CHAPTER - 9

POLITICAL MOBILITY
Introduction:

A ‘system’ is an integrated whole of various parts. A ‘social system’ is a set of integrated functioning of units, each unit functioning in terms of role assigned to it. A ‘political system’ is a collectivity of political institutions (e.g. government), associations (e.g. political parties) and organisations performing roles based on set norms and goals like maintaining internal order, regulating foreign relations and providing security from external forces. It is also described as a collectivity of political institutions and associations which administer the society through power, compelling conformity to the existing system of authority and which works on the basis of some principles and procedures.

The political system is characterised by four elements such as use of legitimate force, comprehensiveness, interdependency and the existence of boundaries\(^1\). David Easton has defined political system as ‘that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented. Thus it is the making of binding or authoritative allocations which distinguishes the political system from other systems both within and outside the over-all society\(^2\).

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1. Ram Ahuja, Society in India, Concepts, Theories and Recent trends, P. 185.
Almond and Coleman have said that the functions of the political system are mainly three. Firstly, to maintain integration of society by determining norms, making them universally applicable, implementing them and imparting punishment to those who violate them, secondly, to adapt and change elements of social, economic and religious system necessary for achieving collective goals and thirdly, to protect the integrity of the political system from outside threats. Almond and Coleman have explained these functions in another way also. They classify them as output functions and input functions. The output functions are: rule-making, rule applications and rule adjudication. The input functions are: political socialisation, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication.

The political systems have been mainly classified as

1) **Democratic system**: The democratic system is the rule by the consent of the governed through elected representatives of the citizens. Although democracy is based on majority rule, the protection of minority rights has always been regarded as an essential aspect of the democratic system. Also important in the political democracy are equality before the law, freedom of speech, press and assembly, and protection from arbitrary arrest.

2) **Totalitarian system**: This is a system in which the state controls and regulates all phases of life considered essential for perpetuating its power and for carrying out programmes arbitrarily.
Centralised authority is stressed over the autonomy of individuals or subgroups within the society. In practice, the state is represented by a politically powerful ruling class or elite that dominates all other interest groups.

3) **Oligarchic system**: This is a system in which a small group rules and holds supreme power over a larger society\(^3\).

**Political Party**: A political system cannot be run without political parties. Each political party has its own structural form, ideological orientation, leadership pattern and operational style. Political parties are supposed to be associations of people who have like-minded ideas and ideologies in regard to the policies that a government should follow and the functions it should discharge. These ideas and programmes are embodied before each election in what is called “the party manifesto” on which the electorate is supposed to vote.

The political parties are expected to perform four main functions. Some of them are:

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1) To assess the problems facing the country and suggest alternative solutions on the basis of which the party can formulate its policy.

2) To educate the electorate in regard to these problems and convince it of the wisdom of the solutions the party advocates.

3) To critically evaluate the policies and programmes of other parties, particularly of the one in power and point out deficiencies and shortcomings in them and

4) To mobilise the people to participate in governmental decision making.

Political parties have become necessary adjuncts of government in modern times. They are the instruments whereby candidates are nominated and elected. Though they are not official organisations created by the state, they are nevertheless, quasi-official in the sense that states sanctions, regulate and permit them to offer candidates for public office. The ultimate aim of a political party is to capture political power and keep control of the government.

The number of political parties in a state vary from one to many. England and the United States have a two-party system. The advantage of this system is its capacity to present more clear cut issues and fewer

4. Ibid, Ram Ahuja, pp. 205, 206.
candidates instead of a multiplicity of positions on issues and a wide number of candidates. The losing party in this system serves as an effective opposition. France is the instance of a state which follows a multiple party system. Under a multiple party system governments change rapidly. The voters are bewildered by a number of viewpoints presented and the multiplicity of candidates they must assess. Russia and China are the states with one party system. In Russia however, with the disintegration of the U.S.S.R., under the impact of Glasnost and Perestroika, the dictatorship of the Communist party has tumbled down and other political parties have made their appearance on the political horizon. Germany and Italy were one party states under Nazism and Fascism. One party system does not allow any opposition or criticism of state policy. The party leaders enjoy monopoly of power and it is difficult to remove them peaceably. India has a multiple party system. Defections and counter-defections continue. The political parties in India are ‘personality centred’ than ‘policy-centred’. More than 40 parties operate at the national and local levels. There is frequent competition and fractional conflict within the parties. Sometimes inner cliques or ‘rings’ develop. The political party which acts as a link between the people and their government has become the media for a politician to gain an occupation⁵.

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Tibetan Parliament in Exile:

Forty years have passed since the first group of Tibetans followed the Dalai Lama into exile in India. Entire families fled from Tibet taking with them only whatever they could carry over treacherous and little known passes in the High Himalayas, anxious to escape from the oppression of Chinese rule. Soon the numbers of exiles rose to 80,000; it is now more than a lakh and half of them in this country and the exodus continues. They are resettled in many countries all over the world, but mainly in India where the Government of India allocated large tracts of land for resettlement and provided facilities for schools, hospitals and social welfare. The Governments of Nepal and Bhutan also provided generous assistance for the resettlement of numerous refugees. Some of them managed to make their way to European countries as well as to United States of America, Canada etc.

The exiles found themselves in an environment very different from that of their homeland - the cold, bare and thinly populated roof of the world. However, unlike other immigrant groups who came and settled in the sub-continent over a period of time, the Tibetan exiles did not assimilate themselves into Indian society, but held on proudly to their Tibetan identity. They continue to do so even today, although their children have been born in exile and have not seen their motherland. This was not because they encountered hostility in India. On the contrary, their Buddhist faith had, in fact
originated in India. But over the centuries, the Tibetans had evolved a distinctive culture and society suited to their remote surroundings and Mongolian stock. Their language and dress were noticeably different, though the Buddhist roots were common.

The Tibetan exiles have survived as a cohesive community, committed to retaining the culture and traditions of their homeland and above all committed to return to its freedom, because they have a living, evolving, focus for their identity in the Dalai Lama. Even though sections of Tibetan youth appear to be westernised with some holding well paid jobs in the west and others questioning the Dalai Lamas commitment to non-violence, they continue to venerate him. His role had gone far beyond that of projecting the traditional image of a spiritual leader not over concerned about worldly matters.

From the time the Dalai Lama sought refuge in India in 1959, he has committed himself to the secular education of his people and to the establishment of representative, democratic institutions which would foster the pride and self-confidence that his people require for surviving in today’s world without losing their heritage. This has meant making them less dependent on him: a unique exercise in self-effacement, initiated soon after the exile began. Less than a year after seeking refuge in India and when the Dalai Lama was only 25
years old, he outlined a programme designed to introduce the exiles to the practice of democratic self rule but without losing touch with their own traditions. He made the announcement in January 1960 in Bodh Gaya (Bihar), where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment, thus emphasising the historic, cultural and religious links between Tibet and India. The process he began laid the foundations of democratic rule - the freely elected assembly, the Tibetan parliament in exile that governs the community in exile and provides a model for their homeland.

At Bodh Gaya, the Dalai Lama advised his followers to elect their representatives on the following basis three each from those who had come from the three Tibetan Cholkas (provincial regions) of Dotoe, Dhome and U-Tsang, and one each from the four Tibetan religious sects. Since the exiles from each chokla were widely dispersed, the electoral would be complicated, but election would serve to remind them to retain their sense of identity. Thus the first elected representative body in Tibet’s history designated that commission of Tibetan people’s deputies - met on September 2, 1960. Since then, this day has been observed as democracy day by the community in exile.6

6. Central Tibetan Administration, Tibet’s Parliament in Exile, Published by Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, pp. 4-5.
Central Tibetan Administration:

The official name of His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s Tibetan Government in exile is the “Central Tibetan Administration” (CTA). The CTA was first established on 29 April 1959 in Mussoorie as the continuation of the Tibetan Government in Tibet. In May, 1960, the CTA was moved to Dharamsala in North-west India. The Tibetan people, both in and outside Tibet, recognise the CTA as their sole and legitimate government. It is also being increasingly recognised as the legitimate government of the Tibetan people by parliaments around the world. The CTA spearheads the Tibetan people’s struggle to regain their freedom. It also looks after the welfare of some 130,000 Tibetans in exile. The CTA functions according to the modern democratic principles of its constitution, which is adopted by the popularly-elected legislative assembly, known as the assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies.

Constitution:

The constitution of the Tibetan exile community is known as the Charter of Tibetans in exile. It is the supreme law governing the functions of the CTA. The charter was adopted by the assembly of Tibetan people’s Deputies on 14 June 1991. The Charter draws heavily on the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and provides for equality before the law and the enjoyment of rights without any discriminations. The charter provides for a clear separation of power between the
CTA three organs; Judiciary, Legislature and Executive7. Before the charter came into being, the CTA functioned roughly along the lines of the draft democratic constitution for future Tibet, promulgated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on March 10, 1963.

The Charter is a comprehensive working constitution, modeled on similar documents in liberal democracies. It is nevertheless rooted in Tibetan values. The care and precision with which the rights and duties of the community in exile and the functions of its government are laid down constitute the principles of a working democratic system, guaranteeing individual rights and suited to the genius of Tibet. Till the most recent session of the Twelfth assembly, nine amendments have been made to the Charter, including the increase in the number of Kalons, from seven to eight.

The Charter lays down principles for every aspect of governance for the community in exile and serves as a model for free Tibet. It lays down Fundamental principles, rights and duties, directive principles of the Tibetan administration and defines the functions of the executive, judiciary, legislature, administration of Tibetan settlements, the Tibetan election commission, public service commission and Tibetan audit commission. Besides laying down procedures, the Charter is unique

in defining the "nature of Tibet's polity". The
fundamental principles state: "The future Tibetan polity
shall uphold the principle of non-violence and shall
endeavour to be a free social welfare state with its politics
guided by the Dharma". The Dharma is clearly referred
to only as an ethical code. The Charter makes it clear
that it does not promote any form of state religion. All
religious denominations are expressly assured equality
before the law with the future assurance that there will
be "no discrimination on grounds of birth, sex, race,
religion, language, lay or ordained, social origin, rich or
poor, elected position or other status". A long list of
other rights confirms the Charter's liberal character.

The Charter does not ignore the homeland. The
administration in-exile is directed to 'maintain a just
policy for the achievement of the common goal of Tibet'.
it is also required to protect Tibetans in Tibet from
hardships and danger. It also directed, to promote the
well being of the exiles in the settlements and to pay
particular attention to education already one of the
major achievements of the Tibetan community.

Judiciary:

The highest judicial organ of the Tibetan exile
community is the Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission.
The Commission is responsible for adjudicating all civil

disputes within the Tibetan exile community unless they are seen to be in contravention of the laws of the host countries. In order to ensure the independence of the judiciary, the three highest officials of the Justice Commission are appointed directly by the Dalai Lama. Under the Supreme Justice Commission are five circuit Justice Commissions which cover six zones where the exile population is scattered. The lowest level courts are known as the Local Justice Commissions of which there are 62 covering all the Tibetan settlements.

Legislature:

The Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies (ATPD) is the highest legislative organ of the Tibetan exile community. It consists of 46 members, of whom 43 are elected directly by the exiled Tibetans and three are nominated by the Dalai Lama. The Assembly meets twice a year during which it passes new laws or amends or repeals old ones. The Assembly session also serves as an important forum for the peoples representatives to discuss the functions of the executive and ask questions wherever necessary.

The Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies (ATPD) is located in a township above the hill town of Dharamsala in the Dhauladhar range of the outer Himalayas in North India. The very name Dharamsala,

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which means resting place for travelers in Hindi, is a poignant reminder that no matter how long they stay there, their home is elsewhere. In 1959, the Government of India provided accommodation for the Dalai Lama and his immediate entourage on the forested slopes above Dharamsala. Since then the Dalai Lama has lived in a hilltop bungalow, which is spacious but a far cry from the magnificence of the Potala palace in Lhasa. From here he has symbolised and kept alive the exiles hope of returning to a democratic Tibet. He has also encouraged them to educate themselves and their children to be of service to their country when they do return and to develop institutions of parliamentary self-government for themselves and as a model for their homeland.

For the Dalai Lama the process of empowering the people to rule in their own right has become a democratic imperative that extends into the future. He has declared that when the exiles are able to return to Tibet, he will renounce all temporal authority and his powers will then be taken by an elected president. Since the vast majority of the six million Tibetans are in Tibet, the Dalai Lama does not wish to create the impression that any particular form of government, or its officials, will be forced on Tibet when the exiles return. He has declared that the Government-in-exile will then be dissolved, and no special positions will be reserved for its officials. A transitional government will supervise the setting-up of a freely elected constituent Assembly which will determine the future form of government for free Tibet.
The first steps in educating the Tibetan exiles in democratic procedures were taken soon after the first wave of refugees arrived in India. The Dalai Lama had in fact initiated the process of democratisation in Tibet itself before being forced to flee to India. The Dalai Lama also firmly believed that the system of governance should be changed and modified so as to allow the elected representatives of the people to play a more effective role in guiding and shaping the social and economic policies of the state and all these could only be done through democratic institutions based on social and economic justice.

Before the Chinese occupied Tibet, important decisions were taken by the Tsogdu, a National Assembly in which monks and various occupations were represented along with the Kalons and other officials. No direct elections were held, but the members of the Tsogdu were selected as representatives of community and trade groups. The Tsogdu consisted of the abbots of the three great monasteries and other monk representatives of various classes and occupations, such as artisans, tradesmen, soldiers and boatmen. The reforms introduced by the Dalai Lama could not be implemented prior to his leaving Tibet. Consequently, the community in-exile had limited experience of democratic governance when they came to India. Yet, one of the pronouncements made by the Dalai Lama after settling in India showed that he had already envisaged a process of democratisation that would maintain close links with the land they had been forced

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to leave. In January 1960, at Bodhgaya, he outlined a detailed programme to a large group of Tibetans gathered there. He advised them to set up an elected body with three exile representatives for each of the three cholkas and one each for the four religious sects. The link with Tibet was thus formalised. Elections were duly held and the first elected representative body in Tibet's history - the Commission of Tibetan Peoples Deputies (CTPD) took office on September 2, 1960.

It took time for the deputies to appreciate their responsibilities they preferred to leave the supervision of the infant administration in exile to the Dalai Lama and the Kalons. Initially the role of the deputies was merely formal since the CTPD had no secretariat and facilities were limited. In 1963, the importance of the Deputies was enhanced when the Assembly was entrusted with the authority to abolish the inherited traditional bipolar practice of appointing monks and lay officials to each office and to abolish various hereditary titles and prerogatives. Then in 1966, the Deputies were authorised to oversee the working of the departments of the Government in exile. But since the Kalons were not responsible to them, the authority of the deputies was limited.

Between the First Assembly formed in 1960 and the tenth in 1988, the membership of the assembly varied between 13 and 17. In 1991, the membership was increased to 46. Until 1990, the Deputies stayed in Dharamsala throughout the year. The tenure of the CTPD was to have been three years but it varied because
Deputies were dispersed over a wide area and the means of communication were poor. In 1985, the tenure of the Assembly (CTPD) was extended from three to five years. This representative body was more appropriately renamed the Assembly of Tibetan Peoples Deputies (ATPD) after the term of the sixth CTPD was over. There was an interregnum from May 12, 1990 to May 28, 1991 when major changes were introduced to give a more democratic character to the eleventh assembly. The process of gradually strengthening the parliamentary system was slow during the early stages but it developed steadily.

During the second CTPD, the number of representatives was increased from 13 to 17 with one additional seat from each of the three regions being reserved for women and the Dalai Lama nominating an eminent person. As yet the CTPD still had no Secretariat, and the Deputies met only twice a month. However from May 1966, Deputies were attached to various offices to supervise their working and a separate assembly house and secretariat were set up.

The third CTPD introduced the system of calling an Annual General Meeting of the Heads of the settlements and Monastic institutions in order to review their activities. A group of spirited Tibetans from Sarnath, near Varanasi, came to Dharamsala in July 1972, and persuaded the fourth CTPD to convene a Peoples representative convention. This convention appealed to all democratic and peace-loving nations of the world to support the just cause of Tibet, and also submitted a
petition to the Government of India to accord diplomatic recognition to the Tibetan Government in exile. In order to legitimise their commitment to their Government in exile, it was decided that all Tibetans above the age of six would pay at least one rupee per month as a voluntary tax. Tibetan Freedom movement sub-committees, known as Bhot Rangwang Deupai Legul (BRDL) were set up in all Tibetan habitats all over the world thus formalising the commitment of the entire community in exile to democratic functioning and their participation in and responsibility to the Government in exile.

In 1990, after nearly thirty years after initiating the democratic process, the Dalai Lama announced a quantum change and said that he would renounce the ultimate authority in him to approve the members of the assembly and to supervise its functions. And then declared the tenth Assembly dissolved. On May 29, 1991, the Dalai Lama addressed the eleventh assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies, the outcome of his epoch making pronouncement of the previous year. The membership of the Assembly had risen from 17 to 46 to represent all sections of the community. The Dalai Lama’s self-denying approach of relating advances in democracy to a corresponding reductions of his own powers was expressed right away\(^\text{10}\). The five year term of the eleventh parliament ended on May 29, 1996 and

\(^{10}\) Ibid : Tibet Parliament in Exile, pp. 7-17.
the twelfth parliament was constituted on May 29, 1996. The first session of the Twelfth Parliament commenced on May 31, 1996 and ended on May 28, 2001.

Powers of the Assembly of the Tibetan People’s Deputies:

The main powers and responsibilities of the ATPD are:

a) To elect the members of the Kashag and to impeach any individual or the entire Kashag.

b) To examine the decisions of the Kashag and its administration in the light of the policies and programmes adopted by the assembly.

c) To enact laws, frame rules and regulations and issue policy decisions.

d) To control and oversee the finances, including the expenditure of the Government in exile.

e) To liaison with government, parliaments NGO’s and individuals throughout the world in order to gain support for the cause of Tibet.

f) To streamline the functioning of the local Tibetan Assemblies in all major Tibetan settlements.

g) To oversee the work of BRDL sub-committees.

h) To debate issues of National and International importance as well as issues of local and individual significance.

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i) To hear public grievances and petitions of Tibetans in exile.

j) To monitor the aspirations and problems of the Tibetan people, both in and outside Tibet, by maintaining contact with them.

k) To play the role of opposition parties under the present circumstance because maintaining effective control of the Government is not only a matter for the opposition, it is the responsibility of the Assembly as a whole.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Kashag:}

The Kashag is the highest executive body of the Tibetan exile community. Its members are elected by the ATPD and are answerable to it. The Kashag consists of eight members of whom one is its chairperson and the remaining seven each head of a major department of the CTA. For the first time, the eleventh assembly elected the seven Kalons constituting the Kashag. It is the responsibility of the members of the Kashag to jointly take all policy decisions concerning the community in exile as well as to keep the question of Tibet alive. The Charter of the Tibetans in exile stipulates that the Kashag should have eight members and while the Chairman is elected by the Kashag from among the members, the remaining seven head the

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid : Tibet Parliament in Exile, pp. 33-35.
seven major departments of the Kashag. The seven major
departments of the CTA are the Department of Religion
and Culture, Department of Home, Department of
Finance, Department of Education, Department of
Security, Department of Information and International
Relations and the Department of Health.

Department of Religion and Culture:

This department seeks to preserve and promote
Tibetan cultural and religious institutions that have
been endangered in Tibet. It also gives back up services
to the over 200 monasteries and nunneries established
in exile. In addition to the monasteries and nunneries,
there are five cultural centres for the study of both
spiritual and secular traditions of Tibet under it.

Department of Home

The Department of Home is responsible for the
rehabilitation of Tibetans in exile, looking after the
agricultural settlements, cluster units, agro-industries,
handicraft societies & carpet weaving co-operatives etc.

Department of Finance:

The Department of Finance formulates the annual
budget which is laid before the assembly. It also ensures
the viability of the many widely dispersed income
generating small scale projects that contribute to the
budget.
Department of Education:

The Department of Education has the responsibility of providing support for the educational and welfare needs of 87 schools with over 27,000 students.

Department of Security:

The primary responsibility of this department is to ensure the security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It also runs a research unit which monitors developments in Tibet and China. Additionally, the Reception centre looks after the growing number of new refugees arriving from Tibet.

Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR):

The Department of Information and International Relations educates the Tibetans and the International public opinion about the political, human rights and environmental conditions in Tibet. It also liaises with the international media and the Tibet support groups throughout the world. Also under the DIIR are the twelve representative offices, which act as the Foreign Missions.

Department of Health:

The Department of Health ensures medical and health care assistance to every settlement through the Primary Health Care Centres and Hospitals under it.
In addition to these departments, three independent commissions reaffirm the democratic status of the Government in exile. These are; the Election Commission which supervises the elections efficiently; the Public service Commission which oversees the recruitment, training, appointment and promotion of the nearly 400 civil servants who serve the administration and, the Audit Commission which is responsible for auditing the accounts of all departments and Tibetan Public Institutions\(^\text{12}\).

With the information gathered from various sources about the Tibetan constitution and their system of rule, we can come to the conclusion that the Tibetans, are now in a better position, if given a chance to rule Tibet on their own terms. To know more of the Tibetans’ concerns about the political conditions, political problems, types of political leaders, the researcher went to seek answers to the Tibetan respondents.

**Views about Life after the Establishment of Tibetan Government-in-Exile:**

The Tibetan refugees have survived as a cohesive community retaining its cultural identity. Although the people had to make a few adjustments to the new land and people, they were willing to do so under the guidance of their temporal-cum spiritual leader the Dalai Lama.

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\(^{12}\) Ibid: Tibet’s Parliament in Exile, pp. 21-22.
The views about life after the establishment of their Government-in-exile has been statistically shown in the table below. For the better understanding of the table the responses have been grouped into 6 groups of which prominent are very good, good, indifference, bad, very bad, and no reply response.

**Table No. 9.1**

**Views about Life (Socio-Economic Situation) after establishment of Tibetan Government - in Exile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifference</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Bad</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Reply</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table No.9.1 shows that 141 (47%) of the respondents saying that they think their socio-economic life is very good after the establishment of the Government in exile. Of these 141, 71 respondents were male respondents and 70 were female respondents. 139 (46.33%) of the respondents said that their socio-economic life was good. Of these 139, 73 were male respondents and 66 were female respondents. 11 (3.67%) of the respondents said that they had an indifferent view of the life that they were leading after

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the establishment of the Government in exile. Of these 11, 6 were male respondents and 5 were female respondents. 8 (2.67%) of the respondents said that they had no reply to this question. Of these 8, 5 were male respondents and 3 were female respondents. Only one female respondent said that she did not like the way their life is now after the establishment of the Tibetan Government in exile.

**Participation in Political Party:**

The researcher in order to know how much of an interest the Tibetans had in their administrators and the administration went on to ask the respondents whether they were involved in any political party representing their government. The responses have been categorised into positive responses and negative responses.

**Table No. 9.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Response</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Response</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

81 (27%) of the respondents said that they were involved in political parties. Of these 81 respondents,
44 were male respondents and 37 were female respondents. 219 (73%) of the Tibetan respondents said that they had no involvement with any political party. This may be because of the lack of interest to go into the administrative field or because of lack of facilities to further up their ambitions in the political field. Only the affordable people can go to attend the meetings at the Dharamsala and other places. Of these 219, 111 were male respondents and 108 were female respondents. Some of the parties who had the participation of the 81 respondents who said that they were working for the Tibetan Women’s Association, Tibetans Youth Congress, RTYC etc.

Participation in Political Movement:

The Tibetans seem to be very involved in the political affairs of their country by being involved in some political movement. Moreover since they are refugees almost all of them will be interested to fight for the country that must be the reasons for the 61% of the respondents who said that they were in some way involved in a political movement.

**Table No. 9.3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Response</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Response</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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It found out that 183 (61%) of the respondents said that they had participated in movements such as the uprising movement, freedom movement, human rights movement etc. Of these 183 respondents, 95 of them were male respondents and 88 of them were female respondents. 117 (39%) of them said that they had not participated in any such movement. Of these 117, 60 were male respondents and 57 were female respondents with reasons that could have been of age, ill health, marital status etc.

**Views about Political Leaders:**

Unlike everybody, a small position of the Tibetans also seem to dislike their political leaders. Although almost 84 percent of them have said that their political leaders are helpful and genuine, we still have another 16 per cent who said that they were selfish, unmindful of their problems, and more political-minded rather than being a friend and representative of them in their parliament.
Table No. 9.4

Views about Political Leader in Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpful</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genuine Work</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selfish</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmindful of Problems</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Politician</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above helps us to understand the attitude of the selected respondents to the elected leaders of the Tibetan community. However, of the 300 respondents 129, (43%) say that their political leaders are helpful. Of these 129, 66 were male respondents and 63 were female respondents. 125 (41.67%) respondents are of the opinion that their political leaders genuinely work and they deserve that position. Of these 125, 61 were male respondents and 64 were female respondents. At the same time 19 of the 300 respondents have labeled their political leaders as selfish. Of these 19, 12 were male respondents and 7 were female respondents. 3 male respondents have said that they think that their political leaders were unmindful of problems. 13 (4.33%) of the respondents have said that political leaders were more political-minded and came to the people only when either the elections were approaching or when they needed something from the people. Of these 13, 6 were
male respondents and 7 were female respondents. 11 (3.67\%) of the respondents said that they give neither of the above reasons or views about their political leaders. Of these 11 respondents, 7 were male and 4 were female respondents.

Awareness of the Tibetan Constitution:

When the researcher asked the respondents how much of knowledge they have of their constitution we got two types of answers, the positive response and the negative response.

Table No. 9.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Response</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Response</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the statistics given in the above table about 273 or 91 per cent of the Tibetan refugees have said that they have a positive response and that they know about their constitution. Of these 273 respondents, 141 were male respondents and 132 were female respondents. Only 27 (9\%) of the respondents said that they were not aware of their constitution. Of these 27, 14 were male respondents and 13 were female respondents.
View about the Government taking Good Care of the Tibetans:

The respondents were asked by the researcher to give their opinions of how they were being looked after by the Government. The responses have been divided into 2 groups, the positive response and the negative responses.

Table No. 9.6

View about Taking Good Care from Tibetan Government-in-Exile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Response</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Response</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figure above shows that 294 (98%) of the respondents said that they were positive and they knew that their government took good care of them. Of these 294 respondents, 151 were males and 143 were female respondents. Only 6 (2%) of the respondents had said that they thought their government was not taking good care of them. Of these 6 respondents, 4 were male respondents and 2 were female respondents.

Family Members Working in the Political Field:

The researcher in order to know how many of the respondents family members were involved in the
political field asked this question to the respondents. The responses given by them have been bifurcated into 2 groups as positive response and negative response.

Table No. 9.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Response</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Response</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results shows that 12 of the respondents gave a positive answer. Of these 12 respondents 4 of them were male respondents and 8 of them were female respondents. 288, (96%) of the respondents said that members of their family were not involved in the political field. Of these 288, 151 were male respondents and 137 were female respondents.

Voting:

Election to the Tibetan assembly are held every give years and every single person who is eligible to vote is required to vote. But there are still some people who have not voted even after attaining their eligibility to vote. Response have been mainly two, positive response and negative response. Under positive response further division is made to clearly show that in some of the respondents, all the members have voted or only men have voted or only some have voted or only I have voted

(370)
### Table No. 9.8

**Views about Family Members Voted in Last Election**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Response</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- All members voted</td>
<td>(93)</td>
<td>(82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Only men voted</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Only some voted</td>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>(40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Only I have voted</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Response</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of them said that they did vote in the previous elections. 268 (89.34%) of them said that they had voted. Of these 268, 143 were male and 125 were female respondents. Of the 143 male respondents who said that they had gone for voting 93 of them said all members of their family eligible for voting had exercised their vote, 1 male said that only male members of his family voted and 49 of them said that only some of them from their houses had exercised their rights. Out of the 125 females who said that they had voted, 82 of them said that all family members of the respondent who were eligible for voting had voted, 40 of them said that only some of them had voted and 3 female respondents said that only they had been to vote in the previous elections. 32 (10.67%) of the respondents had said that they had not gone to exercise their votes. Of these 32, 12 were male respondents and 20 were female respondents.
Intention to Return to Tibet

When the researcher asked the respondents as to whether they wish to return to Tibet almost all of them said that they would like to go back to their motherland as it was their land. This shows how patriotic these Tibetans are. However their responses have been grouped into two groups, the positive response and the negative response.

Table No. 9.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Response</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results shows that 297 (99%) of respondents said that they would like to go back to their motherland. Of these 297, 153 were male respondents and 144 were female respondents. However only 3 (1%) of the respondents have said that they did not like to go to Tibet. Of these 3, 2 were male respondents and 1 was female respondent.

The reasons behind their wishing that they could go back to their motherland ranges from patriotism and their love for their country which will never diminish.
View about Going to Tibet After 1959:

To the question “Have you gone to Tibet after 1959” the answer that majority of the respondents had given was negative i.e. only 1 male respondent was able to go to Tibet after 1959. The rest of the 299 respondents have not visited Tibet after 1959. Of these 299 respondents, 154 were male respondents and 145 were female respondents.

Table No. 9.10

View about Going to Tibet after 1959

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of response</th>
<th>No. of the Respondents</th>
<th>% of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Response</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Problems of Politics in the Community:

Some of the main problems that people in the political field and the people have included problems of misunderstanding, lack of unity, unemployment, segregation of people based on views and ideologies, corruption, lack of education, poor communication facilities, lack of Finance, lack of dedication, devotion and loyalty to the party and the party leaders. However all these problems have not perturbed the Tibetans and so under the guidance of their temporal-cum-spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, this community seems to be doing well enough to take charge of Tibet when it becomes independent.