

**Transformation in Agricultural Technology in Mountains: A Study of Lahula Tribe in
Himachal Pradesh**

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Abstract

Since, time immemorial agriculture has been the backbone of the mountainous economy and Himachal Pradesh is no exception. Traditionally, in the state most of the people have been associated either with agriculture or horticulture. Land in the hills has been one of structural variables determining social status of an individual and the groups and constitute significant dimension. The paper is based on the primary study of Lahula tribe in Kullu and Lahul and Spiti districts of Himachal Pradesh India. The study is based exploratory research design with an aim to explore the relationship between the use of agricultural technology and social transformation. In the study area, the land is being used for agriculture, horticulture and cash crops. The main focus of the paper is on the impact of the use of agro-technology on family, social and cultural aspects of respondents. To see the impacts, 243 respondents each from both study districts have been taken by selecting randomly situated within the radius of 10 km distance from district headquarters. The results reveal that the primary occupation of the Lahula tribals is agriculture and horticulture and cash cropping are the secondary occupation and almost everyone in the study area possesses some portion of land. Joint family is still an important feature and all family members are engaged in agriculture related operations collectively. With the introduction of new technology in agriculture this relationship has undergone changes. On the basis of study, it was found that the religious ceremonies performed during agricultural activities were high in Lahaul region than in Kullu, increased use of technology lead to decrease in the labour participation of women in agricultural

operation has decreased. The cultural life, family life, social values etc. have been changed with the introduction of new technology.

An attempt is made here to analyze the agricultural structure, the new agro technology in use in Kullu and Lahaul and the consequent changing culture and structure of Lahaulas' economy and society. The rationale of carrying out such analysis is that majority of the respondents are engaged in agriculture and horticulture as their main occupations, the fundamental reality of subjects of this study. Since land ownership in both the districts is one of structural variables determining social status of an individual and the groups, the agricultural structure and agrarian relations are, to a considerable extent, constituted by the land ownership the significant dimension. The land owned by the respondents is classified into different categories depending upon its use, type of Land, land-size and the crop production. However, the primary focus is to analyze the changes taking place in the social structure due to the use of new agro technologies.

In addition to the said, another dimension refers to the complexities of occupational structure of the respondents as most of them are also represented in more than one occupation. Each occupation, depending upon the rewards attached and prestige it commands has its social standing in the village social organization. Though, in the absence of a standardized occupational prestige scale it is difficult to develop a comprehensive occupational hierarchy and social structure, yet by taking into account all the economic activities undertaken by them a tentative profile can be developed. This paper, thus attempts at understanding: First, the nature and type of agrarian social structure which have been prevalent in the study area; Second, whether the development processes, on the basis of which two sets of villages have been identified, has induced changes in

the agrarian culture and social structure; and, the Third, the impact of agro-technology on family, social and cultural aspects of Lahaulas in a comparative perspective. The agrarian studies in India became critically significant after the British introduced new land tenure system in 1784, and subsequent rise of agrarian movements in different parts of India. The social structure which primarily pertains to the nature and type of patterned relationships between the members of a community constitutes an important dimension of primary sector of economy and the rural society at large. India has predominantly been a rural society and continues to be so to a great extent. The early ethnographic, social, anthropological and sociological studies, by and large, revolved around villages, their culture and social organization.

Dube (1955) asserted that the economic system of rural India is founded mainly on caste's functional specialization, interdependence and occupational mobility. Desai (1948) believed that when traditions are linked with economic relations, the change in the latter would eventually change the traditions. It is in this context that he thinks that caste will disintegrate with the creation of new social and material conditions, such as industries, economic growth, education etc. A significant number of village studies in India have been concerned with the analysis of inter-caste relations, village social structure, cultural patterns and historical, administrative and social dimensions. Some of these studies also referred to Tribes. Kosambi (1975) laid down emphasis on the understanding of the transition from tribe to caste, from small, localized groups to a generalized society. This transition was largely the result of the introduction of plough agriculture, which changed the system of production, including agrarian social system, its structure and inter-connections between various categories of agrarian classes dependent upon the agrarian economy.

Bose (1975) described economic factor as a source of both stability and change in social life, especially due to the use of capital intensive agriculture technology. The tribals seen in an evolutionary perspective initially got an opportunity of coming closer to caste Hindu agricultural

communities and learned the skills of agriculture, thus enabling them to understand the importance of material or economic factors, in their social organization. He believed that the best way of classifying the numerous tribal groups in India was not by language, religion or race but by the mode of their livelihood i.e. the productive system under which they lived. Kosambi (1975) who analyzed the Indian society historically argued, "The more important question is not who was king, but whether the people used a plough, light or heavy, at the time. The type of kinship, as a function of the property relations and surplus produced, depends upon the method of agriculture, not conversely." It is argued that the transition from tribe to caste, from small, localized groups to a generalized society largely resulted due to the introduction of plough agriculture in various regions, which changed the system of production, broke the structure of tribes and clans and made them castes, the alternative form of social organization. This process Kosambi traced in part from the evolution of clan totems into clan names and then into caste names. The agency through which plough agriculture was introduced, therefore became the major factor of control in society.

This is a commonly held historical reality that societies all over the world increasingly experience the effects of advancements in the field of science and technology. There is no aspect of human life which has remained uninfluenced by the technological innovations. The rationale of developing new and efficient technologies is not only to bring about economic change but also influence social structure, social institutions, customs, traditions, beliefs, values, attitudes etc. In fact, social, cultural, economic and even political life can no longer be possible without technology (Chandy, 1933).

Mishra (1992) argued high agricultural production with the use of improved farming techniques, genetically improved and hybrid seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides have helped in raising productivity of farms and brought about economic transformation in the villages. The rationale of change is when modernity enters rural areas along with the introduction of new tools

and techniques; the living standard of the people is likely to go up. However, along with, the change is seen not only in technological and economic spheres, but also social, psychological and cultural life. The areas having mechanized farming seem to have, increased the social activities of the people as compared to people of those villages where new technology has made a little in road.

In respect of Lahaul valley, it is found that the primary occupation of the people is agriculture. The land being part of the life of the people, there is hardly any family without a piece of land. Under the most prevalent joint family system, some of the family members remain in agriculture while others engage themselves in business or seek employment in government or private service. Occupation-wise people are not confined to one but different type of economic activities. Nevertheless, farming has been the backbone of the valley since time immemorial. The type of terrain, the altitude of the valley, the shortage of rainfall and the excessive snowfall makes the life very tough indeed.

The question of mere survival forces these people to extreme hard work up to sixteen hours a day, no matter how rich or poor, young or old they may be. Nature has forced them to be diligent and punctual as laziness and delay can prove fatal. An untimely snowfall can sweep away a whole years effort in a few hours. When the farm work is not possible, they spin, weave and socialize. Every household is self sufficient for managing organic manure for their agriculture and horticulture fields, bulls to plough and milch cattle for milk. Thus they produce most of the items needed for their day – today living. However, the self sufficiency fitting their traditional way of life is changing fast due to the process of modernization which has its entry in Lahaul.

According to the Census of India (2001) 4,067 Lahaulas are in farming as cultivators. Among them the men are 1,709 and women 2,358. There are more women cultivators than men in Lahaul. Whereas, in comparison in Kullu, out of 2,123 Lahaula cultivators 1,094 are male and 1,029 female.

The data in respect of Kullu shows more men than women. In comparison to cultivators in Lahaul, out of only 79 persons 60 were males and 19 were females. In comparison to Lahaul, in Kullu, out of total 96 persons 55 were males and 41 females. Further data also suggest that the number of agricultural laborers is among Lahaulas is very small, and the number of males is more than that of females. These Lahaulas doing labour in both the settings are those who do not possess enough land for their subsistence. In Lahaul out of 300 agricultural laborers only 91 are males and 209 females.

The smaller number of female labourers is due to the fact that most women engage themselves in their own land and household related activities rather than working outside. It is only in extreme cases they come to labour force. The agriculture being predominant the number of workers in other workers category is only 28 of which 14 each are males and females. In Kullu, out of 199 persons, 114 are males and 85 females. Among the workers in household industry, the females constitutes a majority thereby reflecting that the household industry, by and large, is female dominated. However, the number of workers is negligible, indicating its dying state. This is the reason that under other workers, namely those involved in livestock, forestry, fishery, hunting and orchard plantation, out of 245 persons 209 are males and only 36 females.

A Comparative view of data discern that women in Lahaul do more work, as is evident from their participation in all types of agricultural activities, except for ploughing and other sectors, such as cottage industry. The women share major responsibilities in the agricultural and industrial production. In addition, as is the case everywhere they have to manage household chores, which is a stupendous task. This is due to the fact that in the traditional societies which lacked market system, the business of everyday living is usually carried out on the basis of gender division of labour (Illich, 1982). In the study area too, the gender based division of labor is mainly

between herding and agriculture, crafts, house building, watermills and work on boundary walls. However, the boundaries between the men and women's work are not clearly marked.

The overlapping between the men and women's is often visible indicating possible change. Major portion of work on the agricultural fields is done by women, such as weeding, hoeing, planting, harvesting and thrashing except ploughing, which is done by men whether the fields are adjacent to the houses or far off. The other activities of women include looking after the household chores, such as food processing, cooking, cattle rearing, taking them for water, managing fuel wood and fodder.

Their involvement in activities away from home and the village provides them opportunities to interact with whomsoever they please, male or female, of any caste or creed. Resultantly, there is considerable communication among women and men indicative not only of permissive culture but also gender equality.

Table 1.1**Respondents, Land and Labour**

	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Self	5 (2.06%)	36 (14.81%)	45 (18.52%)	53 (21.81%)	50 (10.29%)	89 (18.31%)
Family	8 (3.29%)	170 (69.96%)	70 (28.81%)	190 (78.19%)	78 (16.05%)	360 (74.07%)
Hired Labours	156 (64.20%)	17 (7.00%)	88 (36.21%)	- -	244 (50.21%)	17 (3.50%)
Leased To Tenants	74 (30.45%)	20 (8.23%)	40 (16.46%)	- -	114 (23.46%)	20 (4.12%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

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The distribution of respondents in accordance with their response to the question who work on their land or in what kind of relation they have with land and labour, the data (Table 1.1) reveals that in the past majority of the respondents' (69.96 per cent) their family members worked on the land followed by 14.81 per cent and 8.23 per cent and 7.00 per cent of the respondents themselves, used hired labour and leased land to tenants respectively. However, with changing times in the case of majority of the respondents (64.20 per cent) the work on land carried out with hired labour followed by 30.45 per cent who prefer to lease land to tenants. Only 2.06 per cent and 3.29 per cent of the respondents themselves and their family members respectively work on land in Kullu. The data reveal that in the past the contribution of family was more whereas at present maximum work on land is done by the hired labour. On the contrary in Lahaul majority of the respondents (78.19 per cent) depended on their own family, for joint family system has been backbone of land and man relationship. Thus all the members of the family used to be available to

work. However, at present little more than one-third of the respondents (36.21 per cent) hire labour to work in their fields, followed by 28.81 per cent who continue to depend on their family, 18.52 per cent doing agricultural and horticultural work themselves and 16.46 per cent lease land to tenants. This may be noted that the period of work on land being limited only to 6 months in a year, the respondents tend to involve all possible affordable agencies on their farms to have maximum productivity on which they depend for rest of the year.

Table 1.2

Religion and Agricultural Practices

Religious Ceremony	Kullu	Lahaul	Total
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Yes	50 (20.57%)	211 (86.83%)	261 (53.70%)
No	183 (75.31%)	32 (13.17%)	215 (44.24%)
No Reply	10 (4.12%)	- -	10 (2.06%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

Himachal Pradesh being a religious oriented society with strong belief and productive activities initiated with rites and rituals, Lahaulas also observe certain religious ceremonies connected with agricultural operations ensuring that the seeds which have turned into sprouts may grow and yield maximum produce for years to come.

While majority of respondents (75.31 per cent) living in Kullu do not perform religious ceremony connected with agriculture, the majority of respondents (86.83 per cent) in Lahaul perform religious ceremonies. Only a small segment (13.17 per cent) does not perform any such ceremonies. Both the areas where the study has been carried out represent two contrasting

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situations, perhaps, conditioned by relative change that has taken place due to differential levels of development. Notwithstanding the difference relatively less association of productive activities with religion remains somewhat surprising as Himachal Pradesh and Kullu are not less religious than Lahaul.

Table 1.3

Observed Any Changes in the Annual Yield

Changes in The Annual Yield	Kullu	Lahaul	Total
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Yes	51 (20.99%)	200 (82.30%)	251 (51.65%)
No	157 (64.61%)	37 (15.23%)	194 (39.92%)
No Reply	35 (14.40%)	6 (2.47%)	41 (8.43%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

The data (Table 1.3) show that little more than half of the respondents (51.65 per cent) affirm that over the years especially with the performance of land and productivity related rites and rituals experienced an increase in the annual yield. However, a sizeable number of them (39.92 per cent) deny any change in the yield. They feel that such ceremonies are part of the tradition and as such followed and observed by each and every one year after year. The people continue to practice such ceremonies irrespective of the yield.

The comparative analysis shows that while majority of respondents (64.61 per cent) in Kullu do not see any tangible increase in the yield from land after performing the religious ceremony. This may be noted in Kullu otherwise also less number of Lahaulas perform such religious rites,

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rituals and ceremonies. However, only 20.99 per cent do see some change in the annual yield. Such responses in fact reflect on that majority of respondents do not follow such belief that such ceremonies could bring changes in the yield as much depend on the rain and weather conditions. However, contrary to the overall situation and the one that prevails in Kullu, majority of the respondents in Lahaul (82.30 per cent) are the firm believers in religious and say changes take place in the annual yield. A question arises why is it that Lahaulas in Kullu and Lahaul come from same stock and continue to interact with each other, this shows that majority in Lahaul have a strong belief in the religious ceremonies. They along with their family members observe these for many days, which include performance of various rituals in the field followed by offering variety of foods and drinks, especially before sowing the seeds and before harvesting of crops. An auspicious day is decided to plough the fields, and conduct certain ceremonies before to seek an assurance from God or gods for secure sprouting of the seed and growth of the crops.

Table 1.4

Techniques Used

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Techniques	Kullu		Lahaul		Total	
	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
HYV improved Seeds	80 (32.92%)	- -	57 (23.46%)	- -	137 (28.19%)	- -
Chemical Fertilizers	60 (24.69%)	28 (11.52%)	28 (11.52%)	14 (5.76%)	88 (18.11%)	42 (8.64%)
Pesticide/Insecticide	58 (23.87%)	32 (13.17%)	39 (16.05%)	7 (2.88%)	97 (19.96%)	39 (8.02%)
Organic Fertilizers (Green Manure)	15 (6.17%)	85 (34.98%)	55 (22.63%)	117 (48.15%)	70 (14.40%)	202 (41.56%)
Animal Manure	30 (12.34%)	98 (40.33%)	64 (26.34%)	105 (43.21%)	94 (19.34%)	203 (41.77%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

Apart from the ceremonies, there has also been change over to new technologies used increasingly in agriculture and horticulture. This is evident from the data (Table 1.4) regarding the techniques used. On the whole, while maximum numbers of respondents (41.77 per cent) in the past have been using manure, almost a similar number reported the use of organic fertilizers. Only 8.64 per

cent and 8.02 per cent of them resorted to the use of chemical fertilizers, Pesticide/Insecticide. The use of chemical fertilizers is made to have higher yields whereas pesticides and insecticides are sprayed to remove pests and insects. The comparative analysis reveals that in Kullu maximum of the respondents (40.33 per cent) use manure while in Lahaul more respondents (43.21 per cent) are into it. Another 34.98 per cent in Kullu use organic fertilizers, followed by 13.17 per cent and 11.52 per cent using insecticide and pesticide, and chemical fertilizers respectively.

However, in Lahaul the use of organic fertilizers remained higher (48.15 per cent) in comparison to Lahaulas in Kullu. However at present, a sizeable number of respondents (28.19 per cent) have resorted to the use of HYV seeds to increase the yield. Similarly the use of pesticide and insecticide (19.96 per cent) and chemical fertilizer (18.11 per cent) has also increased. The use of these technologies has reduced the use of organic (green and animal) manures.

While the use of HYV seeds has gone up in Kullu 32.92 per cent followed by chemical fertilizers (24.69 per cent) and pesticide and insecticide (23.87 per cent). The use of locally available manures and organic fertilizers has accordingly come down considerably. The similar trends are found in Kullu and Lahaul at present. However, the change seems to have occurred more in Kullu as compared to Lahaul. This may be noted that availability of new technology and the marketing strategies of the companies have brought in considerable impact. The subsidies provided by the state have also added to popularization of new technologies.

Table 1.5
Production Orientation

Production	Kullu		Lahaul		Total	
	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Own	101 (41.56%)	178 (73.25%)	85 (34.98%)	229 (94.24%)	186 (38.27%)	407 (83.74%)
Market	108 (44.44%)	40 (16.46%)	158 (65.02%)	14 (5.76%)	266 (54.73%)	54 (11.12%)
Both	34 (13.99%)	25 (10.29%)	- -	- -	34 (7.00%)	25 (5.14%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

While majority of the respondents (Table 1.5) in the past in Kullu (73.25 per cent) and Lahaul (94.24 per cent) produced for their own consumption, 16.46 per cent and 5.76 per cent produced for the market in Kullu and Lahaul respectively.

The number of such producers is certainly higher in Kullu. However, in Kullu another small segment (10.29 per cent) told they produce for own as well as market. In comparison to the past the production for own consumption has come down in both the areas, relatively more in Lahaul, and correspondingly the production for market has increased considerably. Although on an average per capita farmable land in Lahaul may be half an acre, with only single crop a season, but with better yields the production for market has taken off giving further boost to the economic conditions of the people. This according to the respondents has happened due to better use of new techniques and mechanized farming.

Table 1.6
Underlying Reasons for the Adoption of New Agro-Technology

Purpose of Adoption	Kullu	Lahaul	Total
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Desire for Change	60 (24.70%)	- -	60 (12.35%)
For Increasing Production	140 (57.61%)	50 (20.58%)	190 (39.09%)
For improving Quality	29 (11.93%)	- -	29 (5.97%)
For earning more profit	14 (5.76%)	172 (70.78%)	186 (38.27%)
Yield more crops	- -	21 (8.64%)	21 (4.32%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

The data (Table 1.6) evince that the largest number of the respondents (39.09 per cent in all, including 57.61 per cent from Kullu and only 20.58 per cent from Lahaul) adopted new technologies with the intention to increase the level of production. Almost a similar number (38.27 per cent) resorted to the use technology for earning more profits.

Among these respondents the highest number (70.78 per cent) constituting majority of the Lahaula respondents intended so. In other categories indicating desire for change, yield more crops constituted 24.70 per cent from Kullu and just 8.64 per cent from Lahaul respectively. It is evident from the data that the adoption of new technology has been motivated by the fact of maximization of profits as indicated by majority of the respondents.

Table 1.7
Effect on Production of Crops

	Kullu	Lahaul	Total
Effect on Production	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Significantly Increased	150 (61.73%)	88 (36.21%)	238 (48.97%)
Slightly Increased	86 (35.39%)	125 (51.44%)	211 (43.42%)
No Difference	7 (2.88%)	30 (12.35%)	37 (7.61%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

Further the analysis of data (Table 1.7) indicates that in Kullu majority of the respondents (61.73 per cent) felt that the production of crops significantly increased followed by 35.39 per cent and 2.88 per cent who stated only slight increase and no difference respectively. In Lahaul, more than half of the respondents (51.44 per cent) felt only slight increased whereas in the case of 36.21 per cent the increase was significant. Only 12.35 per cent felt no effect, one may however say that after the use of the agro-technology most of the respondents in both the areas have experienced increased in the yield, with better production giving them higher economic returns which are now used by them for education and health services.

Table 1.8
Agro-Technology and Women Participation in Agriculture

Women Participation	Kullu	Lahaul	Total
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Increased	45 (18.52%)	55 (22.63%)	100 (20.58%)
Decreased	71 (29.22%)	178 (73.25%)	249 (51.23%)
No Change	127 (52.26%)	10 (4.12%)	137 (28.19%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

Agro-technology is an innovative technology designed to render agricultural production more efficient and profitable. The experience of increasing use of high level of technology leads to decrease in the labour participation even in the agricultural operations.

The similar situation has also emerged as the data indicate that little above half of the respondents (51.23 per cent) point out decrease in work participation of women in agricultural activities. Only 20.58 per cent of the total respondents hold the view that women's participation

has increased, but a significant segment holds no change. However, the comparative analysis reveal that while more than half of the respondents (52.26 per cent) in Kullu indicate no change in women's participation in agriculture, there are 4.12 per cent in Lahaul suggesting the same.

However, in Lahaul majority of respondents (73.25 per cent) indicate decrease in the participation of women. On the contrary in Kullu there are 29.22 per cent who argue similarly. But those who are of the view that the participation of women has increased number 18.52 per cent in Kullu and 22.63 per cent in Lahaul.

This is quite surprising that Lahaul which is relatively less modernized has experienced more decrease than Kullu where not much has changed, which is because most of the women in Lahaul were involved in agricultural operations but with the advent of agro-technology most of the women experienced a decrease in their participation.

Table 1.9
Changing Conditions and Cultural Life

	Kullu	Lahaul	Total
Change in Cultural Activities	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Increased	20 (8.23%)	156 (64.20%)	176 (36.21%)
Decreased	115 (47.32%)	34 (13.99%)	149 (30.66%)
No Change	108 (44.45%)	53 (21.81%)	161 (33.13%)
Total	243 (100.00%)	243 (100.00%)	486 (100.00%)

The data (Table 1.9) show that almost equal number of the respondents (33.13 per cent, 36.21 per cent and 30.66 per cent) find increase, decrease and no change in the cultural life of the people respectively. The comparative analysis shows that while two – third (64.20 per cent) respondents find increase in the cultural activities in Lahaul, the majority in Kullu, 47.32 per cent and 44.45 per cent; either find decrease or no change respectively. The increase in Lahaul is perhaps the result of machines replacing human labour, hence more men n women in Lahaul find more time for cultural leisure life and activities. However, the reason for low cultural activities among Lahaulas in Kullu is mainly because most of the family members live in nucleated families and many are away from home (in service) therefore a decrease in the cultural activities is seen amongst many of them.

It is generally believed that whenever new technology is introduced, the previous technology comes under pressure and replacement starts taking place, it is further viewed that most of the respondents in the past relied on the use of locally available manures and organic fertilizers the use of which has come down at present. However, the changes seem to have occurred more in Kullu as compared to Lahaul. This may be noted that availability of new technology and marketing strategies to gain more profit have brought in considerable impact.

It was viewed that the increasing use of high level of agro-technology leads to decrease in the labour participation, regarding the participation of women in agriculture it is viewed that majority of the respondents in Lahaul indicated a decrease in the participation where as in Kullu no change in the women's activities were observed. Lahaul being less modernized has experienced more decrease than Kullu, mainly because most of the women in Lahaul were involved in agricultural activities, therefore a decrease in participation of women was observed.

Changing conditions and status of women also reveals that in Lahaul more than half of the respondents found no change which was already below men however in Kullu an overwhelming

majority of the respondents indicated an equal status of women to men. It is further observed that due to the advent of agro-technology women's participation certainly decreased hence sharing equal status to that of men.

Changing conditions and cultural life reveals that majority of the respondents in Lahaul indicated an increased involvement in the cultural life, however, in Kullu below half of the respondents observed a decrease in the conditions and cultural life of the people, it is also observed that low cultural activities among Lahaula in Kullu is a result of nuclearisation of family. Further changes in conditions and social values have been significant amongst Lahaulas living in Kullu however in Lahaul for majority of the respondents there has been no change.

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