CHAPTER - V

PASTORAL NOMADS OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR:

GUJJARS AND BAKERWALS
PASTORAL NOMADS OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR: GUJJARS AND BAKERWALS.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is inhabited by different communities, some settled, quite a few nomadic. In the latter category the most prominent are pastoral Gujjars and Bakerwals. The former form part of a large conglomerate of tribal communities inhabiting many adjoining parts of the sub-continent and are variously known as Gijar, Girjars and Gujjars. Together they are spread over an extensive area extending from the Himalayas in the north to the Satpuras in the south, from the lushgreen valleys of the Himalayas to temperate lands of Rajasthan and the Khadar and Bhanger zone of the Ganga plain.

The fact that the Gujjars have always been of a nomadic disposition is borne out by the prefix Gujjars to a large number of place names over a wide area such as Gujrat (Kathiawar), Gujranwala, Gujjarkhan (Pakistan), Gujj Garhi, Gujjargarh and Gujjar Nagar etc.

Origin:

The origin of the Gujjars is still a matter of debate. The problem requires gathering of information from diverse sources: historical, anthropological, ecological, folklores, traditions, customs, place names and ethnic study etc.

ASIAN AREAS OF TRANSHUMANCE

REFERENCES
BOUNDARY INTERNATIONAL
TRANSHUMANCE AREAS

SOURCE: OUTLINE SCHOOL ATLAS OF INDIAN SURVEY

SCALE: 1:15000000

FIG. 8
So far as the historical evidences are concerned, it is believed that the Gujjars first appeared on the scene towards the close of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century AD; though it has not been made clear whence they came and how they reached the territory of Jammu and Kashmir state. But there seems to be two points of view in this regard: that they are an immigrant people from central Asia and that they are an ancient indigenous inhabitants of India.

Brain, emphasizing the first viewpoint, places their homeland in central Asia, hence they gradually drifted, in course of time, into the Indian sub-continent. The process was a prolonged one and took centuries to complete. In this context, it has been pointed out that the word "Gijar" is a mutilated form of the central Asian "Khizers", people who came to India from Central Asia, along with the 'white Huns'.

The physical similarity between the Gujjars and the Gaddis, who inhabit the Gorez valley of Kashmir region has also been noted. The Gaddis are known to have originally belonged to that part of Central Asia which lies across the

western mountains of Sulaiman and Hindukash. If physical similarity is taken to imply common origin, the Gujjars also can be regarded as having once belonged to Central Asia.

According to Bandarkar, Gujjars came to India as a separate group with the 'Hun' caravans in the 6th century AD. According to Kenedy, the Gujjars, who are now predominantly settled in Jammu and Kashmir, were Sun-worshippers. This may imply that their original homeland was somewhere in Russia where the cult of sun-worship was prevalent.

The Hun connection of the Gujjars is again emphasized by Bhoker, who while describing the Gujjars of Rajputana says that they are part of the 'Huns' who settled in Rajputana. In support of this view Dr. Smith says that, "these people are almost outsiders and are related to white Huns." However, Smith discards the previous theories and considers the Gujjars to have been a branch of the Huns, who invaded India in 5th century AD; Dr. Bogchi also opines the "Lue Seen" is a part

of the Hyun tribe; the word having been anciently derived from the word 'Dosuen' which in 4th century AD, was 'Guseer' from which the word Gujjar is derived. So, they might have come with the 'Hyum' tribe. Latter the Gujjars might have established their own settlements. It was definitly proved latter that Bhoja's (AD 840 - 90) predecessors and successor belonged to the pratiharas (parihar) clan of the Gujjars tribe. Consequently this well known clan of the Rajputes is a branch of Gujjars or is of Gujjar stock.

According to Cambell, the identification of Gujjars with the Khazer tribe of Central Asia is obvious from the early history of the Gujjars. He points to their arrival during the last quarter of sixth century AD (470 - 520). According to him the Gujjars seem to be a pact of the great horde of which the 'Juan-Jwan' or 'Avans' and 'Ephthalites yatas', a 'white Hyun', were leading element. It is, however, not clear how far does the arrival of the Gujjars in India

during the early sixth century agree with the well known
history of the Khazars. The name Khazер—appears under different
forms in different languages and in different centuries:
Khazers, in Russia and Khazors in Arminia. Other variations
come closer to Gazare; These are Gazares, the forms of Kazar
prevalent north of the sea of 'Azor'. Howarth follows Kalaprat
in holding that the Khazars are the same as the 'white Hyuns'.

The Khazars also known to have been originally divided into
two distinct physical types: a fair or 'Ak-Khazer', the
Analzirai or Khazarai of Byzantine and a dark, 'Kara-Khazar'.

The white Khazare were fair skinned, black haired and
beautiful, their woman in 9th and 10th centuries were being
sought after in the bazars of Bhagdad and Byzantine. Accordingly
white Khazars represented the white races who, since before
Christ had settled around the Caspian sea.

In Gujrat there is a Rajpue clan known as BadGujjars,
which is supposed to be an aristocratic branch of this community.
It is often said that though all the Gujjars, are not Rajputs,
no Rajput becomes a hero unless he is suckled by a Gujjar
woman. The Gujjars of India were distinguished in the past

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10. Encyclopaedia Britannica; 1966, "Gazars of Asaf".
11. Russel, R.V., Tribes and the Castes of the Central
12. Ibid.
as vagrant, predatory marauders, and must have assimilated various foreign elements. Dr. Crook writes, "Gujjars have always been noted for their turbulence and habit of cattle breeding." Sir Combell is also of the opinion that the Sisodia or Gohlat Rajputes, the most illustrious of the Rajputes clan, are of Gujjar stock as well as the parihars and Chohans etc.

Munshi, who has studied the history of the tribe, is of the opinion that the "Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir are outsiders", though he has written a detailed account of this community.

In contrast to the view expressed above, quite a few scholars maintain that the Gujjars are of purely Indian origin. In the middle of the 5th century AD, there was a Gujjar Kingdom in south-western Rajasthan, from where they were driven by the 'Balas' into Gujrat and about the end of the 9th century Allah Khan, a Gujjar king of Jammu, ceded the present 'Gujjar Desh',

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14. Encyclopaedia Britannica; 1966, "Gazars of Asaf"


TRANITION AND FLOW OF GUJJARS IN INDIA
500 AD TO 1500 AD

SOURCE: MODIFIED AFTER GRISON'S LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA
1909
FIG. 10
corresponding very nearly to the Gujrat district (Pakistan) to the king of Kashmir.

However, there are facts on which historians do not agree. In any case the GujJars appear to be flourishing during the medieval period in every part of north western India, from Indus to Ganga and from Hazara to the Peninsula of Gujrat. Many Gujjar dynasties existed in this region, more important among them being Jagadari-Burya and even today the Gujjars are quite numerous in these parts. 17

The Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir are supported to have come from Rajasthan and the adjoining areas of Gujrat and Kathiawar. 18 A severe and prolonged famine forced them out of their original homeland and to move towards the northwest. It is, however, not clear exactly when this famine took place. Some historians believe that Gujjars entered the territory of Jammu and Kashmir in two different waves; the earlier one came directly from Gujrat through Delhi and the second, latter one, came via Punjab, where they had settled down prior to their migration into Jammu and Kashmir. This is also borne out

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18. Ibid.,
by the fact that the Gujjars of Reasi and Rajouri villages still regard themselves to have come from the areas of Sialkote, Gujranwala, Jhelum and Rawalpindi (Pakistan) and from the Kandi areas of Punjab (India), which is still a homeland for the Gujjars.19

Similarly, the Gujjars of Pakistan occupied Kashmir also have a tradition of having originated in Gujrat. This seems quite feasible as the old Mughal Route also runs from district Bimber (Pakistan), via Nowshera, Rajouri, Behram Galla, Shopian and Srinagar, which is still used by the Indian Kashmiri Gujjars regularly. Parts of the Gujjars tribe may have accompanied the Mughal caravans and settled along the route, and appear to be carrying on this tradition in their seasonal migration from lower foothills and across the Pir-panjal, to the vale of Kashmir.

The Mughal historian Abul Fazal mentions the presence of Gujjars along this route across Sialkote. Contemporary historical records also mentions many complains made by the inhabitants of Bimber and Sialkote against the Gujjars.20


An old history of Poonch by Fock reveals certain interesting facts. For instance mention is made of the fact that in the seventeenth century AD, the Gujjars of Poonch area were holding high ranks in the services. The last Gujjar king of Poonch was Rohillah Khan, who belonged to the sango sect of Gujjars. The Gujjar dynasty of Poonch came to an end about 1824 when the state was conquered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.21

With the conquest of Poonch state by Ranjit Singh the Gujjars lost their sway in the region and were reduced to a sub-servient position. The loss of political supremacy also gradually disrupted the cohesion of the Gujjars society, which split into small groups who settled in different areas of the state, mostly along the Mughal route and the slopes of the Pir-panjal mountains where pastures for animals were available.

Bakerwals:

A sub-tribe of Gujjars is known as Bakerwal in Jammu and Kashmir state because of their specialization in rearing of goats. The Bakerwals according to 1981 census, number more than one and a half lakh.22 In Physical appearance they


are tall, well built and quite beautiful but have a revangeful disposition. Not all Bakerwals are nomads, quite a few are settled farmers. This tribe has the same sub-castes and goters as the Gujjars have: Jindher, Chohan, Khari etc.

Bakerwals are spread from Hazzara (Pakistan) to the valley of Swat and Yagistan. The ancient history of the Bakerwals is to some extent the same as that of the Gujjars. They also apparently came from Gujrat due to femines and draught there.

The Bakerwals fall into two sub-classes:

i). Kanhari

ii). Allayval

The basis of the division being the different dialects they speak, otherwise the difference between the two is little.

Kanhari Bakerwals are believed to have migrated from the valley of Kanhar, Bogadmung and Konish, all lying to the north of Hazzara. The name of this sub-tribe has probably been derived from the name of one of the river valley, (Kanhara) whence they are supposed to have originally come. River Kanhara originates on the Kagan mountains and joins the Jhelum between Muzafferabad and Kohala. The Bakerwals who originally came from this general area north of Hazara, have therefore, came to be known as Kanhari Bakerwals.

The Allayvals sub-tribe had come from the western areas of Alai, Nandhar, Rajadnari, Kaladhaka Kohistan and Swat.
### TABLE - VII

GUJJAR POPULATION, JAMMU AND KASHMIR - 1931

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the area</th>
<th>Gujjars</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Bakerwals</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J &amp; K State</td>
<td>402281</td>
<td>215958</td>
<td>158823</td>
<td>5349</td>
<td>2888</td>
<td>2461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu Province</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>270610</td>
<td>149646</td>
<td>130964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distt. Jammu</td>
<td>61439</td>
<td>33558</td>
<td>28881</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distt. Kathua.</td>
<td>17936</td>
<td>9463</td>
<td>8473</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distt. Udhampur</td>
<td>24871</td>
<td>13057</td>
<td>11814</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distt. Reasi.</td>
<td>71725</td>
<td>38232</td>
<td>33493</td>
<td>3368</td>
<td>1280</td>
<td>1088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distt. Mirpur</td>
<td>26414</td>
<td>14027</td>
<td>12387</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagir Poonch</td>
<td>76647</td>
<td>41031</td>
<td>35616</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagir Chenani</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir Province</td>
<td>119073</td>
<td>65554</td>
<td>53519</td>
<td>1551</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distt. Srinagar</td>
<td>29742</td>
<td>15605</td>
<td>14137</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distt. Baramula</td>
<td>32982</td>
<td>18048</td>
<td>15934</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distt. Muzaffarabad</td>
<td>55349</td>
<td>31901</td>
<td>23448</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarhadi</td>
<td>3098</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td>1340</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilgit</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarhadi Area</td>
<td>2485</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1931, Vol. XXIV, Part II, J & K.
These areas, because of their geographical positions, were greatly influenced by the Pakhtoon language and culture, and hence they somewhat differ from the Kanhari Bakerwals in terms of dialect.

**Distribution of Gujjars and Bakerwals in Jammu and Kashmir:**

At present the Gujjars and Bakerwals constitute a prominent segment of population of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1931 the Gujjar-Bakerwal population in the state was 402,281 (Table-VII). After the 1931 census enumeration of population on the basis of caste and communities was discontinued. The present population of these tribes in the state, therefore, is a matter of conjecture. But if the number of Gujjari speaking population in the state is taken as a surrogate of Gujjar population, the total population in 1941 census comes to 381,457. As per the 1961 and 1971 censuses, the number of Gojari speaking population was 1,05,000 and 3,30,465 respectively. In the same manner the number of Gujjar and allied tribes in 1981 could be taken to be 4,69,000.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Province/Districts</th>
<th>Gujjars</th>
<th>Bakerwals</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srinagar</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baramula</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Kashmir Province</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathua</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajouri and Poonch</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Jammu</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total J &amp; K</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Census of India, 1961 (Gujjars), Jammu and Kashmir State, Vol. XVI, Part - III.*
Distribution:

As for the distribution of population is concerned Gujjars, at present are settled all over the state, except the Ladakh region, where a few Bakerwals go during the summer in search of pastures in the Kargil district.

Gujjarland par excellence has long been the lower slopes and valleys of the Pir-panjal and the Siwalik hills, where suitable ecological conditions for their nomadic pastoral economy abound, specially during winters.

In the district of Jammu prior to partition the Gojjari population accounted for $37\%$\textsuperscript{28} of the total district population. As per the 1981 census Gojjari speaking population number 65000 in the district which constitute only 5% of the district's total population. They are to be found in every part of the district. The entire district, barring the urban centres, can in a sense be regarded as the heritage of these semi-nomadic people. Prior to partition the Gujjars and their agnate tribes were still more predominant. Since partition however, large number of Gujjars either found themselves on the wrong side of the partition line or migrated to Pakistan thereafter. As a result the percentage of Gujjars to be total population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>30576</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pulwama</td>
<td>27297</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Srinagar</td>
<td>15022</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Budgam</td>
<td>12021</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Baramula</td>
<td>25222</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kupwara</td>
<td>40120</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>55168</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>46763</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>11193</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Kathua</td>
<td>6552</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Rajouri</td>
<td>73512</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Poonch</td>
<td>84657</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Leh</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Kargil</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of the district has gone down considerably. At present substantial number of Gujjar families have settled down in Jammu city, taking advantage of various schemes launched by the Jammu and Kashmir government for their settlement and housing.

The important areas of Gujjar and Bakerwal settlement concentration in Jammu district are Jandrah, Jahri, Grota, Golad, Charwal, Samoo, Kathi and Kandi, Bindi and upper Samba hills. Dodhi Gujjars are settled in Tahsil Rambir Singh Pura, Miransahib, Kotli and in a number of villages of outer plains and in proper Jammu at Gujjar Nagar and outskirts of Jammu town.

In Kathua district the Kandi area is occupied by the Bakerwals during winters when they return from high altitude pasturs. The outer plains of this district during the same period become occupied by the Dodhi Gujjars. The total population of Gujjars and Bakerwals in Kathua district according to the census of 1981 is only 7635\(^{29}\) though the population was much higher prior to partition.

The Gujjar population on the whole is not numerically very important in Udhampur district, accounting for only 10%.

DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSHUMANTS POPULATION JAMMU & KASHMIR 1981

INDEX PERCENT

Below 1
1 - 4
5 - 8
9 - 12
13 - 16
16 & Above

International Boundary
State Boundary
District Boundary
Cease fire Line
POK Pakistan occupied Kashmir
COK China occupied Kashmir

Source: Census of India (Administrative Atlas)

FIG. 12
of the total district population. But in the upper reaches, especially in Mahore Tahsil, the Gojjari speaking population constitute a majority. Certain villages of the Reasi Tahsil especially Poni, Parakh, Talwara, Armah villages are usually occupied by the Bakerwals during winter season. In the foothills of Ramnagar Chenani and Katra the Bakerwals population is supplemented, specially during winters, by large numbers of Dodhi Gujjars and Bakerwals.

The Gujjars are also highly concentrated in Rajouri and Poonch districts where about 20% of the total Gujjars population of the state is to be found. Gujjar population is also settled in most of the parallel valleys which are framed by the offshoots of the Pir-panjal range. The most famous of the valleys, locally known as 'Nalas' are Darhal, Thanna Mandi, Peer, Ramgarh and Kotranka etc.

In Darhal many Gujjar villages have permanently settled down in valley in the neighbourhood of forests. The Gujjars of this region mostly belong to Didhar, Khatana, Jindarh, Gors and Bajran sub-casts and Goters. Some of the important villages where they have settled down are Chowdhary Nar, Ujhan,


31. Ibid.
Dodaj, Nadian, Liran, Palyarni, Kothra and Danna. In Thanna Mandi Nala the Gujjar settlements lie in the villages of Fatehpur, Dodason Bala, Plangar, Panghai, Danna, Mangota, Dhok, Alal, Gurdhan Dhanore, Lah, Shahdera and Panihad, Karhad, Peer, Sakri, Trala, Swari in Peer Nalah and the villages of Katarmal, Kakora, Chamba, Panjgrain, Saroola in Ramgarh Nalah. To the south the lowerfoothill jungles of Nowshera and Kalakote are in the domain of nomadic Bakerwals, specially during winter months. The important hivernages in this area are Chingus, Narian Bagla, Garan, Upper Lumberi, Chaniprat, Dewak, Sair, Langar, Mogla, Tiryath, Tatapani, Dharamsal, Kharak Panjah, Metka, Godar, Potha, Sohlki Bandian, Pajnara, and Katarian etc. Here the Bakerwals come during the winter season and construct thached huts for their stay. Some of them have also permanent shelters there.

The Gujjars are an ancient element in Poonch district where they still account for about 45% of the population of the district and 18% of the total Gujjar population of the state. The important Gujjar castes and gotars in the district are Kassana, Khari, Ladi, Checki, Doi, Tass, Bhatti, Tienda, Kataria, Poswal, Chauhan, Bajran, Gorsi, Lassana, Khari etc.

32. Hivernage means the ordinary settlement of nomads at winter station.
They are found settled all over the district, the important settlements being Gorsai, Hari, Phagla, Marrah, Lassana, Dharana, Kalaban, Bandichechian, Prat, Chitral, Darha, Kalai, Ghanai, Sanai, Gonthal, Kalar Kattal, Shindra, Banpat and Noona Bandi.

The Kishtwar and Bhadarwah tahsils of Doda district are mainly the home of Dodhi Gujjars whose main settlements are found at Najwa, Odelbajran, Kasdan, Saradi, Chinta, Jahi, Sunbain, Sartingal and Bholesia etc. According to 1981 census the Gujjar constitute about 13% of the total population of the district. During summers, specially, nomadic herders are to be found in great numbers on the upper reaches of the district.

Kashmir Region:

Gujjars are also well distributed in the Kashmir region. Most of them have in any case here to pass through this region in the course of annual transhumance. They are to be found specially during summers on all hills and mountains surrounding the main valley of Kashmir. Some of the side valleys are also homelands of the Gujjar population.

Gujjars are well distributed in the district of Baramula Kupwara, Anantnag, Budgam and partially in Srinagar and Pulwama district. In Srinagar the Sindh Nullah and Laar vadi are well known for Gujjar settlements. There is a heavy concentration of Dodhi Gujjars and Bakerwals in Kangan sub-division. During
GROWTH OF TRANSHUMANTS POPULATION
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
1961-1981

PERCENT INCREASE

1971-81 = 25.00

1961-71 = 59.00

1961 = 00.00

POPULATION

1981 = 4.69 LAKHS

1971 = 3.49 LAKHS

1961 = 2.15 LAKHS

FIG.13
summers higher slopes are mostly occupied by Bakerwals, who annually migrate to this region from Jammu across the Pir-panjal.

There are some exclusive high altitude Gujjar summer settlements at Phiryanwar, Taripura, Dashiabal, Manpaar, Chhan, Panjanoor, Balapura etc.

Seasonal Gujjar settlements are also quite numerous in Uri, Hindwara, Karnah and Bandipur tahsils of Baramula district. The main settlements are Sukhdar, Gualta, Urikhas, Gharkote and Punjayan, Jondi, Gujjarmarg and Modichhand etc.

In the lolab valley of Kupwara district the villages of Wadar, Bahmipura, Hafatroda, Khadi, Garatwar, Hi-hamami, Gujjarsori, Mahajan-Ferozpur and Qazipur have Gujjar settlements.

In Anantnag and Pulwama districts the main seasonal settlements are Daksum, Pahalgam, Sidau, Killar, Dipura besides a number of smaller ones.

Generally speaking, the Gujjar settlements are found mainly in comparatively low altitude ecological zones while the higher altitudes pastures on the mountains surrounding the Kashmir valley are mostly occupied by Bakerwals. Now there has been development taking place due to the housing plans and some of the markets and colonies are being settled on the district headquarters in the urban areas in Kashmir valley and in Jammu region also. But very few of them avail this opportunity.