Chapter I

Introduction: Problem, Methodology and Conceptual Framework

Introduction

India has the largest tribal communities in the world. The 2001 census put the number of them in India at 84.3 million, which is 8.2% of the total population. Tribal communities have been a subject matter for the social scientist to understand the dynamic of internal changes due to the external forces and factors. In the post-colonial India, studies on tribal communities largely gave adequate attention in the context of development and progress of the nation. Undoubtedly, the type of change that has been observed among the different tribal communities in different socio-cultural and geographical settings has shown diverse expression and characteristics. Hence, there is no singular approach or method to make sense of these changes among the tribal communities spread across India. Moreover, internal drives for social change in a community would show its unique features in terms of their abilities to assimilate diffusion of innovations from time to time, apart from evolving from it. As a result, different sub-systems, like culture, polity, economy would reveal what meant to be transition in context. The present study on the Balti tribal community of Ladakh in the state of Jammu and Kashmir was an attempt to probe into the question of how and in what form transition occurs due to certain cultural changes in the habitat, its economy and society.

Pastoralism, as a system of pre-modern organization is being continued in those mountaineous regions, which pose serious hardship to the communities. Crops are difficult, if not impossible, to raise on account of the lack and unpredictable rain or the shortness of the season. It is being observed that drought-resistant or short-season variety
of cultivated plants has recently, however, given rise to sedentary agriculture. As such, in
the mountaineous regions cultivation is restricted to relatively small patches of ground as
in high latitudes crops will ripen only on sheltered sunny slopes. Thus, area devoted to
cultivation being small in proportion to that over which domesticated herds can be pastured
makes it difficult for a choice between pastoralism and agriculture. Therefore,
communities in these regions divide their labour between cultivation along the margins of
streams and springs and the herding of livestock in the surrounding poor pastures (Forde,
1963, 396).

**Tribes through the Ages**

The aborigines of the Indian sub-continent do not form a uniform race. Entering India from
various directions and from various regions of Asia, they also belong to different races. It
has not yet been possible to arrange the aboriginal tribes of India into definite racial
groups. Scholars like Risley, Guha, and Majumdar have attempted to shape broader
cultural perspectives of tribal life in India.

However, the knowledge is vague about the origin and subsequent history of the
numerous aboriginal tribes of India, yet their glory and decline may be arranged in
historical perspective. The rise and fall of Indus valley civilization and advent of Aryans
on the Indian soil are considered as background to ascertain the role of earliest known
aboriginal tribes of India. The sudden, almost explosive rise of Indus valley civilization
and its spontaneous growth may have several causes. One of them was the highly favorable
ecological situation of the Indus valley. The great fertility of the soil caused the population
to increase rapidly. However, initially the population of the Indus valley civilization may
have been a uniform race, it did not remain so, and resulted in a mixed racial composition.
The cause of decline and final disappearance of the civilization might have been a
disastrous alteration of the course of the Indus River resulting in destructive flooding of
settlements and silting of fields. The racial immigration that took place in the last phase of
prehistoric times caused the most profound change in shaping the cultures and history of
India was that of the Aryans, somewhere in the second millennium B.C. when exactly the
first Aryans appeared on the border of India.

The Rigvedic period (2000 to 1000 B.C) witnessed wild Aryan tribes pouring into
the north western parts of the country, fighting not only among themselves but waging a
war unto death against non-Aryan tribes, Singh comments that “Indian tribes have not lain
‘torpid’ on the fringe of civilization but have responded to ‘static’ and dynamic’ rhythms
of history (Singh, 1982). Their role is limited not merely to references to them as Saoras,
Kinnaras and Kiratas (historical Nagas) in ancient texts, instead it was part of the process
of fusion of races and cultures in the sub-continent, of the growth of religion, traditions and
customs. Assimilation of dominant culture, indeed led to the erosion of tribal identity as a
distinct cultural identity.

The later Vedic period (1000 to 600 B.C) is marked by further working of the twin
processes of emerging Hinduism, Aryanisation of the tribals and the tribalisation of the
Aryans. In the earlier period of history, invaders subjugated small tribal pockets (Sharma,
1961).

During the feudal stage (400-1000 A.D), there was an opening of tribal areas and
Hinduisation of tribal chiefs. The Brahmin priests prepared suitable Puranic genealogies
for them and the ruling Brahmin class spearheaded the process of Sanskritisation or
Brahminisation of tribals. Subsequently, in the wake of Muslim invasion in 11th and 12th
centuries, there followed the influx of Rajputs (who did not submit) into Rajputs expelled Cheros from Shahbad and the Chandels replaced Bhuinya in South Monghyr district of Bihar.

Islamic rule (12th to 18th century) witnessed a new phenomenon in the Turko Afghan and Mughal rulers mostly secured a mere formal allegiance of tribal chiefs or of Hindu rulers in tribal areas of Central India and Bihar. In 1585 and 1616 A.D., Muslim armies marched into Chotanagpur and subjugated the Raja of Khukra. Daud Khan subjugated the Cheros of Palamau around 1661 A.D. During this period, the conversion of tribals in the north – west frontier region to Islam took place. Some Muslim saints worked and preached on the fringes of tribal areas, like Pir Syed Shah Kamal who worked among the Nats and Pir Syed Mohammed who worked among the Kols.

Bhakti movement also affected the tribals such as Munda, Oraon, etc. Chaitanya Mahaprabhu passed through Jharkhand and Vaishnava preachers like Binand Das working in Munda areas converted many tribals. The Bhuinyas were completely Hinduised and lost all their traits. The roots of subsequent Bhagat movements among the tribals could be traced to the Vaishnava influence (Singh, 1982).

The British rule in India opened up tribal areas along the sea coast in Bihar and Bengal. The construction of Grand Trunk Road through tribal pockets accelerated the influx of aliens such as merchants, moneylenders and land grabbers. Furthermore, the pressure of growing population and the ruthless exploitation and oppression by Zamindars facilitated migration of peasants and artisans to inaccessible tribal areas. Further, Christian missionaries have also indulged into tribal life world. In response to these changes, there had been tribal uprising towards the end of the 18th century. Paharia uprising towards the
end of the 18th century, Munda uprising (1789-1901), the Santhal insurrection (1855-56),
the Bhil rebellion (1879-80), Bastar uprising (1910-11) and Gond rebellion (1940) are
some of the examples of the new awakening among the Tribals of India.

Tribal cultural assimilation was also due to how they encountered with different
belief system as well. While Hinduism and Islam had stopped short at the fringes,
Christianity penetrated deep into the tribal areas under the patronage of British rulers. This
led to revitalization movements among the Tribals like Kherwar movement (1871-80),
Sardari movement (1881-95), Birsa movement (1895-1901), Tana Bhagat movement
(1920-35) and a host of others. The agrarian and cultural movements threw up politico–
religious leaders of stature who deeply influenced the tribals thinking for decades to come.
With the termination of colonial rule and rise of independent India, the tribal citizen of the
country were promised a fair deal in some case privileged to become partners in progress,
upliftment of the tribals was an article of faith for the leaders of the nation building.

Diversity in studying Tribal Communities

Tribe is a social group strongly assimilated with the endogenous relations and territorial
affiliation, with less specialization of function, ruled by tribal chiefdom, hereditary or
otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distances with other tribes or
castes, without any social obligation attaching to them, as it does in the caste structure,
following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, above all conscious of homogeneity of
ethnic and territorial integration.

Colonial administrators used the term tribe to describe people who were
heterogeneous in physical and linguistic traits, demographic size, ecological condition of
living, regions inhabited, stages of social formation, and level of acculturation and
development. The tribe in sixteenth century has referred to groups and/or communities living under primitive and barbarous conditions. The study of the groups, which subsequently came to be described as tribal studies, began with the establishment of the Asiatic society of Bengal in 1784. Since then, scholars-administrators have been writing general works on the people of different regions. Notable among these works, focusing on groups and communities that later came to be called tribes. Vidyarthi (1981) describes this phase as formative period (1784 to 1919). He identifies and describes the next two phases as constructive (1920 to 1949) and analytical (1950 onwards). In the year 1901, tribes were identified and described as those groups that practiced animism, later the phrase tribal religion was used in its place. Thus, 1921 census report described them as hill and forest tribes, and in 1931, when Hutton was the census commissioner, tribes were referred to as primitive tribes, through the adoption of descriptions such as hill and forest tribes and primitive and backward tribes, the elements of geographical isolation and primitive living conditions were added to the distinction between tribes and non-tribes. However, even today there is no agreement among scholars on this subject. The Tribal Welfare Committee of 1951, consisting of anthropologist, administrators, and social workers, set up under the auspices of the Indian conference of social work in Calcutta, deliberated on the criteria but could not arrive at a clear set. In the early 1950s, an attempt was made to adopt criteria for identifying schedule tribes, such as physical characteristics, linguistic affiliation and cultural contact, occupational and ecological consideration.

**Dialect and Language formation**

People of India was broadly divided into four speech families viz. the Indo European (Aryan), the Dravidian, the Austric (Kolar Munda) and the Tibeto-Chinese (Sino-Tibetan).
Majumdar (1961) opines that ‘so far as the tribal people are concerned the Aryan dialect comes into the picture only as a consequence of cultural contact. Since almost all of our tribal people have pre-Aryan or non-Aryan racial affinities and origins’, scholars, of the view that the tribal people of India may be classified chiefly into three speech families: (1) Dravidian (2) Austric and (3) Tibet or Chinese.

**Racial Classification**

Majumdar (1961) has described the complexity of the problem of classifying the tribal people of India based on racial affinities when he says that fixing the racial origins or affinities of the tribal communities of India. According to him, it is one of the most complicated tasks that have had to be faced by the Indian anthropologists. There is practically no direct evidence of those ethnic stocks that inhabited different parts of India in prehistoric times. The available knowledge about the racial composition of India in historic times is equally scanty. Therefore, all historical reconstructions regarding the racial history of India have to be based on conjecture.

Sir Herbert Risely attempted the first scientific racial classification of India. He classifies the entire India population into seven racial types:

1. Turko Iranian
2. Indo Aryan
3. Scytho Dravidian
4. Aryo Dravidian
5. Mongolo – Dravidian
6. Monogoloid
7. Dravidian.

These seven types may be reduced to three basic types viz. the Dravidian, the Mongolian and Indo Aryan. Significantly, he gave no separate classificatory scheme for the ‘aboriginals’ of India. The latest attempts at racial classification of Indian people are those made by ‘Hutton, Guha and Majumdar. Guha lists six main races, with nine sub-types. The ancestry of the present tribal population of India is traced chiefly to the first
three types: Negrito, Proto Australoid and Mongoloid. The Tribe’s of the hills of Cochin and Travancore such as Kadar, Irula, of eastern Bihar are included in Negrito racial type which exhibits short stature, black wooly hair, thin lips and broad nose. The Proto Australoid racial type exhibits short to mediums stature, long and high head, broad and small face and small flattened nose. Most of the middle or central Indian tribes come within this racial type but some south Indian tribes like Chinchu, Bhill etc. also exhibit the racial characteristics of this type.

**Economic Classification**

Considering the limitations of the earlier classification made by Adam Smith, Thurnwald and Herskovits, Majumdar attempts a classification mainly to indicate the nature of economic difficulties experienced by the tribal communities.

Considering mainly technological achievements, a more lucid and clear-cut classification based on the conditions of economic life may be attempted as follows.

(1) Tribes hunting in forests (2) Tribes engaged in hilly cultivation (Shifting or slash and burn cultivation) (3) Tribes engaged in cultivation on leveled (plain) land. Simple artisan tribes. Pastoral tribes. (4) Tribes living as folk artists.

Agricultural and non-agricultural labour oriented tribes. Tribes engaged in service and trade.

**Classification according to culture contact**

Indian tribes can also be classified according to their cultural distance from the rural-urban groups. Majumdar (1961) opines that this comparative approach is the most useful in evolving a plan of rehabilitation because it focuses our attention on those problems of
tribal India, which are the outcome of haphazard contact with, or the isolation of these tribes from the rural-urban groups.

In the fifties Varrier Elwin floated a well demarcated classification. He described four types of aboriginal: Those who are most primitive, lives a joint communal life and cultivate with axes; Those who, though equally attached to their solitude and ancient tradition, are more individualistic, less occupied with axes cultivation, more used to outside life and generally less simple and honest than the first category. Those, who are most numerous, who under external influence are already on the way out by the loss of their tribal culture, religion, and social organization; and

The tribes like the Bhil and the Naga who are said to be representatives of the old aristocracy of the country, who retain much of their original tribal life and who have won the battle of cultural contact.

Considering Elwin’s classification as a ‘crusader’s manifesto’. Majumdar moves on to present his own scheme of classification. According to him, the tribal cultures fall into three groups.

(1) Those who are culturally most distant from the rural – urban groups that is, more or less out of contact;

(2) Those who are under the influence of the culture of rural – urban groups and have developed discomforts and problems consequently;

(3) Those who, though in contact with rural-urban groups, have not suffered thereof, or have turned the corner and do not suffer any more, though they may have in the past, now they acculturated into rural or urban culture.
Majumdar disagrees with Elwin that every contact with civilized world brings misery to the tribes, he takes the stand that our goal should be to ‘take ahead all these three types of tribal communities and establish, under planned conditions, healthy and creative between them and the rural urban groups’.

The Indian conference of social work (1952) appointed a Tribal Welfare Committee that suggested the following classification:

(1) Tribal Communities (2) Semi-tribal communities’ (3) Acculturated tribal communities and (4) Totally assimilated tribes.

**Classification based on Religious Beliefs**

The Major religions of India have variably influenced various tribal religions and pantheons and only those tribal communities still maintain their native religious beliefs with purity who is leading an almost isolated social existence in dense forests. Based on the latest Census data, the tribes may be classified into followers of following religions:

(1) Hinduism (2) Christianity (3) Buddhism (4) Islam (5) Jainism (6) other religions.

Among the above mentioned religions, the influence of Hindu religion on the tribes is tremendous and almost 90 percent tribes follow Hindu religion in one form or the other. Those who have embraced Christianity are also quite considerable in number and about six percent are under the shadow of the cross but those following Buddhism, Islam or Jainism are negligible in number. One important point that is to be kept in mind in this context is that even those tribes who have embraced any of the above mentioned major religions have not necessarily shed their local tribal beliefs and rituals and many of them are found to be practicing their traditional faith along with their acquired faith.
When we view this situation in the geographical perspective we see that barring the tribes inhabiting the islands falling under Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea, most of the tribes of South India along with the tribes of Western India and Central India are more or less Hindu in faith. Christianity has made tremendous headway among most of the tribals of north – eastern India and more than 90 percent of the population of Nagaland and Mizoram follows Christianity. In central India, some major tribes of Chotanagpur also follow Christianity and notable among these are Oraon, Munda and Ho. The tribes following Islam are mostly scattered in Lakshadweep, Himachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Jammu and Kashmir. Among such tribes, about 98 Percent of the total tribal population of Lakshadweep, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands are followers of Islam. Mainly some tribal groups of Arunachal Pradesh represent Buddhism among Indian tribes. The impact of Buddhism, however, is visible in many other Himalayan and Maharashtrian tribes also.

Constitution of India under Article 25 defines Schedule Tribes as, ‘such tribes or tribal communities or part of group within such communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Schedule Tribe’. In view of the several scholars who used different words for tribe such as aborigines/aboriginals (Risley 1909; Elwin 1943)’ so called aborigines’ backward Hindus (Ghurye, 1963), ethnic minorities (Pathy, 1988), the forth world (Sengupth, 1982) and in tribe in transition (Desai 1960). New term has been coined in recent years, such as marginalized, dalits and adivasi (indigenous people). The UNOs declaration in 1993 of the international decades of the indigenous people, the category of the adivasi has become a powerful point of reference for social and political mobilization in India (Xaxa, 2008: 2-5).
After independence, greater attention was paid to the criteria for determining tribe. Ideally, tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial in temporal of their social, religious, legal, political relations and world view of corresponding dimensions. Characteristically too, tribal language are unwritten and hence, the extend of communication both in time and space is inevitably narrow. At the sometime tribal societies, exhibit a remarkable economic design of self-sufficiency compatibility.

**Constitution of India and the Location of Tribes**

Schedule Tribe in India is a group of tribal communities and was given the name ‘Schedule Tribe’ during the post independence period, under Indian constitution. The term ‘Schedule Tribe’ refers to specific indigenous people whose status is acknowledged to some formal degree by national legislation. A collective term is used to locally describe most of these people as ‘Upajati’ (literally clans/group). The primary criteria adopted for delimiting Indian backward communities as ‘Schedule Tribe’ which includes traditional occupation of whole range of tribal modes of life i.e. language, customs, tradition, religious beliefs, arts and crafts etc, archaic- trades portraying occupational pattern, economic development. According to Article 342 of the constitution of India, the President of India after consulting with the state government concerned has promulgated nine orders so far. This promulgation has clearly specified the Schedule Tribe in relation to the concerned state and union territories. India can proudly be called having largest tribal population in the world. The Schedule Tribe in India constituted 8.2% of India’s population according to 2001 census. This interprets into eighty two million people. There are 698 Schedule Tribe communities exist (Barma, 2010).
The Fifth and Sixth Schedules under Article 244 of the Indian constitution in 1950 provided the self-governance in particular tribal majority areas. The then governmental administration issued a draft National Policy on tribes in 1990 to meet the development needs of tribal populations, including the Scheduled Tribes. Prominence was laid on education, forestry, health care, land rights, language policy and resettlement.

**Tribal Panchasheel**

There were segmentical deliberations on the tribal question in the post-independence India by the national leaders and academics. Consequently, they were informed and prolonged discussions, initially centered around three approaches, viz, [1] isolationist [2] assimilation; and [3] integrationist. The first approach was out rightly rejected. Hence, the debate become polarized and hence gave rise to new approach As the assimilationist approach was considered to entail the negation and nullification of the cherished values, customs and tradition of the tribals, Jawaharlal Nehru, (The first prime minister) whose thinking on everything ultimately prevailed before, immediately after independence, opted for the integrationist approach. Nehru wanted the tribes to be developed along the lines of their own genius. This approach was embodied in Nehru’s ‘Tribal Panchasheel’ and continues to undergird tribal development strategy even today (Kunhaman, 2002:49).
Table No: 1.1

Demographic trend of tribal population in India, 1881-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Tribal population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British India</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>250,155,050</td>
<td>6,426,511</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>279,575,324</td>
<td>9,112,018</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>283,867,584</td>
<td>8,184,758</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>303,004,354</td>
<td>9,593,695</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>305,726,528</td>
<td>9,072,024</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>337,675,361</td>
<td>7,629,959</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>388,997,955</td>
<td>8,791,354</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independence India</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>361,088,090</td>
<td>19,111,498</td>
<td>5.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>439,234,771</td>
<td>30,130,184</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>548,159,652</td>
<td>3,015,162</td>
<td>6.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>665,287,849</td>
<td>51,628,638</td>
<td>7.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>838,583,988</td>
<td>67,758,380</td>
<td>8.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1,028,610,328</td>
<td>84,326,240</td>
<td>8.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Davis, 1951:179), (Mamoria, 1958:26) and (Natarajan, 1971:9), for the post-independence period: (Nag: 15-16) and (Bose, 1996); (Government of India, 2004).

There is continuous increase in tribal population, since 1981 to 2001 as the table 1.1 reflect except during three censuses 1901, 1931 and 1941, where the tribal population decreases.

The tribes of India have been classified based on their (1) Territorial distributions, (2) Linguistic affiliation, (3) Physical and racial characteristics, (4) Occupation or economy, (5) Cultural contact and (6) Religious beliefs.
Geographical classification

Looking at the physical map of India and the distribution of tribal population, we find that both geography as well as tribal demography permits a regional grouping and a zonal classification. B.S. Guha has classified Indian tribes into three zones.

(1) The north and north eastern zone.
(2) The central or the middle zone and
(3) The southern zone.

Table No: 1.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Highest and lowest</th>
<th>State/Union Territories/District</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>State with highest proportion</td>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>State with lowest proportion</td>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Union Territory with highest proportion</td>
<td>Lakshadweep</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Union Territory with lowest proportion</td>
<td>A &amp; N Islands</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>District with highest proportion</td>
<td>Sarchhip, Mizoram</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>District with lowest proportion</td>
<td>Hathras, Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India 2001

From the table 1.2, we can see that the population of Schedule Tribe, Mizoram with highest proportion of Schedule Tribe population while Goa with lowest proportion. Among the union territories Lakshadweep with highest proportion while A & N Islands with lowest proportion and among the districts, Sarchhip (Mizoram) with highest proportion while Hathras (Uttar Pradesh) with lowest proportion of Schedule Tribe population.
Table No: 1.3

The State/Union Territories, Schedule Tribe population, census 2001, excluding Chandigarh, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Haryana, Pondicherry and Punjab, where zero percentage of Schedule Tribe population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>State/Union Territories</th>
<th>Tribal Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>5.9579</td>
<td>64.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>3.9235</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>0.8993</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>7.8464</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>8.8717</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jammu and Kashmir</td>
<td>1.3115</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>0.2900</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td>8.4043</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>4.1078</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>0.4319</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>14,5073</td>
<td>20.3</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>9.6590</td>
<td>22.1</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>10.1715</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>8.4170</td>
<td>12.6</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>0.7724</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
<td>0.1</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Uttaranchal</td>
<td>0.3037</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<td>West Bengal</td>
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<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
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<td>6.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>0.0007</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>0.878</td>
<td>34.4</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>2.3633</td>
<td>85.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>0.9953</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>2.1038</td>
<td>89.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>01321</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>1.1781</td>
<td>31.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Andaman and Nicobar</td>
<td>0.0349</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Dadan and Nagar Haveli</td>
<td>0.1627</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Damad and Diu</td>
<td>0.0166</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lakshadweep</td>
<td>0.0680</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tribes and Communities of Jammu and Kashmir

The state of Jammu and Kashmir described as the crown of India emerged in three phases as highlighted by the Dogra historiography. The Jammu Raj established by the Dogras in the tenth century, which alongside the main kingdom mushroomed into lineage based petty estates, provided the nucleus. As the Dogra chief wanted to control the trade in pashmina, he annexed Ladakh and then Baltistan by conquest in 1834-41; surrounding the valley. Last of all, the valley of Kashmir is added to the kingdom. Under the treaty signed at Amritsar on 16 March 1846, Kashmir was given to Dogra chief. Thus, the princely state of Kashmir, as popularly called, came into existence, which consisted of five distinct regions defined by language, culture, ecology, religion and ethos. The Dogra rulers who called themselves the rulers of kingdom named ‘Jammu and Kashmir and Tibet etc.’ maintained the autonomy of each religion by granting them freedom in culture and religious matters. After independence, the state of Jammu and Kashmir emerged which was left with the former three regions, the Valley, Jammu and Ladakh. Jammu and Kashmir remains the most diverse part of the country. The other two regions went to Pakistan where they were known as Azad Kashmir and Northern territory (Gilgit-Baltistan).

The Anthropological Survey of India under the People of India project undertook the first ethnographic survey of communities of this state in collaboration with the local scholars and institutions during the period 1985-89.

The Report initially studied 111 communities in the state to which it added two more, Nagbanshi and Punjabi Linguistic group. Of the total 44 communities, 39.6 per cent inhabit rural setting and only eight communities reported to have been dwelling in the
urban setting while as many as 53 communities corresponding to 47.7 per cent live in rural/urban settings.

Table No: 1.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Total Population 2001</th>
<th>Total Population 2011</th>
<th>Tribal Population 2001</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kupwara</td>
<td>640,013</td>
<td>875,564</td>
<td>57753</td>
<td>7.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Baramula</td>
<td>1,166,722</td>
<td>1,015,503</td>
<td>83895</td>
<td>7.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Srinagar</td>
<td>1,238,530</td>
<td>6,907,622</td>
<td>45427</td>
<td>3.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Budgam</td>
<td>593,768</td>
<td>755,331</td>
<td>14550</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pulwama</td>
<td>632,295</td>
<td>570,060</td>
<td>21496</td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>1,170,013</td>
<td>1,069,749</td>
<td>101143</td>
<td>8.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Leh</td>
<td>117,637</td>
<td>147,104</td>
<td>96174</td>
<td>82.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kargil</td>
<td>115,227</td>
<td>143,388</td>
<td>105377</td>
<td>88.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>90,474</td>
<td>409,576</td>
<td>79751</td>
<td>11.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>738,965</td>
<td>555,357</td>
<td>109867</td>
<td>14.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Poonch</td>
<td>371,561</td>
<td>476,820</td>
<td>149018</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Rajouri</td>
<td>478,595</td>
<td>619,266</td>
<td>160049</td>
<td>33.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>1,571,911</td>
<td>1,526,406</td>
<td>53304</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kathua</td>
<td>544,206</td>
<td>615,711</td>
<td>34174</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Jammu and Kashmir</td>
<td>10,069,917</td>
<td>12,548,925</td>
<td>111,1979</td>
<td>10.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2001 (Government of India)

In Ladakh, the Report identified 11 communities engaged in traditional occupations.

1. Agriculture: Argon, Balti, Bodh, Brokpa, Dokhpa, Mon, Moravian.
2. Trade/Business: Argon, Balti, Mon.
3. Cultural Workers: Beda, Mon.
5. Artisan: Gara.
The familial system in Ladakh indicated patriarchal or patrilineal system, since it was based on inheritance by primogeniture. As regard the practice of polyandry, which appeared as most striking features of traditional family life, the essence of the system according to Rizvi, was mono principal only one marriage per household in generation. The reason for the practice of polyandry is to prevent producing more children (Rizvi, 1983:129-135).

The state has a rich tradition and contemporary scenario of syncretism, Muslim Buddhist (Shia/Muslim and Buddhist), Muslim-Hindu, Hindu Buddhist and followers of Buddhism-Bon-shamanism. The communities professing Islam are 53:15 percent as against national average of 12:60 percent. The valley population is marked by homogeneity of religion and language, about 94 percent were Muslim and 89 percent speak Kashmiri language (Census, 1981).

The Muslim has been the dominant community in the valley. Social hierarchies were also classified among them, with Sayyed at the top on the ladder followed by Sheikh who converted from Brahman and Rajputs in the second place followed by other groups. To begin with, there were no communities known as Scheduled Tribes in the Ladakh. It was only in 1989 that eight communities in Ladakh were notified as Scheduled Tribes.
Table No: 1.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Balti</td>
<td>Sedentary Agriculturist and Traders</td>
<td>Leh and Kargil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Beda</td>
<td>Partly sedentary, partly Nomadic and Musician</td>
<td>Leh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bodh</td>
<td>Settled Agriculturist</td>
<td>Leh, Zanskar and Doda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Brog-pa</td>
<td>Sedentary Agriculturist as well as Animal Husbandry</td>
<td>Leh and Kargil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Changpa</td>
<td>Shepherd</td>
<td>Leh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dokhpa</td>
<td>Agriculturist</td>
<td>Leh and Kargil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ghara/Gharba</td>
<td>Shoe maker</td>
<td>Leh (Ladakh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Purig Pa</td>
<td>Agriculturist</td>
<td>Kargil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Singh, 2001:388)

According to 1981 Census 64.19 percent are Muslims, 32.24 percent Hindus, 2.23 percent Sikh, 1.17 percent Buddhists, 0.14 percent Christians, 0.03 percent Jains and rest follow other religions. Out of 57 Muslim communities as many as 50 communities live in the valley while remaining four are in Jammu and remaining three are in Ladakh.

The Population of Jammu forms 45.50 per cent of the total population of the state, which consist of 66.33 per cent Hindus, 29.60 per cent of Muslims and 3.68 per cent of Sikhs. Three out of six districts adjoining Kashmir valley, Rajouri, Poonch and Doda (including Ramban and Reasi) have a Muslim majority.

Ladakh has a population of 1, 34,372 out of which the Buddhists accounts for 50.88 per cent, Muslim 46.05 per cent and the rest are 3.00 per cent. In Leh Muslim comprises of 15 per cent of the total population and Kargil has a Muslim majority. Most of the communities live in hilly terrain (81.82 per cent against national average of 2.39 per cent) and experience heavy snowfall (90.19 per cent against national average 2.22 per cent).
Understanding the transition of tribal communities need a fresh theoretical frame work, wherein habitat, economy and society at large conjointly produce and reproduce the social life the way they practice.

(a) Habitat

The habitat is similar to other Himalayan regions. It includes pastures at a height of 11,000 feet, which supports the livestock economy of the community. At about 9,000 feet is the main settlement wherein agricultural practices are carried on and they cultivate the main crops like Barley and Buckwheat etc. Down in about 8,000 feet, is the winter habitat and the community cultivates pulses, vegetables etc. The shifting home sheds helps them to adjust with climatic variation and the rotational economic practices. Fruit bearing trees are an added feature for their economic sustenance.

(b) Economic Life

Pastoralism and agriculture are the backbone of the economy of the Baltis, today. The community, in the past, was more dependent on livestock, but the shift to agriculture has changed their erstwhile transhumane life. There are three dwelling sites to keep pace with the changing habitat in their economy.

1) Summer House: Known as ‘Yul’ where they live from the month of 15\textsuperscript{th} March to December 15\textsuperscript{th}. During this period, they work in the fields for raising different crops.

2) The ‘Chuthang’ is the dwelling site at a height of 7,000 feet and above which is down the hill and nearby the stream. They live here to escape from the chill of the snow-clad winter from 15\textsuperscript{th} December to 15\textsuperscript{th} March. The main crops grown in this habitat are barley, buckwheat, wheat, vegetables and pulses. Though they stay in the night here, in the daytime they move to summer dwelling sites for agricultural operation.
3) ‘Broq’ the third type of habitat mainly deals with the livestock economy. During summer months of 15th May 30th August few members of the family migrate to a height of around 11,000 feet and above to graze their animals in the pastures. Broq provides shelter for them during these months.

The community is still economically backward and subsistence in nature, neither agriculture nor the livestock economy is sufficient to have a decent standard of living. People, therefore, were forced to work as daily wagers and the Indian Army and Border Road Organization have created this avenue. Being close to Pakistan border, the army employs them as porters.

(c) Cultural Sphere and Social Structure

Though the Baltis are believers of Islam, there is social differentiation, which can be seen through different sects of Islam. After Islamization, the Baltis mostly were Islamic sect of Noorbakshi, but later interaction with different Islamic sect, gave rise to the differentiation in the following manner:

Balti (Habitat and Cultural differences)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noorbakshi</th>
<th>Balti (Sunnis) and Ahlehadis</th>
<th>Balti (Shias)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Majority population in Turtuk, Drass and rest in Baltistan (POK))</td>
<td>(Minority in Turtuk and rest in Baltistan (POK))</td>
<td>(Leh, Kargil, Dheradun and other places of India and Baltistan (POK))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This study focused on the Noorbakshi Baltis predominantly inhabited in the five villages. Noorbakshi Baltis are more close to the cultural practices of Baltistan. The present culture is a concomitant of Sufi Islam and erstwhile tribal rituals. The practice of
intermarriage among Noorbakshi, Ahlehadis and Sunni community is visible in this area. Balti, presumably descendents of the Scythians (Saka) derives their name from their homeland ‘Baltistan’ and seen their presence in Kargil, Leh and in part of Baltistan. As per history of this community, the major waves of cultural changes among the Baltis are through Tibetanization, Islamization, Baltistiazation and Nationalization.

Tibetan and Dardic tribes came to Baltistan (called Balti Yul by locals) prior to the civilization and these groups eventually settled down, creating the Balti people. It is believed that the people came under the influence the kingdom of Zhang Zhung. In Ladakh, also the Balti and Boto interacted with the larger Tibetan kingdom in the 10th century, thus coming under the influence of a bigger more advanced, “Great Tradition” of the Tibetans. With the decline of power of the central Tibet during 11th century, the Balti people came under the control of the Shangari, Rmakpon and Namgyal royal families and fostered a close relationship with Ladakh in the east.

Balti is proud of her thousands years of rich civilization. Her architecture, costumes, cuisines, festivals, dances, language, script, opus, hence everything makes her unique among her neighbors, especially within the contemporary Northern areas. The local culture therefore, is a blend of that of Ladakh & Islamic rituals. Baltis were converted to Islam when ‘Ameer Kabeer Syed Ali Hamadani’ (a legendary Sufi saint of the Muslim history), came from Iran during 15th century A.D. He was followed by other Sufi legends, such as ‘Shah Sayyed Muhammad Noorbaksh’. Subsequently the whole region converted to Noorbakshi order of Islamic Sufism. The core message of Sufi Noorbakshi are, complete elimination of all evils, desires and immoralities of human nature from one’s self,
total submission of one’s before Allah (by following the Quran and Sunnath) and finally love and peace for the whole mankind.

Islam was first introduced to the Balti people in the 16th century with the conversion of Balti Prince “Gyalbu Ringchen” although mass conversion did not take place until the reign of the 9th Bragmakpon king Gotacho Senge. It was during the reign of the 15th Bragmakpon king Ali Sher Khan Anchan did the Balti people look forward to expand their territory and fostering relationship with the Mughal emperors.

The Baltis, who converted to Islam from Lamaism in the 16th century regard congregation in the mosque and Khankas as an important religious rituals. The Khankas are a kind of typical training school of Sufis, which was introduced by the early Sufi saints, arrived in the region. A Sufi student gains spiritual parity (Tazkiah) through these trainings (meditations and contemplations) under well practiced spiritual guides. Mosque in Balti villages was built in Tibetan style, though several mosques constructed have wood finish and decorations of Iranian origin, which can also be seen in Leh town and surrounding villages.

Baltistan came under the control of Tibetan king Songtsen Gempo in the 17th century. Under the Tibetan cultural influence, the Bon and the animist Baltis began to adopt Tibetan Buddhism from Indian Buddhism. Religious artifacts, such as the Gompas and Chortens were erected and Lamas played an important role in the lives of the Baltis. Centuries of Tibetan, Islamic and Indian influence has shaped the Balti culture into its modern form. Islam, at present, plays an important role in Balti culture.

Tibetan influence can be seen in its architecture, where houses with flat roof painted white and sloping inwards are built, little remains of the pre-Islamic Buddhist
culture of the Balti largely destroyed and replaced by the dominant Punjabi and Iranian culture, which arrived with Islam. This can be evidenced in the near extinction of traditional Balti festivals such as ‘Meto/Mera Phangma’, ‘Spangang’, ‘Navroz’, ‘Mindok Stanmo’ and ‘Strup Lha’ epic such as those of ‘Gylam Kesar’ and works of ‘Ali Sher Khan Anchan’ prevails among the Balti literature, which has experienced a revival in recent years.

During the beginning of 19th century, however, a sizable population converted to other Islamic schools of the thought such as Shias and Sunnis. Shia and Noorbakshi share many such beliefs. Today Noorbakshi are found in Leh and Kargil district of Ladakh region. Local Muslims, who converted from Bon-pa and Tibetan Buddhism, retained many traits of pre-Islamic Bon and Lamaist rituals, which made Islam of Ladakh unique from the rest of Islamic societies.

**Problem of study**

The ‘Baltis’ of Ladakh is one of the many such communities who have shifted from traditional pastoral life to sedentary agriculture. Cultivation along with pastoralism is the new life style of the Baltis today. This process of transition has also led to associated changes in the social structure and culture. Secondly, the ‘Baltis’ along with others like Gujjars and Bakerwals were notified as a Scheduled Tribe in 1989 and this new status along with its policies of protection through reservation has opened up new avenues for development. Historically, however, the community has witnessed major waves of change ranging from Tibetanization, Islamization, Baltiasation and Nationalization, since 10th century AD and it is said that the Islamic practice in these communities is unique and is different from Muslim societies of the rest of India. The continuance of many traits of pre-
Islam i.e. traits along with Noorbakshi Sufism and Bon-pa and Lamaist rituals has made this uniqueness possible. However, the forces of modernity through the inflow of foreign and also in-land tourists though have speeded up the process of change in the neighboring areas; however, the Balti community is need to get the benefit of these changes.

The study is undertaken to understand and explain the different shades of cultural contacts and resultant changes, which have been observed among the Balti community of Leh district in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It is assumed that historically communities in this region have survived with their cultural sensibilities through the process of diffusion and assimilation. A sociological insight on the acculturation process would shed light on the question of how synthesis of culture due to cultural contacts shaped the present culture of Balti community. It is true that the mountaineous communities have been following a distinct societal structure, such as marriage, family and kinship system. No doubt, belief and ritual system associated with community life has been intrinsically tied up with the way communities were organized. Family structure and marriage alliances within the community are testimony for its unique characteristics that are fundamentally different from the main land. Habitat formation and their sustenance have been ecologically sensitive as their myths, folk tales and folk song depicts the environment in which they live. In other words, ecology has profound impact on shaping the habitat bearing on economic activities. Major economic activities in the mountaineous region are revived around nomadism, pastoralism and terraced cultivation. As the entire mountains from the centrality of habitat, there has been a practice of shifting homestead from pastoral houses during summer to settlement near spring and streams during winter. This shift conditions agrarian economy of the community.
This study has explored the symbiotical relation between the habitat formation, economy and society. An environmental approach towards habitat would reflect the pattern of changes due to the isolationist policy of the modern state and habitational constraints due to the external pressures. In recent times, the community is in a state of rapid transition internally as a result of change brought about externally. There are two changes of this kind observed. Firstly, contact with Indian army (serving as porters) and non-tribal cultures due to modern civilization (emerging tourism industry). Secondly, the impact of protective discrimination and affirmative action policies extended to the community since 1989 under Scheduled Tribe status.

**Objectives**

1) To study the socio-cultural history of the Balti community in general and in Turtuk areas Leh district in particular.

2) To account Habitat, Pastoral economy, social structure of the Baltis developed in the physical and cultural milieu. The ethnographic study would mainly emphasize on the social structure of the tribe covering three major aspects, namely the group or folk, the habitations being an aspect of the place or habitat, and the economy or the work by which the group sustains itself.

3) To examine the changes witnessed by the community from time to time, through evolution, diffusion and state intervention.

4) To identify distinct factors that led to these changes and the processes.

**Theories and Methodology**

There are extraordinary theoretical orientation in sociology and anthropology to make sense of continuity as well as change through different perspectives developed over the
years. Among them are the evolutionary, diffusionist and structural-functional perspectives.

This study intended to examine the transition of a community from one social formation to other. An attempt was to relate the evolutionary and diffusionist perspective to develop a framework for the present research. This should not mean that the other perspectives are irrelevant.

One of the chief exponents who has appreciated evolutionary scheme of L.H.Morgan is Karl Marx. In the book on ‘Pre Capitalist Formations’ (Marx and Engels) a useful, albeit loosely constructed, framework is given by them which may be a starting point for our purpose of understanding transition. In 1858, Marx wrote that when the spontaneously evolved community (band), settles down (tribe), the extent to which it is modified depends on various external, climatic, geographical, physical etc. condition as well as on their special natural makeup-their tribal character. Thus, population growth and ecological conditions are the important influencing factors in the process of change in primitive society. This formulation helped us in formulating the research design of the study. The secondary data available at present was not significant to help us in charting a model to understand the stages of social formation. However, through field observation and interaction there are three major shifts in the life of Baltis in our times. They are:

1) History of Baltistan and its people (The community under study were part of Baltistan before 1971).

2) Baltis of Ladakh during the period from 1971-1989 (The Baltis were accorded Schedule Tribe status in 1989) and understand the changes due to implementation of protection.
3) 1999 Kargil war brought about major changes in the area as it has been location bordering Pakistan and focus of centre, State and the local government directly shifts into the area.

The next perspective is the diffusionist/acculturation, which essentially was a reaction against the inadequacies of evolutionism. Anthropologists, in particular, have attempted to explain the process of development in culture through acculturation, when culture traits discovered or invented at one place reach at another place, it is called ‘diffusion’. However, when whole system of life in a culture begins to change under the influence of any other culture, it is called as the process of acculturation. After having attained the tribal status in 1989, the community (Baltis) is beneficiary of the different developmental programmes. Here lies importance of diffusion of innovation (new policies or programmes). Further, no tribal society lives in isolation. Even the pastoral communities like Gujjars, Bakerwals, Gaddis and Baltis also practice agriculture and participate in local market. Thus, they meet other cultures like non-tribals, traders, government officials and so on leading to the process of acculturation. Acculturation results in give and take from each other, which affect the recipient culture in terms of change. As has been mentioned earlier, the contact of this community with Islam, Lamaism and the general Balti tribal culture are the important waves of change. Further, the forces of modernity also contributes to the process of acculturation.

The structural-functional approach represents a theoretical and methodological approach that emphasizes concern with the part that each unit within a culture plays in relation to the whole culture. The major theoretical perspectives made above, helped us to identify and operationalize a framework or design for our research.
The factors may be classified as:

1. **External**
   a) Pre-Islamic and Islamic impact leading to orthogenetic changes, which was analyzed through review of historical documents and archival materials.
   b) Though the area is now open to tourist traffic in the year 2010, except Tyakshi and Thang village.
   c) Impact of planned and un-planned developmental programmes in general and tribal development policies in particular.

2. **Internal**

   The internal dynamics of the Balti community can be studied by looking into the interdependence, interaction and interrelationships between the habitat, economy and society considering them as sub-systems.
   a) Interface between habitat (ecology) and economy.
   b) Economy and society dialectics.
   c) Habitat, economy and society interrelationships.

   Thus, the trilogy of the habitat, economy and society and its functional or dialectical relationships has been explored in a holistic manner to ascertain the nature and extent of change (transition) among the Balti community.

   Further, the environmental theories explain the differences in climate and vegetation, which lead men to one kind of activity, type of society and even of religious belief in one region, and to different activities, social institutions and belief in other regions (Forde, 1963:3). Though there may be intimate relation between human activities
and the conditions and the resources of the physical world, environment is not the sole factor contributing to a particular type of society.

As such, Catton and Dunlap, through their New Ecological Paradigm are of view that human beings are just one part of a larger eco-system and consider that human affairs are influenced by nature as well as society. Thus, Catton and Dunlap hoped to facilitate a sociological approach that would consider the impact of resource issues on society; i.e., the impact of the natural upon social, and the opposing relationship, how social processes affect the natural world around us. This analytical framework, gives due emphasis to categories such as population, technology, and environment. Thus, it is required of the sociologists to acknowledge not just that ‘human activities are causing deterioration in the quality of the environment but also that ‘environmental deterioration in turn has negative impacts on people.

**Research Question**

- How isolated geography, topography, climate conditions shape the cultural history of Baltis in Leh district?
- What are the factors and forces led the community to transform its past nomadic life to sedentarization and settlement?
- What are the external factors influence the habitat and economic activities of Baltis as part of modernization process?

**Methods**

As the pace of socio-economic development on the Baltis have been limited and no systematic study so far has been carried out, the present study intended to explore the community in context, its historical roots, tradition and socio-cultural relations. Hence, the
study, to begin with, explored the past practices such as economic system, sense of history, cultural and religious organization and the society as a whole from the field. As majority of the Baltis live in Pakistan after partitions, liberation reviews (both historical documents and archrival materials) were drawn from the online and web information. This complemented to fill up the gap. As the sub systems of the habitats like economy, society and culture shape and transform the community, an explanatory system of their community and implications were taken into consideration in the study. In other words, the study demonstrates the fact that how transition taken place and their consequences due to both internal and external factors.

**Table No: 1.6**

**Population of the study area at a glance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bogdang</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>1506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Turtuk</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>1729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tyakshi</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chulunkha</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Thang</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>666</td>
<td>2452</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>4291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 2001 Census, Village Directory of Turtuk Area

The study was confined to the five villages mentioned in table 1.7, which are dominated by the Balti population. However, these five villages have come into existence due to the inclusion and division of erstwhile census villages. For example, Gharari has a hamlet of only six households and is named as a separate village, although it is part of Turtuk. Further, Turtuk, which is a big village, have been divided into two villages. As such, focused in follow the five census villages for the purpose of survey.
Sample

As per Table-1.7, there are 666 households in all the five villages. Since the study was to be an ethnographic account of the community, it here to selected around 50 % of the households from the first three villages. Thus, the total sample households were 372. As such, in normal course all the villages and all households of a village should have been studied for ethnographic inquiry. However, accessibility, time and money were the main constraints in the present situation. Selection of the 50 % of the households from the big villages along with case studies was considered scientific. Besides, around 50 % samples from each of three big villages, we decided to study all households of the two small villages – Chulunkha (37) and Thang (40) including the household from Changmar village, due to less number of household in this village.
Table No: 1.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Village Name</th>
<th>Total Household</th>
<th>Sample Household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bogdang</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Turtuk</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tyakshi</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chulunkha</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Thang</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>666</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2001, Village Directory of Turtuk Area

In the second stage of the sampling (which is about the selection of 50% households in a village), the random method was followed for better representations. The basis of stratification was not predefined, but every alternative household was considered as the respondent household.

The data for the study was collected through both primary and secondary sources. For secondary data, study reports, books, census reports, monographs, journals, newspapers etc. were looked into. Museum, Libraries and Archives were consulted for the purpose. As the secondary data on Balti tribe is limited, emphasis was to get information through primary data. As proposed, all the five census villages in Leh district of Ladakh region were approached for fieldwork. This study was carried out in all the five villages with a set of questions based on history, society, culture and habitation to assess the continuity and change. As such, the interview schedule included the questions on the factors – external and internal, already mentioned in the preceding pages (synopsis p.21). The reasons for the selection of these five villages were due to their differential exposure to the processes of modernization and the social changes that affect the condition of Balti community. The villages in the Turtuk area retain the primitive culture and impact of changes is least found. The data gives in-depth information about this tribal community.
The impact of the modernization has not been possible due to non-allowance of tourists to this area until 2010. However, the higher education, professional and technical knowledge and diversification of occupation are visible in some of these villages.

**Data collection**

Emic and etic are terms used by anthropologists and by others in the social and behavioral sciences to refer to two kinds of data concerning human behavior. In particular, they are used in cultural anthropology to refer to kinds of fieldwork done and viewpoints obtained. The emic approach investigates how local people think (Kottak, 2006). How they perceive and categorize the world, their rules for behavior, what has meaning for them, and how they imagine and explain things. The etic (scientist-oriented) approach shifts the focus from local observations, categories, explanations, and interpretations to those of the anthropologist. The etic approach realizes that members of a culture often are too involved in what they are doing to interpret their cultures impartially. When using the etic approach, the ethnographer emphasizes what he or she considers important (Kottak, 2006).

The study therefore relied on emic methods for data collection. The emic concentrates on describing the indigenous values of particular society. The emic units relates to actors purpose and meaning. If one is to study the behaviour as it actually functions, it is essential, that the observer analyst have to detect the presence, to some degree, the nature and meaning of purpose.

Secondly, the researcher belongs to the community itself, there are therefore questions of subjectivity. The Indian sociologists (T.N. Madan and M.N. Srinivas and others) have studied their own community, and lessons were drawn from their experience to make the study nearly objective.
The method of data collection was in-depth interviews through a structured interview schedule. In-depth, informal and participatory interviews was used to get information on history of Balti community, its origin, culture and language, socio-economic condition and the position of Balti people in Leh, status of Balti women in their family and the changes affecting them. A case study method was used to analyze a few cases in order to obtain the in-depth information about the acculturation process. The data, thus collected was tabulated and treated with the help of various statistical techniques for reporting.

**Significance of the study**

The significance of the study lies in the context of the transformation that has engulfed a community, which is giving up its primordial base and customary institutions and practices and becoming closer to the mainstream society and its normative values and ideology. The study pertinently dealt with the questions-what is happening to the community like the Balti of Leh district? Are they losing their customary practices, their culture, and tradition and getting closer to the other groups or trying to maintain and restore their own culture in a modified way? The answers to these questions suggest a trend and direction that will be of great significance to the issue. The schedule tribe status bestowed on the communities in Ladakh further increases the significance of their culture and identity. As 95 percent population of Leh in Ladakh region belongs to schedule tribe category, they now receive advantage of various provisions of government. This new title gives them source of unity. This study looked into the schedule tribe status of Baltis and their political aspirations as well. The geographers and sociologist can use their resources and research career in such interesting and unexplored community.
Lastly, this study will provide information on the Balti society and the changes coming in it to provide information and assist those, like policy makers, government, or non-government organizations, who wish to bring development in this region and the people while preserving their identity and culture.

**Tribe in Transition: Conceptual framework**

**Habitat**

A habitat (which is Latin for ‘it inhabits’) is an ecological or environmental area that is inhabited by a particular species of animal, plant or type of organism (Dickinson, 1963). Ecosystem vary in size, they can be as small as a puddle or as large as the earth itself. Any group of living and non-living things interaction with each other can be considered as ecosystem. Within each ecosystem, there are habitats, which may also vary in size. A habitat is the place where the population lives. A population is a group of living organisms of the same kind living in the same place at the same time. All of the populations interact and form a community. The community of living things interacts with the non-living world around it to form the ecosystem. The habitat must supply the needs of organisms, such as food, water, temperature, oxygen and minerals. If the population needs are not meet, it will move to a better habitat. Two different populations cannot occupy the same niche at the same time, Habitaas then, are specific to a population and each population has its own habitat.

A terrarium is another place where several populations will peacefully coexist in the same habitat. Vivaria are habitats where several plants and animal populations live together. Within any shared habitat, behaviour influences the survival of a species. Behaviour can be instinctual or learned. The energy cycle within biomes, habitats and
ecosystems determines the extent of human survival. All living things need energy, ultimately, the sun is the sources of energy in an ecosystem different species have different functions: Producers, consumers, decomposers, and scavengers. Habitat must also supply water for all living things to survive. Their needs are meet through the water cycle. Since energy and water are vital to the survival of an ecosystem, a system of conservation is needed. In many ecosystems, the conservation of resource is natural, almost unnoticeable process. Life substances, for example, are recycled in the ecosystem (given off by plants) is actually a process of conservation. The waste of one species becomes food for another. When resources become limited, the conservation process becomes more urgent and more visible with an increased need for recycling. If conservation efforts fail, species become endangered and extinction can occur. A species become endangered when there are not enough habitats available to support all members of the population then die, and then the species is considered extinct (Franklin Institute, 2011).

**Tribal Habitat**

The tribal people of Manipur lives in the hill region except a small percentage of them who have come down to the central plain. The hills of this region remained isolated from other parts of the country, and for centuries, the social life was centred round the family, clan and the village and the tribal people of Manipur was little exposed to the outside world (Dubey,1978:14-15).

The tribes of Manipur have been living in this tract of land for several centuries. They live in isolated pockets and there was very little intertribal contact. The tribes of Manipur do not stand at widely varying levels of cultural and social complexity. Yet there is a cultural diversity at some level, which indicated different contact situation at different
times. Because of continuing with some societies, it is possible that some parts of a tribe’s culture have different from the neighboring cultures. And here the role of the Meitel cannot undermine. By virtue of their dominant position, they probably influenced the course of the tribal history in Manipur more than the tribes themselves did (Das, 1985:8).

The nature and characteristics of habitat are specific to its population are located in a span in which both energy and water bodies are accessible to its population. At the same time habitat has been on move to stretch both energy and water. For instance, the habitats of the Anwals a nomadic community are located in Dharchula tehsil of Pithorgarh district of Uttrakhand state. The Anwals are nomadic shephards and walk with flock of the sheep and goats from the Bugyals (pastures) located on the high altitude of the Indo-Tibetan border of the Dharchula tehsil to the foothill forests of the Tarai Bhabhar, they live in their own settlements located in Dharchula Tehsil and perform other jobs pertaining to agriculture. Being situated on high altitudes, traveling to the Anwal settlements is very hard (Bisht, 2001:92-93, 96)

The tribal people of Manipur live in the hill region except a small percentage of them who have come down to the central plain. Many tribes in general cared little for predominantly locating themselves. They were delighted to hunting and tilling virgin soil and migrating from place to place. They had no aptitude either for diversification of occupation. They were blessing contented with their existing conditions, living with care less light-heartedness, from hand to mouth, and utterly unmindful of the future. (Sinha, 1982:32-33).

The Semsa tribes, a section of the Dimassa tribe live in a Semkhor village in north Cachar hills district, Assam. The Dimassas are spread throughout the district while the
Semsas are concentrated only in one village. They speak Dimassa language and share all important cultural characteristics with them. Even then, they maintain rather an independent ethnic identity, which might be the outcome of their characteristic, an eco-cultural setting in relative isolation (Denda and Ghatak, 1985:1) Similarly Baltis habitat, is also spread in mountaineous villages of Turtuk in Nobra block, yet they maintain their ethnic identity within the Buddhist dominated district.

The author highlight that the anthropological research among Sherpas did not begin until 1953 this is also true with the Balti community of Ladakh with no reason to work until 1998. Though the basic pattern of the social order had been maintained, the Sherpas economic life had been reoriented following the disruption of their trade with Tibet occupied by the Chinese and the subcontinent close to the frontier with Nepal. Further he argues that the Sherpas are not longer a homogenous society of agriculturist, cattle breeder and trade. Today tourism draws most able bodied man away from ‘Kunbu’, and they may visit their home and family for no more than two or three month a year. Rest of the time they are engaged in both tracking and mountaineering or stay in Kathmandu to remain in touch with tour operators as guide and camp servant.

It further reveals that the Sherpas lifestyle had been transformed by the impact of outside forces, which disrupted the delicately balanced social fabric and undermined the traditional ideology that had dominated Sherpa thinking and conducted for countless generation. The younger generations have now outgrown the framework of this system. However, with the older people and the majority of the women adhering to traditional values, although the traditional aspiration of the younger generation and different from
those of their elders, some aspects of Sherpas culture and particular ritual practices have changed for the years (Hainendorf, 1984: ix-xiii).

**Economic system**

Economic system is a sub-system of society that fundamentally deals with labour, capital and land resources and the manufacturing, production, trade, distribution and consumption of goods and services in a given time and space. Economic system is broadly understood as a social institution through which goods and services are produced, distributed and consumed. The economic system shapes other aspects of the social and is, in turn, influenced by them and on the other hand, political system refers to the social institution, which relies on a recognized set of procedures for implementing and achieving the goals of a group. Each society maintains political system in order to follow recognized procedures for allocating valued resources.

Sociologists Gerhard Lenski and Jean Lenski categorize society based on their economic mode of organizing social system. Hunting and gathering, society relies on foods and readily available in order to live. The amount of technology in such societies is minimal. People constantly move in search of food, and there is little division of labour into specialized tasks horticulture society, in which people plant seeds and crops rather than subsist merely on available foods. They were much less nomadic. Consequently, they place greater emphasis on the production of tools and households objects. Cultivation of crop is performed with aid of digging sticks and hoes.

Industrial society focused on the application of nominal sources of power to the labour tasks. A society relies chiefly on mechanization for the production of its economic
goods and services. Postindustrial society economy is based on production of information rather than of goods. (Schaefer and Lamm, 1992).

**The Tribal Economy**

Many nomadic communities have multi-resources, within a restricted geographical area these categories can, like swiddeners, peasants and most nomadic pastoralists also supplement their diet with wild plants, tubers and game, and many peasant and swiddeners even sell gathered produce. Sweden cultivators-cum-foragers, like the Birhor and the Mankria can be so dependent on the sale of forest produce that they avoid the depth of the forest, for then they would lose contact with their clients. The Chinchu, another foraging tribe is also set to have been shepherds of the Yerra Golla caste. The Corava are referred to simultaneously as hunters, trappers, cattle-breeders, fortune-tellers, musicians, dancers, salt-carriers, bamboo-splitters, baskets-makers and tattooers. The different nomadic of the Kuraver cluster made baskets, winnowing fans, ropes, sun blinds or trapped and hunted, told fortunes, worked as tattooers and performed with monkeys. Especially in medieval times, the peripatetic life style also partly overlapped with that of group of wondering mystics and religious mendicants, this is still reflected in the secret language. Both foragers and peripatetics can easily adopt subsistence pursuits, and just as easily drop them again. Yet, what always distinguish foragers from peripatetic is that for the former, hunting/gathering constitutes the fixed core of a very fluid mode of subsistence.

The Kashmiri pohol, for instance, do not own the herds they tend and sell their herding-services, another example is that of the Banjara, many of whom owned huge herds. Communities known as Bhutia, the Humli-khyampa and generally large sections of
the inhabitants of Kinnaur and Lahul also exemplify these broad patterns of blending trade and Pastoralism.

Pastoralism and cultivation could also have pared, and the frequent cattle raiding and the accompanying sacrifices may, have been part of a process of a colonization of new territories. Mostly, however, nomadic Pastoralism and mobile foraging sustainable form of agriculture—at least not without great technical inputs that, inevitably, affect the environment drastically. Today many nomadic Pastoralism exists only in the interstices of agriculture, but we must remember that in many of these areas hardly any agriculture existed even some 50 year ago; this pattern still prevails in some high altitude regions. Agriculture and itinerant trait also pair well among the peasant traders of Ladakh who regularly took the grain they grew to the high plateau right into western Tibet, to barter this for pashmina, wool and salt with nomadic pastoral Changpa (Rao and Casimir, 2003: 7-8)

It is pastoral community that lives in the high altitude of the Himalaya; their sustenance often depends on the resources available in their immediate environment or sustaining their animals and themselves too. The life style of the Anwal, of Uttrakhand, totally depends on the environment they live in, it is ecology that plays an important role in ascertaining the economy. The term Anwal bears in, defines the occupation, i.e. the pastoral, of the Anwal community and occupational status, i.e. lowest, not only for the non-Anwal people but also for the Anwal people themselves. The people of Anwal are socio-economic and educational backwardness as well as of the geographical isolation which are the inevitable consequences of the occupation itself. The pastoral economy that is based on the ownership of the livestock population, its economic output economic relevance is a given ecological system; solely depend on the physical exercise of the
people concerned. In Pastoralism, the pastoralists often travel or migrate to get good pastures. They get milk, meat, transport, hides and hair from the animals. Overall, they lead a nomadic life (Bisht, 2001:116,210-211).

The Kondhs, another set of community are natives of the forest and forest resources, in which the economic system substantially operates. This is not to undermine the importance of agriculture and its economy gradually based on cultivation both hills and plain, supplemented by forest resources and livestock. However, their habitat justifies shifting cultivation, which has been practiced by them since a long time. They call it italics pouches. The Kondhs economy traditionally depended on shifting and settled agriculture, forest resources and some trade practices through intermediaries (Choudhry, 2004).

Tribal communities in India are distinctively known for their specific mode of economic organization as food collectors, trappers, hunters, artisans, shifting cultivators, settle agriculturists and laborers of various kinds (Mann, 1989).

The Tribal economy continues to be subsistence oriented rather than market oriented. Subsistence economy is characterized by self-sustaining system within the community or group (Cassen and Wolfson, 1978: 174). The Balti tribe is also under the category of pastoral sedentary agriculturist, they cultivate in their field along with the whole family members, and their economy is self sufficient, which is far away from market economy.

Society

It is a group of people related to each other through persistence relations, or a large social grouping sharing the same geographical or virtual territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations. Human societies are characterized by
patterns of relationships between individuals who share a distinct culture and institutions. A society may be described as the sum total of such relationships among its constituent members. In the social sciences, different forms of social stratification and pattern of dominance in sub-group will be debated. Community formation through constant interaction between the members of a particular geographical area led to imagine and develop collective consciousness about nation as well. Nation means imagined political community. It is imagined, because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each life, the image of their communion. Further, he writes nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self consciousness, it invents nations where they do not exist. In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face to face contact are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with humanity. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all members of the human race will join their nation in the way that it was possible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of wholly Christian planet. Finally, it is imagined as community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, this fraternity makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings (Anderson, 1936: 5-7).
Gerhard Lenski (1974) differentiates societies based on their level of technology, communication, and economy: (1) Hunters and gatherers, (2) Simple agricultural, (3) Advance agricultural (4) Industrial and (5) Special e.g., fishing societies or maritime societies). Tribal societies are another set of categories subsumed into the domain of anthropological reasoning to study evolution of human societies and their structural varieties and differentiations.

**Tribal Society**

The tribal village is something like a protective shell, where they can lead a life based on their own cultural values. A village to them is breathing space that has to be nurtured at any cost. In reality, they practice a type of village culture, which give rise to sense of village identity (Das, 1985:16). The forebears of each tribe or the clan of a tribe established their hamlets at some point of time and established their own world. Tribal communities in the past were self-centred and were almost oblivious to what was happening around. About the isolated tribes of Naga Horam says, the various Naga tribe on the border of Assam and Burma lived in complete isolated not only from the world but also from each other as well. This led to isolation even within the same tribe as the dialects would bear witness (Horam, 1977:19) The tribal habitation is generally being found in isolated village. Their village is something like a protective shell, where they can lead a life based on their own cultural values. In reality they practiced a type of village, which give rise to sense of identity (Das, 1985: 16)

Today, the tribals are conscious of their identity. They are conscious of family, clan, kinship and attach great significance to traditional rituals. They were satisfied with the produce of their fields, having no thought beyond the primitive manner of life that they
had been living (Sinha, 1982). The Dangis of (Udaipur Basin) are endogamous group i.e.
marrying among themselves and maintaining social distinction. Family among Dangis is
not only smallest social unit but also the smallest economic unit based on joint family
system (Bhattacharya and Vyas, 1979). Similarly, the society of Baltis are also based on
joint family system, but gradually with the force of modernization they were also shift
towards nuclear family due to population explosion.

That the lack of school and text books, teacher’s partial involvement, insufficiency
of residential schools, lack of motivation and dropouts due to various socioeconomic
reasons are some of the important points for educational gaps among the tribes. Sahu
(2001) conclusively states that education must be the domain for all the equal priority and
privileges. Deprivation of any kind and inaccessibility due to various reasons may be
sorted well with so that the changing facets of education should not be a challenge for the
poor tribal students. Education has been accepted as one of the key factors for
development, not only for the tribal, but also for other communities as well.

Social Change

Any alternation or modification that occurs in a situation over a time is called social
change. It is the change in human interactions and inter-relations. If comes to change there
are sources which are greatly responsible for change. The first source is unsystematic and
unique factors day or night, climate, existence of people or groups. The second source is
systematic factors like if we need sound development there must be a stable and flexible
government and system as well as different social organization. Thus, social change is
alternation or modification that takes place in a social structure or function of society. This
form of change would reflect both in material and non-material culture.
Social Change among Tribes

However, Vyas and Mann (1980) argue that the tribes of Rajasthan and Gujarat have conflicting trends for tribal integration as it depicts different pattern of transition. It also highlights the problems of tribals in relation to forest and displacement and rehabilitation. Proactive legislation and tribal development programmes helps the tribals for their transition.

There are three stages of tribal communities, some tribals are sufficiently changed, some are in the transitional stage and others remain bogged down within the frame of traditionality, the creation of such stages attributed by the authors to the planned as well as non-planned efforts of non-tribals. In spite of these efforts, Vyas believes that ‘a bulk of unresolved problems in the social, economic, religious and political life of Tribals has accumulated over the years’,

Changes occurring in tribal society invariably have been conceived of in terms of the tribe moving in the direction of becoming a part of ‘Civilization’ by being assimilated into society. Scholars have made such observations not only in the context of the past but also in the context of the present. Kosambi refers to tribal elements being fused into the general society. Similarly, Bose refer to tribes being observed into Hindu society. Equally important has been their moment towards Christianity. Roy Bburman, demonstrates that how tribe undergoing the process of Sanskritisation by opting early marriage as a matter of prestige and by discouraging widow remarriage as well as diverse and separation (Burman, 1988:14; Sachchidananda, 1988:80).

Mann makes similar observation regarding the Bhils. The freedom enjoyed by Bhil women in the spheres of marriage, premarital sex divorce etc. is being gradually curtailed
with the adoption of Sanskritisation. Their freedom is selecting made and marrying through elopement has been adversely affected. The purdah system among Bhills women is again an instance of borrowing from cats Hindu (Mann, 1987:155). Rapid industrialization has been made at the cost of natural resources. The greater the development leads to destruction of natural resource. However, as a result of vicious cycle initiated by industrial clear felling and displacement project, there has been a transition to destructive dependence on natural resources (Fernandez, 1999: 48)

The Gujjar in the state of J&K at present only be very loosely called true pastoralists, as they exhibit significant deviation from traditional pastoral transhumance, the deviation for instance, cover the entire spectrum from sedentarization to entirely nomadic mode of living indeed many Gujjar communities now regard Pastoralism only as a supplementary economic activity. Due to several changes, three distinct categories of settlements are found among them: (1) Permanently settlement (2) semi-settlement (3) nomadic type

The Gujjar were quick to learn the manner of agricultural production from settled agriculturists in their neighborhood. The process sedentarization is also the logical concomitant of the separate of education and overall upgrading of standard of living (Margay, 2003:87-88).

According to Rizvi (1983) the emancipated position enjoyed by women, as well as various other indications, leads one to conclude that among the Buddhist people of Tibetan origin sex is not the bogey it appears to be in most of the societies. No way to indicated a matriarchal or matrilineal system, since it was based on inheritance by primogeniture. As regard the practice of polyandry, which appeared as most striking feature of traditional
family life, the essence of the system according to Rizvi, was mono principal-only one marriage per household in generation. The reason for the practice of polyandry is to prevent producing more children than the fields could support.

The Sherpa economic life had been reoriented following the disruption of their trade with Tibet occupied by the Chinese and the subsequent closing of frontier with Nepal and Khambu Sherpa are no longer a homogenous society of agriculturists, cattle breeder, trade dwelling throughout the year in high Himalayan and living their home villages for brief trading journey or middle range of Nepal (Haimendorf, 1989 x-x).

Thus, the present work, although a pioneering effort did ethnographic study of Ladakhi tribe with special reference to Baltis community concentrated on five villages of Turtuk area, namely, Bogdang, Chulunkha, Turtuk, Tyakshi and Thang. The data collected at different level on various aspects from 372 respondents, of these, 264 Noorbakshi, 94 Sunni and 14 Ahlehadis.