

**POLITICS OF PASTORALISM AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION: A CASE
STUDY OF SIKKIM**

Dissertation Submitted to Sikkim University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement

for the Award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Submitted by

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2015

DECLARATION

I, Simanta Chettri, hereby declare that the subject matter of this entitled “Politics of Pastoralism and Social Exclusion: A case study of Sikkim” is the record of the work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the awards of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university /institute.

This is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of Master of Philosophy in the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies & Management, School of Social Sciences.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**Politics of Pastoralism and Social exclusion: A Case Study of Sikkim**” submitted to **Sikkim University** in a partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of **Master of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies**, is the result of bona fide research work carried out by **Mr. Simanta Chettri** under my guidance and supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associated, fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledge by him.

Dr. Nawal k. Paswan (Supervisor)

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CONTENTS	PAGE NO
Acknowledgement	
List of table	
List of Figure	
Abbreviation	
CHAPTER I- INTRODUCTION	1-12
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Pastoralism in Sikkim	2
1.3 Literature Review Social Exclusion.....	3-6
1.3.1 Pastoralism	7
1.3.2 Politics of Pastoralism	8-9
1.4 Statement of the Problem.....	9-10
1.5 Rationale and Scope of the Study.....	10
1.6 Objective	10
1.7 Research Question.....	11
1.8 Hypothesis.....	11
1.9 Research Methodology.....	11
1.10 Limitation of the Research	12
CHAPTER 2- SOCIAL EXCLUSION: PASTORALIST PERSPECTIVE	13-30
2.1 Introductions.....	13
2.2 Meaning Scope and Approach.....	13-16
2.3 The Social Exclusion Discourse.....	16 -17
2.4 Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion.....	18
2.5 Notion of Social Exclusion.....	18
2.6 Sen's Analytical Framework	18
2.7 Dimension of Social Exclusion.....	19

2.7.1 Economic Dimension.....	20
2.7.2 Social Dimension	20
2.7.3 Political Dimension.....	20
2.7.4 Neighborhood Dimension.....	21
2.7.5 Individual Dimension	21
2.7.6 Spatial Dimension.....	21
2.7.7 Group Dimension.....	21-22
2.8 Application of Social Exclusion in Developing Countries Problems and Prospects.....	22
2.9. Social Exclusion in Indian Context	23
2.10 Understanding Social Exclusion from Pastoralist Perspectives.....	24
2.10.1 Expansion of Crop cultivation.....	24
2.10.2 Shortening of the Fallow Period.....	25
2.10.3 Irrigation and Hydro electric Project.....	25
2.10.4 Wildlife and Sanctuary.....	25
2.10.5 Privatization of former Pastures	25
2.10.6 Sedentarization project.....	26
2.10.7 Food aid and drilling of wells.....	26
2.10.8 Colonial Rule and Pastoral Life.....	26-27
2.10.9 Government Attitude towards Pastoralism	27
2.11 Social Exclusion and Pastoralism	27-30
CHAPTER- 3 SOCIO – ECONOMIC LIFE OF PASTORALISM IN INDIA	31- 47
3.1 Introduction.....	31
3.2 Origin of pastoralism	32
3.3 Historical Perspective on Pastoralism	33
3.4 Types of Pastoralism.....	33
3.4.1 Nomadic Herding	34
3.4.2 Commercial Livestock Rearing	34

3.5 Pastoralism in South Asia.....	35
3.6 Pastoralism in India.....	35
3.7 Social Context of India Pastoralism.....	36
3.8 Characteristics of Pastoralism in India.....	36
3.8.1 Pastoral Society.....	36 -37
3.8.2 Mobility	37
3.8.3 Economy.....	37
3.9 Classification of major types of Indian pastoralist	37-38
3.9.1 Pastoralist of Indian Himalayan Region.....	38
3.9.1.1 Nomadic Herders.....	38
3.9.1.2 Semi- Nomadic Pastoralist.....	39
3.9.1.3 Long distance or transhumant herders.....	39
3.9.2 Pastoralism in Western India.....	42
3.9.2.1 Urban Pastoralism.....	42
3.9.2.2 Village based pastoralism.....	42- 43
3.10 Pastoralism from the Ancient to Colonial period in India.....	44 - 45
3.11 Impact of Modernity on Socio- Economic life of Pastoralist.....	45 - 47
CHAPTER 4- POLITICS OF PASTORALISM IN SIKKIM	48- 71
4.1 Introduction.....	48
4.2. Forest Profile of Sikkim.....	48
4.3 Pastoralism in Sikkim: A Cursory Overview.....	51
4.4 Socio- Economy life of Pastoralist of Sikkim.....	51- 53
4.5 Policies of Sikkim government towards pastoralism.....	53
4.5.1 Policies on Pastoralism in the pre merger period.....	54
4.5.2 Policies on pastoralism after merger.....	54
4.5.2.1 Establishment of National Park and Wildlife Sanctuary.....	54
4.5.2.2 Implementation of Forest Acts 1980.....	55

4.5.2.3 Abolishment of Grazing Patta system.....	55
4.5.2.4 Ban on Grazing.....	55 -56
4.6 Evolution of grazing In Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary.....	58
4.7 Livestock Population.....	58
4.8 Impact of Pastoralism in Rhododendron Sanctuary.....	59
4.9 Impact of Pastoralism.....	59
4.10 Ban on Discourse.....	60- 64
4.11 Findings.....	64-66
CHAPTER V-CONCLUSION.....	67- 71
REFERENCE.....	72-77
APPENDICES.....	78-82

List of tables	Page No.
Table 3.1 Major Pastoralist Groups of Himalayan Region.....	40 -41
Table 3.2 .Major Pastoralist Groups In Western India.....	43
Table 4.1: Showing Geographical Area Under Forest Department..	50
Table 4.2 National Park and Sanctuaries of Sikkim.....	50
Table 4.3 Composition of Sample Population.....	60
Table 4.4 Age of Sample Population.....	61
Table 4.5 Educational Profile of Sample Population.....	61
Table 4.6 Livelihood of Sample Population	62

List of Figure and Pie chat	Page No
Figure 4.1 Showing Forest Cover Of Sikkim	49
Figure 4.2 Map of Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary	57
Figure: 4.3 Perceptions on Ban of Pastoralist Sample Population.....	63
Figure 4.4 Perception of Non Pastoralist Sample Population on the Lift of ban.....	64

Acknowledgements

Foremost I would thank **Almighty God** for guiding me in my Dissertation all through the way.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to my Guide Dr. Nawal Kishor Paswan for giving me the opportunity to work on a memorable and knowledge enhancing dissertation entitled, “politics of pastoralism and social exclusion: a case study of Sikkim and helping me all through the way in my Dissertation by involving his selves in the project right from its inception through the choice of the topic, material collection, library visits and thoughtful insights in this endeavor.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Tikendra Dai for his continuous support and without his guidance my dissertation wouldn't be completed.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my friend Mr Japheth Hmar , Bipen Daju , Jainta Da, Tenzing Da, Mr .D. Mani Pradhan (H.M Khanisirbong), T.B Gurung , my friend Nishal ,Nimkit ,Ganga and Meheema and all by seniors and juniors of my department and ,all who have assisted and guided me in the successful completion of my Dissertation.

I would also like to express my heartfelt gratitude to teachers form the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies and Management, Dr. Salvin Paul, Dr. Sangamitra Choudhary and Sikkim Central University for providing with the needful.

I would also like to thank all the respondent's for providing me their precious time during field work.

I will be failing in my duties without mentioning my Family Amma, Dada ,Didi and Vhena for their perpetual guidance for being the source of inspiration and having rendered me all the support that I needed.

It will be an act of impudence on my part if I do not offer a word of apology to any person or group of people in particular, whose sentiments I may have hurt unknowingly while elaborating on my views.

While there may be repetitions in the dissertation which are perhaps inevitable on account of the scheme of the dissertation. I fully owe responsibility for the factual or other mistakes having crept up inadvertently in the Dissertation. I will be thankful if such discrepancies are brought to notice, any suggestion for improvement will also be gratefully acknowledge.

Simanta Chettri

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Pastoralism is a traditional form of subsistence farming practiced among the rural population throughout the world. In the Indian context, pastoralists can be defined as “members of caste or ethnic groups with a strong traditional association with livestock-keeping. Their livelihoods depend on their intimate knowledge of the surrounding ecosystem and on the well-being of their livestock. Pastoral systems take many forms and adapted to particular natural, political and economic environments. The types of livestock kept by pastoralists vary according to climate, environment, water and other natural resources, and geographical area. Mobility is a key feature qualifying Pastoralism. Within a pastoral society the ecosystem diversity does not only mean the variety of ecological zones or habitats, but it encompasses cultural diversity and ecological processes related to different pastoral production system as well. Therefore, biodiversity provides a fundamental base to Pastoralism and to overall economic systems.

All pastoralists have to look for supplementary forms of economic activities. They use animals as providers of food, fuel, fiber, draught power and transportation. However, nomadic, semi-nomadic and transhumant pastoralist societies have lifestyles that revolve mainly around their livestock. Since pastoralists do not own land, their produce is generated by dependence on communally and state-owned grazing land. Currently, the trend towards globalization of the market, with pastoral lands increasingly being commercialized and/or turned into national parks has created problems for the pastoralists. Due to the neglect by officials and policy makers, pastoralists face deprivation from their traditional and customary rights to these grazing areas. The political marginalization of pastoral communities paved the way for forcible eviction from their lands and/or restriction of their movements. Since Independence of India, the pastoralists have faced a series of significant changes from external politics.

1.2 Pastoralism in Sikkim

Sikkim is the second smallest and least populous state of India located in the eastern Himalayan region. This region represents one of the 34 global biodiversity hotspots of the world (Myers et al. 2000, Mittermeier et al. 2004). In 1977, with the view of conserving biodiversity in Sikkim, Khangchenzonga National Park (1784 km²) was set aside. It covers nearly 25% of the total geographic area of the state, harbouring both the greater Himalaya (86%) and the trans-Himalaya (14%). The area has been carved out from existing reserve forest which were demarcated and freed from all previous rights in 1909 (Tambe, Sandeep, Rawat 2009). The park is also a part of the greater Khangchenzonga transboundary landscape providing biological connectivity with protected areas in Nepal (Kanchenjunga Conservation Area). The culture diversity of the local communities living adjacent to KNP has given rise to a variety of livelihoods, Traditionally ,the gurung and Mangers were the shepherds, the Bhutia were the traders and Yak herders, the Lepcha and the Limbus were the hunters and gatherers and shifting cultivators, the Chettri and Bahuns were the agro-pastoralist rearing cattle and the Tibetans Dokpas were Nomadic yak herders in the trans-Himalayas (Tambe, Sandeep, Rawat 2009).

In mountain ecosystems, the villagers practice a mixed livelihood and they obtain their source of income from agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and other tertiary occupations. Livestock such as yak, sheep, buffalo, cow and goats have been grazing in the forests and meadows of the state. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the forests of the state were demarcated wherein the *khasmahal* and *goucharan* forests were specifically set aside for the fodder and firewood requirements of the villagers. However, with the increasing human and livestock population, the forests could no longer sustain their needs. As such, even fodder resources of the Reserve Forests were utilized to meet the growing demands of this increasing livestock population.

In 1996, the State Government banned the practice of open grazing in the Reserve Forests of Sikkim. This action was undertaken in order to reduce the degradation of the forests. Consequently, there was a considerable reduction in

the practice of open grazing and more than 10,000 cattle and 500 herders were phased off from the sub tropical and temperate forests by 2003. However, the number of yaks and sheep in the temperate and alpine forests reduced only to a limited extent. Subsequently, these ex cattle herders pressurized the Forest Department as to why it was going slow on the eviction of yaks in the alpine forests. As such, in 2004, a conflict sparked between the yak herders and the Forest Department when their eviction was started

1.3 Literature Review Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a persisting problem in all the societies. It occurs when a group of people are denied access to opportunities and resources which are necessary for their survival and sustenance. It hampers democracy, development and social integration (Bhattacharya, 2010). It has been defined differently but in the wider sense, it means persistence of complex and multiple disadvantages. In the process of its evolution, it has been conceptualized as both the “process” and “outcome”. As a process, the social exclusion examines the way individuals and groups are excluded in the society where they live. As an outcome it is identified as the most disadvantages people or groups who could be labeled as excluded from larger social system (Alam, 2013). The concept of the social exclusion was conceived in Western Europe to capture different forms of disadvantages that has resulted from the economic restructuring in 1970s. Exclusion is not a concept rooted in the social science but an empty box given by the French state to the social science by the French state to the social science in the late 19870s. The box has been filled with huge number of pages, treaties, and pictures (Rao 2010). The social exclusion was use to describe the various categories of people like aged, abuse children, single parent, marginal, asocial persons and 10 percent of the French population who were excluded from the employment based social security but slowly and gradually; the concept was redefined to new social problems (Haan 1998).

It was first popularized by Rene Lenoir in France (Sliver, 1998). Slowly and gradually it began to spread in other State of European Union. The discourse on social exclusion was far wider and deeper in the United Kingdom when the

Labour party came to power and set up a “Social Exclusion Unit”. Later the concept began to flourish in United States of America and Canada. The United Nation played an important role in transporting this concept to the developing countries through its agency of International Labour Organization and hence, it began to gain a global currency (Alam, 2013). The term social exclusion is so evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional and expansive that it is defined, understood and interpreted in different ways according to the context at different times (Roa, 2010). Social exclusion is the denial of equal opportunities to some groups in a society by some dominant groups, which leads to the inability of the affected excluded individuals to participate in the basic political, economic and social functions within the society. Exclusion remains a hurdle for the development for those who are excluded from the participation in society. According to (Bhattacharya 2010) “it occurs when some groups of people for the reason of colour, caste, ethnic identity, religion belief and on are systematic denied access to opportunities and resource which are necessary for the survival and substance. The concept has two main defining characteristics. Firstly, it is multi-dimensional characteristics. People are excluded from livelihoods, employment, earning, property housing minimum consumption and education (Sliver, 1994). Basically this concept focuses on the multi-dimensionality of deprivation, same time people may be deprived from different things. Second, social exclusion implies a focus on the relation and process that cause deprivation. Hilary sliver has stressed that the variety of definitions given to the exclusion and integration has come up from “theoretical and ideological baggage” (Haan, 1998). Hilary sliver has stated the three major paradigms, Solidarity, specialization and monopolies. Each of these has grounded in a different conception of integration and citizenship. In the solidarity paradigm dominant in France, exclusion is the breakdown of social between the individuals and society that is cultural and moral, rather than economically interested. Cultural boundaries give rise to socially constructed dualistic categories for ordering the world, defining the poor, the unemployed and ethnic minorities as deviant outsiders.

In the specialization paradigms exclusion reflect discrimination, social differentiation economic divisions of labour, and the separation of sphere should not produce hierarchically ordered social categories if excluded individuals are free to move across boundaries and sphere of the social life governed by different principles are kept legally separate. In third paradigm, exclusion is seen as consequences of the formation of group monopolies powerful groups, often displaying distinctive cultural identities and institutions, restrict access by outsiders to value resources through a process of social closure (Sliver, 1998).

The three major approaches to social exclusion are (i) Neo-liberal (ii) Re-labelling of poverty (iii) Transformationalist. Neoliberal approach asserts that social exclusion as unfortunate but inevitable side effects of global economic realignment in simple the emergence of free trade and a single global has resulted in exclusion of the worker from the benefits of trade barriers and social and employment. Re- labelling of poverty a second approach advocates that social exclusion is a smoke screen, representing little more than unhelpful re-labelling of poverty. It is rather a tool used to shift the spotlight away from inequality caused by the mal functioning of the economic system. And the transformation list approaches focuses attention on the social relation embedded in formal and informal institution, and signals the use of the social exclusion framework to analyses international processes and institutional relationship associated with social and economic global change and local impacts and response (Beall, 2002). Social exclusion can be examined through three paradigms (i) solidarity, (ii) specialization and (iii) monopoly, in which the concept of social exclusion is embedded. Each Paradigm explains social exclusion from different perspectives. In solidarity paradigm, exclusion is defined as the rupture of social bond between individual and society that is cultural and moral rather than economical. In specialization paradigm, exclusion reflects discrimination when a particular group is denies to full access to or participation in exchange or interaction. Monopoly paradigms define exclusion as the consequence of the formation of group monopolies. Social exclusion violates social solidarity and harms democracy politics (Hilary Silver, 1994-6). Social exclusionary process prevent the excluded from

sharing in the commonality of experience that is the foundation of social solidarity, as the social solidarity, absence of social solidarity creates a problems for democratic politics. In democratic societies majority interest dominate in a society without the social solidarity, there is no reason to suppose those interest will coincide with those of the socially excluded; indeed depending on the reason for the exclusion, the interest of majority and excluded are likely to diverge. Hence democratic process will result in majority having both means and due to the absence of solidarity the inclination to oppress socially excluded minorities there is an injustice created by social exclusion (Barry, 2002).

There are three forms of social exclusion (i) wide exclusion (ii) concentrated exclusion (iii) deep exclusion. Wide exclusion refers to those deprived on single or smaller indictors. Concentration refer to spatial exclusion that is, concentration of the problem in particular geographical area. Deep exclusion refers those who are deprived on multiple counts. Deep exclusion is the worst kind of exclusion (Miliband, 2006).

In terms of Constitutive exclusion there are two types of exclusion (i) active exclusion is a policy to exclude or keep particular group of people out and (ii) Passive exclusion is unintended policy mechanism (Sen, 2000).The concept of social exclusion can help in understanding deprivation. The notion of relative deprivation is more closely related to a concept of social exclusion, and it is often noted that rising inequality in various countries led to social exclusion but the notion of social exclusion has been not only concentrated on poverty and other material means (Arjan de Haan ,1997). Amartya Sen in his article titled “Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny” has advocated that the relationship between poverty deprivation and social exclusion. He stated that social structure and social relation in society are responsible for poverty and deprivation. Exclusion in India is embedded in societal interrelation and institution that excluded. The nature of the exclusion revolves around the caste system. It discriminate isolates and deprives some groups on the basic of group’s identities, caste and ethnicity. Caste system determines the social, economic and political rights of the each caste (Roa, 2010).

1.3.1 Pastoralism

Pastoralism is a subsistence pattern in which people make their living by domesticating large herds of animals. It is also an economic activity where herds and herdsman together form a symbiotic community and depend on nature or more precisely on pasture (Chakrabati, 2011). History of the Pastoralism is influenced unconsciously by the Marxist Historical schemas (Blench, 2001). Pastoralism was seen as an evolutionary stages in human history, a phase following hunting gathering and leading thence to sedentary agriculture. This argument is supported by the myth of Cain and Abel in Christian mythology. The earliest literary reference to a people who would appear to be pastoralists are “Amorites” herded cattle in the Near East in the first Half of the second millennium (Cribb 1991:10). Chronicles of Hsia dynasty in China (2205-1776) note the Ch'inag nomadic as the fine weaver. Herodotus (father of history) mention a number of peoples assumed to be pastoral across Central Asia.

Pastoralism can be categorized in a number of ways; most of these are based on degree of movement, species, management strategy, geography and ecology. In Indian context, Pastoralism is classified on the basis of region and migration (i) Pastoralism of Himalayan region (ii) Pastoralism of western region. Pastoralism in the Himalayas is based on transhumant practices and involves cyclical movement from lowland to highland to take the advantage of seasonally available pasture at different elevation. The Himalayan Pastoral group categories are based on migration types such as Nomadic Herders, Semi-Nomadic Pastoralist, and Transhumant Herders. Similarly, Pastoralism that exist in western part of India is known as Pastoralism of Western region, that are further classified into the following like (i) urban pastoralism, (ii) village based pastoralism, (iii) long distance group migration and (iii) permanent migration. The major pastoralist groups of Himalaya pastoralist are Bakarwals, Gujjars, Chanpas, Gaddis, Bhotias, Bhuttias, Monpas and Kinnauras (Blench, 2000).

1.3.2 Politics of Pastoralism

Anjan Chakrabarti in his article “Transhumance, Livelihood and Sustainable Development and Conflict Between Formal Institution and of Sikkim, India” ‘Gothwala system’ or Pastoralism is a means of livelihood which is in existence in the mountain settlements in Lachung valley, located in the East Himalayan State of Sikkim. Government of Sikkim has enacted a law to abolish the “Gothwala system” without providing any alternative livelihoods. In the name of conservation policy followed by the government of Sikkim, conflict has arisen between conservation and existing livelihood opportunities.

Analysis of Grazing exclusion policy through a climate change: Case from Barsey Rhododendron sanctuary, West Sikkim (Bhagat, 2011) reported that ban on grazing has succeed in preserving the flora and fauna of the Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary and also has increased forest carbon stock of this Area.

In existing literature on pastoralism evidently shows that Pastoralism has a considerable share in the socio-economic life of people. As an oldest form of occupation, it has been contributing to sustain at least a minimally affordable life to the people of rural areas. The rural life-style is closely and dependently associated with agriculture where pastoralism is unavoidable part of agricultural occupation and agro-life is dominantly a dependable occupation in the rural area. Large section of existing literature on Pastoralism examines that the leaning of the state towards neo-liberal structure of economy has badly affected the historic or the century old way of life in rural areas. The tendency of neo-liberal transformationists have overlooked the dependable means of livelihood of people living in rural areas showing alternative ways apparently to promote the wealth accumulation by capitalist social transformers taking the advantage of neo-liberal economic policy of modern states.

Since the last decade of the century, the pastoral living and the livelihood of Sikkim have been witnessing severe problems. Globalization and global consumerism have affected the pastoral economy in the state. Though the old generation in rural areas still has a linkage with their ancestral way of

occupation, the younger generation is gradually staying away from it. Even the government policies are hardly putting any considerable attention to this section of society. For the last few years, the government of Sikkim decided to do away with pastoral sets up in different parts of the state in the name of environment protection under global environment policies without giving a proper thought and care to the life of the people engaged in this historical sector. There has been constant muteness from the part of social organization, political parties, civil societies or other voluntary organization in this regard. Similarly, academic engagement which could have represented the affected and vulnerable section of the society is still visibly lacking. Hence, the proposed research attempts to address this often unnoticed but severely affected section of the society.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Sikkim is a small state located in the eastern Himalayas which became the integral part of India on 1975 as the 22nd state. Sikkim was the separate state under a Chogyal dynasty. Sikkim is inhabited by three major ethnic groups: Bhutias, Lepchas and Nepalis with a population of 5 lakhs (Census 2011). As in other part of world, Pastoralism is one of the traditional occupations, source of livelihood for the section of people since time immemorial. Pastoralism is a self sufficient and sustainable in nature. The three dominantly communities i.e. Nepali, Bhutia, Lepcha communities in the state are very close to this way of life-style. But in recent years since 1998, Sikkim government in the name of forest conservation banned Pastoralism (open grazing) in reserved forest area. This had negative repercussions on the socio-economic sphere of the pastoral community. It is imperative to mention that before the ban on grazing, a win-win situation prevailed for both the pastoralists and the government of Sikkim as it generated revenue for the government (as pastoralist had to pay revenue of cattle they possessed). However, with the ban on grazing the pastoralists lost their means to livelihood and this is what the study seeks to problematize. The study seeks to assess the impact of such a ban on the pastoralists especially on the socio-economic sphere. Further, the study will take Barsey Sanctuary of West Sikkim as a case study, and efforts will be

made to understand the pastoral communities in the area and analyse the impact on them due to government policies. Further, the policies of Sikkim government in regard to Pastoralism will be analysed from a critical prism.

1.5 Rationale and Scope of the Study

Pastoralism being one of the chief sources of livelihood for local herders in rural life style, the ban on pastoralism by the government has impacted immeasurably. Forest conservation is regarded as the means to tackle the issue of environment degradation climate change by the government ignoring the eco-friendly nature of this occupation. Global issue of climate change is cannot be ignored in Sikkim too. However, the question which arises is conservation at the cost of what? How a major means of livelihood at the most local level severely is affected in the name of protecting a global phenomenon without providing a proper care and protection? The dominant literatures on Pastoralism advocate that it is an occupation which links people directly with nature assisting. The sole reason for the environment conservation is to ensure our livelihood, but when the policy of conservation itself bereft the people of their sole livelihood, than the policy requires a serious and holistic re – understanding. Limited work has been done on this theme, so firstly this will help to understand Pastoralism from different perspective. Secondly, this research will help the politician, government, N.G.O and forth coming researcher to understand this theme from different perspective. Thirdly, this research will help the government to understand the current problem faced the pastoralist.

1.6 Objective

1. To understand Pastoralism form social exclusion perspective.
2. To trace the history of Pastoralism of Sikkim.
3. To examine state policy and programme on Pastoralism
4. To examine the socio economic, political and culture condition of the pastoralists in Sikkim.

1.7 Research Question

1. How can pastoralism be understood from social exclusion perspective?
2. What are the state policies and programmers on Pastoralism in Sikkim?
3. What are the impacts on the cultural, social, economic and political life of the pastoralists?
4. What are the alternative sources of livelihood available for Pastoralist in Sikkim?

1.8 Hypothesis

State policies on Pastoralism in Sikkim have led to social exclusion of the pastoralists.

1.9 Research Methods/Methodology

Area of Study: For this study, West district of state was the area of study. The villages identified were Dodak, Bhuriakhop, Dentam, Hee-goan and Khandu. Rationale behind the selection of these areas for this study was that the pastoral community in the mentioned villages of west districts is frequently reported as most affected people due to governmental policies and politics on concerned issue.

Method of study: This work has been an exploratory research in examining the politics and policies associated with the ban on Pastoralism and its impact on pastoralist community of the state. Both quantitative and qualitative methods have been followed in work analyzing the interpreting both primary and secondary data collected through rigorous field study and existing literature. Primary data collected conducting an extensive field survey in affected area. Focused group discussions were conducted with former pastoralists, civil society, local headers, and government official to understand their view and argument on concerned issue. Government documents on policies regarding Pastoralism and forest conversations also were also part of primary sources. The secondary data were obtained from existing national and international writings on social exclusion and Pastoralism. Similarly, news paper reports, article in journal, the souvenir of organization dealing with the issues and

problems of pastoral community were used as a substantial source for secondary data.

1.10 Limitation of Research:

The limitation of the research is that the entire *pastoral* population of the West Sikkim could not be interviewed and the duration of research was also very short. Respondents were engaged on their works and interviewer had to wait them till they complete their work. Many instances the desired respondents could not be interacted due to their time constraints. Many things were not discussed openly by the respondents, the reasons for which are known to them. It was desired that the interviews would be one to one but at times there were interference from their family members as well as group members. It was tried to gather information through Focused Group Discussions (FGD) which was in many instances affected by number of obstruction. People those whoever were invited for such FGD could attend the same in time because of problematic road and interiority of the space. Many a time FGD had to be post-pone or cancel seeking the inability of targeted dignitaries to attend the same because of perceived/suspected social-political implication on the expressed information on respondents.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL EXCLUSION: PASTORALIST PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction

The social exclusion debate urges to advocate and address the issues of communities who have been brought outside the cartography of modern development mechanism. The modern development mechanism allows proliferation of able agents of development who accumulate the benefit of it ignoring the vulnerability of such development over the communities in the margin line of economic inability to compete.

The concept of social exclusion is of recent origin. Within the debate it has however, acquired widespread currency in development literature and political and public policy discussion. The term “social exclusion” is so evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional and expansive that it can be defined in many different way. Yet the difficulty in defining exclusion and the fact that it is intersected and understood in different way according to the context (Rao, 2010). In simple understanding it is understood as the process by which the individual or household experiences deprivation either of the resources or of social link to the wider community or society.

2.2 Meaning, Scope and Approaches

Social exclusion has been defined variously reflecting diverse theoretical, ideological social, economical and political perspective. The broader framework of understanding of the social exclusion suggests that it is the process that excludes individuals, groups and the aggregates from full participation in the society in which they live (Subramanyam, 2010). Accordingly the sliver has relate exclusion must include the various things like livelihood, secure permanent employment, earning, property, credits land, minimal or prevailing consumption levels, education, skills, cultural capital the welfare state citizens and legal equality democratic participation public goods, the nation or the dominant race, family and sociability humanity respect, fulfillment and understanding (Sliver quoted in Subramanyam, 2010). Social exclusion of any form does not lives in isolation, this notion is further elaborated or supported by Amartya Sen, according to him exclusion from

social relation can lead to other deprivation that further limit our living opportunities.

The concept social exclusion has been tried to portray into two broad characteristics. Firstly, it has multi-dimensional characteristics. People are excluded from livelihoods, employment, earning, property housing minimum consumption and education (Sliver, 1994). Basically this concept focuses on the multi-dimensionality of deprivation, same time people may be deprived from different things. Second meaning of social exclusion implies a focus on the relation and process that cause deprivation. Hilary sliver has stressed that the variety of definition given to the exclusion and integration has come up from “theoretical and ideological baggie” (Sliver quoted in Haan, 1998). Hilary sliver has stated the three major paradigms; solidarity, specialization and monopolies. Each of these has grounded in a different conception of integration and citizenship. In the solidarity paradigm dominant in France, exclusion is the breakdown of social relation between the individuals and society that is cultural and moral, rather than economically interested. Cultural boundaries give rise to socially constructed dualistic categories for ordering the world, defining the poor, the unemployed and ethnic minorities as deviant outsiders.

In the specialization paradigms, exclusion reflects discrimination. Social differentiation economic divisions of labour and the separation of sphere should not produce hierarchically ordered social categories if excluded individuals are free to move across boundaries and sphere of the social life governed by different principles are kept legally separate. In third paradigm, sliver sees exclusion as consequences of the formation of group monopolies by powerful groups, often displaying distinctive cultural identities and institutions, restricts access by outsiders to value resources through a process of social closure. (Sliver, 1998).

Beall, (2002) mentions three major approaches to the social exclusion. Firstly, Neo-liberal, secondly, re-labeling of poverty and thirdly, the transformationalist. The Neoliberal approach asserts that social exclusion as unfortunate but inevitable side effects of global economic realignment in simple the emergence of free trade and a single global has resulted in

exclusion of the worker from the benefits of trade barriers and social and employment. Re-labeling of poverty, the second approach advocates that social exclusion is a smoke screen, representing little more than unhelpful re-labeling of poverty. It is rather a tool used to shift the spotlight away from inequality caused by the mal functioning of the economic system. And the transformation list approaches focuses attention on the social relation embedded in formal and informal institution, and signals the use of the social exclusion framework to analyses international processes and institutional relationship associated with social and economic global change and local impacts and response.

Barry's, (2002) advocates' social exclusion violates social solidarity and harms democratic politics. Social exclusionary process prevent the excluded from sharing in the commonality of experience that is the foundation of social solidarity, as the social solidarity , absence of social solidarity creates a problems for democratic politics .Because in democratic societies majority interest dominate in a society without the social solidarity ,there is no reason to suppose those interest will coincide with those of the socially excluded; indeed depending on the reason for the exclusion ,the interest of majority and excluded are likely to diverge. Hence democratic process will result in majority having both means and due to the absence of solidarity the inclination to oppress socially excluded minorities there is an injustice created by social exclusion.

Miliband, (2006) suggested three forms of social exclusion, like wide exclusion, concentrated exclusion and deep exclusion. Wide refer to those deprived on a single or smaller indictors. Concentration refer to spatial exclusion that is, concentration of the problem in particular geographical area. Deep exclusion refers those who are deprived on multiple counts. To be brief, deep exclusion is the worst kind of exclusion. In terms of Constitutive exclusion Sen, (2000) suggested two types of exclusion active exclusion there is policy to exclude or keep particular group of people out and Passive exclusion is unintended policy mechanism.

Arjan de Haan state that the concept of social exclusion can help in understanding the deprivation .The notion of relative deprivation is more

closely related to a concept of social exclusion, and it is often noted that rising inequality in various countries led to social exclusion but the notion of social exclusion has been it not only concentrates on poverty and other material means

Room (1995, 2000) has proposed a definition of social exclusion which has influential in the theoretical discourse in Europe. It involves five defining criteria. Firstly, social exclusion is multidimensional. Secondly, it is concerned with dynamic process; thirdly, it is relational as much as distributional, fourthly, it focuses on the collection of resource and fifthly, it directs attention to catastrophically ruptured links to the wider society.

Buvnic, (2005) summarize the meaning of the social exclusion as the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social function of society which involves the denial of equal opportunities imposed by certain groups in the society upon others. This definition captures above three distinguishing features of social exclusion between them, and results in deprivation or low income for those are excluded (De Haan, 1997).

Amartya Sen has notices the relationship between poverty deprivation and social exclusion. Through this paper he stated that social structure and social relation in society responsible for poverty and deprivation (Sen quoted in Haan). According to (Roa, 2010), in “Social Exclusion in India: Concept and Context”, Exclusion in India is embedded in societal interrelation and institution that excludes. The nature of the exclusion revolves around the caste system. It discriminates, isolates and deprives some groups on the basic of group’s identities caste and ethnicity, caste system determines the social, economic and political rights of the each caste.

2.3. The Social Exclusion Discourse

The term social exclusion originated in the social policy of the French socialist government of the 1980 (Smith, 2000). As the reaction of mid 1970s, the advanced capitalist democracies have undergoing a process of profound economic restructuring. As a consequence, new social problems have emerged that appear to challenge the assumption underlying Western welfare states made more and more people suffer insecurity (Sliver, 1994). Since then the

term social exclusion began to refer to a disparate groups of people living on the margins of society, without access of the system of society and in particular, without access to the system of social insurance (Room 1995; Jordhan; 1997; Burchardt et al 1999).

Theoretically, social exclusion draws upon a diverse set of roots. Originating in France and diffusing rapidly in Europe, mainly under the patronage of the European Union and more recently in Latin America as an extension of the study of “marginalization”, the framework is concerned with the full participation in all the aspects of social life. The roots of social exclusion can be traced with the numbers of political philosophies like French republican, social Catholicism¹ and social democracy. From French Republicanism, the concept takes an understanding of the role of the state as the social solidity. The influence of social democracy and social Catholicism thought is to be in the concept’s interest in, respectively, redistributive state policies and the strength of family, group and social ties and obligations (Sliver, 2000).

From above it is to understand that how the social exclusion and its legacy has emerged. Social exclusion has originated in the social policy of the French socialist government of the 1980s as a term to refer a disparate group of the people living on the margins of the society and in the particular, without an access to the system of the social insurance (Room, 1995; Jordan, 1997 and Burchardit et al, 1999). Slowly and gradually the term began to be used in the European context it more referred more to the European Union² as an objective of achieving social and economic cohesion. Economic cohesion has been a key goal of the EU since the establishment of European Economic Community³, but the social cohesions really came to the fore with negotiations

¹ Social Catholicism is a theory or ideology which aims to combine the teaching of Christ with socialism in their application of the life.

² European Union is an economic and political regional organization of European countries. Before it was known as European community, in November 1993 it was renamed as European Union.

³ European Economic Community was an international organization of Europe created with the Treaty of Rome I the year 1957 with an objective to bring economic cooperation between the European countries.

around the Maastricht treaty⁴. The term cohesion refer to the reconciliation of a system of organization based on the market forces, freedom of opportunity and the enterprise with a commitment to the value of internal solidarity and mutual support which ensures access to benefits and protection for all member of society (Geddes, 1998: 20).

2.4 Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion

There are three paradigms i.e., solidarity, specialization and monopoly, in which the concept of social exclusion is embedded. Each Paradigm explains social exclusion from different perspectives. In solidarity paradigm exclusion is defined as the rupture of social bond between individual and society that is cultural and moral rather than economically. In specialization paradigm, exclusion reflects discrimination when a particular group is denies to full access to or participation in exchange or interaction. Monopoly paradigms define exclusion as the consequence of the formation of group monopolies (Hilary Silver, 1994-6).

2.5 Notion of Social Exclusion

The most fundamental elements in identifying the notion of social exclusion are relativity and dynamic consideration. Social exclusion is a relative concept, in the sense that an individuals can be social that an individual can be socially excluded only in the comparison with the other members of society: there is no absolute social exclusion, and individual can be declared socially excluded only with respect to the society of which he is considered to be a member, an additional relative features is that social exclusion depends on the extent to which an individual is able to associate and indentify with other. (Walter et.al, 2007: 779).

The relativity element of social exclusion makes the latter closely related to the concept of deprivation. (Runciman, 1996) formulates the idea that a person's feeling of the deprivation in society arises out comparing his situation with those who are better off. The magnitude of a relative deprivation is the extent of the differences between the desired situation and that of the person

⁴ Maastricht Treaty was historic treaty signed for the creation of European Union in a Maastricht city of Netherland on 7th February, 1992 by the leaders of 12 nation of Europe.

desiring it (Runciman ,1996: 10). This perception was used by (Sen, 1996) and (Yitzhaki, 1979) to measure the deprivation.

2.6 Sen's analytical framework

(Amartya Sen, 1996), believes the concept of social exclusion is useful because of its emphasis on the role of relation issue in deprivation .Sen then goes further, arguing that it is important to distinguish between exclusion which is in itself a deprivation and exclusion which is not in self negative, but which can lead to other deprivation which do have constitutive relevance. Elaborating the casual chain in this way elucidates the process that lead to poverty and social exclusion (Nevile, 2007 249-55).

2.7 Dimension of Social Exclusion

In the first annual report on the poverty and social exclusion (Department of social Security1999: 24-6) following key features of poverty and social exclusion have been identified.

- Lack of opportunities to work
- Lack of opportunities to acquire education and skills
- Childhood deprivation
- Disrupted families
- Barriers to older people living active, fulfilling and healthy lives
- Inequality to health
- Poor housing
- Poor neighborhoods
- Fear of crime
- Disadvantage group

Similarly, a different approaches was adopted by Burchardt, he indentified five dimension of social exclusion in terms of 'normal activities' in which that citizens participate. These dimensions are as follows;

1. Consumption activity: related to traditional measures of poverty.
2. Saving activity: includes pension, saving, home ownership
3. Production activity: defined in terms of 'engaging in an economically or socially' valued activity, such as paid, education or training, retirement etc.

4. Political activity; defined as ‘engaging in some collective effort to improve or protect’ the immediate or wider social or physical environment’

5. Social activity as engaging in significant social interaction with family, or friend and indentifying with a cultural group or community (Smith, 2000).

Apart from the above dimension Smith, (2000) have considered other dimension which are equally important for understanding Social exclusion which are as follows

2.7.1. Economic Dimension

Economic factors are a key aspect of social exclusion Economic factor is taken as encompassing not only poverty, defined in terms of lack of an adequate income, but also exclusion from the labour market. This in turn, has a number of different aspects to it that go beyond unemployment. This situation leads to certain change affecting social political and economic life of the individuals (Campbell, 2000).

2.7.2. Social Dimension:

It is along the social dimension of the social exclusion that the Social Exclusion Unit⁵, thus far, largely focused its attention. This dimension can be taken to include; the breakdown of traditional house hold, the rise in the numbers of unwanted teenage pregnancies, homeless, crime and disaffected youth (Hawtin and kettle et. al, 2002).

2.7.3 Political Dimension:

The main issue here is individual’s ability to participate in or influence decision making which affects their lives. This happens in a number of ways such as individuals may be excluded from having political rights because of their immigration status, not registering to vote and other forms of political activity include non participation in community for a of various kind as tenets’ organization, school governing bodies and pressure groups etc. This affects decision making and quality of local life. Non participation contributes to

⁵ Social exclusion unit was first set up in U.K in the year 1997 . The main objective of this unit was to improve action to reduce social exclusion by producing joined-up solution to Joined- up problems.

disempowerment. Disengagement from socially acceptable forms of political participation and distrust of formal channels of communication can combine with a sense of frustration and anger (Chanan, 2000).

2.7.4 Neighbourhood Dimension:

The neighbourhood dimension of social exclusion is related both the social and spatial aspect. At the level of neighbourhood the indicators of social exclusion might include environmental degradation, a decaying housing stock, the withdrawal of local service increasingly overstretched public services and the collapse of local supports networks (Sanderson, 2000).

2.7.5 Individual Dimension:

All of the aspects of social exclusion discussed above so far impact upon the individual. The form that is impact typically takes is in terms of increasing levels of the physical and mental ill health, educational underachievement and failure to acquire or update skills, and low of self esteem (Waltons, 2000).

2.7.6 Spatial Dimension:

The spatial dimension of exclusion is important since it typically result in large number of disadvantaged people living together in a decaying area. This can lead to the area itself being defined as disadvantage irrespective of the characteristic of the individual who live there, and becoming further exclusionary process as result. Social exclusion might also affect localities not because of the concentration of socially excluded individuals and households within the population but because of the nature of the area itself (Hutchinson, 2000).

2.7.7 Group Dimension:

Certain groups are arguably at greater risk of social exclusion either because they differ in some way from the dominant population or because of their position within society. Nationality ethnicity language and religion are obvious aspects of group difference. In these the case there is the risk that difference leads to discrimination and unequal access to resources.

The important aspect of social exclusion is its complex nature. Thus, one cannot simply ‘read off’ social exclusion from the presence or absence of any

one of these characteristics. It is the way in which they interrelate and reinforce each other that accelerates the process of social exclusion (Smith, 2002).

2.8. Application of Social Exclusion In Developing Countries: Problem and Prospect

The idea of social exclusion is essentially Euro centric. It is an exotic concept in the context of developing countries including India. Transplanting the application of social exclusion in a developing countries including India is surrounded by numbers of difficulties. One of the major difficulties in underlying the application of idea of social exclusion in developing countries arises out of different social, economic and cultural conditions. Social exclusion in the developed countries arose out of rapid economic changes and resultant. But in contrast to West, in developing countries, social exclusion is largely embedded in the normative systems that assign roles and resources to individual and group (Alam, 2013).

Secondly, the idea of social exclusion in the West is conceptualized in its labour market framework and welfare system. In the West, those fallen employees received social benefits and yet considered as excluded. Loss of employment was not seen just as loss of income but also in terms of implication for social network/bonding and sense of self worth. But to use the unemployment criterion to indentify the excluded is problematic in the context of developing countries. In countries like labour market consists of vast of informal sectors where formal employment relation do not exist. In India, for example, over 80 percent of workers work in informal/unorganized sector (Sinha et al, 1999 and Sengupta, 2008), more casual workers. Going by western standard casual and seasonal workers could not be classified as unemployed. Given that unemployment in the west is seen as one of major cause of social exclusion. If western criterion of employment is employed to indentify the excluded in Indian context, vast majority of be qualify for it. By contrast, those socially excluded in the western are minorities.

Thirdly, social exclusion in the west is basically linked to strong governance and comprehensive social security system to protect people from the vagaries

of labour market. But in developing countries like India, even the barest minimum social security measures remain unavailable to the masses (Bardhan, 2011).

The application of idea of social exclusion in the developing nation is fraught with problems. One can discover many theoretical and conceptual holes. But it must be noted that the heart of the social exclusion in developing countries is to understand multiple disadvantage resulting from the rooted in diverse domain. The sources, process and underlying factors of exclusions may be different in specific socio-economic and cultural context but the concept can be employed to understand multiples disadvantage and deprivation and associated risk factor (Alam, 2013).

2.9 Social Exclusion in Indian Context

Social exclusion and inclusion are issue of fundamental importance to Indian democracy. Social exclusion remains a persistence problem in all the societies. It occurs when some groups of people for the reasons of colour, caste, ethnic identity, religious belief and so on are systematically denied access to opportunities and resource which are necessary for their survival and substance. It hampers democracy, development and social integration. (Bhattacharyya, Sarkar, Kar ,2010).

In India, exclusion is embedded in the societal interrelation and institution that excludes, discriminate, isolate, and deprive some groups on the basic of group's identities like caste system particularly needs to be understood and conceptualized. The fundamental characteristics of caste system fixed civil, cultural and economic rights for each caste, with restriction for change implying forced exclusion of one. In any cases, social exclusion is caused by many factors hierarchical social order, age old customs and practices, economic development, exclusionary ideological construction of nationhood .Social exclusion of many kinds had remained the most solid challenges to Indian democracy and development (Bhattacharyya, Sarkar and Kar et. al 2010).

2.10 Understanding Social Exclusion from Pastoralist Perspective

From above, we came to know that there is various form of the social exclusion caused, by the different factors that are embedded in various structure of the society. Now, we shall deal with one of such exclusion that is prevalent and has remained untouched by the scholars during the course of time.

Pastoralism is primary, but not exclusively, a feature of the old World (Demirurn 1982: 425). It is a subsistence pattern in which people make their living by domesticating large herds of animals, is an important economic and cultural way of life for between 100 and 200 million people. Extensive Pastoralism production system covers about 25 of the earth terrestrial surface. Many pastoralists can be found in Africa. However Pastoralism is also practiced in dry and sub humid lands in the Middle East, South and East Asia, South America, Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2010). Pastoralism is a successful strategy is a successful strategy to support a population a population with the limited resource of land. The Pastoralism can be considered as different methods of economic adaptation the parameter of which are determined by ecology and level of technological development.

Since the Pastoralism is one of the major source of livelihood and way of living to the million of the people around the globe. But various factors like government policies, population growth, birth of modern nation states and border interfere with their traditional patterns. In particular the following factors are responsible for demise of Pastoralism.

2.10.1. Expansion of Crop Cultivation.

All over the global, former grazing grounds of pastoralists has been converted into crop cultivating field. Dramatic example is provided by the Barabaig, semi- nomadic cattle breeders in Tanzania, who have lost more than 40,000 hectares to a wheat growing project funded by Canadian government (Lane, 1994).

2.10.2. Shortening of the Fallow Period

In former, field were the left fallow in some month of the year and during this time pastoralist were welcomed by farmer for the fertilizing effects of the manure of the animals. But these days this practice has been replaced by using of the fertilizers. Hence, pastoralist are pushed out of the field and there are no where to go like Rebari and Bharwad in Gujarat and Raika in Rajasthan are genuine (Cinocatta and Pangare, 1993 and Kohler-Rollefsor 1992).

2.10.3. Irrigation and Hydro Electric Projects

Construction of dams to generate power or to increase agriculture production of low rainfall areas is a favourite policy that usually deprives pastoralist of their traditional grazing. Current example is provided by plans of the government in Angola for generating hydroelectric power .This will be at the expenses of the Himba, Semi-Nomadic herders who will lose 200 square kilometres of the land⁶.

2.10.4. Wildlife Parks and Sanctuary

There are many examples, where pastoralist are prevented from using their traditional pastures land in the name of the ecological protection has declared nature protect areas. Grazing of cattle's in this pasture land has been totally banned. This has created numbers of problems for the pastoralists. This happened Gujar, migratory buffalo keepers in Uttar Pradesh when Rajaji National Park was created .The Raika camel pastoralists⁷ face a similar predicament. Access to the Aravalli range, their traditional grazing ground, has been curtailed since the area became designated as Kumbhalgarh Reserve (Kohler- Rollefson, 1992).

2.10.5 Privatization of Former Pastures

The ancient or traditional pastoral society, pasture land was not owned by individual property; rather it was considered as the common property. In

⁶ For detail see, www.survival.org.uk

⁷ Raikas are groups of glaziers who live in the deserts of Rajasthan, they herded cattle like camels, sheep and goat. In search of good pastureland for their cattle, they move long distance.

Kenya, “Group ranch programme was imposed on the Maasai that conferred individual land ownership to group living together resulted in most of land being owned individually and this land has being used for maize cultivating (Galaty, 1992).

2.10.6. Sedentarization Project

Many countries has considered nomadic pastoralism is a backward way of life and that traditional pastoral animals husbandry techniques are in efficient .The government believed that this occupation can’t fulfill the modern demands and aspiration of the modern world. Hence, they therefore attempt to settle them by providing them with plots of land and housing.

2.10.7. Food Aid and Drilling of Wells

Often, settlement is also “voluntary” and occurs as a result of process that has made a pastoral existence impossible. Furthermore, well-intended outside interventions such as food aid and drilling of wells, seduces pastoralist to give up their way of life and remain in one spot. According to several studies, settled pastoral are more likely to suffer from malnutrition than their nomadic relatives, although they have better access to health facilities (Fratkin, 1998).

2.10.8. Colonial Rule and Pastoral life

The life of pastoralist changed dramatically, under colonial rule. The Colonial policy affected the life of pastoralist the many ways. Firstly, the colonial state wanted to transform all grazing lands into cultivated farms to increased revenue and to meet the requirement in England demand. By expanding cultivation it could increase its revenue cultivation. Form the mid nineteen century, Waste Land Rules were enacted in various parts of the country according to which these uncultivated land were given to the selected individuals .These Waste land⁸ were grazing ground of pastoralist so, this led decline of pastoralists and a problem for pastoralist (Gibson, 1913). Secondly, by nineteen century various Forest Acts were enacted in the different provinces. Through this acts no pastoralist were allowed to access to the forest which were declared as “reserved forest .Other forest were classified as the “Protected forest”. In these, customary grazing rights of pastoralist were

⁸ The area of land that cannot be used for agriculture purpose.

granted but their movement was regulated. These forest acts changed the live of pastoralist. They were now prevented from entering many forests that had earlier provided valuable forage for their cattle. They needed pay permit for entry. The time of entry and departure was specified. Thirdly, British official were suspicious of nomadic⁹ people. Fourth, to expand its revenue income, the colonial government introduced grazing taxes in mid nineteenth century. Pastoralist had to pay taxes on every animal they grazed in pasture land (C.B.S.E, 2012).

2.10.9 Government Attitude toward Pastoralism

Pastoralism and pastoralist has been traditional treated as less civilized, less productive and a settle lifestyle (Saberwal, 1999). This notion are clearly manifested in many of the colonial historical documents .for example, the colonial government in India in year 1871 passed the Criminal Tribes Acts. By this many communities including pastoralist were classified as Criminal Tribes. They are stated with criminal by birth (NCERT, 2006). The Himalayan pastoralists are often excluded in the various policies –level decision. Non participation and ignorance of their due rights and status have seriously marginalized these communities (Sharma, 2011). Incorrect and alarmist perception of the environment threats caused by Himalayan pastoralism have also negative effects on policy. The conservation policies of the government are suppose to have as one of their bases the famous theory of Himalayan degradation which assumes a threat of disastrous floods for the population of the Indo Gangetic plain, as the result of over grazing of the Himalayan slopes and massive soil erosion (Ives and Messerli, 1989).

2.11 Social Exclusion and Pastoralism

The literature on pastoralism in Africa, South west Asia and western India is replete with accounts of the difficulties that pastoralists in these parts of the world have faced in sustaining pastoralism environments. Since the pastoralism is one of the oldest, traditional various government policies related to natural resources and its protection have adverse affected on pastoralist. Embodiments of cultural diversity themselves, Pastoral communities are

⁹ A member of a community that moves with its animals from place to place

maintaining livestock diversity which copes with different environment condition .For many centuries they enjoyed grazing rights in the natural grasslands and forest areas engaged in mobile livestock rearing which is congenial to sustainable management of natural resources. However, today they feel alienated and excluded.

Pastoralism is in crisis globally both as a result of man- made and natural constraints, and internal and external influences .There has been very little effort in empowering and allowing participation by pastoralist in their own development process. All the pastoral regions of the world and pastoralism is worst documented by far, with uncertainty about ethnic identities and confused description of pastoral system (Sharma et al, 2012).

There are no official pastoral development policies; both Ministry of Agriculture and the ministry of Environment are against pastoralist, they are always in attempt to exclude them from traditional grazing area. If we look from the prism of social exclusion perspective, we can easily make out that the pastoralists are being exclusion in every sphere of life of their life like .As the social exclusion means being unable to access the thing in life that most of the society takes for granted. A political theory of social exclusion allows that they can be the consequence of economic transformation (Choudhary, 2010). Buvnic summarizes the meaning of the social exclusion are as follows. ‘The inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social function of society and it involves, ‘the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups in the society upon other’. Most generally, it may denote three characteristics of the society at their inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life. Their alienation from the so called mainstream society and major societal mechanisms produce or distribute social process. Centrally, the term “exclusion “has conceptual connection with the notion of marginalization, discrimination and deprivation (Sen, 1999). If we look at course of pastoralism since colonial period to this period of globalization world we can easily understand that pastoralist has become subject for marginalization discrimination and deprivation. They are being considered as backward, barbaric, uncivilized and their occupation as irreverent.

As Sen, (1999) have indentified there form exclusion namely economic and political and social exclusion. Economic exclusion is understood through poverty, income disparity, wage differential and access and control of productive resource. Social exclusion centers on caste hierarchies, ethnicity, religion, class stratification etc. Social exclusion analysis focuses on the lives and intrinsic human rights of poor, not just their lack of income. It is concerned with the central role of imbalanced social relation and exclusion of certain groups.

The exclusion of pastoralist can be perfectly understood through Sen's Framework of exclusion. With the industrial revolution¹⁰ in Europe, the colonial government in Africa and Asia began to encourage commercial farming, with this Forest service was established in order to managed the forest but these policy of the government directed and in directed affected the lively hoods of the forest dwellers, including pastoralist. Many people, who were directed dependent upon the forest product, were forced give traditional jobs as the consequence, thousand of forest dweller including were fell into poverty.

United Nation Conference on Human Environment, the book entitled Limit to growth" commissioned by Club of Rome, the Brundtland Report 1987¹¹ and The report of the world Bank 1992 announced the marriage between carving for development and concern for the environment. In this process, the poor were identified as the agent of environment degradation. With these report and the conferences came with the concept of "sustainable development" .As a result, new wave of the state intervention, political governance and regulation was initiated in third world countries to save the planet. Consequently, centuries old tribal and peasant practices of survival in the harmony with the nature in sustainable were ignored (Chakrabarti, 2011). In this process, pastoralists are being excluded social, economic and political sphere.

¹⁰ Criminal Tribes Acts was enacted by the British India year 1871. Under this acts ethnic group in indie were defined as" addicted to the systematic commission of non available offences. This act was specially enacted to restrict their movement.

¹¹ The Brundtland Report was primarily concerned with securing a global equity, redistributing resources towards poorer nation with encouraging their growth. This report also highlighted three fundamental developments: environment protection, economic growth and social equity.

Relation between pastoralist, government and developers thus come close to institutionalized dishonestly, many governments depend on the milk and meat from their pastoral sector to feed urban population, although they are often unwillingness to pay more than lip service to the value of the nation state. Government all too often repays them by violence and coercion, a consequence of their incomprehension. Pastoral people in range land feel that are neglected by government and are thus hostile to it, even when there is no larger conflict in process. Relations between state and pastoralist thus tend to be confrontational at the best of times. Governments are usually controlled by the settled population who regard mobile pastoralist as a threat or as the location of famines and emergencies. As consequences, both the government and food aid provider have tended to characterize (Blench, 20011).

Pastoralists mostly depend on the natural resources, particularly for fodder and water. Their dependence on natural resource is institutionalised through a variety of social and cultural mechanisms as religion, folklore and traditions. When government assumes control of natural resources, these mechanisms become defunct and a radical reorientation of existing patterns of resources take place, including a transition from collective to individual use of resources (Bhasin, 2011).

CHAPTER 3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF PASTORALIST IN INDIA

3.1 Introduction

Pastoralism is primarily, but not exclusively, a feature of the old world (Dimiruren, 1982, 425). It is a subsistence pattern in which people make their living by domestication of large herds of animals. Pastoralism is an effective means of exploiting marginal environments (Bhasins 2011). Very large number of people depend on it to sustain their lives and culture even today, from the outer reaches of Mongolia westward through West Asia, into the Anatolian Zagros, across continent into the African Sahara and the Sahel as far as the dry zones carry (Rafiullah, 1966). Pastoral adaptation has existed historically in Europe in the confined milieus of the Alpine and Pyrenean mountains-valley systems (Ladurie, 1978). In the New World, pastoralism occurs in the similar environs of the Andes (Orlove 1981, 27-34). It has a way of the life that has widespread geographic spread and immensely diversity. Pastoralism is a successful strategy to support a population with the limited resources of land. All forms of pastoralism can be considered as the different methods of economic adaptation the parameter of which are determined by ecology and level of technological development (Bhasin, 2011).

Pastoralists are the people who drive most of their livelihood from raising livestock on natural forage or crop residue rather than on specifically cultivated and stored fodder or fenced pasture (Sanford 1983: 2-3). Pastoralism system take many forms and adapted to particular vary according to economic environment. The types of livestock kept by the pastoralist vary according to climate, environment, water and other natural resources and geographical area, and may include camel, goats, sheep, yaks horse, cow buffalo etc (International Fund for Agriculture Development). Most of the pastoralist household devote the bulk of their labour and time to looking after rather than to other economic activities. At the same time many pastoralist, perhaps most, are engaged in a range of multiple resources utilization (Kavoori, 1999).

3.2 Origin of Pastoralism

The origin of pastoralism has been much discussed, especially in an older type of literature, influenced, unconsciously perhaps, by Marxist historical schemas. Pastoralism was seen as an evolutionary stage in human history, a phase following hunting-gathering and leading thence to Sedentarization and agriculture. This may have seem perfectly reasonable both because of a lack of archaeological evidence and because it unconsciously reflected the contempt in which settled peoples historically held nomads. However, the expansion of archaeological data and a more careful reading of the historical sources, especially in Asia, have demonstrated a more complex story. In most parts of the world, Africa excepted, agriculture seems to be earlier than pastoralism. Pastoralism develops from surplus, as individuals simply accumulate too many animals to graze them around a settlement throughout the year. In addition, as herders learnt more about the relations between particular types of ecology and the spread of debilitating diseases they gradually developed the practice of seasonally removing their animals from danger-zones (Roger Blench, 2001).

Pastoralism has been practiced for thousands of years. Indeed, animals bones are found in the northern Sahara suggest that people were raising livestock thousands of years before farming took place. The earliest herders kept the sheep and goat, but after 4000 B.C. people began raising cattle. At that time, the Saharan climate was much cooler and moister than its today, with extensive woods and grassland, up to around 2500 B.C. (Novelguide, 2002). In this period Sahara wet period was ended because lakes and swamp began to dwindle and disappear, affecting movement of the desert period east of Nile valley and, perhaps accounting for the flourishing of Egyptian civilization (Fage et al, 1978). Around 2000 B.C, natural and manmade activities led the destruction of the fragile Sahelian habit had become acute for pastoralists. This led wide spread movement that gained momentum during the two, millennia. Pastoralist moved farther into the desert massifs on the one hand, and outside the desert on the other into the Mediterranean coastal lands in the north; into the Sahel and savannah of West Africa; into the Nile valley in the east; into the Euthiopian Rift and Somalia in the south; and farther south into East Africa (Novelguide, 2002).

3.3 Historical Perspective of Pastoralism

The earliest literary reference to a people who would appear to be pastoralist are the Amorites, who herded cattle such as sheep goat, and donkey in the Near East in the first half of second millennium BC (Cribb, 1990: 10). The Chronicles of the Hsia dynasty in China resembles that Chiian nomads, were probably the ancestor of modern Tibetans as weavers of fine wool (Miller& Criag, 1997: 58). Herodotus mentions a number of people assumed to be a pastoral across central Asia. Russian archaeology has made remarkable and still little know contribution to our knowledge of the Scythians, the Sauromation, the Saka, the Siberian Schythisa and the Mongol (Davis-kimball, Bashilov & Yablonsky, 1995).

However, Pastoralism is a trend likely to be far earlier than this record. The origins of pastoralism can be gauged from archeological and in the particular from careful optometric work demonstration the gauged divergence between wild forms of livestock and their domesticated relatives (Roger Blench, 2001). Some claims have been made for domestic cattle in North east Africa as early as 9000 BC all though not all the scholars accepts these date and more solid dates are available for 6000 BC onward (Mac Donald, 2000). Pastoral culture spread out from the Nile Valley and North Africa, probably through the agency of the ancestors of present-day Berber population (Roger Blench, 2001). Pastoral production appears clearly in the archaeology record in both East and West Africa 4500-4000 BC (Marshal ,2000).The exact route and dates whereby pastoralism reached southern Africa are disputed (Bousman ,1998). But it seems that there have been pre-Iron Age transmission nearly 2000 BC, probably initially with sheep and shortly after with cattle. The elaborate cattle culture described by early travellers to the cape was probably established only some five hundred year before the first navigators encountered the Khoikhoi ((Boonzaier et al, 1996 and Roger Blench, 2001).

3. 4 Types of Pastoralism

Depending on the geographic factors and technological development, Pastoralism is practiced at two level or forms- Subsistence form and Commercial form.

3.4.1 Nomadic Herding

Nomadic herding or pastoral nomadism is a primitive subsistence activity, in which the headers rely on the animals for food, clothing and shelter. They move from one place to another along their livestock, depending on the amount and quality of pasture and water. Each of nomadic community occupies a well indentified territory as the matter of traditional. Wide varieties of animals are kept in the different region. In tropical Africa, cattle are the most important livestock, while in Sahara and Asiatic desert, sheep goats and camel are reared. In mountain region of Tibet and Andes, yak and llamas and in the Arctic and sub Arctic areas, Reindeer are the most important animals.

Pastoral Nomadic is associated with three important regions. The core region extends from Atlantic shores of North Africa east wards across the Arabian Peninsula into Mongolia and Central China. The second one is the region over the tundra region of Eurasia. In the southern hemisphere there is small area in South –West Africa and on the island of Madagasagar. Movement in search of pasture is undertaken either over vast horizontal distance or vertical from one elevation to another in the mountain region. In tundra region, the nomadic herders move from north to south during the winter.

3.4.2 Commercial Livestock Rearing

Unlike nomadic herding, commercial livestock rearing is more organized and capital intensive. Commercial livestock rearing ranching is essential associated with the western culture and is practiced on the permanent ranches. These ranches cover large area and are divided into the parcels is grazed, animals are moved to another parcel. The number of animals in a pasture is kept according to the carrying capacity of the pasture. This is a specialized activity in which only one type of animals are reared. Important animals include sheep, cattle, goats and horses. Product such as meat, wool, hides and skin are processed and packed scientifically and export to different world markets. New Zealand, Australia, Argentina Uruguay and United States of America are the countries where commercial livestock rearing is practiced (NCERT, 2006).

3.5 Pastoralism in South Asia

Pastoralism is one of the components of the south Asia that has been practicing since Paleolithic age (Agrawal, 1982 and Joshi,1994). Pastoralist in South Asia herd cattle like sheep and goat, buffalo, camel and yak , vary from region to region (Ratnagar, 2004). In contrast to Central Asia and Africa which do not have vast stretches of natural grassland in South Asia would had provide habitats for large and consolidated pastoral groups, here grassland are confined to small stretches, or else consequences of forest degradation (Rodgers,1991: 195-204). It has been suggested that from the Gupta period.

3.6 Pastoralism in India

Pastoralism has been one of the oldest occupations in India sources from Rig-Veda. Arthashastra reflects the importance of milk and its products with ritual and social importance (Ratnagar, 2004). In India there are more than 200 tribes comprising six percent of the country are engaged in pastoralism (Khurana, 1999). There appears to be no reliable statistics available on the number of active pastoralist. Since, independence, population census no longer collect data based on the caste adherence, besides not all members of pastoral castes are actually engaged in livestock keeping only a small proportion of young people from pastoral background have opportunities or interest to become livestock herders and they are engaged mainly in unskilled labour in cities. Indian pastoralists can be divided into groups that practice horizontal movement and vertical movement like in the mountainous region. Nomadic pastoralism is prevalent in the dry lands of western India, the Deccan Plateau and in the mountains region of India (Pastoralism in India: Scoping Study, 2003). India has one of the largest livestock population in the world. Live stock provides local people in isolated areas with milk, meat and wool. Pastoralists use marginal, otherwise uncultivated land, increasing the amount of land available to an already expanding population. They also rear indigenous animals' breeds, retaining rich genetic variety. India is the home to a large number of pastoral groups which includes Golla and Kuruma of Andhra Pradesh, who move their cattle and sheep respectively, Rabari and Bharwad from Gujarat, who raise flocks of sheep and goat and cattle and small

stock respectively. Kurba and Dhangar from Karnataka both raise sheep flocks/Rabari and Gujjar from Rajasthan and Gaddi ,Gujjar and Barkarwals of Himalayas .In spite of being in such a large number, these pastoral communities have very low public and political profile.(Bhasin,2011).

3.7 Social context of Indian pastoralism

The worldwide literature on pastoralism is extremely uneven and determined by politics and security issues as much as by the need for empirical data .According to Blench 2000, Indian pastoralism is the world documented by far, with the confused descriptions of pastoral system and confused terminology for pastoral ethnic groups. Screening of the anthropological literatures as the development reports, indeed confirms that pastoralist represent a subsector of the Indian society that has received much less attention in comparison with other social groups, from both the research and the development angle. In Africa and the Middle-East, Pastoralists are usually tribally organized and associated with the particular territories inhabited exclusively by them. By contrast, in India pastoralist are integrated into the caste system, representing endogamous social groups with the professional specialization in animals' husbandry. In India the village has always been the focal unit for investigation by anthropologist as well as for development intervention, pastoralist, due to their transient and dispersed existence, somehow have fallen through the gaps and escaped the attention of the researches and development agencies (Sharma et al).

3.8. Characteristics of pastoralism of India

3.8.1 Pastoral society

Pastoral societies are characterized by domestication of animals. They first appeared about 12,000 to 15,000 years ago .These societies are typically found in mountainous region and in areas with insufficient rainfall to support horticultural and agrarian societies .Most of these societies have secondary means of subsistence usually small scale horticulture or agriculture. The nomadic pastoral society are very Patriarchy therefore man are often largely responsible for herding larger stock such as cattle, and all the activities are

control by man . The pastoralist women engaged economic and cultural activities and managing and conservation of natural resources. Despite of many difficulties they are resourceful in finding the household met. The activities that are performed by women are in the areas of handicraft, food production and food processing, small stock such as cattle, and the milking of livestock at camps (Pritchard, 1995).

3.8.2 Mobility

Mobility is the key feature of pastoralist it benefits them to lead productive life .In fact it is in fact only the way to make use of range land .The pastoral system is moved to fit the environment in order to make best use of resources. Mobility enables pastoralist to take advantage of pastures resource that are only the seasonally accessible. Therefore, the pastoralists are nomadic .In desert area they travel from water hole to water hole. In mountain areas they move up and down the terrains as the water changes (International Fund for Agricultural Development). Mobility also helps protect their animals to protect them from the impact of drought and disease.

3.8.3 Economy

The pastoralists follow economic strategies that are set by the physical ,social and economic condition of local ,regional and national level .Therefore , economy of pastoralist differs ,some may be self sufficient in nature ,totally dependent upon the animals product such as milk, meat, ghee, leather and wool. But for some pastoralist, animal husbandry and rearing of cattle are not sufficient to sustain the population therefore, some pastoralist depend upon alternative sources of livelihood apart from rearing animals. For instance Bhutia of Lachen and Lachung are indulged in marginal trading activities with the Tibetans across the border (Bhasin, 2001).

3.9 Classification of Major Types of Indian Pastoralists

Pastoralism can be categorized in a number of ways. The most important of these are by degree of movement, species, management strategy, geography, location, region and ecology. The most common categorization is by the degree of movement, from highly nomadic through transhumant to agro-

pastoral (Blench, 2000). On the basis of the region pastoralist are divided two board categories.

3.9.1. Pastoralist of Indian Himalayan Region

Sheep and goat pastoralism is a content feature of traditional mountains societies. Gaddis Gujjars, Bakarwals, Kinnauras kaulis, bhotias, Monpa, Bhutias and Changpas are some of the major pastoralist communities of Himalayas. The Pastoral communities make use of resources like high mountains pastures in three different ways by the characteristic mobility patterns, socio-economic organization and property. There are nomads like Changpa of Changthang in Ladakh whose economy is pastoralist groups like Gaddis of Bharmour, Himachal Pradesh and Bhutias of Lachen and Lachung in Sikkim, who practice marginal agriculture and raise herds of sheep and goats and yaks (Bhasin, 1988). The interaction of altitude, climate and soil fertility set upper limits on agriculture and pastoralism and within the range of agriculture, upper limits on types of crops (Toll 1968, Uhlig, 176). Pastoralism in the Himalayas is based on transhumant practices and involves cyclical movements from lowlands to highlands to take advantage of seasonally available pastures at a different elevation in the Himalayas. During the summer, when the snow melts in the higher alpine regions, Himalayan pastoralists move up to these areas to graze their animals. After the monsoon they move down to occupy the low altitude pasture for the winter. Movement of people and their livestock proceeds between previously earmarked sites, which becomes more or less regular seasonal encampments or base. Some pastoralists in the Himalayas are agro-pastoralists and besides rearing animals they also cultivate land. In addition, they also engage in a multitude of other economic activities like handcrafts, trade and transport (Paul, 2005).

The Himalayan pastoral groups is further classified into the following categories on the basis of their migration types

3.9.1.1 Nomadic Herders

Van Gujjars of Uttaranchal and Himachal Pradesh and Changpas in Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir migrate from one pasture to another with their whole

families. They do not cultivate land and their entire livelihood revolves around the pastoral activities. They mostly depend on their neighboring agriculture communities for cultivable goods for which they perform extensive economic exchange with them (Sharma et al).

3.9.1.2. Semi –Nomadic Pastoralist

Gaddis and Bhutia of North –western Himalayas seasonally migrate to higher pastures with their animals. These nomadic groups own cultivable land and during half of the year are involved in agriculture activities. Bhutias living in the Lachen and Lachung valley of Sikkim and Monpas of Arunchal Pradesh are also included in this category (Sharma et al).

3.9.1.3 Long –distance or Transhumant Herders

Village pastoralist practice long distance herding of livestock and are considered to be transhumant herders. Transhumance is a grazing strategy in which the livestock is generally accompanied by hired men but also by owners and relatives, but rarely by a whole family, on along migration or transit between seasonal ranges (Rinschede, 1987).

Table 3.1 Major Pastoralist Groups of Himalayan Region

Sl.No	Pastoral Groups	Size	Location & Species	Ethnic identities	Outline migration pattern
1	Bakarwals	N.A	Kashmir (mainly goat)	Muslim: kashmiri& Hindi	They move to Jammu and plains in winter times and to Kishtwar and other higher alpine valley of Kashmir Himalayan in summer months.
2	Gujjars	2038692 (1931 Census)	Jammu&,Himachal Pradesh Uttaranchal(mainly buffaloes	Hindu & Muslim. Speak a mix language of Gajurati, Urdu,Dongri and broken Hindu with perso-Arabic scripts	Winter times are spend in the region of Jammu, Punjab,and lower districts of H.P &.They migrate to higher region of H.P and Uttranchal in summer
3	Changpas	N.A	South –East Ladakh (yak)	Follow a primitive form of Buddhism. Speak mix of Ladakhi and Tibetan Language with a Tibetan scripts	Their migration cycle is around the various high altitude pastures of Rupshu plain in Changtha region of Ladakh.
4	Gaddis	1,26,300 2001 Census	Kangra & Dharamsala region of Himachal Pradesh parts of UP and Punjab (sheep & goat)	Hindu –Rajput .Speak Hindi Language with Devnagari scripts	Punjab plains and lower districts of H.P during winter month and occupy Lahual and Dhauladhar pasture in summer months
5	Bhotias	NA	Upper region of Garhwals & kumaon of Uttaranchal	Hindu Speak Pahari group of language with a Devangir script	They migrate lower district of Uttranchal like Dehradun ,Bhabhar valley in winter month and move to higher pasture of Garhwal and Kumoan Himalayas towards Nanda Devi ,Gwaldam,mana pasture and adjoining regions.
6	Bhuttias	2159 (1981 census	North districts of Sikkim	Buddhist .speak a Tibetan Dialect	Alpine region of Lachung Valley and lachen districts of Sikkim and move lower forest below Mangan in the summer.

7	Monpas	34469 (1981 census	Tawang and West Kameng	Buddhist:speak Bodic group of tibeto Burman family	Higher reaches of East Kameng and Tawang districts in summer season of Arunchal Pradesh and migrate to low lands around Tawang in the winter.
8	Kinnaurs	59547 (1981 census)	Kinaur districts of Himachal Pradesh	Rajputs & Hindu and Buddhists	In summer sheep and goat flocks are driven to higher parts inside H.P and in winter the flocks are driven to foot hills of Uttaranchal and H.P.

Source: Sharma, Vijay Paul, Ilse Kohler-Rollefson and John Morton Pastoralism in India: A scoping Study, Department for International development for international Development.

3.9.2 Pastoralism in Western India

The “Old World Arid Zone Belt that stretch across Northern Africa and has given rise of many pastoral culture, reaches its most eastern point in Northern India. Its limits is marked by the Aravalli mountains chains that runs in a north east, south west direction roughly from Delhi to Ahmadabad. The area that is bordered by the Aravalli hills in the west and Indo-Pakistan border in the area that is borders in the east is known as the Thar Desert, receiving average annual rainfall ranging from 100-600mm, it is subject to frequent drought, and therefore, pastoralism traditionally represented the predominant land use strategy.

Pastoralist of western India is one of the Major pastoralists that exist in western side of India. Pastoralist living in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan are also belonging to these groups. The Major pastoral groups of Western India such as Rebari and Bharwad, subdivide into small sub-units, but on the other hand also merge into each other also merge into each other. Among the Rakia Rebari who are extant in Gujarat and Rajasthan, as well as other state, there is high degree of regional diversification with the respect to language, deities worshipped and clothing. They may share more out ward similarities with the farming caste in the region with the members of their own community residing further away. Social organization is therefore rather decentralized¹².

Pastoral adaptations in the western India can be classified into following main types.

3.9.2.1 Urban Pastoralism

Urban pastoralism refers to the keeping of buffaloes and cattle in and at the periphery of large cities for milk production with markets purchased fodder. Certain pastoral castes, especially the Bharwads of Gujarat, engage in this strategy. Often these groups do not raise their own replacement females, but continuously bur pregnant stock from the rural areas that they keep only as long as lactation (Salzman, 1988).

3.9.2.2 Village based Pastoralism

Long distance migration is undertaken mostly by the owners of large sheep and herds. About 10-12 families from the large groups that elects one more leaders whose

¹² Quoted from the report *Pastoralism in India: A Scoping Study*, prepared for Department For International Development (DFID). For more detail, (Sharma, Rollefson and Morton).

responsible for negotiating with land owners for nights halts and to follow land also to interact with the police, foresters and traders. The herding groups move along well established routes and often have developed contacts with landowner and traders. In year with good rainfall, the herders can afford to stay longer in their home village. When rain does not occur, then return to village is delayed because no grazing would be available there (Sharma, Rollefson and Morton).

Permanent Migration is a local term used to refer to pastoralist who no longer returns with their herd to the village. This situation is reported for Raika breeders from Pali District in Rajasthan. Some of their family members stay permanently with sheep herds in Madhya Pradesh (Sharma, Rollefson and Morton).

Table 3.2 .Major Pastoralist Groups in Western India

Sl.No	Pastoralist	Cattle they posses	Ethnic identity	Geographical location
1	Charan	Sheep and goat	Hindu	Kutch, Saurashtra ,North Gujarat
2	Bharvads,	Sheep, goat	Hindu	Eastern and south eastern Saurashtra
3	Rebari	Goat	Hindu	Rajasthan, Gujarat ,and Punjab
4	Toda	Sheep	Hindi	Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh
5	Dhangar	Sheep	Hindu	Maharashtra
6	Rakia	Sheep ,goat ,camel and Buffalos	Hindu	Rajasthan

Source: Sharma, Vijay Paul, Ilse Kohler-Rollefson and John Morton Pastoralism in India: A scoping Study, Department for International development for international Development.

3.10 Pastoralism from the Ancient to Colonial Period in India

It has been suggested that from the Gupta period onwards, with the consolidation of agrarian states the expansion of their influences into arid and mountainous areas, pastoral nomadism in India had declined and the remaining nomadic animals were increasingly marginalized (Ludden, 1994: 15-16). Pastoralists are specifically mentioned in the medieval documents, either due to the involvement in various battles and raids between different rulers. In 1950 pastoralists served as mounted couriers through the Mughal Empire, being paid in grain and cash. The trade over land used by the nomadic communities owners of camel, oxen, horse who sold or hired out their animals to caravan traders (Chaudhari, 1989: 227).

Pastoral products, mainly ghee but also the wool and leather were for long items of commercial value and from this it can be inferred that pastoralists were a major factor in regional economies. We have considerable information on grazing levies and on taxes paid by herders on ghee wool and on migration (Bhandani 1999). Similarly, the Peshwa administration levied taxes on sheep, and had a system of grazing permits and reserved pasture (Dandekar, 1998). While in the part of coastal Maharashtra taxes were levied on ghee and herd animals (Guha, 1999:56).

Centuries later such mobile pastoralists existed, mainly in the regions not suited to cultivation, but also in agriculture areas where they formed sub-groups, and pastured their herds on fallow fields and adjacent open areas (Westpahl, 1974:14). Forest was considered as the waste land but they continued to pay taxes, the grazing was encouraged as it was one of the sources for the state to generate revenue (Bhattachary, 1995).

The establishment of British domination affected the pastoralist drastically. This happened in one or more of the following (Roa, 2008). Development of infrastructure rendered the occupation of certain nomadic communities. The first phenomenon is the development of irrigation and the construction of the canal colonies in the Punjab in the 1880 and 1890s. This led to the massive influx of peasants into vast areas that were till then used as pasture by pastoralists. Evicted from their grazing region, they searched for alternative pasture in new areas often hundreds of miles away. For example while some Gujjars, who had been mobile till then around Meerut and Bulandshahr now settled there (Whitcombe, 1972:84). Not only in the arid plains, but in mountain areas too, records of rights were reformulated for forest

and wasteland. Grazing dues increased rapidly and grazing areas were restricted, in keeping with forest management policies. All this also led to increasing shortage of pasture; as a result, distance covered by migration flocks and herds increased (Bhattacharya, 1995). Replacement of older communication network by more modern system collapsed ancient trading system (Ilfie 1995). Pastoralists who were taking part in trade were eased out of their niche by the railways. Pastoralist dealing in pack animals and involved in the animals trade went out of the business. Such change in the wider infrastructure affected community and caste bound frames and led to long term economic, ecological and social transformation. As late as 1931 the census indicated that the pastoral caste had the lowest rates of adherence to their traditional occupation (Sopher, 1975). Fiscal policies and environment ideologies were mirrored in The Indian Forest Act that deprived numerous pastoralist of grazing land and foragers of their subsistence resources. In most part of India, forest were at the time considered the property of the local rulers, and in many areas the collection of forest produce as rent was an old custom. So also were the de facto rights of various communities to use these forest. With the colonization of India, colonial government introduced many policies which pursued the interest of overseas capital and of the high caste and propertied which curtailed the rights of pastoralist and regulated their movement. Therefore the pastoralists have to rapidly seek new avenues, resource and lifestyles.

3.11 Impact of Modernity on Socio- Economic life of Pastoralist

Pastoralism is one of the oldest occupations after agriculture. With the beginning of modernity, Pastoralism throughout the world is continuously facing difficulties in many ways. Economic growth has continued to remain at the core of modern development discourse which is an offshoot of post war era. Western development economic thus remained engaged in development various mechanisms through which a country can either become an industrialized nation or can catch up with the advanced industries countries. To dovetail the concept of modernization with the development thinking, Political modernization in the form of nation building was added. As a consequence from nineteenth century to late twentieth century, Philosophy of development gradually moved from structuralist to agency oriented views (Chakrabarti, 2011).

With this we observe total absence of recognition of value and of nature of Pastoralism as environment of culture and human existence it is predominantly guided by the philosophy of utilitarian development. It is visible in the country like India; policy formulation to arrest environment degradation has failed to address the livelihood marginal communities like pastoralist. The state intervention, political governance has ignored the traditional knowledge, great sense of sustainable livelihood, religious belief and communal form of governance. And also the culture associated with it.

Apart from these numerous demographic and economic changes of long term nature, which triggered adaptive change likely to transform this significant. Since independence of India, the pastoralists have faced a series of significant changes from the external political and economic change. These structural alterations have brought adjustment in many aspect of the traditional pastoral system, including migratory cycle, local economy and social organization. The new advent of reforms and economic development has brought significant change to pastoral economy. Traditional trade relationship had decline for instance Changpas left Rupsh–Kharnak to settle near Leh town (Bhasin, 2011).

Currently, the trend towards globalization of the market turns pastoral lands being commercialize or many of them are turned into national park which has created problems for the pastoralist. Due to neglect by official and policy makers, Pastoralist faces deprivation from their traditional and customary rights to these grazing areas. Pastoralism is necessary to sustain the environment .In Germany ,when people stopped grazing livestock in the forest this has led change in the vegetation (Rellefsons: 1992).

From above we can see how the Indian pastoralist are being alienated and deprived from their culture, livelihood and their customary rights now and then, if we look at the discourse of pastoralism from British India to independent India, the condition is almost similar. They are being excluded politically, socially and economic than other minorities. Indian government or leader has promise to deliver social economic justice to its entire citizen but in reality nothing has done for them which is beneficial or necessary for their development. Instead they are being treated as the second class citizen. There are many reasons which are responsible for it such as lack of

consciousness among these communities, non participation on politics, lacks of leadership. For example Dalits are being of the most exploited and underprivileged class but with the effective leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and his unending struggle for the rights of Dalits as however could bring little change in society but as contrast to Dalits. Therefore pastoralists, civil society and government of India have to play a definite role in protection of pastoralists conferring certain rights which may support their livelihood and community conservation of domestic animals and bio diversity.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICS OF PASTORALISM IN SIKKIM

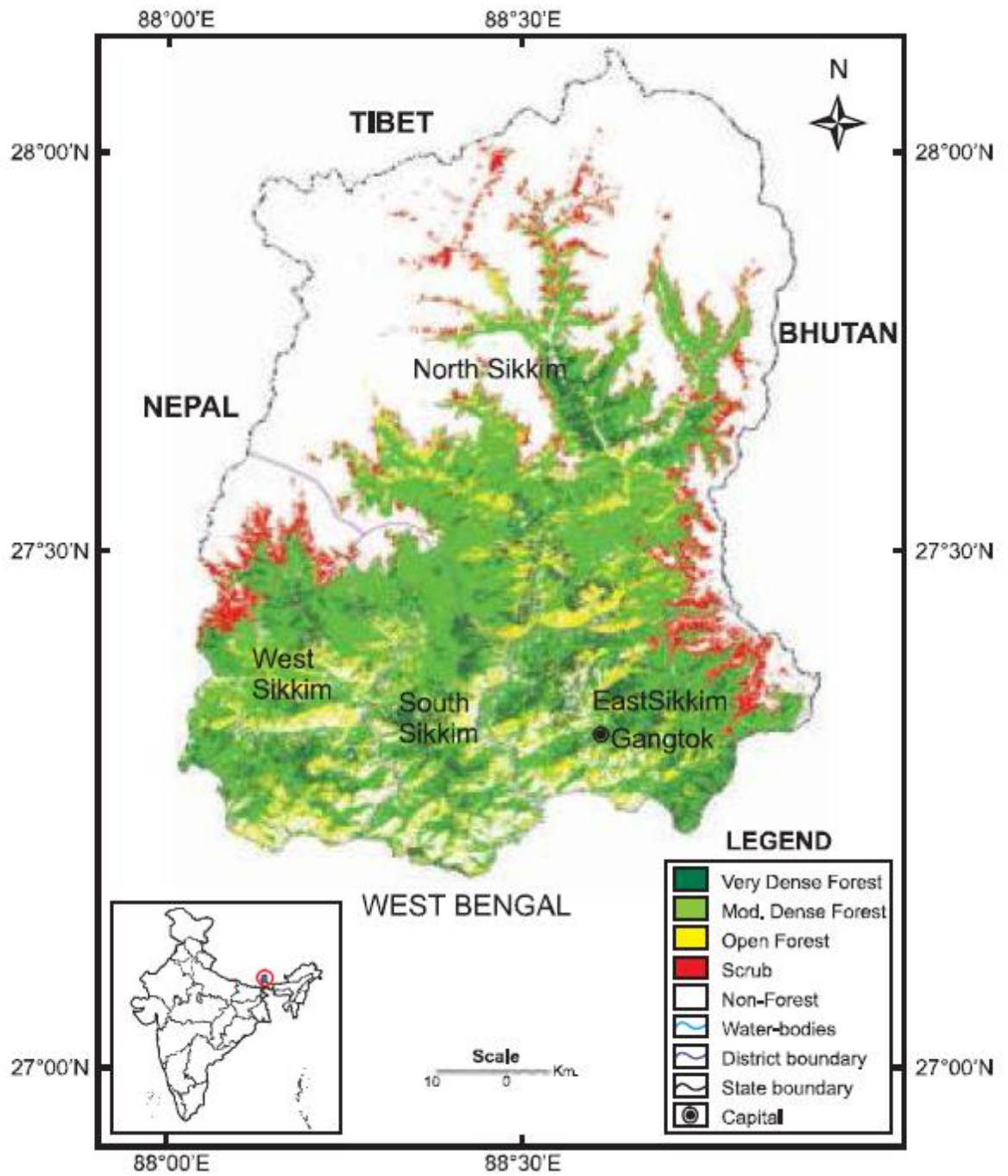
4.1. Introduction: Geography, Demography and Topography

Sikkim is one of the smallest states of India situated in Eastern Himalayas. Spread below the mount Khangchendzonga, the highest mountain in the world Sikkim shares her borders with autonomous region of Tibet in the North, Bhutan in the East, Nepal in the west and state of west Bengal in the south. The geographical area of the state is 7,096 km and lies between latitude 27°04 to 28°07N and longitude 88°00 to 88°55'N .Sikkim has varied topography. The climate ranges from subtropical to high alpine. Annual rainfall varies from 2,700mm to 3,200 mm. the temperature in the state ranges from sub zero during winter to 28°C during summer(Forest Report 2012).The early history of Sikkim starts in the 13 century with the signing of the brotherhood treaty between the Lepcha chief Thekong Thek and Tibetan prince Kye-Bhusma at Kavi in North Sikkim, Historically visits of reversed of Namgyal Dynasty in Sikkim .With the march of history, events and also brought a change from monarchy to democracy and Sikkim became an integral part of Union in1975 (Joshi, 2004). As per census 2011, the population of Sikkim of Sikkim is 0.61 million which constitutes 0.05% of the country's population .The rural population constitutes 75.03 and urban population is 86 persons per km.

4.2. Forest profile of Sikkim

Sikkim is geographically diverse due to its location in the Himalayas. The climate ranges from sub tropical to high alpine. of total geographical area, about 30% is under permanent snow cover, glacier and steep rock where the tree growth is not possible due to physical and climate. The recorded forest area of the Sikkim is 5,841.10 Square kilo meters which continues 81.24 of state geographical area. Reserved Forest constitute 93.34% and protected forest 6.66% of the total forest area.(Forest Report 2011) Sikkim has 1 National Park and 8 wildlife sanctuaries covering an area of 2178 .km2 which constitutes 30.70% of the state geographical area. In Sikkim Himalayas, the distribution of tree species change rapidly with the elevation.

Figure 4.1 Showing Forest Cover of Sikkim



Source: Indian State of Forest Report 2011

Table no 4.1: Table Showing Geographical Area under Forest

Sl.No	Description	Area in Hector	%Total Geographical Under Administrative Control of Forest Department
1	Recorded Forest Land with tree cover		
	i) Reserved forest	2261 sq.kms	
	ii) Khasmal Forest	285 sqkms	
	iii) Gorucharan	104 sqkms	
	Total	2650.00	37.34 %
2.	Alpine Pasture and Shrubs	1024	14.43 %
3	Perpetual snow covered	2091	29.47 %
	Total	5765.10	81.28 %

Source: Forest, Environment & Wildlife Management, Government of Sikkim.

<http://www.sikkimforest.gov.in/docs/Sikkim%20Forest%20Statistics%20General.pdf> accessed on 21/2/2014

Table 4.2 showing National Park and sanctuaries of Sikkim

Sl no.	Name of National park and Sanctuaries	Districts	Area(sq.km)
1	Khangchendzonga National Park	North & West	1784.00
2	Fambong Lho Wildlife Sanctuary	East	51.76
3	Shingba Rhododendron Sanctuary	North	43.00
4	Kyongnosla Alpine Sanctuary	East	31.00
5	Mainam Wildlife Sanctuary	South	34.35
6	Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary	West	104.00
7	Kyongnosola Apline Sanctuary	East	31.00
8	Pangokhola Wildlife Sanctuary	East	128.00
9	Kitam Bird Sanctuary	South	6.00

Source: Forest Environment & Wildlife Management, Government of Sikkim.

<http://www.sikkimforest.gov.in/docs/sikkim%20Statistics%20general.pdf>, Accessed on 21/2/2014:

4.3. Pastoralism in Sikkim: A cursory Overview

India has a vast population, majority of which is engaged in primary income generation¹³ activities due to lack of new technology. Livestock rearing is an integral part of the various rural communities in the country. India had total livestock population of 529 million as in 2007 (NSS, 2007). Arable agriculture contributes as a major fodder resource of the country in the form of crop residues which is mainly fed to the livestock. Livestock population of Sikkim forms a mere 0.4 percent of national livestock. Animals rearing plays a bigger role in nation states as it is a multiple dimensional activities. Livestock in Sikkim not only contributes to the livelihood of people, being the main income generation activity, but also assist in agriculture and help to meet the increasing demand for protein rich food items such as milk, egg and meat (Shewta, 2011).

One of the first inhabitants of the Himalayan state were pastoralist from Nepal who had started establishing *Goath*¹⁴ in the forest dividing the two nations. Life style practiced in the region and semi nomadic with horizontal and vertical movement, depending on the animals. Apart from construction and maintenance of cattle shed, fuel wood and fodder requirement were met by intense cutting and logging of nearby trees. Agro pastoralism slowly evolved in the region. One of the first cattle sheds was set up by the king, *Patta system*¹⁵ was introduced by the king where in headers had to pay rent for grazing animals in the forest, the rent was varied from animals to animals. Forest Guard known as *Chaprashi*¹⁶ as appointed by the *Darbar*¹⁷ whose job was to protect a forest resources and to check the *patta* of the pastoralist.

4.4 Pastoral Socio- Economy Life-World in Sikkim

Pastoralism is an economic activity where herds and herdsman together form a symbiotic community and depend on nature or more precisely on pasture. Transhumance is highly developed form of pastoralism in a rotational manner has placed utilization of resources in a rotational manner. Pastoralism is practiced as

¹³ The term primary income generation is used to address the source of income on which the pastorals in Sikkim depend for basic means of livelihood.

¹⁴ In order to accompany livestock in the search of food inside forest, pastoralist built temporary shelter, locally known as *Goath*.

¹⁵ *Patta system* rent for grazing animals in the forest

¹⁶ Forest Guard

¹⁷ Royal Palace

primary is major economic activity of the population since the time unmemorable .In Sikkim this pastoralism is known as gothwala system and the pastoralist are known as Gothwala¹⁸. (Local communities such as Gurung, Bhutias, Chettri and Serpas have been traditionally practicing agro-pastoral form of livelihood. The livestock composition of the area included *cow, Buffalo, yak, de& urang(yak and cow cross breeds)*, and sheep. The gothwala system is divided into various types on the basic of cattle they posed such as *Bheadigoath¹⁹ Chaurigoath,²⁰ Gaigoath²¹ and vhaisegoath²²* *Bheadigoath* refers to form of pastoralism where only the sheep are kept as the cattle, Specially Gurung one of the major tribes of Sikkim are engaged in such kind of pastoralism because sheep has great cultural significant in Gurung community. Similarly Chauri Goath is form of pastoralism where only the yak are kept, such types of pastoralism are found in Alpine region of Sikkim and in high altitude region of Sikkim ,such kind of cold climate is necessary for the development of yak. Gaigoth is another firm of the Pastoralism in which cow is kept Cow is considered as the sacred animals among Chettri, Bhaun therefore this kind of pastoralism is mostly practiced by Chettri and Bhawun. Until mid- 1970's, the livestock ownership was more for subsistence purpose and was mainly composed of a few cows or buffaloes or sheep. With Sikkim becoming part of Republic of India in 1973, and the markets opening, the subsistence model started changed to commercial scales. Around this time yak herding was introduced in the landscape and this led to the advent of heavier animals such as *yak, dee, urang & dzo* (yak-cow hybrids) grazing in the landscape. Over the next two decades, the livestock population (of *yak,dee, urang,dzo*) increased exponentially while that of sheep and buffalo reduced drastically (Bhagwat, 2011).

Mobility or seasonal migration is chief characteristic of pastoralism. Mobility allows pastoralist to exploit more than one environment simultaneously, thus creating the possibilities for marginal regions to support human life. Rather than adapting the environment to suit the food production system (Bates, 1998:104) Mobility is also a way of putting the pastures to economic use without a huge expenditure of capital.(Janzen,1993).Pastoralist in Sikkim too practice mobility according to season

¹⁸ Pastoralist or Sheppard who herds the cattle

¹⁹ Sheep pastoralism

²⁰ Yak pastoralism

²¹ Cow pastoralism

²² Buffalo pastoralism

.During the beginning of winter the goath is shifted to a lower altitude or to residential area , in this period most of the agriculture land remains uncultivated ,so in order to fertilize these land through cattle dung ,farmer welcomes the pastoralist by offering shelter and fodder to the cattle. Apart from this some of pastoralist in Sikkim engaged themselves in cultivation activities. After the onset of summer, the goaths get shifted back to the higher altitude away from their residential. Whole cyclical movement addresses the twin objective of ensuring availability of grass as a fodder for animals and allowing the grass to regenerate. In addition dung of animals helps to replenish soil fertility. The entire exercise is an ideal example of natural resource management and the knowledge base that is in use is entirely attributable to traditional ecological knowledge which the indigenous society has acquired through centuries by staying in the harmony of nature (Chakrabati, 2011).

The economy of pastoralist is self sufficiency in nature, Pastoralist in Sikkim earned their livelihood from the product that are derived from the cattle such as they churn milk for butter and curdle it for cheese (*Churpi*). Dehydrated cheese commonly known as *churpi supari* and butter are sold in the market and weekly market (*Haat*). Through interview we came to know that in earlier days butter were even taken to Darjeeling for sell, as the price of butter was higher. Apart from this meat, skin and horns were also sold. For additional earning, some of the pastoralists were engaged in agriculture to meet their food requirement, Women folks who stay at their resident used to look after the agriculture. About 95% percent pastoralists are agro pastoralist who means that they are following agriculture and pastoralism as an occupation. A male member are usually take cares of the cattle they are responsible for it including buying, selling and migration of their cattle where as women are mostly engaged in domestic work such as cooking, milking of cows preparing butter taking care of their children and the agricultural activities .

4.5. Policies of Sikkim Government towards Pastoralism

Sikkim government has adopted different types of policies towards pastoralism in the course of time which can be divided into two parts (i) pre merger (Sikkim under Chogyal dynasty) (ii) post merger (After Sikkim became integral part of India). These policies are contrast to each other .many factor such as modernity ,level of

awareness ,change in social, economy and political structure of Sikkim , and the change in international politics have played a vital role in farming such policies.

4.5.1. Policies on Pastoralism in the Pre Merger Period

There has been a very less information regarding the policies of the government towards pastoralism on pre merger period..In a year 1893 about 46 percent of geographical area in Sikkim was covered forest in the year 1893. The forest was considered as the King's property so Thutob Namgyal the then king of Sikkim forest Department was established in the year 1893, and later the whole forest area was demarcated into three categories (i) Reserved forest (ii) Khasmal (iii) Gaucharan (Chettri,2012) therefore king in order to generate the revenue from the pastoralist *patta system* was introduce by government , which was a legal permit for the pastoralist to graze their cattle in the forest .The amount was fixed by the government on the basic of the cattle they posed. Chaprashi (Forest Guard) was assigned with a duty to look after the forest resource. There was a little intervention from the government.

4.5.2. Policies on Pastoralism after Merger

With the merger of Sikkim with the India in the year 1975, the structure,policy and administration of the Sikkim changed drastically including the government attitude toward the pastoralist and pastoralism .As the integral part of India now, Sikkim were complied to act as per the direction of the Indian government .In late 70s conservation of the bio diversity became one of the major objective of Government . Sikkim too took it as it responsibilities to conserve its bio-diversity and adopted various policy and programme such as ban of pastoral grazing areas.

4.5.2.1 Establishment of National Park and Wildlife Sanctuary:

Establishment of National park and wild life Sanctuary in different area so called rich in bio diversity area was one of the major policies implemented by the government in order to conserved the bio diversity. Such as Khangchendzonga National Park in year 1977, Fambongla Wildlife Sanctuary in 1984, Maenam Wildlife Sanctuary in 1987, Pangolakha Wildlife Sanctuary in 2000, Kyongnolsa Alpine Sanctuary, Singba Rhododendron Sanctuary in 1992 Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary in 1996 ,Randantse Bird Sanctuary and Kitam Bird Sanctuary (Chettri,

2012). The establishment of National Park and Wild Life Sanctuary the pastoralist were restricted from entering the place ,strict Virgil was carried by the forest guard this brought hardship to the pastoralist ,as this area was the grazing ground for pastoralist .

4.5.2.2 Implementation of Forest Act 1980

The forest conservation Act 1980 Forest Acts 1980 was implemented to the whole of the India except the state of Jammu and Kashmir .It was enacted to help conserve the country's forest. It strictly and regulates the de-reservation of forests or use of the forest land for non- forest purpose without the approval of Central Government. To this end the acts lays down the perquisite for the diversion of forest land for non forest purpose²³. At this time Sikkim was already the part of India. So, the Forest Act 1980 was implemented too in Sikkim. As per this acts Sikkim geared for the conservation of forest.

4.5.2.3 Abolishment of Grazing Patta System

Patta System was introduced by the erstwhile king long time ago. Patta System is a permit for grazing, granted by the king .Pastoralist were supposed to pay a taxes as per the animals they posed. In a year 1992, government stopped issuing Grazing Patta, soon after Park was system was notified (Thomas, 2012).

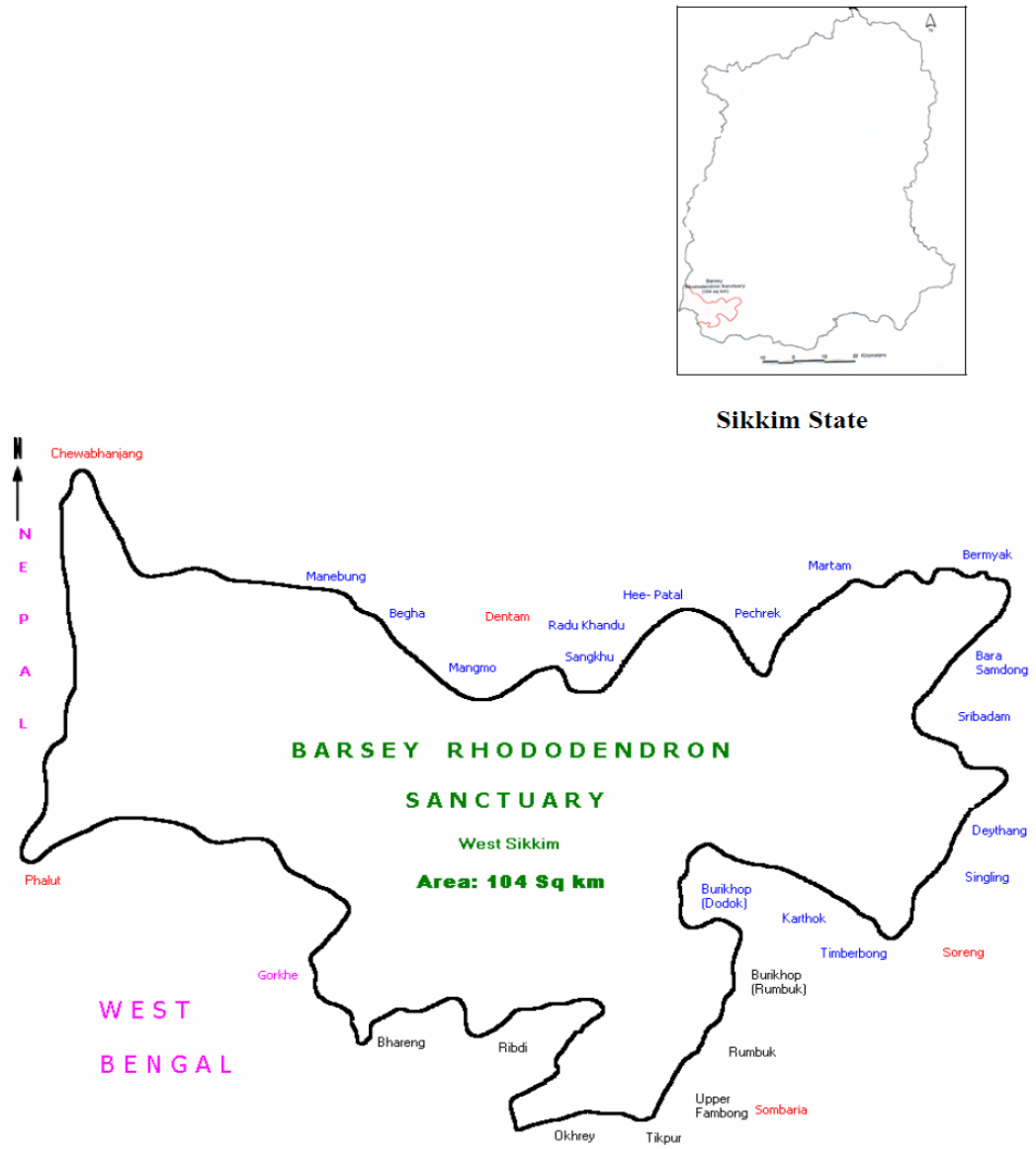
4.5.2.4 Ban on Grazing

With the establishment of protected Area across the Eastern Himalayas, there was a disproportionate interest in grazing pressure and ecologist began to talk about the negative impacts on the bio diversity and the competition with wild herbivore for scarce resources .In 1989, Sikkim declared a ban on grazing in all reserve forest, around water sources and plantation areas (Forests, Environment& wildlife Management Department of Government) . The move against grazing by the yak and yak hybrids in the higher reaches was based on the similar argument, blamed domestic livestock for degradation of forest and drying up of spring. A third argument was also invoked. Nomadic pastoralists were described as 'outsider' Tibetan header from Nepal. The number of headers and livestock may have increased with the Tibetan refugee moving down around the middle of last century (Thomas, 2011).

²³ For further detail check at <http://envfor.nic.in/division/forest-conservation>, accessed on 20/01/2015

The field study was conducted at surrounding areas of Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary located in the west Sikkim. The Barsey Rhododendron sanctuary lies in the south – west of the west districts it cover 104 sq across the razor the sharp Singhalila Range, which marks the border with Nepal .In the south, the Rambong khola separates the Sanctuary from West Bengal. The Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary forms a vital corridor connecting the Khangchendzonga Biosphere Reserve in the north with Singhalila National Park in West Bengal in the south. The site contains five forest types: subtropical moist deciduous forest (2,200-2,400m), wet temperate forest (2,400-2700m), moist temperate forest (2,700-3,250m), sub-alpine forest (3,250-4000m) and alpine meadows (>4,000m). About 600 varieties of rhododendron, out of 1000 known varieties in Sikkim, are found in this sanctuary. It is home to different fauna like black bear and, is rich in many medical plants (HKH conservation portal).

Figure 4.2 Showing map of Map of Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary.



Source: Forest, Environment & Wildlife Management, Government of Sikkim 2005

Note: Map not in Scale

4.6 Evolution of Grazing In Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary

It is believed that Pastoralism practiced in this region was semi nomadic in nature with horizontal and vertical movement, depending on the animals. Agro pastoralism slowly evolved in the region wherein men-either alone or accompanied by a caretaker or eldest son stayed in *goaths* in the forest area while female worked in the agricultural land in the village. One of the first cattle shed was set up by the king in the West districts of Sikkim. Subsequently, after the state became a part of India, residents of nearby village started establishing temporary cattle shed in the forest nearby. Migratory route of these herders depended upon availability of fodder, water, animal type and hence was the seasonal in the nature. During summer, particularly from April to September, cows were left to graze freely in forest while movement of Yak, *urang*²⁴ and *dzo*²⁵ was restricted to sub alpine region. During winter, typically after Diwali, cow would be brought to the homestead while other animals would proceed to lower altitudinal mixed coniferous forest (Shewta, 2011).

4.7 Livestock Population

Historical records indicate that domesticated livestock composition was limited to cows, buffalos, sheep and sometimes horse until first yak cow shed was established in 1970. Herd size varied depending on the animals a sheep herd minimum of 150 sheep while a cow or buffalo *goath* had maximum of 20 of them. During the year 1972-73, a major forest fire destroyed forest on the India–Nepal border .During this period, cow population started to decline due to competition for fodder in sub alpine region. Domestication of yak five years until *Urang* and *Dzo*, were introduced in the region. These cross breeds introduced in late 1970s and early 80s were preferred over other animals due to better qualities of milk and ability to carry huge amount of load. The preference was depicted in steep rise in population yak and its hybrids and decline in cow and sheep population (Shewta, 2011).

²⁴ Female of yak hybrid.

²⁵ Male of yak hybrid

4.8 Impact of Pastoralism in Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary

Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary is a part of the largest Khangchendzonga ecosystem which is the third largest in the world, and is a part of the Eastern Himalayan Conservation and it is regarded as most Significant bio diversity “Hot Spot”. It harbours different species of Flora and fauna (Lachungpa et al, 2003). The Barsey Sanctuary is known as the home of rhododendrons as J.D. Hooker the world renowned botanist noted in his diary. It provides the headwater environment for many rivers like Kaleej Khoal, Ringyang Khola, Rambong Khola, Dentam khola, Begha Khola and many streams. Conserving this water reservoir is essential for the survival of thousand of villages who live at the lower elevation. This helps in the cultivation of different agricultural and horticultural crops (Tambe, edts al, 2005).

4.9 Impact of Pastoralism

- I. The area around the cattle was made barren due to trampling and over grazing; hardly any tree was found in 1 hector of land adjoining to the cattle. About 576 hacter of land was made barren.
- II. The herders needed pole size timber of trees for construction of the cattle shed. About 72 poles for repairing shed every year for every header. On an average with 2 cattle shed per herder, this amounts to 144 poles per herders per year amounting to 41,472 per year. At village rate of Rs 10/ pole the annual economic valve of amount to Rs 4.00 lakhs /year.
- III. It gets quite cold at these altitudes and fire woods are only the source of energy. The header used about 62 KG s of firewood daily for cooking, heating and lighting purpose. The average annual requirement of firewood was 22 metric tons .At the village rate Rs 30/ head load of firewood this amount to an economic valve of Rs 41 lakhs /year.
- IV. The fodder requirement was 26 metric tons. At the village rate of Rs 20/ head load of fodder and rs 10/pole. Using these village rates, the economic valve of this biomass amount to Rs 90 lakhs (Tambe etds al, 2005).
- V. The Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary was home for different flora species specially Rhododendron plants. Intense gazing of cattle in this area affected the natural vegetation of the area.

VI. Smuggling of Forest product –Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary is regarded as one of the hot spots of medical plants, it shares its borders with Nepal and West Bengal, Smuggling of medicals plants and other forest product flourishing in these area .In order to lure the headers expensive liquor was given to them. As a bottle of expensive liquor were found at the Goath (Interview: 27).

4.10 Ban on Discourse

Sikkim forest had witnessed rampant and large scale grazing in the mountain .The rampant traditional grazing practice is associated with consequential destruction to the endemic eco- system in Sikkim. In the year 1999 government of Sikkim imposed ban on Grazing in the reserved forest area, plantation area and water sources area. The 1999 Government issued prior notice and awareness programme, audio visual show were organized in coordination with Panchayats in the ((Forest, Environment & Wildlife Management Department, Government of Sikkim) to inform this step. It was difficult for pastoralists to live their traditional occupations. Therefore the pastoralists decided to ignore the government notice and continued their pastoral practices. As a result Forest Department adopted both carrot and stick approaches. Under carrot approaches the pastoralist were given the Rs 1000 as a compensation and assured them to provide a government job but for some pastoralist of Barsey Rhododendron Sanctuary these compensation was too less there so began to agitate against the government in a peaceful manner but their voice were ignored and finally government adopted stick approaches in which Forest Department along with the Sikkim Police destroyed and burned their Goath, pastoralist were beaten (interview: 29).

Table 4.3 Showing composition of sample population

Categorization Of Respondent	Number
Pastoralist	68
Non Pastoralist	32
Total	100

Source: Field work (Nov- Dec) 2014, West Sikkim

The Table shows the total number of Respondent .Our total sample size was 100 out of which 68 respondents are pastoralist and 32 are non pastoralist such as senior citizens, government official, Panchayats and local people. The maximum numbers of respondent were male because pastoralists were mainly practiced by male members. Another reason is that the only few female population were ready to take part in the interview.

Table 4.4: showing age sample population

Age Group	Number
20-30	09
31-40	13
41- 50	18
51 -60	24
61 Above	36
Total	100

Source: Field work (Nov- Dec) 2014, West Sikkim)

The above figures represent the age composition of sample population .Age groups were divided into different groups such as 20-30, 31-40, 41 -50 51-60 and 61 and above . The age groups from 41 to 61 above are more in number because most of the pastoralists belong to this age. The respondents who fall under these categories were more curial for us to understand the whole scenario of pastoralism from pre merger period to post merger. They are eye-witnesses and practical experience holders of pastoralism.

Table 4.5: Education profile of sample population

Education Qualification	Number
No Formal Education	45
Up To 5	23
6 TO 10	13
11 To B.A	10

Above	9
Total	100

Source: Field work (Nov- Dec) 2014, West Sikkim

The above table represents the educational profile of the sample population. Out of 100 sample, 45 respondents fall under the category of non-formal education, about 80% of pastoralists fall in this category. About 20 percent of pastoralists however fall under educated category. There are hardly any pastoralists who were educated till 10. Through the interview, we came to know that lack of school and other socio-economic obstacles are major factor responsible for illiteracy. As per observation literacy is the major factor of their deprivation and exclusion.

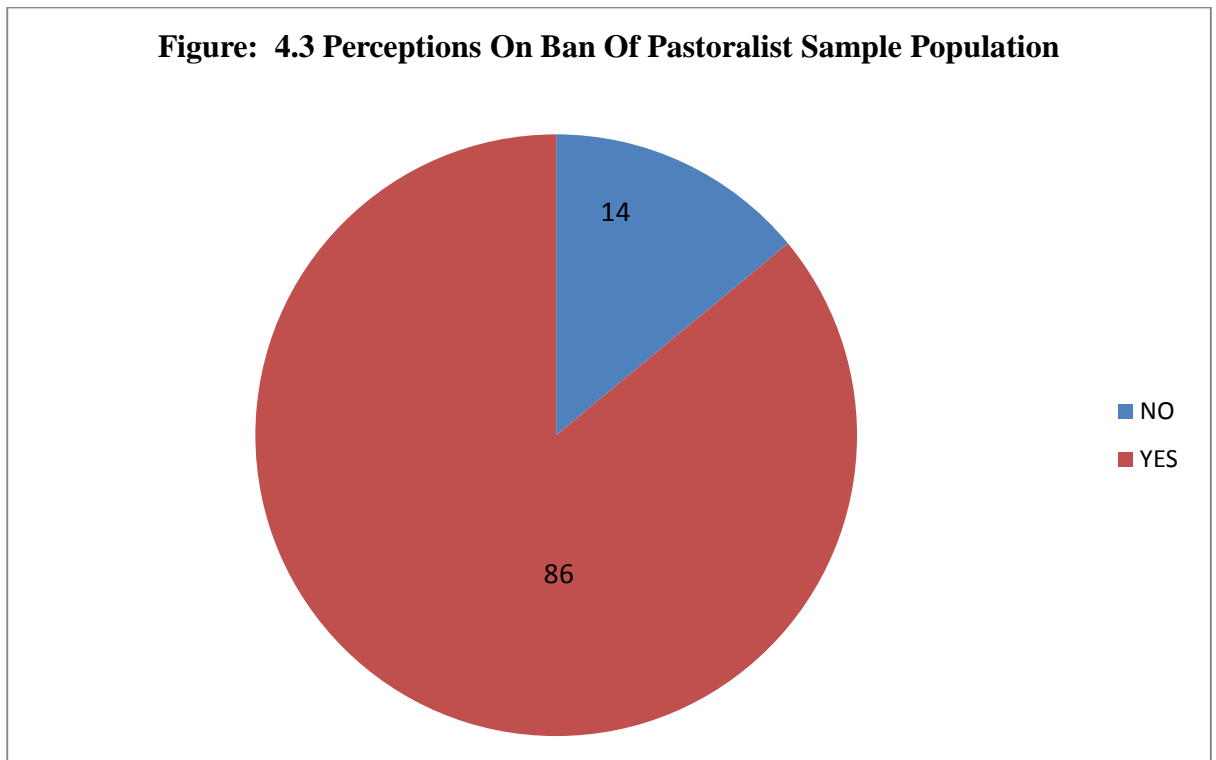
Table no 4.6: Present Source of the Livelihood of Sample Population (Only Of Pastoralist Respondents)

Sources Of Livelihood	Number
Non	10
Agriculture	40
Business	7
Other	10
Total	67

Source: Fieldwork (Nov- Dec) 2014, West Sikkim

The above table represents present sources of livelihood of the pastoralist after the ban. After the ban on grazing, the pastoralists were forced to adopt the various economic activities by the circumstances. Through the survey out of total 67 pastoralists sample we found that majority of them has adopted agriculture. 10 of the sample pastoralist are not engaged in any form of the economic activities, it is because of the age and other sickness. Similarly 7 were engaged in small business like small scale dairy production, cattle business, poultry etc and 10 of them have been engaged in other activities such as porters, drivers, labuores and guiders. The

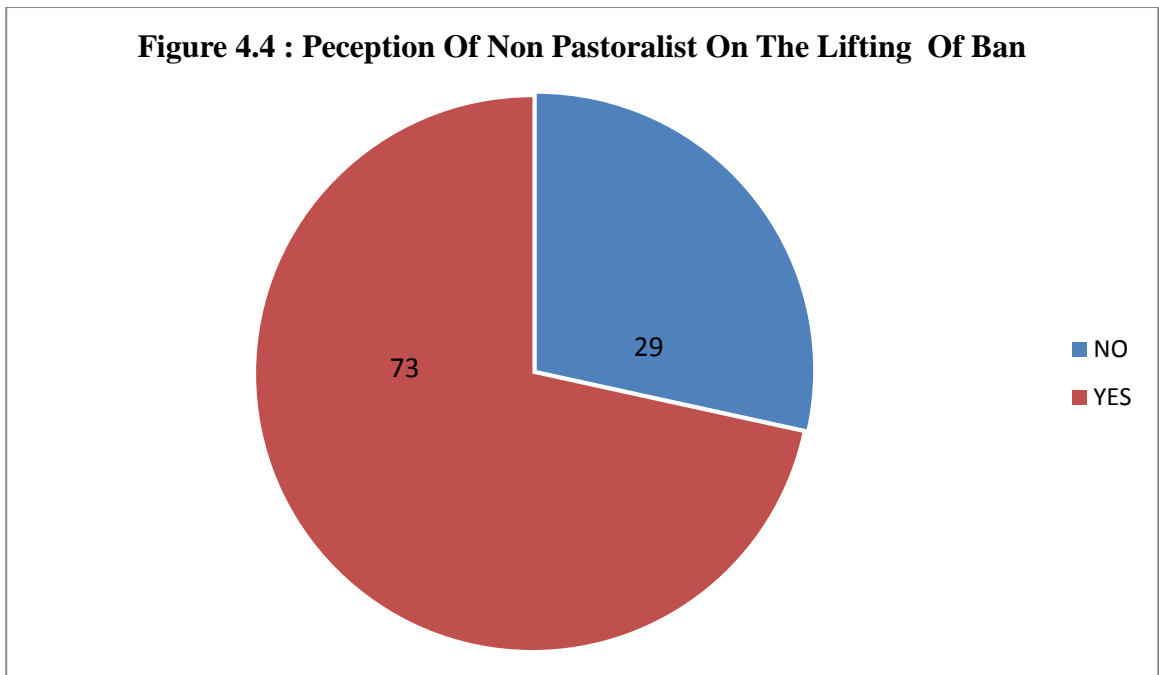
Interesting information that is found in the field work is that most of youth who belongs to this back ground were no more interested in this profession because they believed that pastoralism is difficult and proper training or skill development programme is needed.



Source: Field work (Nov- Dec) 2014, West Sikkim

The above pie diagram shows the percentage of the pastoralist respondent and their opinion on the ban. Out of the total respondents about 86 per cent want the ban to be lifted and 14 percentage of respondent were against it. Majority of the pastoralist want ban to be lifted, they believed that it can solve unemployment problem of the state and it will be helpful for the governments to generate revenue from it. The dung of animals is useful in increasing the soil fertile of the forest plus the pastoralist were protecting the forest illegal lumberjack .The pastoralist who were against it believed that government shouldn't lift the ban because it may lead to forest degradation and deforestation. Some respondent believed that no scope of pastoralist in this period.

Figure 4.4 : Perception Of Non Pastoralist On The Lifting Of Ban



Source: Field work (Nov- Dec) 2014, West Sikkim

The above pie diagram represents the perception of people who supports the ban and who opposed. Through our field visits we came to know that about 73 percentage of non pastoralist respond are believed that the ban on pastoralism should be continued because it is conserving the eco system of an area. The grazing of animals has destroyed natural vegetation of an area. With the implementation of ban on grazing the forest cover has increased .but 29 percentage of respondent believed that the ban should be lifted because it generates employment opportunity to the local also it can also enhance the development of cottage industries . Especially the wool of sheep is used in many items such as carpet and jackets .The wool production has decreased with decrease of sheep population, this is led decline of the cottage industries.

Findings from the Field

Pastoralism was the only source of income for the pastoralists .The headers had to face hardship after the phasing off from pastoralism, as they were not aware of what to do next. The economy of pastoralism was self sufficient in nature. The product which they used to generate from the cattle was only the source to support their family. Some of them adopted agriculture. A minority of them shifted to tourism service. Many sold off their stock or mixed them in informal arrangements with herds on the Nepal. Pastoralism is not only the about the economy but it is a way of life.

Pastoralism has long relation with culture. Sheep is considered as the important animal for Gurung which are used in different ritual but with the ban grazing the sheep's are difficult to find if found also the cost of sheep very expensive, which has directly affected cultural life. Similarly, Juwari the traditional song of Gurung are in the verge of extinction .The Goath was a cultural hubs for Gurung, where number of Gurung Folks use to gather in Goath the practice such songs in a leisure (interview: 23).

Goath Dhup (the cultural rituals) among the Chettri and Baun is a common ritual that is held in Goath every year for a offering tributes to the God for protecting their cattle. With the ban of grazing these Goath practice and chanting of *slokes* are in the verge of collapse. *Slokes* are chanted in the different occasion of Chettri and baun. The *goath* was not only the shelter but it has a place where pastoralist used to practice the *slokes* in the leisure time but with ban on grazing this cultural has been vanished from the society among young generation (Through interview).

The wool of sheep are use from making different items like Ashani Radhe and lukuna mostly women folks were engaged in making such things .the decline in sheep population has led to the decline of cottage industries. Wools now have to be imported from other state which is more costly therefore it led destruction of cottage industries. Churpi production was another source of income pastoralist .These churpi were export to different part of Sikkim which were beneficial to generate handsome income .the decline in cattle there has been decline led decline churpi production (interviews: 21).

The cattle had been playing vital role in adding the fertility to the soil , the waste product specially the cattle dung is considered as the major ingredient necessary for the growth of plants .Since the ban in grazing the forest land has lost it fertility as the result there has been change in the vegetation.

With the removal of Goath from the forest there has been increase in the population of wild animals. Though this is not a problem but another problem has emerged, these wild animals have left their comfort zones and are entering in the agricultural land which has become serious problems of the agriculturalist because they are continuously destroying their crop. Through interviews we came to know that earlier

these animals were residing somewhere far from the human population because of the presence of pastoralists.

Ban on the grazing and pastoral practices lead to a large scale of social exclusion of a significant community of the state of Sikkim. The loss of traditional livelihood system leads to an excluded state of the pastoralists as now they became economically poor. Secondly, the government did not provide any other alternative livelihood option for them. Neither these people were educated enough to opt for neither a new avenue nor their geographical location allow them to be engaged in a new economic avenue. As Barry (2002) has said that social exclusion leads to social solidarity, it is very much true in case of the Sikkim pastoralists. In contradiction to the democratic principles, pastoralists of Sikkim were deprived of their right to economic option without providing a planned arrangement of alternative livelihood system. Moreover, this mountainous state does have a strong cultural stock where the pastoral culture contributes a lot. Loss of this practice also leads to the gradual vanishing of these cultural practices. During the research investigation days, the researcher did not find any initiative from the government agencies or departments (department of cultural affairs etc) to preserve such cultural aspects. During the interviews, the researcher found that all such oral cultural materials is now-a-days stored only with the pastoralists. The new generation hardly knows about such cultural things. Such indifference from the government and intellectuals or academics undoubtedly proves the exclusion experienced by the pastoralists. In this context, situation of the pastoralists and Pastoralism of Sikkim can be compared to the situation as suggested by the theory of Deep exclusion offered by (Miliband, (2006). Here too find, pastoralists of Sikkim suffering from multifaceted exclusion in terms of livelihood, economic opportunity, cultural exclusion etc. The loss of economic independence leads to the loss of social status, which has been revealed in the interview period. A large number of respondents express how they feel unimportant in social functions or decision making process due to their inability to contribute economically. Exclusion is an integral factor in poverty. This has been very much evident in case of the pastoralists of Sikkim. Poverty, due to the ban on the pastoral practices not only affects their generation, but also the second generation as they cannot afford for the education and welfare of their children.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

The emergence of world new economic order has changed and replaced the existing social, economic and political structures of this contemporary world. The proliferation of neo-liberal economic order has empowered the economic giants to accumulated property in modern form of development unlike the traditional one. It has created competition between able economic forces over the resources undermining existence of communities living on the areas which have been reduced as resource commodities to be competing by modern developmental forces. The “tug of War” between this forces has led marginalization of the a section of people who came between these force.

There are certain sections of the society who are being subjected to continuously marginalization and discrimination with the birth of trend called “*modernization*”. Their way of living, customs and tradition are considered as underdeveloped these notions were specially started by the colonial power and it was further carried by the market force and globalization and liberalism during the second half of the twentieth century. Their voice and suffering are often ignored by the state and have continuously been treated as the second class citizens.

There are certain sections in population who are being continuously affected by this force. In second chapter of this work, it is focused on pastoralist groups through the lenses of social exclusion. During the half of twentieth century Social Exclusion has emerge as a new discipline in social sciences in analyzing and understanding the various problems of a society. During the discourse of social exclusion was the empty box emerging from the French soil but later this discipline became popular when European Union gave prominent position, by establishing Social exclusion Unit in Europe. The United Nation too played a vital role in exposing this concept in the developing and least developing countries through its agencies.

The concept of Social Exclusion is ambiguous in nature because of it adopts different means in understanding and analyzing of the social problems. Basically this concept focuses on multiple dimensionalities, of deprivation such as livelihood, poverty, employment, earning, health care, education Rights etc. Social exclusion had been defined variously reflecting theoretical, ideology social, economical and political

perspective. The broad framework of understanding of social exclusion suggests that it is the process that excludes individuals or groups in full participation in the society where they live. Social exclusion doesn't live in isolation. Therefore the concept of social exclusion cannot be understood by using one or two indicators. There are seven dimensions of social exclusion as identified by the Department of social security such as lack of opportunities to work, lack of opportunities to acquire educational and skills, childhood deprivation, disrupted families barriers to older people living active, inequality to health poor housing, poor neighborhood, fear of crime and disadvantage group.

The problems of social exclusion is a common phenomenon in most of the society, the problems of social exclusion may vary from region to region, country to country. Social exclusion often acts as a barrier to democracy because it prevents the excluded to participate in the political, economic and social functions of the society involves the denial of which involve of equal opportunities imposed by certain in the society upon others.

The ideal of social exclusion is Euro-centric transplanting the application of social exclusion in developing countries like India which has different socio-economic and political structure is often surrounded by numbers of difficulties. One of the major difficulties in the underlying the application of exclusion in developing countries arises out from different social, economic and cultural conditions. Social exclusion in India is embedded in the societal interrelation and institutions that includes that excludes, discriminates, isolates and deprives some groups on the basis like caste system. In many cases S.E is caused by many factors hierarchical, social orders and practices, uneven economic development, exclusionary ideological construction of nationhood. Therefore S.E of these kinds had remained solid challenge to Indian democracy and development. There are various groups of Social Excluded groups in India, among them pastoralists are one who are been continuously marginalized and deprived by various forces. Pastoralists are the groups of people who earn their living by domesticating large herds of animals. It is an important economic and culturally way of life. About 100 to 200 million people practiced pastoralism around the globe. It is considered as successful strategy to support a population with limited resources.

Pastoralists are been continuously excluded and marginalized by different forces. Pastoralists are around the globe are facing similar kind problems one or other way.

There are many factors that are responsible for the demise of pastoralism such expansion of crop cultivation, shortening of the fallow period, construction of hydro electric projects, establishment of Wildlife Park, Sanctuary, Privatization of former pastures and Sedentarization project. A part of these factors, Colonial Rule played vital role in demise of pastoralism by implementing various policies and act such as Waste land rule, Criminal Tribes Act etc. The policy and plan after independent, government policies too had often affected the Pastoralist political socially and culturally. Their voice are often unheard by the government this has led exclusion of pastoralist Rights.

Pastoralism as discussed is a pattern in which people make their living by domestication of large bunch of animals. Large number of population depends on it to sustain their life and culture. Pastoralism takes many forms according to the economic environment. Pastoralism was seen as evolutionary stage in human history after agriculture and, had been practicing for many thousand years; animals bone found in northern Sahara suggest raising livestock was practiced before agriculture. Therefore, there is controversy between the scholars. The majority of documents suggest that the pastoralism was first started in Africa and was dispersed to other part of the globe.

Pastoralism in South Asia has one of the oldest occupations practicing since Paleolithic age. Cattle like goat, sheep, camel buffalos etc vary from place to place. Pastoralism in India too had been practicing since Vedic age. In India there are more than 200 tribes comprising six percent of country population are engaged in this profession. Indian pastoralist can be divided into two groups on the basis of their movement i.e. horizontal and vertical movement. These groups are found in the mountains region and in the area with insufficient rainfall. India has one of the largest livestock population of the world, these livestock are their main source of income, various product that are derived from them like wool, meat and skins are sold in return of money most of them have secondary means of subsistence usually small horticulture.

Pastoralists are categorized in number of ways on the basic of the degree of the movement, species, management, strategy, location and region. On the basis of above parameters Indian pastoralists are categorized two groups pastoralist of Himalayan region and pastoralist of western region. Sheep and goat is content features of traditional pastoral society of Himalayan. Gujjars , Bakarwals, Bhotias are some of major pastoralist community of this region .These pastoralist communities makes us

of the recourses of high mountain pastures in three different way by the characteristics mobility patterns, socio economic organization and property. Pastoralism in Himalayan region is based on transhumant practices and involves cyclical movement according to seasons. Some of the pastoralists in the Himalayas are agro pastoralist, besides rearing animals they are also engaged agriculture, handlooms, trade and transport etc.

The Himalayan pastoralist groups are further divided into different categories on the basis of migration. Nomadic Herders are the headers who migrate from one pasture land to another with their whole family, they do not cultivate land, their entire livelihood revolves around pastoral activities Changas, Van Gujjars belongs to this groups. Semi Nomadic migrates seasonally to higher pastures land. These groups cultivated during half of the year. Bhutia living in lichen-Lachung valley of Sikkim belongs to these categories. Long distance Headers practice long distance herding of livestock with hired man along with owners and relatives.

The western part of the country bears characteristic of another group of pastoralist that are found in the state of Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Pastoral groups of western India can be classified into two groups one, Urban Pastoralism and two, Village based Pastoralism. Urban pastoralism refers to the domestication of cattle in the periphery of town and cities .Village based Pastoralism is undertaken mostly by the owners of large cattle in rural areas, long distance migration are practiced by this group.

The social structure of the pastoralists is highly patriarchy in nature, the male members are head of the family, and they decide every matter of the family. Female folks are engaged in household activities such as food production and processing, taking care of their children ,making different crafts ,milking cattle .The female folks of agro pastoralist societies are even engaged in agriculture activities. Mobility is the key features of pastoralist it enable pastoralist to take advantage of pasture resource that are only accessible in season. They migrate according to seasons in search of better pasture the cattle that they rear.

The pastoralist of India are been facing various problems since the pre independence to post independence space. During pre independence period, Britishers lanced many policy which directly and in directly affected the life of pastoralist such as, building of

infrastructure development of railways tracks, factories canals etc., in the grazing field of pastoralists. Expansion of commercial agriculture, enactment of different Acts like Indian Forest Act, Criminal Tribes Acts Demarcation of Forest land too, affected the life and livelihood of the pastoralist. After independence their misery did not end. The policy makers of free India did not think of them instead they continued the same old colonial policy. The structure adjustment programme of 1990s with liberalism globalism and privatization brought worse misery to them.

Pastoralism practice in Sikkim too an important sources of livelihood and is commonly known as Goath system. Communities such as Gurung, Bhutia, Gurung, Sherpas Chettri-Bahun have been traditionally practicing Pastoralism. Animals such as sheep, cow, yak, urang and buffalo are domesticated. Like other pastoralist groups of India mobility or seasonal migration is followed in Sikkim with twin objective of ensuring availability of grass as folders and replenish soil fertility. The economy of pastoralist is self sufficiency in nature, they earned their livelihood from the products that are derived from the cattle such as churn milk, butter, handlooms and, in addition, they are also engaged in agriculture to meet their requirement. The pastoralist societies of Sikkim are patriarchy, male members are head of the family they decides everything like buying and selling of cattle, migrate cattle from one place to another. Whereas female folks are mostly engaged in house hold activities.

Policies of Sikkim government towards pastoralism can be divided into two categories i.e Pre merger policies and (ii) post merger policies. In pre merger period Sikkim adopted a policy where was benefit from both the parties (Government and pastoralist). Permit was granted to the pastoralist through it, they were allowed grazing field for their cattle. In return, they were supposed to pay taxes as per the cattle they posed. After merger, the policy of dealing with pastoralist was changed. Government adopted various polices and project for the conservation of forest, pastoralist were seen as the major agents of forest degradation.

Therefore government adopted various policies such as abolishment of Patta System, establishment of national park and sanctuary, implementation of Forest Act 1980 and finally ban on grazing was imposed. These policies remain beneficial for government in maintaining greenery and conservation of forest. But in other hand it had created a serious problem for pastoralist in social cultural and economically sphere. These policies had led destruction of their livelihood and culture, decline of cottage industries at large.

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APPENDIX -1

Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980 with Amendments Made in 1988

An Act to provide for the conservation of forests and for matters connected therewith or ancillary or incidental thereto.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Thirty-first Year of the Republic of India as follows:-

1. Short title, extent and commencement

- (1) This Act may be called the Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980.
- (2) It extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.
- (3) It shall be deemed to have come into force on the 25th day of October, 1980.

2. Restriction on the dereservation of forests or use of forest land for non-forest purpose.

Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force in a State, no State Government or other authority shall make, except with the prior approval of the Central Government, any order directing-

- (i) that any reserved forest (within the meaning of the expression "reserved forest" in any law for the time being in force in that State) or any portion thereof, shall cease to be reserved;
- (ii) that any forest land or any portion thereof may be used for any non-forest purpose;
- (iii) that any forest land or any portion thereof may be assigned by way of lease or otherwise to any private person or to any authority, corporation, agency or any other organisation not owned, managed or controlled by Government;
- (iv) that any forest land or any portion thereof may be cleared of trees which have grown naturally in that land or portion, for the purpose of using it for reforestation.

Explanation - For the propose of this section, "non-forest purpose" means the breaking up or clearing of any forest land or portion thereof for-

- (a) the cultivation of tea, coffee, spices, rubber, palms, oil-bearing plants, horticultural crops or medicinal plants;
- (b) any purpose other than reforestation;

but does not include any work relating or ancillary to conservation, development and management of forests and wildlife, namely, the establishment of check-posts, fire lines, wireless communications and construction of fencing, bridges and culverts, dams, waterholes, trench marks, boundary marks, pipelines or other like purposes.

3. Constitution of Advisory Committee.

The Central Government may constitute a Committee consisting of such number of persons as it may deem fit to advise that Government with regard to-

- (i) the grant of approval under Section 2; and
- (ii) any other matter connected with the conservation of forests which may be referred to it by the Central Government.

3A. Penalty for contravention of the provisions of the Act.

Whoever contravenes or abets the contravention of any of the provisions of Section 2, shall be punishable with simple imprisonment for a period which may extend to fifteen days.

3B. Offences by the Authorities and Government Departments.

(1) Where any offence under this Act has been committed -

(a) by any department of Government, the head of the department; or

(b) by any authority, every person who, at the time the offence was committed, was directly in charge of, and was responsible to, the authority for the conduct of the business of the authority as well as the authority;

shall be deemed to be guilty of the offence and shall be liable to be proceeded against and punished accordingly:

Provided that nothing contained in this sub-section shall render the head of the department or any person referred to in clause (b), liable to any punishment if he proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or that he exercised all due diligence to prevent the commission of such offence.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), where an offence punishable under the Act has been committed by a department of Government or any authority referred to in clause (b) of sub-section (1) and it is proved that the offence has been committed with the consent or connivance of; or is attributable to any neglect on the part of any officer, other than the head of the department, or in the case of an authority, any person other than the persons referred to in clause (b) of sub-section (1), such officer or persons shall also be deemed to be guilty of that offence and shall be liable to be proceeded against and punished accordingly.

4. Power to make rules.

(1) The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(2) Every rule made under this Act shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before each House of Parliament, while it is in session, for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two or more successive sessions, and if, before the expiry of the session immediately following the session or the successive

sessions aforesaid, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be; so, however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

5. Repeal and saving.

(1) The Forest (Conservation) Ordinance, 1980 is hereby replaced.

(2) Notwithstanding such repeal, anything done or any action taken under the provisions of the said Ordinance shall be deemed to have been done or taken under the corresponding provisions of this Act.

APPENDIX –II

Questionnaire

QUESTIONER FOR PASTORALISTS

1. Name _____
2. Gender _____
3. Educational qualification _____
4. Religion _____
5. Address _____
6. Category: S.T/S.C/O.B.C
7. B.P.L /A.P.L _____
8. Source of income/livelihood _____. Annual income _____
9. Types of Cattle they used to herd
 1. Cow
 2. Sheep
 3. Goat
 4. Yak
10. Taxes paid for each cattle _____
11. Name of grazing field _____
12. How did you became pastoralist

13. In what ways Pastoralism is related to your life _____
14. Do you think that government has taken right steps by imposing a ban of grazing?
Yes ___No___ why?
15. How the government's policy of ban grazing has impact on your
life _____
16. Have you ever place your grievances before government? ___Yes ___No
If yes then how? _____
17. Do you have organization or union for the promotion of the pastoralist? Yes ___No
____if yes then what?
When was it form, its objective _____

18. Do you think that the government has discriminated you by imposing ban in grazing field? Yes ___ No ___
how? _____
- 19 In what ways your life has changed since ban _____
20. Should the government lift the ban? Yes ___ No ___
21. Received compensation from government? Yes ___ No ___
22. If Yes then what _____
23. Are you satisfied? No ___ Yes _____
24. Since you have left unemployed after the ban, did the government provided any alternative option for you survival? Yes ___ No ___
what _____
25. According to your perception why the government has put ban on grazing _____

Questioner for government officials, Panchayats, members of local N.G.O, a local population and politician

1. Do you think that the government has taken a rights decision by imposing ban on grazing? Yes ___ No ___ why _____
2. According to your perception why has government ban on grazing?
3. Did the government provide any alternative livelihood for them?
4. Should this ban has to be lifted Yes ___ No ___
Why? _____
5. Do you think that Pastoralism is important for society? Yes ___ No ___ how?
6. Is there any contributing for the society by providing various commodities necessary for a daily needs?
7. Yes ___ No ___ if yes then what? _____
8. What kind of relation do you have with the pastoralist, before and now

9. Do you think that Pastoralism is responsible for forest degradation? Yes ___ No ___
how?
10. Do you think that ban on grazing can save forest from degradation? Yes ___ No ___