

Impact of armed conflict on the seasonal migratory practices of Gujjar and Bakkarwal tribes in Jammu and Kashmir

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Abstract: *The Gujjars and Bakkarwal scheduled tribes form the third largest community in Jammu and Kashmir, one of the border states of India and constitute 8.1 percent of the total population in the state. Primarily nomadic communities who move to the lower, middle and higher mountain reaches in the Pir Panjal mountain ranges and even beyond up to Kashmir and Ladakh with the change in seasons along with their flock of buffaloes, goats and sheep, they have been severely hit by the armed conflict in Jammu and Kashmir. The present paper aims to understand the impact of conflict situations in Jammu and Kashmir on the migratory practices of Gujjars and Bakkarwals. It also seeks to analyze the annual pattern of migration from upper journeys to the higher hills and return journeys to the lower hills and plains.*

Keywords: *Tribes, Kashmir, conflict, Gujjars, Bakkarwals, seasonal migration, pastures*

I. Introduction

Jammu and Kashmir, a border state of India is inhabited by a number of tribal communities who have settled down in all parts of this Himalayan state. For many years, Jammu and Kashmir had no Scheduled Tribe (ST) population. It was only in 1989 that eight communities vide the Constitution (Jammu & Kashmir) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1989 and four communities, namely Gujjar, Bakkarwal, Gaddi and Sippi were notified as the Scheduled Tribes vide the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Act, 1991. These twelve hill tribes of Jammu and Kashmir which were granted ST status are Balti, Beda, Bot (Boto), Brokpa (Drokpa, Dard, Shin), Changpa, Garra, Mon, Purigpa, Gujjar, Bakkarwal, Gaddi and Sippis. All the twelve Scheduled Tribes (STs) were enumerated officially for the first time during the 2001 census recording a population of 1,105,979.

The Scheduled Tribes account for 11.9 per cent of the total population of the State as per Census 2011. The total population of the state, as per Census 2011, is 1,25,41302 including male population of 66,40662 and female population of 59,00640. The Census 2011 shows the entire ST population of the state at 14, 93, 299 in comparison to 11,0,5979 of Census 2001. Thus, there is an increase of 3,87,320 in schedule tribe population of the state. As the Census 2011 figures on the individual population of 12 ST communities of J&K are not yet available, however as per Census 2001, Gujjar is the most populous tribe having a population of 763,806, thus forming 69.1 percent of the total ST population. Bot is the second major tribe having a population of 96, 698, followed by Bakkarwal (60,724) and Brogpa (51,957). Gujjar along with the three tribes constitute 88 per cent of the total tribal population (Census 2001) whereas Balti, Purigpa and Gaddi having population ranging from 38,188 down to 35,765 form 10.2 per cent of the total ST population. Remaining five tribes, Sippi, Changpa, Mon, Garra and Beda along with generic tribes constitute the residual proportion (1.9 per cent). Among all the tribes, Beda is the smallest group with a population of 128.

Table 1: Population of Schedules Tribes in J&K

NAME	POPULATION OF ST Census 2011	POPULATION OF ST Census 2001	VARIATION
JAMMU & KASHMIR	14,93,299	11,0,5979	3,87,320
Kupwara	70352	51753	18599
Badgam	23912	14547	9365
Leh	95,857	96,174	-317
Kargil	1,22,336	1,05,377	16959
Poonch	1,76,101	1,49,018	27083
Rajouri	2,32,815	1,60,049	72766
Kathua	53307	33969	19338
Baramula	37705	28886	8819
Bandipore	75374	54996	20378
Srinagar	8935	3485	5450
Ganderbal	61070	41959	19111
Pulwama	22607	10552	12055

Shopian	21820	10944	10876
Anantnag	1,16,006	80,856	35150
Kulgam	26525	20287	6238
Doda	39216	28400	10816
Ramban	39772	29353	10419
Kishtwar	38149	27917	10232
Udhampur	56309	42875	13434
Reasi	88365	60753	27612
Jammu	69193	42089	27104
Samba	17573	11740	5833

Source: Census 2011

The Gujjars and Bakkarwal tribes, together with their unique social, cultural and linguistic identities form the third largest community in Jammu and Kashmir and constitute 8.1 percent of the total population in the state, according to the Census of India 2001. In India, Gujjar Bakkarwals are spread throughout the northern part of the Himalayan Range. This includes the states of Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. In Pakistan, Bakkarwals are found in the hilly northern parts of Punjab as well as parts of the North West Frontier Province. In Jammu and Kashmir in India, they are found in all the three regions of the state including Jammu (comprising districts of Jammu, Kathua, Udhampur, Poonch, Rajouri Districts), the Kashmir Valley (comprising the districts of Srinagar, Baramulla, Kupwara, Pulwama, Budgam and Anantnag) and Ladakh (comprising Kargil). The Gujjar tribe has the highest concentration in Poonch and Rajouri districts in Jammu province followed by Anantnag, Udhampur and Doda districts. The state of Jammu and Kashmir has a Bakkarwal population of about 60,724 in 2001 (Jammu Kashmir Digest of Statistics 2011).

Table 2: Percentage of Scheduled Tribe to total population in Jammu and Kashmir

DISTRICT CODE	DISTRICT	Percentage Of STs (2011)
	JAMMU & KASHMIR	11.9
1.	Kargil	86.9
2.	Leh(Ladakh)	71.8
3.	Punch	36.9
4.	Rajouri	36.2
5.	Reasi	28.1
6.	Ganderbal	20.5
7.	Bandipore	19.2
8.	Kishtwar	16.5
9.	Ramban	14
10.	Anantnag	10.8
11.	Udhampur	10.1
12.	Doda	9.6
13.	Kathua	8.6
14.	Shupiyan	8.2
15.	Kupwara	8.1
16.	Kulgam	6.2
17.	Samba	5.5
18.	Jammu	4.5
19.	Pulwama	4
20.	Baramula	3.7
21.	Badgam	3.2
22.	Srinagar	0.7

Source: Census 2011

Gujjars who were primarily a nomadic community, have now settled down to a larger extent in permanent villages in the plains bordering the foot hills and have taken to cultivation of land as their primary occupation. But there are many semi-settled or sedentary transhumant Gujjars who combine the cultivation of land with pastoralism. They move to the lower and middle mountain areas in Pir Panjal pastures in the summer with their flock of buffalos where they engage in cultivation and come back to the plains in the winters. The Bakkarwals who are the goat (Bakri) breeders are also primarily pastoral nomads rearing goat and sheep for livelihood. They also leave their homes each summer for the high-altitudes of Himalayas and spend their winter in plains and foot hills of Shivaliks. During their journeys to the higher reaches of the mountains during summers when the snows melt and the passes open, the Bakkarwals trek to the higher pastures of the Pir Panjal ranges where they graze their herd of sheep. Bakkarwals take long hard journeys to the higher mountains as long as even up to 500 kms. It may take them as many as sixty days to reach these meadows. The nomadic Bakkarwals from Ranbir Singh Pura area in the plains of Indo-Pak International Border, Akhnoor, lower hills of Rajouri and Kalakote travel

over 500 kms of journey with their caravans to Drass, Suru valley and Kargil in Ladakh via Kashmir valley and Pir Panjal ranges.

Seasonal migration patterns among nomadic Gujjar Bakkarwals of Jammu and Kashmir

With the onset of summers each year, the Gujjars and Bakkarwals migrate along with their livestock to upper reaches of Himalayas through seven major tribal migration routes. Besides, seven major migratory routes, there are many sub-routes also. All the major routes and sub-routes pass through various mountain passes which are known as *Gallis* in the local language. Various *Dheras* (clans comprising of various households) of nomads start their journey from various places like Marhot, Mendhar, Rajouri, Poonch, Surankote, Thanamandi etc. Every year around 20, 000 people migrate to summer pastures and return back after the grazing season is over. Migration in the Jammu usually takes place from three regions: Poonch, Rajouri and Kishtwar regions. The Poonch and Rajouri migration makes for the heaviest route out of the three. All these routes lead to different passes or *Gallis* in the Pir Panjal ranges.

Since the eruption of militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, the security forces including the police and army has been keeping an eye on the migratory population and checking the movement of militants along with them. For this purpose, the security agencies and the state administration has set up Joint Forest Check Posts (JCP) since 2009 to monitor and record the movement of Gujjar-Bakkarwals. Under this initiative, each JCP maintains a joint biometric observation or monitoring of the migration by one representative each from the police, army, a veterinary doctor from the Animal Husbandry Department and a Forest Department official. There are currently six such check posts in the Poonch-Rajouri located at Mandi, Kulali, Behramgala, Thanamandi, Darhal and Mahrot, along the routes followed by the Bakkarwals. Another JCP was set up at Kandi in the initial years.

Table 3: Migration pattern of the *Deras* (nomadic families) in Poonch-Rajouri in 2012

S. No.	Joint Check Post (JCP)	Originated from	Middle reaches	Higher reaches	Destination
1.	Behramgala	Bachianwali Bhattardurian Darabad Fasalabad Sunderbai Kalakote Mendhar Naushera	Dhokri Malhan Mari Khotewali Karu Said Baker Suinay Nad Doba Naka majari Khor marha	Jaranwali Tatakuti Khutwali Kutpathri Chatapani Poshian Patankote	Bagnuwali Dogrian Srinagar Sonamarg Shopian Meena Marg Psohiana Nakka Majdhari
2.	Kulali	Dandidhar Fasalabad Kallar katal Marrah Gunthal Marhot Mohra Bachai	Dongiwali Said baker Galinar Muri Hingli Dhara Sangla Kalar Suranthal	Gajnawa Jaranwali Lugni Bearwali Dobigaj	Hill Kaka Upper Tarkanna Dhanawali Jotiyawali Tungwali Ranjati
3.	Marhote	Naushera Rajouri Sunderbani Kalakote	Galinar Muri Hingli Dhara Sangla Suranthal	Gajnawa Jarawali Lugni Bearwali Dobigaj	Baramulla Kupwara Bandipura Gulmarg
4.	Mandi	Rajada Double Kot Single Kot Soodh Moh Solian Hari Dodi Mohra Bachai	Gursai Batawali Khangar Bari bahak Ban Gari Bahak Gangjal Dodi Suranthal	Dhara Dorwali Daranwa Pass Patri Khutwali	Derawali Ban Jabada Bari Behak Battanwali Channuwali Kolion Ka Sangao Kuliwali Paanch Katta Sodhan Ka Sangad Chottanad
5.	Darhal	Tanda (Jammu) Akhnoor Villages of Rajouri district	Kandi Pairi Galian Jatwala Pajja Bhediwala	Kharimarg Kulian Shakarmarg Danna Jalamang	Bela Sarhota Dhudwali Chhambarwali Rupri Galli

			Lami Behek Margari Panj Kathha Khud Sawaya	Jhanjhwal	Sonamarg Gulmarg Shopian Srinagar Pir Panjal
6.	Thanamandi	Villages of Rajouri district	Manial Azmtabad Bara Chhar Kopra Nerian	DKG Dorewali Nai Hatti Ratan Pir Galli Sigari Birnala	Shopian Budgam Kargil Ganderbal Bandipura Pahalgam Sonamarg Srinagar Baramulla Gurez Pulwama
7.	Kandi	Villages of Rajouri district	Lowa Pathri Phulwai Mandarniwala Nakka Kattha	Marguri Panch Gabbar Chee Sari Rupri Galli	Kauri Hill Kesri Hill Rupri Galli Shopian Srinagar Pir Panjal Gulmarg Sonamarg

Source: Joint Forest Check Posts (JCP) Records 2012

Traditionally, the seasonal migration commences in the first week of April each year and generally the upward movement is completed in the last week of June or the first week of July.

The first to move are Bakkarwals whose livestock are hard and can survive on the short grass and shrubs that sprout after winter. The movement is to make maximum use of nature's bounty in the form of good grazing for their flocks. The routes followed are centuries old and particular families follow particular routes without deviation. The *dhoks* (mud & stone houses) and grazing grounds enroute their final destination may not belong to that family who merely use the intermediary dhoks as staging areas. The locations where the *Deras* halt enroute and their duration of stay both during migration and reverse migration often differs. However *Deras* have certain earmarked *Dhoks* which are used by them every year. The *carvans* generally move along the roads for convenience and to avoid traffic. The movement is in the early morning and the routes of migration and reverse migration differ for some *deras* and there is no set pattern to this variation.

The nomadic *Deras* originating from Rajouri and Naushera, depending upon their preferred destination or the location of their *dhoks* (temporary shelters) either take the Bhimber Gali-Jaran Wali Gali road and onward through the JCPs or through the JCPs of Thanamandi, Darhal and Kandi. The *carvans* crossing Thanamandi joint check post originate from Akhnoor and go to Bhamala-Sunderbani-Narian-Chingus-Rajouri-Saaj-Thanamandi-Manhal-Azmtabad-Naili-DKG-Ratan Pir pass and Banjh. Another route of *Deras* is from Akhnoor-Bhamla-Sunderbani-Narian-chingus-Rajouri-Gurian-Darhal-Pargal-Harimarg-Shakarmarg-Jalamang and then Naushera-Narian-Rajouri-Gurian-Pargal-Kharimarg- Shakarmarg/Jalmang. Both the routes taken by the *Deras* cross through JCP Darhal.

The *carvans* crossing Kandi JCP have their start point at Sundarbani-Dharamasal-kalakote-Tatta Pani-Khu- Marhota-Kanthol-Kandi and beyond till Bahgsar Galli/Rupri Gali. Another route for the same JCP is Sunderbani-Narian-Sial Sui- Samrot-Khu-Marhota-Kandi-Marguri-Panch Gabbar-Bhagsar Gali-Rupri Galli. The *deras* also take the from Sundarbani-Maho Gala-Kanthol-Kandi-Daraj-Mandu gala-Banj-Bhagsar Galli-Rupri Galli-Gurwatan.

Conflict situations in Jammu and Kashmir and Gujjar Bakkarwals

Jammu and Kashmir was hit by an armed conflict in 1989. Broadly termed as 'proxy war' being waged from across the border by Pakistan with an objective to have control over Kashmir valley, the initial armed struggle started with the objective to carve an independent Kashmir from rest of Jammu and Kashmir whose key players were outfits like Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Hizbul Mujahideen etc. The Gujjar Bakkarwal population of Jammu and Kashmir has been badly hit by the armed conflict which erupted in the border state in 1989. Since the beginning of the armed insurgency in the border state, these two tribes were unwittingly drawn into this conflict.

Objectives of the study

1. To study the impact of armed conflict on the migratory practices of Gujjars and Bakkarwals.
2. To analyze the annual pattern of migration from upper journeys to the higher hills and return journeys to the lower hills and plains.

- To suggest some measures for the betterment of Gujjar Bakkarwals including their migratory practices.

II. Methodology

The present study is based on stratified random sampling which was done in Poonch and Rajouri. The areas chosen for the study of the migratory practices of nomads were Poonch and Rajouri as most of the seasonal migration takes place through the Pir Panjal ranges in these two districts only. A number of interviews were conducted besides the case studies and questionnaire was used. Besides the primary data, secondary sources were collected from the books, journals, seminar papers, websites, newspapers etc.

Limitations of the study

The study could have been conducted in the entire Pir Panjal ranges. But due to time and resources restraint, it was not extended to other parts.

III. Results and Discussions

The protracted conflict in Jammu and Kashmir has impacted the lives of the Gujjars Bakkarwals. The worsening of the security situation in J&K did not stop the two great annual seasonal migrations but it did expose them to new pressures. As the terrorists would remain hidden in the dense forests in the upper reaches of the mountains especially in Pir Panjal ranges, the nomads who would also go to the higher reaches, were seen as a keen element in the escalated violence in Jammu and Kashmir. Travelling to far flung regions they would often come into contact with the militants who also used these areas to hide from the security forces. The security forces would also see their journeys to the higher regions as a source of support to the various terrorist outfits operating in the higher ridges. The nomads were sandwiched between the militants and the security forces and were hit from either side. If they won't listen to the ultras, they were bound to be hit by militants' bullet and if they were caught helping the militants, then the army would not leave them. Not only the nomads meant food, shelter, directions across the remote areas, carrying their ammunition and equipments for the militants but also a plethora of other support like sneaking past the security forces with the nomads posing off as part of their caravans while hiding their arms and ammunition in their belongings atop the horses that the Bakkarwals possessed. This exposed the tribal population to further vulnerability and more retaliation of the hands of the militant cadres resulting which many of them abandoned their age-old practice of pastoralism and stopped moving as part of their annual migration for fear of gun.

Table 4a) Summer Migration of Gujjar Bakkarwals from 17 April - 4 August 2012

Joint Check Post (JCP)	Total number of Deras (families) movement	Number of Males	Number of females	Number of Children	Total persons	Total animals
Behramgala	583	1436	865	946	3247	47012
Kulali	118	207	176	286	669	5704
Marhot	1702	2474	2533	2933	7940	29927
Mandi	1538	1538	978	996	3509	78232
Darhal	496	978	297	73	1348	19491
Thanamandi	1383	2909	1387	859	5155	65704
Grand total	5820	9542	6236	6093	21886	246070

Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2012

Table 4b): Winter (reverse) migration of Gujjar Bakkarwals from 13 September - 15 November 2012

Joint Check Post (JCP)	Total number Of Deras (families) movement	Number of Males	Number of females	Number of Children	Total persons	Total animals
Behramgala	105	241	166	137	544	8915
Kulali	20	35	24	39	98	1609
Marhot	837	971	1021	1326	3318	11732
Mandi	302	484	303	450	1237	29623
Darhal	144	185	85	65	335	15113
Thanamandi	786	1858	718	560	3136	60306
Grand total	2194	3774	2317	2577	8668	127298

Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2012

The analysis of the data and the interviews conducted with the nomadic members of Gujjar Bakkarwal tribes shows that the conflict has impacted the livelihood of nomadic shepherd community as the presence of militants in the upper reaches and their atrocities and fear of retaliation or safety of their family members, made most of

the families abandon their annual migratory practices. Many of them were forced to remain in lower areas only and abandon the migration making their livelihood into an unviable proposition.

Table 5a) Summer Migration of Gujjar Bakkarwals from 05 April 2011 – 20 July 2011

Joint Check Post (JCP)	Total number of Deras (families) movement	Number of Males	Number of females	Number of Children	Total persons	Total animals
Behramgala	652	1204	832	328	2364	37556
Kulali	123	325	295	167	787	4804
Marhot	1507	2182	2561	3191	7934	21957
Mandi	1070	1644	844	1221	3709	76561
Darhal	514	672	729	385	1786	22477
Thanamandi	727	1542	680	486	2708	61450
Grand total	4593	7569	5941	5778	19288	224805

Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2011

Table 5b): Winter (reverse) migration of Gujjar Bakkarwals from 11 September - 19 November 2011

Joint Check Post (JCP)	Total number Of Deras (families) movement	Number of Males	Number of females	Number of Children	Total persons	Total animals
Behramgala	163	278	202	114	594	6508
Kulali	19	46	36	50	132	1808
Marhot	210	314	367	395	1076	2651
Mandi	547	867	484	898	2249	52203
Darhal	91	221	109	136	466	7091
Thanamandi	587	1449	412	702	2563	75590
Grand total	1617	3175	1610	2295	7080	145851

Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2011

According to a survey conducted in 2012 by Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation, a community based organization working on the Gujjar-Bakkarwals of Jammu and Kashmir; more than 39% Gujjar-Bakkarwals who are migratory by tradition relinquished their nomadic lifestyle in these years of turmoil in the State. Heavy loss of precious lives and properties, lack of health and communication facilities and restriction on nomadic movement in upper reaches are few of the reasons, the survey said adding the main reason of declining in annual tribal movement is the killing of hundreds of nomadic Gujjar-Bakkarwals on upper reaches in the turmoil besides the restrictions imposed by the security agencies and militants on tribal migration in border and strategic areas.

The migratory practices of the nomads in Jammu and Kashmir have undoubtedly been impacted by the armed conflict. Firstly, ever since the militancy started in Jammu region, there has been a reduction in the number of Bakkarwals who would go up in the mountains some 30-40 years ago in comparison to the present times. After militancy erupted, the Bakarwals couldn't go up in their mountain pastures. When the militants would take their goats and other things, they could not help but stopped moving for fear of gun. Once militancy started, the militants started killing them, their dignity was destroyed, they lost their habitats and thus were hit badly. Few of the Bakarwals turned to farming which is very less seen among their tribes.

Secondly, the *caravans* have become smaller, the goats are no longer in plenty, the number of their cattle is reducing with each passing day and as they do not have any major land holdings, many of them have been forced to leave their centuries old tradition of nomadism and are forced to do labour work. They are no longer able to fend for themselves.

Thirdly, the Bakkarwals who travel to the higher reaches with their herd use forest land for resources. These forests proved shelter and food for many Bakarwals as many set camps under large trees. In the 1980's the Forest Department decided to close and fence off a major chunk of the forest land in the Jammu region. These forests and the Forest department wanted to conserve this land that fed the seasonal migrations of the nomads. There was huge dependence of these tribes on the forest area and its closure ultimately stopped many nomads from migrating.

Table 6: A comparative state of *Deras* movement of Gujjar Bakkarwals 2010-2012

Joint Check Post (JCP)	2010			2011			2012		
	Deras	Persons	Animals	Deras	Per	Animals	Deras	Per	Animal
Behram Gala	817	3652	49049	652	2364	37556	583	3247	47012
Kulali	148	865	5391	123	787	4804	118	669	5704
Mandi	945	3345	79959	1507	7934	21957	1538	3509	78232
Marhot	1520	8437	26203	1070	3709	76561	1702	7940	29927
Darhal	315	1164	15304	514	1786	22477	496	1348	19491
Thana mandi	853	3246	71227	727	208	61450	1383	5155	65704
Total	4598	20709	247133	4593	19288	224805	5820	21886	246070

Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records

The analysis of the data collected in the past three years also shows that there had been an increase in the total number of *Deras* that have migrated in 2012 as compared to previous two years. However there had been a sharp decline in the number of persons migrating (only 12095 compared to about 20,000 persons for lesser number of *Deras*). This sharp decline in the number of persons can also be attributed to the opening of Mughal Road and the new trend of people moving in transport to the grazing areas. Maximum number of *Deras* moved through the JCPs at Mandi, Marhot and Thanamandi areas whereas JCPs at Kulali, Darhal witnessed minimum migration. The analysis of the data also shows that the seasonal migrations commenced at least a week later than the usual time of the year in 2012. This can be attributed to the extended winters. The movement of nomads to the middle reaches was delayed as the areas were still covered with snow whereas from few JCPs, the movement was more as the availability of grass and cattle feed was more in their areas. In the upper reaches, the effect of summer is late.

The number of *Deras* which migrated from JCPs rose from 4593 in 2011 to 5779 in 2012 with corresponding increase in persons as well as sheep/goat/cattle and horses. Similarly, for reverse migration of *Deras*, the figures were 1617 in 2011 to 2260 in 2012.

In December 2011, 652 *Deras* moved from Behramgala JCP during their onward migration but only 163 *deras* returned. The number of *Deras* which migrated from the JCPs of Thanamandi and Darhal rose from 1132 in 2010 to 1240 in 2011 with corresponding increase in persons as well as sheep/goat/cattle and horses. However, the reverse migration of *Deras* from JCP Thanamandi and Darhal was significantly less in 2010 which was only 514 as compared to 678 in 2011.

Table 7a: Details of the migrating *Deras* for 2008-2010 obtained from the JCPs

Year	JCP	Deras	Persons	Sheep/Goat	Cattle/Horses
2008	Behramgala	902	3298	32306	7167
	Kulali	355	2044	10646	2386
	Marhot	820	2062	4314	5928
	Mandi	1028	4575	71020	9724
	Thanamandi	943	3643	62415	9716
	Darhal	667	1672	22350	2180
	Kandi	526	2122	13222	1888
	Total	5241	19416	216273	39989
2009	Behramgala	326	1282	21685	1924
	Kulali	221	1281	3528	1273
	Marhot	766	4817	8722	6855
	Mandi	1130	4694	72430	7945
	Thanamandi	1017	3974	53754	6624
	Darhal	456	1166	24828	2855
	Kandi	447	1553	15421	994
	Total	4363	18767	200368	28470
2010	Behramgala	803	3655	43132	4949
	Kulali	152	964	4882	686
	Marhot	1520	8902	17146	8212
	Mandi	964	3370	85862	4084
	Thanamandi	853	3246	65113	6114
	Darhal	315	1164	13865	1439
	Kandi	209	805	7760	834
	Total	4816	22106	237780	26318

Table 7b: Details of the reverse movement of migrating Deras for 2008-2010 obtained from the JCPs

Year	JCP	Deras	Persons	Sheep/Goat	Cattle/Horses
2008	Behramgala	421	1947	15779	2461
	Kulali	438	2582	12029	2696
	Marhot	1161	6476	68947	7811
	Mandi	653	2419	33345	3831
	Thanamandi	876	3314	51267	5273
	Darhal	244	573	10584	1043
	Kandi	557	1578	6310	1573
	Total	4350	18,889	198261	24688
2009	Behramgala	366	2902	24346	4632
	Kulali	231	1233	3410	1000
	Marhot	412	1190	1963	1248
	Mandi	685	2249	40337	3157
	Thanamandi	898	3059	50655	6148
	Darhal	205	518	7214	535
	Kandi	192	849	3934	913
	Total	2989	12000	131859	17633
2010	Behramgala	280	1880	14461	1160
	Kulali	13	77	90	64
	Marhot	691	3834	7578	3582
	Mandi	372	1742	34172	655
	Thanamandi	881	3237	74767	4572
	Darhal	213	763	8733	1313
	Kandi	178	988	5961	1058
	Total	2627	12521	145762	12404

Table 8: Details of Deras that changed their migration routes from 2008-2010

JCPs	2008		2009		2010	
	Migrated	Reverse	Migrated	Reverse	Migrated	Reverse
Behramgala	949	421	367	366	803	280
Kulali	448	438	231	231	152	13
Marhot	1161	1161	1130	412	1520	691
Mandi	657	653	730	685	964	372
Thanamandi	943	876	1017	898	853	881
Darhal	667	244	456	205	315	213
Kandi	526	557	447	192	209	178

Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2012

An analysis of reverse migration data of the nomads clearly establishes the fact that most of the livestock carried by Deras was sold off by them. This is an obvious outcome based on the fact that they earn some money by their sale especially during the festivities after *Ramzan*. This also impacts their migration routes. During the seasonal migration, the route of induction and de-induction differs every year. Not necessarily the Deras will return by the same route as it had taken to induct. At times if their livestock is disposed off, the members may move back by road. The pattern of onward and return migration is also unlikely to confirm to a set pattern of sticking to one route/mode of returning during the winters. The movement pattern of various carvans or Deras shows that there is marginal variation in the route of induction. The *deras* may also return by the surface transport via Jammu even if the livestock is not disposed off.

The improvement of the Mughal Road has been a major factor in the increase in deras movement via Behramgala. Deras have been able to move along the valley and reach the road approximately five km short of Pir Gali. The worst stretch of movement to Pir Gali is normally the climb to the pass and thus the Deras are now able to move along the road alignment. The wider pass is lowest on the Pir Panjal ranges and thereafter the movement is a reasonably good one along the road for some distance and then via the valley selected by the *dera*. This is the main reason for the increase in Dera movement via Behramgala.

IV. Conclusions

Clearly, the migratory practices of nomadic Gujjar Bakkarwal population of Jammu and Kashmir have been impacted by the armed conflict. Not only more and more Gujjars and Bakkarwals are settling in the plains for fear of terrorists, but the fodder shortage due to closure of pastures and forest areas is also posing problems for them.

Besides, the Gujjar Bakkarwals have no adequate political voices especially the Bakkarwals have not a single member in the Gujjar Bakkarwal Advisory Board. The Gujjar Bakkarwal Advisory Board possesses great

authority in determining who from the Below Poverty Line section, will get access to various schemes. There should be at least one Bakkarwal member on the board. As both the Gujjars and Bakarwals gain greater political power they will be able to demand and control developmental funds for their own areas. Government should formulate a plan to protect their nomadic identity by providing them education and health facilities during their migration at upper reaches.

Therefore, for the betterment of the Gujjar Bakkarwal community, corrective measures must be taken by the government. Adequate security needs to be given to them while on seasonal migration, more channels of communication should be available to them so that in remote isolated place so that they can get in touch with administration and security forces in times of need. The nomadic Deras move freely across higher ranges of Pir Panjal ranges. Due to lack of communication with the security forces or the district administration, they face terror or climatic urgencies. They are not able to contact anybody and thus suffer a lot. There are no adequate communication networks among the nomadic population and the security forces or administration which can not only provide them with the latest information about the various terrorists operating in the higher ranges and their outfits, activity patterns etc but also will also help them in case of bad weather conditions or sudden rainfall etc. and thus launch Rescue and Relief operations. There are many instances wherein the army came to the rescue of hundreds and thousands of Bakkarwals in J&K in higher reaches when sudden cold and snowfall took a toll of them and their cattle. Thus stronger means of communication are also required.

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