Study Area :

A Socio-Cultural Profile
The previous chapter put light on the theoretical background of the study putting forward the concept of social space, its evolution in India, Social and Transnational space as planning unit, the concept of transnational space, transnationalism in India and its consequences in McLeod Ganj. A critical analyses has been mentioned pinpointing the diaspora in McLeod Ganj.

The present chapter focuses on socio-cultural profile of the study area. Several social aspects have been talked about like the social groups, the rural settlement patterns, the urban settlement patterns, the land attributes, the rural-urban fringe and the urban sprawl. Under the cultural aspects, population growth, density, distribution, literacy pattern, sex-ratio and migration have been discussed in detail.

3.1 (1) SOCIAL ASPECTS

(a) Social Groups

McLeod Ganj a small town though hosts people from all walks of life; prominent ones still remaining the Locals, the Tibetans and the foreigners who have an average longer duration of stay. But while we talk about social groups we take into consideration only the localities and the Tibetans in exile. The local population comprises of people from different spheres involved in different activities.

There are Hindus in majority, followed by Muslims and Sikhs. The tribal population of the local people comprises of the Gaddis and the Gujjars.

These are large groups involving formal and institutional relationships. These groups include people into business, doctors, teachers, armed forces, retired officers, agriculturalists, private sector employees, students and housewives. All have something in common for bonding or sharing may be at primary level or secondary level.
The spread of the local population is heavily concentrated at upper Dharamshala, McLeod Ganj, Gayanki and Bhagsunag. With the incoming of the Tibetans the business has grown up at McLeod Ganj and the localities are at a better economic position than before 1960's. But it has come to notice that the social interaction between the locals has also lessened due to the arrival of the Tibetans. The reason may be attributed to over occupation of each social groups (local) for economic activities.

While talking about the another social group i.e. Tibetans in exile, the Tibetan diaspora has been trying to create ‘nation-state’ through multiple nation building policies. McLeod Ganj is the beating heart of Tibetan Nationalism; this is the place where the agglomerations of Tibetans outside Tibet live, where the residence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama is, and it is the home town of the Tibetan Government in exile. Frequently referred to as “Little-Lhasa”, Dharamshala has become the centre of Tibetan ‘diasporic geography’. At McLeod’s, the most popular hangout place of McLeod-Ganj amongst Indians, Tibetans and Tourists alike, it was observed that the entire crowd was divided over three tables, prominently apart from each other. The groups stay divided, with no mingling yet known to each other. During my field work at McLeod Ganj, it was a visible encounter and it was strong to find out that the Tibetans in exile are further sub-divided according to their regions. These regions still have a strong influence, especially amongst the new ones. I could sense out a feeling of strong regionalism in government in exile.

People in exile only give jobs to others from their region. In exiled communities today, they are still under currents of regional divisiveness.

In McLeod Ganj, the prior affiliations are still visible in daily life. Lots of restaurants and tea shops in McLeod Ganj are owned by ‘Amdos’ and therefore mainly visited by Amdos.

Most of the places mainly seem to attract people originating from the same place. One thing that I would not let my eyes off was that some new
Photo Plate 3.1 (View of Mcleod Ganj)
Photo Plate 3.2 (Street of Mcleod Ganj)
Photo Plate 3.3 (Tibetan Art on Museum Building)
restaurants seemed to attract people who had just arrived and the other restaurants proudly displaying that this restaurant in particular is bring run by 'exile-brother' and thereby attracts the 'exile-born' youth. Several stereotypes have come to the surface in the exiled community. These stereotypes make it possible to divide the social world into kinds of people. They give the _individual the impression that he/she understands society_. Within the exiled community, I could trace out certain steady stereotypes:-

- **Khampas** (People from Kham); criminal, harsh businessmen, try to rip you off, fighters.

- **Amdos** (people from Amdo); poor, lonely, irresponsible, jobless, dreaming of going to the west.

- **Lhasa /u-Tsang**; up tight, looking down at people from Kham and Amdo, city people, always get best jobs, decent.

- **New comers**-animals, no manners, dirty, uncivilized and stupid.

- **Exile-born**, stuck up, better established, lost their votes, not Tibetans any more, Indians.

Hence it may be concluded that there are different social groups interacting at McLeod Ganj. These groups may very at primary and secondary level. The kinship is strong only amongst the same social group. It was observed that the least interaction amongst all the social groups at McLeod Ganj was amongst the locals and the Tibetans. At higher and the educated strata of the society, the interaction still exists but amongst the commoners it is less to minimal. It may be attributed to effect on culture, changing life style and the thought of the Tibetans in exile regarding no monetary help from locals.
b) Rural Settlement Patterns

There are various factors which affect settlement types in rural areas. The factors may be both attractive and repulsive in nature. The older settlements are influenced by various physical factors like topography, fertile soil, side of the slopes, favorable climate etc. but now economic and cultural factors influence the settlement type. These factors mainly comprise of transport routes, smaller business centers, places of tourist interest and religious or cultural divisions.

Villages in India may be considered as a natural outcome of physical and cultural setting. Although they do not possess well-defined shapes and a distinct internal plan, there is some pattern, both internal and external, which can clearly be related to the nature of their site and arrangement. In McLeod Ganj the rural settlements are dispersed in nature. These are isolated from other settlements. Generally a few clusters of houses are seen together either down the hill slope or in forest area with a few farms and pastures on the slope. These settlements results from extremely fragmented and small resource support. Central part of McLeod Ganj mainly consists of urban settlements with sky touching buildings, sprawling restaurants and buzzing market. The rural area though is dispersed but the houses are not on old architectural plan. Since the advent of the Tibetans in McLeod Ganj and the influx of large number of tourists, the economic standard of the place has risen. This has given a new look to the rural areas in and around McLeod Ganj. Most of the houses have modern amenities. Some dispersed-nuclear settlements can be found near Bhagsunag, parts of Forsyth Ganj and the parts occupied by the tribal people. Farming practices have been minimized and more land is being used for business opportunities. Bhagsunag, which earlier used to be predominantly a village, is now slowly converting into a semi-urban area. The typical rural settlements are occupied by the local ethnic groups i.e. the Gaddis & the Gujjars. Although the villages differ from each other, they show common features such as low population density and more space between the
settlements. In Dharamkot & Naddi, road stops at each village entrance. The villages cannot be reached by car.

c) **Urban Settlement Patterns**

Until recently Dharamshala was known as a hill station of district Kangra. It was only after 1960's that His Holiness, the Dalai Lama took residence in exile over a ridge above Dharamshala known as the British Hill Station of McLeod Ganj. Following their leader, many Tibetan refugees also settled in the upper part of Dharamshala. The urban settlements of McLeod Ganj and Gayanki are characterized by their high population density. Bhagsunag which earlier used to be a village is now converting slowly into a semi-urban area. Forsyth Ganj, located on Mall Road, the main road connecting McLeod Ganj to Dharamshala is also teeming with population and new Urban ventures are creeping in. A considerable number of buildings are illegal or are constructed without authorized construction permits. This is also due to the fact that Indian Law restricts possession of land for non-Indians. (The Town and country planning Department of Dharamshala).

**Illegal Constructions**

Central part of McLeod Ganj which primarily occupies the market place and residence of His Holiness, is totally urbanized. The place teems with ultra-modern hotels, restaurants, buildings housing various cafes, shops, N.G.O’s etc. The Central Tibetan Administration, The Tibetan Children’s Village, the Home Department etc. are few examples of urbanization coming in McLeod Ganj. Though the construction of buildings is on full swing but it is posing a great environmental hazard to the area. With the rapid increased in population, the pressure on the environment is continuously increasing. According to the Tibetan Welfare Office, upper Dharamshala’s environment is threatened by its rapid growth.
The main threats are considered to be:-

1. Deforestation & Erosion
2. Forest Mining
3. Uncontrolled construction & Developments
4. Untreated sewage & Open sewage
5. Insufficient toilet facilities
6. Insufficient supply of drinking water & its contamination
7. Inadequate management of solid waste.

In McLeod Ganj, a family of 5-6 often share one or two rooms. This unplanned development and construction have resulted in a lack of space between the buildings. TCV represents a main settlement structure. It is a school and home for Tibetan Children, boarding staff members and more than 2500 students. There is only one metalled road properly maintained that goes through the main market area. Rest of the roads are full of pot holes and need maintenance. Transportation facilities at McLeod Ganj are not adequate. The one biggest challenge that McLeod Ganj faces is the parking problem. There is no earmarked area for parking only one or two small places are housed as parking areas which can accommodate up to 10 vehicles only. But the average number of tourists hitting McLeod Ganj every day goes upto 350.

Hence though urbanization is creeping in McLeod Ganj but there is lack of planning and development.

d) Land Attributes

The land attributes include the vegetation, soil, land use activity particularly governed by the climate of the area. McLeod Ganj falls under the
wet temperate zone where the temperature ranges from 15-19\(^{\circ}\)C and the annual rainfall is about 2500 mm (avg. of last fifty five years)

The land use pattern of Dharamshala has been shown in Table-3.1. The table shows various land use pattern and the area under each land use.

**Table – 3.1**

**Land use pattern of Dharamshala (2009-2010)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Land use category</th>
<th>Area (hac.)</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Land put to Non-Agri Cultural Uses</td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Permanent pastures &amp; other grazing land</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Culturable Waste</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Other Fallow Land</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Net area sown</td>
<td>5095</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Net Area Sown more than once</td>
<td>4472</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Forest</td>
<td>24462</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Barren &amp; Unculturable Land</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Land Under Miscellaneous Trees</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Current Fallow</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Total Cropped Area</td>
<td>9567</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35093</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** District statistical office.
The total irrigated area accounts for 3816 hectares. There is a variety of vegetation cover. Forests of Chr, Oaks, Spruce, Fir. Etc. are found. The area under Dharamkot and McLeod Ganj (2000-2500 mts. above mean sea level) have deodar forests in abundance.

The soils are shallow in depth, acidic in reaction, silt loam to loam in texture and deficient in nitrogen and phosphorus. Terrace farming is practiced. Soil erosion, soil fertility and inadequate water management are the main problems of this zone. Crops like wheat, maize, barley, potato, kidney beans and vegetables are grown. The average rainfall is about 1000 mm., which is mainly received during monsoon season. This zone is suitable for raising Seasonal vegetables and seed production of temperate vegetable. Apple and nuts like walnut and pecan are the important horticultural crops.

According to the field survey & questionnaire technique carried for the changes in the land use pattern, it was observed that the land under cultivation has decreased to quite an extent. Forest cover of the area has also decreased and more and more people are getting involved in secondary & tertiary activities. It was also observed that the activity of the people has also changed from cultivation of crops to business activities. There has been an increase in the environmental changes with change in temperature patterns and rainfall pattern. Snow fed areas have been receiving less snowfall over the years. More land is being used for the construction of buildings (residential, hotels, schools etc.). Land under cultivation has come to a minimal. The cropping patterns have changed over the years from people getting involved into commercial activities rather than agricultural practices.

e) Rural-Urban Fringe

The Rural-Urban fringe, also known as the outskirts or the urban hinterland and can be described as the “landscape interface between town and the country”, or also as the transition zone where urban and rural uses mix and
often clash. The rural urban fringe lies between the built up areas and the open county side. The general land-use changes at the Rural Urban Fringe are:-

1. **Transport Developments**- there are more cars on the road than ever before and there has been an increase in the number of people that commute from the rural-urban fringe.

2. **Leisure Provision**- Leisure centres, cinemas, hotel and catering facilities are built in the rural urban fringe (due to cheaper land and good road access). Some land use has been changed in the rural urban fringe e.g. farming to construction of hotels/guest houses on the land.

3. **New Housing**- Many people move to the country side every year. Every year new houses are built in large numbers as people from the interior of the rural area move out to the outer fringe while the ones from the congested city/town also start moving towards the outer circles.

Similar changes have been observed at McLeod Ganj and its outer skirts which generally from the rural urban fringe. McLeod Ganj is the town that has congested a lot with time. With new buildings in the form of hotels, restaurants, café shops and shopping malls no place is left for new development. Due to this the areas surrounding McLeod Ganj at the outer fringe eg Gayanki, Forsyth Ganj, Naddi, Dharamkot and Bhagsunag are slowly converting into small towns. Once totally remote village, recent developments can be seen here. Roads connect to all of these places and the tourist influx has also increased over the years. The urban settlements are characterized by high population density and cramped housing situation. Once pure villages, these areas now have changed due to tourism. Around 50 new hotels and guest houses have been constructed. Forsyth Ganj has witnessed a greater development as it is located on the Mall Road, the main road connecting McLeod Ganj to Lower Dharamshala. TCV (The Tibetan Children’s Village) is another important settlement structure. It lies between Forsyth Ganj and Naddi. TCV is school
Study Area: A Socio-Cultural Profile

and house for Tibetan children, boarding staff members and more than 2500 students.

Due to the developments of their rural urban fringe there have been certain changes in the land-use pattern itself. The most prominent land-use change observed has been the development of transportation. McLeod Ganj and its outer skirts remained inaccessible till the former was not the seat of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Now because of the increase in the tourist influx every year, the vehicular traffic has increased and so have the number of commuters. People from the country side come to McLeod Ganj to sell off their produce of seasonal vegetables.

New restaurants, hotels, café shops, shopping complexes and other new buildings housing various types of leisure-provision have cropped up. People from Tibet, Iran, Iraq, Kashmir, Punjab (India) and also from other places have started business activities. During my field survey, I observed that most of the families in Gayanki, Bhagsunag, Naddi and Dharamkot have converted a part of their homes into guest houses or hotels which accommodate mostly foreigners who are on a visit for 3-4 months.

Hence McLeod Ganj and its surrounding areas act as transition zone where urban and rural uses mix.

f) Urban Sprawl:

Urban Sprawl, also defined as suburban sprawl is a multi faceted concept, which includes the spreading outwards of a city and its suburbs to its outskirts to low density and auto dependent development on rural land & high segregation of uses (e.g. residential). Urban sprawl results in:-

1. Inadequate facilities e.g. cultural, emergency, health etc.

2. Low public support for sprawl
3. High infrastructure costs

4. In efficient street lay-outs

5. Inflated costs for public transportation

6. Lost time and productivity for commuting

7. High levels of racial and socio economic segregation

8. Low diversity of housing & business types

9. Less space for conservation

10. High per capita use of energy, land & water.

At McLeod Ganj, Urban sprawl can be defined as a phenomenon, that has poor planned development destroying green space, has increased traffic, contributes to air pollution, has lead to congestion with crowding and has not contributed significantly to revenue which is one of major concerns. Increasingly, the impact of population growth on urban sprawl at McLeod Ganj has become a topic of discussion and debate. With the increase in the sprawl at McLeod Ganj, the level of pollution has increased. Better garbage management and parking facilities are required. Due to haphazard growth in and around McLeod Ganj, more sprawl is taking place and now the residential, commercial, recreational and shopping functions are zoned apart from each other. More these areas are segregated, the greater will be the energy expended in getting people and materials back and forth between them and so the greater will be the contribution to pollution.

With the increased advent of this sprawl little space is left at McLeod Ganj for parking. There is no place for conservation and for recreation in the lap of nature. This sprawl has also given rise to a new concept at McLeod Ganj; the concept of Fast Food Chains. In every nook and corner of the town, the market is flooded with cafes, restaurants and other eating joints. This will have
a toll on the health of the residents. Health services are not upto the mark at McLeod Ganj and high infrastructure costs are required for it.

With the increase in the illegal construction of buildings, the sprawl has led to inefficient street lay outs. The streets are so much so congested that barely one can have a walk during the evenings.

There is acute inflation in public transportation and low productivity for commuting. A mere walk for 10 min. till the nearest village costs around Rs. 150-200. Due to the sprawl, I also observed, high level of racial and socio-economic segregation. When I say racial I mean to differentiate between the locals, the Tibetan and the foreigners. It was observed that the social interaction has lessened to a greater extent amongst all and moreover there were divisions or regulations amongst the same group. Several Stereotypes have cropped up in the exiled community. Most of the restaurants and eating joints seem to attract people originating from the some place. I also came across certain comers while the ones who had arrived much earlier were being attracted with boards such as seen by exiled brother. The typical stereotypes that I came across were the Khampas, the Amdos, the Lhasa/U-Tsang, the new comers and even the exile born youth.

Similarly talking about the localities, the case is nothing new. Commuters who daily come to McLeod Ganj have their own segregation, while the businessmen settled at McLeod Ganj have their own groups and the out stationed are segregated separately.

Talking about the housing types, I came across certain places in the midst of McLeod Ganj where in one building only 5-10 families were living. And to my more interest i found out each family constituting 4-6 family members housed in one-room. The families from the surrounding areas who had converted a portion of their house into a guest house or a hotel/restaurant were themselves staying in cramped housing patterns. Hence the diversity in
the housing patterns could be easily identified when compared with McLeod Ganj and Dharamshala.

The Urban Sprawl at McLeod Ganj has also to an extent played havoc with the environment. Illegal construction of the hill slopes with little or no place to move around. The environmental changes at McLeod Ganj cannot be ignored. Landslides, change in temperature and rainfall pattern, change in snowfall and extinction of flora and fauna is a great loss and threat to the environment.

Hence Urban sprawl has to an extent changed certain socio-economic, geographic and cultural attributes at McLeod Ganj. The intensity at which tourism is increasing and more the town is getting urbanized, the sprawl may cover under it certain other factors which are yet unattended.

g) References


3.2 (1) CULTURAL ASPECTS

a) Population Growth

Population growth is defined as the change in the number of people living in a particular area between two given points of time. In this study of Development of McLeod Ganj as Transnational space and its implications, the demographic features play a great role. The two given points of time which are being taken into consideration are the period before 1960 i.e. before the arrival of Tibetans to McLeod Ganj and the period after 1960 i.e. when McLeod Ganj became the seat of H.Q. of Tibetans in exile. A large vacation in the demographic states has been observed in the local population itself. If we look at the general population growth rate for the state as a whole, it was 1,920,294 in 1901 and in 2011 it is 6,856,509. The population of the State has experienced a gradual increase from one census year to the next one with the exception of 1901-1911 when it declined slightly. In district Kangra the percentage decadal variation in population from 1901-2011 is -1.95 to 12.56%.

According to the latest report on “Second Tibetan Demographic Survey” (Saturday, 04 Dec., 2010, 12:59 Tibetan official Media: Tibet Net) the Planning Commission of the Central Tibetan Administration has published a report on the latest population census titled “Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile-2009”.

The decadal variation of population in Himachal and District Kangra has been given in Table-3.2 Since Dharamshala is the District Headquarter therefore it also gives an idea of decadal variation there.
Photo Plate 3.4 (Tibetan Archive Library)
Table-3.2

PERCENTAGE DECADAL VARIATION IN POPULATION FOR
STATE AND DISTRICTS 1901-2011

<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>-1.22</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>11.54</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>17.87</td>
<td>23.04</td>
<td>23.71</td>
<td>20.79</td>
<td>17.54</td>
<td>12.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangra</td>
<td>-1.95</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>13.85</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>15.17</td>
<td>21.85</td>
<td>23.71</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>14.05</td>
<td>12.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Series-3 Provisional Population Totals Paper-1 of Census 2011
The annual growth rates which were hovering around estimated 2.85 for the last 30 years, has declined below 2%. According to the latest survey, the annual growth rate of the Tibetan population in exile is 1.96. The survey also revealed a slight increase in crude death rate from 8.78 per thousand in 1998 to 9.7 in 2009. The infant mortality rate of the Tibetan population in exile was recorded as 15.44 per 1000 child births and it has gone down to 06.03 percent in comparison to 1998. Out of an estimated 75% of the exile population who have migrated, 52% have changed their residences permanently for education and economic opportunities. According to the Tibetan Demographic Survey the size of the Tibetan population in and around Dharamshala has crossed the 15,000 mark. The Dalai Lama has lived in India since fleeing his homeland in 1959. An estimated 34,000 Tibetan refugees are living in 14 settlements in different parts of Himachal Pradesh out of which McLeod Ganj (one of the settlements) and its surrounding areas are a home to 15,000 Tibetans in exile.

According to IANS (Indo Asian News Service), India’s Largest Independent Newswire,

Himachal has no official figure on exiled Tibetans (March 16th, 2011 – 3:21 P.M. ICT by IANS).

Several factors can be cited for the growth rate of population amongst the local population and the Tibetans-in-exile. Since McLeod Ganj was given the status of seat of His Holiness, the influx of Tibetans-in-exile started increasing. When his Holiness had settled in, McLeod Ganj, he was surrounded by a 80,000 number of people from in and around Tibet. With McLeod Ganj being designated as one of the best tourist destinations, the influx increased, so did the environment which played a conducive role. With better medical facilities, better living opportunities, good education etc. the inflow of Tibetans in McLeod Ganj has been increasing over the time. Similarly the growth rate of
the local population has increased. People are not willing to migrate and settle at other places, as opportunities at McLeod Ganj for a better living are in abundance.

b) Population Density

Density of population is a better measure of understanding the variation in the distribution of population. It is expressed as number of persons per unit area. It may also be defined as the ratio of total population to the total area of the place. The density of population for the State as a whole in 2001 was 109 persons/Km² which has increased to 123p/km² in 2011. Taking the district into account, it has been observed that the density of population was 233p/Km² in 2001 which has increased to 263 p/Km² in 2011. (Source: Series-3 Provisional Population totals paper-I of Census 2011). The estimated local population of Dharamshala is 13.39 lakh while 15,000 are Tibetan refugees. Hence the density of population for Dharamshala is about 26 persons per square km.

Several factors are responsible for influencing the density of population in McLeod Ganj and its surrounding areas. McLeod Ganj, Naddi, Dharamkot and Forsyth Ganj are at an altitude ranging between 2000-2500 m (above mean sea level). It means that the terrain is a steep slope thus restricting the development of settlements, less land for agriculture, transportation and even other economic activities are discouraged. Talking about Dharamshala, the town is at an attitude of 1250-1982 mts. above mean sea level thus more dense in population as compared to higher reaches. Climate is also an important factor determining the population of the area. At McLeod Ganj the temperatures vary from 35°C in June to minus 0°C sometimes around in January. Heavy snowfall and rainfall cause constraints for settling at higher reaches. The average rainfall varies between 1000 mm-1200 mm thus making lives difficult. Naddi, Dharamkot and Gayanki are forest areas and cultivation of crops is not feasible on a large scale. Terraced farming is practiced at some places. Hence the
inaccessibility and higher rates for putting up more infrastructure refrain people from settling at higher attitudes. Industrial set up is missing and so are the good transportation facilities. McLeod Ganj has a little bit of urbanization along with lower Dharamshala where density of population is better than the areas surrounding it.

c) Population Distribution

Distribution of population refers to the arrangement or spread of people living in a given area. Several factors influence the distribution of population of an area like terrain, climate, soil, water bodies, mineral resources, industries, transport and urbanization. The distribution of population for the state for 2011 is 68, 56, 509 persons out of which 34, 73, 892 are males and 33, 82, 617 are females. For the district the total population is 15, 07,223 out of which 7, 48,559 are males and 7, 58,664 are females. (Source: - Series-3 provisional population totals paper-I of census 2011). The total population for Dharamshala is 13.39 lakh and 15,000 are Tibetans-in-exile.

The distribution of population at McLeod Ganj is uneven. The spread is more towards the market and residence of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. During the field visit, I found that, McLeod Ganj has more Tibetan settlements than the Indian settlements. Local people who come to McLeod Ganj for business and other activities are either from Dharamshala or from the nearby villages of Dharamkot, Naddi, Gayanki etc. Settlements in McLeod Ganj are in a linear pattern along the road leading to the temple of His Holiness and along the Jogiwara Road. The Tibetan settlements are also found along the road leading to the Central Tibetan Administration at McLeod Ganj.

Two roads move parallel throughout the market place of McLeod Ganj with huge buildings lined up across the sides. Small pavements lead the people through the congested market areas which lie a little bit away from the main
Photo Plate 3.5 (The Tibetan Children Village)
Photo Plate 3.6 (The Central Tibetan Administration)
Photo Plate 3.7 (The Tibetan Museum)
Photo Plate 3.8 (View of Main Temple)
Photo Plate 3.9 (Prayer Wheels)
Photo Plate 3.10 [The Tibetan Books (Artifacts)]
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complex. It is because of the growth of the two twin towns of Forsyth Ganj and McLeod Ganj that the distribution of population is evenly spread. Tourist influx is maximum at these two towns touching 500 tourists per day. As we move away from the central place of McLeod Ganj towards Gayanki, Dharamkot, Bhagsunag and Naddi, the settlement patterns change. Since these are at higher elevations, the distribution of population is uneven. The terrain is not suitable for agriculture, setting up of industries, urban settlements etc. Even the climate is harsher as most of the areas are above 20000 mt. in height above the mean sea level. Dharamshala is one of the 16 Tibetan settlements located in the highest zone V according to Bureau of Indian Standards for the most vulnerable zones for natural disasters (earthquakes). In addition to this, the surface materials and the methods of construction are further aggravating the underlying problems. The surface materials of the region include colluvial soils (meaning soils moving downhill under the force of gravity or deposited by downhill movement). The colluvial slopes are subject to gravity driven processes of “soil creep” and over time, movement can destroy building foundations that are not designed to resist the resulting forces. Once stern and majestic landscape, Dharamshala with rows of trees all over is fast turning into a concrete jungle now. Our construction scenario is awful.

It may look wonderful going big and high, building these concrete jungles but if the devastating 1905 earthquake had not been forgotten, we could have gone slightly slower with development but surely safer. Even His Holiness the Dalai Lama had advised to, ‘Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst’. The new constructions along the village road leading to McLeod Ganj are a deterrent for conducive environment later on. The soils are not fertile so as to support the teeming population. No industrial development can be thought of as the area is devoid of mineral resources.
Transportation facilities are inadequate as they do not connect every nook and corner around the areas surrounding McLeod Ganj. Urbanization that too in a little way is at McLeod Ganj and lower Dharamshala (Kotwali Bazaar), rest of the areas are slowly coming into the urban sprawl but still devoid of urbanization. Hence we can say that the distribution of population in and around McLeod Ganj is uneven.

d) **Literacy Pattern**

Literacy rate is the percentage of literates to population aged 7 years and above. The literacy rate by sex for state and District for 2001 and 2011 is as under:-

For the State the rate for the year 2001 was 76.48 while in 2011 it rose to 83.78. The number of males literate in 2001 was 85.35 while the literacy rate in 2011 for males is 90.83. Similarly the literacy rate for females in 2001 was 67.42 while is 2011 it rose to 76.6. For district Kangra itself, the literacy rate for the district as a whole in 2001 was 80.08 while in 2011 it rose to 86.49. The literacy rate for males in 2001 was 87.54 while in 2011 it rose to 92.55. For females, the literacy rate for the year 2001 was 73.01 while it rose to 80.62 in 2011.

For Tibetans in exile, as per the latest survey, there is an impressive surge of 10.1 percent in general literacy rate from 69.3% in 1998 to 79.4% in 2009. The effective literacy rate is 82.4% and the literacy rates for males and females are 88.7% and 74.4% respectively. The data shows that those in formal education prolong their study period for improving their basic academic capability in diversified tertiary education, especially women, in comparison to previous decades.

A number of educational institutions both government and private provide higher education to the people. Dharamshala has Convent Schools,
Government schools and Govt. and Private colleges. There is a Central University at Dharamshala and a Govt. Medical College also. At McLeod Ganj, there are monstaries that provide education to the exiled and nunnery for the girls who are in-exile. Similarly I found out the Tibetan Children’s Village, a school that houses more than 25,000 students. Many of them are staying in the school itself and their parents & families either in India or even abroad. In these monasteries and nunneries, they are taught English, Maths, Tibetan language and Martial Arts. Several other courses have also been started by the Central Tibetan Govt. in exile for its refugees. Many N.G.O’s set up at McLeod Ganj help the Tibetans-in-exile for higher studies. It was also found out during the field visit to offices and the administration that the maximum numbers of employed workers are females and they occupy good positions. Many girls and boys also move out to various parts of the country to get higher and quality education. This can be clearly visualized by the table 3.3 given below which mentions literacy rates by gender and male-female gap in literacy rates.

Table- 3.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Male-Female gap in literacy rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>43.20</td>
<td>20.20</td>
<td>23.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>51.20</td>
<td>64.30</td>
<td>37.70</td>
<td>26.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>63.90</td>
<td>75.40</td>
<td>52.10</td>
<td>23.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>76.50</td>
<td>85.30</td>
<td>67.40</td>
<td>17.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>83.78</td>
<td>90.84</td>
<td>76.60</td>
<td>14.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Provisional Population Totals paper-I of Census 2011)
The author here would like to share a personnel view too. The author has been teaching at a Govt. college in Chandigarh and many of her students are Tibetans. Throughout the 5 years of teaching it has been noticed that the Tibetan girls are sharp, intelligent and smart. They have been doing very good in their studies and also take part in cultural activities thus highlighting their traditions.

(e) Sex Ratio

Sex Ratio is expressed as the number of females per thousand males. The sex-ratio for the state and district: 1901-2011 is mentioned in table 3.4. The table reveals that the sex ratio for the state shows a slight drop in the year 2001 whereas for the district as a whole, the sex ratio has increased over the years.
Table 3.4
SEX RATIO FOR STATE AND DISTRICT KANGRA
1901-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangra</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>1024</td>
<td>1025</td>
<td>1013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.A. Not Available

Source: Series-3 Provisional Population Totals Paper-1 of Census 2011
If we have a glance at the sex ratio of the state and the district as a whole we come to an idea that the sex ratio is good both for state and district. However one of the significant contributors to the adverse child sex ratio in the country is the practice of elimination of female foetus. The prevalence of patriarchy especially in the northern parts of the country and huge dowry demand has negative influence on the desire for daughter that leads to termination of female foetus and thus unfavourable sex ratio for female.

Table 3.5 highlights the child sex ratio and overall sex ratio since 1981 for entire state. Over the decades there has been a fall in both the categories of sex ratio for 2001. But by the year 2011 there has been a substantial rise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall Sex Ratio</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Sex Ratio</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Series-3 Provisional population Totals Paper-I of Census 2011

Taking into consideration the Total Fertility Rates, based on “own child method” for the period prior to 1998 was estimated to be as high as 4.9 during 1987-89 has gone down to 1.18 in 2009, thus showing a total decline in the fertility level of 3.65 in 2009. The survey lists two major factors that might have caused the fertility transition in Tibetan population. Literacy figures confirm that young child bearing Tibetan women are more educated than their parents and were brought up in relatively better economic positions. This cohort takes longer time in building their careers that delay their age at marriage resulting in fewer children or forgoing having them altogether.
Besides, the contraceptive prevalence has risen substantially from only 10% among the married women in 1980s to 95% in 2001.

The sex ratio for Tibetan population in exile is 798 females per 1000 males, which is an improvement of 6 points over 792 recorded in 1998.

f) Migration

Migration is a form of spatial mobility of population between one geographical unit and another involving a permanent change of residence. Migration may not be considered as a mere shift of people from one place of residence to another, as it is the most fundamental to the understanding of continuously changing space-content and space-relationships of area. Migration may be broadly classified as international and internal. International migration may be defined as movement of people from one country to another, across the international borders. Internal migration on the other hand involves migration of people within the country itself. Migrations are caused by a variety of factors including economic, social and political factors.

While talking about the Tibetan migration we may take into consideration the term Tibetan Diaspora which refers to the communities of Tibetan people living outside Tibet. The Tibetan emigration happened in two waves; one in 1959 following the 14th Dalai Lama’s self-exile in India and the other in the 1980’s when Tibet was opened to trade and tourism. The third wave continues from 1996 till today. Not all emigration from Tibet is permanent, today some parents in Tibet send their children to communities in the Diaspora to receive a traditional Tibetan education. In the 2009 census, Tibetans in exile registered are about 128,000, with the most numerous part of community living in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

Based on the CTA survey (Central Tibetan Administration) from 2009, 127,935 Tibetans were registered in the Diaspora out of which 94,203 were in
India. However their number is estimated at up to 150,000 as mentioned by both Edward J. Mills et al in 2005 and by the 14th Dalai Lama in 2009.

**First Wave:** During the 1959 Tibetan uprising, the 14th Dalai Lama and some of his government fled to India. From 1959-1960, about 80,000 Tibetans followed the Dalai Lama to India through the Himalayas. Continued flights, estimated in the numbers of 1000 to 2500 a year, increased these numbers to 100,000. The movement of refugees during this time is sometimes referred to as an “exodus”, as in a United Nations General Assembly resolution in 1961 that asserted that the presence of Tibetan refugees in neighboring countries was “evidence” of rights abuses in Tibet.

**Second Wave:** After opening of Tibet in the 1980s to trade and tourism, a second Tibetan wave of exile took place due to increasing political repression. From 1986 to 1996, 25,000 Tibetans joined and increased by 18% their exiled community in India. This movement of refugees during the second wave is sometimes referred to as “second exodus”.

According to US cable put out by WikiLeaks, from 1980 to November 2009, 87,096 Tibetans arrived in India and registered at the Dharamshala reception center, whereas 46,620 returned to Tibet after a pilgrimage in India. Most of those staying are children to attend Tibetan Children’s village school.

**Present Emigration:** A 2008 documentary directed by Richard Martini claimed that 3000-4500 Tibetans arrive at Dharamshala every year. Most new immigrants are children who are sent to Tibetan cultural schools, sometimes with the tacit approval of the Chinese government. Many political activists, including monks, have also crossed over through Nepal to India. Significant cultural gaps exist between recent Tibetan emigrants and Indian-born Tibetans. The more established Tibetans in Diaspora reject recent immigrant Tibetans
who watch Chinese, sing Chinese music and can speak Mandarin, who are then alienated from the exile community.

Migration of young people from Tibetan settlements in India is a serious cause of concern as it threatens Tibetan identity and culture in exile with marginalization. The table mention below shows population of Tibetans by country of residence. The data has been collected by the Central Tibetan Administration.

Table-3.6

TIBETANS POPULATION BY COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Residence</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>2007, U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>20,184</td>
<td>2006, UNHCR Statistical Year Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td>2008, Office of Tibet, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>4,275</td>
<td>2006, Canadian Census Data based on response to ethnic origin question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutan</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>1998, Survey By The Tibetan Government in Exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1540</td>
<td>1998, Survey by the Tibetan Govt. in exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>1998, Survey by the Tibetan Govt. in exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>2008, Office of Tibet, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>2006, Australian Census data based on ancestry question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1998, Survey by the Tibetan Govt. in exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2006, New Zealand census date based on response on ancestry question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1998, Survey by the Tibetan Govt. in Exile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data collected by Central Tibetan Administration
Hence taking into account the figures highlighting the Tibetans migrating to India, it is quite clear that the most important reason is the oppression by the Chinese. Second it is due to the harsh terrain and climatic conditions which make life difficult for anyone to survive. Thirdly, it may also be attributed to a social wave wherein the push and pull factors play a very important role.

Large scale migration is only visible amongst the Tibetans while amongst the local people, migration does not exist. Its only internal migration, wherein females have to migrate leaving their families behind after marriage. Second case of internal migration is amongst the businessmen who have left their places permanently to set up their business at McLeod Ganj and Lower Dharamshala. People are mostly from Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and few people who have migrated from within the state to McLeod Ganj and Dharamshala for better economic prospects. Their number goes to 100. Hence it is the pull factor which plays an important role for people to migrate.

During my field visit I came across certain time-bound migrants. They were either from Kashmir and some even from U.P. and Bihar. Their purpose of migrating to McLeod Ganj was again in the search of better prospects in the future. The ‘Khans’ as they are locally named, these stout and sturdy-built people from Kashmir work for the businessmen in carrying their products from the bus stand to their respective shops as transportation facilities are not adequate and moreover the streets are congested to allow any vehicle. They may also be seen working on daily wages in carrying L.P.G. cylinders and crates of drinks to buildings, hotels and restaurants. Similarly the ones who have migrated as seasonal labourers from Bihar & Uttar Pradesh work in the hotels and restaurants and even at shops during the peak tourist season. I also came across people who have migrated from the state itself to drive taxis, autorickshaws and even small street vendors on the road leading to the temple.
Talking to them during the interview sessions and questionnaire techniques, I came to a conclusion that, it is the pull factor of McLeod Ganj’s tourism that attracts people to migrate in search for better living. I also came across few foreigners from Israel, U.S.A; Canada and Switzerland who had been staying at McLeod Ganj since one year to quite few months. They are here either for some research work or some of them have become the followers of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama thereby converting their religion.

**g) References:**


Bentz, Anne-Sophie; (2008). *The Tibetan Diaspora* (Part-II)


Country Report, U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants.


Tibetan Central Administration.

