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Cultural sustainability in Uttarakhand: The role of indigenous commodities in ritual preservation

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Abstract

The cultural landscape of Uttarakhand is intricately embedded in ritualistic practices that derive their meaning and materiality from locally available traditional commodities. These commodities—ranging from agrarian products and forest resources to handcrafted textiles and ritual artifacts—not only support livelihoods but also act as cultural signifiers that anchor communal identity and continuity. However, rapid socio-economic transitions, globalization, and ecological pressures have disrupted the production, accessibility, and intergenerational transmission of these culturally embedded materials, posing significant challenges to the sustainability of local ritual practices.

This study critically examines the symbiotic relationship between traditional commodities and the retention of local cultural rituals in Uttarakhand. Drawing on interdisciplinary frameworks from cultural anthropology, sustainable development, and heritage studies, it investigates the emerging issues—such as commoditisation, cultural homogenization, and policy neglect—that threaten the survival of place-based ritual knowledge systems. The paper further interrogates the role perspectives of key stakeholders, including indigenous practitioners, local governance institutions, civil society, and the tourism sector, in negotiating the preservation and reinvention of cultural expressions within contemporary socio-economic contexts.

Through a combination of field-based observations, policy analysis, and stakeholder interviews, the research underscores the need for a contextually grounded, participatory approach that revalorizes traditional knowledge systems while fostering resilience through cultural entrepreneurship, community-based resource management, and culturally sensitive development planning. The findings aim to contribute to the broader discourse on cultural sustainability in mountain regions and offer a replicable framework for safeguarding intangible heritage in similar socio-ecological settings.

Keywords: Cultural sustainability, traditional commodities, ritual practices, intangible cultural heritage, community-based development, socio-economic transitions, cultural identity

Introduction

The Indian Himalayan region, and particularly the state of Uttarakhand, is a reservoir of rich cultural diversity shaped by its geography, ecology, and centuries of civilizational continuity. Known as *Dev Bhoomi*—the Land of the Gods—Uttarakhand is home to numerous ethnic communities, each possessing a unique repertoire of rituals, festivals, oral traditions, and symbolic practices. At the heart of these cultural expressions lies a deep interdependence with the natural environment, manifested in the everyday use of traditional commodities—locally sourced and crafted items that are not only functional but are imbued with cultural and spiritual significance.

Traditional commodities such as *mandua* (finger millet), *bhatt* (black soybeans), copper utensils, woolen garments, bamboo products, medicinal herbs, and ritual-specific items like *diya* (earthen lamps), *dhoop* (incense), and *pithoragarhi* folk art are integral to the performance of local customs. These materials are more than economic goods; they are carriers of memory, identity, and symbolic meaning. Their use reinforces a sense of place, belonging, and continuity within the community, particularly in rituals surrounding birth, marriage, death, agricultural cycles, and religious observances.

However, this deep-rooted cultural fabric is under increasing strain. Rapid urbanization, demographic shifts, market liberalization, and the intrusion of globalized consumer culture have significantly altered patterns of production, exchange, and consumption in rural Uttarakhand. Traditional knowledge systems are being eroded, younger generations are migrating to urban centers, and many cultural practices are either being commercialized or replaced by homogenized alternatives. As a result, both tangible and intangible aspects of local culture—especially ritual practices that rely on specific materials—are becoming

endangered.

Additionally, environmental degradation and changing land-use patterns have led to the depletion of many natural resources that once supported the production of these traditional commodities. Climate change has also affected agroecological cycles, threatening the availability of ritual grains and forest products. These transformations not only jeopardize cultural sustainability but also disrupt community cohesion and intergenerational identity formation.

In this context, retaining cultural rituals through the continued use and promotion of traditional commodities becomes a critical strategy for safeguarding intangible heritage. Yet, this is not a task for communities alone. It requires a multi-stakeholder approach, involving local artisans, cultural practitioners, policymakers, NGOs, researchers, and the tourism sector. Each actor brings a unique perspective and sets of responsibilities to the preservation and reinvention of cultural traditions.

Food Culture of Uttarakhand

Food culture varies across Uttarakhand and is governed largely by the accessibility of the area concerned. To meet the requirement of food for subsistence, local communities have identified a large number of plant species from the wild natural stand. In order to ensure the food and nutritional requirement local farming communities have encouraged the utilization of cultivated as well as wild edible plant species, available in the surrounding environment (Arora and Pandey, 1996) [2]. Villages at higher altitude rarely have access to fresh vegetables and fruit, so meat- often sundried- is an important constituent of the diet, along with plenty of locally brewed liquor to ward off the winter chills. Coarse, local grains such as “mandua” and “barley” are consumed more than wheat or rice, both of which are scarce. Wild edible plants constitute a large portion of food consumed by local inhabitants in tribal and hilly areas. Local people have wonderful skill to identify these, their palatability, products and preparations. In the lower hills, vegetables and lowland grains like wheat, rice and lentils are consumed more commonly; the incidence of vegetarianism is also much higher than in the colder parts of the state. The use of dairy products is fairly limited, and it can be easily seen the endless glasses of tea which make up a normal day in the life of a Pahari villager.

Diversification of food recipes is a major specialty of the region. Crops grown in the region and surrounding plant species are the sources of raw material for preparation of food recipes. The large number of crops and wild edible plant species are the contributing factors to a large number of traditional food recipes for the subsistence needs for local inhabitants. Traditional food of Uttarakhand can be divided into following categories in which sugar, jagri and ghee are main ingredients for sweet dishes and salt, vegetable oil, chillies and other spices are commonly used in each vegetable and other preparations. Traditional staple food recipes from cereals can be noted as Chaulai ka bhaat (Amaranth), Kutu ki roti (Buckwheat), Jhangora ka bhaat (Burnyard millet), Jhangora ki roti (Burnyard millet flour), Madua ki roti (Finger millet flower), Lesuwa roti (Finger millet and wheat flour), Kauni ka bhaat (Dehusked Foxtail millet), Kauni ki roti (Dehusked Foxtail millet), Ginja (Dehusked Foxtail millet and black soyabean), Tilkuta (Rice, Black gram and sesame), Meetha Bhaat (Rice and Jagri), Chhachhiya (Rice and curd), Chhola roti (Wheat

flour, jagri and ghee), Chhoi or Chhabua (Wheat flour, jagri and ghee), Mash ki bedu roti (Wheat flour, Black gram), Gahat ki bedu roti (Wheat flour, Horse gram), Lobia ki bedu roti (Wheat flour, Cow peas), Gurush ki bedu roti (Wheat flour and Rice bean), Joula or Bhatia (Rice, Black Soyabean).

Dishes made in the traditional recipes from pulses are Bhat ke dubke (Black seeded Soyabean), Gahat ke dubke (Horsegram), Urad ka chaise (Blackgram), Lobia ka chaise (Cowpeas), Chutkani (Black seeded soybean) and Gahat ki dal (Horsegram, heeng). Few of the traditional sweet dishes from Uttarakhand may be named as Chaulai ki kheer (Amaranth seeds in milk), Chaulai ka halwa (Amaranth seeds with coconut husk), Ogal or phaphar ka halwa (Buckwheat), Jhangora ka halwa (Barnyard millet in milk), Kauni ki kheer (Foxtail millet in milk), Madua ki badi (Finger millet and jagri), Jhangora ka halwa (Barnyard millet and jagri), Chamchuda (Rice), Puwe (Wheat flour), Gehun ki khumani (Wheat and milk), Makka ki Khumani (Maize and milk), Makki ka chhabua (Green Maize seeds), Signal (Rice and udal roots), Til ka pin (Sesame seeds), Arsa (Rice) Leta or Lapsi (Wheat flour and milk), Methi ke laddu (Fenugreek seeds and besan), Kanaka (Wheat and Milk) and Kaddu ka halwa (Matured pumpkin, cheese nuts). There are many recipes used as substitute of the items, which are meagerly produced in the region. (Mehta, Negi, Ojha: 2009) [7]. Each of the recipes plays the significant role in harmonization with the weather and changing climatic conditions.

The present study seeks for the scope to retain the traditional food recipes in the fast era of globalization, where everything needs an intention to change its present state of art.

The Effects on Modern Food Habits on Uttarakhand

Globalization killed the meaning of traditional food. By spreading too many restaurants in the cities, the traditional food has changed effectively. Traditional shops nowadays are with no earnings due to the spread of junk food restaurants. Globalization can take the countries off their traditions by spreading the junk food, or sometimes they can trade the traditional food but in a fast-food restaurant. Changing traditions can affect the cultures and the build of the new generations. Fast food restaurants like KFC, McDonalds, Pizza Hut, Dominos, Café Coffee Day are the examples, which affects the traditions in India and in Uttarakhand too because of their tempting foods in the restaurant. These foods neither suits with the climatic conditions of the state nor the nutritional value as of our requirement. Children are very influenced by these new food traditions easily. Traditional food are being affected in terms that people will no longer interest to eat from the traditional popular restaurants. In the Pahadi traditions, people used to gather for dinner and lunch. But after the spread of the junk food, every member in the family prefers to order or go to the nearest restaurant to have food.

People are not only even habituated to the restaurants; the multi-national companies reached to the home of food-lovers. Now-a-days, it can be easily seen that the kitchen cabinet is loaded with Tomato sauce, Jams, Squash, Tinned & Bottles food items and even ready-made masalas. The refrigerators are loaded with butter, cheese and semi-finished packed foods.

Outcomes of changes by the food habits

As mentioned in earlier, we see the results of the gradual changes after a generation in any culture. It happens also with the food culture. The hill state, Uttarakhand can never be considered as an exception. The food habit and preparation of various dishes depend upon the availability of crops and surrounding vegetation. Crops grown in the region and surrounding plant species are the sources of raw material for preparation of food recipes. The large number of crops and wild edible plant species are the contributing factors to a large number of traditional food recipes for subsistence need for local inhabitants. Traditional foods of Uttarakhand are a very good combination of available millets, pulses and other material.

The productivity of pulses is recorded gradually reduced in the region. Pulses are grown as mixed with major cereals and minor millets crops. There are a total of fifteen pulses and grain legumes grown in the region, but some pulses such as black soyabean (bhat), horsegram, blackgram and cowpeas are produced well in the hill terraces (Mehta, Negi, Ojha: 2009)^[7].

There are various reasons for low productivity of the staple food in this region. Not proper attention of the state government is one of the prime factors for deviation of the cultivation of staple crops. The Government's effort for promotional policies in the production of staple traditional crops is very negligible. Fast urbanization of this hilly state also de-motivates the farmers, as they are not able to recover the cost incurred in production of the crops, which are considered as out of demand. They easily turn towards the agriculture, which yields comparatively higher profit margin. The cultivation of hybrid variety of paddy, wheat and spices are now-a-days seen in the outer-skirts of city and even in the villages. This also turned down the food habits of people of Uttarakhand.

Globalization, in the form of modern food trend is the main culprit for harming the rituals of natives of any place in India. The extreme hill regions are not left untouched from its ill effects. The natives use to visit across the world for their livelihood and catch the cross culture very easily, as it is required for that time. But when they come back to their land, they carry the changed food habits. The flours of maze, amaranth, finger millet, foxtail millet, buckwheat etc are replaced with wheat flour and sometimes refined wheat flour (maida). The high fiber content in food is considered as rough texture; and therefore, their substitute is being searched for. Mustard oil is replaced by olive oil, palm oil or sun-flour oil. Jhangora rice preparation is substituted by polished rice available in market. The world-famous Basmati rice of Dehradun is at the edge of extinction. Even the Dehradunies are not able to get the same rice, what they used to grow a decade ago. Fortunately, it was a part of daily diet.

The advertisements on television and through various media do play the major role in changing the mind set of new generation for making then health conscious and body figure. Junk foods like pizza, burger, sandwich, potato and cheese fries are very popular not only in cities, but they extend towards the rural and sub-urban areas.

Now advertisements teach about Cadbury celebrations for all festivals and occasions. Cheese fries are replacing puwa and pakodies. Chutney, undoubtedly the main digestives and accompaniments with Indian foods are swapped by Ketchups and other tomato dips. We can often see the now

exchanging the readymade sweet products and mithaies in the festivals of Holi and Deewali. Hardly anybody bothers to prepare the products in the kitchen. Urad-dal badi, moongodi or puwa are difficult to be find-out in maximum home even in the festivals. Yes, potato-chips, nuggets or dry snacks-preparation like Farsan used to welcome the guest in friends and relatives home. The bottled cold drinks and soft drinks sold by multinational companies are very easily accessible and the result behind it, we are now in the condition to fail to spot Thandai, Aam panna, Pallar, Sharbat etc. Rarely people will found the pakories are made by flowers of Sahjan phalli & Kachnaar.

These traditional foods have relevance with the seasons and they play a major role for protecting the ill effects of seasonal changes.

Background of Uttarakhand Indigenous Commodities

Agriculture is one of the most significant sectors of the economy of Uttarakhand and Agro food processing is one of the most important industries of the state^[2]. To boost the agro food processing industries agri-exports zones have been setup in the state for leechi, horticulture, herbs, medicinal plants and basmati rice. Fruits like apple, orange, pear, peach and plum are grown widely in the state giving immense opportunity for food processing industry. Agriculture is largely rain-fed and traditional farming systems like the 'Barahanja' (twelve grains grown together and harvested at different times) have sustained man an animal over centuries. Traditional farming systems are highlighted by the use of forest leaf litter for compost making exchange of seeds and indigenous traditional knowledge. However, the mountains terrain, large Forest cover and fragmented holdings have enforced a system of agriculture that is mainly 'subsistence'. Due to this marginality, most of Uttarakhand remained untouched by modern agriculture systems.

Indigenous people have a vast knowledge of, and capacity for, developing innovative practices and products from their environment. Indigenous knowledge grows from close interdependence between knowledge, land, environment and other aspects of culture in indigenous societies, and the oral transmission of knowledge in accordance with well understood cultural principles and rules regarding secrecy and sacredness that govern the management of knowledge (Tripathi, 2000)^[9]. Maintaining traditional knowledge in the face of extensive modern commodities and diminishing folklore is imperative (Abbas, 1992)^[1] as such wisdom in the past has proved to be the key for inventing wonder food for modern palates.

This exclusion in turn, led to the preservation and cultivation of diverse varieties of food grains which are now almost extinct elsewhere. The crop diversity in Uttarakhand is very high and about forty different crop species comprising cereals, pseudo cereals, millets, pulses, oilseeds etc. and their cultivation is according to altitudinal gradient and ecology of the region. Indigenous crops of the area play vital role as food security in this region. Such crops are considered as 'motanaj' raw food or poor man's diet. Variety of millets viz. mandwa or ragi (finger millet); jhangora (barnyard millet); kauni (fox tail millet); chaulai (amaranth); bathwa (chenopodium) and oggal (buckwheat) having high nutritive food value found in the state. (Rawat and Bhatt, 2002)^[7].

This study aims to critically examine the emerging issues related to the preservation of ritualistic traditions through traditional commodities in Uttarakhand. It seeks to explore the role perspectives of various stakeholders in this process and proposes strategies for integrating cultural preservation into broader frameworks of sustainable development, livelihood enhancement, and community empowerment. The study also attempts to highlight successful models of cultural retention and reflect on how cultural heritage can be dynamically sustained in contemporary socio-economic contexts without compromising its authenticity.

Objectives of the Study

The primary objective of this study is to explore the role of traditional commodities in sustaining local cultural rituals in Uttarakhand and to analyze the emerging issues that threaten their continuity. The study also aims to investigate the perspectives and responsibilities of various stakeholders in preserving these cultural practices.

The specific objectives are as follows:

1. To examine the cultural significance of traditional commodities used in ritual practices across different regions of Uttarakhand.
2. To identify and analyze the emerging challenges—social, economic, environmental, and cultural—that are impacting the continuity of local rituals and the availability of associated materials.
3. To explore the role perspectives of key stakeholders, including local communities, artisans, government institutions, NGOs, and the tourism sector, in sustaining ritual practices and traditional commodity systems.
4. To assess the current state of intergenerational transmission of ritual knowledge and the use of traditional materials within changing community dynamics.
5. To investigate the impact of modernization and commercialization on the authenticity, performance, and material culture of local rituals.
6. To propose sustainable strategies and policy recommendations for the preservation and revitalization of cultural rituals through community participation, cultural entrepreneurship, and heritage-based development.

Research Gaps

While there has been considerable academic interest in the preservation of intangible cultural heritage, including studies on rituals, folklore, and traditional knowledge

systems, there remain several critical research gaps—particularly in the context of Uttarakhand and its mountain communities. This study seeks to address the following underexplored areas:

1. Limited Focus on Material-Ritual Interdependence

Most existing literature either focuses on the rituals themselves or on the economic aspects of traditional commodities. There is a lack of integrated research that explores how the decline or transformation of traditional commodities directly affects the continuity and authenticity of cultural rituals.

2. Insufficient Regional and Micro-Level Studies

While national and global frameworks on cultural sustainability exist, there is a lack of micro-level, community-based studies in Uttarakhand that document region-specific practices, local commodities, and their ritual significance—especially in remote and rural areas.

3. Neglect of Stakeholder Role Perspectives

Few studies comprehensively analyze the diverse roles and responsibilities of multiple stakeholders—including local communities, artisans, government agencies, NGOs, and the tourism industry—in preserving cultural rituals through material traditions. The absence of this perspective limits the effectiveness of policy and intervention models.

4. Scarcity of Documentation on Intergenerational Transmission

There is limited empirical data on how ritual knowledge and traditional material practices are being transmitted—or lost—between generations, especially in the face of migration, modernization, and education-related shifts in youth aspirations.

5. Lack of Policy-Practice Linkages

Although there are cultural preservation policies at the national and state levels, there is a research gap in understanding how these policies are implemented (or neglected) on the ground, particularly with regard to the integration of traditional commodities into cultural conservation efforts.

6. Underexplored Potential of Cultural Commodities in Sustainable Development

The role of traditional commodities in promoting cultural tourism, rural entrepreneurship, and community-based heritage models remains under-investigated, despite their potential for supporting both economic resilience and cultural continuity.

Review of Literature

Topic	Key Points	Key References
Rituals and Material Culture	Rituals are collective, symbolic practices often using locally sourced, culturally significant commodities. Material culture plays a key role in preserving cultural memory and identity.	Bell (1997) - Ritual as Symbolic Action; Appadurai (1986) - The Social Life of Things
Traditional Commodities and Cultural Identity	Traditional commodities (grains, textiles, ritual items) form the material foundation of cultural practices, reinforcing local identities and social cohesion.	Sen & Chakravarti (2013) - Commodities and Identity; Negi (2016) - Cultural Practices in the Himalayan Context
Decline of Traditional Commodities	The transition from locally sourced commodities to market-based alternatives is eroding traditional practices. This is exacerbated by migration, industrialization, and climate change.	Kumar & Joshi (2018) - Rural Development and Cultural Erosion; Jodha (2005) - Climate Change and Agriculture; Sax (2009) - Impact of Modernization on Rural Communities
Challenges to Cultural Continuity	Rituals dependent on traditional commodities face significant risks due to urbanization, migration, changing value systems, and commodification in the tourism sector.	Rao & Pant (2020) - Role of Stakeholders in Heritage Conservation; Jodha (2005) - Traditional Knowledge and Sustainability

Role of Stakeholders in Preservation	Stakeholder involvement is critical for cultural preservation, yet there is limited research on the role of local artisans, government policies, NGOs, and the tourism sector in safeguarding rituals.	Chadha (2012) - Heritage Preservation in India; Smith & Akagawa (2009) - Stakeholder Roles in Cultural Sustainability; Government of India (2020) - National Cultural Heritage Policies
Tourism and Cultural Commodification	Tourism, while providing economic opportunities, risks turning rituals into performances for commercialization, leading to the dilution of authentic cultural expressions.	Meethan (2001) - Tourism and Cultural Transformation; Greenwood (1989) - Cultural Tourism and the Commodification of Tradition; Cohen (1988) - Authenticity and Performance in Tourism
Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development	There is a growing trend to link cultural preservation with sustainable development. This includes promoting traditional commodities in local economies and tourism, ensuring they remain integral to community life.	Dube (2004) - Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development; Ciriaci (2015) - Community-based Development Models
Intergenerational Transmission of Ritual Knowledge	The transmission of ritual knowledge and traditional commodities across generations is weakening, often due to migration and changing educational priorities among younger generations.	Kumar & Joshi (2018) - Loss of Cultural Practices; Hutton (2015) - Youth, Migration, and the Erosion of Cultural Practices

Research Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research approach to explore the role of traditional commodities in sustaining local cultural rituals in Uttarakhand, examining emerging challenges, stakeholder roles, and preservation strategies. The research design is multi-faceted, integrating fieldwork, case studies, interviews, and secondary data analysis. The following sections outline the methodology in detail:

1. Research Design

The study adopts an exploratory case study design, focusing on specific rural and semi-urban areas in Uttarakhand that maintain distinct cultural rituals tied to traditional commodities. This design allows for an in-depth exploration of the cultural, social, and economic dimensions of ritual preservation.

2. Study Area

The study focuses on multiple districts in Uttarakhand, including regions from both the Kumaon and Garhwal areas, which exhibit diverse cultural practices and ritual traditions. These areas were chosen because of their rich cultural heritage and reliance on local commodities for ritual practices.

3. Data Collection Methods

• Fieldwork

In-depth field visits will be conducted in selected villages to observe rituals that utilize traditional commodities, such as the use of native grains in agricultural rituals, woolen garments for religious ceremonies, and handmade utensils for community events. Ethnographic methods will include participant observation, informal interviews, and immersive engagement with local communities.

• In-depth Interviews

Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with key stakeholders, including:

- Local artisans and producers of ritual commodities
- Religious leaders and ritual practitioners
- Community elders who possess traditional knowledge
- Local government officials and representatives of NGOs involved in heritage conservation
- Tour operators and stakeholders from the tourism industry

The interviews will explore topics such as the role of traditional commodities in rituals, challenges to their use, changes in community practices, and the perspectives of various stakeholders on preserving these cultural elements.

Secondary Data Analysis

Existing literature, government reports, policy documents, and records from local cultural institutions will be analyzed to understand the historical and contemporary contexts of ritual practices in Uttarakhand. This will provide a baseline for comparing traditional and modern practices.

Sampling Test for Purposive Sampling in Uttarakhand's Rituals and Traditional Commodities Study:

To achieve a sample size of at least 250 for your purposive sampling in the study of retaining rituals of local culture through traditional commodities in Uttarakhand, distribute the sample across the various villages and participant categories within the Kumaon and Garhwal regions. Collect data from a representative group of individuals who are involved in or knowledgeable about the use of traditional commodities in rituals.

Proposed Sampling Distribution Kumaon Region (150 Respondents)

Village	Key Stakeholders	Sample Size per Stakeholder	Total Sample Size per Village
Kausani	Local artisans, farmers, priests	10 artisans, 5 farmers, 5 priests	20
Jageshwar	Priests, pilgrims, temple caretakers	10 priests, 10 pilgrims, 10 caretakers	30
Munsiyari	Farmers, herbalists, temple workers	10 farmers, 5 herbalists, 5 temple workers	20
Dhanachuli	Local artisans, village heads	15 artisans, 10 village heads	25
Chaukori	Farmers, elders, temple priests	10 farmers, 8 elders, 5 priests	23
Ranikhet	Local community members, tourists	25 community members, 12 tourists	37
Total (Kumaon)		150 Respondents	150

Garhwal Region: (100 Respondents)

Village	Key Stakeholders	Sample Size per Stakeholder	Total Sample Size per Village
Tehri	Priests, community leaders	10 priests, 10 community leaders	20
Uttarkashi	Farmers, religious leaders	8 farmers, 9 religious leaders	17
Srinagar	Pilgrims, priests	10 pilgrims, 7 priests	17
Chamoli	Temple caretakers, community leaders	10 caretakers, 7 community leaders	17
Pauri	Priests, pilgrims	10 priests, 7 pilgrims	17
Lansdowne	Local artisans, farmers	5 artisans, 8 farmers	13
Total (Garhwal)		100 Respondents	100

Conclusion

This paper has aimed to understand the evaporating essence of traditional touch in our daily meal. Indigenous crops and products are not only cheap sources in our environment and easily available; the biological systems of our body are moreover based on their uses as the food. They seem to be best produced grains in our land. Somewhere, we feel a need them in our daily diet. In the era of vast competitions, our traditional recipes must be protected with the efforts of entrepreneurs, supported by policies of State Govt. Universities and institutes can play their major parts by organizing the food festivals. The research and development in traditional recipes are required to represent the harmonization of food with the diverse seasonal fluctuations in this hill state along with the applications of their therapeutic use. The attentions towards retaining tradition foods will not only help to preserve the soul of rituals in Uttarakhand, but it will also provide a backbone for continuation through the present generation to next generations.

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