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UNDERSTANDING PASTORAL WOMEN'S WORK

EXPLORATORY STUDY

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Understanding Pastoral Women's Work: An Exploratory Study

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CONTENTS



03 *Introduction*

06 *Locating Pastoralism*

- a. Pastoralists of Himachal Pradesh: an overview
 - b. Development: the contours of inclusion and exclusion
 - c. Women and ecology: finding the pastoral woman
 - d. Pastoral Women's Work and their exclusion(s)
-

18 *Methodology*

- a. The beginning
 - b. Methods
 - c. Taking it back: conversing through the study with community
 - d. Collaboration(s) and feminist processes
-

26 *From the field: learnings, findings, analysis*

- a. Changes in Ecosystems
 - b. Collecting NTFP
 - c. Mobility and Theft
 - d. Pastoral Women's work
 - e. Imagining futures: Dissemination and discussion
-

50 *Conclusion*

53 *Further Scope of Study*

55 *Bibliography*

58 *Annexure*

- a. Workshop through participatory methods
- b. Dissemination workshop plan
- c. Writing workshop checkpoint
- d. List of Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) collected in the region

Executive Summary

India, has a varied range of ecosystems and consists of several diverse pastoral communities, who have a close relationship with the ecosystems occupy and derive majority of their income from livestock keeping. Some studies in sociology and anthropology argue that in the Indian context 'village' has always been the focal point of Anthropological and development studies. Due to their constant migration and dispersed existence, pastoral communities could not gain the attention of researchers and policy makers. Pastoralists have also been largely excluded from the trajectory of development because of their non-sedentarized ways of living, as their movement is seen as an aberration from conventional development processes of the state. State-sponsored development has mostly failed to attend to the lived realities of pastoralists, further reducing their access to pastures by introducing movement restricting policies, which has only increased pressures of sedentarization.

Furthermore, a pastoral woman is in a continuous engagement with forests, ecosystems, animals and land. Complex nature of their work has led to a failure to find their presence in literature and policies. The kind of labour they perform, their interaction with animals and ecology, and being in constant movement opens up ways to understand the role of women in the pastoral economy. It also allows possibilities to complicate the discourse on women and work from the perspective of non-sedentarized populations. **Understanding Pastoral Women's work: an exploratory study** is an attempt in this direction, to visibilize pastoral women's work and to broaden the understanding of women's work through engaging with lives of pastoral woman. Moreover, the attempt has also been to understand the role of ecological interactions of pastoral women (and pastoral community at large) in shaping the understanding of work as well as care. This has largely been the impetus to interact with the pastoral community and to bring forth, the understanding of relatedness which pastoral women have with various ecosystems and the work which they do.

Our entry in understanding the work and the relationship which women have with the ecosystem has been through Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP). We chose NTFP as an entry point because recent studies suggest that NTFP plays a significant role in Women's Economic Empowerment especially in the rural areas. Interactions around NTFP with pastoral women and the community led us deeper into the understanding of relatedness with ecosystems, animals and women's work, beyond the linear narrative of NTFP and women's economic empowerment. This entry point also gave us a conduit to engage in conversations around pastoral women's relationship to ecosystems and changing needs generated by the market's demand for NTFP but women's limited role in primarily the collection of NTFP. Further discussions around NTFP collection also led to unpacking the simple relationship between women and nature, and complicates the story of gendered division of labour.

Moreover, the increased pressures of sedentarization within the pastoral community, due to the trajectories in development, tourism, ecological changes etc. have also been leading to changes in pastoral economy and pastoral women's work. It has therefore been an important point of enquiry to understand the evolving nature of pastoral women's work because of the shifts due to sedentarization of the community and its impact on the overall nature and fabric of pastoral work.

In this study, we focus on Kangra district situated in the western part of Himachal Pradesh; Gaddi, Kanet (Rajput) and (Hindu) Gujjar pastoral communities specifically. Pastoralists of Kangra district, participate in long distance seasonal migration.

This study has used qualitative and participatory methods. Along with in depth interviews, oral histories were also conducted with elderly women in order to understand the changes in their work. With the aim of getting a more nuanced understanding of pastoral women's work and their relationship with ecology, participatory methods were used. The participatory workshop was designed in a way so that participants could interact and open up to share their experiences, and eventually reflect on it.

The study has highlighted that the relationship of pastoral women with forests and other ecosystems is beyond NTFP. The lives of pastoral women show us an interesting triad between women's work, their relationship with the forest and relationship with the animals. The triad presents itself as a complex web which we have tried to unpack through this research, giving us an opportunity to deepen the understanding of women's work. A range of multiple themes that emerge in the analysis of the data include: changing nature of land, women's work and embodiment, mobility of women and their relationship with animals and imagining different futures of pastoralism. The changing landscape of Himachal Pradesh viz. development, changes in ecosystems, advances of tourism industry and its impact on sedentarization, appears as a constant footnote to contextualize the changes which the pastoral community has been experiencing. The increasing collection of NTFP primarily by women and children due to the increased market demand has had an impact on both the ecological landscape as well as pastoral woman's work. It has become a situation where it is either NTFP or pastoralism and this has provided interesting insights into not just engagement with NTFP collection but also relationship with forests along with evolving women's work. Moreover, the linear connection made between pastoral women's mobility and their empowerment are ideas that get complicated with narratives about women's safety and increasing thefts of animals on migration.

Our conversations with pastoral women point to how their bodies become significant in defining their identities as well as the work that they do as pastoral women. At the same time, changing bodies and changing notions of labour keep their identities in a continuous process of transition. This complexity and the embodied nature of women's work doesn't often find space in the counting of work. The study therefore helps to broaden and deepen the understanding of women's work through the relation of body with labour, especially because of movement within different ecological spaces. It has also allowed in opening up changing notions and aspirations around work in the pastoral community. Further the understanding of care also seems to be enhanced with pastoral women's interactions and relationship with different ecological spaces, with animals and within their households (both in movement and when sedentary). And hence, the life of a pastoral woman offers us that conduit to understanding the invisibility of women's work in a more nuanced way.

After completing data collection, the research findings were disseminated with the youth in the pastoral community to create an engaging space for dialogues and questions about the future of pastoralism. We chose to talk to young people because through our interactions with older women and men from the community, a sense of uncertainty regarding the next generation and future of pastoralism was constantly emerging. There have been rapid changes in the region through forest laws, development projects, tourism industry etc., the occupation of pastoralism itself has undergone significant changes. Young people from the community experience these changes more acutely. Through dissemination workshops, we wanted to initiate a conversation about the occupation and future of pastoralism, work of pastoral women and a larger understanding of gender within the community. The attempt was also to understand the aspirations and needs of young people in the community, associations with pastoral work and changing notions of work, employment and livelihood. It helped us to think about possibilities of the ways in which technology can be introduced to make the work of pastoralism easier. At the same time it urged us to reflect on the presence of technology and its effect on the lives of the youth. There is a lot of potential, ideas and interest generated from the field to take the research further. Understanding changing systems (ecological and social), presence and access of technology, newer aspirations and understanding of work are potential points of further enquiry.

INTRODUCTION



Credits: Saeer Pawar

Pastoralism is practiced in multiple ways and forms. Conventionally, pastoralism has been defined as a subsistence pattern which revolves around domesticating large herds of animals (Bhasin, 2013). Pastoralists have a close relationship with the ecosystems they occupy and derive majority of their income from livestock keeping. Pastoralism at large requires mobility, where pastoralists practice transhumance or seasonal migration. With its range of ecosystems, India contains various diverse pastoral communities. Due to constant migration and dispersed existence, pastoral communities have not been able to gain the required attention of researchers and policy makers. Additionally, the trajectory of development discourse at large has kept most population groups which do not follow a sedentarized way of life out of its purview. Pastoralists in this sense, have been mostly excluded from the discourses of policy making because their movement is seen as an aberration from conventional development processes of the state. As a result, the studies on pastoralism in India have been limited.

Women belonging to the pastoral communities have been in interaction with the forests, animals and land, as part of their profession and life world. A nuanced nature of pastoral women's work, that underlies the said interaction, has not been explored in depth. This study, through unpacking the relationship which pastoral women have with the ecosystems¹ and various elements that occupy them, tries to develop an understanding of pastoral women's work and situate it in the larger discourse on women and work. The discourse on women and work has been primarily understood through sedentarized and settled communities, where categories of paid and unpaid work (including unpaid care work) have been used to understand women's work and their invisibilization. In the pastoral context the understanding of work can have multiple meanings and definitions which might not be explained by the current definitions in the discourse on women and work. This is because pastoral women exist in multiple relations with ecosystems which might be beyond the ambit of a human-human relationship. These relationships are intrinsic to her work. Moreover, they are constantly moving or in movement and cross multiple spaces. The idea of mobility further makes it difficult to understand their work in measurable ways. In that sense pastoral women's work needs a perspective that can help understand this complexity, within the larger discourse. This urges us to address the question of how we can understand '(pastoral) women and work' that is in movement, in transition, and how do we 'count' her labour in the most complex ways.

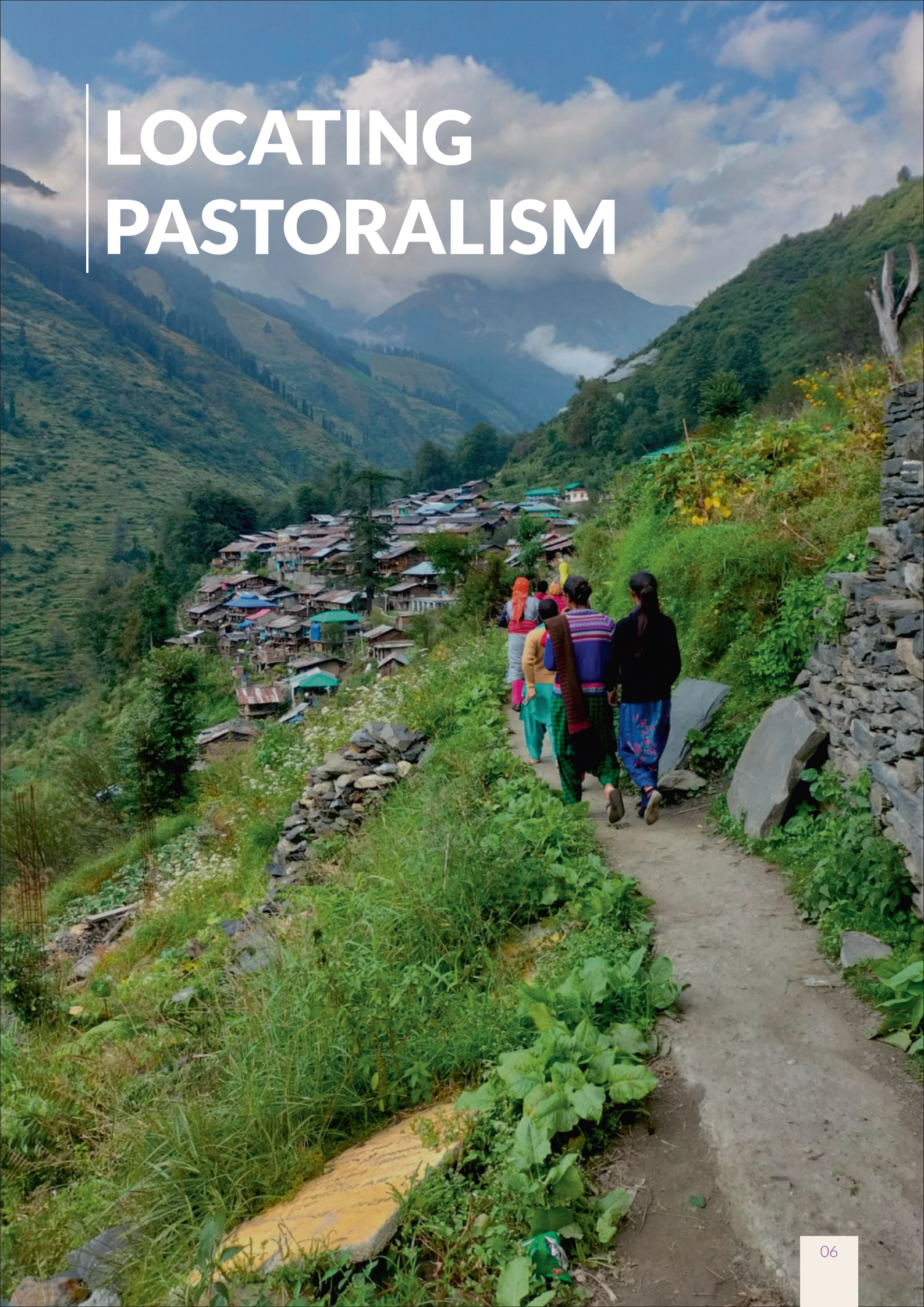
In order to understand the work of pastoral women, this study has taken Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) as an entry point. NTFP provided us with a vocabulary to begin our inquiry on what the relationship of women with forest has been. It was an entry point which opened up conversations and allowed us to reach multiple realms such as conservation and governance of ecosystems, economic empowerment and networks between humans and non humans. It acted as something tangible, a common vocabulary, for the insider (community) and the outsider (researchers) to complicate the discourse of women and work. There exists a body of literature which stresses on the role of women in the forest and the role of forest (as informal economy) in the lives of women (Maske, Mungole, Kamble, Chaturvedi and Chaturvedi, 2011). NTFP is considered to be an important vehicle in reducing poverty amongst the communities who interact with the forest on a regular basis. However, there are various ecological and bureaucratic challenges which restrict the interaction of populations with collection and processing of NTFP (Planning Commission, 2011). There has also been a growing literature which establishes the relationship of women with the forest, but despite this relationship most women who do the work related to NTFP remain missing in the value chain (IFAD, 2008). The role of NTFP has often been undervalued in the lives of people who engage in NTFP collection because of the control of multiple stakeholders on the produce or the final product of the produce. This research then provides a stepping stone to understand the role and significance of NTFP in the pastoral communities. It also attempts to throw some light on what potential does it hold to strengthen their relationship with the ecosystems and their work amidst changing times along with its economic potential. Lastly, the relationship between

¹ Ecosystems is an overarching term for the spaces which pastoralists largely interact with because of grazing their flock. Ecosystem in the context of this study can be understood forest of different kinds, pastures, meadows, orchards, farms and fields.

women and nature is often understood as a given. It is often assumed that women are more involved with nature and therefore, with the collection of the forest produce. While this establishes an ex officio relationship between women and nature which needs to be critiqued, pastoralism further complicates the picture. It does so because both men and women spend enough time in the forest. As a result, NTFP collection offers us an interesting vignette to understand the gender division of labour within the pastoral community.

However, it is important to be mindful about the fact that there has been massive sedentarization for pastoralists. Sedentarization involves a changed nature of interactions with the ecosystems as its purpose is to push for a settlement of the communities which are in movement. Hence to understand women's work, there is a need to understand the role of sedentarization and changed interactions/usage with NTFP of pastoral women. The research questions of this study focus on a dynamic understanding of women's work and their relationship with ecosystems, while also opening up possibilities of any potential for pastoral women's economic empowerment. The study through an interdisciplinary lens therefore, attempts to bring the lived realities of pastoral women which constitute interspecies relationships to the fore in order to unpack the work of a pastoral woman. This study is not just about bringing these realities to the fore but it also presents a way of working "together" with people from different orientations and backgrounds also emerged in this study which shall be highlighted repeatedly.

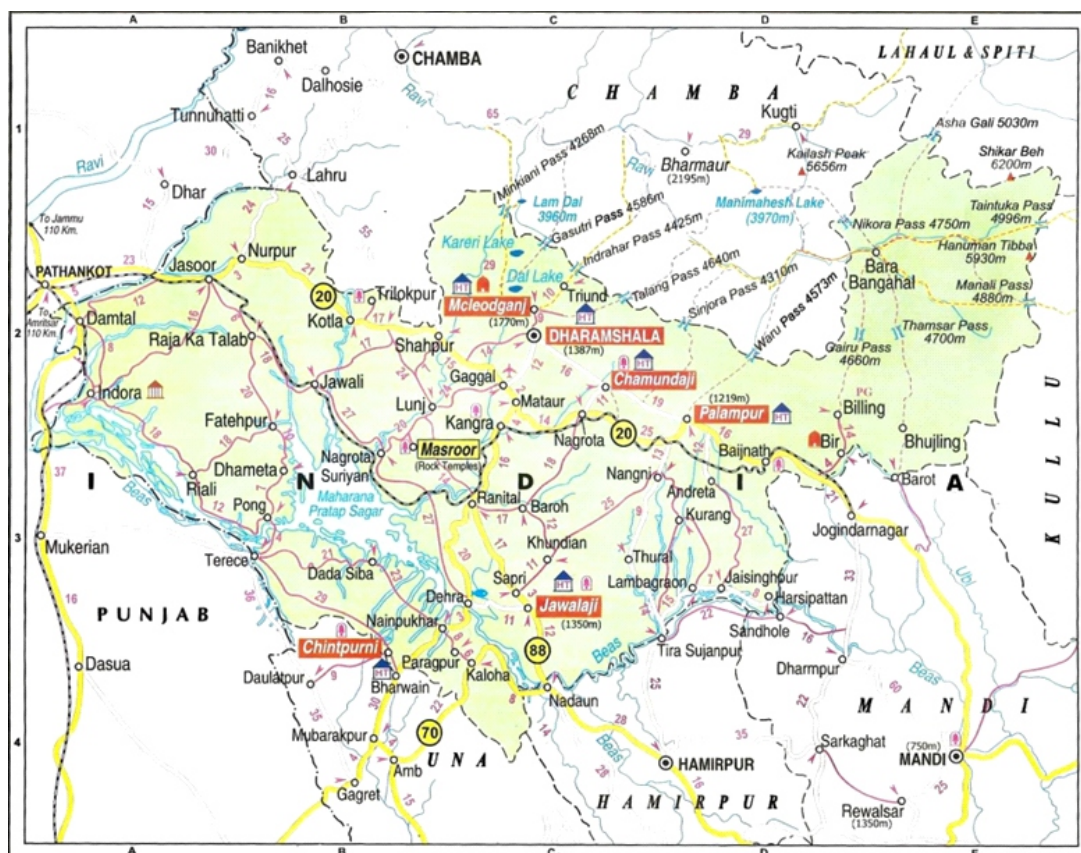
LOCATING PASTORALISM



Our work in Kangra district opened myriad ways of understanding the lived realities of transhumant pastoralists. In order to make sense of those experiences in a holistic way it becomes imperative to understand pastoralism and pastoral communities through various discourses. In the forthcoming sections we attempt to locate pastoralism and thereby pastoralists in different discourses that of development, ecology and women's work. We look at these three discourses particularly because of the interaction of a pastoralist with different institutions and ecosystems and how these are intrinsic to each of these discourses. A journey of locating pastoralism in these discourses would help us in understanding how pastoralism has been looked at historically and what have been the changes over time. Furthermore, this will also help us to make sense of our experience and conversations which we have had with pastoral women.

Pastoralists of Himachal Pradesh - An Overview

The geographical conditions of mountainous regions lead to a close relationship between humans and the environment, and exert an extraordinary influence on local communities, making 'ecological adaptation' a crucial element (Singh, 2018). Pastoralists living in the Himalayan region lead a semi-nomadic lifestyle determined to a great extent by the ecological conditions of the region. Pastoralists move up to the alpine pastures of the high Himalayas during summer and descend to the low-lying Himalayan foothills in the winter. 'Migratory pastoralism is common throughout the Himalayas and, from west to east, and some of the herding communities in the region include the goat and sheep herding Bakrawals of Jammu and Kashmir, the buffalo herding Gujjars in Kashmir, parts of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, the goat and sheep herding Gaddis, Kanets, Kaulis and Kinnauras in Himachal Pradesh etc.' (Sharma et. al, 1994). This study focuses on Kangra district in particular.



Map of Kangra district²

² Retrieved from <http://himachalpradeshtravel.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Tourist-Map-Kangra.jpg> on 20th May 2022

Gaddi Pastoralists of Kangra district, participate in long distance seasonal migration. Gaddis are a semi-nomadic community. 'Semi-nomadism' "combines the seasonal movement of livestock with seasonal cultivation. On their seasonal migration – largely with small livestock – the social group lives in mobile camps but also in permanent settlements." (Rinschede, 1987 as cited in sharma et al. 1994) The mobile settlements of the Gaddis are called dera. They migrate to highlands for summer pastures and return to lower regions during winters. 'Following winter grazing in Shivalik Scrub forests, in early April, herders begin to make their way northward, moving along the low mountain ranges that separate Shivaliks from Dhauladhar. By early May, Kangra Gaddis arrive in their villages, located on lower, southern slopes of Dhauladhar range.' (Sharma et. al, 1994) Over the years, through government efforts to sedentarize them, many Gaddis have obtained permanent houses and land in lower regions. Agro-pastoralism has become the norm for Gaddi community where agriculture is practiced alongside herding. 'The months of May and June are a particularly busy time in the Gaddi cultivation cycle because this is the time when the cultivators are required to harvest the winter crop and also prepare the fields for the monsoon.' (Sharma et. al, 1994) Instead of the entire family, only a few members of the family migrate with the flock. Several families now hire labour to migrate with their flock.

'Among the agro-pastoral Gaddis of Bharmour in Chamba, Himachal Pradesh, India, although agriculture provides the bulk of staple food, Gaddis themselves give major importance to the care and value of the sheep and goat. From animals they obtain additional food in the form of meat and milk, wool for clothing and cash for buying other necessities. (Bhasin, 2013).

It becomes important to clarify here the connotation of Gaddis used in the previous lines and in the report further. Gaddis are not homogenous but they have caste groups within them primarily Brahmins, Rajputs and Dalits. The Gaddis in the Bharmour region were granted Scheduled tribe status post-independence. The Gaddis in Kangra, then a part of Punjab, however were not granted the same status because the British believed that Punjab was not inhabited much by tribes (Christopher, 2020). In 1966, Kangra became a part of Himachal Pradesh and Gaddis started claiming for Scheduled Tribe status. In 2002, Gaddis of Kangra were also classified as Scheduled tribe but it was not true for all the Gaddis. Some Gaddi Brahmins let go of the ST status. Gaddi Scheduled Castes were absent from this ethnological survey, therefore they are not classified as Scheduled Tribe. Gaddi Scheduled Castes have since been arguing for a Scheduled Tribe status as also a recognition of being Gaddi. Gaddi Rajputs, whose primary occupation has been pastoralism, are classified as Scheduled Tribe and more often than not, are the image holders of Gaddis at large (ibid., 2020). We have also talked to Kanet Rajputs in the area. Kanet Rajputs often in the literature and in the purview of state are mentioned as Gaddis. However, they do not have the Scheduled Tribe status. Despite their multiple insistence on not being called as Gaddis, the state often does that and therefore, most of the academic work on Gaddis includes Kanets and homogenizes them as Gaddi Rajputs. Kanets however, have different culture and identity. This has been informed to us by various activists working in the area.

In this study we have also interacted with Hindu Gujjar pastoralists in Kangra. Gujjars are a community settled around the outskirts of Himachal Pradesh. Gujjars are also present majorly in parts of Jammu and Kashmir. (Sharma & Sharma, 2021) Gujjars are a semi-nomadic migratory community as well however they primarily herd cattle and buffalos. Gujjar community is mainly concentrated in Bilaspur, Chamba, Kangra and Una districts of Himachal Pradesh. 'Nomad and semi nomad Gujjars in Himachal Pradesh are all Muslim by religion while settled Gujjars are largely Hindu; though a few among them are Muslim' (Sahni, 2016 p.388). Majority of Hindu Gujjars lead a sedentary lifestyle and rear buffalos as their primary occupation. It is important to remember that the relationship between pastoralism and tribe is not a given and it is crucial not to essentialize this relationship. Pastoralism is practiced by some Gaddis, some Kanets, some Gujjars and not by the entire communities. Therefore, in most places, we have referred to these groups as 'pastoralists'.

Development: the contours of inclusion and exclusion

The coming in of the modern state was also accompanied by the coming in of capitalism. This impacted the way people worked and how they could be controlled. Since the underlying principle of capitalism was to maximize output, it produced an idea of 'normal body' and 'productivity' which had undertones of exploitation. Certain sections of the population couldn't fall within these set definitions of the state-capital nexus. This included the unproductive or the social undesirable populations, wanderers, vagabonds or nomads (Rana, 2011). Especially for a country like India, it was difficult for the colonizers to govern because of its vast diversity and cultural differences. The urge to govern the population asked for the 'data' but for it was difficult to collect data for various communities in India given their way of life. In other words, governance of the communities which were on the move was difficult. Hence, there was a strong urge to force people to sedentarize in order to make governance easier. In the Indian context, one can see the coming together of Santhal Pargana³ regions and the (changed) practice of agriculture. It was not only about governing human beings but also governing natural resources. The move out of the forests ensured better control over the forest produce (especially Timber) and hence larger revenues.

One of the ways in which the natural resources were controlled was through law. From the mid-nineteenth century, Waste Land Rules were enacted in various parts of the country by which uncultivated lands were taken over and given to select individuals to settle down and cultivate. In most areas the lands taken over were actually grazing tracts used regularly by pastoralists.⁴ Similarly, 'by the mid-nineteenth century, various Forest Acts were being enacted in the different provinces. Through these Acts some forests which produced commercially valuable timber like deodar or sal were declared "Reserved". In Himachal Pradesh, the kings of small princely states, to whom the land and forest belonged at the time, 'actively encouraged Gaddi grazing since it provided him with revenue from lands that were of no value by themselves. The kings gave herders rights to graze specific tracts of forest lands, called bans in the winter grazing grounds and dhars in the summer grazing grounds. (Vasant, 1994). However, post the introduction Waste Land Rules, no pastoralist was allowed access to these forests. Other forests were classified as "Protected". In these, some customary grazing rights of pastoralists were granted but their movements were severely restricted. These Forest Acts changed the lives of pastoralists. They were now prevented from entering many forests that had earlier provided valuable forage for their animals. Even in the areas they were allowed entry, their movements were regulated. They needed a permit for entry which made it difficult for the pastoralists to migrate. This has largely been the way in which colonizers have gone about governing and organizing different communities so that they fall into the language of the modern state as population and beneficiaries (Scott, 1998).

The urge to control people at large also came from eugenics, which was gaining popularity in Britain. This pseudo-science informed that genetics are closely associated with criminality and therefore in order to reform certain communities whose way of life was probably beyond the understanding of modern state and the capitalist ethic, were deemed as criminals. Therefore, in India, the communities who were on the move were seen as a threat. They were also labelled as lazy or unproductive in order to be reformed (Rana, 2012). In order to initiate this reform, the Criminal Tribes Act 1872 was introduced in India where certain tribes were identified and criminalized. However, post independence the act was repealed and the category of Nomadic tribes and denotified tribes was used. Despite this change the Indian development trajectory has failed to include the presence and experience of the non-sedentarized population.

³ See Shukla, P. K. (2009, January). Adivasi peasantry's struggle for land-rights and the quest for identity: a study of colonial chotanagpur and santhal pargana (Jharkhand). In Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (Vol. 70, pp. 471-481). Indian History Congress

Post-independence the development trajectory in India began with the modernization theory where the aim was to move towards modern forms of economic organizations i.e., pumping in large amounts of capital to transition from a rural economy to an industrial one (Leys, 1996). This was followed by allowing for a structural change through import substituting industrialization. The limits of this approach were soon realized and the market was seen as a significant institution for development. The opening of the market was based on the tenets of neoliberalism which posited that market oriented reforms would lead to a trickle-down effect and benefits to the poor would reach slowly. It is important to point out that neither of the approaches were sensitive towards ecology as they were premised on the large scale extraction of nature. Hence; they were exploitative towards people who inhabited forests or had a relation with nature. (Shiva, 2010, Chakrabarti and Dhar, 2012). These limits of neoliberalism were soon realized in India. However, it still continues to persist in India in its most insidious forms but to move ahead from the neoliberal paradigm in a limited way, inclusive development was introduced which was about people centric and participatory approach to development (Chakrabarti and Dhar, 2012). This involved introducing a series of policies and acts such as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act or Forest Rights Act in 2006.

Forest Rights Act (FRA) of 2006 is an Act that recognizes and vests the forest rights as well as occupation in forest land to traditional forest dwellers whose rights had not been recorded before. The Forest Rights Act was passed by the Parliament of India in 2006, however it came into force on January 1, 2008. The Himachal Pradesh government implemented the Act only in scheduled (tribal) areas in 2008 and only in 2012-13 in the entire state⁴. Implementation of FRA falls under a hierarchy of agencies like Department of Tribal Affairs, State Level Monitoring Committee, District Level Committee and Gram Sabha. FRA claims, going through this chain of agencies, face hurdles due to regional and political power dynamics which at times results in claims staying frozen for years. Thus, even after a period of over a decade, implementation of FRA in Himachal Pradesh has been lagging (Joshi, 2019). One of the possible reasons for poor implementation of the law in Himachal is misinformation and lack of awareness about the law among the people as well as within the political machinery.

Hitherto the policies and laws introduced by India were from the perspective of sedentarized communities. Pastoralists have generally inhabited social and geographic spaces at some distance from the centers of power, they have been unable to influence the process of such policy formulations. (Vasant, 1994) Different Forest laws have shaped the forestland and lives of forest dwelling communities in Himachal Pradesh over the years - Indian Forest Act 1927, Wild Life Protection Act 1972, Forest Conservation Act 1980 and Environment Protection Act 1986 and they have been oblivious to the needs of pastoralists.

Sanctuaries and national parks established under Wild Life Protection Act 1972 played a role in restricting movement of pastoralists in the state of Himachal Pradesh. General public is legally restrained from destroying, exploiting, or removing any wildlife from the sanctuary, or destroying or damaging the habitat of any wild animal, or depriving any wild animal of its habitat in the sanctuary⁵. Today there are 26 wildlife sanctuaries in Himachal Pradesh, and the issue of wildlife conservation is still at forefront. Currently, Himachal Pradesh has a network of 5 National Parks, 28 Wildlife Sanctuaries and 3 Conservation Reserves covering 8391.42 km² which is 15 percent of the total geographical area of the state⁶. In June 2020, Himachal Pradesh Chief Minister Jai Ram Thakur said the government was strictly enforcing Wildlife Conservation Act in the state to protect various endangered species.⁷ In a nutshell, the idea of conservation has been influenced from a narrative which suggests that pastoralist movements contributes to degradation of biodiversity and therefore, pastoral communities barely find a mention in the state policies (Singh et. Al., 2021).

⁴ <https://www.himdhara.org/>

⁵ <https://hpforest.nic.in/>

⁶ Multiple sources such as official forest website of the state or various newspaper articles have made varying claims on the number of wildlife sanctuaries in Himachal Pradesh. While the official website of Himachal Pradesh Forest department records 26 wildlife sanctuaries, some recent articles put the number T 28.

⁷ <https://www.thestatesman.com/india/hp-strictly-enforcing-wildlife-act-to-save-endangered-species-1502904729.html>

Such developments create a shortage of grazing land. To tackle this, pastoralists enter into a variety of arrangements to obtain the forage they require: herders lacking forage would commonly adjust with herders who have a surplus of forage and herders would increasingly buy winter grazing in the neighboring states of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. (Vasant 1994) There was a struggle for community rights over forests which had emerged from issues like insecurity of land tenure and access rights, lack of recognition of community conservation initiatives in forest management, lack of recognition of traditional governance and resource ownership in tribal areas, and threats to community lands and forests from development projects⁸.

FRA is probably only one of the few laws which helped pastoral communities to maintain their relationship with land and gave them hope to continue their work. FRA recognizes the community rights with respect to conservation and management of the forest land. In addition to the community rights, FRA also grants pastoralists access to forests in order to graze their animals, conduct seasonal migration and collect NTFP⁹. Referred as 'minor produce' in FRA rulebook, NTFP includes 'all non-timber forest produce of plant origin including bamboo, brush wood, stumps, cane, tussar, cocoons, honey, wax, lac, tendu or kendu leaves, medicinal plants and herbs, roots, tubers and the like'.¹⁰ NTFP is used for sustenance as well as income in various ways, contributing significantly to the livelihoods of people living in rural areas. Historically, pastoral communities have been using NTFP primarily for sustenance, however data from this study indicates that NTFP and especially medicinal herbs are now being sold in the market for high profit. This will be discussed in detail in further sections.



Women and Ecology: Finding the pastoral woman

Feminist perspective and a gendered analysis had been absent from the ecology discourse for a long time. It was during the 1980s that studies around women as prominent stakeholders in ecology and development discourse began to gain prominence. Attempting to place gender in ecology discourse, ecofeminism emerged in response to the nature-culture dualism embedded in the philosophy of Western rationality. In her book *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* (1989), Vandana Shiva wrote about an intimate link between domination of women,

⁸ <https://www.fra.org.in/document/pg%2033-40%20-%20tushar.pdf>

⁹ The history of the term Non timber forest produce tells us about the ways in which there was an attempt to account and understand the economy of people who were dependent on the forest. The sustainable development paradigm gaining prominence in the world led to an increased demand for recognition of the forest thereby, bringing in NTFP to put forward the point that forest is a source of many products. It was also an attempt to view the economies of the forest beyond timber (Belcher, 2003).

¹⁰ From FRA rulebook, page 3.

especially women from developing countries, and domination of nature. 'She drew a contrast between the dominant forces of science, development, colonialism, patriarchy, and capitalism which 'destroy life and threaten survival' and 'the suffering and insights of those [women] who struggle to sustain and conserve life' (1989, p. xii). She used the Chipko Movement as an example of rural women's leadership in forest and environmental preservation. The early ecofeminist approach however had several shortcomings, homogenization of women being the most notable among them. Focusing on the link between women and nature, ecofeminism ignores other markers of identity like class, caste, tribe, region etc. that contribute to the social position of an individual. Furthermore, it establishes an essentialist link between nature and women. It warns us to be careful of this connection but Shiva (1989) inadvertently insists that women belong to subsistence agriculture thereby reifying essentialism. Ecofeminism also essentializes women as the better provider of nutrition both to land and the humans thereby, adding on to the already exhaustive list of tasks and gender roles women are expected to perform.

Through such critique and a desire to foreground political aspects of earlier frameworks in ecology discourse, emerged the strand of Feminist Political Ecology. Individuals are embodied and emotional beings, shaped by intersections of gender, race, class, caste, culture, age (and so on), who have a dynamic complex relationship with nature. Moving away from the essentialist feminine subject, feminist political ecology proposes intersectional dynamic subjectivity¹¹.

An understanding of intersectional dynamic subjectivity is crucial while studying pastoralism. Migratory nature of pastoral community and their connect with animals, places them in a unique position. Pastoralists and especially pastoral women have been largely absent from the ecology discourse. Due to the influence of colonial developmental perspective in social and political rhetoric in India at large and Himachal Pradesh in particular, transhumance pastoralist movements were seen as a threat to environment. Although this perspective is gradually changing with implementation of laws like FRA, a nuanced understanding of pastoralism in relation to ecology discourse is still lacking. Pastoral women, for example, have been largely invisible from ecology discourse despite her deep connection with the forest and environment. In order to effectively engage with this invisibilization, one needs to take into account the political nature of the forest.

'Within debates over the political ecologies of enclosure, resource access and control in South East Asia, the phrase 'political forest' has been coined to capture a particular constellation of territorialized power, expressed in ideas, practices and institutions that place spatial limits of peoples' ability to access and utilize lands, providing recognition and legitimacy to some, whilst excluding and criminalizing others' (Peluso and Vandergeest, 2001 as cited in Elmhirst, 2011). When one interacts with political space of forest one also has to tackle other aspects of that land like development projects, encroachments tourism industry, set boundaries of reserved forests or sanctuaries etc. At the same time, for women norms of the community are also more stringent as religion gets conflated with forest. Women are not allowed to enter spaces in forests considered sacred by the community. The sacred spaces or sacred groves have long been applauded as a community based conservation model. However, studies have shown that conservation may be only an unintentional by-product of these spaces (Vasan and Kumar, 2006) which tend to be misogynistic in nature, denying access to women. This aspect affects pastoral women in a unique way, which will be discussed in detail in next sections.

The relationship of pastoralists with various ecosystems is complicated but might not entirely be an exploitative one. However, for the purpose of exploiting natural resources, forest space is politicized through various development projects, increasing privatization of land, forest laws controlling access to the forest etc. The understanding of forest

¹¹ Intersectionality is a framework that views human experiences in discrimination and privilege as shaped by multiple social and political positions. (Runyan, 2018) Rather looking at each social and political positions like gender, caste, class etc. independently, intersectionality requires one to consider how they overlap forming a dynamic subjectivity.



as a resource is perhaps exclusionary of the people who inhabit forests or have an intimate relationship with nature. The roots of this exclusion can be traced in colonialism because the British understood the people who had intimate relationships to the forest akin to animals (Govindarajan, 2018). Hence, the discourse around sedentarization as mentioned in the previous section was significant to one, take over the forest as a resource and two, civilize the uncivilized. The understanding of policies post colonialism also show a flavour of colonialism as they have been mostly oblivious to the reality of the pastoralists.

In order to understand pastoral lives and their intimate connection with nature, it is imperative to begin with understanding the relationship between the human and the non-human. Govindarajan (2018) in her work 'Animal Intimacies: Interspecies Relatedness in India's Central Himalayas' provides an interesting vignette to unpack this relationship. She uses 'the concept of relatedness (Carsten 2000) to capture the myriad ways in which the potential and outcome of a life always and already unfolds in relation to that of another. To take these entanglements as constituting forms of relatedness is to acknowledge that one is not formed as a self in isolation but through the "doing and performing" of relations— both desirable and undesirable— with a host of other beings whose paths crisscross one's own in ways that defy the integrity of bodies and communities (Schneider 1984, 165– 66)'. Pastoral women, through their work are constantly "doing and performing" their relations with animals as well as with nature/ecology. Their everyday work constitutes their relationship with animals and nature, and is also a significant part of their identity as pastoralists. Many spend considerable amount of time with animals as pastoral women have the responsibility of nurturing and taking care of young animals in their flock. The close proximity forms a deep bond between the two. With increasing sedentarization and recent changes however, the relationship of pastoral woman with her animals is changing.

It is important to understand the nuance of relatedness pastoral women have with ecology. Viewing the relatedness of pastoral woman with her animals as a standalone gives us a fragmentary picture. Despite being absent from the Ecology discourse, pastoral woman occupies a unique position that can deepen our understanding of human-nature relationship. Pastoral woman relates with the forest through her animals. She does not relate to a space that is unwelcoming to her animals. As the forest space undergoes changes, pastoral woman must adapt her work and also negotiate her relationship with her animals.

Pastoral women's work and their exclusion(s)

The invisibility around women's work has been highlighted by feminists over decades. The attempt to visibilize women's work was important because women's work was not considered as 'productive' work (productive considered only as work that carries exchange/use value in the market) and work that was only to be relegated within the household as 'reproductive' (reproductive work considered as only related to reproduction and of bearing children) work was reduced to women's work. Arendt (1998) further builds this analysis to describe capitalist processes as something that led to the development of a new sexual division of labour subjugating women's labour and construction of a new patriarchal order inspired by capitalism. It essentially involved exclusion of women from waged work and their subordination to men. It was also accompanied by the introduction of machinery reducing women's work to production of new workers. This is important to take into account what gets classified as labour and what gets counted as work. Arendt in being critical of Marx, describes labour as that which is of the body, and work that is of hands. A labour-ing body produces something that is 'consumed' and doesn't leave any sign behind.

"The distinction between productive and unproductive labour contains, albeit in a prejudicial manner, the more fundamental distinction between work and labour. It is indeed the mark of all labouring that it leaves nothing behind, that the result of its effort is almost as quickly consumed as the effort is spent" (Arendt, 1998, p. 87).

Arendt talks about the distinction between work as productive and labour as unproductive because of the result of the modern, capitalist economy, tracing labour back to slavery, menial jobs and work done by women. In that sense, women's work gets and has been obscured in these distinctions between work and labour, in history, literature and in capitalist frameworks. Moreover, the pastoral woman's work further gets absented due to the nature of their work, nature of the pastoral economy in the larger ecosystem and finds itself overlapping with pastoral work and labour as we

will see in the analysis section. This short take on the differentiation between labour and work is to point towards the overlaps between the two and to reiterate how one conflates into the other.

Women in the pastoral communities have been a peculiar category. They have been in interaction with the forests, animals and land (fields, meadows, pastures etc.), as part of their work and life world, in ways that haven't been deeply explored, especially in terms of the labour that they perform.

In the pastoral context, the understanding of work can have multiple meanings having a direct link to their interactions with the ecosystems they move in and inhabit in movement. Maru (2020) talks about (im)mobilities as a framework to understand pastoral lives and their movement. She says that being mobile or/and immobile is not a simple, neat binary for the pastorals. It is a complex web of

"Mobilities and immobilities are seen as experiential, differential and relational (Adey 2006). Expressed as a unity, as '(im)mobilities' (Urry, 2003), they co-constitute each other and emerge together" (Maru, 2020, p.3).

relationships found between mobility and immobility that pastorals place themselves in. “Mobilities and immobilities are seen as experiential, differential and relational (Adey 2006). Expressed as a unity, as (im)mobilities (Urry, 2003), they co-constitute each other and emerge together” (Maru, 2020, p.3). With this understanding of the pastoral life, the labour of pastoral women then becomes a complex category. It needs to move beyond the discourses often tied to binaries, largely based on the understanding of settled and sedentarized communities. However, in order to do that it is still important to understand the discourse around women’s work, the arguments put forth and the struggles that continue to impinge upon the same. It is important to then make sense of pastoral woman’s work and its exclusion in the discourse that already exists.

The discourse around women and work can be primarily understood through some of the following debates that have been made by feminist economists and historians. First is the debate around the false binaries made between the public and private; productive and reproductive labour. These binaries have reinforced the male breadwinner model. Joshi (2008) examines the presence of women’s role in history and mentions that even though this was a discourse from the west but it was adopted in the Indian context as well, pointing to the gendered history of labour. However, this didn’t mean that women’s labour got reduced. Their extensive role in the rural (agricultural) economy, showed the connections between male migration and intensification of women’s invisible labour.

Samita Sen’s (1999) historical work on women’s labour in Bengal, points out that the separation between the public and private, home and work was not there in the early periods of industrialization. It is the discourse of the male breadwinner which was based on the masculinist ideals of skilled labour, status, valorization and devalorization of skilled versus cheap labour. The Victorian and the Brahminical notions of morality, moral righteousness, respectability were key ideas to launch domesticity and seclusion for women. Sen’s work on women workers in Jute mills shows that women were involved in every department till around 1920’s. But over the years, the employers have depicted clear prejudice and bias towards women workers, in giving work that involves cheap labour, preference of male workers over women workers, devaluing women’s work and valorizing men’s labour. Further, when technology and skill became more predominant, women became concentrated in cheap labour and poorly paid jobs, building on the domesticity discourse.

John (2013) helps elucidate the fact how women’s unpaid labour is largely dependent on the institutions of family and marriage. Because women are fundamentally living in relations of “dependency”, initially as a daughter to the family and then subsequently tied to marriage. Further with lack of any property rights, land or access to assets expands the dependency situation for women workers and its ramifications for them. This John (2013) points to the centrality of household and family in the context of women’s labour in India. Now to understand this in the context of the pastoral woman, complicates the situation further. As institutions of household and family are important in the pastoral community too, and the pastoral woman worker in that sense is placed very much within the familial structure of participating in pastoral labour. So the dependence remains, but perhaps their nature changes because the way this community moves through different ecosystems, occupies different landscapes and the relationship that women have with these spaces. Her unpaid labour nonetheless involves drudgery, devaluation and unrecognition within the family and household. Also sedentarization has opened a process of transition in understanding the space of family and household as complex and not packed in neat binaries of dependency¹².

Further another set of debates in the discourse around women’s work, talks about the increasing declining rate of the female labour force participation. These debates brought to the fore the immediate need to understand the

¹² In saying this, one recognizes that the lives of pastoral women are different but in order to mark the difference from women in sedentarized communities, one has to walk on the tightrope of also not exoticizing and essentializing pastoral women. Moreover, there are overlaps and similarities with women from other communities which cannot be taken away and important in developing solidarities.

dynamism and multiplicity of women's work and gave extra emphasis on the unpaid work (and unpaid care work) that women are involved in. Ghosh (2014) attributes the declining female labour force participation to more women and girls entering education and better household income. However, the problems of data collection and because most of the unpaid work that women do, remains uncounted continues to be the larger issue. Ghosh also mentions the problems of how work and economic activity are defined and how it limits the counting of women's work.

Moreover, the changes that the era of liberalization and open markets brought in were significant in the already existing forms of (informal) labour and the inequities that it created. With the entry of export markets, and the focus on production and manufacturing of almost all products drastically shifted how workers were now placed in the market.

These changes intertwined with existing patriarchal structures that governed the manner in which women workers entered the market space. Ghosh (2002) highlights the link between export employment and feminization of employment. Women workers were preferred because of their willingness to accept lower wages as well as inferior conditions of work. There was flexibility in employing them as they could be removed at any point due to life cycle-related changes (marriage, children) and the low possibility of them unionizing.

In the context of pastoral woman's work, these discourses on female labour force participation become urban and limiting, because a) their work and contribution remains uncounted and invisibilised in the economy, also because of the larger problem of the invisibilisation of the pastoral community from data itself b) changes that came through liberalization and development impacted pastoral women's work in relation to shifts in ecology, increasing sedentarization, education and changing pastoral economy. Further data from the rural, primarily points to the informal nature of work done by women primarily in agriculture, self-employment and casual labour. This data comes from the post-liberalization era, when informality and casual labour increased, with 94.4% of rural female workforce involved in both self-employment and casual informal labour (NSSO 2011-12)¹³. This however, still doesn't help in explaining pastoral women's work both because of the limitation of categories and binaries and because of the complicated nature of how pastoral economy and pastoral work is organized.

The Oxfam- India Inequality Report (2019)¹⁴ talks about how Indian women's unpaid work plays a crucial role in sustaining economic activity, equivalent to 3.1% of GDP. However, much of the contribution goes unrecognized or is incorrectly measured, amounting to a "systemic transfer of hidden subsidies to the economy". The India Exclusion Report (2015) emphasizes the importance of decent work as a responsibility of the state and a necessary intervention in order to address the structural inequality towards women's just access to work.

The purpose of these rather brief glimpses of the above discourses has been the following: a) to highlight 'exclusion' of pastoralism, while talking about development, ecology and (women's) work. Furthermore, the exclusion of pastoral women is exemplified because of patriarchy already existing within the community.

¹³ <https://www.indiaspend.com/90-of-jobs-created-over-two-decades-post-liberalisation-were-informal/>

¹⁴ https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/time-poverty-indian-women-spend-a-huge-portion-of-their-day-on-unpaid-work-119032500121_1.html



Also, the context of pastoral women helps us think about mobility in a complicated way and not simply a linear correlation between women's agency defying patriarchy (Uteng & Tanu, 2012). The life of a pastoral woman then offers us an interesting vignette to understand the complicated relationship between mobility and empowerment, especially with effects to increasing sedentization in the community¹⁵. b) the section tries to highlight the absence of a conversation between the discourses on ecology and work that are central to understanding pastoral women's work. The attempt in this research then, is to create conversation with(in) these discourses and allow the emergence of a space of a nuanced and complex understanding of women's work.

¹⁵ This point is discussed in detail in the section on Analysis.



METHODOLOGY

The thought of going back to the mountains and the proposition of being able to meet and understand the pastorals, pastoral women in specific, was what propelled us to write a proposal for this study. However, at the same time we were also aware of the romanticisation attached to both the mountains and the pastoral communities. As there was a definite sense of the long exhausting treks that one had to make to reach 1 pastoral woman and her family. Or to lose out on complete connection for long periods when our co researcher (belonging to the pastoral community) would go to places to respond to emergencies faced by the pastorals and to live with the fear that we will lose out on everything. These were beginnings and also processes that travelled with us, making us critical as well as humbled by what the field, community, terrain has in store for us.

The research in the mountains and with the pastoral community was exciting enough for some of us to go back to and rekindle our connections previously made. But it was also the sense of longing, curiosity and relating to, that we went back to, through this research. It was perhaps, researching through and with 'emotion' as Sara Ahmed would say, as emotions are not just "psychological dispositions" but rather work in concrete and particular ways mediating the relationship between "the psychic and the social and between the individual and collective" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 27). The idea then, to begin with this work was to engage with and build on the questions, relationships and traces that were opened up previously. We wanted to delve deeper into the processes through which pastoral women relate and engage with the ecosystems they inhabit as well as the changes in their lives and nature of work because of the larger socio economic and political changes. The attempt then was to contribute to the larger body of knowledge around women and work at multiple levels i.e. policy making, academia and the community. The contribution across these diverse spaces also called for a methodology through which the emotion could be kept alive and therefore, marked a difference from conventional research. At the same time, the study was also envisioned as an attempt to do collaborative work and unfurl a process of transformation, albeit in a limited way, within the researchers, co-researcher (Pawna) as well as the people who this research engages with.



The Beginning

In terms of previous connections with Himachal Pradesh (specifically Kangra) that we have been mentioning and that helped us in building this study, were primarily formed during a research project in 2018. The research wanted to understand the pastoral community at large and pastoral women in specific in Himachal Pradesh and 2 other states in India. It primarily focussed on understanding the changes within the different practices (rearing animals, migration routes, cultural and religious practices etc.) in the pastoral community in India, and how that has an

impact on the lives of women in the pastoral community. It was the 'Centre for Pastoralism' along with 'Sahjeevan', an organization working in Gujarat, that took the lead in setting up contacts with field organizations across different states and researchers in these areas. However, in Himachal Pradesh, the tie-up for assistance in field work wasn't with a registered organization but with a people's movement. Research assistance was provided at different points by this team for the above project at different stages in different sites. One researcher on this team was working in Himachal Pradesh for over a year. And it was these connections that we had tiringly cultivated over a period and saw the potential in sustaining and deepening them with people working at the grassroots in Himachal Pradesh.

Moreover, with this study there was an attempt to expand on the question of pastoral women and their labour, within the larger ambit of rights-based work for the pastoral community that the movement was already doing. It was important to bring in the question of women's labour as stated earlier because a) we didn't know much about the pastoral woman and her labour especially with almost an absent articulation even within the community, b) how could

this knowledge about pastoral women's work contribute to the larger discourse on women's work, c) how does the knowledge about pastoral women's work help us in understanding the pastoral community and why was it crucial to do that if we were to think of long-term work with(in) the community. Hence, the research questions were: These were the questions with which we approached and re-kindled our connections with Pawna in Himachal Pradesh.

- **How various processes like that of sedentarization have changed/transformed the role of work in pastoral women's life and hence, contributed to a changed understanding of women's work?**
- **What are the processes through which pastoral women engage with NTFP and how does this contribute to their understanding of 'work'?**

This wasn't an easy process at all, even though there was definitely a sense of trust of having worked together previously. Pawna (who was going to be our primary contact from the movement, also belonging to a pastoral family) was kind enough to be our co researcher and work together for some months. However, there were anxieties about taking this journey together. The apprehensions were at both ends where our researcher self was concerned about conveying the purpose of this research as well as its methodology, and constantly reminding Pawna as also ourselves that the knowledge production cannot be extractive. For Pawna, the apprehension was about if this study would be any useful to the community or like other research it would be circulated only in some specific circuits. As we progressed, the attempts were made to move from our respective subject positions and understand the process of research. The movement was not linear for any of us. It was a rather back and forth, to and fro but it was sustained by some level of trust in each other. Perhaps these "encounters" with emotions have in some sense also provided the hope of attachment(s) and movement(s) that have made connections and collaborations amenable, contingent and sustainable. In other words, our continuous attempt has been to relate to the field in an intimate manner and allow the field to enter our lives just as we entered the field with our lives. This was a long-term imagination and we had a limited project timeline of 10 months. And we have tried our best to keep this imagination alive, however project timelines and its limitations have in some way or the other restricted the possibilities in how much and in what ways, we could also expand.

Methods

The first round of fieldwork was scheduled in September 2021. We travelled to the villages of Kangra district to talk with pastoral women. We decided to do oral histories with some elderly women in order to understand the changes. Oral histories didn't only give us the life story of the women as she sees it but also some significant details around the context. The oral histories were accompanied with in depth interviews. The larger themes covered in the interviews were around the relationship with animals and forest, migration, gender division of labour in different spaces and changes in work over a number of years. During our conversations, many women became nostalgic while talking about their animals, about how their work and the forest used to be few years ago and how it has changed. The conversations in itself led many to remember certain things they had forgotten, especially in relation to forest and their migration.

We had also planned some FGDs around the question of migration and interaction with the forest to bring forth a collective understanding on some elements of pastoralism. The data collection was supposed to happen over two rounds with equal number of interviews and FGDs to be conducted. The FGD was done in Judhar village to unpack the relationship between work and migration but it did not pan out as expected. The FGD was set up in a common area.

The women in the group did not seem comfortable speaking up. It was a mixed group and two men were dominating the conversation. Multiple people were speaking at the same time (in Pahadi) and it was difficult for Pawna to translate all the responses for us. However, it did give us significant insights on forest lands in different spaces and sustainability in NTFP collection.

It was also during our interactions over a few days we realized the challenges of collaboration. Pawna had been working in the area for around 20 years. However, her experiences of working with women were rather limited. As a movement, their work with the pastoral communities has largely been men specifically around the issues of land rights and income generation. Secondly, Pawna belonged to a Kanet pastoral family and initially for her an enquiry into the women's work and everyday didn't feel significant. As a result, the understanding of gender and the significance of study gender in the pastoral community had to be communicated to her at every step. The work then was not just about doing an exploratory study on the labour of the pastoral woman and her relationship with the ecosystems but it was also about working together, the four of us, to develop a shared way through which we can have an understanding of pastoralism and the intricacies of gender within it.

While the process of collaboration continued, what seemed to be getting slipped away or hidden was the conversation around the work of a woman. The everydayness about the work of women was constantly getting invisibilized. As we went back to our conversations, we realized that the conversations around work have only featured in a limited way. The FGD in Judhar was significant in making us reach this realisation. Some of the interviews were hinting at the nature of work which a woman is expected to do on migration and the changes in it but mostly what was stressed upon by most women was the equal division of labour between men and women. However, what this conversation left us with was a curiosity as also a question. One, is the work equally divided? Two, even if it is equally divided does women's work get valued as that of men? These questions then initiated a process of reflection towards thinking of ways in which the conversation around work, labour and the labouring body could be brought to the fore. Our experiences had informed us that one on one conversations or direct questions around work were not perhaps the best way to initiate conversations on work because it was being invisibilised. The invisibility in itself was an indicator of the gender-labour conduit in the pastoral life world. While this was significant the question then was through what means could we allow the intricacies of gender and labour to come to the fore.

Inevitably, our field guided us to go back to our methods. The question of labour and gender was diffused or indistinct to be articulated within our use of methods. Our methods helped us in understanding the lives of pastoral women, albeit partially. The unsaid was a "mess of social worlds" which our methods did not touch upon (Brown and Nash, 2010). In order to embrace this mess (Ghazni and Brim, p. 13) the field urged us to find new ways of knowing, learning and relating. This urge led to an active experimentation of methods which were playful and offered new ways of learning and relating in order to open up the question of gender and labour. We resorted to the use of participatory methods which offered us two approaches of engaging with pastoral women. One, as we have been saying is to unpack the experiences and knowledge which are emotional, ephemeral, slippery and hidden in nature. In other words, experiences which fall beyond the ambit of oral language and articulation. Two, it allowed us to engage in a more democratic form of research practice which altered our ways of relating with pastoral women and therefore led to conversations which were not only important for the study but equally important for the women who we were doing this research with. In this sense, participatory methods also promised some form of transformative potential.

The transformative potential of participatory methods can be understood through three core principles. First, the participants are actively involved in the research process; second, there is co-ownership of the research process and outcome; last, any investigation of a phenomenon builds on what people know, accessing their local knowledge. Articulating the principles of participation and accessing local knowledge in relation to dialogism and dialects illustrates their potential to account for human action.' (Van der Riet, 2008). During Round 2 in February 2022, we organized a two day participatory workshop with pastoral women from Baijnath block with a purpose to develop a shared understanding of gender and labour and relatedness with the ecosystems in the pastoral lifeworld. The

workshop was designed in a way where people could come, get to know each other and open up slowly to share their experiences and eventually reflect on it.

While the plan was all set, it was extremely difficult to get women together for the workshop. Some of them affirmed that they would come but then had to go for migration, some of them expressed the household work, dependence of family members for daily chores and the lack of time thereof, for some it was that time where they would meet some relatives as it would be difficult to find time on other days. This in itself was quite telling about the dimensions of labour which pastoral women do. It is imperative to also mention that this was the first time for Pawna to mobilize women. The work of Pawna has largely been with the community at large where it is mostly men who they engage with. Hence, both for Pawna and for women it was an entirely new experience to come together to spend some time and think about themselves as well as the nature of work they engage in. Somehow, we managed to work with 7-8 women who were meeting each other for the first time. As we progressed with the workshop, we realized that the methods had to be constantly adapted for the women as there was a resistance to open up. This was because they were meeting each other for the first time and as mentioned above, they had also come together for the first time in such a setting.



Further during this process, it was also realized that we needed to understand and make sense of women's work embedded within the pastoral community at large. We wanted to understand who collected the forest produce they gathered from the forest, what relation and negotiations did women and traders make as they sold and bought the forest produce. We talked with some older pastoral men to understand the interlinkages between the work which men did and women did. Also, how did changes in the pastoral economy, community and the ecosystem affect pastoral women's work and if these changes are acknowledged at all? These conversations helped us to bring together various utterances during the workshop and place it in the larger context of rapid sedentarization.

The following table summarizes various data collection methods used for the study and number of people we spoke to:

Table 1

Methods	Block	Number	
		Round 1	Round 2
Oral History (Women)	Baijnath	2	
Interview (Women)	Baijnath, Bhawarna	7	
Interview (Men)	Baijnath	1	2
Interview (Men- Traders)	Baijnath		3
Interview (Youth)	Baijnath		3
FGD	Baijnath	1 (with 7-8 people, mixed group)	1 (with 4-5 adolescent girls)
Workshop	Baijnath		1 (two day workshop) with 7-8 women)

Taking it back: conversing through the study with community

Conventionally, methodology is understood as the process of obtaining knowledge through means which usually takes place within the dyad of 'researcher' and the 'researched upon'. The knowledge then becomes a product of the organization where the research is housed at and further shared or is accessible to a specific set of people who possess a certain kind of language. Biddle (2010) borrowing from Foucault argues that research is more like a capitalist endeavour where the process of knowledge production is understood through capitalist production. This research, in its own limited ways, attempts to mark a difference from this process of knowledge production. For us, dissemination was not only about verifying our findings. We attempted to work with the experiences of the pastoral community and take those experiences back in the community for the following reasons. One, to initiate conversations about gender roles and patriarchy within the community. Two, to develop some understandings together with the youth about the nature of patriarchy within the pastoral society. Lastly, to talk about the future of pastoralism and come together to think about how it can be continued in a sustainable way.

We did not want this study to talk to only a specific set of people but we wanted it to have a wider reach in a way that it could be used to initiate questions. As Pawna writes, through this study we tried to talk about women in ways which underlines their work and open up a space for people to understand women differently. We talked about this study and our conversations with various people who practice pastoralism or are in some ways linked with it to young people. We chose to talk to young people because there have been rapid changes in the region through forest laws, development projects, tourism industry etc., the occupation of pastoralism itself has undergone significant changes, and pastoralists are in a position where they have to drastically and constantly adapt to these changes just to continue their work. Through our interactions with older women and men from the community, a sense of uncertainty regarding the next generation and future of pastoralism was constantly emerging. There was a dismissal of the younger generation as being too familiar with modern comforts to take up the work of pastoralism. Alongside this dismissal, was also an aspiration for them to have a future that is considered desirable in a modernity/development discourse; for example, higher education, stable job (preferably govt. jobs) etc. Conversations with young people also showed us that they are right at the center of rapid changes mentioned above, as they experience the alarming pace of these changes perhaps more intensely and have to negotiate their position constantly.

Hence, reaching the youth through and with this study was the path which our experiences in the field were showing us¹⁶. While who would we approach was decided but where would we do this and how would we do this was something we were struggling with. After numerous conversations within the team, we decided that we could go to schools for a brief interaction and do a longer interaction with some young people who Ghumantu Pashupalak Mahasabha wanted to work with. The study therefore, also gave the movement a stepping stone to mobilize young people from different areas in the district.

We interacted with four groups across the age group of 15-22 years. The three groups were of school students who studied in classes 9th-12th in the schools of Bir and Lohardi. The interaction time with them was limited as the schools could give us one an hour with each group. We had to be deft enough to ensure an interactive session with the students. We decided to make a story of the narratives which we had collected during the data collection of this study. The structure of the interaction was to begin with something which is playful yet gives us a segue to the conversation

¹⁶ Interacting with the youth and seeing them negotiate their space in the midst of changes, the region which is their home and in the work of pastoralism was striking. Many, using video games and social media as an outlet, struggled to make sense of their identity as pastoralists while imagining a future for themselves within the confines of modernity. Seeing the content shared by them on social media, keeping up with latest trends and at times referring to a romantic idea of mountains and pastoralism, helped me (Sae Pawar) understand the everydayness of their negotiations

on gender and pastoralism and then move to discussing the purpose of our interaction followed by the story and ending with if anyone relates to the story¹⁷. We did the first iteration with a group of ten students in Bir where we began with asking them to write the first word which came to their mind as we said different words and phrases related to pastoralism and then the rest followed. As we shared the story with the group, they also gave us some inputs to refine the story and added some crucial details. With the other groups who we met at Lohardi school, we couldn't do the previous activity as each group had more than 30 students. Pawna took over and decided to ask the students to name various NTFPs they collect from the forest. This was because she knew that there are a lot of people who collect NTFP in the region and it would actually act as a good ice breaker. We continued with the same process and ended our discussion on the future of pastoralism.



The last interaction was with some young people who GPM has been trying to mobilize for some time. It was a one day workshop so we had the time and some liberty to do in depth discussions with them. We began with some activities through which we could be comfortable with each other and proceeded to other activities which opened up the question of gender, mobility, dignity of work and changing nature of work. We ended with some hopes or possibilities¹⁸ which would allow pastoralism in the region to be continued¹⁹.

Collaboration(s) and feminist processes

The methodology of this research as explained above relies a lot on active experimentation on various planes, attending to the needs of the community one is working with and places collaboration at the heart of this study. Our attempts on 'how' to do this study allude towards feminist research thinking and decolonial practices of researching and field work. Collaboration was a significant way in which we approached this work, both as a process as well as a practice. In other words, the attempt has been to not just understand collaboration as a method of research in a theoretical way but also to imagine, implement in as practical ways as possible. As mentioned, we continuously tried to push ourselves to reflect on our work, our positionalities, on our practices of 'doing' research, on spaces that this research would occupy- within the community and in the sector, and on creating accountability for ourselves as we engage in research. This is what feminist research practices of positionality and partial knowledge had taught us²⁰. Our work with Pawna, and through Pawna with GPM at large, in a close and in-depth way was an attempt to work "with", re-work and re-imagine processes and practices as well as the politics of doing research. It was also an attempt to break the silos not just of disciplinarity but also of activism and research.

¹⁷ Please see the annexure for the story.

¹⁸ We talk about this at length in the analysis section.

¹⁹ Please see the annexure for the schedule.

²⁰ Haraway's (1988) conception of 'partial knowledges' talks about an idea of feminist objectivity. She emphasizes on the meaning of embodiment in the feminist process of knowledge building and the idea of transformative use of 'vision' as a metaphor, where feminists could push for a 'better account of the world' (p. 579), while accommodating contradictory and controversial subject histories. Her insistence is that - "feminist objectivity" is about partial knowledges, it is about situated struggles, and "limited location" (p. 583). It is to become 'answerable' to learn how we see and what we see (ibid.).



Often collaborative research and participatory methods even if incorporated do not actually challenge any hegemonic practices within the academy/development sector, or in the way research 'writing' is done, published and circulated. The attempt in this work has been to challenge this hegemony of doing research and how could we possibly create avenues of thinking about accountable ways of reciprocity and representation of the community and of the co-researcher²¹.

We have written this work with a co-researcher reflecting on the collaborative experience of working together. As mentioned above, this is not a grand attempt to change the ways of doing research or writing. We have, in our own very small ways, tried to make an attempt to explore writing together. Collaboration as a feminist process is challenging and political, as it pushes for reflections on the power and privilege that we as researchers carry and how does it influence the work with the community and also vice-versa. The co-writing (writing workshops) with Pawna was an attempt in breaking down and reflecting on these practices, positions and assumptions that we hold coming from different locations and of the meanings that emerged through this process.. Collaboration then meant re-discovering paths previously treaded, walking together with disagreements and making meanings as they emerged in this process. Further working through this methodological process, what emerged as findings and analytic points of discussion, created a denser and deeper understanding of the pastoral community and pastoral women. In the words of Pawna, it helped us go to the roots and create a more horizontal understanding of the community itself. Also, because she hadn't thought of women's work and pastoral women in this manner before this research, it created a wider landscape and horizon to explore, understand and strategize the work with the community. The analysis has also given us a much broader as well as a nuanced picture of what women's work can mean in different contexts and settings.

²¹ One of the ways in which this hegemony has been attempted to be challenged was the way we collaborated at every step with the co-researcher on inputs about research methods, research questions, participants of research etc. It was also within the team, that an attempt has been made to place an equal footing of knowledge sharing, doubts, questions, uncertainties and also unknowingness and trying to travel together in this journey. The effort has been to create a space for the team, inclusive of our co-researcher and for each one of us, that of learning, fun, un-learning, also having difficult conversations and yet being able to come together to eat, enjoy, learn, sing and have a good laugh too.

FROM THE FIELD: LEARNINGS, FINDINGS, ANALYSIS



The previous sections give an overview about the field, how we engaged in the field and what were the theoretical underpinnings guiding our engagement in the field. We had some experience of the region and the way women were situated in pastoralism. Being in constant touch with Pawna also kept us informed about the changes, difficulties and joys of engaging in pastoralism. However, a deeper understanding of how women are situated in pastoralism was the starting point of our conversations with women. The attempt was to document the experiences of women amidst various socio economic and political changes they have been witnessing for years now. The documentation and the writing of this experience becomes significant as it brings out the history as also the present of those who have been hitherto hidden or excluded from the history. However, the purpose of research is not just to document experience. Scott (1992) reminds us that the work with experience is about establishing the relationship between experience and the discourse. The work is to ultimately look back at how experience has been generated and then critically at the analytical categories that have already been created. This section therefore, tries to write the experiences of the pastoral community with all its complexities and contradictions. At the same time, it tries to establish an interaction between experience and discourse in order to open up the question of subjectivities, knowledge production and the power of researchers during research.

We began our journey of conversing with pastoral women in September 2021. The first few conversations involved travelling and walking for long hours. Soon our admiration for the mountains and finding joy in the sound of rivers, trees and birds came to a halt because it was tiredness from walking for long hours which took over us. This was one of the lessons of working in Himachal Pradesh and a step closer to understanding the lives of people living there. This section builds on such experiences of both the researchers as well as the participants of this research. This section is further divided into various sub sections based upon the significant themes which have emerged during our interactions with the pastoral community. Each section would also indicate how the contribution of women in work which they do has changed. The division into themes does not allude towards an attempt to generalize the complexity of experiences. Instead, our attempt is to walk through these themes keeping the complexity and the messiness of the field alive.

However, before venturing into the detailed analysis of the conversations and experiences it is important to understand the movement of pastoralists (Gaddi & Kanet). We talked to people from two regions- one, staying in and around Bir and two, staying in and around Lohardi (Barot Valley). Mostly the ones staying in and around Bir are from Bara Bhangal. Their summer route constitutes of Bir – Billing – Rajgunda – Plachak – Kaniyatu – Thamsar- Uddagh – Bara Bhangal. There is also an alternative route which is Bir – Deol – Karnathu – Parai – Jalsu Pass – Sarai – Khuludu – Dharadi – Khanaar – Phuled – Bara Bhangal and then they go to their respective pastures called dhars. Most people leave Bir in May and reach Bara Bhangal by June end. They exit Bara Bhangal around August end and begin the winter route. The winter route constitutes of Bir – Joginder Nagar – Mandi – Sundar Nagar – and multiple routes open up from their leading to Hamirpur or Bilaspur. The ones staying in Lohardi areas or otherwise called as Chhota Bhangal only undertake winter migration on the following route Lohardi – Barot – Tikkan – Jatingri – Gogal Dar - Katindi – Mandi- (Separate individual routes after Mandi: Riwalsar/Sundar Nagar). The flock is on the move for almost 5 to 6 months with women travelling either for the entire duration or being with the flock only for some time.

During the summers the pastoralists staying in Lohardi region go to the mountain tops and passes near to their village. Hindu Gujjar pastoralists who reside in Bir go till Plachak for summer migration following the same route mentioned above and during winters they stay in the Bir area. They go to Billing as before paragliding came in, it was a lush green pasture. It is important to lay out the routes at the outset to reiterate the fact that pastoralists interact and inhabit multiple places every year. Hence, the changes in all these places impact not only the work of a pastoral woman but also become significant in developing subjectivities of pastoralists thereby impacting the overall gendered practices in the community.

Changes in ecosystems

This section provides the context and an in depth understanding of changes happening in Kangra district and Himachal Pradesh at large. These changes are specifically those which have an intrinsic relationship with the pastoral communities. Hence, a lot of these changes impact multiple facets of a pastoral women's life which will be discussed at length in the forthcoming sections after we give an overview of the changes, specifically, in and of various ecosystems which a pastoral woman engages in. The following subsections elaborate on such changes:

Availability of Grass

We often began our conversations by invoking nostalgia around the places people used to navigate with the flock. Mostly, people went back to their childhood and adolescence and shared how the forests were when they were young. They reminisced about how grass was ample in the forest and it was easier to spend longer durations at one place in the forest. Pari Devi who resides in Lohardi region mentioned "there used to be several varieties of grass – *miyaar*, *kashmal*, *garna*, *mendru* – out of these only *garna* can still be found in some places. It is the thorny shrub with black beads on it which can be eaten, milky sap comes out of its leaves." This was also shared by Bimla Devi as she remembered how she would stay in the pastures and forests for a longer time. The men who we talked to also pointed out how the clothing during earlier times was rather different. They said "When we took the sheep grazing we would just wear shorts, and coat and we would be bare feet. We used to have leather shoes on our feet, it used to be very heavy/good leather. You know the horseshoe they use on horses? The shoes would have that and rubber in the front would be thick then you could walk in the bushes or any kind of terrain and nothing would happen." This also allowed the movement of the pastoralists to be easy and impacted women's as well which we would come to in the later section.

However, the nostalgia did not stay for long. The walk down the memory lane was not about stories devoid of hardship. There was an insistence by most women that despite the forest being a space which could be navigated with



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some safety and joy, the work which a pastoralist has to do, has been quite intense and difficult. It was also difficult because of lack of infrastructure to facilitate the movement of pastoralists. One of the views was that because of the lack of roads in the region, it became difficult for the pastoralists to navigate their way. The coming in of the road also allowed for an easier movement of goods along with availability of raw and cooked food. This meant that the pastoralists had to carry less food during the movement. While roads eased out some aspects of the movement, the roads also brought in many difficulties. One of the significant drawbacks of the road has been that it was not conducive for the flock to go through the road for multiple reasons. One, it becomes difficult for the flock to climb the road. Two, the introduction of roads also meant more accessibility to people beyond pastoral communities which came in with its own set of problems as discussed in the further section.

The roads also came in at the expense of shrinking forest. For the roads to come in, it was important to cut down the trees. The cutting down of the trees led to a significant change in the kind of grass which was available for grazing. Trees provided adequate sunlight and shade for the grass to flourish. The cutting of trees had a direct impact on the food which would be available for the flock. Meena Devi further pointed out that it is not just about coming in of the roads but also how the roads have been constructed. She said “here, they just dig up the road and dump the debris, this has spoiled several grazing fields. There has been no grass left to cut.” Jayesh bhai also expressed a similar sentiment as he said “because of the construction of roads to the higher passes as well, the grass often gets mixed with the stone. We now have to buy grass for our cattle. It has also increased the work because we have to take our cattle in batches for grazing.” Development views the introduction of infrastructure as an essential. The roads in the region have also helped some pastoralists but the narratives of Meena Devi and Bimla Devi tell us that the roads have also come in as the harbingers of damage. A more detailed discussion on the effects of roads coming in will be done in the further sections but the question it raises or the point it reiterates is about how pastoralists have either existed at the periphery or excluded from the development process.

The unwanted Lantana

While roads reduced the availability of grass as fodder, it was accompanied with widespread growth of lantana, locally called as *phuladki*. The widespread emergence of lantana has been for 25-35 years according to the older pastoralists. Bimla Devi said that first it was largely in Solan which was one of the significant places for winter migration and slowly it spread all across. In a group conversation in the village Judhar some elders pointed out that British planted lantana in the region and the spread increased with birds throwing the seeds of lantana all across the region. However, it was clearly mentioned by most people that the spread of lantana is maximum in the region where they go for winter migration. Kanan, Shackleton and Shankar (2012) reiterate that lantana was introduced by the British in the early 19th century in Calcutta as an ornamental plant. The archival data shows that the first instance of finding lantana in the mountains was in Peer panjal range in 1845. There have been frequent discoveries of various species of lantana in the mountains post this (ibid.).

The important point which all these stories bring forth in terms of timeline is the overlap between coming in of the roads and increased invasion of lantana. Sharma, Raghubanshi and Singh (2005) point out how human invasion such as road construction and increased activity by animals contribute to an increasing spread of lantana. One of the plausible reasons for this can be the cutting down of trees which allowed for unregulated sunlight on the ground. As Kanan et. al. (2012) mention that lantana is a light loving species. Sunlight facilitates the growth of lantana. In this sense, the coming in of roads destroyed the diversity and the availability of grass as fodder but it also allowed for an increased spread of lantana. Lantana has not only been invasive and reduced the growth of grass but it is also harmful for the sheep. Unknowingly the sheep eats lantana and often falls ill. Over a period of time there are some species of lantana which the sheep is now able to consume but some of them still are extremely harmful to the sheep. As a result of increased lantana, the pastoralists have to do a lot more work to find the fodder for sheep. Lantana has also resulted in the changed attire especially for men. Ajay and Kranti mentioned that after the invasion of lantana they had to wear full pants while going to the passes for grazing.

Farmers and pastoralists

The reduced spaces for grazing and thereby reduced fodder were also because of other reasons. During the winter migration for people from both Bara Bhangal and Chhota Bhangal region the farms acted as a space for grazing. Earlier the relationship with the farmers was a cordial one. According to Bimla Devi “Farms, or where there would be empty spaces the zamindar would ask us to penn our sheep there”. This was reiterated by few others as well. Singh (2018) in the book titled ‘Himalayan Histories’ writes how the movement of pastoralists has been in synchronization with the agricultural cycle. The flocks usually passed the field when one crop was harvested and the farmers were preparing for another cycle. As told by Bimla Devi earlier it was a symbiotic relationship where they took their flock to graze in the farm. The sheep droppings acted as a manure for the land. In return, the farmers used to provide them with enough grains to survive during the winter migration. However, the relationship with farmers has significantly changed because of the introduction of cash crops. One of the participants in the workshop, while talking about her route, mentioned the changed relationship they now have with the farmers. “Earlier people used to grow Makki (corn) in this area, now they have started planting cash crops. Because of that no one lets the sheep sit in their farm, which would not happen earlier”. Indu Devi also pointed out “even when the wheat was sown they would make the animals visit, the more the animals went over it the better the harvest would be”. The work of ploughing in some senses earlier would be done by the animals²². However, the changing crop patterns also led to a direct change in the work of pastoralists. Therefore, if the sheep entered a farm where it was not needed, it usually led to quarrels between the pastoralists and the farmers. Along with work, it also changed the patterns of mobility and introduced questions of

“Earlier people used to grow Makki (corn) in this area, now they have started planting cash crops. Because of that no one lets the sheep sit in their farm, which would not happen earlier”.

safety because unlike earlier times pastoralists now had to be more cautious about where their flock was going. The changes in agriculture have also affected the engagement of pastoralists with land. Since pastoralists in the region are agro-pastoralists, the introduction of cash crops in the region also made them cultivate cash crops which led to a change in work and mobility patterns of women.

While the farmers were slowly denying entry to the pastoralists, the overall spaces for grazing were also shrinking. The question of who has rights to the land has always been a contentious one for pastoralists and the communities who inhabit the space together. Singh (2018) shows us historically the question of land use has been prominent but there were ways established by both the communities in order to work on the land as mentioned above. If the pastoralist did not have a permit for a place to graze, usually they used to give a sheep to the villagers which would then be sacrificed and eaten by the whole village. Slowly, it translated into giving money for using the land for grazing. However, with shrinking availability of grass the money which pastoral communities have to give for grazing is quite high. Jayesh Bhai who does not have the permit for Plachak mentioned that he now has to pay 60,000 rupees for his cattle to graze. Pari Devi also talked about how the government had stopped giving permits and how they would need more permits because the grass has significantly reduced in the region they have had permits for. Apart from the reasons for reduced grass availability mentioned above, one is also the problem of overgrazing in the spaces for which people have had permits. Pari Devi also expressed her disappointment over how forest officials have taken over the area and cordoned off parts of forests because they want to develop plantations and plant the grass which is not suitable for the flock.

Governing the ecosystems

There seems to be a difference between how pastoralists and forest officials view, understand and relate with the

²² This needs to be understood in close relation with the technological advancement in agriculture especially through green revolution. Green revolution changed the cropping pattern in India significantly. But it also introduced machinery in agriculture. The impact of that can be felt on pastoralism as what animals essentially did was the work of ploughing which was taken over by the tractors.

forest. The experiences of pastoral women also highlight how authoritative and therefore, fearful the image of a forest official has been.. Bimla Devi while talking about her childhood mentioned how there was a constant fear that the forest officials would stop them anywhere and ask them for papers (permit). She also indicated the fact how there was also a constant fear of threat especially to women and girl children from forest officials. There have been ways already present in the community through which pastoralists have been taking care of the ecosystems. Indu Devi talked about the measures taken by the community to protect the forests. She said "Earlier if areas were shut off for a year, then nobody would go from there. If collecting leaves was to be shut in an area then nobody would collect them from there. People would only collect from the other side. Then the next year that side would be shut off and we could get from the other..... For now, we have shut the area for 4-5 years, only dry wood can be collected from there". This way they allow the forest to replenish so that they can go into the forest again. She also indicated the respect and care which people earlier had for the forests. She lamented that it might not be the same case in some years because the present generation does not have a similar relationship²³ with the forest as they did. She also insisted on the need for forest officials working in collaboration with the community. She said "even if forest officials shut the area, the villagers can go in the area and do what they want to". While the need of working together with the forest officials was expressed, there is a need to dwell upon what working together means. As mentioned above, forest officials and pastoralists view and relate to ecosystems through different subjectivities and hence; their acquired knowledge about the ecosystems differs. In order to work together, it is imperative to create a space which allows for governance of the forest in such a way that it takes into account the already existing knowledge of the communities inhabiting these ecosystems. The exclusion of pastoral communities yet comes to the fore when we think about governing the resources. According to Pawna, FRA presents itself as a hope through which people can get permits and that might allow them to take their flock for grazing. However, the awareness about FRA in the community is rather limited²⁴.



Coming back to the question of conservation, the debate between conservation and its impact on pastoralism is a long standing one. It has been argued that the current conservation models are neither inclusive nor embedded in the local contexts of the communities inhabiting the same area (Singh et. Al., 2021). The fight against conservation was fought by various activists in Himachal Pradesh. Especially in the fight against Dhauladhar wildlife sanctuary, Pawna and her comrades played a significant role. The argument which they held close to while fighting was precisely about how conservation policies overlook the relationship pastoralists have with the various ecosystems they engage in. Bali Devi said "all the programmes are around increasing the population of wild animals in the name of conservation... that is causing an increase in their numbers. All this is causing trouble for us. We cannot kill them, and they're increasing in numbers. If we go into the jungle, we can see them everywhere. Men and women are being attacked; they also eat those who come in front of them. They eat our sheep and goat and that has definitely caused issues and loss for us. We cannot sleep all night..... have to stay up and guard the flock. " The point is not to

immediately go back to the ways where one might have to kill the endangered or wild animals but to throw some light on how conservation practices are at loggerheads with the pastoral communities. Bimla devi also suggested that

²³ The meaning of relationship for Indu devi loosely translates into the knowledge about forest. The interaction of young people with forests has been on a decline. As a result, they do not know (about) the forest. However, it is important to mention that knowing the forest is not bereft of relating with the forest and ecosystems. These processes occur simultaneously where knowing-being-relating are enmeshed with each other.

²⁴ There was also a sense of hopelessness which we could feel while talking to them about FRA and grazing. Perhaps the hopelessness was not just because of procedural lags in FRA which Pawna talked about at length, it was also about people moving away from this occupation. We shall talk about it in much detail in the later sections.

earlier there were ways of co-living with wild animals. There was knowledge of how to deal with which animal. She said that on her way to the forest she would encounter wild animals but there was a particular sound she would make to ward off. With the coming in of the sanctuaries, the routes of pastoral communities which were already established were in danger. In some areas where there are sanctuaries like some parts of Bara Bhangal, the pastoralists had to search for new pastures.

On tourism

It is imperative to address the question of tourism in Himachal Pradesh and its impact on the pastoral communities. The coming in of the roads have also facilitated the movement of people to visit the mountain state for the purposes of tourism and recreation. Reports suggest that the growth of tourism in Bir has been on the increase for 10 years²⁵. This increase in tourism and development in the area to cater to the needs of tourists has been at loggerheads with work that pastoral communities do. Bir-Billing is one of the most sought after sights for paragliding in India. Billing was actually a pasture land for which Gujjar Hindus had permits. Gujjar Hindus who have settled in villages in and around Bir have mostly had permits for grazing in Billing. However, intense construction and development of take-off sites for paragliding has led to a lot of problems for Hindu Gujjar pastoralists. Jayesh bhai told us "Billing has been changing for around 10 years... 9-10 years... slowly slowly.. Now they (gliders) also won't let us build homes there... That land is ours but they won't let us build homes there... If anyone starts building something they make sure that they stop it.. The land is ours and we are only being prevented... These gliderwalas tell the government that this person has built this place or shop here.. And because of that these people are having trouble.. My glider is getting stuck there.. Or it's damaging different parts.. They tell these lies.. So then we get told that in this area, nothing will get built. I also have a house, if I decide I want to build a shop here.. No, they won't let us.. The land is mine.. Then tomorrow they'll say, you might get money, just get out of this place.. Now, where should we go? What will an unemployed person do? The land that I own, they'll take it and build a shop in it.. And throw us out.. We are really troubled." The trouble has also been about depletion in grass because of intense construction in the Billing region. So, while pastoralists have difficulty in accessing their own lands, it is accompanied by depletion.

Indu Devi further suggested that people who come from the outside venture into the forest to party and picnic. They litter a lot around that area. So even if the forests are shut to replenish, tourists are completely oblivious to that. This was further accompanied by both hers and Pawna's discussion on how both girls and boys go to party in the forest and we do not know what all happens there because there are intoxicants involved. While it raises the question of safety of women in that area who navigate forests on a regular basis, there was also a moral stance taken by both of them. The stance around the question was an implicit assumption that when women and men are together, they are bound to engage in acts which might not be deemed morally right. However, the important point was about how their relationship with the forest was being constantly disrespected by the tourists. This has impacted the mobility of women to the forest and increased the cases of theft as discussed in the next section. While tourism has been bringing revenue to the state and also opening up various other employment opportunities, it does not seem to take into account the experiences of pastoralists. The entanglement of development and tourism in Billing has been at the expense of pastoralists. At least, this is what the older generation believes.

Collecting NTFP

Non Timber Forest Produce or NTFP plays an important role in the economy of rural areas and has been vital for sustenance of pastoral community. While interacting with pastoral women, NTFP served as an entry point in our inquiry about their work and their relationship with the forest. Everyone from the community referred to NTFP as Jadibooti (medicinal herbs). It was a struggle for us to get information about forest produce that was not medicinal

²⁵ <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/himachal/haphazard-constructions-at-bir-billing-cause-for-concern-410958>

herbs. We would need to probe names of vegetables found in the forest like Guchchi and Lingdu to get people to talk about other types of forest produce. This linguistic confusion is the result of aggressively growing market for medicinal herbs/Jadibooti. Quick and high returns from the Jadibooti market have initiated a myriad of changes in the lives of pastoralists which are discussed below.

Collecting NTFP has always been a significant part of work and life of pastoralists albeit in different capacities. Pastoralists traditionally collect things like vegetables and herbs from the forest along their migration routes. Earlier NTFP would be collected for self-consumption. However, with increasing demand for medicinal herbs in the market, the nature of NTFP collection has changed drastically. Many now opt to solely collect NTFP for quick and high returns from the market. The system of these markets for medicinal herbs has largely come up in the last 15-20 years. Bikhu devi tells us that when she was practicing pastoralism (about 15-20 years ago), all the things were collected for personal use. Collecting vegetables and herbs from forest for oneself and being self-reliant through that was something pastoralists took pride in. Older generation especially expresses unease in being dependent on others or the market for their needs. Additionally, there is a great deal of nostalgia connected with food. For instance, Bikhu Devi says, 'The changes happened quite quickly, but I do miss the earlier times a lot. If I feel like eating a particular food/dish like Bohru or Chambu (found in the forest), I ask someone from the village to get it for me. I can still eat some of the things I used to earlier, but I have to now depend on someone to get them for me.' Anything collected from the forest directly is considered to be good for health. Since the markets have come up, the personal use has stopped or greatly reduced, and NTFP collected mostly goes to the markets. Pastoralists who migrate with the flock are not able to collect NTFP in large quantities, as their main concern is looking after the animals. Any small amount of vegetables, herbs collected from the forest while migrating with the flock gets used up at home. Therefore, many pastoralists have now started going to the forest solely in order to collect NTFP.

Over the years more and more pastoral women have begun participating in NTFP collection. Although it was not always common for women to go for NTFP collection independently, with increasing profits from the market many women started participating. Bimla devi, who is now in her 60s, was the first ever woman in her village who went to collect NTFP alone. She started collecting vegetables and herbs when she was young. Once on migration she encountered herbs in the forest and asked her companions about it. When she learned about the kinds of vegetables and herbs available in the forest she was beyond excited. Pawna told us, 'When she (Bimla) collected guchchi for the first time... you know how there are people who leave the flock in the forest to graze, there is a timing for it. At ten in the morning all the sheep of the village would be taken to the forest and would be left there. She went with others to leave the animals there. That is when she saw these (plants) and asked, what are these things? That is when someone told her, this is guchchi! She didn't go home that day!' Since then, Bimla decided to go collect NTFP on her own. Her parents wouldn't allow her to go in the forest alone, so she'd run away. Initially, everyone in the village would laugh at her behind her back. However, after seeing her earn profit from selling the vegetables and Jadibooti collected, other women and girls from the village also started going to the forest for NTFP. In similar ways, pastoral women gradually started getting involved in NTFP collection. Once people recognized profits yielded from selling medicinal herbs, more and more people, including women began collecting NTFP. Even women who do not migrate with their flock, go to collect NTFP in forest spaces near their village. Dhami devi, who does not go for migration anymore told us about her experiences in collecting Jadibooti. Three to four women from their village go to collect Jadibooti in nearby forest. They set up a dera and live in the forest for 10-12 days. Together, these women collect Jadibooti, process it (drying/heating it on fire), and later sell it to traders themselves.

In most cases, those who go to the forest to collect medicinal herbs sell it to traders who are middlemen. These middlemen go to villages to buy herbs from people and then sell it in bigger markets, or to companies. Even though many people from the community invest their time and energy in collecting medicinal herbs for profit, they have no idea what happens to them in the market and at what prices they are being sold at as the final product. In order to get to the bottom of it, we reached out to couple of traders who buy and sell medicinal herbs. Through these interactions we learned that there is a chain of middlemen in the market for NTFP. A trader we spoke to told us, 'I work with a



partner. My work would be going uphill, and collecting the plants, buying produce from people and getting it all down here. His work would be to take it from here ahead of Bilwan. We would divide the money earned equally between the two of us.' There are two separate markets for vegetables and medicinal plants (there must be 100 shops at least). In last few years, buyers for NTFP have increased in numbers. This has hiked up the price. The maal²⁶ (NTFP) goes to big markets in cities like Amritsar where it is likely used by companies producing (Ayurvedic) medicines. How the maal is processed by these companies or what is the price of the final product is something even local traders are unaware of²⁷.

Higher demand from the market has drastically changed the nature of work of NTFP collection. With profit driven mindset, people are trying to extract as much as possible from the forest without thinking of long-term consequences or sustainability. Dhami devi mentioned how those who are conscious about long term effects of extracting jadibooti make sure

that some plants are left behind to grow so that in coming years there will be something to collect. Many older people from the community told us that 'Jadibooti' has now reduced in a lot of places. During an FGD in Judhar, the villagers told us about how because of excess collection, Jadibooti in the dhaars (pastures) of Chhota Bhangal has reduced drastically. There is conflict in villages regarding the encroaching others territory for Jadibooti collection. Pawna added that, 'Those who go only with the purpose of collecting medicinal plants, they cause more harm since they take a lot more and keep digging.' The idea of NTFP was more prominent in Chhota Bhangal as compared to Bara Bhangal. In Bara Bhangal where roads have not reached yet, the case is different. Inaccessibility of that region has ensured preservation of forest and NTFP. Bimla devi told us, 'People go to upper dhaar where there are no roads yet. Everything is as it was before. It won't change even in next 10 years. People collect Jadibooti from there. Entire families go for Jadibooti collection- men, women, and children. Now, however, in other areas, Jadibooti is beginning to reduce.'

The work of pastoralism and NTFP collection has been happening in tandem. Both are dependent on each other. Animals in the flock, when they walk, plough the forest land helping the growth of various plants and herbs. Similarly, animals are healthier when they feed on different jadibooti in the forest. Milk from these animals is of better quality. Thus, when it comes to pastoralism and NTFP, changes in one have direct impact on the other. When conversation around NTFP was initiated during participatory workshop, a participant said, 'if work of pastoralism ends, NTFP collection will also end with it. There will be no jadibooti left in the forest if herding stops. Even now jadibooti is reducing everywhere. People are taking it in excess. Because of this no seeds are left for new plants. Because jadibooti is getting over, the quality of grass we feed our animals is getting affected. It is important to stop people who collect jadibooti in excess, without thinking about sustainability. Animals who feed on jadibooti in Himalaya region give better quality milk. As mentioned in the section on farmers and pastoralists, the manure produced by the sheep is valuable in enriching the soil. In the context of NTFP, the sheep manure is instrumental in spreading the seeds of various herbs and plants, in turn maintaining biodiversity. If one keeps digging and digging in the same spot, age old quality grass will get over. That's why people from village Panchayat and the buyers should stop these people. Government should fine

²⁶ Here, maal refers to medicinal herbs or jadibooti. Pastoralists also call their animals as well as other NTFP like vegetables found in the forest 'maal'.

²⁷ This gives us a glimpse of the value chain of NTFP. Ultimately, the role of women is limited to only collection and initial processing. After it is collected by the trader, women have no idea of where their produce goes. In order to realize the full value potential of NTFP, this value chain needs to be studied and significant interventions are required to be made at different points to realise the goal of economic empowerment of women.

them.' Concerns amongst pastoralists regarding NTFP getting over in the region is more than worry about financial loss. They are concerns for the ecology, for the quality of fodder their animals will get. These concerns are also stemming from the nostalgia pastoralists hold for the time when their livelihood was largely dependent on different forest produce. Depletion of NTFP spells loss of the world conducive to the work of pastoralism.

Our conversations on women and NTFP collections had some lessons hidden within. There is an increase in women engaging in the work of collection of NTFP. Studies suggest that NTFP has a significant potential towards increasing revenues and contributing towards poverty alleviation too. The engagement of women in the value chain of NTFP suggests that there might be an untapped potential to imagine NTFP as a source of economic empowerment. However, there are many impediments to realize this. The conversations with women and traders suggest that women have been completely absent from the other steps of the value chain of NTFP and therefore, the sale of the produce to the trader is their only participation in this economic process. There is a need to tap into the local processes and if needed, introduce technology in a way that increases women's participation in the value chain of NTFP.

Mobility

Mobility is one of the most distinctive features of pastoralism. Pastoralists regularly migrate in different capacities with their flock in search of greener pastures. Pastoralists of Himachal Pradesh participate in seasonal migration, their respective migration routes are given in the beginning of this section. Over the years, nature of this migration has changed drastically. Changes like construction of roads, different development projects and privatization of land etc. has majorly affected the land, in turn affecting migration of pastoralists. Furthermore, as discussed in sections above, various factors are pushing pastoralists towards a sedentarized way of life. As a result of this, several pastoral families have partially or completely stopped going on migration. Especially, the number of pastoral women going for migration has significantly reduced. This point will be discussed in detail in following section. However, here it is important to highlight the fact that migratory nature of pastoralism has different connotations for women from the community and puts them in a unique position.

There are various ways to understand mobility. Mobility is often seen as a way women defy patriarchy (Uteng & Tanu, 2012), however this assumption changes in the context of pastoralism. Mobility is seen as an outlet when women are confined to the private sphere of the household by patriarchal forces. In case of transhumant pastoralism, the boundaries of private and public are fuzzy. Although many pastoral women migrate with their flock in high ranges of Dhauladhar, they do not migrate independently. Women are accompanied by male members of the family. Traditional gender roles in the community dictate that women look after the household – both in the village and on migration. Hence during migration, women stay close to the dera. They set up the dera from place to place and perform chores like cooking, fetching water and collecting firewood etc. These tasks are even more challenging during migration. Spending long periods of time in movement has implications beyond the changes in nature of work women do. In Judhar, we met a woman who was migrating while pregnant and she delivered her baby on the road itself. However, now with increased connectivity and accessibility to healthcare such cases are rare.

Conversely, certain changes in the land, like advent of tourism and different development projects in close proximity to the forest, have led to a concern for safety of women within the pastoral community. 'Many years ago old women used to go out in the forest by themselves. But as the region started developing faster and roads were constructed, pastoral women were not as safe anymore.' Pawna told us a story she had heard from her grandmother. During 1980-90s, new roads were being constructed in the region. It was said that few pastoral women were kidnapped while migrating and were sexually assaulted by some construction workers. After this incident, fear spread in the community. This fear of 'outsiders' could also be seen during our interactions with younger women. Although this fear has restricted women from migrating alone, many still migrate and increasing number of women have started going for NTFP collection in recent years.



Apart from concerns for women's safety, mobility of women is also affected by traditions. Women are not allowed to enter some religious/sacred places in the mountains. Some spaces are completely forbidden for women, while others allow conditional entry. Indu devi told us that her father wouldn't take her to Bara Bhangal when she was young because she was unmarried. There were certain spaces in Bara Bhangal where unmarried women cannot enter. Once Indu devi got married, she started going there. Some places have rules that do not allow women to enter at all. For example, 'Tangari' is a sacred place in Bara Bhangal where women never go. The sacred spaces have their own set of rules, which are followed by the entire community. Pawna explained, 'In Bara Bhangal there are some areas, where there are specific areas where you can't go to toilet, you cannot defecate anywhere. We cannot use bad language/use swear words there. Women do not go there.' To this day such practices are strictly adhered to, restricting mobility of pastoral women to an extent. However, most of the sacred spaces that came up during our conversations are located in remote areas in the mountain. Thereby, having a definitive yet limited effect on the mobility of pastoral women.

When talking about changes in the region, the issue of theft in the lower regions came up repeatedly. Lower regions of Kangra is where development induced changes can be seen to a greater extent. There, theft of animals has been happening for years now. Bikhu devi reiterates how thieves would steal one/two animals during the day also back then. Some take animals away in a car. Thieves using cars is relatively recent, it has come up only in the last 10-15 years. A woman in the workshop said, 'My grandmother used to tell us that in old days, whole families used to go for migration, with women and small children. Now nobody migrates like that. Now we can't wear heavy jewellery on the road like before. People come in cars to steal from us. Women are not safe now'. Roads, in this sense, have endangered the safety of pastoral women.

Additionally, in the last few years, there has been an increase in dacoity and thieves attacking for the sheep and goats. Pari devi tells us, 'Twice we've caught thieves, (near Solan) one of the cases is ongoing there. During the Corona year – 2020, animals were stolen again.' Because of this, migrating in the lower regions leads to increased stress among pastoralists and there is no time to look for vegetables/herbs (NTFP), timber etc. Interestingly, it is only when pastoralists are migrating in forest space where roads have reached that the instances of theft happen. This point came up in a discussion during workshop where a woman said, 'Theft mostly happens in forest space; especially if roads have been built there. There are hardly any cases of theft in the villages. In village, the thief is caught easily and

faces humiliation within the community.'The forest offers anonymity and roads make it easier to run away. Thieves usually come in cars. This observation sheds light on the changing nature of forest spaces, where encroachments have led to a loss of security for pastoralists.

Especially for women, the difference between the upper regions and lower region is quite stark. This difference highlights the gendered and political nature of forest spaces, and how infrastructure has a long standing impact on them. Upper regions like Bara Bhangal have deep forests, where roads have not reached yet. The major threat there is that of wild animals. Lower region on the other hand has faced encroachment of different development projects and policies over the years, bringing in elements like tourism sector and cash crops. This has affected not just mobility of women but also the way they relate with the space. Bina devi has shed light on this, saying, 'We (women) don't migrate to upper region. We stay at home and work. When migrating to lower regions we go with the men. In upper regions one man can scare away some wild animals, everyone is not needed there. Women take food and other supplies to upper regions. Going there feels nice and freeing, but going to lower regions feels like being in a cage.' Upper regions here refer to pastures close to her village in Chhota Bhangal. The way metaphor of cage is used here is powerful. It turns the idea of mobility, in certain spaces which are more populated, upside down and contradicts the imagination of a free woman. For pastoralists and especially pastoral women, when it comes to some spaces, mobility is like being in a cage. This then prompts the question of what is mobility for pastoral women. Our observations show us that infrastructure and the changes it brings along is closely linked to mobility for a pastoral woman. It is precisely this infrastructure that has affected their mobility.

In recent years, due to sedentarization, entire families of pastoralists rarely migrate together. A young girl from the community told us, 'Earlier the whole family would migrate together, earlier people hadn't purchased homes or any land here so the whole family used to migrate, even small children would be taken along.' Now in most cases women, children and elderly stay behind in the village. When they are not migrating, women are expected to look after the household, manage finances and look after other family members in the village. Women are also expected to provide supplies to the family members who are in migration when they themselves are not migrating.

'A good woman is a woman who works a lot' is something that came up a lot during the workshop with pastoral women. Pastoral women are overworked irrespective of whether they are migrating or not. Migration adds another dimension to their work. The work women do, with animals, or at home falls close to the category of care work which sustains the pastoral way of life. Being left to care for the family, household or *dera* is perhaps the reason why many participants called a pastoral woman's work that of a guard or *chowkidaari/peheredaari*. This point will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Pastoral women's work

The pastoral community is not bereft of patriarchy and the gendered nature of labouring. The aspiration continues to be of a 'good woman' who labours the most, who uses both her body and mind to the fullest. This section attempts to lay out a nuanced understanding of pastoral woman's work through conversations with women from different age groups both through long, individual interactions as well as participatory, group activities. The effort has been to open up the nature of labouring in the life of a pastoral woman and how it informs us both about the discourse on work as



well as the experience of labour-ing. These conversations have also been telling about the nature of patriarchy that continues to exist in the pastoral community as opposed to the exoticization of the community on the basis of being a 'mobile' community. Infact the attempt has been to resist these representations of the pastoral woman, of being one with nature and idealizing their labour without actually visibilizing the complex nature of pastoral women's work.

The pastoral woman's work carries a range of relationships that she engages in, as part of her work, as shown earlier. There is variability as well as a relational sense involved in the work, which cannot simply be categorized through either mobility or stasis alone (Maru, 2020). As also mentioned in the above sections in the review of discourses on work, it is in the interconnected nature between mobility and immobility (ibid.), between the changing nature of pastoral women's work and the nostalgia of work that was, that the pastoral women's work finds space. A reminiscing Bikhu devi remembers, "My earlier life and current life are very different. The fun/joy that was in that life, isn't there in this one". She remembers this, as she watches her body age, with limited capacity to be

in 'movement', with the flock, in different ecosystems. She now finds it difficult to walk much and tries to live life caring for the young children of her brother's family, just as she took care of the young lamb and newborn animals. "It was a lot of effort to take care of the young animals, they wouldn't let me sit in the day or sleep at night. But I liked taking care of the young animals. Taking care of human children is more disappointing and difficult (matha marna padta hai)". In that sense the work of 'care' continues for Bikhu devi, from animals to humans, from a body that was mobile to an aging body that finds it difficult to be 'actively' mobile. This highlights the relational, interconnected and also a contiguous nature of a pastoral woman's work.

Further, the feelings of nostalgia also brought in the feelings of loss and loneliness due to the changing nature of practices in pastoral work, lesser number of women going for it and increased burden of work. "There used to be others, now people don't go anymore. Earlier 3-4 women would take animals grazing together. Once the buffaloes started grazing, we could sit with the other women. Now that I'm alone, who do I sit with? Now I can sit with the buffaloes and nobody else. There is nobody to talk to, earlier I could chit-chat with different women. The heart feels open. Now alone, it is very sad. All these memories surface, who keeps a count". Meena devi talks about this loneliness, as the commonly shared nature of work that pastoral women would do together has changed. As talked about in the above sections too, these changes have been happening due to the changing pastoral economy, increasing sedentarization within the community, ecological changes and increased inflow of developmental changes and tourism. Therefore, women who continue to be involved in this, remain at this cusp of nostalgic memory, loss of shared labour and continuous changes in her work.

In all of this, understanding the meaning of work and labouring in pastoral women's lives has remained a challenge in this research. It has been a hidden and invisible category that often would slide away in conversations either through anecdotes like '*kya karna hai, bas roti sabzi banayi, dere ki rakhwali, bacho ko dekha*' (what is there to be done, cook food, take care of the *dera* and the young animals) or through marking the increasing absence of women in pastoral work and economy. This struggle reiterated the broader invisibilization of women's work and also highlighted the challenge

²⁸ This remains true for other women workers too, the invisibilization of their work because of the convoluted binaries of paid and unpaid work and the counting of their work within these frameworks. Feminists have always resisted these binaries, to establish a continuum of productive and reproductive work. The point here to bring the pastoral woman's experience is to reinforce this invisibility and complicate the narrative.

of fitting pastoral women's work in binaries of paid and unpaid work alone.²⁸ As the nature of pastoral work is such that a paid worker as recognized by data fails to find that space here and unpaid work goes much beyond the categories of just household labour or being an unpaid family helper.

Therefore, it has been a challenge to initiate conversations around pastoral women's labour. Because of this reason we initiated a participatory workshop in the second round of field work, with some pastoral women from Lohardi and Bir²⁹. We began with understanding the specific nature of labouring in the life of a pastoral woman as well as the gendered nature of work. It was done through a participatory activity called the 'Labour Stone'³⁰. This activity was planned in order to explore the relationship of pastoral women's labour both at home and in migration³¹, so as to open up the peculiarities and the burden of work that women hold, especially with increasing changes and sedentarization. It was shared that while women are in the dera (in migration) they are responsible for cooking food, washing dishes, fetching water (which is sometimes quite far away), taking care of the young animals, taking the sheep for grazing (however grazing is often the responsibility of men) and also guarding the flock, dera at night³². The tasks of milking the goats, finding an animal if lost in the forest, gathering the flock in the dera are the responsibilities that men take care of. It is important to note then (as also mentioned in the previous section), that women are often managing and taking care of dera, a household set up in migration, in movement. Most of the tasks that involve going to the forests alone, with the flock, finding lost animals etc. often do not have women involved. However, that doesn't mean that women are not involved in the care of animals. They are intimately involved in the care and labour for the animals and it fundamentally defines the nature of a pastoral woman's work³³. It is also important to observe that even though women manage the dera mostly, but collection of saag, sabzi, gucchi, etc. from the forest (for cooking food in the dera

²⁹ We want to add here that organizing and doing this participatory workshop was a challenging process in itself because of a) Pawna and the ambit of her work in the pastoral community has largely involved interactions with men, so mobilizing women for this activity got really difficult for her. We had planned to do this work with at least 10-12 women but we managed to do this with 7-8 women. b) Moreover, these women were meeting each other for the first time, as never before such mobilized group work had been done with women alone, in the regions that Pawna has been working in. So, there was no imagination of how such group activities work and that also affected the group dynamics initially as there was much hesitation and non-interest for the group to come together. c) Also, women primarily belonged to the Chotta Bhangal region, again because of the concentration of Pawna's work in Chotta Bhangal, with just a few of them going to Bara Bhangal. The migratory routes, patterns and difficulties varied for these two regions and sometimes it got difficult to engage everyone in the group together. This also had an effect on the group dynamics further, because of the differences, it marked for these women d) What worked was actually the activities on understanding labour processes which found common ground with all women. It also led to further discussions among them later in private which indicated towards a reflection on their own self and labour. This also holds true for Pawna. This was a significant marker for us that these questions had in some way reached these women (and Pawna too) to think about their own labour processes in a deeper and disaggregated manner.

³⁰ Please see Annexure.

³¹ It is important to remember that with changes in the patterns of pastoral migration, increasing sedentization, concerns for women's safety, changes in family structures and emphasis on education of children and youth, women's involvement in pastoral mobility and migration is not the same, the way it used to be. Now women accompany their husbands on migration either on the winter routes for brief periods, or go to drop rations in the deras where ever their flock is camping etc. Further this also varies, from women who belong to Bara Bhangal and Chota Bhangal, as their migratory routes and pastures differ. Therefore, it is important to understand pastoral women's labour processes both in migration and at home, so as to also understand the increased nature of work impacted by changes in the pastoral economy, ecology and sedentization.

³² The guarding of the flock and dera at night has increased a lot after many instances of theft of animals, often at gunpoint. As mentioned in previous sections this has increased the risk of safety of women and also increased their burden of work stress, of guarding the dera at odd hours.

³³ Further there is also a difference that got articulated in how the care of animals is done by men and women. Women are mostly involved in the care of young animals, taking care of them, getting water, guarding the animals etc. Guarding and protecting the young ones is a huge aspect of women's work on migration, as will be mentioned in sections ahead too. They also go to the pastures with the animals during the day. However, this is largely done by men, taking the animals for herding to the pastures, finding lost animals, gathering the flock, milking them, getting water for them, guarding the flock etc. Women care for the animals alongside also managing the dera, while men are mostly involved in the small details in relation to the animal care. This is reflective of the gendered and different relationship men and women have with the animal care. This nonetheless shows how animal care is significant to the ambit of work in a life of pastoral woman and this keeps evolving and expanding.

as rations are only be limited), and other activities as mentioned above, are all labouring processes that expand the ambit of the household and underline the disaggregated nature of pastoral woman's work found in relationship to ecology, animals and the household.

Further when women shared about the nature of work when they are at home, it involved everything that they were already doing in the dera, alongside the work that includes agricultural work, caring for animals, getting fodder, milking cows, weaving *pattu*³⁴. They also shared about how men when they stay at home live like 'guests' and say that they are here to rest, before they leave for migration again. Women also spoke about the excessive labour and time that goes in washing men's clothes when they return from migration. These are clothes that are unwashed for months and carry loads of dirt. It takes almost 4-5 hours to just wash these clothes and get the dirt out. Even when women are on dera, they wash clothes but usually when its not too cold (usually in lower regions). This also is reflective of what was shared in the earlier sections about the changes in ecology, where Ajay shares how with increasing presence of lantana came the tradition of wearing pants (and more clothes) by the pastoralists as they would otherwise get cut by these weeds such as lantana. This has meant more labour involved by women, gone in washing men's clothes.

They also shared about the labour of maintaining kinships/relationship, '*rishtedaari nibhana*', that women have to take care of -in the village, with relatives, for wedding or death rituals etc. This is an expectation of being the 'good woman' in the community and something that is also an outcome of the changes that the pastoral community has been experiencing³⁵. It was very interesting that women could recognize the time and effort put in social obligations and were able to call it 'work', further challenging the binary of paid and unpaid work alone. One of the participants, Reena said that "if there are no women, this business (pastoralism) cannot happen. Even if women don't go for migration, women support indirectly. Women look after the sheep that are kept at home for breeding. Women grow and dry ration and food that men carry like dal, saag etc."³⁶

These discussions took an interesting route when women spoke about the devaluation of their labour both within their households by men and also outside by other non-pastoral women. The idea that pastoralists have animals as their 'resources', and it is assumed that life is better and less labouring for the pastoral women. The feeling of lack of respect and value for their labour was mutually shared in the group and the fact that even though they manage the finances, household and animals, they are merely doing "chowkidaari"/guarding everything. Because the decisions relating to how the money has to be spent, about the flock, household etc. are not made by women, it is men who have the control over making decisions about the finances, even though women guard the money as men cannot carry it while on migration. This is telling of the fact that having access to resources and money doesn't necessarily lead to control over them.

Being a 'chowkidaar'³⁷ is a strong sentiment that was shared by women in relation to their lives and the labour they

³⁴ Pattu is a thick shawl woven from sheep wool that pastorals use to protect from adverse weather conditions while on migration. It takes months to weave a single pattu and this is work that women do when they are not on migration.

³⁵ When pastoral communities used to be on migration throughout the year, there was limited scope for spending extensive time with relatives, rituals and investing in kinship ties. It is not that this was completely absent from their lives. Rituals were and have been very much part of the pastoral life world. However, with sedentization and increased influences from settled communities and religion, things have drastically changed. This is to only say that this change has added to the work burden of pastoral women, who talk about the emotional and care work that is involved in maintaining these relationships and the rituals attached to it.

³⁶ This again points to the changing relations of pastoralists and farmers (as mentioned in sections before). With the advent of cultivating cash crops, limited sharing of farms and rations by farmers, the burden is on women to supply rations to the deras, that they are cultivating as cash crops especially in the Chotta Bhangal region.

³⁷ In different contexts 'chowkidaari' can be attributed with varying degrees of power or powerlessness. What is their own self perception of this image? And how does it shift when applied to their chowkidaari vis a vis their animals? These are questions that got opened up, as they used this to constantly describe the work that they do and also how they felt in relation to their work.

perform. It is very telling of the pastoral woman's subjectivity of guarding the household, the dera, the animals. A subject who guards doesn't carry much power to act, perform, decide about what they can do with or for their lives. They have to be responsible to guard and protect, but on the instructions of someone else. It is also a lonely and unrewarding location to occupy. In that sense, pastoral woman's labour is strongly tied to the patriarchal ideals of the 'good woman' who unquestioningly accepts authority and labours, manages and guards well. This then really helps us to see the larger politics of work, agency, women's economic empowerment and its link with patriarchy and the way it finds its roots in the pastoral community. We managed to reach this point only through the participatory workshop with women, as we attempted to disaggregate the labour processes that pastoral women perform. To reach this reflection was significant, as it marked an important shift from talking about that the work is equally divided between men and women to reaching a point of seeing that actually there is unequal burden of labour and no control over resources.



Further, as taken up in the previous sections about the changes in ecology, developmental impacts, construction of roads, increasing theft has not just raised questions of the safety of women but also increased the burden of work for women. "There is more work now. Now, there are fewer spaces for grazing animals as compared to before. Houses have come up in many places, there is no grass in some places – so it is difficult. Many people don't let animals graze on their farms. Secondly, theft has increased a lot so we need an extra person to help out with the work. In the summers, we can hire one or two people but in the winters the season is very dangerous. In

the winters there is the danger of stray dogs, thieves especially in the night and sometimes people's farms come up in the way".

Therefore, in winters as there is limited hired labour, heightened dangers of theft and limited grazing spaces, the emotion and the work of 'chowkidaari' gets enhanced even more, as the burden of work along with protecting and safeguarding the flock increases. This reinforces the point of changes in various spaces, ecosystems and changing relations and its varying impact on women's work.



Relationship with Animals

The theft and loss of animals in accidents on roads is a very emotionally and financially exhausting experience for pastoralists. The relationship of a pastoral woman with her animals is an intimate one. This relationship also presents itself as a significant part of work which pastoral women do. Whenever we talked with pastoral women about their animals what we were told was that they are just like their children. Bikhu Devi has been accompanying animals since the age of 2 or 3. She explained that the work which she has to do in order to take care of animals is intense. "It was a lot of effort to take care of the young animals, they wouldn't let me sit in the day or sleep at night. We only had to protect them from other animals. The work involved taking care of them, bringing them to the dera, giving them milk, leaving them with their mother, making a separate space (ghar) for them". Pari Devi and Bimla Devi also reiterated the sentiment of having a motherly relationship with some of the animals from their flock. The fact that the

instant kin-ing with animals was in the form of mothering the animal. It shows the gendered dimensions of both labouring and relating with the animal. Govindarajan's (2018) experience overlaps with our experience and provides us with a way to articulate what women also shared. She says that, relational care is intertwined with aspects of labour. It is through the labour of animals that one feels love and kinship for the animals they raise. However, our conversations also show that labouring for animals is not just about taking care of animals. It is also about taking care of the ecosystem in order to ensure a longitudinal care for animals. The care work which pastoral women do transcends the boundary of caring for the human and caring for the animal. This interspecies relationship which is about caring for the animals also involves caring about the forests and pastures. It involves having a knowledge and a relationship with the forest in order to care for animals. The classification of such care work however, is yet to find a space in women's work and care discourse. The care for the animals is not essentially done by women. Men also have a deep relationship with the animals however, taking care of the new born animals, fencing areas around the dera to ensure the safety of animals and collection of fodder is mostly done by women. This takes us to the point of women largely being the guards of the flock and the *dera* as mentioned earlier.

While the relationship of kinship was established with the animals at the outset, Bikhu Devi also constantly compared it to relationship with children. She said "Taking care of human children is harder. They want to go to places or eat specific things. They don't want to eat roti. Food was never an issue with lambs, they would eat what they were given. I liked taking care of the young animals. Taking care of human children is more disappointing. You have to break your head (*mattha marna padta hai*)". Her expression of liking for taking care of animals over children opens up multiple angles to look at human-human and human-non-human relationship. One, the care for another human involves a wider scope of this relationship being guided and scrutinized by patriarchy and subjugation of the woman. This is because the other in this relationship is also being guided by the institutions of patriarchy. This is not to say that interspecies relationships are not guided by the trope of patriarchy. There was an insistence on how woman feels like a mother of the animal. The fact that woman essentially feels like a mother of the sheep informs us about the

"Taking care of human children is harder. They want to go to places or eat specific things. They don't want to eat roti. Food was never an issue with lambs, they would eat what they were given. I liked taking care of the young animals. Taking care of human children is more disappointing. You have to break your head (mattha marna padta hai)".

conventionalities of imagining a relationship through a familial and patriarchal lens but the experience of it perhaps is very different in a human-animal relationship.

Pari Devi took us a step further while talking about her relationship and work with animals. She said "there are many difficulties and diseases that come with the flock, so we've had to learn about them. And have to know what to do. We also have to become animals, with the animals". Pari Devi provides another dimension to this interspecies relationship which is about how a woman needs to step out of its anthropocentric ways of being in order to be with animals. Pari Devi was essentially

trying to take us to the embodied nature of work which a pastoral woman does. One has to 'be' an animal with the animals suggests how one has to open up their body and experience the interconnectedness with that of an animal's body to take care of it. The work also implicitly involves being affected with the changes in the ecosystem at large as it directly impacts the health of their animals as also of themselves. Our conversations during the workshop informed us how the woman experiences joy and pain whenever anything happens to the sheep. The experiences were bodily experiences as to how one felt with these changes in a sheep's life. They in some senses were visceral which proved difficult to be articulated otherwise. It was only when we opened up the question of body and deconstructed the body altogether one could attempt to articulate these experiences. For Pari Devi, the embodiment of work also comes as an easy articulation because she engages in the process of castrating the animal and also doing several operative procedures on animals in case of illness. She was quite hesitant in sharing this with us as it is mostly the work done by

men but she has learnt it all. In some ways, it can be said that her care for animals has allowed Pari Devi to hone the skills which are specifically meant for men. It might be viewed as the change in gender roles through which pastoral community has been operating. A change which was perhaps difficult for Pari devi to utter loudly. However, it also acts as a reminder how her work might have increased because of engaging in the processes of doing castration.

Embodied labour and lives of pastoral women

The idea of embodied labour for the pastoral woman is much beyond the interconnectedness with animals alone. It is also tied with the idea of a healthy, able body with the potential of physically intensive labouring and to be able to balance body and mind, as a pastoral woman. The idea of a 'good' pastoral woman is therefore attached to notions of

ideal femininity, agile bodies, and maintaining a balance between labouring and managing household and pastoral work.

"What should we do then? Even if we feel sad we will continue for as long as our body is capable of working. This year, I can work a little less than the last. Gradually, the energy will keep depleting. When I had the energy, I wouldn't be afraid I would go off by myself. What is there to be afraid of? I would even think 'If I get eaten, I get eaten! If I get killed, I get killed'. Now I don't have the same enthusiasm. I'm not scared of being eaten or killed or coming across a thief or attacker. I'm worried about my body's ability – that I might not be able to walk/carry on".

On our last day of the first round of field work, we met Indu devi, who said "*Nikammi auratein bhed palak ka kaam nahi kar sakti*" (Useless women cannot do the work of pastoralism). This was quite a strong conjecture to hear about women and their labouring potential. We had already been hearing a lot about the relationship of a pastoral woman's labour to a 'healthy' body, but this felt too much laden with value judgment. Of course, we were able to see the changes taking place that were impacting the community in many ways. But these conversations pointed towards the ideal feminine body for pastoralists. Indu devi went on to explain the amount of 'labour' that goes into pastoral work. She made us count the number of days and time that it takes to make one single pattu that the pastoralists use, for protecting themselves from adverse weather conditions, when they are on migration. It almost takes about 40-60 days to make a single pattu

from scratch, and involves various steps of cleaning wool, making it into a thread, warp and weft and then working on it on the loom. She goes on to talk about how the young women these days cannot do this kind of labour-intensive work, as they are more into education, technology, jobs etc. Indu devi is a woman in her 50's and has been in the pastoral work since her childhood. She and many other women her age lament about the fact that young generation will not do this work as it requires heavy labour that this generation will not do. We will develop this point further, but the imagination of women involved in pastoral work is clearly receding because of the emphasis that is placed on bodily labour, the need of a type of certain body and the changes that lie witness to the future of the community.

Bikhu devi talks about her aging body and the inability to carry out tasks that she was earlier able to do. There is a sense of loss and sadness that is felt when the woman's body is aging and the capacity to labour decreases. "What should we do then? Even if we feel sad we will continue for as long as our body is capable of working. This year, I can work a little less than the last. Gradually, the energy will keep depleting. When I had the energy, I wouldn't be afraid I would go off by myself. What is there to be afraid of? I would even think 'If I get eaten, I get eaten! If I get killed, I get killed'. Now I don't have the same enthusiasm. I'm not scared of being eaten or killed or coming across a thief or attacker. I'm worried about my body's ability – that I might not be able to walk/carry on". Meena devi's nostalgia and sadness about her body's decreasing ability to continue labouring with the same enthusiasm tells us about the value attached to a healthy, able body. Other bodies that lie outside of this framework cannot necessarily perform pastoral

work. There were also references made that the body remains 'taken care' of when it is in movement and is labouring. Women also talk about being healthier and free of all kinds of illnesses when they continue to labour. Bimla devi reiterates this point when she shared about how women used to labour even when they were pregnant and in migration. "During pregnancy also women do most of the work. In fact, they make them do a lot of work. That the more she works, the stronger she will be, and the baby will then be delivered with ease. Even though it becomes tough because the baby grows. Her body will get heavy. But the more work the woman can do during the pregnancy, the delivery becomes easier".

Pastoral women's labour then, needs to be seen closely in relationship with their bodies and how they are constantly changing, evolving and transforming. It is therefore an embodied relationship with pastoral woman's labour, both in a material and a social sense. The body of a pastoral woman carries the imagination of a body that can do physically intensive labour and is also in interaction with the different ecological spaces through their body. At the same time, the good pastoral body is supposed to be a healthy, labouring and not an aging body. It also has to have a certain shape. It cannot be a 'fat' body, as that is not the expected, ideal body for pastoral work. These notions of the 'good' and ideal body for pastoral work have probably become more pronounced with the evolving and increasing importance being laid on the ideal type of women's bodies through mainstream cultural and regional notions. However, the link to physical labour and pastoral work and therefore a balanced, able and healthy body and mind seems to have almost always carried its significance. Moreover, there is often shame, mockery and disrespect attached to bodies that do not adhere to this ideal frame. This further emphasizes the point that to be a good pastoral woman, there is a need for a healthy, able, agile body, so as to be able to labour as good pastoralists.

We would like to share an experience here, where we too were subjected to these notions of ideal femininity and felt othered, not only because we belong to an outside, urban space but also because our bodies weren't healthy enough to understand the intensity of pastoral labour. In an interview with Pari devi at her home in Chhelo de Madh, we were joined by Pawna and also her school friend who lives in the same village. Sometime in the middle of the conversation, as we were all sitting near the *chulha*, Pari devi asked us about where we were from, what work we do and remembered our last visit to her. Immediately at that moment, she just started telling one of us that they are a very heavy body weighed woman and that why do they not work to reduce weight. She started telling them that they should stay with her and she would make them reduce all that body weight, with so much labour that she does in her farm and with her flock. Pawna's friend also started saying that they should be drinking hot water every day to reduce so much body weight. There was a feeling that these were older pastoral women talking to not just a person from Delhi but also to a younger woman in their community, who would be reprimanded for not labouring enough. In that sense, how much labour is 'good-enough', how much labour will not make you labelled as '*nikamma*', and make you reduce weight, were questions that we reflected upon. It brought back the question of labour intrinsically linked with body and body shape. It also made us reflect on the following questions, in what ways does labour get perceived, how does it change with different women in the community, how does the pastoral woman relate to not just the physicality of the labouring body but also to body itself, how should be the labouring body of the pastoral woman be like, what should it be able to 'perform'? This encounter was also a reflection of how such experiences can shape the researcher's subjectivity, where struggles around body and labour are very much alive. As reiterated above, the idea of labour is intrinsically attached to the ideal of a 'good' woman. And therefore, as also mentioned above, the hope that a woman would continue doing the work of pastoralism seems to be receding. However, it is not only because of the changes in the ecosystem, inflow of technology, development and education. This is also because the ideal of a good pastoral woman is with the labouring body (embodied labour), notions of which have evolved for the younger women.

To further build on this relationship of pastoral women's labour and their bodies, we also initiated an activity called 'body mapping'. The idea was primarily to understand their relationship to their bodies in an in-depth way, the points of pain and pleasure, how they perceive, see, relate to a body that not only labours but also has an intimate, relational connect with the world. The activity was done in two parts. We used two chart papers and drew an outline of a participant's body on both. After this we proceeded to give them some prompts and asked, 'When we speak about a

particular task which body part comes to your mind viz. labour?. Another prompt was, 'When we speak about a particular task which body part comes to your mind that invokes pain (*dard*) and which body part comes to you that invokes pleasure (*maza ata hai/accha lagata hai*)?' We handed them crayons and asked the participants to assign different colors to pleasure and pain. In the following table we detail out the prompts and the responses received to

Prompts	Responses received
Labour	
<i>Roti banana</i> (Making food)	Legs and hands
<i>Ghaas katana</i> (Cutting grass)	Head, back arms, hands, legs. Here some also mentioned it was important to have eaten enough otherwise empty stomach also hurts
<i>Dera Lagana</i> (Setting up camp on migration)	Eyes and brain
<i>Chowkidari/Jaanwaron ka khayal rakhna</i>	Ears were marked as most important as one needs to hear dogs barking when someone is approaching the dera
Collecting NTFP/jungle jana (Going to the forest and collecting NTFP)	Legs and knees
Pain	
<i>Ghaas Ukhadna</i> (Plucking/cutting grass)	Hands, legs, waist, shoulder, head (headache because of sun and heat), back, spine, also feel thirsty in the throat
<i>Bohot chalna</i> (Walking)	Knees, ankles, heels
<i>Baith ke kaam karna</i> (Sitting and working)	Knees, heels, waist, head also hurts
<i>Paani leke aana</i> (Fetching water)	Back, hands
<i>Mahavari</i> (Working when on periods)	Many women denied that they do not have pain during the periods except a few who said that they do get stomach cramps
Pleasure	
<i>Bachde ke janam pe</i> (when a lamb is born)	Face, Smile, <i>dil khush ho jata hai</i> (heart and spirit feels happy)
<i>Dhaar pe jana</i> (Going to the pastures) ³⁸	<i>Dil</i> (heart)
<i>Dere pe Saag banana/roti khana</i> (Cooking the <i>Saag</i> collected from forest and eating food in the camp on migration)	Taste (tongue), <i>dil</i> (heart), joy
<i>Bhed ke bachcho ka khayal rakhna</i> (Taking care of the lamb)	Eyes
<i>Guchchi ikaththa karana</i> (Collecting mushrooms from the forest)	<i>Dil Khush ho gaya</i> (heart feels happy)

³⁸ During the discussion on how it feels to go to pastures, there was a difference that was marked between feeling happy, freer when going to the higher pastures, as compared to when they go to the lower regions. As there is fear, stress about robbery, theft and safety.

This activity led to a discussion that how the body is so important for a pastoralist- both mentally and physically³⁹. There is a need for a balance between the mind and body needed, a sharpness to find pastures for their flock, where to set the camps- near source of water, food etc. Infact some participants also shared that there is a need for a healthy mind more than “the hand”. This discussion led us to talking about the need of an able body for pastoral work and which bodies cannot do pastoral labour. The importance of mentally and physically healthy body was emphasized again. The discussion also went towards the knowledge of pastoralism that is passed on through its practice in the community and therefore being mentally sound is very important. One of the participants shared that, “Last year one boy had gone with the flock, he doesn’t know anything, he doesn’t know the routes or anything. Then he just stands around like a ghost. If he doesn’t know the work what will he do”. So, from the importance of the body, to the knowledge of pastoralism connected to the practice of it which is not found in formal education, the discussion shifted to the future of pastoralism. The lament about losing this knowledge and how the modern education system cannot incorporate it continued. “For this you have to go yourself, do it every day and give it time only then you can learn it. You cannot learn this from books at all, if you say that you’ll read today and then do it tomorrow morning. It is practice.” This led us to ask a question, so then why invest in modern education or schooling? Because times have changed and things have become more difficult was the response. This generation will not be able to take on this much hardship with so much difficulty. It was shared that rearing animals is now a stressful activity, with limited fodder, and hungry animals, there is a lot of conflict with farmers, and the pastoralists face the brunt of this conflict- physically and mentally. However, the discussion ended towards the point that closing this work is not really an option, as this work brings together income, health, and ecology (as pastoralists in practice take care of the ecology). The government needs to work towards better provisioning for the pastoral community, but even though there is pain there is much satisfaction and joy, is what the participants concluded.

Imagining Futures: Dissemination and discussions

In one of the writing workshops, Pawna writes about her experience of meeting Bikhu devi during one of the interviews and reflecting on the fact that if the work of pastoralism will die down, what will happen to the pastoralists and their families. “I think about my father, how will he feel if pastoralism ends. To think about this is painful”. This was a significant thread that continued during our conversations with pastoral women, Pawna, and people in the community. Therefore, it became inevitable that we think about and take this research to the larger question of ‘what lies ahead’. And we wanted to do this in relation to not just take back what we had received as discussions, conversations from pastoral community but also to be able to think with them of what can be the imagination of futures. This was the premise with which we thought of the idea of dissemination. As discussed in the section on methodology, the idea was to introduce questions that we arrived at through this research, share our understandings of pastoral women’s labour we reached at, and a collective discussion on what could be the future of the pastoral community.

Like mentioned in the sections above, the dissemination was planned to have a wider reach and audience, especially the youth in the community and invoke these questions. When we started planning this process of dissemination, we struggled with the process of translating research into a language that is relatable and also creates a space for questioning and reflecting. Further we had decided to interact with different age groups- one was school children at the ages of 15-17 years old and two was youth- 20-25 years old. So, to plan dissemination conversations with these

³⁹ Pawna had spent the night with the women and shared with us how the workshop had impacted them and allowed them to share some private details about themselves. They could not share it during the workshop because of my (prateek’s) presence. I was being looked at as a man despite suggesting that I do not identify as one through pronouns. I still wonder if there were ways of articulating my queerness. I still wonder if there are also ways of relating through experiences which are beyond binaries.



different age groups the attention spans, the cognition and relatability to the content had to be kept in mind. We had a series of discussions on what would be the content of these conversations, how and where they should be located in the broader discussion on understanding the future of pastoralism, how we attend to the aspirations of young people which are affected by development, technology and changing notions of freedom. The idea was to understand the changing notions attached to pastoralism, especially from those who have specifically grown in pastoral families and have migrated with their families. The aim was to understand and share the gendered nature of work within pastoralism, and to invoke the connection between food, ecological conservation and the future of pastoralism. We will discuss the details and execution of these dissemination workshops below, but the idea largely was to use the data as a conduit to create dialogue and initiate questions. One of the things that is important to share about this process, was how we created a story⁴⁰ from our interviews to share with these groups. It was a story that carried many and all stories of our respondents. It was a sharing of the nostalgia of pastoral work, intimate relationship with her animals, connectedness with NTFP and forest produce that pastoral women collected and in all of this encountering fears of changes and a loss of a lifeworld that may end soon. In this process, we also tried to create a relationship with a pastoral life, future aspirations and a changing world.

Accordingly, three dissemination workshops were planned. One was to be conducted at a school in Bir (on 8th May), second one at a school in Lohardi (9th May) and a final workshop in Papparola (11th May) with people in their early twenties. First two workshops were to be undertaken in a classroom setting, hence were planned in a lesson format, including few interactive aspects like storytelling, that were fitting the space. Youth workshop was of more interactive nature and included participatory activities like gender-employment mobility mapping⁴¹.

The first workshop we conducted was with the school students in Bir. We wanted to do it with a larger group of students in one of their classes but the teacher indicated the impossibility of it. The impossibility stemmed from various interventions done by civil society organizations in Bir's government school. As a result, the teacher did not manage to find time with students to cover the syllabus. Pawna somehow pursued around 10 young people from the pastoral families to give us one hour and talk about pastoralism. We met them in a small open space, in the backyard of a community centre, where we began with talking about the study. There were questions in the beginning because we had apprehensions that students might find whatever we were saying boring. The question "How do we start?" therefore, was a significant one. We decided to do a fishbowl activity in order to orient people towards the study. We

⁴⁰ Please see the Annexure.

⁴¹ Detailed plan of both type of workshops can be referred to in the annexure.

gave them a few words/phrases and asked them to write the first word which came to their mind as they heard the word/phrase. It took some time for people to build the momentum but once it was established, they started enjoying the process. We read their associations and integrated them in the introduction of what it was that we would be discussing. This was followed by the story which we read out to them. As we ended the story, we opened the floor for sharing thoughts, associations and reactions.

The responses were about how they have heard such stories from the elderly in their homes and how women have stopped going for pastoral work. Pawna then asked everyone about their ambition in life and there wasn't any response that they would want to be a part of pastoralism. This led Pawna to disaggregate the pastoral economy and establish its linkages with nature, food and the wool economy at large. We ended this discussion with a question "does pastoral work have any future?" There were different views on who would continue this work. While one of them said that the occupation of pastoralism would eventually wither away, others gave various possibilities on why the work would continue. One of them said "if there would be no other source of earning, people would come back to this". This indicated that pastoralism is seen as the last option for the young people in the community. There are other lucrative sources of employment available which make the work of pastoralism unwanted. Young people move out of pastoralism because it is believed that there is not enough "money" in this occupation given the amount of "labour" they do. While this was only one aspect of people moving out of pastoralism, the other aspects were opened up in another workshop which we shall discuss later. As we were ending the workshop, a young woman said "*bhedpalan ka kaam wahi karega jo imaandar hoga*" (the person who is honest will do this work). When she elaborated on this statement, she established a link between caring for the ecology and its connections with pastoralism. She indicated that the work of pastoralism is inherently connected with nature and the principle of taking care of nature is embedded within. Hence, if one has to take care of nature, one would enter in this work.

The next workshop we did was in Lohardi region. We took inputs from Pawna on the story and added some details on the work of collecting NTFP. In Lohardi, we first had a long conversation with all the teachers in the school and explained them the study. They were excited to give us some time with students. We met the students from classes 9th and 12th first and then students from 10th and 11th. We followed the same schedule in both these workshops. There was information about Chhota Bhangal students engaging in the collection of NTFP, specifically, jadibooti so Pawna began the conversation by asking them to name various jadibootis. As they started naming, we realized that the youth in Chhota Bhangal are very much in touch with the NTFPs available in the region, much more than what their parents had told us. The list of NTFP which they gave us was quite exhausting. Both Pawna and Pari Devi (who accompanied us for the workshop) were also amazed because they also couldn't recall all the names so easily. This gave us an interesting trope to talk about this research and we began with talking about the connections between NTFP and pastoralism. We then shared the story with them and like the earlier workshop sought responses, associations and comments from them. A few students also welled up listening to the story because they got reminded of their grandmothers and the labour which they used to do. The story resonated with most people as they have seen or heard this in their family in some way or the other. This led us to ask them about if women can still do the work of pastoralism. Some of them said that if they get married in the house where there is still a flock, they end up doing this work. However, they also realized that most pastoral families are leaving the flock so the occupation is on its way to a slow death. Both girls and boys unanimously agreed that it is now more difficult for women to go for migration and they mentioned reasons which have been mentioned in previous sections. As a result, if a woman wishes to continue this work she would have to marry only in a household where she would be "allowed" to do this work. This took us to a conversation if pastoralism needs to continue. Students again agreed that it is important to engage in the work of pastoralism even if one wants to do NTFP and they shared with us some issues, which if resolved, could lead to more people entering pastoralism. These recommendations are mentioned in the subsequent paragraphs.

The sentiment in the youth is also about introducing changes which make this work much easier. As the work is labour intensive, most young people shirk away from doing this work. What is needed is the introduction of technology however, in a democratic fashion and without the everyday interference of experts in guiding the pastoralists.

The Dissemination workshop with youth was organized for college going people in their early 20s. Eight participants showed up and we started the workshop. We began by giving a brief introduction of the study and talking about why we had chosen to talk to young people. We also spoke about the generation gap, worries of older generation and uncertainty about the future of pastoralism. We wanted to know how this generation understands pastoralism and it's connect with the forest, how they see the changes that are happening in this region.

The aim of the activities was to get an overall understanding of pastoral work vis a vis development/ tourism/sedentarization, aspirations and to make the participants do the journey of reaching the findings of this research. Under these broader themes subthemes like perception around pastoral community, Gender, Mobility and Labour, Question of Food Security and Forest were covered. After this activity we spoke in detail about study findings and tried to pinpoint the changes that are happening in forest, in the region, and the occupation of pastoralism overall. With changes in the forest land with roads, tourism etc., safety of pastoral women is affected, they feel caged and unsafe while migrating through certain regions. Participants agreed that this has negatively affected the freedom of women. The point of freedom was also linked to the idea of respect. This discussion was furthered on the point of young generation's interest in the work of pastoralism, what are the issues/challenges they see in taking up this work. Pastoralism is generally seen as work of hardship that requires immense amount of physical labour. There was a general agreement that this occupation might end in a few years. Younger people getting education prefer salaried office jobs, as they are considered to be more respectable. Work of pastoralism on the other hand is seen as 'dirty work' or 'ganda kaam'. This can also be related to how farmers, with advent of cash crops, started seeing pastoralism devoid of respect. Mobility, freedom and respectability that is received with an office job was juxtaposed with pastoral women's work and lack of respect. In the second half, we asked participants to write on possible things that can be done to make the work of pastoralism or Pashupalan easy. Several recommendations that came up through this workshop along with a similar discussion done in the schools are given below.

- *Expansion of grazing lands*
- *Provision of medicines for the flock*
- *Plantation but keeping in mind what could become fodder*
- *Increase in the price of meat and wool.*
- *Appropriate mechanisms to address the issue of theft*
- *Revisiting land rights for the pastoral community*
- *Provisioning of technologically advanced tents*
- *Provision of walkie Talkies*
- *Awareness by Civil Society organizations*



CONCLUSION

Our encounters with pastoral women and pastoralism at large allowed us to think about relationships beyond the anthropocentric ways of being. Through talking, dancing, singing, imitating and gossiping we found a way to understand each other's different life-worlds, and found bits and parts to relate to each other. It is through opening ourselves up for that brief moment of relating we have managed to know about a pastoral woman's life, her relationships and her work. This, however, was also accompanied with an awareness of our own subjectivities. As researchers trained in various disciplines specifically in English language, we had to be aware of the trap of immediately seeing the community as an exoticized Other. The process of spending time with pastoral women and more so, spending time with Pawna made us aware about the ways of being a pastoral woman which on one hand gives us a way to understand human-non-human relationship but also tells us about the presence of patriarchy, casteism and morality within.

We have constantly been mentioning through traversing the literature on development discourse, ecological discourse and discourse on women and work that they have been limiting and at some levels exclusionary towards explaining pastoral women's experiences. The literature fails to understand the lived reality of a pastoral woman and hence, fails to provide an articulation for their work. Perhaps, it is also the role of language which hierarchizes anthropocentrism and does not manage to come up with a vocabulary for unpacking the reality of pastoralism and more so, pastoral women. Our work allows us to come up with a way of thinking through which we can unpack the understanding of pastoral women's work thereby marking an addition in the discourse of women and work.

In order to explain this way of thinking, it would be important to revisit some points of analysis.. One, the understanding of a pastoral woman's life and work urges us to understand her relationship with the ecosystem. The changes in the ecosystem because of multiple reasons like development, tourism, conservation and skewed understanding of ecology impact the lives of pastoral woman in multiple ways. Therefore, the way this research has been written also moves to and fro between the work of a pastoral woman and the rapid changes which pastoralism is going through. The linkages between the two are complex and in order to understand work it is imperative to understand its relationship with the changes at large. Two, their relationship with animals informs us to think about the interconnectedness that a pastoral woman has with both their flock, other animals in the forest and the ecosystems at large. Their interaction with animals and various ecosystems allows us to understand the work of pastoralists as embodied. It is through this embodied nature of work, a pastoral woman identifies herself and others amidst increasing processes of sedentarization. The nature of embodiment is not only related to the bodies of women and bodies of the other (animals, trees, shrubs and roots) they interact with, but equally defined by the contexts, landscapes and economies they operate in. Therefore, being a mother (to an animal), being nikkami (useless) and sometimes being an animal are significant markers of identity for a pastoral woman. Thirdly, a pastoral woman also engages in works which are beyond the work of "pastoralism" (working on maintaining social ties, household work, taking care of children etc.). This work is largely associated with work done by a sedentarized rural population. As more women have started staying back in their homes, the division of labour between men and women is also getting altered. Women recognize that their husbands are working in extremely difficult conditions but their work in the household often doesn't get recognized. Lastly, this research also informs us about the relationship which pastoral women have with NTFP. Studies suggest an intimate link between NTFP and its potentialities to reduce poverty (Planning Commission's working group of Forest and Natural Resource Management, 2011). Furthermore, NTFP is also being understood in a way which unleashes the possibility of women's economic empowerment (Maske et. Al., 2011 and IFAD, 2008). Our experiences with pastoral women also suggest the same however, it adds certain caveats to this claim. Women now moving more towards the work of NTFP, is also a product of sedentarization. If this work has to be sustainable it cannot be thought about without the involvement of animals and also without thinking about changes in the ecosystem. Therefore, a pastoral woman's work needs to be understood through the interconnectedness of various humans and non-humans they interact with and the context in which they interact with them. In a nutshell, the work of pastoral women could be understood through a diagram which is as follows:

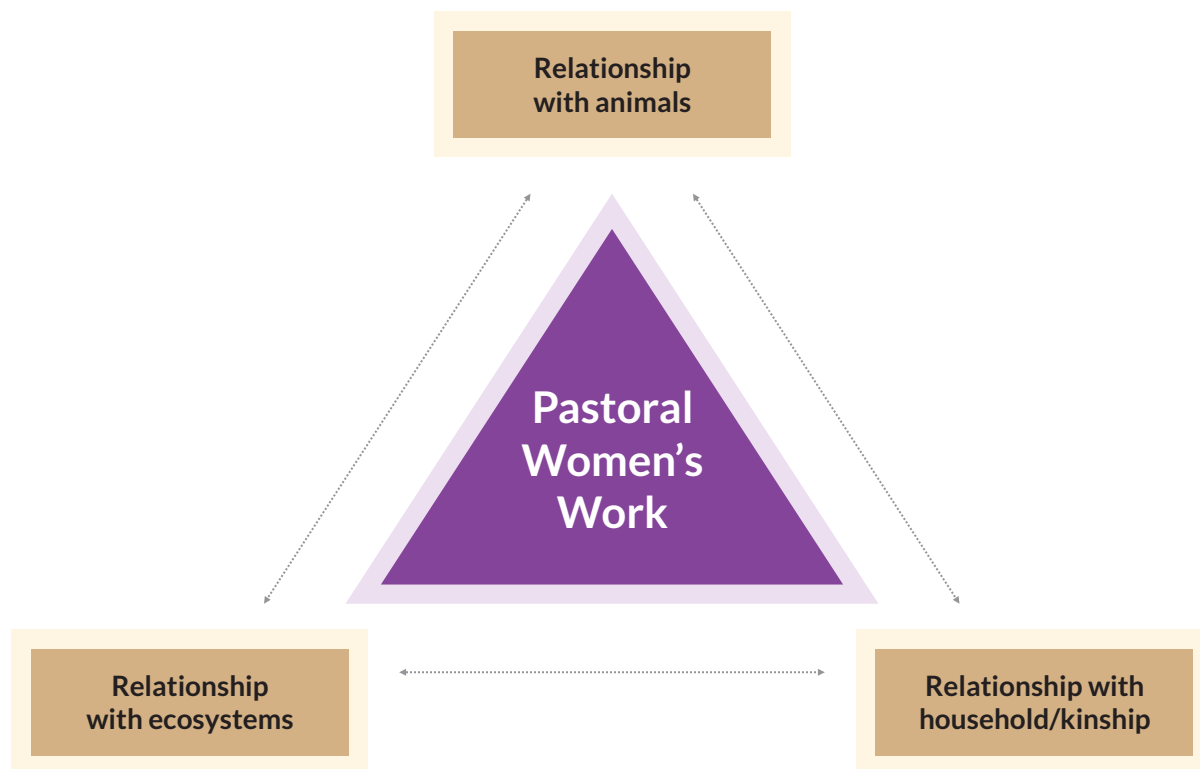


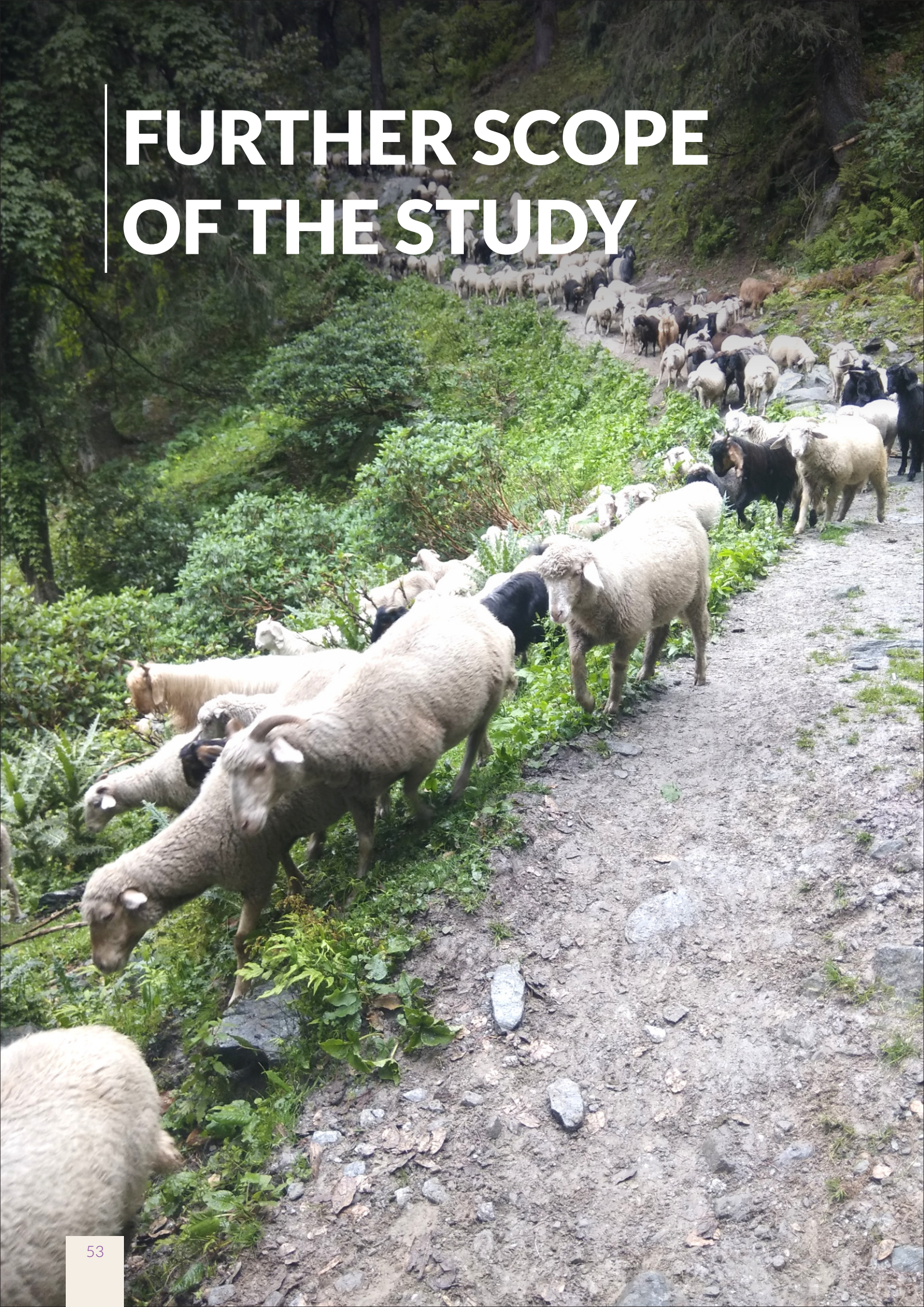
Figure 1

All the experiences shared by women about changes in their lives mostly allude towards sedentarization. Sedentarization has played a significant role in the lives of pastoral women. The effect of sedentarization and the processes which have accompanied it have affected each of the three elements of the open triangle mentioned above individually and, in turn. The changes in these three elements have also affected each other. Since, the pastoral woman's lived reality and especially that which relates to her work is situated right in the middle of these three elements the changes in them alter and affect the work of a pastoral woman. The diagram also suggests that the work of a pastoral woman often transcends the boundary of the space in which it is happening. In other words, the work a woman does in the household, such as preparing a pattu, might be useful when they migrate. Similarly, the work which they do during migration, such as collecting forest produce (both grass and herbs), might be useful when they come back to the household. The diagram above does not essentially spell out these complexities but it, at best, provides us with a way to think about pastoral women's work intricately.

Our aim through this research has been to talk with and reach out to people who view, experience and wish to know about pastoralism and pastoral women's work through different standpoints. Our limited attempt has allowed us to first develop and then share this research with the pastoral communities in order to simply raise some questions around the future of pastoralism and invisibility of women's work. . It created a space for young people who participated in the workshop to think about their own relationship with pastoralism, the changes which have altered women's work over a period of time and their ambitions in life. The research helped us in raising several critical points which allowed people to reflect on their own subjectivities through engaging with the themes mentioned. It would not be fair to say that some of these questions have certainly stayed with all of them. However, the discussions during these workshops made us hopeful that people were involved with these questions.

Our journey with pastoral women in some senses has ended yet begun. The relationships forged during this research also transcend the boundaries of research. There are multiple invitations to visit Bara Bhangal or *dhars* of Chhota Bhangal. Hopefully, one day we will walk with them to these places and while doing it we will get a better sense of the work pastoral woman does. As we say this, a worry also surrounds us. We hope the pastures are as green as they used to be, our young friends also join us in sharing memories of their childhood and we are all able to sing together "*lamba chauda padri da jot*" (the pass is long and wide).

FURTHER SCOPE OF THE STUDY



This study opens a space to be taken forward in multiple ways which are as follows:

There is a need to further disaggregate the Gaddi society in itself. There is stratification within the Gaddi community and because of that the discrimination and the feeling of exclusion is something we encountered strongly. Since, the Gaddi society has been given a tribe status as a whole, there is a feeling of being homogenized amongst pastoralists who constantly mark their difference from the settled Gaddi population. Therefore, there is a need to unpack the Gaddi society as a whole and see women as heterogeneous subjects within.

There has also been an increased Hinduization in the region which is contributing significantly to changing the practices and also bringing in new kinds of patriarchy. Here lies a possible potential to understand the effect of Hinduization on pastoral women and how it changes the understanding of gender within the community.

As mentioned in various sections, this study also acts as a stepping stone to understand the value potential of NTFP in relation to pastoral women. The value potential of NTFP needs to be understood also through various networks, linkages and relationships which pastoral women have with ecology and their work.

There is a possibility of translating this work itself in a way which is accessible to the community and which stays with them as a repository. We have attempted that in limited ways but there is a huge scope and interest to develop this content with this community and eventually take this to various stakeholders and institutions.

Lastly, the study opens up the potentialities and possibilities of using technology to make the work of pastoralism easier for women and the community at large. The usage of technology, however, needs to be explored in a way which moves towards its democratization i.e. easy ownership and use both by pastoral community.

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Annexure

Annexure 1: Participatory Workshop Schedule

Name of the Activity	Purpose	Nature of Activity: Prompts and Guiding Questions
Names and Actions	Warm up, self-presentation, denaturalisation	
Eye Contact activity Number	Getting to know each other	
Labour Stone PRA Give example – Social labour/ Rishtedaari	Explore the relationship between Home and in migration. Questions of work and labour – how is the articulation	<p>The ‘Labour stone’ activity is done in two parts- one to put down tasks that women and men perform while on migration and two when they are at home. It was important to understand labour for both men and women to capture the gendered division of labour. We divided the chart paper in two parts for men and women and used stones (foraged locally) to indicate the amount of labouring activities done by both during the day. We ask them to list down tasks that they carry in a day, which ones of them are performed by men and which by women and accordingly place the stones. We did it similarly for tasks done at home. By the end of the activity, women can see visually, how much work is done by them and how much by men. Even though the migration routine showed that the tasks were somewhat equal for both men and women but at home.</p> <p>Guiding questions for the discussion were as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell your daily schedule and schedule of a man in the family (husband/son). • When you are in your village (Bir) and when you are on the move. <p>Discussion on gendered division of labour on following questions:</p> <p>Q. How are you feeling about this activity?</p> <p>Q. If we see it together, what is the division of labour?</p> <p>Q. If you fall ill, who does all the work?</p>
Short Discussion (Reflecting on the activity)		
Lunch Break		
Rubber Chicken	Energizer	

Name of the Activity	Purpose	Nature of Activity: Prompts and Guiding Questions
Body Mapping: Labour Pain Pleasure		<p>In this activity we first ask a woman to lie down on chart paper and draw an outline. Then tell them, 'When we speak about a particular task which body part comes to your mind?</p> <p>Assign different colours to pleasure and pain.</p> <p>i) making rotis ii) collecting grass, iii) setting up the dera, iv) looking after animals, v) taking sheep herding, vi) going in the forest, vii) collecting jadibooti viii) Getting grass ix) Walking a lot x) sitting and doing work xi) getting less food xii) menstruation while taking care of the animals xiii) birthing of an animal xiv) going on migration xv) eating lingdu xvi) cooking saag xvii) gossiping with friends xviii) taking care of the lamb xix) finding herbs and jadibooti in one place</p> <p>We then initiated discussion after this on following points:</p> <p>How do you feel looking at these two images? Can you see your body in this? (How do you relate to your body looking at these images?)</p> <p>We see from both charts which areas are marked densely and which sparsely and explore why. Mind body divide (Open up a discussion about being able bodied and physicality of the body, age and ability of aging body, speak about menstruation)</p>
Discussion		
Day 2		
Nature and Food	Energizer	
Image	Associations with various elements of pastoralism and pastoral work.	Ped, Bhed, Lantana Guiding questions for discussion: Actions – Pahad chadhana, Jadibooti ikaththa karana, Labour/body- whatever action comes out of first day activity Emotion – Thakaan/tiredness, Ghar, Abstraction – Nikammi, Van Adhikar/kanoon, Bada Bhangal
Discussion		Ask questions on how they feel.
Lunch Break		

Name of the Activity	Purpose	Nature of Activity: Prompts and Guiding Questions
Follow the Leader (Three iterations)	Energizer, Exercises to open up the body	Long breathing, raise your arms, bend a little bit etc.
Mobility map	To understand the route which pastoralists take and unpacking various contours of movement such as theft, mobility and safety	We use props to mark different destinations where people stop or spend a night. As we move from one stop to another we discuss, how does it feel to be here? How many days do they stay here? How was it ten years ago? What have been the challenges?
Discussion		

Outcome of Labour Stone PRA activity (from day 1 of participatory workshop)

Tasks done by women during migration	Tasks done by men during migration
Guarding the flock, cooking food, Making tea, cleaning utensils, Fetching water and firewood, Going with the flock, Evening tea, Cooking dinner, Guarding the flock in night	Looking after the flock, Herding the flock, Gathering the flock, Milking the goats, Selling the milk, Guarding, Giving them water.
Tasks done by women at home	Tasks done by men at home
Make tea, feed children, make breakfast, look after the animals, milk cows, feed cows, feed sheep, pick up dung, put dung on the ground, clean, make lunch, leave animals in the forest, bring them back in the evening, shear sheep, make <i>pattu</i> , buy ration, Working on the field, Meeting kins, wash clothes of men who have come back from <i>dera</i> .	Looking after the flock, Herding the flock, Gathering the flock, Milking the goats, Selling the milk, Guarding, Giving them water.

Annexure 2: Dissemination

I. Dissemination Workshop Plan: with school students and youth

Who (Target Audience)	Why (The Purpose)	How (The Process or Activities)
School Students (11th-12th Std class)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to discuss the research findings. - to initiate conversation on women's work and gender roles - to discuss associations with pastoralism - to open up future possibilities of doing pastoralism 	<p>Fishbowl Activity: first association with word 'Bhedpalan' (pastoralism)</p> <p>Talk about study (findings) -</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relationship with animals, 2. Relationship with Forest 3. Complex relationalities and peculiarities of women's work <p>The findings are shared through a story.</p>

Who (Target Audience)	Why (The Purpose)	How (The Process or Activities)
		<p>Discussion points:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Any thoughts/questions. - Talk about future possibilities in relation to both being part of a pastoral family or non-pastoral family. - How would they like to affect pastoral economy/life in any way?
<p>Youth Group of Ghumantu Pashupalak Mahasabha (18-25 years)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to discuss the research findings. - to initiate conversation on women's work and gender roles - to discuss associations with pastoralism - to open up future possibilities of doing pastoralism - recommendations on making the work of pastoralism doable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name and Action: Introduce yourself as an Animal/Tree - Give an Introduction: Why are we here? Broad introduction about the research and why are we talking to them? <p>Discuss the study focusing on the following themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generation Shifts/Change/Gap - Transition in the life of Pastoralist (Bring the study here: Changes in flora and fauna, land, forest - Questions of Security, Mobility and Sedentarization - Education and aspirations
		<p>Open discussion</p>
		<p>Gender Employment (also Place of work) Mobility Exercise:</p> <p>The House at the center and then ask the participants to locate places of work that often people go to, where are they located within/outside the village, how far, who goes where etc. Also then introduce the question of how much labour is involved in this process, who does what, who goes where. Basically, to reach at the linkage between gender, work/employment and mobility and also at the same time to understand if 'pastoralism' is at all considered an option for employment. If not, then invoke a discussion on that, as to why. If yes, then how and who etc. How do they negotiate new opportunities with Pastoralism or outside of it, within their families and the pastoral community?</p> <p>And their relation with animals, forests, forest produce etc.</p> <p>Reflective writing exercise:</p> <p>After a discussion on this, initiate a reflective writing and sharing exercise to talk about the dreams and aspirations about pastoralism and what pastoralism could be like.</p>

Dissemination Workshop with school students: Story

यह बात लघबग १९७५ की है। प्रीतू तब ७-८ साल की थी। प्रीतू के मातापिता भेड़पालन व्यवसाय में थे इसीलिए प्रीतू भी उनके साथ बचपन से ही जगह-जगह घूमती थी। वह सब अपने पशुओं के साथ जंगल जाया करते थे। वह सर्दी के मौसम में अन्य लोगों के खेतों के आसपास डेरा लगाते थे ताकि उनके पशु खेत में बैठ सकें और चर सकें। यह रिश्ता ज्यादातर शांतिपूर्ण होता था क्योंकि जिन लोगों के खेत थे उनको पशुओं का मल खाद के तौर पर चाहिए होता था। प्रीतू के परिवार को भी एक अच्छी जगह मिल जाती थी पशुओं को चराने के लिए। इसके साथ ही ही किसान उनको कुछ फल सब्जी भी दे देते थे। खाने की पूर्ति सिर्फ ऐसे ही नहीं होती थी। जंगल से भी साग, सब्जी, जड़ीबूटी आदि इकट्ठा करके खाने के लिए इस्तेमाल होता था। भेड़बकरों से भबी प्रीतू के परिवार की खाने की जरूरतें पूरी होती थी। प्रीतू को जंगल जाना बोहोत अच्छा लगता था। साथ ही साथ उसका पढ़ाई करने का भी बहुत मन करता था। पर प्रीतू पढ़ नहीं पा रही थी। उसने अपने माँ को बोला -

प्रीतू - पर माँ मुझे भी पढ़ने जाना है। मेरी सहेलियाँ भी तो पढ़ाई कर रही हैं।

माँ - चुप कर। हम कुछ दिन बाद कही और चले जाएंगे। फिर वहाँ तेरा अडमिशन करना पड़ेगा। बहुत काम होगा ये तो।

प्रीतू - मैं अपनी सहेलियों के साथ ही रुक जाऊँगी नया। पढ़ाई भी हो जाएगी।

माँ - पर अब तू बड़ी हो रही है, तुझे घर के काम और पशुओं काम में हाथ बटाना चाहिए।

प्रीतू - पर माँ मैं..

माँ - चुप कर तू और काम में हाथ बटा।

प्रीतू अब जंगल जाने लगी। उसको जंगल जाना एक खेल सा लगता था। लोगों को देखा देखि उसने साग, सब्जी और जड़ीबूटी इकट्ठा करना शुरू कर दिया। धीरे धीरे उसका पशुओं के साथ लगाव बढ़ना शुरू हुआ। पशुओं के बच्चों के साथ वो ज्यादा घुलमिल गई थी। उनमें से एक का नाम उसने संतरु रखा। वो अक्सर संतरु के साथ बातचीत करती थी। “संतरु.. भाई.. ख्याल..

“प्रीतू अब इस काम में अच्छे से घुलमिल गई थी। वो अपने सहेलियों के साथ मिलजुल कर काम करती थी। चाहे वो पशुओं की देखभाल करना हो, या फिर उनको चराने लेकर जाना, या फिर जंगल से लकड़ी, सब्जी लाना। प्रीतू अक्सर संतरु को बोलती थी, “यारा संतरु.. सहेलियों के साथ काम करने का मजा ह अलग है। जब जंगल जाते है तो सुख दुख की दो-चार बातें भी हो जाती है.. जल्दी तू भी तो जाएगा नया जंगल!”

जैसे ही प्रीतू १७ साल की हुई उसके लिए रिश्ते आने लगे और फिर कुछ समय में ही उसके माँ पितय ने उसकी शादी एक भेड़ पालक परिवार में करा दी। शादी होने के बाद भेड़पालन के काम के साथ साथ प्रीतू के ऊपर घर की और जिम्मेदारियाँ भी बढ़ गई थी। जैसे जैसे समय गुजरता गया प्रीतू ने अपने आसपास काफी बदलाव होते देखा। जितनी आसानी से पहले घास मिलती थी अब काफी मुश्किल हो गई थी। बहुत बार फॉरेस्ट गार्ड भी अब तंग करने लगे थे। इन सब के साथ साथ प्रीतू के निजी जीवन में बदलाव या रहे थे। वो अब दो बच्चों की माँ भी थी और उनकी पढ़ाई की उसको फिक्र भी थी। बच्चों को पढ़ाने के लिए प्रीतू और उसके पति ने सोचा के हमें एक जगह आके बस जाना चाहिए। पर एक जगह बसने के पीछे तो कई कहानियाँ है। वो कैसे भूल गए हम।

एक बार प्रीतू और उसका परिवार सर्दी के मौसम में भेड़-बकरी के साथ सोलन गए थे। सोलन में तब नई नई रोड बनी थी। जैसे ही वो रोड पे चल रहे थे, एक गाडी जोर से आई और ३-४ भेड़ों को जखमी करके चली गई। ये दर और बढ़ गया जब प्रीतू को कुछ अनजान आदमियों ने टोक के उसके गहने लूटने की धमकी दी। इन्ही सब कारणों की वजह से प्रीतू का भी भेड़-बकरियों के साथ जाना मुश्किल हो गया था। वो अब ज्यादातर घर रहके पशुओं का ख्याल तो रखती ही थी और तो और उस से उम्मीद थी की वो घर के सभी सदस्यों का पूरा ख्याल रखे। और जब से घर डाला था तब से खेती का काम भी बढ़ ही गया था।

प्रीतू का मन जंगल की बदलती हालत देख कर बहुत दुखता था। उसको काफी फिक्र रहती थी की अगर ऐसा ही रहा तो लकड़ी, घास और सब्जी लाना बहुत मुश्किल हो जाएगा। और इसका सीधा असर भेड़ और उसके बच्चों पे भी पड़ेगा। प्रीतू जब भी खाना बनाते समय रसोई की खिड़की पे बैठती थी तो उसका ध्यान सामने वाले जंगल पर जरूर जाता था और वो पुराने दिन याद करके सोचती थी - “ओ हो, पहले पशुओं के साथ कितने दूर दूर चले जाते थे और उससे शरीर भी स्वस्थ रहता था। अब तो वातावरण भी इतनी तेजी से बदल रहा है की इसका भी स्वास्थ्य पे बहुर असर हो रहा है। मैं सोचती हूँ की जिस गाटो से चीजे बदल रही हैं, कब तक भेड़पालन का काम चलेगा। क्या भेड़ पालन वातावरण को, और वातावरण भेड़ पालन को, बचा पाएगा?”

Annexure 3: Writing Workshops

I. Writing workshop 1 with Pawna checkpoints:

1. Write about any memorable travel experience.
2. Write about a travel experience in this project.
3. Write about your experience with the team.

II. Writing workshop 2 with Pawna checkpoints:

1. How do you understand labour and work of women? महिला के काम के बारे में क्या समझ बनी है?
2. How do you understand the nuances of being a semi-nomadic pastoral woman? घुमंतू पशुपालक महिला के बारे में क्या बारीकियाँ समझ आई है?
3. Write about problems faced during this study. इस स्टडी के दोहोरान क्या समस्या आई?
4. What are your expectations of usability from this study? आगे चल कर इस स्टडी का कैसे उपयोग हो सकता है?

Annexure 4: List of Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) collected in the region

No.	Local name	No.	Local name	No.	Local name
1.	Kadu	18.	Lingdu	36.	Satavari
2.	Patish	19.	Rattanajot	37.	Chambu
3.	Kali Patish	20.	Chora	38.	Katri
4.	Nagchhatri	21.	Phapru	39.	Kand-du
5.	Van Kakdu	22.	Doonu	40.	Chhikkanu
6.	Van Lassan	23.	Karari	41.	Kyaun (Mushroom)
7.	Rakhaul/Rakhiyal	24.	Bajnaar	42.	Chemu
8.	Mindaal	25.	Ransaane/rasaane	43.	Braans ke phool
9.	Akhrot ka datun	26.	Kandru (jungle mushroom)	44.	Shaade
10.	Junglee pyaz	27.	Van Kachalu	45.	Jamun
11.	Saag/Shaphu	28.	Jarka	46.	Chukri
12.	Phiri	29.	Kokhu	47.	Lesari
13.	Guchhi	30.	Shapru	48.	Badariun
14.	Khumb/Mushroom (Sin Bakar, Lahasari, Kadiyali)	31.	Kichda	49.	Chhachhi
15.	Ghaans	32.	Peepal & Aam leaves		
16.	Mathushar	33.	Phul- Sausar Payi Buti		
17.	Salem Panja	34.	Bill/Bel Patra		
		35.	Hawan Samagri (Bhooj Pati, Akhrot, Kail)		

A series of 20 horizontal dotted lines for writing.

DHAAR PHULAKDI PATISH
PUHAAL
GRASS ROAD CHORI
BHEDU
VIKAS BHEDPALAN
LAKDU
WOMEN
CARE JADI BOOTI
LINGDU LABOUR
JUNGLAAT MAAL
CHAMBU DERA
GHUMANTU
PARAGLIDING



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