"Education is the process, by which a society transmits its culture from generation to generation. The theory of population is concerned with the process, by which a society maintains, increases or decreases, as the case may be, its number from generation to generation. Thus both educational and demographic processes are involved in ensuring the very persistence of a society. Indeed the survival of a society depends upon its capacity to evolve processes of both these types -- educational and demographic -- which comply with certain minimum conditions".

There appears to be a close kinship between education and demography. It is due to this kinship that education has been taken as a variable to study its impact on demography of the Gaddis. The study, however, had to be undertaken with certain limitations.

The foremost limitation is the absence of studies on the impact of education on demography and of comparative studies on educated and non-educated strata of society, a community or an area or a nation, which could act as precedents for the present research.

The second limitation is that though a few efforts have been made to study the ethnographic and physical nature among the Gaddis by researchers like Shashi (1977), Charak (1978), Malhotra (1935), Wilber Ponc (1917) and Parmar (1966), yet no attempt has so far been made either to study educational development and demographic and social change or even merely demographic changes among them.

The third limitation is that a study of the changes in demographic and social structure of a society in relation to its educational development blisters with almost insuperable difficulties. Massimo Livi-Bacci, Secretary General and Treasurer, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, writes aptly in his Foreword to the book *Education and Population (Mutual Impacts)* edited by Helmut V. Muhsam on the constraints of such studies:

"Population and education form an interesting but very difficult topic. In his Introduction, Professor Muhsam gives a clear account of the complex network of interrelationships linking demographic variables with education. Indeed, education is considered a crucial variable in explaining difference in nuptiality and fertility and differential patterns of mortality and
migration. Unlike the social and economic variables, it can be measured in a fairly accurate way; once acquired, it permanently marks the individuals' personality which after adulthood undergoes only marginal changes. Education is also closely correlated with professional ability and income and more than any other single variable, helps in the understanding of the attitudes and preferences of the individual. As a consequence, demographers see in education the crucial variable which, in many instances, is able to provide the key to the interpretation of different behaviour as well as of changing demographic trends. On the other hand, population trends affect education, since they are a factor of the changing demand for education and they affect also the supply side. This aspect, perhaps less appreciating to the demographers, is of enormous importance in all problems of planning and the demographer has here a major operational role.

Taking into account the changes in the Gaddi population size that have occurred in the decade 1961-71, it may be said

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that, unlike the population trend in India, whereby there has been a gradual increase in population every decade, the population of this community registered a decrease during the decade 1961-71. While the country's population increased during this decade at the rate of 2.47 per cent per year, the Gaddi population declined at the rate of 1.3 per cent per year. In absolute figures, while the Gaddi population in Chamba district in 1961 was 51,356 (26,446 males + 24,910 females), it was down to 50,685 (25,416 males + 25,269 females) in 1971 (Census of India, 1961 and 1971).

An important characteristic of the Gaddi population decrease in this decade is that while the male Gaddi population decreased by 3.6 per cent, the female population increased by 1.4 per cent. If only the migratory nature of the Gaddi community is taken as an active variable and the others like fertility and mortality are taken as constant, it may be inferred that migration of the Gaddis from Chamba to Kangra district and other places in Himachal Pradesh might perhaps be the only factor responsible for the afore-mentioned decrease in their population. Looking at the pace of migration during the last 20 years it is found that from among the educated households there are 11% families and from among the non-educated households there are 21% families, which have migrated to Kangra district and have settled down there permanently. This implies that the decrease in the Gaddi population in Chamba district is due largely to migration. How far is then mortality responsible for the decrease in the Gaddi
population. Here we find that, of the total deaths in the educated and non-educated households in one decade, 57.6 per cent were in the educated category and 61.9 per cent in the non-educated category are those of the males. Such a high incidence of mortality among the males might as well be responsible for the decrease in male population during the decade among the Gaddis. The growth in the country's population is due to the decline in mortality and the increase in life expectancy. Contrary to this, the Gaddi population, besides migration, may also have decreased due to the high male mortality. Demographers have established that decline in mortality is necessary for growth in population. Eminent demographer S.N. Aggarwala says: ".....the population of India has increased rapidly, and the main cause of the rapid growth of the population is the decline in the death rate, and not an increase in the birth rate".

If, besides migration, the decrease in the Gaddi population of Chamba district is also due to male mortality, some ways may have to be thought of to check it.

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Family size and structure, due to their close affinity with the population size and structure, have become a part and parcel of demographic characteristics, besides their closeness to social characteristics in this study among the educated and the non-educated Gaddis. The family among the Gaddis, as already mentioned, grows by and large under a joint family system with exceptions here and there. The data obtained reveal this feature of the family. The outer limit of the family size among the Gaddis has been found to be 18 members, all living together under one roof. The definition of a joint family used by Irawati Karve holds true when applied to a Gaddi joint family or a joint household. The definition says: "A joint family is a group of people, who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as same particular type of kindred". But the definition appears to have started losing the past truth among the educated generation of the Gaddis, to a large extent, and among the non-educated ones, to a less extent. The analysis given earlier in the chapter on demography has revealed that there is a significant trend among the educated to shift from a joint to a unit family of nuclear nature with 73 per cent of the respondents preferring to set up unit families or unit households as against 42 per cent doing so among the non-educated.

G.S. Bhatnagar (1972), while analysing his data and finding out

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*Irawati Karve, Kinship Organization in India, Deccan College Monograph Series 11, Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1953, p. 1.*
the nature of change in the family system in some rural communities in the Punjab, also reaches the same conclusion with respect to the impact of education on their family system. He says, "irrespective of the type of a family, in which they are living, a greater number of educated persons prefer to live in nuclear families as compared to the illiterate persons". He concludes by saying, "Education has started affecting the sentiments of joint living", and predicts, that "in future the family patterns are bound to change due to interplay of a number of factors, among which education will have a significant contribution". Similarly, Ross has enumerated "widespread opportunities for education as one of the new factors, which are important in encouraging smaller family households".

Fertility trends, studied as one of the parameters in this study, have revealed a significant change as a result of educational development among the Gaddis. While the average number of children born per woman in the educated Gaddi households is three, it is five per woman in the non-educated households. Although, when seen in general, there are in the world today groups of people who exhibit higher

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6. Ibid., p. 103.

7. Ibid., p. 103.

fertility per woman, it is the role of education in lowering
the average fertility which is significant in this study.
Referring to such groups, S.N. Aggarwala says, "among the groups
known for high fertility, for example the Hutterites have an
average of nine children and women of Malayan origin in Cocos
Islands give birth to an average of 8.4 children. Rural women
in Quebec are known to have, on the average, 9.9 children and
in Brazil 8.8 children. Among the Chinese and the Muslims, the
average is seven to eight children. In comparison, the total
fertility of six to eight children of the Indian women is
relatively low. If we combine the educated and non-educated
categories of the Gaddis, the average fertility in the sample
of 200 Gaddi families comes out to be four children, which is
lower than that of the groups mentioned as well as of an Indian
woman. But when seen separately in the break-up form, we find
that a Gaddi woman in her fertile period bears as many as 12
children.

The trend, as revealed in Table 4.4, is that the woman
in the non-educated households bear more children than in the
educated households. A significant characteristic of such
trend is that it is the education of males in the Gaddi
community that has wrought a change in its traditional fertility

pattern. If along with the males, the Gaddi females are also educated, the average fertility can be lowered further to the national norm of two children per family. Demographers and social scientists not only in India but also the world over are now veering round to the consensus that in order to bring about a decrease in fertility the female population has to be educated. Though at present neither the female education has gained a tempo nor the studies on the influence of female education on fertility have become so common, yet some such studies in this area, which the researcher has come across, do highlight the need of female education to reduce fertility.

Professor Mandelbaum, based on his observations of this aspect, says "of the modern social factors that influence fertility, the education of girls is particularly relevant to family planning policies, because increased public investment in it should bring about reduced fertility relatively quickly and with continuing effect. The relevant surveys show that women who have attended high school have significantly fewer children on the average than those with less education. The general tendency is for fertility rates to go down as the number of years in school go up".13

13G. David Mandelbaum, Human Fertility in India, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1974, p. 51.
"Educated women have fewer babies," say Moni Nag and Anrudh Jain of the Population Council, New York. They have, therefore, urged that "the Indian Government should give priority to female literacy, particularly at the primary level as part of its population control programme. In reviews of Indian and international demographic literature, female education has been shown to be more important than male education in regard to its effect on fertility." Education affects the role of women, family relationships, kinship structure and religious beliefs in ways favourable towards delayed marriage," which, in turn, affects fertility.

A UN study says: "A high level of formal education is ordinarily associated with low fertility." It has been brought out in the Mysore study that "females of age 15 and above in Bangalore City, who were either literate or could barely read and write or were educated up to the Middle School standard gave birth to between 5.3 and 5.5 children. But those women whose educational level was High School or more gave birth to only 3.9 children."
Likewise, it was brought out by the National Sample Survey that "the average number of children born alive to a woman, who was either illiterate or educated up to the Middle, Matriculation and University standards, was 5.0, 4.3 and 2.0 respectively"¹⁹.

S.N. Aggarwala also says, "....the Indian women, whose education level is Matriculation or more, have a lower fertility"²⁰.

The findings of the above authors bear out that there is definitely a need for female education among the Gaddis, which at present is almost negligible. In the younger generation, the Gaddi girls are, however, getting education in the schools in both the districts of Kangra and Chamba, so fertility per woman in the coming educated generation is likely to be much lower than in the non-educated generation.

There is also a significant awareness among the educated Gaddis of the importance of family planning methods, especially the use of contraceptive (Nirodh* rubber condom). While vasectomy and tubectomy operations are due to persuasion by the family planning agencies working in the area, the use of condom is voluntary among the educated Gaddis. But it is only the persuasive and motivational method that has led the non-educated Gaddis to accept these operations. Moreover, the voluntary use of the contraceptive condom is only 1.0 per cent among them, while among

¹⁹ National Sample Survey, Tables with notes on "Family Planning (1960-61)", Report No. 116/1, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, p. 6 (mimeographed).
the educated Gaddis it is 21.0 per cent. This shows, that with the spread of education there is a greater awareness among the educated Gaddis of the use of contraceptives than among the non-educated ones. Female education, if encouraged, can further enhance the awareness among the educated Gaddis, in particular, and the Gaddi community in general, of the need for contraceptives, which cause a reduction in fertility and bring about thereby a reduction in the family size to the national norm of two children per family.

Although we have discussed the impact of mortality on the population size of the Gaddis and the resultant variation in population, it would be worthwhile to discuss the extent of mortality and the reasons therefor. It has been mentioned earlier in the chapter on demographic profile that the crude death rate among the educated Gaddis in the population sample studied is 12.7 per 1000 per year, while that among the non-educated it is 11.6 per 1000 per year. The crude death rate of the combined population sample of educated and non-educated Gaddis is 12.1 per 1000. The death rate in India as a whole is 18.9 in 1972 (Aggarawala, 1967: 58). According to S.N. Aggarwala, "Death rate is taken to be an index of the well-being of a nation. Countries, which are economically advanced and where people enjoy a higher standard of living, have a lower death rate than the countries which are economically backward."\(^{21}\) This postulate

\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 52.
may well be applied to a State, region or a community also. Among the Indian States, Kerala has the lowest death rate (9.4)* and Uttar Pradesh the highest (27.1)*. The States, which come closer to the death rate 12.1 among the Gaddis, are Haryana (12.3)* and Punjab (13.4)*. Thus the Gaddi Community falls in the category of the States with comparatively lower death rates than the other States of the country. But a major characteristic of the 12.1 death rate among the Gaddis is that male and child mortality is quite high. In the total 90 deaths in the educated and 84 in the non-educated categories, 57.8 per cent in the educated and 61.9 per cent in the non-educated category are males. Child mortality in this group shows that in the 0-14 year age-group it is 22.2 per cent in the educated and 41.7 per cent in the non-educated categories with 50.0 per cent and 71.4 per cent male children respectively in each category. It, therefore, becomes imperative to check the life expectancy at birth.

According to S.N. Aggarwala, "Expectation of life at birth is the average number of years a newly born baby is expected to survive under a given mortality condition". He is also of the view, that, "the infant and child mortalities in India are very high and therefore, if a child survives to age 10 he is likely to live to age 45".

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22Ibid., Table 27, p. 58.

23Ibid., p. 18

24Ibid., p. 18.
In the population sample of the Gaddis, the total mortality of children (5 years and less) in a decade is 90 per cent in the educated category and 94.2 per cent in the non-educated category. It is, therefore, necessary that life expectancy at birth of the Gaddi Community is enhanced from the present five years to 10 years.

Our analysis of mortality also reveals that, of the 90 deaths in the educated and 84 deaths in the non-educated households, 72.2 per cent deaths in the educated and 76.2 per cent deaths in the non-educated category were due to morbidity. Deaths among the remaining 27.8 per cent in the educated and 23.8 per cent in the non-educated categories were due to reasons other than morbidity.

While investigating into the various diseases, that victimized the adult population, it has been found that Cholera, Cancer, Tuberculosis, Asthma, Paralysis, Heart Attack, Urine and Kidney troubles, Delivery infection, Brain and Intestinal Haemorrhage, Pits and other side troubles like Cough and Vomiting, loss of appetite, Stomachache, acute Constipation, Swelling and Pain in legs, feet and body, menstruation disorders and Backache are the prevalent diseases in the area inhabited by the Gaddis. The diseases, which have victimized children include measles, appendicitis, diarrhoea, dehydration, pneumonia, anaemia, high fever, dysentery, child infection, joint pain and bronchial troubles.
According to Bernard Benjamin, "Disease is the failure of the complex organism to adapt as a whole to the particular variants of composition and function, with which it is endowed and to the external inimical environment in which it has to survive. We can regard this whole process of adaptation to external stress as reflective of health; equally we regard failure to adapt as ill health. There are numerous distinct elements in the environment which influence this process of adaptation. We think immediately of mode of employment and working conditions, of intelligence and educational attainment, of other elements in the level of living, nutrition, clothing, housing, access to medical care and other services which foster well being. Then too there is cultural background, religion, social customs, art forms, moods of emotional expression. We are concerned with more subtle mental stresses as well as the patent physical hardships built into the social and cultural environment."²⁵.

The above mentioned statement enables us to draw an inference that the various diseases that are responsible for mortality among the adults and children of the educated and non-educated strata of the Gaddi community are due to different modes of their occupational conditions, educational attainments, and levels of living, nutrition, clothing, and housing; access to medical care and other services, which foster well being.

including their cultural background, religion and social customs. Therefore, in order to bring a decrease in the mortality due to morbidity, especially at the child age, the various modes of living mentioned earlier will have to be improved. Education among the Gaddis can be an effective way to bring about this improvement, because the study has revealed that child mortality among the educated Gaddis due to their awareness of improved living conditions is comparatively less than that among the non-educated Gaddis. There is, however, a dearth of studies on the relationship between educational development and mortality. Mary G. Powers says, "there are relatively few studies of the effects of education on population mortality, and none precisely estimates the consequences of this effect for population composition. It has been shown, however, that generally mortality declines with rising socio-economic or occupational status. Data for adult populations in the United States of America, England and Wales, Hungary and Austria, support the general relationship so mentioned. In India too, there is a dearth of studies showing the relationship between education and mortality or even showing the position of mortality as such, because most of the data available on mortality has been observed by the present researcher as estimated data in various sources. Making a Statewise study of mortality in

India, K.L.Kohli, the famous Indian demographer, says, "Due to preoccupation of Indian demographers with studies of fertility measurement and family planning evaluation during the past decade, not enough attention has been paid to the study of mortality. There are, however, fragmentary data on the mortality levels for All India and the States".

It has been mentioned during analysis related to demographic profile that there is in the 100 educated households of the Gaddis a sex ratio of 1000 males : 1,006 females and in the 100 non-educated households a sex ratio of 1000 males : 975 females. A peculiar feature of the sex ratio among the Gaddis is that while among the educated the sex ratio is according to the standard population or demographic norm of 1:1, among the non-educated category the female population has fallen short, compared to the males, thereby not fulfilling the demographic norms. However, the sex ratio among the Gaddis does not seem to be much different from the one in India as a whole. Commenting on the sex ratio in India, S.N.Aggarwala says, "The sex composition of India's population shows that the males are more in number than the females. The sex ratio of the population, number of females per 1,000 males has been declining. It was 941 females per 1,000 males in 1961 and 930 females per 1,000 males in 1971".27

What are then the factors that influence migration?

Mary G. Powers says, "Explanations of migration point out that, as a demographic process, migration represents either adjustments to major social and economic changes, or attempts to bring about such changes. Therefore, the factors affecting migration, and the patterns it takes, vary from one time and place to another. The primary explanation for migration is one focusing on economic opportunity. The fact that non-economic factors, among them education also, influence migration, is also generally accepted. But the effects of education on migration vary with the existing economic and political conditions and there has been no real attempt to isolate and measure directly the effect of education on migration and subsequent changes in the demographic structure of the sending and receiving population."

However, after the attempt made to isolate the variable 'education' with a view to determining its influence on the migratory pattern of the Gaddis, especially of the Bharmour tehsil of Chamba district, reveals an important feature. Although the Gaddis of Chamba district have been a migrant tribal community since the legendary past and migration is an important characteristic of its life style, education has been an important factor in retarding migration and enabling the seminomadic members of the Gaddi community to prefer a sedentary way of life at their place of origin (Bharmour). The educated Gaddis simply experience a job-linked temporary migration, keeping all the time their permanent home at Bharmour in spite of all climatic hazards.

In contrast, non-educated Gaddis either stick to the seasonal migration due to their sheep-rearing activity or, leaving sheep-rearing, they migrate permanently to places in Kangra district or elsewhere in Himachal Pradesh in search of settled occupational activity.

The above discussion of migration in relation to population size reveals that, in the last two decades, permanent migration from Chamba to Kangra district is 11.0 per cent of the educated households and 21.0 per cent of the non-educated households. Even educated members of the non-educated households, who are in jobs or whose children are getting education, have started staying back at Bharmour instead of seasonally moving with their flocks of sheep and goats. Education is thus an important variable in changing the life style from different forms of migration, viz. seasonal and temporary/permanent, into a stable life style of a community or a tribe, as well as in acquiring better economic pursuits.

'The three authors of the three papers contributed to the World Population Conference, 1965 also emphasize the fact that migrants move towards areas of economic opportunity and in response to general economic prosperity.' Education, is shifting the interests of the Gaddis to areas of opportunity, leading them to economic prosperity. To quote H.C. Opetiti, "Migration is not merely a physical movement of people from

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29 Ibid., p. 260, footnote 47.
one place to another; it has its social, economic, cultural and other dimensions as well." Migration is defined in the Webster's Third New International Dictionary as "(1) the act or an instance of moving from one country region or place to settle in another; (2) the act or an instance of moving from one area to another in search of work." It may, therefore, be concluded that education is relieving the Gaddis of many of their social, economic, cultural and other pressures like seminomadism due to which they had to migrate.

Bernard Benjamin says, "... in considering the total influence of environment upon health, education is a thread running throughout the whole pattern of external factors ... it is, therefore, an integral part of the level of living ... the task in health education is to discover what it is that people do (or fail to do) that places them at greater risk of disease and then to persuade them (educate them) not to behave dangerously."

Looking at the close link between education and the living standards of a people, it emerges that education among the Gaddis is playing a significant role in improving their living standards, hygienic habits and nutritional status. As discussed earlier, the houses of 90 per cent

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31 Ibid., p.1.
of the educated respondents were found to be neat and clean and so were their surroundings. On the other hand, the houses of 72 per cent of the non-educated respondents were found to be unhygienic with cattle-sheds and heaps of cowdung very near or attached to their kitchens or living rooms. Similarly, the educated Gaddis observe everyday hygienic practices like taking bath, changing clothes, brushing teeth and washing hands before meals contrary to the non-educated Gaddis, who observe these practices rather negligibly. The educated Gaddis seem to be aware of the hazards of unhygienic living like falling victim to various kinds of disease, while the non-educated care little for the upkeep of the houses, their surroundings and regular observance of hygienic practices. The higher rate of child mortality in the non-educated households of the Gaddis than in the educated one may well be attributed to their unhygienic way of living.

"A Clear example can be drawn from the experience of England and Wales at the beginning of the century when infant mortality was high. The factors involved .... were poverty, lack of cleanliness, overcrowding, alcoholic indulgence and disease, poor water supply, unsatisfactory food storage and conservancy disposal as distinct from water carriage of excreta and inefficient scavenging .... But when medical care was provided, decline in infant mortality was indeed the major part of the total improvement in mortality in England and Wales.
during the first half of this century. Health education to a receptive (educated) population was clearly a significant factor.\textsuperscript{33}

"Cancer of the scrotum was at one time prevalent in chimney sweepers due to concentration of soot on the skin. This is one clear example of the value of soap and water. As Olømmessen remarked, "Danish Chimney Sweepers Guild which in 1978 ruled that journeymen and their apprentices should have a daily bath, may, whatever their motive, have done more to prevent human cancer."\textsuperscript{34}

Associated with the upkeep of the houses, the surroundings and the hygienic habits are the Gaddis' dietary habits and nutritional status. Our analysis has already shown that although the food items available in the area inhabited by the Gaddis are common, the quantity and quality of food taken by the educated and the non-educated Gaddis vary. Since the calorific content also depends upon the quantity of food taken, it is obvious that a non-educated Gaddi has more calories in his meal than an educated Gaddi due to the greater quantity of food intake by the former. But the educated Gaddis supplement their meals with calorie and vitamin-rich items like eggs, salad, vegetables, fruits like apple and meat. In sum, an educated Gaddi, by way of his awareness and knowledge takes in a calorie-and-vitamin-rich food.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 171.
\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., pp. 169-170
Mamoria and Singh have rightly said "Studies undertaken in India and other parts of the world reveal several important facts about the dietary habits of the aboriginal people, but the actual intake of calories, proteins, minerals and vitamins by them is not known." However, Sen Gupta in his study, "Dietaries of Primitive Tribes", has given the quantity of some food items supposed to be taken daily by a non-tribal Indian. According to him, the data have been converted into grammes from the ounces and per meal instead of daily the quantity of rice consumed per meal by a non-tribal Indian is 217 grammes and pulses 46 grams. This shows that an educated or a non-educated Gaddi consumes more rice, pulses and vegetables per meal daily than a non-tribal Indian.

Like its influence on demographic aspects, education has had influence on the transformation of the social institutions of the Gaddis. Referring to the great transformation that the social institutions of the Gaddis have undergone, S.L. Sharma opines that "geared to the preservation and perpetuation of tradition in the past, education is now being used to bring about social transformation." or, in other words, social change. It appears that either some of the functions of education in the context of the present needs of the society

35 C.B. Mamoria and Pritam Singh, Principal of Human Geography, Kitab Mahal, Delhi, 1958, p. 387.
are getting obsolete or education is having additional functions like transformation within its purview. A look at the functions of education, as adumbrated by various authors from time to time, in relation to the social process of society may perhaps bear out some of our hunches.

Quoting the Oxford Dictionary, T.S. Eliot tells us that "education is the process of bringing up (young persons); that it is the systematic instruction, schooling or training given to the young (and, by extension, to adults) in preparation for the work of life; that it is also 'culture' or development of powers and formation of character. We learn that the first of these definitions is according to the use of the sixteenth century; and the third use appears to have arisen in the nineteenth.}\[38\]

The purpose of education, as given in The Churches: Survey: Their Task, a volume published in connection with the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State in 1957, is as follows:

"Education is the process by which the community seeks to open its life to all the individuals within it and enables them to take their part in it. It attempts to pass on to them its culture, including the standards by which it would have them live. Where that culture

\[38\] T.S. Eliot, Notes towards the Definition of Culture, Faber and Faber Limited, London, 1948, P. 95.
is regarded as final, the attempt is made to impose it on younger minds. Where it is named as a stage in development, younger minds are trained both to receive it and to criticize and improve upon it."

The opening sentence of this chapter, viz. "education is the process by which a society transmits its culture from generation to generation" is also testified by T.S. Eliot, when he says, "The purpose of education is that which sees it in terms of political and social change." (T.S. Eliot, 1948, 96). It is actually with this purpose i.e. to see the purpose of education in terms of social change that the present study has been undertaken.

Before we attempt to see education as an instrument of social change, it is imperative to have a conceptual view of social change. Although defined in numerous ways, we, for our purpose here in this study accept that "Social change refers to modifications, which occur in the life pattern of the people. The term, "social", always refers to the society and the system of interaction, of the institutional system and the social process, which are responsible for the change through time. It is a process which responds to many types of change and to all the fundamental relations of man to man,
which are governed by cultural values of the society and
which have been found to be multiform and multidirectional
with manifold consequences for the social and cultural systems,
which regulate the human relations. The theme of the study,
therefore, has been, to observe the ways in which education is
bringing about modification or social change in the life pattern
of the Gaddis. A study of social change, may it be in a tribe,
community, region or a nation, has its limitations also because
of its complex nature. Various institutions, of the social
structure of the Gaddis have depicted this complexity. India's
leading social anthropologist, M.N. Srinivas, writes in his book,
Social Change in Modern India, "The subject of social change in
modern India is vast and complex, and an adequate understanding
of it will require the collaboration, for many years, of a number
of scholars in such diverse fields as economic, social and
cultural history, law, politics, education, religion, demography
and sociology.".

G.S. Bhatnagar says in Education and Social Change,
"Education can be regarded as influencing both the thought
and behaviour patterns of the individuals, and when there are
changes in the behaviour patterns of individual members of
various social groups, the social structural elements of a
community are bound to have a significant impact.".

39 Mohinder Paul Kaushal, Dynamics of Planned Social Change -
40 M.N. Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India, Allied Publishers,
41 G.S. Bhatnagar, Education and Social Change. (A Study in Some
Rural Communities in Punjab), p. 4.
various social institutions of a community or a tribe constitute its social structure and its members manifest their thought and behaviour patterns in relation to each of these institutions. Although the general tendency among the tribal as well as rural communities is to stick to their traditional roles, thought and behaviour patterns, education exerts its own influence and impact as said earlier on their thought and behaviour patterns by "(1) sharpening the critical awareness of the people of the social structure in which they are placed; and (2) by changing the consciousness of the people in a direction congruent with the dominant value of our age-rationality."42.

As a result of critical awareness and rationality the educated are able to modify and bring about reform in many of the undesired elements of the institutions of their social structure leading the society or the community, in which they live, towards social change. Since the term 'social structure' is still controversial and remains to be finally defined by both the anthropologists and sociologists, we, for the purpose of the present study, have accepted the definition given by Radcliffe Brown as a workable one. Considering human beings and their institutional relations as components of social structure Radcliffe Brown says,

42S.L. Sharma, Modernizing Effects of University Education, Preface.
"Social structure is an arrangement of persons in relationships institutionally defined and regulated".\(^{43}\)

A few more definitions by other authors recorded by G.S. Bhatnagar in his study may also throw light on the term, e.g.

"the units of social structure are the interpersonal relations, which become part of the social structure in the form of status positions, occupied by Individuals".

Fred, Eggan, 1950: 5

"as far as practical situations are concerned, social structure consists of a set of ideas about the distribution of power between persons or groups of persons"

E.R. Leach, 1954: 4

"Structure appears to be just yielding to a word that has a perfectly good meaning but suddenly becomes fashionably attractive for a decade or so -- like streamlining -- and during its vogue tends to be applied indiscriminately because of the pleasurable connotation of its sound"


The various parameters which have been studied to know the changes brought about by the educated members of the Gaddi community in its social structure reveal the critical awareness and rationality that has come among them unlike among the non-educated Gaddis.

The analysis of the data on the family pattern has revealed a highly significant difference (P < .01) in the trend among the educated and the non-educated Gaddis in their shift to unit or nuclear family household pattern contrary to the traditional joint family household pattern. Another marked difference is in the concept of the size of a small or a large family. Whereas in the educated category there are as many as 55.6 per cent who consider a family of up to four members as small, there are only 30.6 per cent non-educated who consider a family of up to four members as small. It, therefore, signifies that education has wrought among the Gaddis the desired social change favouring the national norm of limiting the family to parents plus two children. It also enables us to infer that educated Gaddis tend to have smaller families than the non-educated Gaddis. These inferences are testified by G.S. Bhatnagar in his study of the impact of education on the family of some rural communities in Punjab. He writes, "Irrespective of the type of family in which they are living, a greater number of educated persons prefer to live in nuclear families as compared to
the illiterate persons. This points to a trend for educated persons to prefer small nuclear families to the large joint families\textsuperscript{44}.

The institution of marriage, as revealed by the present study, can be said to have undergone a drastic change since the migration of the Gaddis from the plains to Chamba and Kangra districts. Education has been adjudged to be an important factor in bringing about this change.

The Gaddis, being a monogamous tribal community, permit by and large solemnization of marriage in an arranged pattern with the due consent of the parents of the boy and the girl. The concept of marriage or the marital bond visualized by Majumdar and Madan fits well into the marriage bond prevalent among the Gaddis. To quote Majumdar and Madan, "The marital bond involves the social sanction, generally in the form of a civil or/and religious economy, authorizing two persons of opposite sexes to engage in sexual and the other consequent and correlated socio-economic relations with one another".\textsuperscript{45}

However, the limits of marriageable ages have been left to the choice of the community, depending upon the social sanctions prevalent in it.

\textsuperscript{44} G.S. Bhatnagar, \textit{Education and Social Change (A Study in Some Rural Communities in Panjab)}, pp. 95-98.

\textsuperscript{45} D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan, \textit{An Introduction to Social Anthropology, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1956}, p. 79.
The Gaddis, as far as the available literature, verbal interviews with the Gaddis during the study and the analysis of the data reveal, have been practising in the past child marriage, solemnizing the marriage of either sex at as low an age as six to seven years and setting the betrothal even in the womb. Although the reason for such a low marriageable age — the torturous attitude of Aurangzeb, the then Mughal ruler, towards the Hindus, their conversion to Islam and capture of unmarried girls due to which the Gaddis started marrying their girls as early as possible — is the story narrated by each and every Gaddi even today, yet there is also a possibility of other reasons as well.

Referring to the child marriage custom among the tribal communities in India, Majumdar and Madan say, "In tribal India, the two immediately affected individuals are, in most cases, in their adolescent or post-adolescent stage. However, contact with Hindus, and the desire to rise in the social estimation of the Hindu neighbours, have resulted in child marriages in many tribes in Middle India, specific instances being reported from the Baiga, the Korwa, the Ho and so on. The Munda, the Ho and the Bhil are reported to have popularized child marriage to restrict licence".  

46 Ibid., p. 79.
The traditional Hindu society in the past too seems to have the practice of child marriage. According to Bhatnagar, "In the traditional Hindu society there was a custom of child marriage. The marriages were usually solemnized before the boys had attained adulthood or the girls had attained puberty. The practice of child marriages was severely criticized by many social workers and as a result social legislation was enacted declaring such marriages as unlawful. This legally raised the age of marriage for boys to 18 years and for girls to 14 years. This Act was not a complete success and to make it more effective an amendment was passed in 1939, which laid down heavy penalties for deviants. But this social legislation has not completely solved the problem." Rossi too took note of the problem, saying, "In spite of these laws, hundreds of child marriages still take place all over India."

It appears, that the Gaddi community either followed the Hindu tradition of child marriage in the remote past or it was itself a segment of the Hindu population, which lived in the plains with the tradition of child marriage and migrated later on to the area of the present day Himachal Pradesh, carrying with it the tradition of child marriage.

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47 G.S. Bhatnagar, Education and Social Change (A Study in Some Rural Communities in Punjab), p. 35.
However, with due reservations to all these possible reasons it may be said that the Gaddis, as the study has revealed, have shifted from the child marriage system to the adolescent or post-adolescent marriage system due to the spread of education among them. There is a marked difference in the marriageable age in the educated and non-educated households for both the boys and girls, depicting a chi-square value to the extent of $P < 0.01$. There are 81 per cent educated respondents, who have given the hands of their daughters in marriage at or above the nationally accepted marriageable age of 18 years as against 58 per cent of the respondents in the non-educated category. Similarly, the sons of 90 per cent of the educated respondents marry at the nationally accepted marriageable age of 21 years and above as against those of 69 per cent of the respondents in the non-educated category (Table 6.3).

Even among the educated respondents themselves, 72 per cent married at or above 21 years of age as against 56 per cent among the non-educated. This shows that the educated people prefer to marry late. Education is again the reason for enhancement of marriageable age among the non-educated Gaddis, because their children generally complete their education period at the adolescent or post-adolescent stage, after which they seek marriage.
The late marriage system emerging among the Gaddis has also made an impact on the late gauna system as or even abolition of it. The prevalence of Gauna in fact originated as a result of practice of child marriage, which was prevalent earlier before the advent of education. A male or female child, married early, used to be a minor, hence the girl was not sent to her inlaws till she attained adolescence or sexually mature age. Since marrying after the education period means marrying at the adolescent or post-adolescent age, the educated boys do not like that their brides stay any longer with their inlaws.

Some other features of the institution of marriage like dowry system and duration of marriage celebration have also undergone a considerable change. There is a great deal of modernization and upward mobility in the dowry system in the educated stratum of the Gaddi community. The case-studies of the educated respondents provide enough evidence of that. This is a big step forward in the direction of social change.

Another feature of the dowry system among the Gaddis is that although there is every craze among the educated families to give modern and expensive items in dowry, yet the custom of conditional demand for dowry is absent among them. But in some parts of India, such conditions are attached with the dowry system. According to Srinivas, "In some parts
According to Srinivas, "In some parts of South India the bridegrooms' price is standardized and varies with the academic qualifications of the boy". At another place, Srinivas says, "The institution of dowry has forced people to look for bridegrooms beyond the traditional unit. The huge sums demanded as dowry, and in many cases, the institution itself, are a product of increased monetization, Western education and the job opportunities which it has opened the door to".

From all the discussions held with the respondents on marriage, it is evident that education is bringing about some desired changes like increase in the marriageable age in accordance with the national norms, and abolition of late gauna and lengthy marriage celebrations. Education has also brought about some acculturative changes like acquiring the modern rich dowry system by the educated.

It has already been mentioned that the Gaddis are traditionally a religious minded community with certain superstitions and taboos in relation to the supernatural forces that constitute their religion. Majumdar and Madan say, "Religion is the human response to the apprehension of something or power, which is supernatural and supersensory". The definition is appropriate to the nature of the Gaddi religion.

50 Ibid., p. 116.
51 D.N. Majumdar, and T.N. Madan, An Introduction to Social Anthropology, p. 151.
Quoting E.B. Tylor, Majumdar and Madan say, "Primitive societies have their own versions of religious activity, not very different from that (six) of civilized societies".

Every author has understood religion in terms of beliefs and rituals emphasizing that beliefs constitute an inseparable part of what is called 'religion'. In this context, Majumdar and Madan say, "From the etymological point of view, Bouquet has shown, religion is derived from the Latin word religio, which itself is derived from either the root leg-, which means 'to gather, count or observe' or from the root lig - which means 'to bind'. In the former sense, the implication is belief in and observation of signs of divine communication".

Majumdar and Madan say, "All religions consist of a mental attitude regarding the supernatural. The most widespread manifestation of this attitude is in the shape of beliefs and rituals .... All religions, primitive and modern have this base of belief and ritual. Ritual consists in the observance, according to a prescribed manner, of certain actions designed to establish liaison between the performing individual and the supernatural power, or powers. Beliefs are a charter for the rituals as also a rationalization of the same.".

52 Ibid., p. 151.
53 Ibid., p. 151.
54 Ibid., p. 152.
Durkheim defines religion with regard to the parts, of which it is composed. "These parts are beliefs and rites; the former constitute the static part of religion and the latter the dynamic part."\(^{55}\)

Talcott Parsons says, "Any proposition about any aspect of the universe that is accepted as true may be called a belief. Religious beliefs, although not usually demonstrable, possess a varying degree of consistence and logical relationship."\(^{56}\)

Bhatnagar says, "Most of the authorities, however, maintain that religion signifies a belief in supernatural or mysterious powers."\(^{57}\)

Bhatnagar also says, "Two broad aspects of religion can be distinguished — one concerns the faith of persons in a supernatural power and the other is associated with rituals and religious ceremonies."\(^{58}\)

Like the various kinds of beliefs in the supernatural powers, the Gaddis, have certain taboos, which they observe in order to protect themselves against calamities.


\(^{56}\)Ibid., p. 113.

\(^{57}\)Ibid., p. 158.

\(^{58}\)Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1933, p. 158.
Going into the meaning of the word, 'taboo', Majumdar and Madan say, "Taboo has been derived from the Polynesian tabu, meaning 'to forbid' and 'forbidden'". In primitive societies, "taboo is used to designate all the restrictions, communicated through verbal 'Don't do's', and generally associated with ritualistic behaviour, which a member of a primitive society has to submit to". According to Majumdar and Madan, "the purpose of a taboo is threefold: productive, protective and prohibitive. Taboos associated with the process of cultivation are designed to be productive; those like keeping women, children and in cases also men away from certain places, actions and objects are protective; and those which seclude a person or limit contact with him or her, as is done in the case of a chief, a priest, a magician or a menstruating woman are designed to be prohibitive".

Seeking a sociological explanation of taboo, "Radcliffe-Brown" has tried to place taboo among those various social mechanisms, by which an orderly society is able to maintain its existence. "He emphasizes the significance of symbolism involved in rituals connected with the taboo".

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59 D.N. Majumdar, and T.N. Madan, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology.*
60 Ibid., p. 163.
61 Ibid., p. 164.
62 Ibid., p. 164.
63 Ibid., p. 164.
From the conceptual views of various authors on the terms, religion, beliefs and taboos, it emerges that the theoretical and sociological explanation of these terms, as applied to the sphere of religion, beliefs and taboos prevalent among the Gaddis, shows the same significance, closeness and similarity as when applied to those prevalent among other communities in India and the world at large. Like other communities, the Gaddis have also a pantheon of gods, goddesses, spirits — both malevolent and benevolent — and objects of worship. They have community gods as well as family gods and a string of beliefs, rituals and taboos associated with their worship.

The three fold nature of the taboos — productive, protective and prohibitive — discussed earlier coincides with the nature of taboos observed among the Gaddis in relation to various occasions, places and activities. There is, however, a highly significant difference (P<.01) in the attitudinal change between the educated and the non-educated Gaddis in relaxing the observance of taboos. This implies, that although the educated Gaddis — like the non-educated Gaddis — observe all the taboos concerning their socio-economic and religious life, yet they — unlike the non-educated — have relaxing attitude in their observance. This finding very well coincides with that of Bhatnagar,
who says, "This analysis also bears out the contention that the effect of education is more pronounced at the attitudinal level rather than at the level of overt social behaviour. It can, however, be maintained that significant changes in social behaviour can be expected in future course of time, because the changes in attitudes are normally followed by changes in social behaviour."

The need for an attitudinal change for a desired social behaviour in an educated but belief-bound tribe or a community may be explained by the following para taken from Helmut V. Muhsam's edited work, Education and Population:

"Kark and Chester have drawn a distinction between a high standard of formal education enjoyed, for example, by certain Zulu communities and their less adequate health education. Infant mortality was higher in the Zulu than in the Hindu communities, though the former had a higher standard of formal education and made more use of medical services. They say, 'the persistent belief in witchcraft which exists in our Zulu communities leads to action of a kind, which not only may be harmful, but which often delays or interrupts medical care'. Kark and Chester point out other factors, which

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64 G.S.Bhatnagar, Education and Social Change (A Study in Some Rural Communities in Punjab), p. 118.
are probably involved in the stability of the family solidarity, and the way in which communities adapt themselves to adverse conditions. In such circumstances, superstitions and folklore die hard even after the institution of formal education. Nevertheless, education does make, generation by generation, an increasing impact." 

Our analysis of the new changes in the kinship terminology usages among the Gaddis has revealed that a significant percentage of respondents (90 among the educated and 97 among the non-educated) use their traditional kinship terminology. This may be explained by the fact that in spite of the educational spread the bonds of kinship in the present adult educated generation have remained intact.

In order to explain the term, 'kinship', it will be worthwhile to quote Majumdar and Madan, who have said that "In all societies, people are bound together in groups by various kinds of bonds. The most universal and the most basic of these bonds is that which is based on reproduction, and inherent human drive, and is called kinship!". S. Shashi, a keen observer of the Gaddi sociological scenario, also says:

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66 D.N. Majumdar, and T.N. Madan, An Introduction to Social Anthropology, p 98.
"Kinship structure of the Gaddi family is not very different from that of the Hindu kinship. It is a system of relationship, in which individuals are bound one to another by complex ramifying and interlocking ties. It indicates the relationship of an individual by affinity as well as works as a rod on which one leans throughout the life. As the interpersonal relationship is still restricted to the clansman, kinship ties among them possess their hold upon them. Due to lack of change in culture and of contact with others, these ties have not been loosened."

Education, however, is playing the important role in making the younger generation bilingual or even multilingual because of the fact that the educational institutions enable them to learn, besides the kinship terms in their mother tongue, the kinship terms prevalent in other languages like Hindi and English, as a result of which the children feel liberal to either converse in the family or outside the family in their mother tongue or by making use of the vocabulary of the other languages learnt in the school. This trend makes us infer that in a matter of a few years the younger educated generation is likely to lose much of the flavour of its traditional Gaddi language.

as well as the existing usages of kinship terminology.

Realizing the importance of kinship system, "Morgan, Maine and others hold a primitive society as atomistic and individualistic and maintain that the only bonds that knit people in such a society into social groupings are those of kinship."68.

Apropos of the political institutions and the political outlook of the Gaddis, it may be said (on the basis of the responses received to the questions on the involvement of the Gaddi community in political activity) that the Gaddis are quite lively in their participation in political field. Although under the supreme control of the Raja of Chamba, a great deal of decentralization was granted by him to the Gaddis to shoulder the responsibility of the political body of their area locally called the Bradari, Kamdar and Panchi, yet all the functionaries of this body (called Chad, Likhnara, Derball and Jutiar), as mentioned in Chapter 6, were appointed by the Raja himself from among the Gaddis. In order to give political hold of a political body to the community members a suitable leadership has to be found out. According to Majumdar and Madan, "Contingency creates chiefs and leaders in societies, where there are none in day-to-day life. Hunting and warfare depend for success upon efficient leadership of men, and persons with the requisite experience and knowledge always find their opportunity to assume the role of

The above mentioned functionaries were, in the pre-Independence era, responsible for regulating and directing political activity in the Gaddi villages. Since the commencement of the post-Independence era the place of this traditional political body (the so-called Kamdar, Baradari or Panchi) has been taken by the statutory Gram Panchayats. The Panchayat being an important political institution of ancient India has now been universally accepted as the grassroot level national political body throughout the country. Oscar Lewis's definition, quoted by Bhatnagar in his study, says, "A Panchayat (literally meaning a council of five) is a group of recognized leaders, who meet to pass judicial cases or problems, or who convene to plan some undertaking or course of procedure in a matter requiring united action". Since the inception of the national political system in India, the Gaddis have been participating actively in the statutory gram panchayats, Cantonment Boards, Municipalities and the State Legislative Assembly elections, in Chamba and Kangra, the two districts of Himachal Pradesh.

Our analysis has revealed, that the difference in involvement in the above mentioned political fields among the

69 Ibid., p. 211.
educated and the non-educated Gaddis is insignificant, showing thereby an equal participation by both the categories. The latest trend among the Gaddis is, however, towards choosing or electing the educated members of their community as their candidates or leaders. This dual role of education, viz. (1) to enthuse the educated to involve themselves in political activity, and (2) to rationalise their thinking to elect the educated as their leaders is an apparent instance of education directing their political institutions towards social change. Bhatnagar (1972:111) has also drawn a similar inference in his study. He says, "The factor of education is gradually assuming a significant role in the sphere of village leadership, and its influence is bound to increase with the spread of education in the rural areas".71

"Occupations serve functions in every sector of institutional society, but they have direct connection with economic order. They provide the means of livelihood for most members of the community. The physical structure, its pattern of social life and thought are strongly influenced by the character of the economic institutions".72 Although

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72 Mohinder Paul Kaushal, Dynamics of Planned Social Change — A comparative Approach, p. 211.
"agriculture gets the central place in the economic activity of the tribal people in India, the economic life is nowhere static and rapid changes are taking place."\(^{73}\). In the economic life of the Gaddis also, agriculture, along with the sheep rearing activity, has been an inseparable occupation. Besides these two, there are also other occupations, that have been acquired by the Gaddis to eke out their subsistence. Majumdar and Madan say, "The tribal stage does not provide for any specialization of functions and as such a variety of occupations were followed by a tribe. When a tribe takes to one specialized occupation, it behaves like a caste."\(^{74}\). In an illiterate tribal community, all such economic pursuits or occupations take the shape of traditional occupations, which are carried on from generation to generation. But the present study among the Gaddis reveals that education enables them to break the shackles of tradition-bound occupations and switch over to economically viable ones.

The responses to the questions on the traditional, or in other words their fathers', occupations and the present ones among both the educated and the non-educated categories of the Gaddi respondents reveal that there is a significant shift (with the difference to the level p.< .01) among the educated from the traditional occupations of their fathers.

\(^{73}\) D.N. Majumdar, and T.N. Madan, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, p. 186.

\(^{74}\) Ibid., p. 195.
than among the non-educated. For our purpose, we have included only the employed respondents to depict such an occupational shift. There is apparently a greater number of educated Gaddis deviating from their father's occupations than the non-educated. This finding coincides with that of Bhatnagar, who infers: "There is a significant association between the variables of education and new occupational roles." 75

Further probing in the form of case-studies regarding the reasons due to which the educated Gaddis drifted away from the traditional occupations like agriculture and sheep-rearing also reveals that employment after getting educated and education of the children are the two principal reasons for occupational shifts.

The role of education in enabling the communities to shift from the traditional occupations is further testified to by Srinivas, who says, "The Brahmins in Mysore State are among the most urbanized and educated of the local Hindus. Evidence already available shows that in both Bangalore and Mysore cities intergenerational occupational changes have been higher among Brahmins." 76 In the same vein, Srivastava

75 G.S. Bhatnagar, Education and Social Change (A Study in Some Rural Communities in Punjab), p. 70.
76 M.N. Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India, pp. 134-135.
says, "Education has led to shift in the occupation of the Munda and the Graon. The traditional occupation of these tribes is agriculture. But the educated section of the tribes, does not find this occupation satisfying. Men and even women, who have received even Middle School education, are constantly mobile in search of occupations other than agriculture."\(^7\)

The occupational mobility discussed above suggests that educated people tend to shift to economically better occupations. Our analysis of the occupations pursued by the educated Gaddi respondents has shown that there is a vertical rise in their income in comparison to the income of the non-educated, who still pursue the traditional occupations. Statistical treatment to the responses on the monthly incomes of the educated and the non-educated Gaddis has brought out a highly significant difference to the value of \(P < 0.01\).

Emphasizing the importance of education for economic improvement of the tribal communities, Dubey says, "Education should not only help them to conserve and develop, it must also equip them better for their battle on the economic front."\(^8\) Social scientists are also now realizing that upward mobility in economy is a must for raising the living standards. This


being so, education is a critical factor in raising the living standards of the people, in general, and the Gaddis, in particular. According to Kuthiala, "there has to be economic discontent and quest for better life, and an aspiration to raise level of living by increasing income". The differences in the economic conditions of the educated and the non-educated Gaddis indicate the economic discontent among the latter, underlining the need for a mass educational programme for them.

Our analysis of the attitudes of the educated and the non-educated Gaddi respondents towards the non-tribal castes of the area or villages they inhabit has revealed a very significant difference in the attitudinal change, i.e. to the level of p < .01 between the two categories. A large number of educated Gaddis have started considering the non-tribal castes as their equals as against the earlier days, when they used to consider the lower castes as their inferiors and the higher castes as their superiors. As a result of the attitudinal change among the educated Gaddis for socio-economic equality with the non-tribal castes of their areas, there is also in evidence a diminishing trend to a significant degree (p < .01) in their attitude towards hierarchical feelings or class/caste hierarchy in their area. We have stated earlier that attitudinal change leads to a change in behaviour patterns.

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The above mentioned attitudinal change due to education is sure to be manifested in the form of peaceful coexistence and harmonious living in the area sans caste bickerings. A large number of educated Gaddi respondents have expressed their dislike of the observance of class/ caste hierarchy in their villages contrary to a large number of non-educated respondents, who like it. According to Bhatnagar, "Attitudes may be broadly viewed as specific responses to particular objects. These responses determine the likes and dislikes and the differential values which a person attaches to different objects or phenomena. They have, therefore, a significant role in regulating the behaviour patterns of the individuals". The development of an attitude against caste/ class biases among the educated Gaddis is among the most modern of the attitudes that an educated person can develop. It is indeed a great departure from the past caste/ class-ridden attitude and behaviour and thought pattern. Education is thus taking the Gaddi community from tradition to modernity.

While using the terms, 'tradition' and 'modernity', we have to keep in mind certain reservations. We cannot say, for instance, where tradition ends, and where modernity starts. Every attitude, thought/ behaviour pattern and custom becomes

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a tradition for a particular space, time and people and remains in practice for a certain period or generation or generations. To quote Shils, "No good purpose is served by making it appear as if there is an unbridgeable gap between traditional and modern society or even the more recent variant of the latter, 'mass society'. The 'traditional society' is not by any means entirely traditional, 'modern society' by no means free of tradition". Yogendra Singh says, "Most of the contemporary thinkers in this country and abroad accept this view of tradition". S.L. Sharma delineates two types of conception of modern society, viz. "bipolar and focal. The bipolar conceptions are built on dichotomies, i.e. modern society as antonym of traditional society; as developed in contradistinction to underdeveloped". Prominent among the focal conceptions are; modern society as a highly differentiated society, as a technologically advanced society and as a politically participatory society. But contradicting these two views, he puts forth a more feasible concept of modern society and says, "A modern society is a rational society — rational in its social, economic, and political arrangements. No matter which definition of modern society one examines, rationality is a common denominator of modernity underlying all of them. In addition, rationality indeed is the generic

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82 Ibid., p. 43.
83 S.L. Sharma, Modernizing Effects of University Education, p. 47.
84 Ibid., p. 47.
value of modernity, the one that entails all other values that comprise modernity.\textsuperscript{85}

Since education makes a man more rational and rationality has been adjudged to be an important characteristic of modernity, education is indeed an important variable for bringing about modernity, which ultimately leads to social change. It is, therefore, imperative to delve deep into the meaning of the term, 'rationality', as given out by acknowledged authorities on the subject.

According to Sharma, "In its elementary sense, rationality implies use of reason as a governing factor of individual action as well as of corporate activity. In its scientific sense, rationality signifies a commitment to the rule of evidence. In its applied sense, it refers to the choice of intrinsically best suited means to the attainment of a given empirical end, from the point of view of both the individual actor and the knowledgeable observer.\textsuperscript{86}

According to Lerner, "Rationality is purposive: ways of thinking and acting are instruments of intention (not articles of faith); men succeed or fail by the test of what they accomplish (not what they worship). So, whereas traditional man tended to reject innovation by saying 'it has never been thus', the contemporary, Westerner is more likely to ask 'Does it work? and try the new way without further ado'.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{85}Ibid., p. 48.
\textsuperscript{86}Ibid., p. 48.
In the light of the above discussion, it may be said with a high degree of certitude that, thanks to educational development and the concomitant rationality, the Gaddis are shedding many of their dogmatic beliefs and irrational and prejudicial behaviour patterns and are developing in their place positive attitudes towards their fellow castes and communities. To quote Bhatnagar, "Modern education does not permit an individual to become a dogmatic believer; it makes him a rational human being capable of challenging the past values and creating new ones." The educated Gaddis, besides the attitudinal changes, we have discussed above, are fast moving forward towards the changes desired in other spheres like social dynamism, rationality, modernity and social change. This is amply borne out by the analysis and the discussion in this chapter and the earlier ones.

Commenting on the aspect of modernity among the Gaddis, Shashi says, "The Gaddis are well organized now-a-days and are not an isolated community. They are assimilating other cultures. A large number of young boys and girls have a touch of modernity in their taste in matters of dress and manners. The school girls prefer salwar and kamij and the male students wear shirt, coat, and pyjama, leaving behind their established...

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88 G.S.Bhatnagar, Education and Social Change (A Study in Some Rural Communities in Punjab), p. 5.
dressing traditions. Similarly, the adults prefer mill-made clothes. The educated adults get their hair cut in Curzon fashion. They prefer boots to Chamba 'chappals'.

Our analysis of the aspirations of the educated and non-educated Gaddis has revealed that "to be educated themselves and to educate their children" is the foremost aspiration common to both the categories of respondents, followed by a burning desire to be educationally and socio-economically at par with the neighbouring non-tribal castes. When the opinion of the educated and non-educated Gaddis was sought to reveal the educational condition of the Gaddis in comparison to that of the non-tribal castes, the statistical result of the responses obtained indicated an insignificant difference. This leads us to infer that although the Gaddis aspire to be educated and to be at par with the non-tribal castes, the difference in their educational condition and that of the non-tribal castes of their areas is not significant, showing thereby that their level of education development is the same as that of the non-tribal castes.

As for fulfilment of the socio-economic aspirations, the educated Gaddis do accept the role of education in fulfilling such aspirations and coming at par with the non-tribal castes. The non-educated Gaddis believe on the other hand, that it is

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only after educating their children that they can aspire
to come at par, socio-economically, with the non-tribal
castes of their area.

A detailed case-analysis of the statements made by the
educated and the non-educated Gaddis on the role of education
in fulfilling their aspirations has shown, that the aspirational
level of both the educated and non-educated respondents is the
same. It is only the educational opportunity got by the educated
that has brought brought them educationally and socio-economically
at par with the non-tribal castes; the same opportunity not yet
having been received by the non-educated has, kept them till now,
educationally and socio-economically behind them.

To sum up, education has been influencing both the
thought and behaviour patterns of the Gaddis and enabling them
to bring about many a desirable demographic and social change
in their social structure. In the words of Bhatnagar, "Education
can be regarded as influencing both the thought and behaviour
patterns of the individual, and when there are changes in the
behaviour patterns of the individual members of various social
groups, the social structural elements of a community are bound
to have a significant impact".90

90 G.S. Bhatnagar, Education and Social Change (A Study in Some
Rural Communities in Punjab), p. 4.
Our study also shows, that although other acculturative factors might also be influencing the Gaddi lifestyle, the comparative analysis of parameters of demography and socio-economic life of the educated and the non-educated Gaddis accords education the distinctive role of a linchpin of social change.