

CHAPTER VIII

Case Studies

The case study on occupation and socio economic status of Bhutias is carried out in three districts – North, East and West. It intends to understand the occupational pattern and socio-economic status between the generation of the Bhutias respondent families of three Bhutia dominant villages of Sikkim i.e. 1) Lachung in North Sikkim 2) Tashiding in west Sikkim and 3) Tathangchen in East Sikkim. Further classification of the sample is presented as follows.

Table 8.1.1 Distribution of Households in the Study Villages

Sl. No	Name of Village	No. of households surveyed
1	Lachung (North Sikkim)	5
2	Tashiding (West Sikkim)	5
3	Tathangchen (East Sikkim)	5

For the present case study five influential families each from 3 selected villages from three different districts (East, North and West) have been taken. A brief description on these three villages namely; Lachung (North), Tathangchen (East Sikkim) and Tashiding (West Sikkim) is presented for reference.

Occupational mobility is generally the look into an inter- generational occupational change, the occupational changes from older generation to newer generation. This section examines the occupational changes over a period of time which may be inferred as inter-generational occupational changes.

8. 1. Lachung in North Sikkim

Lachung village is a valley located in the North-eastern part of Sikkim. Total geographical area of Lachung is 750 sq. km. It is located at the altitude of 8,858'. The valley is approximately 125 kilometres from the capital city, Gangtok. Total area of the village is 2805.82 hectares, with total 401 households. Total population of Lachung is 2495 persons, of which 1796 are males and 699 are females (Census of India, 2011).

Lachung valley has 115.2260 hectares of land as Apple orchard/field, 2074 hectares of land belongs to Sikkim Sarkar, 11.7400 hectares of land is possessed by *Gumpa*

(monastery) and 68.7910 hectares of land is *banjo* (wasteland) land. About only 40 percent of the valley area is utilised for cultivation (Land Revenue and Disaster Management, Chungthang, Government of Sikkim, August, 2019).

Lachung which form part of this study is inhabited by the Bhutias who are known as Lachungpas. The Bhutias of Lachung are the descendants of Tibetan immigrants from Hah and Paro in Bhutan. They call themselves of the *Lopon Lhumdrub* caste.

The actual date and the period of their coming to Sikkim is not clear but it is assumed that they have migrated to Sikkim during the phases of Bhutanese invasions of Sikkim. As history spells that the Bhutanese invaded Sikkim in 1676 (Bhasin, 2012). The language of Bhutias of Lachung is called *den-jong-ke*, a Tibetan dialect which is spoken in Ha valley of Bhutan. The dialect is quite different from the dialect spoken by the Bhutias of other parts of Sikkim.

There exist few differences in the culture and tradition of Bhutias of Lachung and the Bhutias of other parts of Sikkim. The first difference found is that the Bhutias from Lachung celebrate '*Losaar*', instead of '*Losoong*', which is celebrated by Bhutias of other parts of Sikkim. '*Losaar*' and '*Losoong*' are significant festivals of Bhutias in Sikkim for welcoming new year. '*Losaar*' is celebrated in the month of February and '*Losoong*' is celebrated in December.

The Bhutias of Lachung followed a mixed agro-pastoral and trade economy. It means that marginal agriculture was practiced due to the mountainous location and cold climatic environment. So to sustain and supplement their economy they indulged in pastoralism and marginal trading activities across the borders. Historically, Lachung was a trading post between Sikkim and Tibet. However, indulgence in cross border trading has ended with the closing of the Tibetan border in 1962. Now the Lachungpas have diverted their engagement towards tourism as Lachung now has become the most prominent tourist destination in Sikkim. Today tourism is the main sources of economy of the valley.

So we can say, agriculture, pasturage and tourism are the main occupations of the Bhutia people of Lachung.

The entire Lachung valley is divided into three blocks; *Shertchu*, *Singring* and *Beechchu*. These three villages have their cultivable lands at *Khedum*, *Leema* and *Lothen*.

Khedum, *Leema* are agricultural land and *Lothen* is a pasture land. With this the Bhutias of Lachung have been able to carry agriculture and pasturage simultaneously. The total cultivable land of these three places is about 13-16 hectares. These lands are located at lower altitude (i.e. five kilometres away) from Lachung bazar. The households of *Shertchu* and *Singring* have agricultural land at *Khedum* and *Lothen*, while the households of *Beechchu* have cultivable land in *Leema and Khedum*. Maize, wheat, barley, potatoes, radishes, peas, cabbages and other vegetables are grown. Potato and cabbage is grown in ample where surplus is sold out in the market.

As mentioned above, pasturage is also one of the primary activities that the Bhutias of Lachung are involved. Lachung has common forest and pasture land to carry pastoralism. Common grazing and forest land enable them to further their activities without any hindrances. Yak, sheep and goat rearing are part of pastoralism. The yaks are used for producing milk products, goats and sheeps are kept mainly for wool and meat.

Today tourism has flourished in Lachung and has become a prominent lucrative sector for the Bhutias of Lachung. As the Lachung valley which was a traditional village, has now opened to tourism, the traditional houses are being replaced by new houses and concrete hotels.

One of the significant features of Lachung is the *Dzumsa*; a traditional administrative system. According to history of Sikkim, the institution of *Dzumsa* was established during the reign of Thutop Namgyal, the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim. In general, *Dzumsa* means a 'gathering place'. The institution was vested with administrative powers and acted as general council of villagers. *Dzumsa* is headed by '*Pipon*' or Village chief. During the Bhutia kingdom, *pipons* were vested with the function of delegating the powers of the king (Chhetri & Lal, 2018).

The *Dzumsa* is composed of *pipon*, *gen-me*, *chepas* and *gyapon*. It comprises of two *pipon* (headmen), two *gyapans* and two *cheap* (store- keeper assistants). The election of *chepa* was included later in the composition of *Dzumsa*.

The functions of *Dzumsa* includes land holding, resource management and community organisation. The *Dzumsa* also has judicial role to play. The responsibility of implementation and enforcement of rules is with the *Dzumsa*. All people abides by the

rules set by *Dzumsa*. Two *pipons* are elected, one as *Khedum Pipon* and the other as *Lhema Pipon*.

The institution of *Dzumsa* remained intact during the transition of political set up in 1970's. Administrative reorganization of Sikkim introduced the panchayat system of local government which was not imposed in Lachen and Lachung. The institution of *Dzumsa* was officially recognised in 1985 and continues to function even today.

The elections of *Pipon* of *Dzumsa* takes place every year. It happens in the lunar New Year i.e December just after the monastic mask dances. Earlier the *Pipons* were nominated by the heads of the households. Now the *Pipon* is elected by the Bhutias of Lachung. So far there is no women chosen to become a *Pipon*. A reasonable answer was provided by the ex-pipon on the question of 'why women do not have the provision of becoming a pipon?'. According to him, "women are not considered to be fit because Lachung being a hilly terrain and cold place, sometimes they have to travel at night in difficult situations like funeral, sickness, and have to walk through jungles and too far off places for administrative purposes. In such cases women may not be able to travel alone and perform duties accordingly".

Lachung, Namgay Ongdi Bhutia, an *ex-pipon* (ex-village head) says that any benefits received from the state government is distributed equally among all the households. The *Pipon* supervises the distribution of the benefits. Anything that is excess or left out is deposited for public use, like construction of foot paths, maintenance of roads, etc.

8.2.Tashiding in West Sikkim

The word 'Tashiding' is a Tibetan word, 'tashi' means blessing and 'ding' refers to land or place. So Tashiding means a 'blessed land'. Tashiding village is located in West district in Sikkim, situated 27 km away from the West district headquarter, Gyalzing. It is located at the elevation of 4090 feet and lies at 27⁰ 17' 00'' north latitude and 88⁰ 20' 00'' east longitude. Tashiding covers the geographical area of about 663.11 hectares. It has 281 households and 1478 population (762 male and 716 female).

The total revenue block of Tashiding is 663.1140 hectares. Tashiding has total 403.5460 hectares of agricultural land, 167.7420 hectares of forest (*khasmal*) land, 87.0120 hectares of waste land (*banjo jamin*) and 111.1280 hectares of land belonging

to Tashiding Monastery (Land Revenue and Disaster management, Government of Sikkim, Geyzing, West Sikkim, January, 2019).

This village falls under Gyalshing sub-division and well connected by roads from Gyalshing and Yuksom. According to Buddhist scriptures, it was in Tashiding that Guru Padmasambhava blessed Sikkim as sacred land in the 8th century. Tashiding is known for one of the oldest monasteries, built in 1651 by Ngadak Sempa Chembo. The monastery is an important monastery belonging to the Nyingmapa Buddhist Sect. It is also famous for *Thong-wa-Rang-dol* (holy Chorten), meaning ‘savior by mere sight’. Another important feature of this monastery is *Bumchu*, the annual sacred water festival. The place of tourist interest are the Silnon Monastery, *Tso-Nim-Dawa* (Pokhari Dara), the ruins of Pao-Hongri Monastery and Phamrong waterfall. Also, it is famous for sacred caves; Kasturi Orar (Cave) and Lhari Nyingphuk (Gazetter of Sikkim, 2013).

8.3.Tathangchen in East Sikkim

Tathangchen village is located in Gangtok Tehsil of East district in Sikkim. Tathangchen is derived from the word ‘Ta’ which means horse and ‘thang’ means grazing place for horses. Since Tathangchen was just below the royal palace, it was a grazing land/ place for the horses belonging to royal palace and its subordinates.

It is situated at 2 km away from the capital town, Gangtok, which is both district and sub-district headquarter of Tathangchen village. The total geographical area is 521.5 hectares with latitude of 27.3287 and longitude 88.61823. the elevation (in meters) is 1654. Total population of the village is about 936 persons of which 480 male and 456 females with total 209 households (Census of India, 2011).

Total land area of Tathangchen is 191.0350 hectares, where 11.0460 hectares of land is paddy field, 85.6120 hectares of land is forest land, 15.5900 hectares is cultivated land, 3.7240 hectares of land is banjo (waste) land and 75.0630 hectares of land is Sarkari land which includes footpaths, kholsa, khasmal etc. Situated so near to Gangtok, it enjoys almost all the main facilities and people living there are also attached to Gangtok professionally.

Tathangchen village is sparsely populated as compared to other two Bhutia dominated villages considered for the study. The Bhutias of Tathangchen holds both cultivable and non-cultivable land.

Table 8.1.2. Village-wise Distribution of Area, Households and Population of the three Villages under Case Study

Village	Area of village in hectares	Number of Households	Population		
			Persons	Male	Female
Lachung (North)	2805.82	401	2495	1796	699
Tashiding (West)	663.11	281	1478	762	716
Tathangchen (East)	521.50	209	936	480	456

Source: Census of India, 2011, Sikkim, Series 12, Part XII-B.

The distribution of areas of villages, number of households and population illustrates that Lachung has the largest geographical area with 2805.82 hectares of land. Further, it has the highest number of households (401) and population (2495 persons) in comparison to the other two villages. Tashiding on the other hand has the second largest area of land with 663.11 hectares, 281 households and 1478 population, of which 762 are male and 716 are female. Lastly, Tathangchen has the lowest area of land with 521.50 hectares, comprising of 209 number of households and population of total 936 persons; 480 male and 456 females. Further, it reflects that the percentage of female population is lower than the male population in all three villages.

Table 8.1.3. Village-wise Distribution of Literates of the Three Villages under Case Study

Village	Illiterate			Literate		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Lachung (North)	696 (27.9)	312 (44.8)	384 (55.1)	1799 (72.1)	1484 (82.5)	315 (17.5)
Tashiding (West)	480 (32.5)	202 (42.1)	278 (57.9)	998 (67.5)	560 (56.1)	438 (43.9)
Tathangchen (East)	227 (24.3)	91 (40.1)	136 (59.9)	709 (75.7)	389 (54.9)	320 (45.1)

Source: Census of India, 2011, Sikkim, Series 12, Part XII-B.

Tathangchen has the highest literacy rate with 75.7 per cent. Lachung accounts to 72.1 percent of literates and Tashiding has 67.5 per cent of literates. Highest literacy rate is among the male population. The female literacy rates of the villages are less but Lachung has the comparatively the least with only 17.5 female literates.

The figures also reveal that Tashiding has the highest percent of illiterates with 32.5 per cent. Lachung has 27.9 per cent of population as illiterates and Tathangchen has the lowest percentage of 24.3 percent. All the three villages have female population with the highest number of illiterates.

Table 8.1.4. Village-wise Distribution of Workers, Cultivators and Agricultural Labourers.

Village	Total workers			Main Workers			Marginal workers			Cultivators			Agricultural Labourers		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Lachung (North)	1952 78.2	1525 78.1	427 21.9	1707 68.4	1445 84.7	262 15.3	245 9.8	80 32.7	165 67.3	68 2.7	14 20.6	54 79.4	7 0.28	2 .5	5 71.4
Tashiding (West)	650 44	412 63.4	238 36.6	623 42.6	402 64.5	221 35.5	27 1.8	10 37.3	17 63	4 0.3	2 50	2 50	16 1.1	8 50	8 50
Tathangchen (East)	340 37	253 74.4	87 25.6	314 36.4	243 77.4	71 22.6	26 2.8	10 38.5	16 62	3 0.3	1 33	2 67	-	-	-

Source: Census of India, 2011, Sikkim, Series 12, Part XII-B.

Lachung has highest workers as main workers, marginal workers, cultivators and agricultural labourers. Total workers in Lachung is 78.2%, Tashiding has 44% and 37% in Tathangchen. Female population are less represented as compared to male counterpart in all categories of workers, except as cultivators and agricultural labourers. All three villages have the least percent of people engaged as cultivators and agricultural labourers. The major factor for such decline is the engagement of people in other service sectors, mostly in government service in case of Tathangchen and Tashiding and spread of tourism industry in Lachung.

8.4. Findings of the Case Study (Village-wise)

The finding of the study has been divided under three sub-head as per the respective district of the respondent; North, East and West respectively. As it is mentioned earlier these case studies intends to study the inter-generational occupational and socio-economic pattern of the respective Bhutia families. The study evolved over the family background, their occupation, educational status and land holdings of three generations of a Bhutia family. The respondents for the case study were the middle generation, and throws light their socio-economic backgrounds and their parents families. The findings of the same are presented below.

8.4.1. Tashiding -West Sikkim

Case Study 1

Name: Sonam Wangchuck Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 54 years

Marital status: Married

Education: Monastic education

Occupation: Monk

Sonam Wangchuck is a Buddhist Monk by occupation and is also a nominated Chairman of the Ecclesiastical Department, Government of Sikkim. He is the first son of their parents and has four siblings.

Sonam Wangchuk's Father was a monk of Pemayangtse Monastery, and is 93 years old. His mother is 88 years old. His father owned around 6 acres of land at Tashiding. Cardamom was the major crop that was cultivated during his time. The family depended upon the income generated through cardamom cultivation and some income through monk's services by his father. His mother was a homemaker and had no specific income to contribute to the family income.

Both Sonam Wangchuk's father and grandfather received monastic education. The income of his grandfather depended upon the monastic services and from the landed property where cardamom cultivation was prevalent.

Sonam Wangchuck being the eldest son did not undergo any formal education except for the monastic education he received as a monk.

His second brother studied engineering and at present is serving the Government of Sikkim as Superintendent Engineer. His third brother is a farmer and lives in the ancestral village at Tashiding. Fourth brother is no more alive and fifth brother is married and settled in America.

Sonam Wangchuk has four children; 2 sons and 2 daughters. All the children are qualified upto master level but not employed. They have received their higher studies from outside Sikkim.

The family has more than 5 acres of landholdings in the village. Basically, cultivation of cardamom has been the major output from the land.

Over the conversation it was found that he and his family is having a good living condition and good income as compared to the living condition during his grandfather and father's time. All his children received good education. When asked about the economic status of Bhutias in west Sikkim, Sonam Wangchuk responded that 'there are still few Bhutia families whose living condition is not very good in terms of occupation and income. But, compared to pre-merger socio-economic status of Bhutias, the life style and condition has changed and improved in the post-merger period'.

Case study 2

Name: Zamyang Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 67 years

Marital status: Married

Education: Class X pass from Darjeeling High School

Occupation: Business

Zamyang Bhutia originally from Gyangyap is the third son of Thinley Bhutia, married to Nima Lhamu from Gyangyap. He left Gangyap and started business at Tashiding. He bought land and started hotel business and petrol pump. His wife was one time elected Zilla panchayat (2013-17) from Sikkim Democratic Front party.

Zamyang's grandfather was known as Chathak Rimpoche who came from Tibet, Kham-Goluk in 1917. He fled from Tibet as there were clashes and roamed through Sikkim and Kalimpong and finally settled at Gyangyap. Married to a Lepcha woman from Gyangyap, he had five sons and three daughters;

Sons;

- i. Hisshey Nima (Rimpoche) was unmarried who settled at Ma Tshagi and finally settled at upper Risum, Gyangyap spending his life mediating.
- ii. Thinley Bhutia
- iii. Yinden Bhutia
- iv. Palden Bhutia
- v. Necho Bhutia who is now settled at two places, Gangyap and Tashiding.

Daughters

- i. Ani Jet,
- ii. Dup Doma and
- iii. Ani Kanchi

Zamyang's grandfather bought land from people of Gyangyap which at present is used for construction of the Monastery. The land type was both cultivating and Forest lands. Mainly cardamom was cultivated in the land.

Zamgyang's father was Thinley Bhutia, the second son of Chathak Rimpoche. Thinley, Zamyang's father was a farmer by occupation. He had seven sons 7 sons:
Pema Tenzing: The first son lived till 57 years of age. He was a farmer. He had cardamom field gifted by the Chogyal. He has son Palden Bhutia, who is at present Divisional Engineer at Power Department, Govt. of Sikkim. Palden Bhutia has a son Rigsel Bhutia who is studying at Tashi Nmgyl Academy, Gangtok at present. He is also the father of two daughters.

Dup Tsh. Bhutia: The second son of Thinley Bhutia, brother of Zamyang Bhutia is not educated. He succumbed to death at the age of 49 and survived by a son Sonam Ongdi, working as RDA at Daramdin. Dup Tshering like his father is settled at Gangyap. He owns land of about 28 hectares which is a cardamom field. Addition to this he has agricultural land where cultivation of maize, paddy, wheat are grown. He said that income from this used to be more during his father's time but now cultivation has come down as no one works in the field. Dup Tshering has 2 daughters:

- i. Chonum Bhutia who lives in the village and does not work,
- ii. Tshering Doma is a teacher.

Zamyang Bhutia is the third son of Thinley Bhutia, (to whom case study is conducted). He worked as Class 1 A contractor but now is looking after the business - hotel and petrol pump at Tashiding. Zamyang Bhutia has two daughters;

i) Hissey Doma, who did her schooling from TNA and higher studies from Tamil Nadu. She is now working as Junior Engineer and is married,

ii) Tseten Choki is the second daughter who also did her schooling from TNA and higher studies from Simla. At present, she is a Dentist at Tashiding Primary Health Centre as a voluntary job.

Say Say Bhutia: The fourth son was a farmer and lived till the age of 49. He has a son Sonam Wangchuk working as Additional Director in Welfare Department, Govt. of Sikkim. Sonam Wangchuk has 2 daughters.

Lendup Bhutia: The fifth son is 55 years old. He is basically a farmer but also is engaged in business. He has one son, Soyang Bhutia who is studying Computer Diploma at ACTC, Burdang, Singtam, Sikkim.

Lhendup Bhutia has three daughters:

1. Renchen Ongmu is a graduate from Sikkim Government College, Gangtok and is working as a teacher.

2. The second daughter has completed engineering and the third daughter has studied Architecture from Punjab.

Norgil Tsong Bhutia; the sixth son of Thinley Bhutia is 53 years old. He pursued his education from Darjeeling. Now is working as a graduate teacher and settled at Gangyap. He has one son studying at Manjushri Public School, Sikkim in class XI.

Namgyal Bhutia; the seventh son of Thinley Bhutia is 50 years of age and is unmarried. He is working as a graduate teacher at Tashiding. Tsheten Bhutia is the only daughter of Thinley Bhutia who is unmarried and settled at Gangyap.

Case study 3

Name: Dawa Gyatso Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 62 years

Marital status: Married

Education: Graduate, studied at Tinkitam upto class 2, remaining schooling at St. Roberts High School and graduate from

Occupation: Civil servant

Dawa Gyatso Bhutia's fore fathers came from Tibet and settled at Tinkitam, south Sikkim but Dawa Gyatso Bhutia came and settled at Tashiding from 1980.

His grandfather came from Tibet and initially settled at Mo-Chu valley in Bhutan for some time but had to leave Bhutan for some reasons. He settled in Maling for some time and finally came to Temi, in South Sikkim. His Great grandfather was into government job as Chowkidar in Chogyals rest house at Martam Bunglow, South Sikkim. His grandfather was known as Machen Mabepa who shifted from Temi and settled at Tinkitam. He had 2 sons;

i. Nima Tshering, the father of Dawa Gyamtso was married to Pema Phuti Khampa. He was 52 years old when he died. He was a farmer who cultivated products like paddy , maize. He inherited cultivated agricultural land from his father. He had three sons; 1) first son named Palden Bhutia, who at present is working in Assam. 2) Passang Tshering, the second son who studied at Tinkitam Government School till class IV and then went to St. Roberts school at Darjeeling for further studies. Now he works in the department of education as UDC. He has two sons- Sangay Pintso, who works as Hawaldar in Fire department, and has one son and one daughter studying. The second son, Topdent Pintso is married and is recruited in the Indian Reserve Battalion force. Has one son and one daughter studying at Kyedikhang school, Sikkim. 3) Third son of Nima Thering was Dawa Gyamtso the respondent of the case study.

Dawa Gyatso Bhutia's, He got into govt. job in 1996 as Panchayat Inspector in the department of RDD.

In 1992 he was selected into Sikkim Civil Service and appointed as Revenue Officer in land Revenue Department and promoted as Deputy Director in RDD. He was again posted to Land revenue as ADC for three and half years, promoted as Deputy Commission in Income Tax Department, Joint Secretary in Sports and Youth Affairs, Additional Secretary in UDHD. He has three sons:

- i. Ugen Tseten- working at District Collectors office, west Sikkim, he studied Computer engineering from Bardang ATCC.
- ii. Chogyal Dorji- working in Forest dept. He is a graduate from Sikkim Govt. College, Tadong.
- iii. Thupden Rinzing- who is unemployed and graduated from Sikkim Govt. College, Tadong.

Dawa Gyatso Bhutia's source of income is his pension and rent collected from one of the houses in Tashiding. He possesses inherited land and land bought on his own which together makes 4 acres of barren land at Tashiding.

Nima Tshering also has two daughters; Ugen Tsetso- married at Canada and the second one is married at Gangtok.

Machen Mabepa the grandfather of the respondent Dawa Gyatso Bhutia's second son was Thambu Bhutia who was a farmer at Tinkitam. He owned 9 acres of land in total with the production of cardamom, ginger, maize. Thambu has 3 sons;

i. Athop Madepa who does not have any educational background and is a farmer and unmarried.

ii. Lak ching, second son has 2 sons; first son Tashi Naku, is a farmer and not yet married, second son Pintso Bhutia, works at PHE Department, Govt. of Sikkim. He has studied upto class upto 5 and is settled at Tinkitam.

iii. Phuchung Bhutia, the third son of Thambu Bhutia, works at Power Department at Gangtok and has 1 son who is studying and 1 daughter who is a graduate and married.

Thambu Bhutia owned 30 acres of land, out of which 5 acres were all forest land retained for his sons and other lands were gifted to Dathup Bhutia- the Mandal of Tinkitam.

Case study 4

Name: Tshering Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 45 years

Marital status: Married

Education: Graduate

Occupation: Teacher

Tshering Bhutia's grandfather belonged to Dokhampa caste. One of his forefathers Changzey Jhamig was personal assistant of Nagdak Chempo in 1642. They came from Tibet to Kewzing for meditation and to build gumpa (monastery) at Tashiding. During meditation it was revealed to him that Tashiding was filled with holy items so no resources or the building materials should be used from Tashiding to build the Gumpa.

Resources were brought from Kewzing and the responsibility was given to one of the Dokhampa who happened to be Tshering Bhutia's forefather. Changzey Jhamig did not have any child and he was foretold by Nagdak Chempo that he would have children, and later child was born to him named Brah Samdup who also had two siblings. Difference arose between the two sons and they tried to kill each other, Brah Samdup fled and came and stayed with Nagdak Chempo at Tashiding. Nagdak Chempo had two *Gumpas* (monastery) under him, Tashiding and Silnon *Gumpa*.

Hence, with Brah Samdup, the settlement of Dokhampas began at Tashiding.

Tshering Bhutia (respondent of the case study) is the 13th generation of Dokhampa and his sons are the 14th generation of Dokhampa lineage.

Great grandfather, Chogey Tenzing was *Chikap* lama of Tashiding Monastery. His great grandfather had 26 acres of land where cardamom cultivation was carried on upto 30 - 40 '*maan*' (it refers to a measuring vessel) of rice in a year.

He had two sons:

i. Nim Tshering who settled at Namchi

ii. the second son, Passang Bhutia, is a farmer and settled at Namchi.

Passang Bhutia-had 2 sons;

i. Tshering Palzor who is a lama of Tashiding Gumpa has a son; Ugen Tshering Bhutia who is a medical doctor. The second son is Tsewang Dorzi Bhutia, working as language post graduate teacher. He has his educational background from monastery and *Seda*.

ii. Second son of Passang Bhutia is Tshering Bhutia (the respondent of the case study).

Tshering Bhutia is working as a Bhutia Language Teacher at Tashiding Senior Secondary School. He did his schooling till class X from Tashiding school and joined *Seda* at class X where he completed Industry training- arts traditional for 5 years.

He has 2 sons- i. Odzer Zangpo Bhutia who is studying in class XII at Eklavya Residential school, Gangyap. ii. Tashi Bhutia is studying in class VII.

The source of income is his salary as a Bhutia teacher and the traditional item shop he owns at Tashiding Bazar. Adding to it, house rents also raises his income.

The land that he possesses is both inherited and acquired. In total Tshering Bhutia has around 3 acres of land, of which 1acre is forest land and 2 acres are under cultivation land. However, at present not much cultivation takes place.

Case study 5

Name: Pema Wangdi Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 45

Marital status: married

Education: BA (Sheda)

Occupation: Teacher (Bhutia Language)

Pema Wangdi Bhutia, his great grandfather was called Choni Lama. He spent 30 years as Dorzee Lobe (Head Lama) at Llanchi Monastery, West Sikkim. He has one son and one daughter. He was 95 years of age when he died.

Pema Wangdi Bhutia's grandfather was the only son of Choni lama. His grandfather was a monk. He inherited piece of land at Llachin, where vegetables were cultivated.

He had two sons; Lakpa Thendup and Zigmee Dorjee and one daughter.

1. Lakpa Thendup has one son, Tsheten Thinley and two daughters. The educational qualification of Lakpa Thendup is class X pass. He is engaged in business and owns a hotel at Tashiding.

2. Zigmee Dorjee was a monk at Tashiding Gumpa. His source of income was the share received as monk by offering prayers at gumpa and also he was more inclined towards farming and business. He owned hotel and service car at Tashiding.

He inherited the small land, he also added more land through purchase at Tashiding. He owned a total of 4-5 acres land. It was mostly used for cultivation of vegetables.

Pema Wangdi Bhutia, 45 years of age, is son of Zigmee Dorjee. He completed his BA from Sheda in 1992. He has one son named Tshering Topden, and one daughter. His son is studying at Tashi Namgyal Academy, Gangtok. He is a head lama and also works as Bhutia Language teacher at Tashiding Senior Secondary School. His source of income depends upon the government salary as Bhutia Teacher and receives some amount as *Yen* (money) from the people offering prayers from the monastery.

He inherits ancestral property, land, hotel, vehicle from his father and owns a hotel and a shop of his own at Tashiding.

The occupational structure of the respondents in the case study in Tashiding village shows that at present they have engaged in diverse occupations ranging from agriculture, business to salaried job. Interestingly, the Bhutia families have multiple

sources of livelihood and their economic activities have been diversified into different occupations. Moreover, education has driven them, particularly the younger generation, for wage employment specifically for organised employment which indicates an upward occupational mobility in terms of stable salaried income and some social gains in terms of prestige and status of being a salaried person (Marchang, 2016). Their agriculture based occupational structure has undergone change to non-agricultural occupational practices specially with the technological, educational and economic changes. Education can be assumed to be one of the major determining factor for a change in employment and occupational structure of the Bhutias.

The size of land holdings of the Bhutia families are big in size. The land holdings of the Bhutia families in Tashiding varies from above 2 acres to 30 acres of land.

8.4.2. Tathangchen- East Sikkim

Case study 1

Name: **Passang Bhutia**

Sex: Male

Age: 65

Marital status: married

Education: Class IV pass

Occupation: Government Contractor

Passang Bhutia, a resident of Tathangchen- Gangtok, East Sikkim is one of the oldest residents of Tathangchen. He studied upto class V and worked as a government peon in the year 1968 when he was 19 years old. His initial salary at appointment time was rupees 250 per month. Later he chose to resign from the job and started working as contractor from which his income raised to 1000 per month.

He is the first son of his parents and has three siblings.

Passang Bhutia's Father, Tshering Nedup Bhutia was a farmer who survived till 55 years of age. His mother, Dorjee Uden Bhutia lived till 82 years of age. His father owned 25 acres of land, both cultivated and forest land. The earnings of the family depended on the pastures and paddy cultivation. Since Passang's father was not literate, he was engaged and depended on agriculture for his livelihood and income.

Tshering Nedup Bhutia had three sons: Passang Bhutia, Sonam Ongdi Bhutia and Phigu Tshering Bhutia and one daughter Ongmu Bhutia.

Talking about the ancestral where about, it is found out that they have been settled in Tathangchen since their migration from Ha valley in Bhutan. They have migrated from Tibet and settled at Ha Valley in Bhutan for some time.

Passang Bhutia's grandfather and Tshering Nedup's father, Golay Tshering Bhutia was a carpenter, depended on daily wage earning for his livelihood during the Chogyal rule in Sikkim. It has been understood that during Chogyals time they were the common people working for the *Kazis* and *Zamindars* for all kinds of work. Passang Bhutia reiterated that living conditions during the Chogyal period was not good for the common people like his father and grandfather. He stated that "the merger of Sikkim into Indian Federation was also a kind of independence for the common people from the bondage of subjugation under the *zamindari* system."

Passang's brother, Sonam Ongdi Bhutia expired at 27 years. He was serving as police constable. He is survived by wife, Tshering Doma Bhutia and three sons; Karma Loday Bhutia, Wongyal Bhutia and Dorjee Bhutia, who are all married and settled at Tathangchen, Gangtok. Karma Loday Bhutia is a government contractor, Wongyal Bhutia is a government servant, working in Police Department and Dorjee Bhutia is working in private sector.

Phigu Tshering Bhutia, youngest son of Tshering Nedup Bhutia is a retired government employee who was working as a Senior Accountant under Govt. of Sikkim. He has one son; Rinzing Bhutia who is working as a primary teacher at Modern Senior Secondary School, Gangtok. The two daughters are Pema Lhamu Bhutia and Kesang Bhutia. All three children of Phigu Tshering has educational qualification as graduates.

Tshering Nedup Bhutia's only daughter, Ongmu Bhutia is a homemaker married to a Police Officer, who is also settled at Tathangchen.

Passang Bhutia has four children, three sons; Karma Samten Bhutia, Karma Sonam Bhutia and Kulzang Gyatso Bhutia and one daughter, Tashi Lhamu Bhutia. All the children have good educational background. They have acquired their school education from the schools in the state and pursued higher education from the institutions outside the state. All the sons are post graduates and placed in good

position in the Education Department, Govt. of Sikkim. Daughter, Tashi Lhamu is class X pass and is a house wife.

The family has more than 5 acres of landholdings. The family had two storied house, built out of wood, stone, mud and bamboo sticks. Passang Bhutia with his income from the contractual service could build a new two storied house made out of cement, wood and tin sheet roof. Some part of the house has been rented to raise his income to support the education of his children.

The source of income of Passang Bhutia is the house rents which ranges from 40-50 thousand per month. Besides this, income from agricultural and forest products adds on to his source of income.

Case study 2

Name: Giden Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 51

Marital status: Married

Education: XII pass

Occupation: Government Contractor cum Business

Giden Bhutia is the grandson of Tathangchen Mondal, Dawa Gyamtsen Bhutia and grandmother, Phumkam Bhutia. Grandfather Dawa Gyamtsen Bhutia was a Mondal during the Chogyal period who collected the revenues from the villagers. Dawa Gyamtsen Bhutia's wife Phumkam Bhutia had given birth to four children, of which only one survived, Sherab Lhamu, mother of Giden Bhutia.

Sherab Lhamu is married to Phituk Bhutia, who worked as government servant in Sikkim Court. After his retirement he was elected as Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) from *Sangha* seat in 2009- 2013. Sherab Lhamu has three children; son Giden Bhutia and two daughters, Doma Chopel and Kunchok Bhutia. All three children are married and has the educational qualification of class XII Pass. The children of Doma Chopel and Kunchok Bhutia are placed in government services and are procuring higher studies outside Sikkim.

Giden Bhutia acquired his school education from Tashi Namgyal Senior Secondary School, Gangtok. He works as government contractor. He owns a shop at Tathangchen and is also engaged in other business activities. His income also comes from the two

luxurious tourist taxis he owns, house rent and agricultural products like cardamom. His source of income ranges from 1.5 to 2 lakh per month. He has inherited land of around 12 acres, out of which 8 acres is a forest land.

Case study 3

Name: Norbu Tshering Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 57

Marital status: Married

Education: XII Pass

Occupation: Civil Servant

Tracing the family background of Norbu Tshering Bhutia, his grandfather, Passang Bhutia and Grandmother Seden Bhutia are earlier settlers of Tathangchen. His grandfather had two sons; Thinley Bhutia and Thendup Bhutia and two daughters; Tshering Ongmu and Kadey Bhutia.

They owned a landed property of 20 acres. Basically, they were engaged in farming and their source of income depended purely on agricultural activities. The main cultivation was cardamom, paddy and millet.

Norbu Tshering Bhutia's father, Thinley Bhutia and mother Dorjee Uden Bhutia had nine children; five sons and four daughters.

1. The first son, Rinzing Bhutia was in police service who died at the age of 47. He was survived by his wife, two sons and three daughters. Both the sons are working in private sectors and the daughters are married and settled at Gangtok.

2. The second son, Pema Wongyal Bhutia, is retired Assistant Jailor. He has two sons and three daughters. All five children of Pema Wangchuk are government employees in different departments.

3. The third son, **Norbu Tshering Bhutia** (the respondent of the case study) is presently posted as Sub- Divisional Magistrate (SDM), Govt. Of Sikkim. Norbu Tshering Bhutia, is married to wife Roshni Rai, Senior Stenographer at Government of Sikkim. They have two sons:

i. Norden Tshering Bhutia: is working as senior officer at Sikkim State Bank, Gangtok. He pursued his school education from Tashi Namgyal Academy, Gangtok and higher education from Delhi University. Norden Tshering has one daughter studying in school.

ii. Rosden Tshering Bhutia: is working as Assistant Professor at Namchi Government College, South Sikkim. He received his school education from Tashi Namgyal Academy, Gangtok and higher education from Delhi University.

Norbu Tshering Bhutia owns 5 acres of land, inherited and purchased cultivated land. He possesses a paddy field of about 1 acre in the outskirts of Gangtok (Ranka). He also inherited 4 acres of cardamom field (land) at Pangthang, Gangtok.

Owens two houses (concrete buildings) at Tathangchen. Besides their salary, the income is also received from house rent and agricultural products like rice and cardamom.

4. The fourth son Nim Tshering Bhutia, works as Jailor in Sikkim Jail, Gangtok. He has three daughters, working in both private and government sectors.

5. The fifth son, Bhaichung Bhutia works as an account clerk under government of Sikkim. He has two daughters, both settled at Gangtok.

Amongst the four daughters; eldest daughter, Pema Choden is married and is a house-maker, second daughter Norkit Lhamu Bhutia was married but passed away at the early age of 27, third daughter is Ninden Bhutia who works as Office Assistant in the Agriculture Department, Government of Sikkim and the fourth daughter is Tashi Ongmu Bhutia who is also a house-maker.

Case study 4

Name: Jigme Dorjee Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 57

Marital status: Married

Education: XII Pass

Occupation: Government Servant

The ancestors of Jigme Dorjee Bhutia are from North Sikkim, later they sifted to Tathangchen and settled here. They acquired landed property at Tathangchen. Grandfather of Jigme Dorjee Bhutia was Lakpa Bhutia and grandmother Lhamu Bhutia. They had one son Kagay Bhutia who is married to Doma Bhutia. Kagay Bhutia and Doma Bhutia have three children; two sons and one daughter. Both the sons Sonam Tshering Bhutia and Denzong Bhutia are farmers.

Sonam Tshering Bhutia is married to Daden Bhutia and Denzong Bhutia is married to Shophak Bhutia. Denzong Bhutia and Shophak Bhutia have seven children, five sons and two daughters.

The family has ancestral landed property at North Sikkim and also in Tathangchen. The family's main source of income was from agriculture products like cardamom and ginger.

Jigme Dorjee Bhutia (the respondent of the study) son of Sonam Tshering Bhutia and Daden Bhutia, is a government employee in the Vigilance Department, Government of Sikkim. He is married to Tshering Doma Bhutia who is also a government employee. They have a son studying at Tashi Namgyal Academy and daughter is a government employee.

Jigme Dorjee acquired his education from Tashi Namgyal Academy and pursued higher education from Delhi.

Jigme Dorjee Bhutia possesses a land holding of about 2 acres in Tathangchen and about 3 acres land at North Sikkim. The main earning comes from his salary, Jigme Dorjee also generates income from house rent and from cultivation of cardamon.

Case study 5

Name: Sonam Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 50

Marital status: Married

Education: Graduate

Occupation: Government Servant (Teacher)

Sonam Bhutias family is one of the oldest residents of Tathangchen. His grandfather, Wangchuk Bhutia and grandmother Kunzang Choden Bhutia had two sons; Kami Lama and Norden Tshering Bhutia and two daughters; Tem Bhutia and Lhaday Bhutia. Kami Lama married to Pem Dem Bhutia, was Dorze Lobay a head *lama* (monk) of Enchey monastery. The second son of Wangchuk Bhutia and Kunzang Choden Bhutia is Norden Tshering Bhutia who is a retired Director of Education Department in Government of Sikkim. Both the daughters are married with the Bhutias.

The family owned a big land holding of about one hectare at Tathangchen. Most of the land was used for cultivation of paddy, maize, millet and cardamom. Vegetables were also grown to some extent. Earlier the family lived in a wooden cottage which is now upgraded to RCC building. Wangchuk Bhutia being a farmer, his source of income depended on agricultural activities, which was sufficient for his family.

Kami lama had altogether 10 children; five sons and five daughters. The first son was Tashi Bhutia, who is retired as Assistant Director. Second son, Nima Bhutia is Instructor of Thanka Painting, the third son Sonam Bhutia, the respondent of the study is a graduate teacher at West Point Senior Secondary School, Gangtok, the fourth son works as a Court Peshkar and the youngest son, Samten Bhutia is not working in any sector but looks after the family activities.

The five daughters of Wangchuk Bhutia are; 1. Tshering Choden, working as Office Superintendent in the Education Department, Government of Sikkim. 2. The second daughter, Diki Bhutia is unmarried and stays at home. 3. Choden Bhutia, the third daughter works as Upper Divisional Clerk, Kalzang Diki works as a nurse and is settled at Australia and the youngest daughter, Phigu Bhutia is Head Mistress in Government School in Sikkim.

Sonam Bhutia, the respondent of the study is married to Sonam Doma Bhutia and has one son, studying in class 5 at Gangtok. Apart from teaching job, Sonam Bhutia engages himself into agricultural activities which also adds on to his income. He possesses about 3 acres of land at Tathangchen. The house rents collected from the building at Tathangchen is another source of income for Sonam Bhutia's family.

Primary field data result validates that means of livelihood of Bhutia families of Tathangchen has undergone a change. Salaried employment has replaced the self-employment, particularly in agriculture activities, as the main source of livelihood for majority of the Bhutia families. The engagement in new jobs and other allied occupations has enhanced the income of the family. Agriculture has become secondary activity for most of them. Case study shows that employment in agriculture sector is lower among Bhutia families of Tathangchen than the Bhutia families of Lachung and Tashiding. The extent of salaried employment is higher bringing a occupational shift among the Bhutia community.

Most of the Bhutia houses in Tathangchen are multi-storied buildings which are given on rents to the tenants. House rents supplement their incomes.

8.4.3. Lachung -North District

Case study 1

Name: Nangey Ghalley

Sex: Male

Age: 84 years

Marital status: Married

Education: Illiterate

Occupation: Farmer

Nangey Ghalley's great grandfather was the person who laboured during the building of Lachung Gumpa. He carried wood logs for the monastery. His name was Palgey Bhutia and had eight children.

Nangey Ghalley's father, Gyamtso Bhutia had five children, three sons and two daughters, of which only two survived and rest three died.

Nangey Ghalley the respondent of the study has three children, one son and two daughters. His son Yangdol Bhutia works as chowkidar for Lachung Rimpoche, and one daughter works in the field. None of his children are educated. His son Yangdol has three sons- the first one, Topden Bhutia who runs travel agency at Gangtok. Second son, Dorji Gyatso is class 10 pass who studied at Lachung school, now drives his own tourist vehicle, and the third son, Karma Zigmee is a monk.

Nangey Ghalley is a farmer by occupation. Cultivation of apple, cauliflower, cabbages, wheat are the main products. However, these items are grown for family consumption only. He used to grow three pate (bora) of wheat alone and sell at Mangan. He said working keeps one healthy and away from sickness. While interacting he used the proverb- "*look at the bird and drink water and look at people's hard work and follow their work*".

Nangey Ghalley's source of income is not much, but whatever is grown and sold was sufficient for their living. He was also engaged in Pasturage. Yak and cow milk products were used for home consumption. He reiterated that both the animals and cultivation has decreased now days due to modernization.

For him, Chogyas period was good, because modernization has spoilt the tradition. To put his words down in writing, he said "*lee pant (meaning jeans pants) has come*

into fashion but he still has been able to maintain the tradition of his own. The people of modern world fail to preserve their tradition. To him wearing traditional dresses (addressing to bakhu) should be compulsory while going to gumpa (monastery) and attending meetings etc., if not fine should be issued". He feels disheartened when people today do not follow the traditional rules. Earlier rules were good as people followed religiously without questioning but these days it is not so. He fears that the old tradition might vanish due to modernisation and development.

Looking at him, one can say that he is still a rigid follower of old tradition of his community. He still has kept his hair long, plated and circled round his head. This tradition was followed earlier for both male and female.

He says, *"Earlier people had to work very hard but also people were healthy because of healthy food they ate. These days good healthy food is not available so people are victim of many diseases."* He further adds that people today have better and easy lifestyle. Working has become easier and they need not work hard like in earlier days.

When asked about his education, he said, earlier education was not important because they had to work in the field. He being the eldest son did not have to study.

Case study 2

Name: **Chokey Lachungpa**

Sex: Female

Age: 85 years

Marital status: Married

Education: Illiterate

Occupation: Farmer

Chokey Lachungpa, the respondent of the study is a 85 years old lady. She does not remember in detail about her ancestors but has heard that her grandfather's name was Zombe Lachungpa. Her father had 11 children; 4 sons and 8 daughters. Her father was a farmer and did not go to school.

Chokey Lachungpa has six children: 3 sons and daughters each. Amongst the sons;

- i. Pema Lhendup is a monastic Teacher at Lachung school. He is the only son with sound educational background.

- ii. The second son- Thapchey- owns lodge at Lachung and carries business work.
- iii. Dadul Tshering is a farmer.
- iv. Among daughters- one is married at Lachung, one at Namok and one at Gangtok.

During her father's time they used to eat Champa (wheat powder) and maize as it was difficult to get rice at that time. They cultivated cabbage, maize, potato and even today the same is carried out. She still works in the field, and smilingly says she has not visited hospital even once, which shows that they used to have a healthy life.

When asked about the development in the present days, she feels Raja or the Chogyal rule was good and had good relations among all.

3.3 Case study 3

Name: Namgay Ongdi Bhutia

Sex: Male

Age: 67 years

Marital status: Married

Education: Class XII

Occupation: Ex- Pipon - Lachung

Namgay Ongdi Bhutia's grandfather was Tenzing Durge who had 11 children; 7 sons and 4 daughters. Not much details could be acquired about his ancestors.

His father's name was Norden Bhutia. He was basically a farmer and also owned yaks, through which pasturage was carried. More than being engaged in agricultural activities, pasturage was his priority and the main source of income to the family. He had 9 children- 7 sons and 2 daughters.

Namgay Ongdi Bhutia was one of the son of Norden Bhutia. He is 67 years of age now. He is the ex-*Pipon* (village head) of Lachung. He became *Pipon* in 12 Dec, 2015.

Namgay Ongdi Bhutia's wife was Drenchy who is 46 years of age. They have two sons and 2 daughters. The eldest son is settled at Lachung and is a businessman. He owns a tourist lodge at Lachung. The second son is a monk.

The first daughter is a teacher in government school and the second is studying at PNG, Gangtok.

Namgay Ongdi Bhutia possesses cultivated land of about 0.57 acre at Lachung. In addition to this, he is engaged in pastoral activities at larger extent, of which he owns about 50 yaks. His income is supplemented by the dairy products of yaks, in addition to the rents generated from the homestay and a shop at Lachung bazar. The earnings of the family are mostly generated during the peak tourist seasons (February to May) which is sufficient to sustain the needs of the family for a year.

Case Study 4

Name: **Pintso Dorjee Bhutia**

Sex: Male

Age: 41

Marital status: married

Education: MA

Occupation: Government Employee

Pintso Dorjee Bhutia, is a government employee at Lachung. His grandfather's name is Thendup Bhutia who is 86 years of age and he is among the early settlers of Lachung.

Thendup Bhutia was a farmer by occupation and his source of income was depended upon farming. Cabbage, potato and wheat were the most cultivated items in his one-hectare land. The cultivated items were used for family consumption only.

Thendup Bhutia has two sons; Tsewang Topgay and Topchung Bhutia, and two daughters; Uden Bhutia and Passankit Bhutia. Topchung Bhutia died at early age.

Tsewang Topgay is 66 years old. He has his education qualification upto class III and has worked as Chowkidar and Sikkim Guard during the Chogyals time.

He has two sons, and three daughters.

1. First son, Pintso Dorjee Bhutia is a Master degree holder. Pintso Dorjee despite being government employee owns a tourist lodge at Lachung with an income of about 3 lacs per annum. In addition to this he has inherited landed property of 1 acre at Lachung and 2 acres at Gangtok. Pintso Dorjee Bhutia has RCC building at Gangtok where half of the building is rented for business purposes.

2. Second son, is Wangchuk Bhutia is class V pass who is engaged in business and is running tourist lodge at Lachung.

Tsewang Topgay's three daughters: Chanzom Bhutia, Yangchen Bhutia and Pema Bhutia. Two of the daughters are settled at Gangtok and owns a shop at Gangtok Bazaar. All daughters have their educational qualifications upto class X.

Case Study 5

Name: **Sonam Bhutia**

Sex: Male

Age: 45

Marital status: married

Education: class XII

Occupation: Government Servant

Sonam Bhutia, son of Pema Chewang Lachungpa is a permanent settler of Lachung. He is a government servant and works as a Ranger Officer in Forest Department, Government of Sikkim. Sonam Bhutia's grandfather Topgay Bhutia was 95 years old when he died. He was a farmer with cultivated land of 1.4 acres.

Topgay Bhutia had three sons; Nima Chewang Lachungpa, Kunga Chewang Nima and Pema Chewang Lachungpa. Chewang Lachungpa and Kunga Chewang Lachungpa, both of them served as monk in the monastery. Apart from two sons, Topgay Bhutia also had two daughters. Topgay Bhutias income basically depended upon the agricultural activities.

Sonam Bhutia the respondent for the study is a government employee. He has education qualification as graduate from Sikkim.

Besides being a government employee, he is involved in other business activities like running a shop and tourist lodge at Lachung. Agricultural activities is his area of interest, although agriculture being less preferred due to time factor. Moreover, he owns a house and landed property of around 0.45 acre at Gangtok.

It appears that Bhutia families of Lachung have a multiple occupations with mixed source of income. Income is presently earned through different occupation beside the traditional one by the Bhutia people in Lachung. For many households traditional occupation alone could not meet the modern requirements and hence, they are engaged into a subsidiary occupation. The subsidiary occupation is one which is adopted to earn additional income which constitutes a part of his income. Income from construction of modern houses and buildings that has been used as hotels, home stay

and shops is the major source of income for the people. Buildings are given in lease for opening of hotels, home-stays and shops. More importantly, income from the tourism sector has contributed to the income of Bhutia families.

Also, the younger generation are into salaried jobs mostly in government sector. A transition of their livelihood system from agricultural to non-agricultural pursuits is evident. Shift from agriculture to non-agriculture urban pursuits, informal to formal sector and traditional to modern occupations and services is noticed. A similar pattern and trend prevails in other two areas; Tashiding and Tathagchen.

8.5. Major Findings of Case Studies

The overall trend obtained through the case studies indicates many transformations being taken place in the occupational pattern and socio-economic status between the generation of Bhutia families in Sikkim.

There is noticeable diversification in their occupation pattern which is usually considered to be a positive development as it constitutes an essential part of growth. Agriculture was their traditional occupation. It is seen that amongst first generation (respondents' parents) people were more dependent on agriculture as the main source of income. What derives from the case studies is that the involvement in parental occupation has declined. The second generation people were not only dependent on agriculture as a main source of income but they were also engaged in other activities like tourism, government services and renting house etc. for their source of income. They have got other job avenues with the changing economic pattern of the state which was not available in the time of the first generation people. Bhutias are pursuing other alternative occupations as salaried jobs in both private and government sectors, businessmen and entrepreneurs.

Expectedly, the size of Bhutia agricultural households, both as agriculturist and agricultural labour has declined in all the three villages: Tashiding, Tathangchen and Lachung. However, analyses of the case studies show that Bhutia people owned largely an inherited land and have added more lands by themselves.

When we see the size of the family in the first generation, the size of the family is relatively bigger than the second generation. The decrease in the family size may be

education and awareness of family planning and also the change in the belief system of the people in general. Among the surveyed Bhutia families, the structure of the family shows the existence of mostly nuclear type.

A growing trend of learning and receiving education is observed among the Bhutia group. The first generation Bhutia people were rarely educated and many have not received any formal education but in the following generation (second generation, respondent) it is seen that almost all have received either formal or monastic education. This may be because in the time of the first-generation school facilities were not available as education system started very late in Sikkim. Moreover, in the third generation (respondent's children) it is found that majority of them have received education up to graduation and most of them have received their higher education outside Sikkim.

Joining the Indian mainstream and the foundation of democratic state has contributed to the exposure of the Bhutia and the diversification from their traditional occupation into modern job avenues. They have opened small shops to supplement their incomes. La- chung has emerged as a tourist destination

Pursuit of education and literacy has increased from earlier generation to the present. However, notable disparity in the levels of education between male and female and between rural and urban is observed.

Adopting a new occupation has contributed in increase in their other livelihood assets. The changing occupational patterns is also examined with reference to educational impact. It is observed that education has a direct impact on upward occupational mobility. Thus, the findings of the case studies gives a clear understanding of how generational changes have taken place among the Bhutias of Sikkim.