THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

An Over View of the Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Gujjars and Bakarwals with Special Reference to the State of Jammu and Kashmir

Audil Habib Wani

Research Scholar, Department of Social Work, Punjabi University, Patiala, Punjab, India
Mir Mubarak Jalal

Research Scholar, Department of Social Work, Punjabi University, Patiala, Punjab, India

Abstract:

Gujjars and Bakarwals constitute a significant proportion of the population of the state. they constitute about 8.1 percent of the total population in the state According to the census of India, 2001. The Jammu region has the highest population of Gujjars and Bakerwals followed by the Valley of Kashmir. Gujjars according to some historians have migrated to Jammu and Kashmir from Gujarat (via Rajasthan) and the Hazara district of North Western Frontier Province in the 5th and 6th century A.D. at the occurrence of some serious droughts. They moved out of Gujarat and crossing Rajasthan and Punjab entered the green pastures of the Siwaliks and the Himalayas. The biggest impediment in the formal education of Gujjar and Bakerwal children is the Transhumance practice. The frequent seasonal migration is one of the biggest hurdles in the education of Gujjar and Bakarwal community.

Gujjars and Bakarwals have adjusted themselves to different patterns of life and adjustment due to harsh climatic conditions, which vary from place to place in Jammu and Kashmir. In general, they are nomadic in character and largely depend on rearing livestock for their livelihood. Gujjars and Bakerwals are rich in terms of cultural heritage. They have an edge over other communities of the State so for as a distinct cultural identity is concerned. They have their own language Gojri that is an offshoot of the Indo-Aryan school. They have their own costumes, traditions, food habits, lifestyle, and arts and crafts, which vary from area to area

Keywords: Gujjars and Bakarwals, Transhumance, Culture, Literacy

1. Introduction

Gujjars and Bakarwals constitute a significant proportion of the population of the state. In general, they are nomadic in character and largely depend on rearing livestock for their livelihood. Gujjars and Bakerwals are rich in terms of cultural heritage. They have an edge over other communities of the State so for as a distinct cultural identity is concerned. They have their own language Gojri that is an offshoot of the Indo-Aryan school. They have their own costumes, traditions, food habits, lifestyle, and arts and crafts, which vary from area to area. Their dwelling places are known as dera or kacha houses, made up of wooden roof. But some of the families have pacca houses, which are being settled in the winter pastures.

Traditionally the socio-economic aspects of this community were quite different from the rest of the Kashmiri society. With the modernization the socio-economic components have brought about a significant change in the society especially in this community.

1.1. Family Set Up

Traditionally the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* believed, to an extent, in patriarchal family set up. The patriarchal dominance still exists but the extended family system has started diminishing. It's not uncommon to find nuclear families now. Their elders (*Kacharee*) generally played major role in the matters concerning the society and household's matters; they were consulted every matter related to the domestic affairs. It was common not to do any work without their permission. These elders are chiefs among the ethnic groups played major role in their respective societies and even acted as dispensers of justices and were followed like anything by the people.

1.2. Type of Dwelling

The hutments of the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* are commonly known as *Kothas*. It is a mud house against the slope of a hillock. The construction is totally devoid of any ventilation except a small entry door. The area inside is around 140 sq ft. the floor of the house is just natural soil, which has been leveled so as to make the movements of inhabitants convenient. In the ceiling there is a small hole which is the only outlet for all types of bad odor or gases like smoke etc. Under these conditions it can be well imagined that the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* live under most unhygienic conditions. Because of perpetual moisture inside the *Kotha* different types of the insects and bacteria, breed a host of communicable diseases, to which the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* are exposed. It is really a wonder

how *Gujjars and Bakerwals* survive under such unhealthy conditions. There is no provision of drainage in the hutments. The Kothas are scattered in directions at the low lying hill-tops of the valley and can be seen right from Banihal, district Anantnag up to district Baramulla and Kupwara that is the northern part of the valley. Besides these areas the hilltops from northeast and northwest of the valley are also punctuated with such *Kothas*, which are being used as living huts by the *Gujjars and Bakerwals*. Tehsil Damhal Hanjipora in district Kulgam and tehsil Uri in district Baramulla are thickly dotted with such hutments.

1.3. Marriage

Marriage is an important institution carries high sanctity among the tribal Gujjars and Bakerwals who are settled in the valley of Kashmir. Early marriage is very much in practice among Gujjars and Bakerwals and marriage is solemnized in the simplest form. A movlvi (religious priest performs the religious duty while the bride and the groom offer their consent for marrying together). The corrupt practices of dowry and bargaining have not sneaked into the cultural of Guijars and Bakerwals, Rather, marriage being a very sacred function, relations and friends come forward with whatever they can offer, to the parents of the bride. Even the family of bridegroom extends some helping hand to the parents of bride. Very plain food comprising milk butter and rice is being served to guests form both sides. In very rare cases a feast is arranged where preparations of mutton are being served. Divorce is not very common among Bakerwals. However, according to Islamic Law, if a Gujjars and Bakerwals can afford, he may have more than one wife. Adultery is strictly forbidden and punishable. Usually a woman may be divorced because of her infidelity. There are other reasons, which may make a husband to divorce his wife. These could be on the basis on health or failure of a woman to bear a child. But widows, widowers and divorces can re-marry, but divorced woman or a widow can do so only after a lapse of a specific period of time 'Iddat'. They celebrate marriages when they were in grazing agricultural lands. Marriage parties went from one meadow to another usually on horses. They return after one days stay. The marriage party was entertained with Gee, Shaker, Rice and Meat. Horse race marked the marriage celebrations. The marriage is usually solemnized four years after the betrothal, but in some cases the period between betrothal and marriage can be as long as seven to eight years. It is never extended beyond. The parents of the contracting spouses consult each other and arrive at a mutually acceptable date after consulting their relatives, friends and the Movlvi. Since the Gujjars and Bakerwals mode of existence requires them to attend to their animals during winter and as the periods of migration are full of tensions and worries, marriages usually take place during the summer season when every one has more time to spare. The elders of the community are informed about the date of the marriage and invitations are extended to all relatives and friends who are supposed to attend the marriage.

The actual solemnization of a marriage among the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* is a relatively simple affair, but this is often preceded by ceremonies at both the boy's and girl's *Dera*. At the boys Dera, the bridegroom is prepared for the occasion by the womenfolk of his family. He is shaved and given a ritual bath by the barber while his female relatives stand around him singing songs and clapping their hands. After the bath, he is dressed in new clothes by a *Maulvi*. As he being dressed, the womenfolk fling raisins over him to protect him from the evil eye (*Bad Nazar*). The dress he wears is provided by his own family, except the headgear (*Pagri*) that is sent by the bride's side. Once these ceremonies are over, the bridegroom (*Shahwala*) and the marriage party (*Janj*) start of in a procession.

The rights performed at the bride's *dera* parallel those held at the bridegroom's. Her hair is washed, fresh butter is applied to it and it is woven in to beautiful plaits. A necklace (*jeejaron ka har*), which is considered to be auspicious, is placed around her neck, and her palms and feet are coloured with Henna (*mehndi*). Her female relatives also color their palms feet with henna. Older male relatives apply henna to their beards. She is, then, dressed in the clothes and jewelry brought to her *dera* by a messenger (*manji*) of the bridegroom's family.

Among the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* the consummation of a marriage does not take place immediately after the wedding though the bride comes to the bridegroom's house along with the marriage party. She escorted to her husband's dera by her brother who hands her over her mother-in-law (*sass*) along with a gift of the whitest possible lamb wool and requests her to return his sister back after seven days as white as wool. For seven days, the girl remains with her mother-in-law and other senior female members of the family. She is not supposed to be seen by the men folk of the family nor by her husband. The violation of this rule is considered to be a serious affront to the bride's family.

On the seventh day (*satma*), the girl's father, brother and other male relatives come to her father-in-law's dera to fetch her back. She is again dressed in her bridal dress and presented with cakes of maize prepared for the occasion. She takes these cakes to her mother who distributes them among her relatives. This is supposed to indicate that she has been kept a virgin during the seven days she spent at her husband's dera. The female relatives of the girl present at her house enquire about what happened at her husband's house and try to confirm that she is virgin. If the girl's virginity has been tempered with during the seven days' period, this is taken as an insult to their prestige by her family members and can lead to a serious feud between the parties concerned.

The consummation of marriage takes place after a ceremony called the *rukhsati* has been performed. The ceremony is usually held three t four years after the *Nikha*, but in some cases it takes place after nine to eleven years thereafter. The idea behind providing this gap between marriage and consummation seems to be that then consummation should take place only after a girl attains the age of 20-22 years. This age is considered by parents a fit age for their daughters to bear the strains of childbearing in the difficult conditions of a transhumant way of life.

When the *rukhsati* takes place, the girl is giving a dowry (*daaj*) by her father. This includes items for domestic use, sheep, goats and horses that would have been her share in her father's property. At her father-in –laws place the couple is given a separate nuptial tent (*dera*) and the bride is prepared for the consummation of marriage. After the consummation of marriage when the boy declares that he is happy with his marriage his father offers a sacrifice (*qurbani*) of a goat or chicken in the name of Allah. Some times sacrifice is also offered at a shrine to ensure many children to the couple and for the general welfare of the family in future.

2. Economy

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

Profession or occupation is considered as the means for livelihood. To meet both ends, one has to see or adopt an occupation. Presently, there are different professional persons in a family, but some professions are traditional. One is supposed to adopt the occupations of his predecessors. In ancient times the profession was based on caste. Same is the case with Bakerwal community as they are also associated with the traditional occupation. In the plains of the Jammu and Kashmir state, the Gojjars mostly rear milky animals and sell their milk in the market. But these communities are residing in various parts of 'Jammu and Kashmir' state and have owned the traditional occupation, i.e. sheep rearing. Sheep are mostly owned by nomads and some nomadic people who constantly move with their flocks in search of good pasture and the nomadic tribes like Gujjars and Bakerwals whose main occupation is sheep rearing. Sheep rearing is a hereditary occupation, which is practiced on a very large scale. The migratory flocks mostly owned by nomads are fairly large semi-migratory flocks generally ranged between 100-500, where as stationary flocks of small holding range from 10-100 size. Mostly they are pastoral people and keep sheep and goats. They sell age-old bakeries and ghee in the market, a profession that has become an essential part of their economy on which the entire tribe depends. Most of them are nomads though some of them are leading a settled life. Besides their traditional avocation, they do agriculture also as a subsidiary occupation. Because there is a plenty of barren land easily available to them, which remained unproductive. Now they produce a little of maize and pulses only and 'kandi' that is the feeds of maize which form the fodder for the cattle. Some Gujjars and Bakerwals used to sell maize, flour and peas in the winter in leather bags covering impossible gorges and high tracks while coming to the inhabited village of Kashmir in exchange of rice in the severe cold and freeze in the winter.

It appears that *Gujjars and Bakerwals* economy has always depended principally on the scale of animals on the hoop; in addition, sheep's wool and goat's hair were also always important sources of income in cash and kind.

2.1. Polity

The *Gujjars and Bakerwals* of Jammu and Kashmir state work together as a close kin group. They share each other's responsibilities in all walks of life. The person who comes to the helm of affairs by virtue of prosperity, family strength and knack of solving their personnel problems becomes sole authority in the community i.e. headman. In this sense they don't have any organized political institution as such besides the office of the head. From the earlier times till that the members of this community control their own life. The elders of their community constitute the panchayat (*kacharee*). In such an organized panchayat only male members of the community can become members. In spite of this, there are no criteria for becoming members, but only those who well versed with day-to-day problems of their community constitutes the panchayat. The panchayat takes necessary steps in all matters regarding the community. The quorum of panchayat is five. It is they who take decisions on matters of adultery, divorce etc. their decisions are final and cannot be changed. The head of the community presides over the panchayat.

2.2. Religious

Religion is one of the most essential and foremost aspect while discussing the identity of any group. It has a strong binding force with in which it holds the members of a community together, and delineates the identity of the community. The *Gujjars and Bakerwals* in the valley are the followers of Islam. The men, among this community grow beard in accordance with Islamic law. Other religious customs like circumcision among male children, observance of fasts during the month of Ramadan and celebration of religious festivals are strictly adhered to.

2.3. Beliefs and Practices

The *Gujjars and Bakerwals* is a staunch believer in Allah and is a momin. He knows that everything is to be read, recited, spoken written, and delivered in the name of the same, who will protect him and the non-believer alike till *Qayamat* (resurrection). He thinks that the High God is an enormous height and lives behind the seven skies where according to them of *Miraj Nama* the Prophet visited Him. When the prophet was of forty-two years of age. Their God is Allah or *Khudda* who created the world. They believe that prayer (*Nimaz*) should be performed five times a day, among them majority of people follow this strictly.

The *Gujjars and Bakerwals* profess Sunni form of Islam. Although they are very sincere and devout Muslims, the men invariably keep beards. They pay homage and reverence to the persons whom they adopt as their guide and beacon of light. To this person Kashmiri people treat as a "peer". This peer is helping them to attain purity of soul in the light of Quran and *Sunnah*. He is given everything in cash and kind i.e. bakery, ghee etc. *Gujjars and Bakerwals* community seeks advice in worldly matters i.e. marriage transactions etc. He also arranges Quranic teaching centers i.e. called *Darsgah* for the children of his community.

Most adult Bakerwals, both men and women, fast in the month of Ramadan. They celebrate the festivals of Eid-ul-fitre, Eid-ul-zuha, shabi-bharat with great enthusiasm. In Shab-e-Barat, halva is prepared and Neyaz is offered by all the families excepting those who are adherents of Deobandijamaat. Most of the Bakerwals are not superstitious and do not believe in witchcraft. But they believe in Jennies and Satan and on this account, are exploited by the Maulvies who perform jharphook (charms) and prescribe amulets for consideration. The service of Maulvies are also utilized in this connection with observances of certain rituals such as those connected with birth, circumcision, marriage and death.

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

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

2.4. Customs and Festivals

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

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

No important ritual is connected with naming the child or with its first feeding. Being followers of Islam khutna (circumcision) is however a very important event in a *Bakerwal* family. It has a socio-religious Sanctity too. The ritual is usually performed before the male child is nine years old. A barber performs Khutna, the hands and the feet of the boy are died with the Hinna a day earlier. In the morning the baby is placed on basket and a cock is cooped under it, and the barber performs the circumcision who also pays occasional visits later till the child is fully cured. A feast is usually held at the time of khutna. If a molvi is available, he recites holy verses to bless the child. Just after the birth of children, in the same way pricking of ear lokks takes place in the young age.

The ritual of 'Aquiqa' is performed for protection of life and longevity. It coincides with head shaving in case of children, but when aquiqa is for an elder person, head shaving is not necessary. A small animal like a sheep or goat is slaughtered and the meat is distributed among the kinsmen.

A number of ceremonies are connected with death in a *Bakerwal* family. When a *Bakerwal* is on deathbed, kalmia (oneness of God) and verses of holy Quran are recited for his peace. The dead body is bathed and wrapped into a cotton white cloth known as 'kaffen' with three knots at feet, navel and head. The dead body wrapped into *kaffen* is placed into wooden box called '*Tabout*' (coffin) which is available in every mosque. Keeping the *tabout* in front with the feet of the deceased towards the south, the men folk stand behind their *Imam*, in rows, facing *Qibla* (west) and offer *Nimaz-i-Jinnazah* (the last prayer) to the deceased. Then the dead body is taken out from the *tabout* and buried in the grave. Which is so many feet under the beneath of earth. Women weep bitterly beating their chests and torn their clothes and repeat the affectionate incidents in the verses.

For first three days of the death the bereaved family and the relatives are feasted by the neighbors of the deceased and no food is cooked in their house. But on the fourth day following the death, family members and relatives go to the graveyard to pray for the peace of the departed soul, which is called *Fateh-khawani*. Afterwards people visit to mourner's house, where refreshment is served to them and a complete recitation of holy Quran is done for the grant of peace to the departed soul. On the tenth day, a stone is put on the grave and pudding is distributed among the children in the neighborhood. Majority of them observe fifteenth day, fortieth day and the death anniversary in the memory of the departed soul.

2.5. Migration/Transhumance

The Gujjars and Bakerwals are skillful sheep breeders and raise goats and sheep as their main source no income. Consequently, their economy is dependent upon the availability of extensive pastures. While the area they inhabit is fertile and pastures are plenty, the Gujjars and Bakerwals are at the mercy of seasons. During winter the higher mountains are covered with snow and adequate pasturage is available only on the lower hills and in the plains as summer approaches the pastures in the plains and lower reaches dry up, but those higher up begin to thaw. As a result, Gujjars and Bakerwals move back and forth from the plains. And lower mountain regions, where they live in mudstone houses 'kothas' to summer pastures in the upper mountains and altitudes ranging between 14,000 to 15,000 feet above sea level. Over the years the Gujjars and Bakerwals have beaten out well defined tracks from one area to the other and drive large herds through precipitous mountain passes and along rivers. Fig.1 shows the traditional route of migration known as 'pir-panjal pass route' or 'Mugal route' in 'Jammu and Kashmir'.

The *Gujjars and Bakerwals* annual cycle of migration which corresponds roughly to the three principal seasons of the year starts in the month of April preferably Friday or Saturday when they leave the winter pastures of the middle mountain zone, south of *pir-panjal* range. While their winter pasture zone does not experience snowfall it is severely cold nevertheless'. Consequently, from December until April the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* are preoccupied with protecting their animals from the cold and in search for food.

From above the middle of April, they start moving towards summer pastures. This is the time when the rise in temp begins to deplete the pasturage lower down, where various types of grasses start springing up at higher altitudes with the melting of the snows. The migration is slow to start but swells as the heat increases. As this journey is an arduous one through difficult terrain, large caravans (kafillas) consisting of members of different households (deras) join together for the purpose. The *Gujjars and Bakerwals* halt sparingly en route, and their daily activities are confined to meeting the exigencies created by constant traveling and the needs of their animals.

From July until the first week of October the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* stay in the summer pasture zone. This zone does not experience the monsoon and the melting snow provides greenery all around. Life during this period is leisurely and comfortable and allows considerable scope for the other activities. Thus, animals are sheared during this period and the proceeds from the sale of wool are utilized for various ceremonies.

As winter starts approaching, the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* begin moving towards the winter pastures again. Unlike the movement upwards the return journey is comparatively fast and takes a shorter time. The fear that an untimely snowfall or sudden rain may block up the passes resulting in heavy animal and human life spurs the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* to hurry on down back to their winter pastures, the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* settle down in their Kothas and start attending to their animals. Fig.2 shows the animal migratory cycle of the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* and the activities characteristic of each phase. This seasonal cycle is repeated almost uniformly every year and constitutes the basic framework of the Bakerwals social and economic life.

2.6. Dress Patern

Gujjars and Bakerwals are conventional in their dress and have not changed their life style despite the changes that have taken place since their migration. The Gujjars and Bakerwals were recognized by their dresses they had adopted for themselves.

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

Their dress consists of a long loose Kurta and a Silwar or Salwar, generally above the ankles. A short half coat called Sadre and a turban generally three or four turns with a loose portion or "Patheka" above the neck. In winter they use a long strip of woolen cloth wrapped around the legs up to knee "Pothu" and shoe made of ropes which has advantage of being light and it fits closely in the feet. Thus can move easily in the heavy snow called "peel". Women use a short and a silwar or salwar the difference being bottom is narrow than in the males. Loose Salwar and Kurti of dark colors with big flowers printed cloth known as "Chheet". Head is covered by means of a shawl above a cap". The difference with the Kashmiri traditional women is that they let the cloth loose above shoulders. But the *Gujjars and Bakerwal* women wrap the cloth round the neck above shoulders. Though Purdha system among ladies is not observed but usually *Gujjars and Bakerwal* ladies do not face strangers and when they move out of home they wear a cloth to cover their bodies. It is known as "*Chipra*".

2.7. Food Habits

Gujjars and Bakerwals in general have a simple four-time food habits where in "Nun-Chai" or salt-tea in the morning was consumed as a breakfast along with some breads. Lunch of rice, vegetables or sometimes meat was preferred around noon. Then Nun-Chai around 4 pm, dinner around 9 pm.

As for the beverages *Gujjars and* Bakerwals are not used to any sort of toxic drinks as it is forbidden according to their religious teachings. Even consumption of tea was not common among the *Gujjars and Bakerwals* in the valley, but past ten to fifteen years *Gujjars and Bakerwals* have taken to tea as a light beverage, but it not very common.

Sometimes during summer, they also make use of wild vegetables, which grow in the pastures where they shepherd their flocks. Despite a rough and coarse food *Gujjars and Bakerwals* maintain a very sturdy health and body structure. However, children and ladies are anemic. *Gujjars and Bakerwals* also make use of mutton, which is available from their own livestock. But it is a tragedy to note that no healthy animal is slaughtered. Sheep or goat, which becomes physically worn-out or immovable and have no chances to survival are slaughtered for eating. Most of the *Gujjars and Bakerwals*, both male and females, are not used to any toxic beverages but use of snuff and smoking is a common feature among *Gujjars and Bakerwals*.

3. Conclusion

In this paper we have seen that Gujjar and Bakarwals have originated from the Central Asian Countries, how they entered India in different periods of the time. In Jammu and Kashmir their migration took place during the drought and famine periods in Rajasthan and Gujrat. The socioeconomic and educational status of Gujjar and Bakarwal in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is not satisfactory. Only a few percentages have good achievement in education but majority of tribal still suffer due to their illiteracy and poverty. Wide spread poverty, illiteracy and backwardness is the hallmark of this community.

Though the Central and the State Governments have taken much interest in the tribal welfare programmes, projects and schemes, much remains to be done. The progress achieved in this field is far from satisfactory. These decades of development have not had the desired impact on the socially, economically and educationally handicapped section.

The welfare progammes have not been effective due to inadequacies in the administrative machinery, lack of sensitive, trained management, lack of general preparedness for large investments, deficiency in accounting systems, procedural delays and lack of proper monitoring and evaluation.

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