Chapter V

A PROFILE OF SPITI VALLEY

There are conflicting opinions regarding settlement of these people. Views vary from the descendants of the mythological Jamadagni and Renuka, the father and mother of Parushram, whose rule extended to near Beas river; or the descendants of Shakya clan the original rulers of Ladakh or the remnants of the khasa tribe who were driven out of Central Asia by the Humas and settled in the Himalayas between Kumaon and Ladakh.

Whosoever they may be, they are fine people and have earned acclaim of the British rulers of the past and are praised even today. People of Spiti valley one having completely Mongoloid features, but are stout and well-built. Women too are tough but mostly not good looking.

Religion

Buddhism predominates in the Spiti Valley: The Western Himalayas came under the influence of Buddhism in the time of Ashoka in the 3rd century B.C. It was the time when padmasambhava toured this area and preached his doctrine in the 9th century that Buddhism really caught hold of the people.

One of the most peculiar features of the lamaistic system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teachings of Buddha included an elaborate monastic
system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform and no hierarchy, as all men were equal. About 1400 AD. The Golden monastery proclaimed himself as the patriarch of the whole lamaistic priesthood, and his successor of the tashi monastery declared the grand lamas to be the perpetual reincarnations of one of the Bodhisat- was or Semi-Buddhas, who, as each Lama died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. Below the lamas there are ordinary monks who live in monasteries.

The lamaism of Spiti is mixed by local legends, superstitions and also marked by indigenous demonology of the mountains. There are many benevolent spirits and malevolent demons who are supposed to dwell on trees, rocks and hill-tops. Spitians sacrifice sheep and goats to propitiate these soul, and are firm believer in witches, sorcerers and evil eyes.

There is strong influence of totemism in Spitian society. The tantric Lamaism keeps its hold on the people by an association of Spirits-dead or inanimate. The ritual ridden people cling to their old beliefs and pursue a routine course of conduct. Any divergence is threatened with severe unknown consequences. There is taboo even on the planting of trees or the opening of new sources of irrigation or in the preparation of old water ducts.

The religious and even economic life of the people in inextricably tied up with the monastic order.
"On Mane Padma Hum" in a sacred utterance. Its repetition-conscious or unconscious, vocal, manual or mechanical is the panacea for all ills. It washes away all sins.

Three Buddhist sects represented in this region are well known. Nyingmaya, supposed to be introduced by the Sage Padmasambha in the 8th century in Tibet, is followed by the Lamas of Kingri, Damphng and Sakeling Shakya Sect is followed by the Lamas of only one group of Spiti, i.e. Tangynd. Gelugpa or the Reformed sect is followed by the Lamas of Ki, Dhamkar and Tabo monasteries. The followers of this sect wear yellow caps and are known as yellow sects also. There is yet another sect of the Lamas mostly in Pin valley of Spiti who are known as Buzhens.

Buzhens are the lamas who entertain people by acting plays and Chanting legends. The lamas of this sect are allowed to massy. They themselves live in monasteries but their families and children live in villages. They do not shave their heads like the monks of other orders. These Lamas wander about the country in small groups earning their livelihood by singing, dancing and acting plays. Some of them used to trade in a small way by bartering grain or salt, iron or honey.

Every son of a lama or monk becomes buzhen. Sometimes the younger son of land holder becomes a buzhen in preference to gaining the monastery. According to a legend the buzhen order was founded by one Thang-teong Gyal PO (king of the desert) under the circumstances that a certain king of Lasha the famous Langdrama, converted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. The
Gyalpo succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the "Om Mane Padma Hum" or sacred ejaculation quite discussed. To win back the people chan-re-zin, the divinity worshipped at Triloknath caused an incarnation of himself to be born in the King's house in the person of Thang-teong Gyalpo. The child grew up a saint and a reformer. As perceived, he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the buzher, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus "Om Mane Padma Hum".

The socio-religious impact of the monasteries has been relative to the religious following which these institutions command. Not withstanding, its influence is greatly felt in Ladakh, Spiti and upper part of Kinnaur. However contribution of this institution in the field of education and culture has been one of its remarkable achievements transcending all socio-religious barriers and ensuring it a reversely revered status. Every Son of a lama or monk becomes a buzhen. Sometimes the younger son of land-holder becomes a buzhen in preference to joining the monastery. According to a legend the buzhen order was founded by one Thang-teong Gyal Po (king of the desert) under the circumstances that a certain king of Lasha the famous Langdrama, converted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. The Gyalpo succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the "Om Mane Padma Hum" or sacred ejaculation quite discussed. The Buddhist monasteries have helped dispel many primitive beliefs, superstitions and dogmas by popularizing the written language and literacy. A more pragmatic and ethical method of education
was introduced by them which also included medicine, art, craft, philosophy and astrology.

In the development of various arts and crafts, the contribution of monasteries has been very significant. They initiated artisans and craftsmen to embellish the interiors of monasteries which at large added an aesthetic touch to their living conditions. It is significant to note that the majority of literaties in the Lamaistic interior are the monks and nuns who play a significant role in the local socio-cultural life. In the monasteries, almost all monks and runs are entrusted with the Job of education of novices. In the villages, it is the responsibility of the resident lama to teach children.

In the realm of culture and art the contribution of monasteries has been singularly outstanding. The living conditions in the harsh climatic zone of the Western Himalayas would have been drab and monotonous, had the Vajrayana deities, not graced their homes and temples in the form of bronzes, stuccos, murals and thangkas. The plastic images of the Vajrayana deities in their innumerable graceful postures can easily be considered among the best examples of sculptural modelling. The thangkas represent a distinct class of painting, as do the murals in the monasteries and the homes of the people. The meticulous treatment of various themes in these art works speak volumes for the meditative exercises which the lama artist has undergone and for the celestial sphere that has envisioned in his transcendental moods and expressed in formal mediums.
The symbols and motifs evolved by them have not only given visual expression to abstract ideas but have also decorated the interiors of houses and temples, and turned even the ordinary household utensil into a work of art.

The system has been responsible for the development of a distinct way of social life in which various aspects of monastic culture have played a significant role, under which children are regularly inducted at a tender age into the cultural environment of the monastery where they learn the higher values of life. Since they have no difficulty in maintaining regular contact with their homes and usually return to help the household at harvest time, they carry back home a little of their acquired culture and refinement.

The socio-psychological role of the monasteries has been equally significant and purposeful. These institutions have stood to inspire among the people confidence to exist courageously and contentedly in one of the harshest climatic conditions on the earth, where nothing but faith can sustain them. In the remote Lamaist society of the western Himalaya, modern medical facilities were unheard of till a few decades ago and the people depended entirely upon the lama doctors in the monasteries for their medicines. Those are based on the age-old Ayurvedic system of India and local herbal therapy which provided a sound base for the Tibetan system of medicine. The monasteries there by not only assumed the role of "Spiritual healer" for the laity but also provided better medical facilities for them.

In the more orthodox Lamaist pockets, the pre-Lamaist totemic methods of treatment also continued. In fact in the tantric Buddhism with which Lamaism
identified itself, tantric methods of healing play a significant role and even "advanced" Lamaist societies depend upon tantric treatment for ailments.

It is rather difficult to define the economic role of the monasteries, mainly because these institutions were established for the propagation of religio-spiritual teaching and to this end, these institutions have remained wholly devoted. Even after the mid 14th century, when these institutions were turned into centres of the religio-political authority of Lamadom, there was no change in their professed objectives. Under such conditions, the monasteries could hardly assume mundane responsibilities to justify their economic role. But, in the primitive society where Lamaism established itself, there was no other organised agency which could take care of the people in the economic distress, famine, drought and allied crisis. The monasteries therefore, had perforce to impose on themselves certain mundane responsibilities. Which in fact were divergent from monastic tenets.

Upto the early decades of the 14th century, the monasteries were built on the established trade routes. Those monasteries necessarily followed natural water course so that the devotees could be benefited. Those people would occasionally make liberal donations to the monasteries during their halts on their arduous missions across the Himalayas. Thus in the course of time, those sacerdotal institutions developed into nuclei of the socio-cultural life of the area. Those institutions at that time largely subsisted on-

1) Donations received from the affluent traders and merchants.
2) Alms from the laity
3) Income from the land bestowed on them by the rulers and by the collection of taxes and land revenue therefore.

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It was with the inclusion of certain functions that the monasteries were obliged to fulfill some economic commitments towards society. When the monasteries assumed temporal powers after the mid 14th century, they undertook functions of moneylending, trade and commerce, bartering and banking etc. At the time of crisis, grain was distributed among the laity from the huge buffer stocks of the monasteries. The beneficiaries were however required to replenish the stock at the next harvest. The monasteries willingly bartered grains and other valuables. By virtue of this, the people could obtain supplies of food grains at the time of need, while the monasteries grew richer in their pecuniary assets. Richer monasteries embarked upon the enlargement of their buildings, the existing of magnificent images and the execution of murals and thangkas for which skilled craftsmen and artists were recruited from the laity.

Thus, employment opportunities were offered to the people by the monasteries. In effect, those economic facilities of the monasteries may not have been of much use to the people at large, but assured great psychological relief to them under harsh and inhospitable climatic conditions.

Thus, the people were not only drawn towards these religious institutions for religious commitment, but economic expediency was a major thrust.

These facts focus on the economic status of the monasteries and their influence on the laity closely interrelated. Influence of these monasteries on the masses is directly proportional to the self-supporting economic resources of these institutions.
Usually only the younger sons of the landowning class are admitted into a monastery. But the rule has been relaxed, and younger sons of landless sections are also admitted. When the boy in seven years old, his guardians take him to a monastery. A Special ceremony presided over by the head lama and attended by atleast four full-fledged priests. A three-fold changes is supposed to take place in the initiation ceremony, the change of his name, the change of garments and the supposed change of his mental attitude. The boy solemnly affirms to abide by thirty-six vows and directives, the more important over being promises not to commit violence nor to keeps company of women nor to indulge in wine nor crime nor lying. This change in regulation of the monastery is because of the economic expediency and process of change accentuated by formal education exposure from outside Spiti area etc.

After the initiation ceremony is over, the boy becomes a "Gayachhul" literally meaning being "who has religion" Hence forth he spends the winter season in the monastery and the summer at his home.

It is worth pointing that rules made by monastery regarding staying in winter season into the monastery, and at respective home during summer season-draws its base from ecological constraints and means of subsistence properly synchronized. Winter being very harsh and temperature going down up to -35°C, life stands still. There is negligible outdoor activities which could contribute for subsistence. People remain indoors and so are boys at monastery. Whole of winter season (6 months) is utilized by boys to grasp religious preaching and ideas. A short lived summer is marked by hectic activities and much of labour demand comes from agro-fields.
Infact each and every member of a family (above 6-7 years) contribute some role in carrying out agro/means of subsistence activities. Hence, the summer season calls for maximum number of helping hands and consequently even boys at monastery come to the fields to augment labour required in the agricultural fields.

Even monastery has its own interest in relieving boys in summer season. Every monastery has some amount of land given to the members of the Bara Ghar or even to Chota Ghar (now a days) for cultivation on share cropping system. To get maximum return from culturable land, sufficient manual labour is required. Hence they send all boys to respective home to contribute in agro and allied activities which helps monastery to get agricultural products the formers.

The Gompas (monasteries) own big or small landed estate and to a large extent control and operate the economy of territory through ownership of land and through exploitation of its resources. Land belonging to the Gompas is scattered in differed in different villages. The dwellers of these village work on the Gompa land as share croppers or agricultural labourers, since the lamas are not supposed to work themselves on the land.¹

As stated earlier, only the younger sons of the landowning class were admitted to monastery. But to have sufficient number of disciples, monastery relaxed this rule also for Chota Ghar or landless people which helps monastery in establishing its base having sufficient number of disciples.

¹ One of the 253 rules of the code of conduct prescribed by Buddha prohibits a lama from ploughing the land himself. The concept underlying the rule is that ploughing of land by lamas result in the death of numerous life bearing objects.
It takes thirteen years for a gayachhul to become a "Gaylong" i.e. a fullfledged lama or literally one who abides by religion. A precious day is chosen to mark this occasion of his graduation or attainment in the presence of the head lama and four their important lamas. On this occasion, he affirms to stand by 253 rows and directives which makes him a perfect Buddhist.

The religious life of the Buddhists in Spiti is governed by the framework set up by the head lama "Khanpo", a second lama "Uzat" and a third lama "Gaygo" who with the help of a committee run the affairs of the institution. The spiritual functions of the gompas are carried out by the lamas and the Chomos (nuns); in addition, they also teach in the School attached to the gompa mainly to train younger lamas, function as astrologers, prescribe and supply indigenous medicines, participate and direct drama and dance organised at the time of festivals and conduct birth, marriage and death rites for the community. Even lamas used to perform the duties of dispersing justice in the past.

Thus in the social sphere the Gompa is the centre of a community which is vertically stratified into a four tiered hierarchy - the khah Po at the top, Uzat at the second and Gaygo at the third position and at the base is the community. The closed nature of the Gompa structure is primarily due to the fact that the lamas are not allowed to marry and they have to keep themselves at a considerable distance from the general population. The occasions and opportunities of direct contact of the common people with those belonging to the higher levels of the hierarchy are limited. In terms of cultural and educational sphere, festivals and fairs are celebrated in the Gompas. The lamas supervise the celebration of festivals, arrangement for pilgrims.
to other parts of Buddhist Himalayas, dance, recitals and dramatic retirement the
second lama is promoted. However, different rules which are generally of
convenience is accredited for the promotion of the third lama to the post of a second
lama. As between themselves the head lama, the second lama and the third lama have
definite duties assigned to each one of them, and avoid encroaching upon each others
assigned of duties except at the peril of committing sacrilege. They continue to
command high status both in the political and social spheres even outside the Gompa.
Even during general elections (state assemblies etc), to a certain extent people are
influenced by advices given by lamas in process of voting. But definitely these things
are weakening with the passage of time and are becoming more aware about their
priorities influenced by modern agencies of change like education, transport and
communication, entrepreneurship, migration etc.

As stated earlier, apart from presents given by the devotees, the main income
of the monastery comes from the grain revenue of certain villages allotted to it and
from the land under its ownership. To this also some compensatory money
occasionally is added paid by a lama to the monastery when he does not want to do
the duty assigned to him by the head lama or wants to leave the monastery for ever.

However, every lama keeps to himself whatever he earns by performing kurin
i.e. the chanting of holy scriptures in order to prevent or remove evil and disease
from a house. Hence, he does not have to look up to the monastery for any economic
assistance.

In this context earning by performing Kurim by the lamas, refer to a similar
system prevalent in north India known as Jajmani system.
The system of Jajmani has its deep roots in the history of India. It was made a matter of anthropological significance by W.H. Wiser, who first of all published his findings on this system as found in north Indian village.\(^2\) Subsequently a number of scholars both from India and outside namely K.S. Matter and D.N. Maxumdar, Srinivas, Dube, Lewis and Barnouw, M. Opler and R.D. Singh, H.A. Gould and others made valuable studies and collected data on the pattern of inter-ethnic ties and other associated aspects of Jajmani system from different parts of India.

Kolenda points out that there have been many studies of villages in India, yet there have been relatively ‘few attempts to identify all-India social-structures and processes, generalizations useful for comparative studies’. She discusses various kinds of generalizations suggested by various writers and focus upon the Hindu Jajmani system as one kind of generalization suitable for comparative studies in India and other parts of South Asia.

It is a system of distribution....where by high-caste land owning families called Jajmans are provided services and products by various lower castes such as carpenters, potters, black Smith, water carriers, sweepers and lamdrymen’.\(^3\)

Further she says, "almost all serving castes have ceremonial and ritual duties at their Jajman’s birth, marriages, funeral and at some of the religions festivals’."\(^4\)


\(^3\) Ibid.

\(^4\) Ibid.
Hence, we could derive that the Jajmani system involves the exchange of goods and services among families occupying different caste positions. Caste could be referred in this system in terms of three categories—upper, middle and lower. It also depends upon the caste's rank in the caste hierarchy and upon what sorts of goods and services they provide for each other. The Jajmani system serves ‘to maintain the Indian village as a ‘self-sufficing community’. Here groupings identified as castes (not families, factions or blocks of castes) render certain kinds of services to each other. According to wiser not all castes participate in this reciprocal exchange, and the Kamin’s clientele may include members of other villages as well as his own. The clientele in apparently inherited and fixed. Exceptionally, the Kamin may sell his rights to a client to another Kamin.

Wiser high lights inequalities as essential to the system, inequalities which seen to be in terms of prestige and status.

Apart from information regarding the system in the plains of India, the system also exists in the Himalayan region, particularly in the Central and Western Himalayas. But not much have been brought to limelight. The Dhandhwar system of the district of Uttarkashi in Uttar Pradesh (Central Himalayan region) the birtan relationship between families and its Brahmin ‘Purohits’ in the Bharmour sub- Tehsil in Chamba district, and Kurim and Lacha system in Spiti, Himachal Pradesh (Western Himalayas) shows their characteristics similar to Jajmani system of the plain areas.
Deora is one of the interior most village of the Rawain area, 48 kms away from Purola, tehsil headquarters of Uttarkashi district. As in the whole of Gharwal region, the society of Deora village may also be differentiated into two broad groups; the Beet and the Dom.

The Beet group in superior in status and composed of Nautiyal subcaste of Brahmin and Rangad subcaste of Rajput castes. The Dam group, which is considered as having lower status, consists of the Nath (Mistri), Bajgi and Dom Castes. The caste system of Gharwal varies considerably from that of the plains as there is no rigidity regarding the occupations. Artisan castes are very few, and each one of these has to perform more than one occupations. As for example, the Mistri caste people simultaneously work as the Kumhar (Potter), the Lohar (ironsmith), the Badhai (Carpenter) and the Rajgir (Mason). And so is the case with other castes such as the Bajgi and the Dom, who perform more than one occupations side by side but more of their members is thought to be out of the caste.

The occupational experts of the village contribute in one or the other way to run up the agricultural, social and religious activities and in turn are paid a fixed amount of cereals at harvests, food, clothes at working period and ceremonial occasions, and other remunerations such as pithain, bishota etc. during birth, marriage and death. This system of payment is popularly known as dhanhwar. The one who gives dhandhwar is called by all service castes as gaik or thakuro. Those who receive dhandhwar are called perja. But the Brahmins who according to their work are called pujari and pandat. Those who receive his sacerdotal services are called by him as his Jajmans.
Similarly we see influence of the system in Western Himalayan region (Himachal Pradesh) under different name. Bharmour which once had the distinction of being the seat of power of the old state of Barmour from 9th to middle of 10th century is now the headquarters of the Bharmour sub-tehsil in Chamba district. The place is situated at an altitude of around 7,000 ft, and remains covered with snow from late November to April (around six months). The caste structure is characterised by a two fold division into the high caste (Brahmin, Rajput and Khatris) and the low caste (Sippis, Raharas and Halis). The Brahmins came mainly to serve the Rajputs as priests (purohits) and virtually they are placed at the top. But due to the shift of the capital from Bharmour to Chamba, Brahmins had lost the royal patronage and taken to agriculture and other professions together with their traditional profession of priesthood. At present they receive cash and kind from other clients known as Jajmans in exchange of their services rendered at different ceremonies.

The Sippis, Raharas and Halis form the lower caste group. The Sippis are agriculturists but also work as blacksmith and repair agriculture tools. The payment is mostly made to them in kind. They also sheer the sheep and get little proportion of wool they sheer or even money. Besides, they also act as musicians and drummers at the time of marriage. The Halis are petty agriculturist with very meagre land holding. Apart from supplementing their income by agricultural labourers, they also repair agricultural implements and manufacture Kiriri baskets used for agricultural operations for which they receive in cash or kind from the buyers.

Under the Bersord, relationship is established between families and its Brahmin purohits and is very similar to Jajmani system. The Brahmins receive some
percentage of food from the Jajman (employer) mainly at four great Sankranti and also at some special occasions like birth, marriage and in exchange he is expected to carry out all the rituals from birth to death for all members of his client. He may be asked to prepare horoscopes, performing kathas and Pujas. This is a true Bersord which implies duties as well as the obligations on both the part.

Another is the Kuman birtan and in applied for all forms of ties between different caste groups, like relationship between on agricultural family with various craftsman of the village and in turn the Kaman birtan in entitled for a fixed quantity of grains from the produce for the work done by him.

There are certain such more relationship existing. For instance, at wedding parties certain families belonging to the low caste bring leaf plates (bhojpatra) and they are mostly paid in kind and those who bring tiles for the roof from the quarry for the families with whom it has birtan ties, receive certain share of produce. Significantly, the nature of the village economy in such, that at various sections and different segments have to work in totality where interdependency is a characteristic feature. In such simple communities, members are tied together by a definite bond which can not be dislodged at one’s own wish.

Lacha system-a reflection of Hindu Jajmani system

The tribal culture of Spiti preserves a very traditional system quite akin to the Hindu Jajmani system. But interesting to note, that it is not based on the caste structure, rather on basis of class.
In Spiti valley there is no caste distinction as is among Hindus and others, and the use of different terms to describe people indicates their class rather than castes. Hence, there are only two classes—the high castes and low castes. It is worth noting that Buddhism does not admit of any caste system and is the religion of the valley.

The great mass of the peasantry are called ch’a zhang or middle class, i.e. midway between the Nono families above and the menial and artisan classes below. The descendants of the married monks of Pin, known as buzhens of pozhens, are regarded as ch’a zhangs. As all are Buddhists, there is supposed to be no caste, but the influence of Hinduism is noticeable in a class etiquette. Each class contains many clans, and marriage within the clan is forbidden. Among ch’a-zhang clans (to mention only the more important), Naru, Gyazhingpa, Kyongpa, Lonch’enpa, Hasir, Nyerpa. Marriage brings a woman into her husband’s clan and the children belong to the same.

The menial classes are collectively known as "Outsider" (pyipa) and include, in order or precedence, carpenters (shing-zopa), smiths (zo) and musicians (beta). There are carpenters only in Pin Kothi; there is no weaver as such and weaving is done by ch’a-zhang will marry a ch’a-chang, but having regard to relationship, that is they will not intermarry within the same clan (rus or haadi). This is the rule also with Lohars and Hesis. Should a ch’a-zhang take a Lohar women into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other ch’a-zhang will still eat from his hand. The off-spring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohar. It is said that it is not common for a ch’a-zhang will still eat from his hand. The off spring of such a marriage s called Argun, and an Argun will marry
with a Lohar. It is said that it is not common for a ch’a-zhang to eat with a Hesi, but should the latter touch the food, it is not thereby defiled. All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Betas, who are not treated at par. Also, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish.

It is common among Bhots generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of Bhot were to touch food or water, it is defiled and thrown away.

The ZOs and Betas in terms of payment in kind gets 2 khals (around 25 kg) grains and one Topa (2 bottles of change (beer) during the time of harvest. Apart from that the landholders or the clientele gives grass to these people for their livestock which is an important part of society in the valley.

But with the changing circumstances, the age old system is getting weakened and might get vanished soon. Specially occupation of Zows (black smiths) has suffered much. Normally now a days due to contact with outside Spiti which could be maintained for a longer period of time in year by means of proper transportation via Kinnaur), the agriculturists prefer buying their necessary agro tolds and implements from Simla or Manali. Apart from that, their domestic utensils which zows used to make by hands, has almost seazd. People prefer buying due to their frequent contact outside spiti. In terms of payment also, cash is taking place against kinds (grains etc.). They also have a feeling, giving ready cash to a musician and entertainers (Betos/thesis), portrays ones economic status at
the time marriage etc. Even the Betas prefer taking cash as fits in the changing clientele relation.

Another system which is a permanent serving class is also worth mentioning. Some of the richer landholders have permanent men-servant (Yag Po) who have no land, but are married among their class may be engaged for a year or two. The permanent servant of the monastery are called Toboche and their duty is to light fires etc.

It is apparent that this system is in transitional phase. Inter-Caste dependence is lessening day by day due to spread of education possession land under Nou Tor, different small scale business and allied activities. Even the reciprocal service demand by the community (clientele) in the valley is declining fast.

In this context one can refer to Mud village in Pin valley (within Spiti valley) which makes boundary of Spiti and Parvati valley of Kullu division. It is a very remote village aesthetically located on mountain slopes. There is marked difference with the rest of the valley interms of way of life, dress materials tools, implements and especially utensils they use. All represents a long cherished culture and tradition.

As the area is quite remote, little impact of forces of modernization is felt there by preserving age old structure. Even local spitians say that Mud village is still quite traditional in existence.

6 Where people make a patch of land culturable and stands cultivation.
There has been suggestions by a number of anthropologists and social scientists regarding importance of ritual in the adjustment of Social groups to their environments. Mention may be made of Brown and H.C. Brookfield-The ecology of highland settlement: some suggestions, Raymond Firth, Vadya, Leeds and Smith.7

Indeed, one of the important functionalist theories of religion is based upon such an assumption of empirical independence between ritual and the world external to the congregation. It asserts that since men are unable to control many of the events and processes in their environments that are of crucial importance to them, they experience a feeling of helplessness. This performance of rituals suppresses anxiety, dispels fear, and provides a sense of security. A statement by George Homans summarizes this line of thought nicely.

Ritual actions do not produce a practical result on the external world—that is one of the reasons why we call them ritual. But to make this statement, is not to say, that ritual has no function. It’s function is not related to the world external to the society, but to the internal constitution of the society. It gives the members confidence, it dispels their anxieties, it disciplines their social organization.

No arguments will be raised here against the psychological or sociological functions that Homans and others have imputed to ritual.

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But it will be argued that in some instances ritual actions do produce a "practical result on the external world". In some instances the "function" of ritual is related to the "world external to the society". Among the Tsemaga, ritual not only expresses symbolically the relationships of a congregation to components of its environment but also enters into these relationships in empirically measurable ways.

Under the Swangla custom, the dead body is bathed and clothed and laid in a corner, covered with a Kafan and kept behind the curtain. A bhat (Priest) and Shipi are sent for. The bhat brings with him a conch-shell which is placed near the head of the corpse and then lights a lamp.

The Spitian customs regarding the disposal of the dead is very quaint and peculiar. When a person dies, those responsible for the disposal of the body consult a Johva i.e. an astrologer who directs whether the body should be burnt or buried or thrown into the river or cut up and exposed on a hill side for the benefit of wild birds. All the classes abide by the Jhova’s directions. The Khangchanpas, however, invite lamas who recite scriptures and pray for the dead. The villagers are also invited and served with salted tea and meals. Drinks are avoided on this occasion. If any member of the lower classes has a full purse, he also arranges such a function.

The people have some religious beliefs founded on superstitions. One of these is that if a dead body is kept without vigil, an evil spirit enters the body and gives it life. The dead body then dances and does some abnormal things, and affects other
living human beings by making them look like itself. This is called rolance. Readers interested in this phenomena of rolance will find interesting account of this by Shir M.S. Gill in the book "Himalayan Wonderland".

When medicine and sorcery have failed and the death of a beloved person appears inevitable, a funeral is sometimes arranged in order to deceive the angel of death. A complete life size effigy of a small youth is made on a wooden frame, plastered found with dough of barley-meal. This is painted and dressed up with the clothes and ornaments of the sick persons so as to present as close a likeness as possible. After much reading of chhos by the lamas and after firing guns and letting off fire works, a funeral procession headed by the gara and lama bands is formed at night and the effigy is solemnly burnt after being cut into pieces. The clothes and ornaments go to the lamas.

People also believe that if religious books are taken round the cultivated fields there is a bumper crop. The ceremony performed is called bumbaskor. The villagers go to the nearby monastery and from there bring the religious books on their backs and take them to the field. They are also accompanied by the lamas. They then sit in the fields where the owner offers them chhang. Thus they go from field to field and assemble in one house where puja is performed by the lamas. This ceremony is performed only in Ghar and a few villages of Gondhla kothi after the seeds have sprouted.

As described earlier the constitution of spitians family has aptly been described as a system of primogeniture.
Inheritance Custom in Spiti

As soon as the eldest son marries a wife he takes over the family estate and the ancestral dwelling, or the ‘big house’. (Khangchen), as it is called locally, whence its occupant, the head of the family, is known as Khangehenpa. On the succession of the son the father retires to a smaller house (Khangchung), and so is called khangchungpa: he receives a definite plot of land for his maintenance, and has nothing more to do with the family estate and its burden. His younger sons, the brothers of the khangchenpa, are sent in their childhood to Buddhist monasteries in which they spend their lives, unless in the event of the khangchenpa, failing to beget issue, one of them elects to abandon the monastic life and takes his eldest brother’s place in the family.

In addition to these the land holdings which descend intact from eldest son to eldest son and the smaller plots which similarly descend from outsted-father to outsted-father, there are still smaller (yangchung) plots held either by the grandfather if he survives the ousting of his eldest son by his eldest grandson, or by female or illegitimate relatives of the family, or by the tenants. The holders of these plots are called yangchungpas.

Property rights for eldest daughter

In the circumstances mentioned above when the parents have despaired of being blessed with a male heir, they marry the eldest daughter to a man who agrees to reside with the girl in her parental home. Such a lucky husband, who is generally...
a younger son of some land-owning family of equal or higher status, is known as makpa. The property is transferred to the girl and if the girl predeceases her husband, he takes another wife from amongst her younger sister, or other eligible female relatives: and their children succeeds to inherit.

Spitian adoption

The Spitian custom of adoption differs considerably from the one prevalent amongst Hindus. An issueless couple simultaneously adopt a boy (putot), from out of the husband’s relatives, and a girl (pumtot) from out of the wife’s relatives, of marriageable age; they are married and made joint owners of the estate.

Inheritance amongst the others

If a younger son or daughter sets their face against social custom and marries, he or she and his or her descendants are called survas. The survas, the Bhuzhens and the Dhut-tul-las sometimes come to own some fields as by breaking of virgin land, and then the father and the son live on together as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common. Similar customs of common living and common inheritance prevail among the other landless classes as the Zows and Betas also.

The Survas, the Bhuzhens and dhut-tul-las had initially helped in establishing the Nou Tor system. Now a days, even due to people such as share croppers, agricultural and cashal labomers are claiming Nou Tor land which results into
resentment by the Bara Ghar people. Claiming Nou Tor land and making it culturable, their dependency on Bara Ghar is lessened to an extent in terms of economic expediency. So the bargaining and control of Bara Ghar upon these people who constitute Nou Tor, but comes under Chota Ghar category, its declining.

The rights of ownership of the Khangchangpas and the Yangchungpa are limited to a life interest even the seemingly absolute right of the Khangchangpa is limited by a number of customary checks and counter-checks. For instance, he cannot sell any major portion to discharge a debt; similarly he cannot gift away a portion of the estate, although a small field or two may be given, to a poor relative on compassionate grounds. Sometimes a person in debt farms out a big portion of his land to the creditor for a number of years; the creditor recovers his credit by utilising the proceeds of the farm and the land is returned to the debtor after the expiry of the period.

All these traditional rights of ownership describes about a well knit regulations to check Khangchen (Bara Ghar) community from loosing cultivable land - a valuable natural resource in the rough mountains and valleys. Possession of land and control over water makes them powerful holding high in social status and hierarchy. Utilizing the resources, economically, they are in better position, and can donate and for monasteries’s granary also. Monastery in return always spoke in favour of Bara Ghar giving religions sanction.

Nevertheless, water distribution from kuls can create tension for when there is a water shortage, the Bada ghars in effect are in a dominant position and suffer the least, unlike those with secondary access who have to await their turn.
But even among bada ghars, the distribution of water shares may be unequal. The factors that determine sharing among them are not clear, and probably were decided when the kul was constructed. As information obtained during field visit, the family that contributed the most in labour and other resources when the kul was constructed, gets the largest share under water rights passed on through generations.

The unit of kul water is one day’s supply. Between sowing in April and harvesting in September, water availability is for approximately 70 days. But should a family whose share is 30 days need kul water for only 20 days, it can sell its surplus.

In Kibber, water is supplied by three kuls whose shares are owned jointly by 32 bada ghars. The kuls, named Phil, Phizur and Shrik, together irrigate 73 ha of land. Eighteen bada ghars use the waters of the Phij kul, whose supply is sufficient to irrigate 4 hectare daily. The 18 families using it are divided into two groups of nine families each, and the water supply is alternated between the two groups on a daily basis. Water from Shrik, the smallest of the three kuls, is shared by six Bada ghars, also divided into two groups. But the eight bada ghars that share the Phizur kul, are divided into four groups, with each getting water just once every four days because the kul’s capacity is limited. Other families in Kibber have to acquire water from the 32 of the bada ghar families.

The government has made its presence felt in the Spiti valley as a modernising agent whose actions are profoundly changing traditional production practices and
social patterns. It's effort ranging from schools to hospitals has opened up a variety 
of avenues and people are not only dependent on agriculture. Kuls in many areas of 
Spiti are being taken over by the state machinery. Kul heads, have been reinforced 
with cement or concrete and some of the kuls have been complemented with rubber 
pipe. Old kuls are repaired and renovated in this manner and new kuls have been 
constructed.

These interventions, along with the increasing dominance of a market 
economy, a rise in labour mobility and availability of alternative sources of 
employment, have doomed traditional social mechanisms for the repair and 
maintenance of kuls. Traditionally, community labour was used to repair kuls and 
each household contributed either in labour or in kind to keep the kuls functional. But 
residents of Kibber, Losar and Sagnarri villages complain the irrigation department’s 
intervention and the lack of labour because of alternative job opportunities have 
resulted in the breakdown of the traditional system.

Furthermore, the government’s stipulation that Kul water must be distributed 
equally, stands in against of valley’s traditional social order, and the Bada ghars face 
the loss of both control over water and their position in the village hierarchy.

As stated earlier, their are only two classes-the high castes and the low castes. 
Society is clearly divided into those who inherit parental/maternal property and those 
who do not inherit-the Khanchen (Bara Ghar) and KhinJung (Chota Ghar) generally 
khangchen marriage alliances are made within khangchen community. The ‘Nonos’ 
who are the vanishing nobility prefers marriage with Nonos, but can give their
daughters in marriage to Khangchen families but do not accept their daughters in their families. Marriage among Betas and Zows takes place within their respective classes. There are instances of marriage alliances between the daughters of Nono community with Khangchen community boys.

All the communities or sub-castes are endogamous having few exceptions. Marriage with maternal uncle’s sons are permitted but mirage with maternal uncles are strictly prohibited.

During field observations, a number of inter-caste marriage cases were found. These inter-caste marriages phenomena are recent taking place for last fifteen years or so. It has been more so due to growth in education, exposure and contact from outside world in terms of migration which helps them in selecting their own partners.

Conservative people do not like inter-caste marriage and react unfavourably. This reaction comes sharply from the Bara Ghar community if their children ties nuptial knot with Chota Ghar. On the other hand Chota Ghar members secures an identity in the society after having marriage alliance with the BaraGhar. But the above mentioned agents of change are loosening the hold of old ideas and traditional restrictions on marriage.

Economic dependence of women are their place in the society

A women does major part of work in the fields as well as in household affairs. Thus the woman wields authority in the house. She possess personal material goods
in the shape of ornaments and garments which she passes on to her eldest daughter. These ornaments are passed on to the lamas after her death. A widow gets Teu (maintenance) from the person who inherits the property of her deceased husband to the tune of approximately five per cent of landed properly. Such maintenance is for the life time of the widow.

Dowry system

The dowry system does exist and is considered socially desirable, but is not at all onerous and the value of the dowry given is dependent entirely upon what the parents can afford. In fact where the parents are not in a position to give any dowry initially, a second wedding ceremony known as baglog or pherom is performed later when the parents of the girl field themselves in a position to give dowry. This ceremony of a second wedding is sometimes held even after the marriage couple have crossed their forties and have children.

In spiti the eldest daughter, on her marriage gets all the ornaments of her mother plus a number of dresses and other articles collectively called zwan. In Kothi Totpa, the parents of the girl have also to give an agreed on the other hand in the other areas of the sub-division it is the parents of the boy who pay to the girl’s parents an amount equal to half the value of the ornaments brought by her. It is not obligatory, even if they may sometimes do it, for the parents of a younger girl to give her anything as her dowry; in landless classes, moreover, the custom of dowry does not exist and it is only a very rare parent who is rich and good enough to bestow something on his daughter. During field visit, it was interesting to note that,
people are giving Kul (canal) as dowry. One such concrete case was found in the Rangrik village.

Polyandry

Polyandry, a common feature, is necessitated by the severely limited land and the need to keep it undivided. In a polyandrous family, the eldest brother marries and the younger, if any, share his wife. Some have condemned this practice while others have justified it. In a country where a man is always on the move the wife must have people to look after her and she in turn should be able to look after the children. The woman decides the paternity of the child. The system of polyandry is inconvenient both to the men and the women folk, especially to the latter since it means a large number of girls having to remain un-married and dependent first on their parents and then on the brothers. They have to work hard on the fields with little hope of leading a comfortable. Still it will be a long time before polyandry can be ended. Not only the economics of agricultural and but also the desire of the parents of the girl lend support to polyandry because that gives a status to their married daughter which would be lost if there was monogamy. Under polyandry the married woman has a privileged position as the entire control over the household affairs rests with her.

Age considerations are not strictly taken into account. The girl is generally older than the boy. This is due to the fact that parents want more working hands in the family the boys are, therefore, married at the age of 15, although now the trend is towards late marriage. The Lahulas do not marry within
their own gotra. They marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or the daughter of the father’s sister.

Normally a Spitian believes in a monogamy, but landowner (khangchanpas) do go in for polygamous marriages; such marriages are however, rare and are justified either when the wife is barren or unable to bear a male child, or when their is shortage of women labour in the house, or when the man is infatuated by a fresher and younger face. The status of the second wife is far below the status of the senior one and her children have no rights in the property as against the children, if any, of the senior. It follows from the above that monogamy is the rule in Spiti and that a husband takes a second wife during the life-time of his first only under exceptional circumstances. On the other hand, polyandry is not practised, except among the dud-thulpas and among the Bhuzhens, the descendants of the monks of the Pin monastery which requires no vow of celibacy from its members.

Social vices

Some people are fond of a game of stakes, called ‘cholo’ which is played with dice; but it is not common enough to become a social vice. Only those who possess some surplus wealth can indulge in it, and such persons are not many. As regards spirituous drinks the harsh climate and the racial tradition both have been instrumental in making these a part of the valley’s staple food. Drinking here does not lead, as in other parts to quarrels or crime or any other social vices.
Dwellings in Spitian Society

The houses lodge with comfort joint families in summers, which are rather mild, and in winter, which are very severe. Houses remain the sole areas of activity of residents when there is about two metres of snow all around. In winter, these tiny habitats *hum* with life while all without is cold and still. Houses present a beautiful look and are grouped together. They lie on a level ground and are three storeyed, double storeyed and single storeyed. The services of masons and carpenters for constructing a house are obtained from outside the village.

The custom of mutual help prevails. All types of manual labour is offered by relatives for eight to ten days and by co-villages for about five days. Good meals are served to the persons rendering help.

A Spitian house is singularly deficient in items of furniture, and no wonder because the valley lacks timber to make it. There are no beds, nor charis, nor tables, the people sit and sleep, as in other Mongol-inhabited countries, on the floor. The people use mattresses known as thulden made of padded straws and rags. On these mattresses, carpets known as sudbedn are used. In place of table a small box known as chokshe is made use of. The utensils used for cooking are of brass, copper and aluminium.

Doltong is a vessel used for cooking ‘thukpa’ which is porridge made from sattu, meat pieces and adding sufficient quantity of water in it. The vessel is made of soft stone which previously used to be brought from Ladakh. The doltog is not being used now and in its placed metal degchi is used.
The other useful vessels are bithi used for cooking, khachudman for preparing saltish tea, ardig for distilling liquor. Household aids are chhagtal a sort of long spoon to serve from dishes and chaag-geth for burning coal and fuel.

The pressure cookers which admittedly are of great value in this region are now being used by most of the households.

Agriculture Activities

In addition information contained in Desert Development programme in Himachal Pradesh says that an amount of Rs. 4.20 lacs were spent on seed-multiplication and vegetable development.

The barley production showed an increasing trend while wheat production exhibited decreasing trend because the government supplies regularly subsidised wheat to people which came to about 1,500 q and 3,399 q of wheat flour in 1992-93. Area under pea production is on the increase being the only cash crop. However, ha-1 production is only 4.5 q. Average production should be about 10 q ha\(^{-1}\). Efforts are required to undertake suitable farm practices to boost peas production.

Fodder Farms

Sufficient funds have been placed with the agriculture University, Palampur for agriculture and vegetable research but it has not yet made any impact. This matter will be examined separately under Research and Development.
Vacant Lands

As described earlier, huge tracts of lands are lying idle in Spiti where irrigation channels have been built. Irrigation Department alleges that the irrigation channels were not repaired as the farmers who were allotted land under Nau Tor did not make any effort to cultivate these lands while the locals attribute to non-supply of water in the irrigation channels. This question needs to be resolved immediately by the local authorities. One of the suggestions which the local authorities might contemplate is to establish community farmers to grow vegetable or seed multiplication farms and other cash crops. For this the DDP may provide assistance on usual subsidy pattern basis which is already available. Otherwise, money spent on the construction of irrigation schemes shall go waste without any check on the desertification.

Use of Tractors

There are as many as 30 tractors moving up and down on the Spiti roads. Unfortunately, none of these tractors are used for ploughing the fields. All these tractors are being used on contract basis for the carriage of stones and other materials. Agriculture Department should come forward to use these tractors for farming activities.

So far an amount of Rs. 4.20 lacs were spent on agricultural activities under the DDP which is mainly on the fodder farms.
The scope for fruit cultivation in Spiti is limited to the lower areas. Some apple and apricot plants are growing up to Poh (3,322 m). Apple orchards have come up at Hurling (3,150 m). Department of Horticulture has setup a progeny orchard at Tabo. Dr. YS Parmar University of Horticulture and Forestry is also making efforts in this direction. At Poh one farmer unlocked the door of his enclosure to display us his prize possession of three apple and five apricot fruit bearing plants. Last year was the first harvest of two boxes of apple and some apricot which he presented to the monastery and to people of his village.

Some funds have been placed at the disposal of the institution to conduct research on mushrooms (Pin Valley), botanical survey of medicinal plants and herbs.

There is an urge for growing hops in the entire valley. Small quantities of hops are cultivated up to 3,850 m. But unfortunately, no step had been taken for the propagation of hops. Instead, there are instances of tarpaulin distribution for drying the produce while the production is negligible. Such wasteful schemes should be abandoned in favour of jobs which are bound to improve the Spitian economy in a sustainable manner. Though no expenditure details were made available yet on the basis of the records obtained from the headquarters an amount of Rs. 3.51 lacs were spent on horticultural operations forming only 0.32 per cent of the developmental plans (Annexure XI).

Main domestic animals of Spiti are yaks, ponies, donkeys, cows, dzos, sheep and pashmina goats. Ponies are mainly reared in Pin Valley and are sturdy and sure-
footed. Most of the Pin valley ponies are sent to Changthang area of Ladakh for barter trade and good number of them are sold at Lavi Fair at Rampur in Shimla District. Donkey is the main beast of burden. During summer the animals are taken to the alpine pastures.

The DDP constructed good number of Veterinary buildings. 43 yaks were purchased from Ladakh for cross breedings with indigenous cows.

As mentioned earlier, animals are primarily reared to meet with the day to day requirements of the people and not as a source of income. During 1988, there were 13,755 animals in Spiti and during 1992, the number increased to 17,310. During 5 years there has been an increase of 3,555 animals. This may be due to the availability of grasses and assistance provided by the DDP. In 1992, 216 poultry birds and 16 pigs were introduced for the first time. These are new trends in the consumption of meat. People from the neighbouring areas bring in the consumption of meat. People from the neighbouring areas bring sheep and goats for slaughter. Mutton is sold @ Rs. 70 per kg. Uptil now Rs. 17,31,524 were spent by the DDP on this scheme but as per the information from the headquarters an amount of Rs. 60.55 lack were spent under this scheme. Probably, this expenditure does not include the construction cost of Veterinary buildings.

So far Rs. 11,89248 were spend for the propagation of fish in Spiti for the introduction of 1,41,000 fish in Spiti waters. But headquarters figure say that Rs. 10.16 lacs were spent so far. The mortality rate is about 37 percent. Now there are 88,200 fish available in the lakes and ponds of Spiti.

In the subsequent section we will deal with field based data in tabular and graph form. Also analysis is being given.
Table No 1: Table showing distribution of respondents by occupation and Education.

<table>
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<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Nil</th>
<th>Bodhi</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Matric</th>
<th>+2</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
<th>Pg/Tech.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage to total respondents</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

+ Under the occupational category of share cropper and casual labour one person is matriculatives. The particular person is engaged in agro activities due to non availability of government Job and has claimed Nou Tor land for cultivation.
Distribution of Respondents by Occupation and Education

Agric. - Agriculture
Ag. & B - Agro and Business
Ag. & PB - Agro and Petty Business
G. Emp. - Government Employee
Ag. & TB - Agro and Transport Business
SC & CL - Share Cropper and Casual labour
Ag. & RP - Agro and Religious Practitioner
Ag. & S - Agro and Shop Keeper
Ag. & GE - Agro and Government Employee
Table No. 1: Table showing distribution of respondents by occupation and education.

The above table shows that a majority of the respondents are agriculturist (57%) followed by Agro and petty business (12%) and share cropure and caswal labour (8.4%). A very insignificant proportion of respondents falls in the category of Agro and Buisness, agro and Shopkrepur and agro and religious practisiones.

However, a considerable number of representative sample are found engaged in government services and agro and government jobs 6% each.

The table further shows that while most of respondents are related to agro activities in different degrees, there considerable variation in their are educational status.

While a very significant proportion (30%) is found to be illiterate, a equally significant percentage (32%) of them eithers have knowledge of Bodhi language or have education up to primary standard. The table further reveals that then are only 4 persons who had studied up to gruduation level and significantly all of them are government employees. The table highlights that increase in educational attainment results in shifting of occupational/means of subsistence from agro-based to government services and business activities. At the same time it is also seen that due to government inemployment and scarcity of oppurtunities in allied spheres, a considerable number of educated people (middle and matric) are also engaged in agricultural activities.

Now a days educated people are being attracted by alternative means of subsistence such as transport and petty business.
Table No. 2 Showing occupational distribution of respondents by age.

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<th>S.No.</th>
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<th>70+</th>
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<td>2 (6.7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>30 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Share Cropper &amp; Causal Labour</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>8 (38)</td>
<td>9 (42.8)</td>
<td>3 (14.3)</td>
<td>1 (4.76)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>21 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Agro &amp; Govt. Employee</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>5 (29.4)</td>
<td>10 (59)</td>
<td>1 (5.88)</td>
<td>1 (5.88)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>17 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3 (1.2)</td>
<td>56 (22.4)</td>
<td>88 (35.2)</td>
<td>65 (22.4)</td>
<td>28 (11.2)</td>
<td>8 (3.2)</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>250 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annual income in thousand rupees

170
Occupational Distribution of Respondents by Age

Agric.  G.Emp.  Ag.& RP  Ag.& B  Ag.& TB  Ag.& S  Ag.& PB  SC & CL  Ag.& GE

AGE GROUP

OCCUPATION

- 0-20
- 21-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 61-70
- + 80
Table No. 2: Showing occupational distribution of respondents by AGE.

The table above shows age wise distribution of the sample population in relation to occupational category. It reveals that a very high majority (80%) of respondents fall in the age group of 20-50 years in general. Also a significant percentage of respondent (11%) falls in the category of 50 to 60 years of age. The table further indicates that a very insignificant proportion of population comes from the age group of above 70 years and below 20 years of age.

Among agriculturist, highest percentage of workers (33%) falls in the age group of 41 to 50 years, followed by age group 30 to 40 years (27%) and 50 to 60 years (22%). In contrast, a majority of workers in agro and government employment (59%) falls in the age group of 30 to 40 years, followed by persons in the age group of 20 to 30 years (30%). It further states that while in the occupation of agro and religious prectisiones a significant majority (80%) comprises of 30 to 50 years age significantly all the respondents comes in the age group 20 to 40 years of age.

The table indicates that while in agro activities, persons of all ages are engaged and contribute according to their capacity, while in business and government services a significant number of respondents are of younger generation. It may be due to the fact that persons belonging to higher age group may not under take hectic and strenous work in the terrain like that of Spiti.

One can infer also from the table that people of elder generation are normally engaged in agro activities because that have been the only major means of subsistence since early days. While exposure from different quarters of modernization and developmental activities, younger generation are being attracted towards business and allied activities.
### Table 3: Educational status of the respondents by Income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual income in thousand rupees</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>0-10</th>
<th>10.1-20</th>
<th>20.1-30</th>
<th>30.1-40</th>
<th>40.1-50</th>
<th>50.1-60</th>
<th>60.1-70</th>
<th>70.1-80</th>
<th>80.1-90</th>
<th>90.1-100</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nil</strong></td>
<td>42 (48.2)</td>
<td>32   (36.7)</td>
<td>9 (10.3)</td>
<td>2 (2.2)</td>
<td>2 (2.2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bodhi</strong></td>
<td>6 (28.5)</td>
<td>9 (42.8)</td>
<td>3 (14.2)</td>
<td>1 (4.7)</td>
<td>1 (4.7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>1 (4.7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary</strong></td>
<td>9 (20.4)</td>
<td>23 (52.2)</td>
<td>11 (25)</td>
<td>1 (2.2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle</strong></td>
<td>11 (18.6)</td>
<td>21 (35.5)</td>
<td>13 (22)</td>
<td>9 (15.2)</td>
<td>5 (8.4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Matric</strong></td>
<td>5 (18.5)</td>
<td>7 (25.9)</td>
<td>7 (25.9)</td>
<td>4 (14.8)</td>
<td>2 (7.4)</td>
<td>1 (3.7)</td>
<td>1 (3.7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>+2</strong></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>1 (14.2)</td>
<td>4 (58)</td>
<td>1 (14.2)</td>
<td>1 (14.2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>1 (20)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Graduate</strong></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PG/Tec.</strong></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>74 (29.6)</td>
<td>92 (36.8)</td>
<td>47 (18.4)</td>
<td>22 (8.8)</td>
<td>11 (4.4)</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>2 (0.9)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>250 (100)</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Educational Status of the Respondents by Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual Income in Thousand</th>
<th>Nil</th>
<th>Bodhi</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Matric</th>
<th>+2</th>
<th>Graduate PG/Tech.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1-20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.1-30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.1-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.1-50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>50.1-60</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>60.1-70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table No.3: Table showing educational status of the respondents by Income per annum in thousand rupees.

The table above shows the education status and income of the representative sample. It refers that majority of the population 60% fall in the income group of 0-20,000, followed by 18% respondents who can an annual income of 20 to 30,000. However, a considerable number of respondents (9%) fall in the category with an annual income of 30 to 40,000. On the other hand less than 2% of the respondents were found earning an annual income of more than 50,000.

So far as educational status in relation to income is concerned, we see from the table that, while a significant proportion of illiterate earn an annual income of below 10,000, a very insignificant percentage of persons who are educated beyond primary fall in this category of income.

The table further clarifies that a significant proportion of respondents earning more than Rs.30,000 per annum are educated middle and above. It seems that with the increase in education and after a certain level of attainment, here is consequent rise of income also. It may be due to the fact that after attainment of higher education, people get chance for high salaried job compared to illiterate or people having lower standard of education which subsequently confine them to low salaried job.

Though there are certain exceptions in the table showing respondents having low education but having higher income. The fact could be attributed to different means of subsistence adopted by them such as family business and other commercial activities which has nothing to do with educational attainment.
Table No. 4: Showing the occupational distribution of population by caste.

(Percentages are given in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Castes</th>
<th>Chachang</th>
<th>Zow</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(96.41)</td>
<td>(3.59)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Employ</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Religious Practitioner</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Business</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(83.33)</td>
<td>(16.67)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Shopkeeper</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Petty Business</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(83.3)</td>
<td>(16.9)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share Cropper &amp; Casual Labour</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(76.2)</td>
<td>(23.88)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Govt. Employee</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(88)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>232</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(92.8)</td>
<td>(7.2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Occupational Distribution of Respondents by Caste

- Chachangs
- Zo
- Beta
- Total

OCCUPATION

Agric.  G.Emp.  Ag.& RP  Ag.& B  Ag.& TB  Ag.& S  Ag.& PB  SC & CL  Ag.& GE

CASTES
It is seen from the table above that an overwhelming majority of population (93%) belongs to Chachangs. The Chachangs are basically an agro-dominated, which falls in the rung of middle class social structure of the Spiti valley, though they are Budhist, and supposed to be no formal caste, but the influence of Hinduism in noticeable interms of caste structure. It has further got impetus from neighbouring areas of Lahaul, Kinnaur and to a extent from Kullu.

As evident from the table against their total sample population, 96% are associated with agriculture activity. Some of the occupations such as transportations, religious practisioners shop keepers are totally dominated by them.

The Zo people in the Spiti valley are sizeable in number, and basically engaged in allied activities because of their changing occupational activity of ‘Black Smith’, (which never was a strict means of subsistence) to other allied activities due to less possession of land. Though few of them are in government services, a majority of them are engaged agricultural land, petty business activities which makes their main occupation.

The table further shows the absence of Betas, who are fem in number in the valleye, whom the researcher did not come accross.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Purpose for Urban Migration</th>
<th>Purpose for Rural Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Employ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Religious Practitioner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Business</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Transport Business</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Shopkeeper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Petty Business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share Cropper &amp; Casual Labour</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Govt. Employee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Migration Pattern and Its Purpose
of the Family Members of Respondents

Urban Migration

Rural Migration

OCCUPATION

Education
Job
Business
Rel.ACTIVITY
The table above depicts that there were a total number of 39 migrants from the surveyed families. Out of the total number, only 6 have migrated to rural areas and among them 50% are of agricultural background. Basically, they migrated for job opportunities, however, joining monastery out of Spiti (Nepal, Dehra Dun, Dharamshala, Mandi, Rewalsar) for monkhood and nunship and in pursuit of higher attainment of Buddhism, are significant reasons. As confirmed by the table, 33% of the migrants to rural areas had religious activity as the main attribute of migration.

The table further shows that an overwhelming majority migrated to urban areas for education as the main concern. The table shows around 44% of the migrants to urban areas migrated for educational purposes compared to only 30% of the total respondents who migrated for the purpose of job and business together. A considerable proportion of migrants (10%) are seen for religious attainment into the different urban centres.

It is also seen that the highest number of migrants are exclusively from agriculturalist, followed by government employee and agro transport business, agro and petty business and sharecropper and casual labourers etc.

The table clearly shows the relationship of higher occupational status with more number of migrations.
Table No.6: Table showing occupation & income of the respondent’s family’s for Chachangs (Bara Ghar).

| Occupation                  | 0-10 | 10.1-20 | 20.1-30 | 30.1-40 | 40.1-50 | 50.1-60 | 60.1-70 | 70.1-80 | 80.1-90 | 90.1-100 | Total |
|-----------------------------|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------|-------|
| Agriculture                 | 27   | 24      | 12      | 11      | 2       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 76    | (35.5)|
| Govt. Employee              | 0    | 1       | 4       | 1       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 7    | (14.2)|
| Agro & Religious Practitioner| 3    | 2       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 5    | (60) |
| Agro & Business             | 0    | 0       | 1       | 2       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 3    | (65.7)|
| Agro & Transport Business   | 0    | 0       | 0       | 0       | 4       | 1       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 5    | (100)|
| Agro & Shopkeeper           | 0    | 3       | 3       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 6    | (100)|
| Agro & Patty Business       | 0    | 2       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 2    | (100)|
| Share Cropper & Casual Labour| 0    | 4       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 4    | (100)|
| Agro & Govt. Employee       | 1    | 0       | 4       | 3       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 2       | 0       | 10   | (100)|
| Total                       | 28   | 37      | 30      | 17      | 6       | 1       | 0       | 3       | 0       | 1       | 122   | (100) |
Table No. 6: The table showing income and occupation of the head of the household for chachangs (Bara Ghar).

The table given above reveals that a significant majority of respondents (78%) (Chachang Bara Ghar) earns an annual income of less than Rs. 30,000 out of which 30% are in the income bracket of Rs. 10,000 to 20,000 annually. It further depicts a considerable number of respondents (14%) falls in the income group of Rs. 30,000 to 40,000 annually. Only a slightly below 8% of respondents have their annual income more than Rs. 40,000.

When we look at the income of the respondents by their main occupation, it is seen that a significant majority of agricultural (67%) have an annual income of less than Rs. 20,000. The rest of 33% fall in the bracket of 20,000 to 50,000.

Although the majority of respondents have their annual income in the range of Rs. 20,000 to 40,000, agro and transporters have been found to have on income of more than Rs. 30,000 per annum.

The higher side of income associated with agro and transport business is due to different developmental and transportational activities. The taxi and tractor owners earn through carrying local as well as tourists in and around Spiti valley and carriage of building materials from one place to other. This activity is seeing a promising opportunity because of accessibility to even remote areas of the valley through mettled or unmettled roads.

Transporters are followed by business and shopkeepers as they have a slightly higher income compared to the respondents of other occupation.
Table No. 7: Table showing occupation and land holding of the head of Households for Chachans (Bada Ghar).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>0.10 (13.5)</th>
<th>10.1-20 (36.8)</th>
<th>20.1-30 (14.4)</th>
<th>30.1-40 (15.7)</th>
<th>40.1-50 (14.4)</th>
<th>50.1-60 (3.9)</th>
<th>60.1-70 (0.01)</th>
<th>Total (Bada Ghar)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Employee</td>
<td>5 (71.4)</td>
<td>1 (14.2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Religious Practitioner</td>
<td>1 (20)</td>
<td>2 (40)</td>
<td>2 (40)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Business</td>
<td>1 (20)</td>
<td>3 (60)</td>
<td>1 (20)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Shopkeeper</td>
<td>1 (25)</td>
<td>3 (75)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Petty Business</td>
<td>2 (33.3)</td>
<td>4 (66.4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Casual Labour</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share Cropper &amp; Casual Labour</td>
<td>4 (100)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Employ &amp; Agro</td>
<td>5 (50)</td>
<td>3 (30)</td>
<td>1 (10)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>1 (10)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30 (24.5)</td>
<td>48 (39.3)</td>
<td>15 (12.2)</td>
<td>12 (9.8)</td>
<td>12 (9.8)</td>
<td>4 (3.2)</td>
<td>1 (0.8)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that more than 60% of the respondents have landholding less than 20 bighas out of which 30% has less then 10 bighas. The further reveal that about 30% of the respondents have land holding between 30 to 50 bighas. There are only a very few (4%) respondents who own more than 50 bighas of land. Though no one was found having a land holding of more than 70 bighas.

It further shows that exclusive agriculturists have a significant proportion of land for their means of subsistence which makes it as a prime occupation. They are followed by government employees, petty businessmen, transports and other. Among agriculturists, highest percentage (37%) has a land holding of 10 to 20 bighas, followed by 16% agriculturists who holds 30 to 40 bighas. While 13% of the agriculturists possess less than 10 bighas of land, there are 18% who has more than 40 bighas of land.

In the rest of the occupations a overwhelming majority of respondents holds less than 20 bighas of land. Though some government employees and people belonging to the occupational category of agriculture and religious practisioner and transporter etc. has more than 20 bighas of land. The table also focusses that by and large every one has a piece of land in varying degrees to support means of livelihood and subsistence which makes agriculture as the dominant aspect of occupation in the Spiti valley.
Table No.8: Occupation of respondents and number of persons in their families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Employee</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Religious Practitioner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Business</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Transport</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Shopkeeper</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share Cropper &amp; Casual Labour</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro &amp; Govt. Employee</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of persons in families (Percentages given in brackets)
Table No.8: Table showing occupation and number of persons in the Household.

The table above shows number of persons (household size) in houses by the occupation of head of the household. It is seen that highest number of house holds (25%) have on an average four persons in the family, followed by 22% households who have an average of five persons in the family. The table further reveals that only a slightly more than 24% the households have three or less than three members in the family. Also a equally significant percentage (25%) have six or more than six persons in their families.

So far as the average number of persons in household by the occupation of head of the household is concerned, the table focuses on the fact that while a majority of agriculturaists have four to five persons in ther family, a majority of people having occupation of government employees has three to four persons in the family. Almost same pattern is marked for people belonging to the occupational group of agro and religious practisioner and agro and petty business.

A majority of persons in the occupational category of agro and government employees, sharecropper and casual labour and agro shopkeepers have been found to have more than five persons in the more than five persons in the family. However, it is also significant to note that the highest number of persons in the houses has also been reported from the house hold of government employees, agriculturists and Shere cropper and casual labourers.
Table 9  Educational status of members (school and college going age group) among the families of respondents. Total and male / female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational status</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>112 (22.2)</td>
<td>33 (8.5)</td>
<td>79 (15.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhi</td>
<td>40 (3.5)</td>
<td>33 (8.5)</td>
<td>07 (1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>119 (37.9)</td>
<td>116 (23.06)</td>
<td>75 (14.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>109 (20.0)</td>
<td>55 (10.9)</td>
<td>46 (9.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>42 (8.3)</td>
<td>32 (6.3)</td>
<td>10 (1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 2</td>
<td>10 (1.9)</td>
<td>07 (1.3)</td>
<td>03 (0.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>05 (0.9)</td>
<td>05 (0.99)</td>
<td>00 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PG. Tech.</td>
<td>02 (0.3)</td>
<td>02 (0.39)</td>
<td>00 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>503 (100)</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows that there are a total number of five hundred and three (503) persons of Schools going age out of which 283 were males and rest are females. On a whole out of the total number of 503 persons, 22% were illiterates and 4% were in pursuit of Bodhi language. It further shows that a quite significant proportion of them (38%) have studied upto primary class followed by 20% who had studied upto middle. Among the remaining 11%, 8% have studied upto matric and rest 3% only were able to pursue their study beyond.
Educational Status of Members
Among the Families of Respondents
(School and College Going Group)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhi</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PG/Tech.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If we compare the table by sex (male and female), a significant difference in the educational status is marked. It reveals that there were about 16% illiterate females as compared to only 8% males. Further compared to 8% males who are studying Bodhi, there were slightly more than only 1% females in this category. Similarly as against 23% males in primary classes, there are only 15% female students. However it is significant to note that there were almost similar proportion of males and females who studied upto middle class. It is likely that though less females are enrolled at primary level as compared to males, yet they pursue their studies beyond and there is likely to be less drop out rate among them as compared to males.

The table further points out that after middle, the differences again widens as seen from the fact that in matric there are only around 2% females as compared to 6% males, and +2 there are only 0.5% females compared to 1.3% males.

It seems that middle is by and large an upper limit for female’s education due to various socio-economic and cultural reasons such as lower age at marriage among females compared to their males counterpart. Apart from this female members are more engaged in agro and other household activities by the time they complete middle level education. Due to this condition, they most likely discontinue their studies and become a permanent helping hand for the family.

The data collected shows changes coming up in different quarters affected by varied exogenous forces. Increased in educational attainment is resulting in shift from traditional agro based means of subsistence to allied state sponsored jobs. It may vary
from middle rank to lower rank opportunities offered by state machinery. For the younger and ndw generations, government is providing better educational facilities. People of older generations are by and large engaged in agro activities. But with the changing circumstances, they also try to enter into petty or small scale business activities. Moreover, with the opening of the tourism, chances of different means of subsistence is increasing day by day. But this does not mean or show that people one no longer interested in traditional means of occupation.

Gradually, Spitians are moving out of the valley for jobs and business activities. This includes migration to neighbouring areas like Lahaul and Kinnaur. But even they choose to move far places like Manali, Kullu, Dharamsala. These places being major tourist sites, Spitian feel immense scope for subsistence and livelihood.

Though there is tremendous potential for Spitian arts and handicrafts, irony lies, that they are not been able to identify potential of their culture and tradition. It needs to be promoted at various levels and forms.
The household information and socio-economic morphology were collected through following structured question samples.

### Household

1. Name of Head of Household
2. Age
3. Caste
4. Religion / Sect
5. Income & Sources
6. Marital Status
7. Occupation
8. Community / category
9. Total no. of persons in the household
10. Total land owned by the household
11. Types of crops grown
12. Migration / urbanization / cities towns
13. Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Relation with the head of household</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

187
Socio-ecological Morphology of Selected Villages of Spiti Valley

1. Name of the village:

2. Total population of the village:

3. Total no. of house hold in the village:

4. Sources of water in the village:

5. Availability period:

6. Role of village population/community in management of water:

7. Role of Govt. machinery in management of water:

8. Natural factors responsible for water supply:

9. Details of Human inhabitation and factors responsible for differentiation of community

10. How far natural resources influencing the social basis for the community

11. Influence of caste, clan, sect in the village

12. Existance of social stratification / Jajmani system, if any


14. Interlinkages between village, family and community.

15. Consciousness among the people regarding culture, ecology and society (modern technology, power structure, tension-conflict and its management)

16. Basis for political superiority of a particular community.

17. Soil types of the cultivable land in the village.

18. Type of crops grown by the village & rotation of crops.

19. Average yield per acre.
20. Inputs for crops-fertilizer, chemicals/traditional -compost / manuring?

21. Any insurance for crops?

22. Number of kuls (canals) in the village.
   a. Private
   b. Government

23. Average land irrigated by kuls:
   a. Private
   b. Government

24. Origin myths of the kuls

25. Total irrigated land of
   a. Bada Ghar
   b. Chotta Ghar

26. Unit of distribution of water for private kuls

27. Unit of distribution of water for Govt. kuls.

28. Length of the Kul.

29. Average amount of water units required per acre for each crop.

30. When the kul water is last used (closing time of the kuls)

31. Types of community labour to maintain kul

32. Is responsibility for maintenance of the kul is fixed according to caste or jointly carried out by the community?

33. Water rights of Government Kul established on what basis and how is the preference given?

34. Number of government kuls for the whole of Spiti

35. Productivity average
   a. Private kul
   b. Government kul

36. Total average of land under Nou Thor.

37. Factors responsible for water rights from private/traditional kuls
38. Number of monasteries and monks in the village.
39. Amount of land owned by monastery
40. Access to irrigation for monastery land
41. What amount and what kind of tax paid to the monastery by the villagers
42. Types of services extended by monastery?
43. Role of monastery for agricultural operations (past and present)
44. Festivals and religious ceremonies conducted by monasteries (past and present)
45. Main fairs and festivals and origin myths.
46. Economy involved in fairs and festivals (monetized or barter)?
47. Name of traditional trading centers, routes and items traded.
48. Any trading class having supremacy by virtues of trade.
49. Income supplemented by the livestock.
50. Types of common property resources and its access (fuel wood, fire wood, building materials, pastures etc.)
51. Fishing rights, if any.
52. Development of agriculture in the region and the role of science and technology.
53. Rainfall - maximum, minimum.
54. Soil type and its areal extent.
55. Details of the topography of the village.
**Tourism**

1. Tourist spots (location) and their attraction.
2. Total no. of tourist flow annually (location).
3. Govt. measures taken for tourist promotion.
4. Attitude and response of the people regarding emerging tourism industry in the Spiti valley.

**Health and Hygiene**

1. Types of diseases prevalent in Spiti valley / myths associated.
2. Remedial measures - traditional/modern (govt.)
4. Proper availability of medicines, doctors, health centres, maternity facilities.
5. Role of monastery towards health maintenance of the community.
1 A family engaged in Potato harvesting at Tabo village (above 13,000 ft.).

2 A view of Seabuckthorn (SBT) growth across Mane village. The area is well watered gorge which facilitates wild growth of SBT (above 12,000 ft.)
'A challenge to Nature' Dhankar village located on fragile mountain slopes, where only human spirit make them survive (above 13,000 ft.)

Confluence of Spiti and Pin river (above 11,500 ft.)
A concrete bridge being laid across Spiti river to Mane village. Also marked is community feast (above 11,000 ft.)

Multiple utility of kul (canal). People washing clothes and cleaning grains (above 13,000 ft.)
An aesthetic location of Ki monastery and Ki village. Spiti river has wide course at this point. Dark patches are small agricultural fields (above 13,500 ft.)

Gete village showing few and dispersed houses (above 14,000 ft.)
Seabuckthorn (SBT) fruits at Shego near Kaza (above 12,500 ft.)

Plateau area near Kibber. A suitable site for proposed cultural meet and winter sports (around 14,000 ft.)
Light blue and purple show areas above "permanent snowline" and glaciers.
Dark blue represent waterbodies/rivers.
Red patches are human settlements.
Red lines are roads and broken red lines are mule tracks/paths.
Plateau area is shown in orange.
Green represent areas proposed for Seabuckthorn (SBT) Aforestation.