CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE GADDIS
A Retrospective View in Totality

The present study of social change among the educated and non-educated Gaddis with reference to the institutions of their social structure and the various facets of their demographic profile shows that although the Gaddis have a tendency to preserve the traditional entity of their culture, yet education has had a dynamic impact on their minds, enabling them to accept many of the new traits of social change and to bring about reforms in some of their time-honoured traditions.

It has also been observed from the response analysis that, while there are some changes that have occurred in the Gaddi population, in general, there are some others, which have affected only the educated segment of it. The changes that have occurred in the behaviour pattern of the educated Gaddis are more far-reaching than those which have affected the non-educated category only.

The social change that education has wrought in the socio-economic and demographic profiles of the Gaddis warrants the conclusion that education leads to change and that it gives birth to many aspirations and many attitudinal changes.
Let us then see how and to what extent the various aspects of the Gaddi life have been influenced by education in the districts of Chamba and Kangra of Himachal Pradesh, where the Gaddis, live.

**Education and Changes in Population Size**

There has been a continuous variation in the Gaddi population during the last decade. The variation has been found not only in the total population but also in the ratio between the males and females. Besides the decrease in the Gaddi population in general, there has been a considerable decrease in the Gaddi male population. Although the migratory nature of the Gaddi community has, in general, been given out as a factor possibly responsible for the decline in the Gaddi population, yet the high rate of male mortality, right from the childhood to adulthood, can also be pinpointed as a major reason for it. At the same time, the female population has been on the increase during the decade. This has made up the female deficiency of the earlier decade.

**Education and Change in Fertility**

The Gaddi community, in general, has become aware of the advantages of a small family, but the two strata, viz.
the educated and the non-educated Gaddis, have different concepts of a small family. While the educated Gaddis regard a family comprising parents plus two to three children as small the non-educated Gaddis regard a 6-8 member family, comprising parents plus four to six children, as small. These variations in the concept of a small family show a significant relationship with the fertility rate in the educated and non-educated categories of Gaddis. As mentioned in Chapter 4 on demographic profile, the percentages are higher for the women with one, two, three and four children, after which these start decreasing among the educated Gaddis. The percentages among the non-educated are higher for the women with three, four, five and six children, after which these start decreasing.

The average fertility rate calculated from 100 women in the households of each category also shows, that the average number of children born to a women in an educated household is three, while it is five in the case of a woman in a non-educated household.

The variation in the size of the family and fertility rate in the educated and non-educated households has also shown a direct relationship with the awareness of family planning methods. Although there does not exist any indigenous family planning method among the Gaddis a factor responsible for large-sized families -- a growing awareness of the
great utility of modern family planning methods is very much discernible. A reckonable difference in adoption of family planning measures by the two categories is that while the educated have started using the modern family planning measures themselves, the non-educated do so under motivation or persuasive measures. Education is thus bringing about a kind of demographic socialization in the Gaddi family by making its members aware of the modern trends in planning a family, that coincide with the national family norms.

Education and Mortality Changes

The Gaddi mortality rate is not high. As is evident from Chapter 4, that 0.9 per cent deaths were in the educated and 0.8 per cent deaths in the non-educated households of the Gaddis in the last decade. The environmental freshness, in which the Gaddis live, and the gaiety of their life may perhaps be the reasons for a low mortality rate among them. The data also reveal that the mortality rate of men in the age-group *30 years and above* in the educated Gaddis is high. The rate of mortality has also been reported to be higher among children in the age-group 0-14 years in the non-educated than in the educated Gaddis. A peculiar feature of the child mortality is that 90 per cent children in the educated category and 94 per cent children in the non-educated category are those who died up to five years of age in one decade.
Education and Morbidity Changes

In the ten years under review, mortality amounting to 90 in the educated and 84 in the non-educated categories implies that as many as 72.2 per cent and 76.2 per cent respectively died of one or the other kind of morbidity. It may be inferred therefrom, that morbidity has victimized the Gaddi population, in general, affecting the educated Gaddis almost equally.

A distinctive feature of morbidity in the two categories is that while the adult population in the educated category dying due to morbidity is more than that in the non-educated category, the children dying due to such diseases in the non-educated outnumber the educated category. In terms of percentage, 73.8 per cent adults and 26.2 per cent children have died of various diseases in the educated category and 45.3 per cent adults and 54.7 per cent children have died of these diseases in the non-educated category.

An important feature coming to light is that the adults, due to their education, migrate to various places away from their traditional homes, where the everyday stress and strain, polluted environment and adulterated food might be developing in them some contagious and infectious diseases and biological disorders, that increase morbidity among them more than in the non-educated, who lead a healthy life in a healthy and natural environment.
Similarly, the reasons for the high rate of child mortality due to morbidity among the non-educated may be the indigenous ways adopted to deliver the children and to provide them the post-natal care that causes many infections and makes them prone to many diseases, resulting in their mortality. Contrary to this, the educated due to their awareness of many of the precautions necessary to be taken during the pre-natal, natal and post-natal periods and the medical facilities available to them have been able to check child morbidity to a considerable extent — at any rate, much less than that among the non-educated Gaddis.

**Education and Sex Ratio**

The sex ratio in general in the combined population of 200 families (100 educated and 100 non-educated) is 631 males 625 females, showing a female deficiency.

When seen separately in the educated and non-educated categories it has been observed that the 100 educated families have males and females in the ratio of 307:309 or 1,000:1,006 i.e. almost 1:1. In the case of the 100 non-educated families, the sex ratio is 324 males : 316 females or 1,000:975, i.e. 1 : apparently. This means that while the educated population of the Gaddis has exhibited the sex ratio in accordance with the demographic norms, the non-educated segment has still to
make up the female deficiency and attain the desired sex ratio of 1:1 in consonance with the demographic norms.

Education and Migratory Changes

Ever since the Gaddis as a tribe or a community reached the far-flung mountainous areas of Himachal Pradesh, there have been intermittent migrations on their part every now and then. These are mainly seasonal, partly temporary and partly permanent. While the migrations among the shepherd Gaddis are seasonal, those among the educated and, to some extent, among the non-educated Gaddis are temporary. Among the educated, these are only job-linked, temporary migrations during the job period.

Permanent migrations are also taking place in both the categories, although these are less among the educated than among the non-educated due to the latter's search for sedentary occupations or livelihood and permanent homes. It is due to the look-out for settled occupations, a congenial climate and permanent homes, that a major chunk of the Gaddi population is said to have migrated from Chamba, mainly Dharmour sub-tehsil, to Kangra district in the past and has since been living there. These migrations have been playing an important role in bringing about social change, especially among the educated Gaddis because of their greater proneness to pick up the traits of social change like language, food habits and living pattern from the non-tribal populations they come across than the non-educated Gaddis.
Education and Changes in Nutritional Status

As shown in Chapter 5, the food habits of the Gaddi community, in general, are the same as they used to be earlier. The only change in dietary habits of the educated is the intake of vitamin-rich items in addition to their normal food. The awareness of the need for a vitamin-rich diet is a big step towards a socio-demographic change in food habits due to education.

Education and the Changing Hygienic Practices

Due to the centuries-old contact of the Gaddi community with inclement climatic conditions, a mountainous topography and seminomadic, pastoral-cum-agricultural occupational activity, the Gaddis are very lax in their living habits. However, due to educational development the educated have developed, to a great extent, regularity in the observance of certain everyday practices such as general upkeep of the house, taking bath, changing clothes, brushing teeth and washing hands before meals. While most educated Gaddis possess neat and clean houses, the non-educated still need to bring about much improvement in this respect. The remaining hygienic practices are observed by 25 per cent educated Gaddis, compared to three per cent non-educated ones.

As mentioned earlier, a non-educated Gaddi quantitatively takes more food than an educated Gaddi, hence a higher intake
of calories by him than by his educated counterpart. There is also a change in the frequency of daily meals. While the non-educated usually have two, three or four meals a day, the educated due to their job routine have reduced the number of meals taken daily to two. This is again a step forward towards a change from the traditional to modern food habits due to the spread of education.

Education and Change in Family Size and Norms

The traditional joint family system among the educated Gaddis is now fast breaking up. The spread of education has made the Gaddis drift away from the traditional occupations and enabled them to take up new jobs. This has affected, in turn their family system, making it possible for an educated person to establish a nuclear family consisting of self, the spouse and the children and, at the most, the parents. An other important social change that is coming about in the educated Gaddis, in general, is the preference for a small family of four members in accordance with the national norms. The concept of a small family varies from the educated Gaddis to the non-educated ones. While the educated regard a family of about four members as small, the non-educated are inclined to look upon even much bigger families as small.
Education and Change in Marriage Patterns

The institution of marriage has undergone a greater change among the educated than among the non-educated Gaddis. For instance, the traditional child marriage system is already a thing of the past, though not totally given up. The few child marriages that nevertheless take place occur more among the non-educated than among the educated families.

Similarly, although the limits of marriageable age have gone up in the Gaddi community, in general, the marriageable age limits (both for boys and girls) among the educated are coming in conformity with the nationally accepted marriageable age-limits, viz. 18 years and above for girls and 21 years and above for boys. On the other hand, the non-educated still marry their boys and girls within the early age-limits, remaining thus behind the national norms.

The practice of late gauna (sandoz), once very prevalent among the Gaddis due to the existence of child marriage, has been losing its hold, in general. But while among the educated, it is no longer existent, the non-educated do observe it here and there. Though monogamy with arranged marriage is the main marriage pattern, in general, among the Gaddis, yet marrying in other traditional marriage styles mentioned in chapter 6 is also permissible. Here also it has been observed, that the educated prefer arranged marriages with parents' consent, but the non-
educated also go in for the other traditional patterns. A reduction in the duration of wedding celebrations is an important change from the traditional marriage pattern among the Gaddis in general but the educated observe the new pattern more strictly and mostly do like the wedding pattern prevalent among the non-tribal communities.

**Education vis-a-vis Changing Religious Beliefs and Taboos**

The traditional religious beliefs and taboos are observed by both the educated and non-educated Gaddis. The educated Gaddis allow, however, some relaxation in their observance.

The Gaddis as a whole are religious-minded, so they seek the protection of their gods, goddesses and spirits - both benevolent and malevolent - while moving with their flocks over the mountainous ranges as well as in plain areas. They avoid any kind of violation of a taboo or untoward and unbehaving act especially during their itinerary with the flocks or during any other occupational activity like harvesting and sowing, because they believe that that may invite some calamity flowing from a curse by any of their gods or goddesses. However, the religious beliefs and taboos have found more relaxation among the educated than among the non-educated.
While the educated do worship their gods and goddesses, they do not maintain the traditional schedule of propitiating them at the places of their work. But when they come home and join the community in the villages, they participate fully in the observance of the religious ceremonies. The traditional festivals and jatras, kathas are celebrated with much traditional fervour by the non-educated Gaddis contrary to the educated ones, who celebrate them with a non-traditional gesture.

Education and Change in Kinship Terminology and Usages

The Gaddis have a tendency to preserve their culture by means of their dialect. They speak in general, their Gaddi dialect in their families and with their fellow Gaddi villagers and use their own kinship terminology among themselves. However, with the non-tribal population they converse in Pahari or Dogri dialect spoken in the state of Himachal Pradesh. A notable change in the younger educated generation is the growing trend to become bilingual even within the family, using both the Gaddi and Pahari or Dogri dialects with a sprinkling of Hindi words.

Education and Change in Political System and Political Outlook

Having now almost forgotten the traditional political system, which used to descend from the Raja of Chamba as the
supreme head, followed by the Wazir and Gaddi functionaries like Chad, Likhnera, Darbail, Ratwal, Jitiar, and Mukadams, the Gaddis of both Chamba and Kangra districts are now giving considerable support to the Indian political system starting right from the Gram Panchayat level at the grassroots to the Legislative Assembly of the state of Himachal Pradesh.

While the political outlook of the Gaddi population as a whole has changed, the educated segment of it has manifested this outlook more actively by offering representation in the form of candidature to the national political system and accepting the desired social change in the traditional political system under the leadership of their own community leaders. A number of educated Gaddis in both the districts have thus been offering their services for membership of the Panchayats, Cantonment Boards, Municipal Committees and the state Legislative Assembly. Some of them have come out victorious, having held in the past as well as holding at present posts in the aforementioned political bodies and thus leading the community towards the desired social change.

Education and change in Occupational Structure

Being traditionally a seminomadic and pastoral-cum-agricultural community, the Gaddis have always been on the look-out of settled occupations. But having remained illiterate till recently, many of them have not got better occupations except some labour work in road construction or
slate quarry work in slate mines or domesticating beasts of burden like mules for load transport in various areas of Chamba and Kangra districts. Based on their physical fitness, some of the illiterate Gaddis in the past years joined the Army or the Police. Some of them preferred to make their houses at various places in Kangra district and began to pursue settled agriculture as their occupation.

With the spread of education, the educated Gaddis are experiencing a dynamism in their traditional occupational structure. They made many innovative changes, that have resulted in a horizontal occupational expansion.

To sum up, education is playing a decisive role in the decline of the traditional sheep-rearing occupation, because the educated Gaddis are looking for pastures afresh in new and understandably more gainful occupations.

**Education and Economic Change**

Education has played a remarkable role in improving the economy of the Gaddi tribe. It has been mentioned in Chapter 6 that the monthly income of the educated Gaddis ranges between Rs. 500 and Rs. 7000 per month. Contrary to this, most non-educated Gaddis earn below Rs. 500 per month. The reason for this is that education has enabled the Gaddis to take up economically lucrative occupations, such as
business, contract work and growing apple orchards. On the other hand, the non-educated Gaddis pursue mainly traditional occupations like sheep-rearing and agriculture, which get them limited income, just enough to keep their body and soul together.

Due to the income differential between the educated and the non-educated Gaddis, there has also been observed a variation in the expenditure pattern of the two categories. Besides food and dress items, on which the expenditure is similar, there are numerous modern articles mentioned in Chapter 6 on which only the educated have spent much of their income. Hence, it may be inferred that, unlike the Gaddi population in general, the educated Gaddis have not only attained horizontal occupational mobility but also vertical economic mobility; they have also got a modern touch in their expenditure pattern.

Attitudinal and Aspirational Changes due to Education

The attitudinal and aspirational changes noticeable in the Gaddi population in general are very minor, compared to those in the educated segment of it. Whereas most non-educated Gaddis still feel that the non-tribal castes are not at par with the Gaddis, while the educated Gaddis consider themselves to be equal to the non-tribal castes in respect of socio-economic standing and educational attainments.
While the educated Gaddis have begun to treat the so-called lower non-tribal castes as their equals, the non-educated Gaddis still maintain a distance with them, e.g. not sharing food together and even segregation on social occasions. The feeling of class/caste hierarchy is more entrenched in the non-educated Gaddi mind than in the educated one. While 70.8 per cent of the educated Gaddis do not like caste/class hierarchy and prefer equal status for all in all respects, as many as 73.4 per cent of the non-educated Gaddis are still in favour of caste/class hierarchy.

As for the aspirational aspect, the Gaddis as a community have been found to be aspiring to socio-economic and educational parity with the non-tribal castes. They look upon education as a means to the fulfilment of their aspirations. The non-educated respondents too look upon the education of their younger generation as a means to the fulfilment of their aspirations. Education is thus the greatest need of the Gaddis. If they are educated, they say, they can improve their socio-economic conditions so as to come at par with the non-tribal castes. It is thus clear that the Gaddi community as a whole realizes fully the advantages of education in all spheres of development in their life, pointing to an attitudinal and aspirational change, which forms an important component of the process of social change in the Gaddi community, particularly its educated segment.
To sum up, education has enabled the Gaddis to check the imbalance in their population size; alter, improve and diversify their economy; shift from a migratory and seminomadic mode of life to a settled one; modify their social structure to a considerable extent; bring about a new emphasis in their religious beliefs and practices; change their political outlook and involve themselves actively in the national political system; modify many of their undesirable traditional social customs like child marriage and late gauna; and develop many aspirations and attitudes that would contribute perceptibly to an improvement in their socio-economic status.

Measures to Enhance the Process of Social Change among the Gaddis

Thanks to a clear trend among the educated Gaddis towards social change, it becomes imperative to encourage the Gaddi community to move swiftly in this direction by providing it with infrastructural facilities in different areas of development. The foremost among these facilities is education, so that the Gaddis do away with their migratory and seminomadic way of life.

This may be supplemented by giving the status of a Scheduled Tribe to the entire Gaddi community living in Chamba and Kangra districts and elsewhere in the state of Himachal Pradesh, so that a uniform pattern of educational
and socio-economic development is attained by them. The Gaddis of Kangra district nurse a grievance that, although they are the same community in both the districts, yet they are discriminated against vis-a-vis the Gaddis of Chamba district for being a non-Scheduled Tribe, depriving them thus of many governmental facilities being provided to the Gaddis of Chamba.

Further, adequate medical facilities and health care approaches are required to check the high child and male mortality rates of the Gaddis and the resultant deterioration in their population size.

Lastly, besides the post-education job avenues, there is a felt need for economic activities in the area, which can be acquired by the Gaddis after getting educated, especially by the Gaddis of Chamba district, to check their migration to Kangra district in search of employment opportunities.

The infrastructural facilities referred to above will develop the Gaddis educationally, make various plans and developmental schemes for them easy to implement and make them more responsive to social change.