in agricultural work if necessary, animal husbandry, and collecting wood or dung for fuel. Gujjar women celebrate new births of their buffalo,

care for them and make a special treat for the family from the colostrum of the buffalo mother (I have tasted this with regret and guilt).

Gujjar Economics and Ecology

The Gujjars main saleable product is buffalo milk and milk products. The Gujjars are forest and Himalayan dwellers and this is their ideal existence for a simple and exclusive life though it is a difficult and treacherous one. This outdoor existence leaves the Gujjars extremely vulnerable. Many Gujjars are physically injured in their travel from the summer camp to the winter camp and many buffalo are lost from falling off steep cliffs to their death (Gooch, 1998). This migration can take from a few days for some to 3 weeks for others. They use the forest for leaf-fodder and lop off some branches but they also provide rich fertilizer for the forest and the plains in return. The forest, plains and wildlife thrive wherever the Gujjars live. They do not harm the earth but protect it for it is their only means for survival. Forest taxes, migration, transport, supplies and salt costs for the animals are all rising, making the pastoral lifeway difficult to maintain (Negi, 1998).

Pastoralism, Economics and Globalism

There is some tension between those who are settled and those who live as pastoralists. Each varied group has its own select and somewhat disrespectful vocabulary for the other. Those migrating to and living high up in the mountains seem less politically conscious. The women are characterized as ignorant and ill informed since they rarely come in contact with strangers. Transistor radios are frequently found in the huts at lower elevations (Rawat, 1993).

There has been a shift in orientation from subsistence to commerce according to a study done by S. S. Negi. Many times the Gujjars do not get cash from the sale proceeds and rarely a fair price for the milk. Cash requirements for marriages and other social obligations are met by taking loans from the *bania* (middleman) and sometimes from family members. The lack of sufficient or fair pricing for milk, results in heavy indebtedness for most Gujjar families. These debts are difficult to redeem as the Gujjars are frequently dependent on others for keeping accounts. On average, each Gujjar family studied had 20-25 liters of milk for sale per day, which, according to the market price, should give them a monthly income of about Rs. 4500 (\$107 U.S.) per family, yet they remain perpetually indebted. The grazing fees are continually raised. "Unless these hurdles are removed, the Gujjars will not be empowered" (Negi, 1998).

The Gujjars frequently rely on moneylenders because they have no access to government loans or bank credit. To access bank credit one needs to provide proof of a permanent address, not a semi-permanent address. The Gujjars are deeply in debt either to the surrounding communities and/or to the forest officials of the Forest Department. The Forest Department has been given responsibility for the welfare of the Gujjars in Uttar Pradesh (Rawat 1993). Lower caste perception of the Gujjars within their culture has created a community of minimal access in general, but specific to education and disempowerment for the Gujjars. The reason for this marginalization is that many times these decisions are left to government officials whose ideas of government are not defined as democracy or meeting basic human needs. Without a voice within the government, their basic needs will not be met.

Most children of Gujjar families do not attend formal schools. If they do attend it is only sporadic attendance. Schooling is not available in the Gujjar mother tongue and their nomadic lifestyle makes attending school difficult. Also, the teachers are from other groups and Gujjars are often looked down upon in inter-cultural situations. Those few who do begin school drop out due to lack of interest, labor intensive lifestyles, poor economic conditions, lack of money for transportation and uniforms, and early marriages. As a result, most Gujjars are illiterate.

Diet, Health and Development

The Gujjars daily diet consists of a flat bread made of wheat or corn, potatoes, extremely spicy onion curry and lentils. They do not usually eat meat. They sometimes drink milk but at the time of this writing the Gujjars are deeply in debt to the milk middleman in the community and are choosing to sell all of their milk and butter products. "Their economy is in complete shambles" (Gooch, 1998). With such animal wealth the Gujjars would be much better off economically than most of the neighboring population if they were freed from the exploitative clutches of the middleman. They prefer to drink tea with sugar. They do not drink liquor, but are extremely fond of cigarettes and betel leaf. Because of this fondness of cigarettes and open fire cooking in enclosed huts, respiratory problems, pneumonia and asthma are all common (Negi, 1998). There is little or no consumption of fruits or vegetables high in vitamin C, A or B, vitamin deficiencies which may contribute to their complaints of infections, high fevers, colds, and allergies. Water drawn from the nearest stream or river is scarce; therefore hygiene and sanitation patterns are questionable.

There is little information about the Gujjars' awareness of illnesses and their causes. The remarkable absence of Gujjar myths and large chapters of history seemingly lost is attributed to the high incidence of cholera and influenza deaths back in the 1920s (Rawat, 1993). Medical care and education are not accessible. Infant mortality is very high although no rate has been documented (ibid.). A woman may give birth to 10-15 children; even cases of 20 were reported. Out of these less than 8 to 10 may survive to adulthood (ibid.). It is not known how many children under five are immunized. Education is not consistently available. The "inadequate living conditions of the Gujjars" need attention (ibid.). The birth and mortality rates among the Gujjars are extremely high. It could be observed that the Gujjars are against family planning due to their religious beliefs and yet this observation must be questioned given their low access to education and medical information.

The Gujjars many times contract malaria and typhoid when they travel south for migration. This is a huge problem where living in the forest or the plains there has been no education for prevention measures such as using screens or mosquito nets or repellent. The continuing education in ecology, hygiene, medical information, reproductive health and nutrition are important factors, which would empower the Gujjars with the freedom of choice.

Gujjar Status and Sustainable Development

It has been documented and recommended that the government provide a supportive infrastructure for the Gujjar's economy, education, health and water supply, veterinary services, livestock improvement, and communication facilities. As of July 2001, the Himachal Pradesh government has been urged to give Scheduled Tribe

status to the Gujjar communities so they can receive benefits from various programs launched in the state for the uplift of weaker sections. This status includes giving facilities to Gujjar areas, which were being given to the Other Backward Classes (Rawat, 1993).

Neither the Indian national, nor the state governments can reach consensus on whether the Gujjars are a Scheduled Tribe (ST), General Population (GP) or Other Backward Caste (OBC). These titles are used when there seems to be no caste attributed to a group of indigenous people. The definitions are quite unclear and yet each title has a distinct political weight. Rawat states that this dilemma prevents the Gujjars from having the rights and privileges of indigenous people (Rawat, 1993).

The Gujjars of Rajaji Forest make an intentional point to call themselves 'Forest Gujjars' in all newspaper interviews. Within the government papers, an ascribed status such as Scheduled Tribe or Other Backward Caste, seems to give individuals access to rights and action by the government as citizens of India. In 1986, Hasan noted that in India today, the census includes the Gujjars in different categories depending on provincial location. Hence, in Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal, Gujjars are not included in the list of Scheduled Tribes (ST), or Other Backward Castes (OBC). Conversely, in Himachal Pradesh the Gujjars are considered a ST, while in Jammu and Kashmir they are listed as a member of the OBC (Hasan, 1986).

The son of the one chief commented that the Gujjars in Punjab are considered General Population (GP) which gives them no status for seats of representation within the local government. If the reader is confused by this important dilemma it is because it is very confusing.

The difficult twist comes within the process whereby the religion of Hinduism forces the country of India into making a 1.4 billion population a proper nation. Some of India's leadership wants to standardize the majority as being Hindu. With a strong fundamental *RSS* faction of Hinduism in power at present, the Gujjars choose to be vague on denominationalisms within the public eye or be at enmity as minority Muslims surrounded by majority Hindus. At the point of this writing, it is not clear whether one voice or any three representative voices exists or whether a Gujjar voice could speak for the Gujjars across India from state to state. The situations all differ between terrain, populations and perceptions from state to state. For the Gujjars to be bold as Muslims would cause them to have to affiliate with Muslims of Pakistan where tensions are escalating with India. The only other alternative is to affiliate with Saudi Arabia and this choice would not give them the indigenous or tribal status inherent to India. Many times the Gujjars quoted in news articles call themselves tribals, not Muslim Gujjars. The questions are still out there unanswered to the status that would solve the problems of Gujjars not fitting into the pure caste system within India. Though they do not see themselves on the same level as tribals and do not associate with other tribals, they claim a distinction - a connection - they drink the pure buffalo milk and pure milk is seen as a spiritual covering within Hinduism.

The field research among the Gujjars established a direct relationship. The goal of ethnography is to gain rapport within a cross-cultural relationship. The information acquired from this type of oral survey is used to understand the totality of the Gujjar's lives as the majority do not read or write. Survey research deals with diverse groups and with samples and probability that needs to be analyzed statistically.

The combination of anthropological research and environmental science accomplishes the need for the acquired detailed knowledge of statistics and analysis (Kottack, 1997).

CHAPTER FIVE

Research Design and Methods

The data collection for this research began in May of 2000 within the Rajaji National Forest and in the state of Uttaranchal, India where preparation for the survey through observations, informal conversations and photography were made among the Gujjar population. The Household Need Assessment Survey was drafted and pre-tested in May-June of 2001 among various communities of Gujjars across North India in the states of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, and Jammu Kashmir (Alexander, 2001). The survey was revised (see Appendix) and the field research was conducted between September and October of 2001. The majority of Gujjars lack formal education; therefore, the survey was administered using an informal interview format.

This research is a pilot study. To this researcher's knowledge a social anthropology of the Gujjars does not exist, and there have been no statistical survey or quantitative anthropological studies conducted in general among the Gujjars, and certainly not in this southern migration site around the Pathankot area. The Gujjars studied in this research (Fig. 2) are those residing on property associated with the Gurdaspur District in the state of Punjab. Most are only seasonal residents and in the absence of published social anthropological studies, the identity and internal structure of Gujjar communities is not understood well enough to formulate a reliable, representative sampling strategy. There is a patrilineity among the Gujjars but the familial contacts identified do not necessarily reside in this area. Therefore, this

field site comprises a cross-section of nomadic and sedentary Muslim Gujjars living among Hindu villagers, and was chosen for its convenience to execute a baseline sample within major time constraints.

This researcher believes that this is a generally representative group of transhumant and sedentary Gujjars in northeastern Punjab, India. This assumption is based on the information given by the *maulvi*, the local Islamic teacher. The *maulvi* is elected by the Gujjars of the area. He stated that, “150 Gujjars, male and female above the age of 18 gave their vote.” If half of them were men, that speaks to about 75 households located in this area. Elections include transhumant and settled Gujjars. The Gujjars and their buffalo live in the study area because of access to land which are primarily rice fields owned by Hindus. The post harvest rice stalks are an important food source for the buffalo during the summer season. The Gujjars also gravitate toward the city of Pathankot to sell their buffalo milk and milk products.

In order to provide a baseline of information for policy makers, the research was focused on the most populated area of Gujjars known in the Gurdaspur District, and their current lifeway. During the preliminary phase of the fieldwork the Household Needs Assessment Survey was tested and then conducted based on the Gujjar’s own perceived needs and desires (Arioti, 1997, Hogg, 1992b, Bandyopadhyay, 1992). Pastoralists who are forced to settle have been documented as having significant new problems and opportunities. Thus, an adequate safety net must be designed for each local pastoralist population. They need to be advised and provided with information to help in forecasting possible problems and exploring solutions (Dinero, 1997).

This researcher used what Patton (1980) referred to as "purposive sampling" and pursued the Gujjars in this study area. In a situation where there is no clear physical territorial definition of community, this kind of naturalistic inquiry uses native social knowledge and networks to identify a meaningful target group (Patton, M., 1980). Because naturalistic inquiry allows the specifics of the design to emerge as the study progresses, researchers can identify additional participants by asking previous participants for persons who would be willing to be part of the study. Much like a snowball, the size of the participant pool grows, not as the researcher determines, but as the participants direct. This type of short-term sampling may or may not guard against bias on the part of the participants. The naturalistic paradigm does allow the participants to direct the flow of the research; contrary to the *a-priori* researcher-directed and randomized approach to sampling. This latter approach, of course, generally represents the preferred method of subject selection in quantitative methodologies when the community has deliberate territorial boundaries (Gerdes, D.; Conn, J., 2001), but this situation is not the case here. Networking was used to define a quasi-community of sedentary and transhumant Gujjars around the area of Pathankot from which the purposive sample was then drawn.

Two translators, one male and one female, were used throughout this field research. Culturally, males converse only with males and females only with females. This researcher surveyed 75 households throughout this community between September and October of 2001.

Data Collection Techniques

Qualitative and quantitative techniques were combined to gather data for the Household Needs Assessment. The qualitative techniques of the research: participant-observation, interviewing, photography, journaling of family habit patterns provided a general framework from which the quantitative data were gathered through the survey.

The map of the research area (Fig. 5, p. 53) was drawn after the field site was chosen. The researcher drove around the research area numerous times to document the households and encampments of transhumant and settled Gujjars. The next four weeks were planned where three to five households would be visited each day. The maps had to be redrawn and renumbered because of additional participants identified and the movement of various families over the course of the month. Some households were visited numerous times where no one but the children could be found. We would return to the household when the adults were present.

Survey Data

Survey data were collected for 75 Gujjar households or encampment groups. Many fields were occupied by Gujjar families who would temporarily camp in their tents. Adult males and females were asked 62 questions (see Appendix) regarding themselves, their household and their needs. The questionnaire took approximately forty-five minutes to more than one hour to complete, depending on the family size, complexity of migration history and the amount of education, which made the questions easier or more difficult to understand. All the questionnaires were completed either by the researcher or under the researcher's direct supervision.

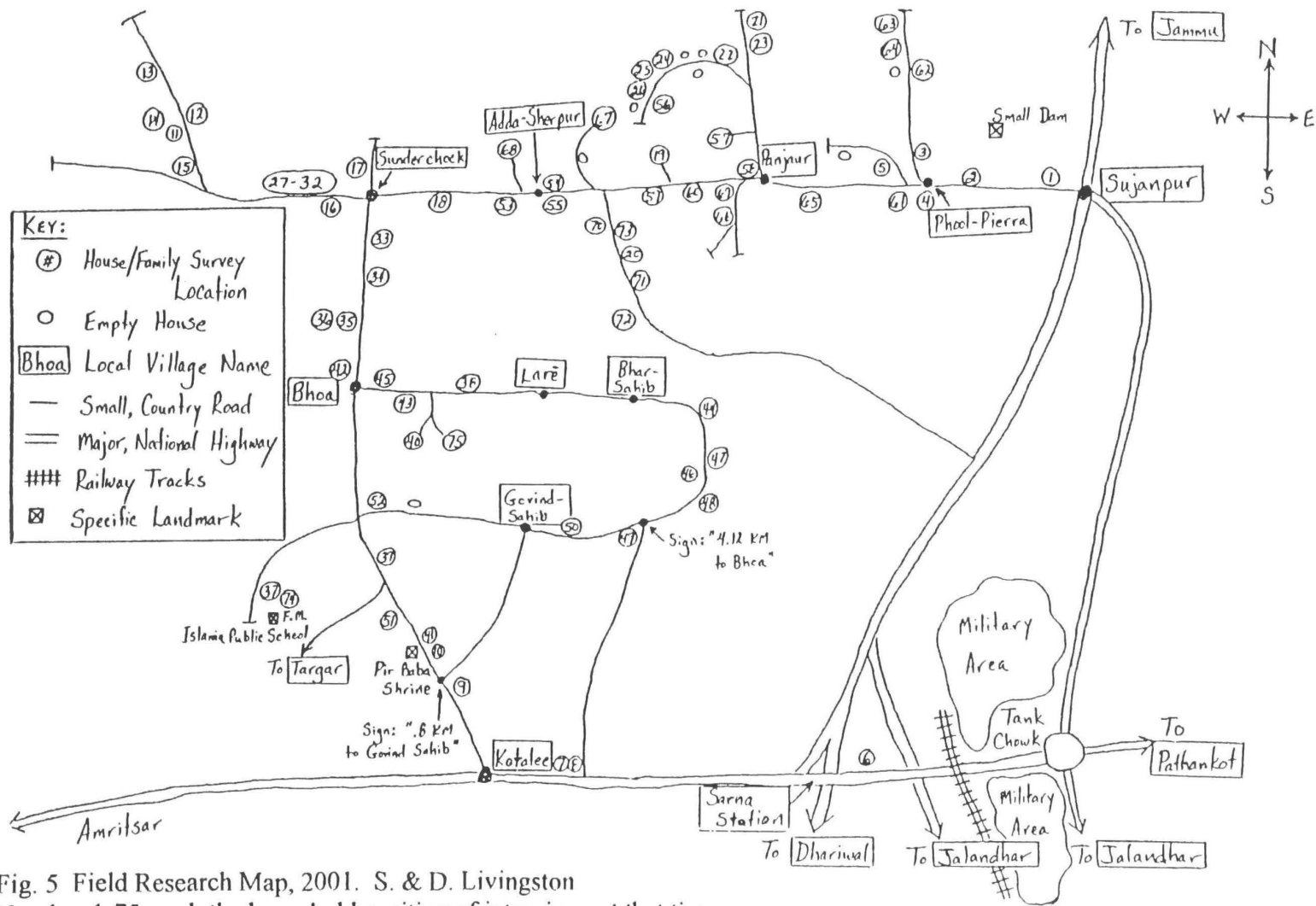


Fig. 5 Field Research Map, 2001. S. & D. Livingston
Number 1-75 mark the household position of interviews at that time.

These data were mostly descriptive in nature and lend themselves to be quantitative because the frequencies of similar answers were remarkable.

The survey (see Appendix) sections covered the number of family members along with the number of buffalo. The perceptions of the needs of the Gujjars included specific answers of adult males and/or females, youth, children and buffalo. The perception of happiness or contentment and frustration or anger were asked in questions 15 and 16. Questions 17-19 asked the Gujjars about the community where they were living at the time. Other survey sections included information on school, ethnicity's of students and teachers, migration or sedentary habits, debt, ownership and importance of land. Numerous questions about the buffalo and other animals were asked along with health and needs of the buffalo. Questions about their perception of their families' health and treatment were included. Open-ended questions were asked about their government, their leaders and their perception of need for advocacy. Training and education sections were documented with the inclusion of their fears, their joys and their perception of the future (see Appendix).

Data Analysis

The survey data were analyzed using SAS (Statistical Analysis System), SPSS and MS-Excel software. Descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages) were analyzed for all 62 questions (See Appendix). Subpopulations such as males, females, transhumant or sedentary groupings were separated out from the total sample and descriptive statistics were also analyzed.

A secondary analysis involved collapsing categories by gender and residence patterns. After identifying possible strong relationships between certain variables,

both χ^2 approximate tests and Fisher's Exact tests were performed on the $n \times n$ tables to compare responses between males and females, number of buffalo per family, land ownership, desire for education, and transhumant and sedentary members of the Gujjars in the fieldwork area. A significance level of 0.05 was used in these tests, as this value is common in research in the social sciences (Nation, 1997).

Interviewing Techniques and Issues

Both structured and open-ended interviewing techniques were used during the research. Open-ended interviews were more informal, ranging from impromptu conversations on the street to extensive discussions lasting the better part of a half-day. Most notes were taken after the interview in the car and away from the site because of the informality necessary to survey among the Gujjars. Household heads were always requested as the male is acknowledged first, if present, and then the oldest female. Each household was either classified as migratory or sedentary according to who was interviewed and their particular residence pattern. Many Gujjar households have sedentary and migratory members.

Two interpreters were used for the purpose of interviewing. This married couple had been in the Gujjar community for over one year and in this networking site for six months. The interpreters' Hindi, Punjabi and Gojari language skills, along with cultural and social knowledge of the Gujjars, was an excellent addition to this project. Because they were married and the researcher became the *Chachee*, the "aunt" of the male interpreter, this relationship was significant and very acceptable in terms of family and understanding. Three single adults would have been highly

suspect. Many of the families surveyed were related to other Gujjars with whom the researcher had stayed in the past, which was an important connection.

The research site was just outside a rural-village type setting and was accessible by taxi, although many encampments were reached only by long walks across the fields. It must be noted here that the Gujar community was many times very difficult to find and they were usually spread out over miles of land.

The constant maintenance of buffalo herds caused difficulty in retaining the Gujjars' attention throughout the administration of the survey instrument. They were frequently following or watering the buffalo, attending the birth of the buffalo or making manure cakes for fuel which was in constant demand within the community. Many days the research team found themselves crossing streams, treading through mud bogs and avoiding seven-foot snakes to reach a Gujar encampment.

Another issue which occurred frequently in the interviewing process was the crowding around of Hindu villagers during the interviewing process. It appeared difficult for the Gujjars to speak honestly or comfortably in front of large crowds. The Hindu's were also quite forceful as they pressured the Gujar families to treat the research team with tea, cookies, and other snack items the Gujar families could not afford.

Research Constraints

In preparation for the fieldwork of September 2001, this researcher had to network and research for over two years in order to acquire contacts, interpreters, information on the local Gujjars and possible living accommodations. Northern and southern migration sites were researched to insure that the fieldwork was possible.

No field guides written with objectives and specific methods explained for nomadic and transhumant peoples, could be located, therefore this researcher was treading new territory. Budgeting constraints because of expensive air travel, costs of room and board for one month, and overland transportation costs must be noted as they determined the shorter period of field research.

There were difficulties of gender-bias that are inherent to a network-based, absorption research strategy. These problems were further complicated by the highly gender-segregated nature of Islamic/Indian society. The social norms regulating inter-gender, social interaction can inhibit females from investigating systematically into the role of men in the construction of Gujjar society or vice-versa. This problem was overcome with the presence of the male and female interpreters who were familiar with the network in which we worked. When the household was approached this researcher was sensitive to who was present and who was absent. This cultural sensitivity permitted the research team to be welcomed into the homes. Interviews of females where a male was present were biased in that the male of the household would intimidate the woman where she would not be able to talk freely. In analyzing these data, a consistent effort is made to control for this bias by specifically hand-counting the data and responses of all the women, as some questions were repeated without the presence of the men.

The issue of language competency is, of course, central to the success of any fieldwork. Fortunately, the son of the Gujjar chief, who speaks fluent English, praised the accomplishments of the interpreters and their ability to understand and communicate. The local *maulvi*, the Islamic teacher of the area, also affirmed their skills.

The ideas, opinions, views, attitudes, and preferences of those individuals, who served as the voice for each household not surprisingly, bias these data. Absent from the discussion are the voices of those Gujjars who for whatever reason could not participate actively in the affairs of this community needs assessment. However, as the objective of the study is to develop an understanding of the needs of these people, this does not cause a major drawback as might be in other cases.

Because of the Gujjars shifting sites there are built-in constraints to researching in and among them. There is the possibility that other Gujjar families live in areas of which this researcher was not aware. The transhumant Gujjars of this site are only in the area temporarily so it is possible that some Gujjar families were not aware or did not participate in the elections of which the *maulvi* spoke of.

It is necessary to note that the Hindu villagers had many questions and little understanding about why this researcher was not researching Hindus but would spend time with the Islamic Gujjars, people they describe as those who live like animals. Several times the researcher and field assistants were strongly encouraged to have tea at the wealthy Hindu landlord's house. This type of assertive behavior did shed light into the 'foreign' surroundings that impacted the way this researcher saw the Gujjars as a minority.

In researching and writing this thesis, the researcher attempted to address issues of concern to the anthropology and research methods focusing on pastoralists and transhumant ethnic groups such as the Gujjars, without bias as to their continuance of transhumance or their choice for sedentarism.

CHAPTER SIX

Data Presentation

The purpose of this study was to conduct a needs assessment with a migratory Gujar population in the northern part of India with the overall objective being to elicit their ideas about their needs, wants and desires for the future. Many questions asked were intentionally broad in nature as an effort to purposely not direct responses or create a bias in the needs assessment. In order to provide baseline information, however, from which to evaluate the assessment, this researcher focused on the Gujjars' current lifeway and worldview, their environment, the poverty in which they reside, their perception of need, development, and advocacy and how they defined their family, community, and quality of life. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. The primary tool for collecting the quantitative data was a Household Needs Assessment Survey that elicited general information about household demographics, animal husbandry practices, family needs, buffalo needs and general desires for the future. Seventy-five surveys were completed.

Household Size

The 75 Gujar families surveyed represent a population of 745 people. Approximately 37% of the Gujar households surveyed had 2 to 6 members. Another 34% of Gujar families had 7 to 11 members and 30% of Gujar families had 12 to 27 members. The average size of transhumant Gujar families in my sample population was approximately 14 members, which may include grandparents and adult siblings.

Transhumant Gujjars move seasonally with most of the family between a northern site and a southern site. Sedentary Gujjars locate themselves and their buffalo within a few kilometers of only one site. The average size of sedentary Gujjar families in this sample population was approximately 12 members, which many times included adult siblings, cousins and grandparents.

Occupation

Over 90% of the Gujjars sampled sold milk and milk products as their primary means of subsistence. Approximately 10% of the Gujjars had some other type of work such as the administrator of a public school, a teacher in a private school, or a shop owner.

Residence Patterns

Survey respondents were asked whether they were migratory or sedentary and if they owned land (See Table 1). Approximately 56% responded that they or some of their family were still transhumant, or migratory, meaning they would take the buffalo north for 5-6 months and then return later in the year for 6-7 months. Approximately 42% stated they or some of their family were settled in one place all year long and took their buffalo to other local pastures within a few days of this location. Half of the 75 survey respondents explained what land their family had access to and half of these respondents did not own land.

All Gujjars with buffalo travel every day to find pasture and water. Some only travel a few days periodically and some are transhumant traveling between 6-28 days and reside for months at a time in the mountains. Forty-six percent of the Gujjars migrate to the state just north of Punjab that is called Himachal Pradesh (See Table 2).

Table 1. Migration Status and Land Ownership

	Migration	Own land
Yes	56 %	53 %
No	42 %	45 %
No response	2 %	2 %
Totals	100 %	100 %

n = 75

Table 2. Migration Patterns

Location	Percentage
Local	53 %
Himachal Pradesh	46 %
No response	1%
Totals	100 %

n=75

Access to Education

The majority of the Gujjar respondents seemed to be caught between cultures of Hinduism and the inability to attain some type of village status. They did not know much about the types of education available to their families. The survey respondents were convinced that the Gujjar people really did not have a brain for formal learning and therefore felt hopeless about educating their children. The transportation and supply costs for school were prohibitive for the migrating Gujjars and single parent families. Approximately 90% of the respondents had no formal education; 3% had 1 year; 4% had 10 years or more; 1 respondent had accomplished a master's degree. Approximately 50% stated their children did not go to school at this time because of their labor-intensive lifestyle and their migratory habits when there is no school for their children over half of the year. Over 40% of the Gujjar families stated their children go to school some of the time. Approximately 3% of the families did not want to respond and 2% did not have

children of school age. Of the Gujar families, 56% had zero children in school at this time; 32% had between 1 and 3 children in school; 8% of the families had between 4 and 6 children in school; 4% had between 7 and 9 children attending school.

Education and Ethnicity

Because the Gujjars are Islamic, migratory, live with their buffalo and appear to be of low social status, the Gujjars were asked if they knew what other ethnicities were represented in school and 23% stated there were only Hindus. Over 50% did not know what other ethnicities were in the schools. Approximately 15% stated that Muslim, Hindu and Punjabi attended the school; 6% stated their children went to school with English-speaking children; 6% did not want to respond. The Gujar mobile lifestyle caused the survey families to be less informed about the community.

The Gujar families were asked if they knew the teacher's ethnicity and approximately 30% answered the teacher was Hindu. Approximately 50% did not know the teacher's ethnicity. Twenty percent responded that the teachers were both Hindus and Muslims.

Assessment of Needs

The overall objective of this study was to determine and record the Gujjars' ideas about their needs, wants and desires for the future through the Household Needs Assessment Survey. The question addressing what specific groups of Gujjars needed was asked to the head of the household no matter what their gender; "do the males have needs, do the females have needs, do the children have needs, does the community have needs and do the buffalo have needs". The perception of need was documented by gender, age, group size and buffalo. The positive responses across gender and for

children were never lower than 41% (See Table 3). For example, of the 75 respondents, 42% of them stated that yes, the males have needs. The largest response was positive with 66% of the seventy-five Gujjar families stating, yes, that their children within the community did have need.

Table 3. Perception of Need

Response	Male	Female	Children	Community	Buffalo
Yes	42 %	51 %	66 %	51 %	50 %
No	28 %	22 %	17 %	11 %	4 %
Reluctant	25 %	19 %	15 %	13 %	37 %
Do Not Know	5 %	8 %	2 %	25 %	9 %
Totals	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100%

N=75

When one of the 75 Gujjar families did perceive a need, they were asked to specify what the need would be (See Table 4; Appendix questions 8, 10, 12, 18 52, 54, 56, and 58,). Of the 75 families, the response was 36% for children's education and 20% for woman's medical access. About 35% did not know what to answer and 20% said they desired advocacy, for example, "would you speak for us" or "we need someone who would speak for us". The questions were open-ended so that the thoughts of the Gujjars could be recorded without provocation. These tables integrate the responses into the various categories. Approximately 50% would not respond or did not know how to respond because this question was something they had never been asked and had never thought about these types of issues before.

Of the 75 respondents, 56% of the respondents were transhumant and 42% were sedentary. Table 5 identifies the differences between 42 transhumant family responses and 33 sedentary family responses to the questions, "do you have any needs?" and "do you desire training?" What type of training was also asked in an open-

ended questions. Many times the words training and education were used interchangeably (See Appendix, questions 7, 9, 11, 13, 18, 33, 51, 53, 55, and 57).

Table 4. Perception of Specific Needs

Need for:	Males	Females	Children	Community
Education	17 %	27 %	36 %	13 %
Medicine	5 %	20 %	23 %	6 %
Don't Know	7 %	12 %	17 %	22 %
Not applicable	30 %	18 %	6 %	13 %
Advocacy	9 %	6 %	8 %	30 %
No Response	23 %	10 %	10 %	9 %
Job	4 %	4 %	0 %	4 %
Land	5 %	3 %	0 %	3 %
Totals	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

N=75

Table 5. Transhumant and Sedentary Responses of Needs

Need	Transhumant	Sedentary
Yes	66%	75%
No	21%	18%
Don't Know	13%	7%
Totals	100%	100%
Training/Educ	Transhumant	Sedentary
Yes	61%	57%
No	14%	6%
Don't Know	25%	37%
Totals	100%	100%
	N=42	N=37

Transhumant females voiced they had more need for education and medical access than the sedentary females and yet the sedentary females desired training for service jobs. Sedentary males stated they had need more often than the transhumant males and yet transhumant males desired more training.

Of 43 responses, 76% stated in the affirmative that yes the community had needs

and 14% stated that the community did not have needs. When asked about what the community needed 30% ($p = .01$) responded that advocacy was needed so that education would be provided for the community. Approximately 20% of the respondents did not know. Many women would describe themselves as foreigners in this area and felt they did not have enough information to give a response. Comments such as, “we are foreigners to this area like you” and “we are poor, we are foreigners here, you tell us, you are educated.”

Buffalo and Other Animals

The Gujjar families were asked if they owned animals. Approximately 98% owned some buffalo and usually other animals such as cows, horses or goats. Of the 75 families surveyed over 2,100 buffalo were counted. Half of the Gujjar families stated that their animals had been sick and 20% did not have any sick animals. Approximately 30% did not want to respond.

Approximately one-third of the Gujjars answered that some of their buffalo had died in the last year. One-fourth did not have any buffalo deaths and 50% did not want to admit deaths because that might be a bad omen. Upon their arrival in Pathankot, one family who had previously owned 30 buffalo had just buried 15 that had died from throat infections.

Approximately 45% of the Gujjars stated their buffalo had throat infections which can cause death to the buffalo. Approximately 7% had hoof problems. One-third did not want to answer and 15% did not know what illnesses the buffalo had.

Of 61 Gujjar responses, 60% stated that “yes, the buffalo have needs”. The most prevalent response (see Table 6), when asked about their buffalo in different

questions (see Appendix, questions 13, 14, 33, 34) was the need for medicine and veterinary access. This question about buffalo need was asked at different times and different ways (see Appendix, questions 28-34) throughout the survey because the buffalo are the Gujjar family's livelihood.

Table 6. Need of the Buffalo

Needs	Response 1	Response 2
Medicine/Vet	25 %	55 %
Do not Know	17 %	6 %
Advocacy	31 %	14 %
No Response	12 %	13 %
Training	15 %	12 %
Total	100 %	100 %
N=53		

Number of Buffalo

The buffalo herd size of each family is significant in that over 38% of the families surveyed had between 20-25 head of buffalo (see Table 7). This was also significant in the difference in responses to various questions. The number of buffalo bears significance because each additional buffalo increases labor intensity for each family member. With the exception of two families, all Gujjars owned buffalo of varied herd size.

Table 7. Number of Buffalo Per Family

Number of Buffalo	Percentage of Gujjar Families
0-6	6 %
9-19	12 %
20-25	38 %
26-30	20 %
34-45	13 %
50-130	11 %
Total 100 %	
N=75	

Gujjar Illness

Table 8 indicates the range of illnesses as stated by the Gujjar families (See Appendix A, questions 36 and 38). The stated problems varied ranging from fever, infections, various pain, respiratory problems, weakness, chronic tiredness, and polio. Eighteen percent would not respond for fear of bringing on some illness, likely due to the evil eye superstition. If the family was aware of tuberculosis among its members it was not mentioned or talked about and when asked about tuberculosis they would respond that no one had it. In other words, no one admits to having tuberculosis. Neighbors will acknowledge that some member of some other family might have tuberculosis. Of 66 respondents, 34% of transhumant females stated that “yes, their family members were sick and 27% of the sedentary females also said yes. Approximately 30% of the Gujjars did not know how to explain to the researcher what exactly their illness was, which is recorded as “other” in Table 8.

Table 8. Illnesses of Gujjars

Response	Illness of Interviewee	Other Family Illness
Fever/infection	25 %	34 %
Pain	12 %	17 %
Respiratory	15 %	7 %
Weakness	14 %	4 %
Polio	1 %	3 %
No Response	3 %	18 %
Other	30 %	17 %
Totals	100 %	100 %
N=53		

Rarely did the Gujjar families know what caused their illnesses. When there was one case of polio in the family, there were also two more members in the family with polio. When asked about respiratory illnesses, only 5% stated that smoke from fires for

cooking or smoking cigarettes might be related. Approximately 6% of the respondents attributed snakebites to their illness. Approximately 43% did not want to respond to avoid bringing on an illness. An illness spoken about or acknowledged is thought to be a bad omen such as the “evil eye”. There is a need to learn how best to ask these types of questions for future research in the medical area.

Table 9. Causes of Illness

Cause of Illness	Answer 1	Answer 2
Do Not Know	62 %	67 %
No Response	25 %	18 %
Polio	0	4 %
Smoke	6 %	6 %
Snakes	3 %	5 %
Kicked	4 %	0%
Totals	100 %	100 %
N=53		

When the respondents were asked if any children under the age of five had been sick in the last two weeks, 27% of the respondents replied in the affirmative. Approximately 25% had no sick children under the age of 5 and 34% did not want to respond; 4% percent did not know and 10% did not have children under the age of five years. Only 33% said their children had been immunized. Approximately 25% of the families did not have their children immunized. One-third did not want to say and 10% did not know.

When the Gujjars were asked about treatment for their illnesses, 28% responded they did nothing, 19% went to visit a doctor, 20% did not want to say, 9% purchased amulets, 9% took some kind of medicine, 1% went to the hospital, 5% took only herbal medicine, and 9% did not know what to do. When asked what was contained in the

amulet or what it does, the response was they were not sure but thought there was a piece of paper with verses from the Quran written on it.

Government Information

When asked “what does the government do here?” the researcher noticed smirks smiles and chuckles along with the common response (60%) that “the government does nothing.” The follow up questions were “does the government help with anything?” and “does the government help with the animals?” Table 10 indicates that 68% of the respondents stated that the government did not help with their families and 66% of the respondents said the government did not help with their animals (See Appendix, questions 44-46).

Table 10. Responses About the Government

Assistance	Families	Animals
Yes	10 %	14%
No	68 %	66 %
No Response	10 %	11 %
Do Not Know	12 %	9 %
Totals	100 %	100 %
N=53		

Debt

Of the Gujjar families, 33% were in debt and one-fourth did not want to respond. The general perception from conversations was that their migration, their cultural activities such as weddings or borrowing money to purchase supplies or build adequate shelter, all kept the Gujjar families in debt. The demand for milk products caused the majority of families to sell their milk supply so none or little was available for the children or nursing women. The demand for manure used as fuel perpetuated

intensive labor for the women as gathering manure caused them to work longer hours each day.

Gujjar Leader Advocacy and Advocacy Need

The questions, “do you want your leaders to advocate (speak on your behalf) for you?” and “what kind of advocacy do you need?” were asked (See Appendix, questions 47-48). The Gujjars responded 40% of the time that they desired for their leaders to advocate for them; 20% answered they did not need advocacy; 15% did not know; 12% did not want to answer and 13% answered, “we are poor.”

The most common advocacy needs voiced by the Gujjars were: 33% for medical and educational access and 18% for the research team or their leaders to “speak for us.” “We are poor” was a response 10% of the time; 12% did not want to answer; 11% did not know; 10% said it did not apply to them for they stated they had no need; 6% stated they wanted help from police but they did not elaborate.

Leader’s Knowledge of Gujjar Needs

When asked if their leaders knew what their families’ needs were (see Appendix A, question 49), approximately 75% answered no, and 7% answered yes; 10% did not want to respond and 8% did not know who the leaders were or if their leaders knew.

Training

The Gujjar families were asked, “do you want training?” and over 50% stated yes; 70% of the time they desired education for their youth; 60% responded that women also wanted training (See Appendix A, questions 51-58). Many times the family would ask “Who would teach us anything?”.

Table 11. Responses to Possible Training

Training for	Males	Family	Youth	Females
Yes	53 %	59 %	71 %	57 %
No	26 %	20 %	7 %	15 %
No Response	19 %	17 %	17 %	16 %
Do Not Know	2 %	4 %	5 %	12 %
Totals	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

N=41

Twenty one percent of the response called for job training for some other type of work. Seventy percent of the families desired educational training. One-third of the response was that women and youth desired training and education. Approximately one-third of the women wanted medical training.

Three Gujjar families desired to learn about computers. Most Gujjar families live without electricity and no running water. The majority did not know of other possible areas of training.

Perceptions

The apparent low social status and living conditions of the Gujjars could cause feelings of frustration and hopelessness in the midst of an oppressed atmosphere, therefore the questions, “are you happy and/or frustrated?” were asked using a “yes” or “no” format (See Table 12). The lack of appropriate sanitation, potable water and quality living conditions had been noted, therefore the perceived emotional state of the Gujjars was in question. The perceptions of happiness and/or frustration were interesting topics as the Gujjars tend toward fatalism and have realistic expectations within their present and accepted circumstances and choices. The Gujjars had seldom been asked what they felt or what they thought; therefore, these were new concepts for them to think about and to respond. In Table 12 it is noted that over one third stated they were happy within the

mindset of accepting their lifestyle as “this is just the way it is, what can we do”. Many times the Gujjars stated yes, they were happy when up north in the mountain. One third of the respondents were not happy and over one third were frustrated.

Table 12. Perceptions

	Happy	Frustrated
Yes	35 %	34 %
No	33 %	27 %
Both	9 %	4 %
No Response	17 %	29 %
Don't know	6 %	6 %
Totals	100 %	100 %

n=75

The last questions on the survey included information about desires for the future, fears of daily life and joys of the Gujjar lifeway. When asked, “do Gujjars have fear of anything?” 45% of the Gujjars answered “yes, they were afraid”; 25% stated they were not afraid. Approximately 30% did not want to respond. When asked, “what is the greatest fear you have?” 20% of the responses were consistent through most of the surveys; thieves, militants and landowners were the most frequent answers. “Fighting, wild animals, and no control over circumstances because we are poor” were another combination of answers. Over 15% stated that sickness, darkness and thieves caused them fear. Approximately 32% said they were afraid of nothing.

The question “what is your greatest joy?” was asked (see Appendix, question 61) and 30% said their children having access to school and being able to attend would give them joy. Twenty percent of Gujjar women stated they never have joy; 10% have joy when they go to the mountains for four to six months each year. Approximately 17% said they would have joy when they own land or their own house; 4% stated they had no time

for joy. “When this researcher comes here” was the response for 6% of the respondents. Another 6% laughed and said they did not understand. Approximately 7% chose not to respond.

The respondents were asked, “what do you foresee your family doing in the next 10-20 years?” and 28% dreamed about a different job; 17% desired to own land; 16% hoped to have their children in school; and 20% wanted to be in good health. Still doing buffalo work was 10% of the responses and 3% were hopeless for the future; 4% did not know.

Need Identification

A secondary analysis involved collapsing categories by gender and residence patterns. Because the sample size for this fieldwork was small it was necessary to use the Fisher’s Exact to test for the possibilities of correlation and levels of significance. Possible strong relationships between certain variables were identified and the responses were compared between gender, number of buffalo per family, land ownership, desire for education and transhumant and sedentary members (Sprent, 2001).

The acknowledgement of needs was remarkably high among the Gujjars. Out of 54 respondents affirmatively stating that Gujjar males did have needs, 39% also answered that the buffalo had needs; 7% stated that they did not ($p=.001$, see Table 13). Some clarity can be given to this difference when comparing the herd size out of 75 respondents who had 20-39 head of buffalo stating that yes (66%) the males have needs ($p=.02$).

Fifty percent answered affirmatively that males had needs and the community had needs; non-response (7%) in front of the Hindu villagers; 28% of the respondents answered that males did not have needs but the response toward the community having

needs was affirmative ($p=.001$). The Gujjars are not unaware. They know what they do not possess or do not have access to.

Forty-eight percent of the respondents stated that, yes the males have needs, and yes they desired education for their families ($p=.03$); 33% of those who were negative toward the males having needs were still affirmative for education; negative responses for both male need and desire of education was 15% ($p= .03$). Eighty-one percent of 50 families speak loudly to their awareness of need for educating their children.

Of 50 respondents, the affirmative answers that females have needs and desire education was 56% and those who were negative toward education was 4% ($p=.03$).

Of fifty respondents, 18% stated that females did not have needs but still desired education for their families ($p=.005$); those negative toward education was 14%, with non-responses because of Hindu villagers at 8%. Of forty-nine respondents 45% stated that females had needs and were frustrated. Those who stated that females had no needs and were not frustrated was 16% while 6% were frustrated ($p=.007$).

Of 62 respondents 50% of those who had the medium-sized herd of 20-39 buffalo (Table 13. $p = .003$) stated affirmatively that their children had needs. Of 66 respondents, 67% who had a herd size of 20-39 head of buffalo stated the children had the specific need of education and medicine ($p = .01$). The difference is possibly due to the increased labor intensity of more buffalo per family. Those with more than 40 animals tend to be more isolated. Of the 62 respondents who owned 20-39 head of buffalo, 50% stated that their children had needs ($p=.003$). Approximately 17% of those with 0-19 buffalo, and those with 40 or more buffalo, stated (13%) the children do have needs and the non-response because of Hindu villagers was 3%.

Table 13. Levels of Significance: Gujjar Perceptions

Need Identification	Affirmative	Negative	No response	N	Pvalue
Males needs yes/ Do buffalo have needs?	39%	7%	6%	54	.001
Males needs no/ Do buffalo have needs?	17%	28%	3%		
Males needs yes/ Does community have needs?	50%		7%	40	.001
Males needs no/ Does community have need?	28%	15			
Males needs yes/Do you desire education?	48%	4%		51	.03
Males needs no/ Do you desire education?	33%	15%			
Females needs yes/ Do you desire education?	56%	4%	6%	50	.005
Females needs no/ Do you desire education?	18%	14%	2%		
Females needs yes/frustration?	45%	15%	8%	49	.007
Females needs no/ frustration?	6%	16%	8%		
Perceptions/Feelings	Affirmative	Negative	No response	N	Pvalue
Yes own land and Are you afraid?	39%	11%		54	.01
Not own land and Are you afraid?	22%	28%			
Male respondent/ Do you own land?	43%	21%		74	.003
Female respondent/Do you own land?	11%	24%			
Male respondent/ Are you frustrated	36%	23%		57	.04
Female respondent/ Are you frustrated	35%	6%			
Frustrated / Do buffalo have needs?	50%	22%		49	.009
Not Frustrated/ Do buffalo have needs?	10%	19%			
Frustrated/ Does the community have need?	48%	15%	7%	40	.01
Not frustrated/ Does the community have need?	15%	10%	5%		
Frustrated/ Are you afraid?	32%	21%	2%	43	.03
Not frustrated/ Are you afraid?	21%	9%	17%		
Actual Needs and Advocacy	Affirmative	Negative	No response	N	Pvalue
Land ownership/Do you want advocacy?	40%	14%		52	.03
No land ownership/ Do you want advocacy?	21%	25%			

Perceptions and Feelings

Forty-three percent of male respondents and 10% of female respondents answered that they do own land totaling 54% of 74 respondents who claimed access to land (see Table 13); 22% of the male respondents and 24% of the female respondents stated they do not own land, which totals to 46% of total 74 respondents who do not have access to land ($p < .003$). These respondents did not indicate land ownership by gender but it should be noted that this researcher was informed that Gujjar women are allowed to own land and buffalo.

Of 54 respondents, 39% who stated they were landowners stated that they were afraid; 11% said they were not afraid ($p=.01$) (see Appendix questions 59 and 60). Out of those who did not own land 22% stated that they were afraid and 28% were not afraid ($p=.02$). There could be three reasons for the differences: there is threat and responsibility that weighs on ownership; the land that is owned or that the Gujjars have access to is more likely to be close to the border of Pakistan where militants reside; and/or the land is further into the lower Himalayas where more wild animals reside.

Of 57 responses to the question, 36% of the Gujjar males answered they were frustrated (see Appendix, question 16) and 35% of the Gujjar females answered they were frustrated ($p= .04$). Of the male respondents, 23% answered they were not frustrated and 6% of the females were not frustrated. Fifty percent of approximately 50 families stated they were frustrated and that their buffalo had needs ($p=.009$); 48% of 40 families who were frustrated stated that this community had needs ($p=.01$); 15% of those who were not frustrated stated that this community did have needs. Those who were frustrated and afraid included 32% of 43 respondents and 21% of those who were not frustrated answered that they were afraid ($p=.03$).

Actual Needs and Advocacy

Out of 52 respondents (see Table 13, p. 78) 40% of those stating they were landowners responded that they needed advocacy ($p=.03$); those who were not landowners and needed advocacy was 21% ($p=.04$); 25% of those who were not landowners stated they did not need advocacy. These numbers substantiating the presence of fear, frustration, and need for advocacy are stated by those who either acquired ownership of 20-40 head buffalo or those who have acquired land.

Summary

In summary, the needs assessment for the Gujjars identified what was and is important to the Gujjars as they responded from their worldview. The statistics and differences between the sedentary and transhumant families provide baseline information that can be used as the process of identifying specific needs for development. The reality of how little formal education each family has had to date speaks to the need voiced as to the lack of access to education for the adults as well as the children. The reality of how little the Gujjars know about this community and who teaches in the schools, shows how minimal the Gujjars' involve themselves within their temporary living situation on migration in the months of September and October. Over 40% of the families spoke of the needs their families have and over 60% were aware that their families had educational needs if they were to give their children and youth choices for the future.

The Gujjars seem to be aware of their powerlessness within this particular community for they perceive they have no voice to speak their needs. They were

unaware if their leaders knew their needs and many did not know who their “leaders” were.

The differences between sedentary and transhumant families’ perceived need was remarkable and yet not surprising. Whether sedentary or transhumant, the Gujjar families still have large herds of buffalo and one-third of their buffalo are ill each year. Over 45% of their buffalo had throat infections and many of their buffalo die needlessly because of inability to access information, whether from the local community agents, non-governmental agencies serving this area, or from the state government of Punjab.

The Gujjar families have had little or no access to basic medical information, which would give their families the hope of health within this difficult life of migration. Over 30% of the Gujjar women could not explain many of their chronic illnesses and few trusted any doctor or *pir*, a local holy person, who would offer some solution for a price. Most of the women accepted illness and difficulty in life with fatalism. Rarely did any adult have an adequate answer for treatments or know of the repeated causes of their families’ ailments. The desire for health was evident. Only 33% of the children had been immunized which leaves numerous children of the next generation with polio and tuberculosis in their future.

The Gujjar families were not aware of the government or leaders of any kind who would actually do anything to affect their lives. The lack of communication on the parts of their leaders and government is remarkable.

The minority status of the Gujjars as a whole, in the midst of Hindu villagers, is also remarkable and the individual debt for each family will only continue to grow.

This perception is made clear as over 40% of the Gujjars asked for someone to speak for them, especially regarding the aspects of educational and medical access.

Over 50% of all Gujjar families responded positively to any training and any type of education for their families as paramount needs. They would answer with disbelief that training would ever become a reality.

The political situation of the states of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir is affecting the Gujjars across northern India. The closing of borders, the increasing population of militants, and the military action along the LOC (line of control) perpetuates many dilemmas that cause fear in the Gujjar families. Pastoralists live marginalized lives to begin with and are vulnerable to their environment. They encounter wild animals and persons such as militants, which gives rise to fear especially when no means of protection is available. The lack of medical information and access gives ample reason for the Gujjar's fear of future illnesses as they grow old. They were most aware of their state of poverty for many would respond, "we are poor, we know nothing, you tell us what we need, you are educated."

The levels of significance (Table 13) from the collapsed categories of gender and residence patterns provide direction for further research in identifying the possibility of strong relationships between need, desire for education, frustration land ownership and the need for advocacy. The questions about joy and hope for the future caused the Gujjars to feel respected as they had not been asked these questions before. Remarkably, only 3% expressed feelings of hopelessness. Approximately 33% wished for ownership of land and 20% desired good health. Over 28% dreamed about a different job for themselves or for their children. Only 12% were fatalistic in seeing no other future except buffalo work. Thirty percent of the Gujjars' greatest joy

was to see their children gain access to education, which they are convinced, would bring choices and hope for their future.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Data Analysis

Gujjars' Perception of Need

The purpose of this study was to inquire if the Gujjars perceived a need for advocacy or development. The specific goals of this needs assessment were:

- to hypothesize that the Gujjars do not perceive a need for advocacy or development
- to identify what is of value to the Gujjars in their lives
- to define what the Gujjars' idea of a "quality life" is
- to explore the differences between male and female perceptions and the difference between transhumant and sedentary.
- to examine if the Gujjars have access to the human rights afforded other indigenous peoples of India

The data from Chapter 6 states clearly that the Gujjars do perceive a need for advocacy and development. The needs assessment of the 75 Gujjar families in this field study, representing approximately 750 people, substantiates, according to Kratli (2001), that many pastoralists are minorities who suffer problems of under-representation, and social, economic and geographic marginalization. The average Gujjar family has 14 members, owns 25 buffalo, sells buffalo milk, goes into frequent debt, has minimal access to equitable land and has no formal education. Half of the Gujjar children in this survey are not in school. One-third of the Gujjars responded that their greatest joy would be to see their male and female children educated and attending schools so that they could have other choices in their lives.

The Gujjars, caught in the cycle of poverty and environmental degradation, have stated that they desire choices and that advocacy is needed at this time for themselves and their buffalo. Approximately 2,000 buffalo were counted among 75 Gujjar families within the Gurdaspur District. More than 125 buffalo had died from throat infections in the last year. One Gujjar family had lost 15 of 30 head of buffalo in one week. The relationship between human rights, poverty, social justice and ecology must be heeded. The relationship between environmental justice and human rights must be explored and critical questions need answers; e.g. why so many buffalo get throat infections when there are vaccinations available? why many Gujjar couples are unable to have children? why a large majority of the Gujjar babies have not been immunized? and why access to potable water has not been an issue in this community?

One-third of the Gujjars desired access to veterinarians and medicine and approximately half of the Gujjars stated their buffalo, at one time or another, had throat infections and many die from time to time - a problem they always worry about. Only eight families of Gujjars were aware of any government help in regard to their buffalo for upgrading their breeds or immunizations for buffalo throat infections. The majority of the Gujjars surveyed had a herd size of 25 buffaloes and spoke pointedly about their needs for advocacy and development.

The Gujjars have made it clear that development is needful because neither a decent, equitable standard of living nor assessable education is available for most of them. The data show that for the community as well as families, the Gujjar males are requesting education and training. Over half of the families surveyed desired education and remarkably fifty-three families wanted basic education for their youth giving them

choices in acquiring access to jobs other than buffalo work, if they so chose. More than half of the Gujar female respondents hoped for training in family health and desired to learn to read.

Because of lack of information such as school availability, a lack of funds for supplies or transportation, or necessity of intense family labor needs, many of the families just do not send their children, especially their girls, to school – a remarkable problem of gender inequality noticed by the research team. Some of the Gujar children who had been in school told stories of being taught by teachers, who treated them with disrespect, convinced them they did not have brains for learning, and degraded them for their lack of foreign language skills. Some of their parents told these same stories and added that their children were being used as laborers in the teacher's personal rice fields. When asked about their needs, over half replied in the affirmative they had needs, and specifically, they had needs for advocacy for their children's education. Of primary concern to more than one-third of the Gujjars in this community was educational access.

Many of the families surveyed had never been asked their opinion nor had anyone asked them anything about their needs, which speaks to the Gujjars' marginalization. As stated before pastoralists tend to be minorities and marginalized and many Gujjars were intimidated to speak in front of their Hindu neighbors. The high percentages of those who would not say, could not say, or did not know, is explained by this intimidation factor. The Gujjars were shown respect by asking them for their responses, although the survey pushed them into uncomfortable and new territories, and many commented with great surprise, when the survey was completed, that they

felt respected by the research team. Formulating their ideas from questions that had never before been asked of them was at times difficult. The perception of need in the community among the Gujjars pointed to advocacy for veterinary access, education, training, medical access, access to good land, and protection or physical security.

One form of advocacy is to focus on the highest fear factors, advocate for them and provide relevant information so they can overcome and minimize these fears. Almost half of the Gujjars stated they were afraid of all or some of the following: thieves, Hindu landowners, militants and war, illness, wild animals and lack of control in loss of land because of their poverty. These responses are understandable in light of the Gujjars' vulnerability and the conflict happening just north of the Punjabi border between Pakistan and India in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. One third of the Gujjars surveyed stated they were not happy with their present life, fatalistic and felt frustrated and powerless about what to do about it. The Gujjars live exposed to the environment and often are threatened by wild animals. The Gujjars also live within the intense poverty and population of India where even other humans threaten them. Because of the lack of resources and non-access to loans, many Gujjars burn one oil lamp inside their tent or hut causing the nighttime to be extremely dark which is a reasonable fear. Many of the Gujjars living in the Punjab are no longer allowed to migrate to their northern mountain sites because of the threat of militants and threat of enslavement by them.

The disappearance of the commons, or common territory, has become a paramount issue for the Gujjars. They have, in the last 10 years, been denied access to pastures and forests which they, for centuries have used to graze their

buffalo, and in return, have provided milk for the villagers and manure to the land. Further north in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Gujjars are denied access amidst the conflict, fighting and militancy. Many more Gujjars of the Gurdaspur District, remarkably, are already sedentary in response to the loss of lands and buffalo sickness, but they still hope for new opportunities in equitable land access or in wage labor, neither of which had been seen as yet. There was no remarkable difference between the sedentary and the transhumant Gujjars in perception of illness or a visible increase in vulnerability of those Gujjars who were sedentary. Nathan, Fratkin and Roth (1996) noted increased vulnerability where settled Rendille children were three times more likely to be malnourished. All Gujjars appeared vulnerable to disease, sickness and marginalization whether transhumant or sedentary. The family debt and demand by government officials and villagers caused more buffalo milk to be sold leaving minimal, if any milk left for the children and youth.

The Gujjars live in poverty, which is the result of the human decisions about how this society organizes itself. The state governments allow inequitable land distribution where Gujjars live. Environmental destruction occurs in the Gurdaspur District Gujjar communities because they are powerless to prevent it and do not have access to basic resources (Alexander, Parejo, 2002). Who receives credit or fair loans and who does not, who is educated and who is not, who owns land and who does not depends on whether the government is paying attention or being accountable to their people. The reality is that for many Gujjars, the natural environment may be as much a threat to their lives as an asset for sustaining

livelihoods. Gujjars are victims of environmental and human rights abuses because they are an impoverished minority who face societal discrimination and who have limited resources and little representation (Alexander, Parejo, 2002).

Numerous times during visits in this research area, families would confide in the research team their inability to have children. Many Gujjar women were emotionally burdened with no answers. Many Gujjar men had reproductive difficulties. There is a need for medical research. Within environmental degradation is the lack of control upstream where pollutants are considered 'someone else's' problem. Waste disposal, toxic contamination issues, and food contamination from pesticides and other chemical inputs become an environmental issue that highly relates to the quality of life. These conditions are environmental degradation issues affecting health and well-being (Hayward, 2000). Gujjars are not starving necessarily, but they are living a cycle of poverty that will not decrease unless the cycle is alleviated through some type of intervention. Gujjars' access to equitable land and other resources is thwarted by poverty. Poverty yields the Gujjars' poor access to health care and education. Their poverty also means poor access to a safe and healthful environment.

War, excessive population, social unrest, and conflict exacerbate the poverty of India and specifically of the Gujjars causing interference with development of community infrastructures such as agriculture, schools, and hospitals. Conflict, corruption, lack of protection and vulnerability instill fear. Environmental violations carry an unfairly distributed, human cost. Environmental degradation has a devastating effect on people's lives (Wilk-Sanatani, 1993). Poverty strikes hardest among Gujjar women, children and buffaloes. The Gujjars' poverty increases the likelihood of

hunger and disease among their people of all ages. Diarrhea, polio and tuberculosis prevent their children from attaining appropriate human growth and good health. Respiratory diseases, lack of immunizations and poor access to medical care destroys the Gujjar community. The poor and non-existent education in the Gurdaspur area results from poverty, which means poor job prospects and adverse circumstances perpetuating their poverty.

The question of debt among nomadic peoples, in light of the intense poverty in India, is an important one because indebtedness exacerbates poverty. One-third of the Gujjars stated they were in debt. One-third said they were not in debt at this time. One-third of the Gujjar families did not want to say. In casual conversations the Gujjars stated numerous times they all had to go in debt to moneylenders at high percentage rates for migration, weddings, unforeseen problems or illness. Without a permanent mailing address, they were not allowed access to credit or loans. Grazing taxes and various demands from surrounding communities was another type of debt for the Gujjars. This barter-type debt included the demand for fuel. The Gujjar women would make this fuel from buffalo dung mixed with dirt and straw. Many times government officials and Hindu landowners demanded butter, cheese and other buffalo milk products. The Gujjars granted these requests in order not to pay more taxes, to be allowed access onto land or forest areas and for fear they would be expelled from the land permanently.

Of the 75 Gujjar families surveyed, the transhumant women reported more sickness among their family members than the sedentary women did, and yet many of the nomadic families had just arrived in this area and were exhausted. Over half

of all the Gujar families stated that fever and infections were the most prevalent problem. Chronic pain, respiratory infections and weakness also comprised half of the stated illnesses. Almost half of the families did not know or would not say what the causes of their illnesses were. Twenty of seventy-five families do nothing to treat illnesses, either due to lack of information or the fatalistic attitude that sickness “just happens”. Fourteen families stated they made doctor visits when someone was ill and yet many seemed doubtful at the doctor’s diagnosis or his medicines. Only seven families stated they purchased amulets and yet the majority of Gujjars had amulets on and/or on someone in the family and on many of their buffaloes.

Twenty percent of the respondents stated that their children under five years of age had been sick in the last few weeks. The Gujar adults who responded stated that more than 90 of the children were not immunized and approximately 90 were immunized. Twenty-four families did not want to answer the question. The lack of immunized children is remarkable and it is quite possible that more than 350 children are in need of immunizations in this study area.

The large percentage of basic responses to sickness, pain, or weakness had no knowledge of how the sicknesses occurred or recurred. Numerous questions and expectations for this researcher to provide a miracle, exposes the need for medical education and adequate medical access. The unwillingness of the Gujjars to speak about tuberculosis or polio reveals the need for medical education regarding communicable diseases. Where there was one case of polio in the family there were three cases.

Wholistic health includes the acknowledgement of emotions such as fear and joy. Approximately twenty-five Gujjar families responded that their greatest joy would be to see their children educated and attending schools so they could have choices in life and possibilities of other jobs besides buffalo work. Fifteen Gujjar women stated they never had joy and twelve women wished some day to find their joy in home ownership.

Hope, for the next 10-20 years, was an emotion of interest from these Gujjar families. People with no hope and no vision will die out. This is not the case for the Gujjars. Over half of the Gujjars stated they wished for a different job or to own land in the next 10-20 years. Twenty-four families wished for their children to be in school and to be in good health. Ten families were hopeless about the future. Eight families did not want to answer or just had no idea what the future would hold and could not venture an answer.

In response to the government or their leaders knowing their individual or family needs, the Gujjars stated that the government does nothing and that no leaders knew their needs. The Gujjars stated they had never before been asked for their opinion about anything. The lack of involvement of the local government or the local governing fathers of the community was apparent in the large percentages of responses that the government does nothing or they were unaware of what the government was offering for them specifically. Only 9 Gujjar families spoke of an awareness of government help for their animals.

One key informant made the comment that Gujjars are extremely wealthy, own large amounts of land, have large bank accounts, hide rolls of cash and have

many items of high value worth stealing. This information could not be substantiated in the fieldwork area. Except for buffalo, the items of value seen by this researcher among the Gujjars were one motorcycle, bicycles, transistor radios and a few family photos stored in a plastic bag on a mud shelf. This type of statement could be the cause for so much theft among the Gujjars. Not one Gujar family tried to impress the researcher with any information about their amassed wealth or stature, nor could they have with what was seen and lived out in front of the research teams' eyes. All they would say was, "Please come and see us in the mountains where we can have more time to be with you and talk with you." There are to this researcher's knowledge, a few Gujar families with resources, education and more wealth than others, strewn throughout the three northern states, of Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir, and yet this researcher saw none of this type of wealth among Gujjars in the Gurdaspur District. One case study, however, does yield interesting insight into one of the Gujar families who has been afforded access and privilege through a grant to provide a school inside this fieldwork area.

The Yusuf Family – Dreams and Visions

Yusuf is the second son of the first of two wives. His father, a chief, was given government funds to start a public school. At the age of 24, Yusuf directs the school. He is not married. He has had education through the 10th class plus two years of college. He is hopeful about the future. Eighteen adults and twelve children live in the household-school compound. This family does grow and sell crops and sometimes sells milk. One of his young Gujar cousins wrestles competitively for pay.

Yusuf believes the Gujar men need a future of new job opportunities; education and they indeed, need political strength. The Gujar women need education and they need dignity. The Gujar children need education. He is not aware of the animal's needs for this is not his

job. He speaks of little contentment and much frustration because of little or no political power. The Gujjar community needs political power and education. Their family needs would be the same. All twelve children of this household go to school everyday. The teachers are both Hindu and Muslim.

Part of this family migrates north with 40 buffalo, some cows and sheep, which takes 15 days. A few animals are lost in each migration. Pumps, streams and springs provide water along the way. They buy ingredients from the bazaar and cook their food over open fires and stay in handmade tents. This family does not go into debt on migration but sometimes goes into debt for building houses, buying land, and treating illnesses. The most difficult thing about migration is the long days of walking. About 15 of the family migrate and about 15 members stay in the area so that the children may attend school. His father owns land in the mountains. Their buffaloes do get sick from time to time but none have died this year. He was quick to include that this community needs good healthcare for the buffaloes.

The family has sickness from time to time as well. Yusuf has had kidney stones, worms, and headaches. He goes to a doctor, buys medicines and has had operations. The women in the household get sick often. They also have kidney stones, worms and headaches. They don't know how they get sick. They have not had malaria, or tuberculosis and none have died in the last year. They have two water pumps. Only one is good. They do not boil for drinking water and bring water for tea only to a boil. All bathe daily. Yusuf said they have had no diarrhea or respiratory illnesses but they do have fever. They take medicine, rest and visit the *maulvi* for amulets when they are ill. All children have been immunized and none under 5 have had major sickness.

His father, the chief, settles internal disputes. He often helps represent community members with disputes from outside the community. Last year the government helped with money for school development purposes and perhaps will give yearly from now on. Several extended members of the family have government jobs. He stated, "We need advocacy and we need advocacy against oppression." The Gujjars gather mostly to settle internal disputes.

For the future, he sees an opportunity for service work. Some may continue on with buffalo work. The family desires computer training. They desire education, for children, youth and women. He hopes to own land and have a nice home. They wish for money in the bank and educated children. They hope for political power. They wish for the children to have good educated jobs, which would be any job yielding good income. He has a hope to educate the Gujjar community so that they can defend themselves, and also to present Islam. He is hoping more Gujjars will participate so that they increase their vote in elections, educate their children and increase their number (strength).

Funding for the school comes from a Punjabi committee. The *panchayat* is a Hindi word used for a local group council that exists for each village or town. Seats are reserved on the council for people who belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But Gujjars in Punjab are neither of these; they are included in the general population. The Gujjars are not enough in the majority in this area to have a member of their community represent them in this council. The Gujjars' fear is the majority political powers - other groups such as Hindus, police, and government. The local council has the power to give or not to give access in meeting local needs.

Yusuf says, "The Gujjars have been kept depressed."

Summary

The data analysis shows the Gujjars of the Gurdaspur District to be survivors. They live in vulnerable environments with scarce access to resources, which contributes to keep the perception of need for their families in the areas of advocacy, education, medical access, access to fair loans to purchase land, and job training. Human populations and loss of herding lands threaten the Gujjars. The Gujjars asked for their children to be given access to education. Whether this meant that the Gujjars would become sedentary in order to acquire this access is not known and no assumption is to be made. The perceived need for their buffalo was in veterinary access and also knowledge of basic animal husbandry practices. The overall total perceived need was remarkably specific in light of women, children and the buffalo as these three are regarded as most vulnerable.

To summarize, over half of the Gujjars surveyed stated they desired advocacy from their leaders or from anyone who would speak for them for the following:

- One third of the families asked for medical and education access.
- One half of the Gujjar men desired education for other jobs, reading or health.
- Over half of the Gujjars stated that their women had needs.

- Over half of the Gujjar women desired training in reading and family health.
- The transhumant females desired education and medical access.
- The sedentary females desired training for service jobs.
- The transhumant males stated their families desired training.
- The sedentary males stated their families had needs.

The conflict between the sedentary and the transhumant does not seem to be a significant problem as yet within Gujjar families but occurs between Gujjars and sedentary villagers of Hindu or Punjabi descent. Many Gujjar families have sedentary and transhumant members. It is maintained, by Phillip Salzman, who has researched pastoralists in Baluchistan, that the pastoralists need to have a centralized political entity in order to serve their needs and to gain them representation among the local, village government. Transhumant Gujjars need to be included under some type of umbrella agreement between the two states where they migrate so that they can better be served by those state governments, specifically in educating the Gujjars, immunizing Gujjar children and providing government allotted care for the buffaloes.

The sedentary Gujjars had more cases of polio and the transhumant Gujjars had more cases of tuberculosis as observed by this researcher, which is consistent with Chabasse' (1985) research done among the Mali nomadic pastoralists where their tuberculosis rates were higher than those Mali who were sedentary. The sedentary Gujjars had a longer list of stomach pains, fever and infections than did the transhumant Gujjars. There were no known sedentary Gujjar women who had acquired jobs of illegal or legal status other than buffalo work unlike the Barabaig or Maasai of Kenya. Although this could possibly be a cautionary, evolutionary process that needs to be watched.

The Gujjars, like the Gabra in Eastern Africa also live according to *finn*. *Finn* is the earth and the cycle of life that takes place on it. Gujjars do take care of the earth. Many Gujjars care for their animals, exchange buffalo, nurture friendships at least six months of the year, exchange ideas, tell tales, and a few still sing songs. The Gujjars have at least a generation of historical, ecological knowledge and could benefit greatly from new information on maintaining their environment.

These data on the Gujjars are location specific and significant toward forming a preliminary baseline of information, which can be used to give insight into the ways and meaning of their pastoral lifeway in evaluating the effects of changing environmental conditions and culture on these local families. The Gujjars, whether sedentary or transhumant, desire training and education but never asked for someone to make a decision for them about whether they should be settled or not.

The Gujjars, like many pastoralists, show incredible instincts for survival, stamina, persistence and a strong sense of dignity and self-respect. Many times the Gujjar men would ask what the government would need to help them with or they did not need their kind of help. These statements were not necessarily made in negative forms. Yet the information that might be good news to the Gujjars was remarkably absent, such as free available medicine for the buffaloes' throat infections, improving their buffalo breeds for better production, and education for their sons and daughters to empower them within their dignity. Globalization appears to oppose nomadic culture and yet broader views need to be embraced.

According to McIver (1997), “the rights of indigenous groups to cultural integrity, development, self-determination, and territorial security, and the implications these rights hold for others’ ability to regulate and discourage further degradation of the environment, will not necessarily be easy for nation states to swallow.” Embracing a broader view framed in justice toward the poor and the environment will help the medicine go down easier. Information about how the Gujjars view the world could become a refreshing response to life amidst the world’s greedy, materialistic, throwaway cultures. Mutual education and dialogue between Gujjars and representatives of the emerging post-modern globalized culture could benefit all, where the earth, and the cycle of life that takes place on it, is shared.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion and Recommendations

This thesis research was undertaken primarily to be used as baseline data on the perceived needs of the sedentary and transhumant Gujjars who migrate to and from Himachal Pradesh to Punjab and to assess the need for advocacy or development. The data collected among the Gujjars in the Gurdaspur District shows that the Gujjars do perceive a need for development and advocacy. This need is revealed through the spoken desires of the Gujjars. These data reveal the Gujjars perceive the need for advocacy, specifically in the areas of education or training, land distribution, medical access, freedom from exploitation, relief from poverty, political access and empowerment for pastoralists.

Pastoralists need to be seen through a new lens that targets specific and structural problems such as social and economic marginalization and political representation so that the Gujjars will be empowered to cope with new challenges (Kratli, 2001). Pastoralists need the option to be equipped to adapt to changes in the pastoral livelihood system that result from external influences. The Gujjars need to be acknowledged as local experts of indigenous knowledge. Gujjar children need the option to be equipped with choices for other livelihood systems. The cultural knowledge of pastoralism many times has been described in terms of mobility, isolation, ignorance, buffalo and child labor. It is around these types of cultural clashes that solutions will be found, which include cultural sensitivity and sustainable development (Casely-Hayford, 1999).

Knowledge is culture and it is around culture conflicts that policies such as fundamental rights, basic human needs, empowerment, poverty alleviation, and productivity take shape (Streeten, 1987). Gujjars “have the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of themselves and of their families, which includes food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services. Also included is the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control” (Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948). For poverty alleviation to be achieved, a rights-based approach (Jones, 2000) provides safety nets for those trapped in the cycle of poverty. These safety nets must strategically be placed integrating all three systems of the interactive zone (see Fig. 3).

To reiterate again, these safety nets must also include focus on action toward potable water, land equity for grazing purposes, gender equity to diversify the economy, loan access to those without permanent address, and equitable economic opportunities in providing jobs across ethnicities. These new arrangements must continue so that, for example, the Gujjars have the opportunity to become teachers, nurses, doctors and store owners. The reduction of child labor, gender equity policies for educational opportunity, and reallocation of local budgets in favor of pastoralists must be pushed forward into policy. The root causes of the Gujjars vulnerability will then be eliminated systematically, and social justice will move forward. Table 14 (p.98) shows the direction and probable effect of policies that deter or stop the cycle of poverty (Foster & Leathers, 1999) that could directly affect the country of India.

Table 14. Direction of Probable Effect of Policy Instruments

Threat of War	Population Status	Government Representation Equity	↓	Decent, Equitable Livelihood	Women's Status	Equitable Land
Results and Consequences of Human Decisions that Lead and Perpetuate Cycles of Poverty						
Infrastructures are destroyed such as schools, hospitals and community commons						
Hindu Nation Conflict Muslim Minority	Excessive 1.6 Billion People of India	Hindu Gov't No Pastoral Representation	↓	No Education No Job Choices No Training	Gujjar Gender Inequality	Scarce Land Accessibility Marginalization Forest and Land Denied
Result and Consequences of Human Decisions that Deter and Stop Cycles of Poverty						
Infrastructures are created and maintained such as schools, hospitals and community commons						
Acknowledgement Of Fair and Equal Treatment Provide Protection From corrupt officials	Education for Family Planning Better Health Care Immunizations Nutritional Access Options to reduce human fertility	Fair and Equal Representation for Pastoral Peoples Rural Infrastructure Improvements Clean water roads, electricity Improved healthcare		Provide Training Provide Equitable Education for Equitable Job Choices Technology Creation Animal Husbandry, Training & Care	Gujjar Women Empowered as Gatekeepers for Gujjar Families Education for Girls	Land Reform for Pastoral commons Promote Indigenous Environmentalism Increase Equality of Income and Wealth

Source: The World Food Problems – Policy Concepts and Policy Making Foster & Leathers, 1999

India occupies land claimed by Pakistan and Pakistan occupies land claimed by India which leaves status between the two countries in dispute since the 1950s. Land occupied by China and claimed by India along with area occupied by India and claimed by China leads to border confusion with China. The threat of war frames the north and northwest borders of India. The Hindu government in power conflicts with the Muslim minorities. Add to this, the pounding of 1.6 billion people upon the land of India, measuring only 3.1 million square kilometers, which increases environmental degradation (320 people per sq. km.).

Increased awareness of the links between population and environmental degradation are necessary. For example, poverty induced environmental degradation is caused by deforestation and the depletion of fuelwood supplies forces poor households such as the Gujjars and villagers to use dung for fuel rather than for fertilizer. The present value of the dung as fuel is higher than its value as a soil nutrient and yet, they have no choice for there is no alternative source of fuel to which households can gain access. These constraints are imposed by poverty-induced environmental degradation not necessarily the desired choice of the society (Holmberg, Barbier, et al, 1992).

Women collect and make dung cakes for fuel. Large labor demands on women in poverty severely limit their ability to just get past the needs of each day. Women in poverty confront many constraints because of their gender to survive (Barbier, Burgess, 1990). In addition to all this, the lack of access to education makes other job choices virtually non-existent. Table 14 outlines across the top of the page just how these six obstacles if not acknowledged or heeded, lead and perpetuate cycles of poverty. The results and consequences of human decisions that deter and stop cycles of poverty are

listed underneath and detail how infrastructures are created and maintained for community commons. The village or city that fights to deter and stop poverty wins.

Sustainable development among Gujjars must include the willingness by those who have the local power (the *panchayat*), to acknowledge the social, economic and political hindrances to the pastoral livelihood security beyond pastoralists' control. Those in power must take initiative to provide resources and skills specifically designed to increase their control; for example, campaigning, lobbying, awarding equity toward an ascribed status, and local advocacy (Kratli, 2001). The local governments need to take action on this and insure that the livelihoods of the Gujjars are represented within their local meetings and considered within the division of the local budgets (see Table 14). Equitable governmental representation is a must to create fairness and equality for the Gujjars. It is within this institution that rural infrastructure improvements will be made, such as purification of the existing water sources, creation of roads and road maintenance to the Gujjars living areas, providing access to electricity, improving health care and the maintenance of immunizations for Gujjar children. Veterinary access for these buffalo is mandatory. At present there is no representation for the Gujjars in this research area and few, if any, advocates.

The Gujjars have a remarkable sense of the natural world that has been lost to many with modernization. The Gujjars are a persistent survivor-type people who make sense of life through immersion in the outside, natural world. They live and breathe while seeing, hearing, touching, smelling and tasting, the nature around them, which creates in them keen perceptions about animals, such as the buffalo, and the weather's seasonal cycles. Gujjar children live and practice this sensorial prowess within their environment. This type of case study among the Gujjars has the potential to show that

“when ecology and human rights are given equal weighting, and resident peoples not only participate in development decisions but also have a strong ecological knowledge base, communities are typically better stewards of their local environment” (Sachs, 1995).

The perception that the Gujjars have nothing to teach those within modernization is false. Anthropological research emphasizes the character of local knowledge as different from formal education but it is never considered inferior to modern formal systems of shared knowledge (Kratli, 2001). Baxter (1993) points out how pastoralism is a mode or method of perception as well as a mode of production and not only a mode of production, but an underlying cultural identity loaded with ritual. These rituals and the Gujjar’s awe of the supernatural (See Gujjar Ethnography) play key roles within their social capital (Kohler-Rollefson, 1992). The Gujjars are found to be resourceful, yet isolated from government, medical, educational and veterinary systems. Their insular knowledge constructs daily habits and practices embedded in location specific processes. This means that they know where to take the buffalo for fodder and water. They know where to go seasonally and they find out on a daily and weekly basis what is allowed and what is not. The Gujjars make their livelihood in highly variable and unpredictable environments. Their perseverance is phenomenal to observe and highly admirable.

Local, Sustainable Development

Sustainable development and intervention for the Gujjars human rights must be focused within their local context with practical, local development. Sufficient, local knowledge could continue to be accumulated to the needs the Gujjars say they have, along with the beginnings of a voice that can be heard. “Rights-based

programming attempts to address the root causes of human rights deprivation, social injustice, and economic inequality, all of which are fundamentally relational” (Caldwell et al. 2001). Active participation of pastoralists is mandatory at all stages of developmental efforts. Action needs to be targeted toward medical access and a veterinarian facilitation system. The developmental process could start with the set of value judgments taken from this pilot study. Leadership will come forward if encouraged and can be developed over time, so that Gujjars may achieve what constitutes for them a good and functional society. With the Gujjars' values in place, the ultimate goal of developmental efforts ought to be the fulfillment of the rights and needs of specific local Gujjar communities.

Empowerment

It must be acknowledged that development for the Gujjars is a political issue. The Gujjars are defeated when they are denied access to personal security, freedom of movement or participation in public affairs. Pastoral marginalization must be recognized as a social and political problem. The Gujjars state that they need advocacy and desire education; therefore, empowerment is critical to development. Effective development should respond to factors in the interactive zones that were discussed in Chapter Two so that biology, economy and society are included in mutual support (See Table 14, p. 99). Location specific zones affecting the Gujjars would include land equity for pastoralists, redistribution of land for pastoralism, promoting the Gujjar's indigenous environmentalism, social justice through fair and equal representation, gender equality, and the reduction of poverty through providing access to basic human needs. Following all the phases of development identification

of paths and barriers will increase the Gujjars' success. The culture of mainstream society that disempowers the Gujjars will be changed if development is accomplished. The cultural identity of the Gujjars will be a sense of pride if development meets needs and empowers people. Even with its difficulty and harshness the Gujjars may still profoundly love their lifeway and viable and effective development needs to be provided for those who wish to remain pastoralists.

Basic Hygiene

Death rates from infections consistently fell when basic hygiene was introduced in the cities of the United States and Europe back in the 1950s. The death rate fell because water was purified, sewage was disposed of adequately, food was hygienically stored and milk was pasteurized. Unpasteurized milk was the most likely item to spread disease. These truths still hold true for the Gujjars in India and must be addressed through education. Available, convenient, potable water needs to be provided for within the local government budget. Convenient water sources will change the hygiene habits of the Gujjars in extremely healthful ways. The knowledge of boiling water for 10 minutes causing it to be pure will lead the way for the next generation to believe and know that it makes their families significantly healthier. The knowledge and implementation of appropriate sewage disposal will cause disease rates to drop among families making the effort worthy and equal to the cost.

Nutrition and Health

The World Health Organization report on nutrition in developing countries has documented that the best vaccine against common infectious diseases is an

adequate diet (Farmer, 1998). Malnourished people contract infection more often than those who are well nourished. Malnourished people suffer more and young children suffer the most from infectious disease. Women need knowledge and access to nutritious foods at a fair price. They need the knowledge of what foods need to be bought, how foods should be cooked nutritionally, and how food needs to be stored to assure the best health for their children.

The Gujjars consume a minimal diet of protein from buffalo milk, and starch, which does not produce enough calories to provide good nutrition for children or lactating mothers. The diet of the Gujjars in this area encompassed minimal amounts of buffalo milk with tea, flat bread, rice and lentils. A few Gujjar families in this area had access to a high protein diet and complained of problems with kidney stones. Nutritional status among pastoralists is a critical factor. The most efficient nutrition impact vehicles that improve health of the poor are:

- Immunizations and oral rehydration therapy (ORT) education
- Vitamin A distribution
- Improved sewage handling
- Hygiene education and improved health care
- Sanitary water supply
- Adequate nutrition for lactating mothers
- Educating both males and females
- Contraceptive research and implementation
- Economic disincentives for larger families
- Raising legal marriage age with incentives
- Subsidized family planning services (Foster, Leathers, 1999)

This list reiterates the needs for working in all the disciplines that create the potential for change within the interactive zone. Many of these are included in Table 14 (p. 98).

Medical Access

Gujjar women and men need to know what to do, and not do, when their children have diarrhea. Oral rehydration information is virtually absent in this research area. This researcher does not know if Gujjar children are dying specifically from diarrhea but it is known that the water is not good in most wells most rivers and streams. Most Gujjar mothers did not know what the causes were of their children's deaths or their illnesses. One Gujjar woman shared with me that she had lost three children and she did not know why.

Gujjar children need access to immunizations. This need for nutritional and medical access can be met through various educational approaches such as radio programs in Gojari or visits from female health post workers who target women of all ages with daily medical advice for prevention and crisis. Women are the gatekeepers to families all over the world. Training and focus on meeting women's needs, as identified by women, will hopefully promote dignity, and in turn, foster improve their lives.

Education

Future policies involving pastoral Gujjars must include political representation, enhanced access to relevant education, veterinary and medical access, water, food and security. Success in a sustainable process will need to include a non-antagonistic cultural environment, powerful advocates with a sympathetic toward the nomadic culture, and supportive and effective local, law enforcement. One option for development and education would identify ways of decreasing labor intensity among Gujjar families, thereby freeing family members from the household's labor

demand. The decrease in labor intensity would in turn make time in the day for a new and innovative educational service, possibly delivered through mobile schools - north and south site-specific, and/or radio instruction. These development policies need to include routing potable water in closer proximity to the Gujar dwellings, tents or fields, providing affordable supplemental animal feed in certain seasons of the year, and maintaining roads so that vegetable and fruit vendors could sell or barter near by. Carrying water, collecting dung, finding fodder, following buffalo and walking or riding to and from the market are their most time intensive activities.

The process of transforming education to create fulfillment for lifelong learners is a goal, as is gender equitable education. With the migratory cycle of the Gujjars in mind, local educators need to target the months in-between the migratory travel. From June through September in the northern home, Gujar women and children are more likely to have time to study and learn. A natural break from school would be from September through November. This time of family work can be acknowledged and praised as each child has a place within the family system where his or her worth is recognized. Children need to have a sense of responsibility and working in the family business is excellent for building self-esteem. Caring for large buffalo, goats or other small children are all remarkable ways of teaching appropriate responsibility in any family as a life skill. Educational classes in the southern site could then be started from December through April. This schedule would lend itself to seven months of school with possible book assignments in between times to be read at night by oil lamp.

Teachers would not have to be migratory. Local teachers in the north could be on contract for three months. If they chose to travel south with the Gujjars they

could also be on contract for another four months. These particular teachers need to be stout of heart, a rare breed and need to teach life skills relevant to pastoralism such as nutrition, health, economics, veterinarian practice, radio technology, conflict resolution, traditional expressive culture, astronomy, weather, communication, writing, literacy and math. Relevant life skills will be the key to motivating and retaining Gujjar children within an education system. Access to skills associated with expressive culture will create an atmosphere of joy and self-esteem that perpetuates ethnicity and culture to be enjoyed by the whole family around any oil lamp after dark. Maintenance of buffalo, bicycles, motorcycles, and family health are highly valuable skills. These life skills need to make sense, must meet a need in the children and adults, and must apply to daily life where short and long-term results may be seen. Technological advances such as radios, telescopes, global positioning systems, and maintaining good health for the buffalo create increases of equality of income and wealth and increase the income or employment of the poor (Foster and Leathers, 1999). This education needs to prepare the youth for more social interaction within globalization.

Adults and parents need to be challenged and encouraged to view education as the future for their children and the Gujjar community. Accountability has to be set in place so that the educational system becomes a Gujjar asset and not their demise. Rumors that previous teachers of the Gujjar children used them as field laborers permeate the community. If this is true, this is not acceptable. Gujjars have been told and believe they do not have the capacity to learn. Those perpetuating this lie must have little patience for Gojari speaking children. Hispanic and African American children in the United States were many times given the title of 'retarded'

because their heart language was not proper English. The present status of perception maintained by the Gujjars in this area is that they do not have brains capable of learning. This lie must be altered with truth as this, again, is a problem of prejudice and minority marginalization within the surrounding society.

The communities' perception of education needs to be seen as a means to an end where literacy, writing and math skills are used for the good of the community. The investment of education into Gujjar children ought to be a product for community pride. The children are to be educated for the good of the Gujjar community, not educated so that they can come back and be arrogant, presumptuous or disrespectful (Kratli, 2001). The educational system needs to be seen as enhancing pastoralism if this is their choice, or the system needs to be seen as enhancing the possibilities of each child to achieve their potential according to community standards and the desires of the parents.

Cultural perceptions within societies either keep their women from being educated or their perceptions place them in education because they see it as an investment. These cultural perceptions need to be acknowledged by the local governing systems of the states of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh and challenged in light of the global lens on women. Education may be associated with status at this time and a family might choose for their daughter to have less education so that she would not be a marriage threat to a less educated man. Whether education is seen as an asset or a drawback needs to be assessed. Statements by the Gujjars and how the Gujjars choose to act toward education for women may be totally different, and therefore behavior will need to be assessed. Nonetheless, education for women, whether formal or informal, has to be targeted and needs to be offered throughout the

pastoral culture. The clash between the two cultures of home and school may lead to fragmentation between educated and non-educated members of the Gujjar clans.

Preparation through discussion could ease the tensions through discussions.

Fertility rates drop when education is pursued and marriage ages are increased. All change has costs and the costs have to be paid at some point, either now by the mothers and aunts or their daughters and nieces will have to pay for it 10 years down the road. Perhaps from the pastoral view, one initial policy would be that of encouraging one or more educated household members who would be able to provide links with the city or with the wider society, possibly increasing economic differentiation. The best policy would be educational choices for all, which means freedom.

Policy Against Corruption

Because there is the threat of war between India and Pakistan and because of the intense population pressure in India, corruption exists. Officials and employees who perpetuate poverty, marginalization and abuse through imposing their own selfish ambitions and desires for monetary gain need to be exposed. The Gujjar communities and migratory pathways between Punjab and Himachal Pradesh must become safer for development to be successful.

In summary, the Gujjars perceive a need for advocacy and development. The local powers and/or *panchayats* must view the Gujjars through a broad lens defining pastoralism as a viable and worthy mode of production. The Gujjars need options for a changing world that does affect their livelihood in attaining basic human rights. Gujjars should be classified as indigenous to achieve a voice. Development plans

should, for the initial phases, explore both pastoralist and settled people, with ultimate decisions on effective change made by informed Gujjar leaders. The environmental and indigenous knowledge held within the Gujjar community needs to be pursued. Campaigning, advocacy, lobbying and equitable representation among the local governing bodies must affect the Gujjars of both states of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh with an equitable division of the local budgets. Rural infrastructures must be created and specifically maintained. Improved health care and veterinary access is mandatory for any changes to be seen.

Sustainable development must be focused practically and locally within the belief that “people should be able to alter and improve their lives in accordance with criteria which take account the needs of others and which protect the planet and future generations” (Holmberg, Sharp 1992). The Gujjars must be active participants in their own development. Pastoralism must be seen as a highly valuable and skillful mode of production which serves the community. A match of pastoral development policies must focus on freeing up the laborious lifestyle of the Gujjars, for example, just by rerouting water to convenient locations as one of those policies.

Development through training in basic hygiene and providing convenient water sources would show results of increased health and lowered illness in three to six months. Implementation of nutritional impact vehicles such as, immunizations, ORT, vitamin A distribution, improved sewage handling, potable water, convenient and affordable fruits and vegetable availability, male and female education, raising legalized marriage age and subsidized family planning services will, in time, alleviate poverty. The local governments of both states need to target Gujjar families for medical education and at least, adequate, medical access. Local governments

need to target Gujjar families, especially Gujjar girls, for options in education by hiring adventurous teachers and educating the parents and community. The local governments of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh need to provide protection from corrupt officials and corrupt police.

This summary is encapsulated in Table 14 (p.98), which covers the areas of international conflicts, excessive population status, governmental representation equity, decent equitable livelihoods, women's status, gender equity, equitable land access and land distribution which all will lead to deterring and stopping the cycles of poverty where the Gujjars are trapped. The goal of all policy instruments is to alleviate the root causes of poverty, sustain the environment and provide what constitutes for the Gujjars a good and functional society.

APPENDIX

Needs Assessment Survey

NEEDS ASSESSMENT SURVEY

Revised 8/1/01

1. Household number_____ Date:_____
2. Location_____. Directions:
3. Household order:_____
4. Educational level: _____
5. Total number of people living in this household?_____
6. What is your mode of production, income, work?_____
7. Do the men need anything? Yes or No
8. If yes, what do the men need?
9. Do the women need anything else? Yes or No
10. If yes, what do the women need?
11. Do the children/youth need anything else? Yes or No
12. if yes, what do the children/youth need?
13. Do your animals need anything Yes or No
14. if yes, what do the animals need?
15. Are you content/happy? Yes or No
16. Are you frustrated/angry ? Yes or No

Explain :

17. Does this community in this area have a great need? Yes or No
18. What needs? family have a different need ? Yes or No

If yes, what would that need be?

19. Do you have any children currently going to school? Yes or No

20. How many? _____. How often do they attend? _____

21. Who else (what ethnicity/) attends the school with the children? _____

22. What ethnicity is the teacher? _____

23. Do you migrate? Yes or No

What month? _____ What road? _____

24. Where do you migrate? Name _____. How many days does it take? _____

How many animals migrate with you? _____. Types of animals? _____

25. Do You own land? Yes or no

26. Is it important to own land?

27. Do you go into debt on the migration? Yes or No

28. Do you own any animals? Yes or No

29. How many milking animals, (buff,goats,cows,etc.) do you have? _____

30. Have any animals been sick in the past year? Yes or No

31. Have any animals died in the past year? Yes or No

32. How many died?

33. Do your animals ever need anything? Yes or no

34. If so, what do they need? _____

35. Have you been sick in the past two weeks? Yes or No

36. What sickness did you have? _____. What is the cause? _____

37. How did you get well? _____. What else do you do? _____
38. What other sickness Has anyone else in your household had?
39. Causes? _____
40. What else did you do? _____ treatment?
41. Have any of your children under age of 5 been sick in the last 2 weeks? Yes or no
42. Have your children under 5 been immunized?
43. Who gets sick the most? Men ___ women ___ youth ___ children ___ animals _
44. What does the government do here?
45. Does the government help with anything for your family? Yes or No
46. Does the government help with anything for your animals? Yes or No
47. Do you want leaders to advocate for you? Yes or No
48. What do you need advocacy for?
49. Are your leaders aware of your families' needs? Yes or no
50. Are you in debt? Yes or No
51. Do you desire training for anything? Yes or No
52. if yes, what would that training be for?
53. Does your family desire education? Yes or No
54. if yes, who would this education be for?
55. Do your youth/children desire training/education? Yes or No
56. What kind of education/training?
57. Do the women desire education? Yes or No
58. if yes, what would this education be for?

59. Do Gujjars have a fear of anything? Yes or No
60. What is the greatest fear you have?
61. What is your greatest joy?
62. What do you foresee your family doing in the next 10-20 years?

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