INDIAN REFUGEES SCENE
CHAPTER - I

I. INTRODUCTION

II. INDIAN REFUGEE SCENE

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Refugees are persons who have been forcibly uprooted from their homelands for a variety of reasons including war, natural calamities, religious and political persecutions. It is possible to go far back into history to note the recurring creation of refugee streams in different parts of the world. Refugee movements have profoundly affected the social and economic fabric of both the host society and the society from which the refugees originated. However, in the twentieth century the nature and the scale of the phenomenon has changed giving a completely new shape to the problem of refugee rehabilitation. The first world war in Europe created vast refugee streams looking for homes in west Europe. The creation of the state of Israel uprooted large number of Palestinians. The Palestinian problem poses a challenge to the political, social and economic stability of the entire Arab region even today. Similarly the revolutions in mainland China and in Cuba have also contributed to the creation of refugee streams. The heightened political awareness and ethnic consciousness generated by the attainment of independence of several former colonies have also contributed to the problem.

It should be stated at the very outset that the problem of refugees is basically a problem in International relations in the modern world. Neighbouring Nations need not go to war with each other to gain political advantage.
over each other. It is simply sufficient to evict a political or an ethnic minority from their own countries to create a major refugee problem with all its political and ethnic connotations in the neighbouring country. The problem of refugee rehabilitation has become so critical today that international agreements under the supervision of United Nations have become necessary to settle long standing political disputes. The assessment of the size of refugee streams poses a challenge to experts in demography. Invariably it is difficult to take a census of refugees right at the time of their migration or even when they are in the process of getting settled. This weakness in counting the number of refugees is sought to be overcome by demographers through indirect methods of estimation. According to recent estimates, there are 12.6 million refugees living throughout the world today, with over a third of these people being displaced within their own country. Africa contains 6.3 million refugees, half of the world's total. It is followed by Asia, including the Middle East with 5.8 million refugees. In total, the developing countries account for almost 98% of the world's refugees, both in terms of origin and place of asylum. By origin, Ethiopian (3.8 million), Palestinian (1.8 million) and Afghan (1.5 million) refugees comprise the largest groups. Other prominent sources are Kampuchea, Lebanon, Iran, Uganda, Chad
and South Africa. As places of asylum for foreign refugees, Somalia (1.5 million Ethiopians), Pakistan (1.4 million Afgans), and Jordon (716,400 Palestinians) numerically bear the largest burden. As a ratio of the total population, foreign refugees are most significant in Somalia (1:3), Jordon (1:5), and Djibouti (1:10) countries with a percapita GNP of less than $ 500 harboring significant numbers of refugees include Somalia, Djibouti, Cameroon, Sudan, Pakistan and Zaire. 'In essence, the refugee problem is a major developing country problem, with many of the poorest nations bearing a disproportionate share of the burden of sheltering these unfortunate people.'

The term refugee has been subject to various interpretations by social scientists and experts in International Law. According to Sir Simpson, "a refugee is one who finds himself deprived of legal action, mutual support, the access to employment, and the measure of freedom of movement which happier mortals take as a matter of course. In an ordered world this legal protection and mutual support constituting what might be called social security is enjoyed by the nationals of a sovereign state."


to them, not only at home, but when they move around the world in other countries. The refugee, unless special means are taken for his protection, has no such security but exists in any country on sufferance. [His defenselessness lies in his inability to demand the protection of any state. For all practical purposes he is outlawed by his country of origin; in his country of refugee, he has a measure of ordinary legal protection in any decently governed state. Above all, he has no claim such as the right to continued residence, and he is liable to expulsion if his presence for any reason is no longer desired. The essential quality of a refugee therefore may be said to be that he has left his country of regular residence, of which he may or may not be national as a result of political events in that country which rendered his continual residence impossible or intolerable, and has taken refuge in another country, or if already absent from his home, is unwilling to return without dangers to life and liberty.]

According to Paul Weiss, (former director of the Legal Division of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees. In Classic International Law, nationality is considered as the link between the individual and international law. In the case of refugees this link is not effective.)
It has been broken ... Refugees may be stateless or not. (It is not their-nationality status but the absence of protection by a state which is determining element of their refugee character.) It would, therefore, in the case of refugees and stateless persons who have been called 'flotsam res nullius', a vessel on the open sea not sailing under any flag', be more proper to speak of defacto and dejure unprotected persons. 3

(According to the United Nations official definition of a refugee is, 'An individual who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the country. 4

(The plight of the refugee has been perceptively described as being ..... isolated in an anarchy that he did not create, he is overwhelmed by his sense of not belonging. He lost his social status when he lost his economic status. Deteriorating in the frustration of camp life... he lives in despair in a moral vacuum.)

(India since independence has also been drawn into the international politics of refugee rehabilitation)

It is a well known fact that the partition of the country on the eve of independence created refugee streams across the newly drawn boundaries in the East and the West. While several Muslims living in India had to abandon their homes and flee to Pakistan in the wake of Hindu Muslim riots, vast streams of Hindus and Sikhs from West Pakistan and from East Pakistan (Present day Bangladesh) came in creating unprecedented political and economic problems to the fledgling national governments:

The Chinese action in Tibet, ethnic conflict in Sri-Lanka and political events in Bangladesh today have contributed to the problem of refugee rehabilitation in the country. Looking back over the last four decades of experience of refugee rehabilitation, one can note that while refugees belonging to particular communities and regions have so successfully adapted themselves that they no longer can be called refugees today. Those belonging to other regions and communities have not been so successful. In this context the experience of Panjabi refugees have been contrasted to the experience of Bengali refugees. Many scholars have even commented on the factors contributing to the successful adaptation of Panjabis vis-a-vis the Bengalis. The Tibetan refugees in this context have
also attracted a few sociologists who point to the peculiar administrative set up of the Tibetans which is sustaining a sense of ethnic and political consciousness among them which is coming in the way of successful adaptation to the new environment. It is to this problem of adaptation that I focus upon in this dissertation. I seek to make a comparative study of the experiences of three different refugee communities in India, all of them are located in Uttar Pradesh. The comparison not only focuses on the living conditions and life styles of the Tibetan, Panjabi and Bengali refugees but it also seeks to study the interaction between the refugees and the respective host communities.

It is possible to look upon refugees as a particular variety of migrants. One method of accounting for migration is by analysing the underlying causes in terms of push and pull factors. Among the push factors, ethnic plurality which under certain circumstances gives rise to strong movements for the preservation of ethnic identity and for the protection of minority rights, nationalist and para-nationalist movements, annexation and economic exploitation are often listed as important. Usually migrations owing to pull factors such as employment opportunities, political and religious
freedom can be regarded as the major ones. It is important to mention here that in many migrations both pull and push factors are involved.

Among the various forms of migration the flight of refugees is the most dramatic because it is characterised by Suddenness and considerable human suffering. One cause of the forced migration of refugees is political invasion.

Forced migration has been distinguished from impelled migration by some scholars. In the former type of migration the migrants have no power to decide whether or not to leave their homes whereas those migrants who are impelled retain the autonomy to decide on staying or leaving. Peterson who makes this distinction points out that forced migration is caused by deliberate state policy. In his view slave trade during 1619 depicted migration -forced upon Africans by imperial powers to suit their needs of cheap labour. Impelled migration illustrates the situation of Indian indentured labourers.

Peterson's typology of Migration

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<th>Figure No.1. Type of Migration</th>
<th>Relation Migratory force.</th>
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<td>State or equivalent policy.</td>
<td>Forced Displacement</td>
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<td>and man.</td>
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This typology is very general in nature and suffers from some shortcomings. The distinction between forced and impelled migration is vague. For instance it is difficult to say the migration of Tibetans from Tibet was forced or impelled. The point of view adopted in Peterson's typology is that of an imperialist or colonial state and the problems that they face. While this is important, a proper study of refugees would also have to take account of their existential conditions and their perceptions which are critically involved in their displacements.\(^5\)

The entire process of formation of refugee communities and groups has been viewed in the light of various theories of migration. Trimble says that forced migration is stressful for stable, indigenous and traditional communities because in many cases they have to cope with change at short notice and often without their informed consent, with little preparation and few resources. It also results in the destruction of traditional economic patterns and mostly the native population who were forced to migrate.

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did not possess the psychological skill or economic
techniques necessary for adapting to the new environment.

Heberle prefers to call forced migration, involuntary referring to the migrant group's lack of
decision-making power. The outcome of forced migration
is disruptive and occasionally tragic and generating
irreversible problems. He further points out that
forced migration in the case of isolated tribal communi-
ties occupying land containing valuable natural resources
is likely to produce irreversible social and psychologi-
cal changes.

Trimble\(^6\) in his discussion of the consequences
of forced migration, refers to the disruptive changes
that occur in the family structure and in the social
organization. He points out that forced migration
may lead to a redefinition of social responsibilities
inherent in traditional roles leading to the breakdown
of traditional mechanisms of social control. Alteration
in the production and consumption patterns may follow
signifying disruptive organisational changes. At the

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psychological level too, routine behaviour, attitudes, motivation, emotive and cognitive-perceptual styles are disrupted. Consequently radical structural change occurs in the migrant's community - a change which the migrants cannot resist.

(If it is important to note that if a refugee is looked upon as a forced migrant he is a forced migrant in a special sense of the term.) It is possible to regard people who go abroad in search of job opportunities because they do not find suitable jobs at home as forced migrants also. In fact, if we follow Keller's typology of refugees we will be led into regarding such migrants also as refugees. (The point however is that the refugee does not have time to plan his moves and prepare himself to anticipate changes.) Hence even Kunz's anticipatory refugee cannot strictly be considered a refugee. (See Appendix No.1) Strictly speaking the term refugee should apply to those involved in the acute refugee movements as Kunz Terms it. The refugees are devoid of inner direction and suffer from acute uncertainty and insecurity.

Therefore (the hallmark of a refugee is his refugee experience.) Some students of refugee communities
have recognised this fact and have therefore detailed the psychological and social experiences the refugees pass through.

One such attempt is made by Stephen Keller who compares the success of Punjabi refugees with the Bengali refugees in India after its partition in 1947. Keller argues that the experience of the refugees as they get uprooted and go through the ordeal is likely to make them invulnerable.

(Invulnerability, according to Keller is a psychological trait which makes a man feel that he belongs to a chosen few and nothing can cause any great harm. This feeling of invulnerability, he explains, is the result of the harrowing ordeals and threats to life refugees experienced in spite of which they managed to survive. Invulnerability, he holds infuses the need for power which makes them take to business, commerce and large-scale agriculture because the doors to conventional careers such as the military, the government and politics are usually blocked off.)

Keller is of the view that the invulnerability resulting in the high n power would make the refugees take high risks and search for unconventional strategies in order to succeed. Keller's explanation counters McClelland's argument which locates in the need for achievement (n-Ach) the psychological raw material for economic development. One of the characteristics associated with n-Ach is a willingness to take moderate calculated risk. Keller believes that McClelland's argument fits well in situations in which economic development has already begun. In the relatively underdeveloped society in which rapid growth has just begun or is on the horizon, a high-risk, high-gain situation prevails. In such situation a strategy in which there is a high risk component is likely to be socially as well as individually beneficial.

Keller is of the view that invulnerability made the Punjabi refugees enterprising and adventurous because circumstances were also conducive in channelising their energies into agriculture and industry. The Punjabis could be settled on land provided by the government. He contrasts here the Punjabi experience.

with that of the Bengali's to point out that the latter could not be similarly resettled on land owing to pre-partition land arrangements and distribution of wealth in Bengal. As a result, he argues, the Bengali's lapsed into a state of infantile dependency. That is, their mentality came to resemble that of a frustrated infant to whom all is owing and they developed a parasitical attitude towards the host society.

Keller further goes onto point out that the initial refugee experience in the case of Punjabis got converted into synergy as they began settling down in their environment. As the Punjabi refugees entered the fields of industries and agriculture and became successful they became the target of aggression by envious non-refugees. This led to a situation of competition between the refugees and non-refugees which legitimised and institutionalised synergy. Synergy is the socially shared world view that sees competition as legitimate. Each individual in a synergistic situation while maximising his personal goals benefits society. Thus synergistic situation created by the influx of refugees contributed to the over-all sustained growth of the entire Panjab and Haryana region. The over-
all result of synergy which is gradually transmitted from refugees to non-refugees makes for greater participation in economic development and that the values of the society does not become concentrated in the hands of a few. Thus Keller sees in refugee experience the potential for economic development and social change in the host society under certain specific conditions. It is important to keep in mind that Keller also highlights the role of particular circumstances surrounding the interaction of the refugees with the host society in accounting for their successful resettlement.

Maria-Pfister-Ammende like Keller also highlights the psychological trauma faced by the refugees during and after migration. But unlike Keller who emphasised upon invulnerability, she focuses on the trauma that the refugees pass through. In most of the cases, stress, depression, overt aggression, apathy, and a lingering fear of persecutor were found to be the major psychological ailments refugees suffered. Much later, they seem to be enveloped by a major identity crisis especially in the second generation.

In this context, Kunz's distinction of anticipatory and acute refugee-movement is helpful in highlighting the circumstances accompanying the refugee movements. The latter, especially deserves mention here since in this case refugees become floatsom and are devoid of inner direction, will and purpose. In this acute type, the circumstances changed abruptly for stablized and rooted communities forcing them to move on the way to an unknown destination they encounter catastrophies of varying degrees including suffering, disease and death of near kith and kin.

Kunz\(^{10}\) describes this situation as "midway to nowhere". The refugees are now forced to take a 'plunge' and settle down in the new society irrespective of the consequences. This is a syndrome arising out of desparation and a will to survive on the part of the refugees. This account also resembles the invulnera-bility advanced by Keller.

The above mentioned focus on experience of refugees during and after the exodus quite rightly

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point to psychological trauma that they produce. In order to grasp how refugees adapt themselves to the host society it is indeed essential to take account of psychological problems they face, but the interaction patterns that develop between refugees and the members of host society go a long way in modulating their psychological stresses. The interaction between refugees and host society either amplify the state of shock and depression or the dependency syndrome that the refugees acquire or it may convert it into a synergistic situation. The focus in this thesis has been mainly on these interaction patterns in order to understand as to what extent the refugees' adaptive strategies succeed or fail.

In exploring the interaction between refugees and members of host society, we can make use of the extensive literature on intergroup relations that have been generated by sociologists.

Broadly speaking two genres of studies of intergroup relations can be distinguished. First, there are those studies which have been done against the background of western societies. These studies are regarded as proper intergroup relations studies by sociologists. There are also studies of social
stratification and social structure of non-western societies which also focus on relationships between diverse communities and groups. In the research of the kind I have undertaken here I need to use insights from both the genres. First I need to consider studies of intergroup relations in western societies because some refugee communities in the Indian society to a certain extent stand apart from the host society and often would like to assert their separation. In this context studies of migrant communities in the west and their pattern of adaptation will provide some insights on the problems of refugee resettlement in India. At the same time in order to grasp the ongoing process of adaptation it is necessary to keep in mind that although Indian Society can be regarded as a plural society, its pluralism is quite distinct from the pluralism of western societies. In the Indian Society the problems of adaptation a refugee community faces will be quite different from the problems faced by refugee communities in the west. In India, since in one way or another every caste or religious community is distinct and is in a 'minority' position in certain contexts, there is less pressure to conform to the specific values and the styles of life of the dominant. This is becau
dominance of castes and communities is itself diffused. Further there are regional variations in the culture of dominant castes and communities. The pressure that may operate on the refugees in the Indian Context may be more in regard to the status and position that is accorded to it in the acutely hierarchy-Conscious Social order. Hence a strategy of successful adaptation in the Indian Context has also to take account of the status accorded to the refugees in the ritual and social hierarchy and its willingness to accept such a status.

Theories and models of inter-group relations:

Studies of inter-group relations in western societies can be broadly classified into cultural and social structural studies. Cultural studies—though they may take account of social structural factors as the background factors, and focus on the process of interaction between the culture of the refugees and that of the host society. These studies can be regarded as studies in acculturation. Various scholars put across diverse models of 'acculturation'. Distinctions are often made between the processes of acculturation, adaptation, integration, absorption and separation.
Herskovites\textsuperscript{11} points that most of the studies on acculturation have taken cognizance of cultural settings wherein the cultural traits acquired by individuals would reveal themselves according to the intensity of their adoption or rejection. He further points out that most of these studies fail to highlight the context and mode of adoption of the cultural traits such as forced or voluntary. Warner feels that the best setting for the process of acculturation is when two cultures are similar. But Broom and Kitsuse caution against the search for similarities and point out that behavioural and attitudinal factors must also be taken note. For example, the external cultural traits of Japanese Americans and their mode of behaviour is different to that of Americans but their rapid acculturation points to the attitudinal change which is largely responsible for this. Broom and Kitsuse further point out that the crucial element in the process of acculturation is 'validation', which means individual or groups must qualify the standards and obtain acceptance in the major institutional patterns of the dominant society. Validation in their opinion is the decisive factor as regard to the process of assimilation\textsuperscript{12}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{11. Melville J. Herskovits, \textit{Acculuration - the study of culture contact} as quoted by Marden Meyer in 'Minorities in American Society D.Van Nostrand Co.London 1978,pp.380-381.}
\item \textbf{12. Leonar Broom and John Kitsuse - The validation of Acculturation as quoted by Marden Meyer \textit{Ibid.} pp.380-387.}
\end{itemize}
Another important contribution in the genre of acculturation studies is made by Park and Stonequist. Park was the first sociologist to be concerned with the concept of marginality. He refers to marginality as a situation in which an individual is found to be grappling with the two cultures simultaneously i.e. the first which he learnt as a member of cultural group by birth and second from the group other than his birth or primary group.

Metron views marginality as a sort of behaviour in which the individual seeks to abandon one membership group for another of which he is not a member. In a sense the concept of marginality is a special instance of reference group theory. Reference group behaviour could be dysfunctional if the group is a closed one; individual seeking membership in it could become marginalised and if it is an open one an individual will be able to use the new behaviour he has learned.

Such studies however are one sided because interaction of cultures cannot be properly understood unless the interaction between the groups and relationships of dominance and subordination between groups
are also taken into account. There is a plethora of studies which seek to identify and account of this structural dimension involved in intergroup relations. These studies have looked at the problem of intergroup relations as relations between minority and majority groups.

Most of these studies recognise the minority problem as a political problem in the sense that the minorities are invariably regarded as subordinate groups. Power is the major variable that these studies focus on.

One such study is by Michael Banton. The six order of race relations of Bantons follows a gradual progression of interactional (ties between the immigrants/refugees and the host society). Kitano modified his theory by treating each of the stages as separate models and also included the variable of power. The models explained in the following pages have been differentiated according to the conditions of power i.e. when the groups hold equal power and when there is unequal power between the migrants/refugees of all the types both forced and illegal once

and the host society. The first one concerns the initial contact between the host society and the immigrants that peripheral contact between groups with equal power is the stage in which transactions between two societies have no real influence on each other, and there is little change in outlook and both groups remain independent. This contact has been shown in the following diagram.

Figure No. 2. PERIPHERAL CONTACT

This kind of contact requires little intimate contacts and minimal mutual knowledge of customs, habits and language of each other. This contact can exist for a long period if the groups are relatively equal in power and can retain their autonomy and independence.

(In the unequal power situation in which one group is more powerful than the other on account of having access to and control over resources.)
(In this contact the direction of adaptation and learning would be primarily from the weaker to the more powerful.) Since most of the immigrants in the early phases neither have resources nor possess power, they have to learn something in order to survive. This type of contact can be seen as depicted above. It would be difficult to visualize any group in the United States today maintaining only peripheral contact with the dominant culture. The effects of the mass communications media in the form of television, movies, radio, and newspapers are such that even the most isolated groups are exposed to American culture, for better or worse.

The second model in Banton's scheme is (institutionalized contact) which in the equal power stance is most apt to develop under the following conditions:
i. When one of the two groups has a centralized political structure in which a few leaders control the action of their own members and use their power to dominate the other group.

ii. When the two societies enter into contact principally through their outlying members and there is no strong competition for resources.

In Banton's opinion, people who live on the social boundaries of the groups are most apt to exchange with each other. These people may begin to occupy positions in both systems, and a new system of interrelations develops between the groups. The roles may be rather ambiguous because the languages and the cultures may be different but no matter how underdeveloped, it is a closer system of interrelations than that of peripheral contact. This has been shown in the following diagram:

**Figure No. 4. INSTITUTIONALIZE CONTACT**
In this institutional contact there is (no common political order or integral social system) power relationships remain relatively stable, this e of institutional contact (in which only a few bers from each group interact) may remain for sometime

(In the stance of unequal power, institutionali- contact between unequal power groups is labelled paternalism or colonialism) by Banton. It is exemplif- in some forms of colonial rule. (In paternalistic ers, roles are determined by the desire of the er group to maintain control over all important as of activity.)

re No.5. INSTITUTIONALIZED CONTACT
Van Den Berghe (1967) found that the paternalistic system follows a master-servant model. The master group may be few in number but is able to dominate the subordinates. The subordinates are looked upon as childish, immature, irresponsible, and improvident, but are lovable as long as they remain in their place. Subordinated groups often internalize these inferiority feelings through self-deprecation.  

The paternalistic model is often found in relatively complex preindustrial societies in which agriculture and handicraft production constitute the main economic base. Paternalistic societies are rigidly stratified into racial castes. The caste barrier is the most important; although class distinctions do exist, the color line limits mobility between castes. Race remains the major dividing factor, and elaborate ideologies of the inferiority and superiority of races are developed to maintain the system. Since the model mainly concerns with relatively not so complex, preindustrial societies, the immediate relevance of this model has been marred by the almost absence of colonial rule in the world today.

The next sequence in the Banton's order is "Acculturation". In the general parlance acculturation means the process of learning a culture different from the one in which a person was originally raised. It also connotes the coming together of different cultures into a common culture. Hraba writes that acculturation occurs when different racial and ethnic groups become similar in their thinking, feeling and acting.

Equal status acculturation occurs when societies are small, informal noncompetitive.)

Figure No.6. ACCULTURATION.

(In the situation of unequal power in which people from a less powerful group interact with a more powerful one the process of acculturation is mainly a one way process.) For instance, the less powerful
group sheds its cultural values and traditions in order to become more like the group in power.

Figure No.7. ACCULTURATION BETWEEN UNEQUAL POWER GROUPS.

Here, it also should be noted that a purely one-way flow of acculturation (one group completely overpowering) the other is rare and that some mutual learning generally occurs.

The next step in Banton's order is 'integration'.

An integrated order of race relations develops when racial distinctions are disregarded or are given only minor consideration. It means that there is interaction among races on most levels—in housing, in schooling, employment, in interest groups and in friendship and social relationships. However, it does not include intimate social relationships such as marriage between the groups.) The model of integration has been shown in the figure given below.
The next in the sequence is assimilation or amalgamation model which refers to (interracial marriage and its variations including intimate social interaction and living in harmony. Assimilation can occur without acculturation and is often regarded as an inevitable consequence of interaction. Once a group enter freely into the social clubs, cliques, organisations and institutions of the other group on a peer basis, intermarriage and other levels of assimilation generally will follow.) This has been depicted in the following diagram.
The next important model in his order is that of 'pluralism'. The equal power pluralism is similar to separate nation-states, in which groups live side by side with different languages and cultures, and with a minimum of social interaction, integration or assimilation.

Figure No.10. PLURALISM

Gordon opines that the sub-societal separation is the necessity for the continuance of the ethnic cultural tradition and the existence of the various groups. In the opinion of Van Den Berghe pluralistic societies are segmented into corporate groups and have different cultures or sub-cultures. Their social structure is compartmentalized into analogous, parallel, non-complementary but distinguishable sets of institutions. He further points out the additional characteristics frequently associated with pluralism are:
1. Relative absence of value consensus.
2. Relative presence of cultural heterogeneity.
3. Relative presence of conflict between the significant corporate groups.
4. Relative autonomy between parts of the system.
5. Relative importance of coercion and economic interdependence as bases of social integration.
6. Political domination by one of the corporate groups over the others.
7. Primacy of segmental, utilitarian, nonaffective and functionally specific relationships between corporate groups and of total nonutilitarian, affective, diffuse ties within such groups.¹⁵

It is important to differentiate between cultural and structural pluralism. While cultural pluralism refers to the maintenance of ethnic subcultures with their traditions, values and styles, structural pluralism refers to the extent that a society is structurally compartmentalized into analogous and duplicatory but culturally alike sets of institutions.

Further in a pluralistic society where power relationships are unequal, pluralism can be viewed as domination.

Domination (based upon racial stratification is a two category system: all members of the category are subordinated to the other.) As Banton found that, this kind of subordination is far harsher, and it provides the most clear-cut illustration of (race as a role sign.) Irrespective of their personal qualities, individuals are ascribed to one or the other category, and those in the lower are prevented from claiming the privileges of those in the upper category. This two category system closely resembles the current stage of race relations in the U.S. To be white is to belong to the upper half of the system, with its corresponding social psychological perspectives. This kind of two category pluralistic order has been shown in the following figure.

Figure No.11. DOMINATION

Lastly Kitano advocates a model of 'Bicultural Adaptation'. This is a variant of both acculturation and pluralism and is based on the observation that
exposures to several cultures can be additive, so that a person acquires and is comfortable with both the dominant culture and with his or her own ethnic heritage.

Figure No.12. BICULTURAL ADAPTATION

A person with a bicultural orientation would appreciate various languages, enjoys various foods, would have friends in several cultures. A bicultural perspective would assume the desirability of various cultures provided there would be no superior or inferior cultures.

In a nutshell we can say Banton's presentation of six orders of race relations is often equated with the 'American way' or the 'melting pot'. It involves entrance into the American system through peripheral contact, learning the American way and discarding the old (acclimation) participating in the institutional networks of the dominant society (integration) and then into the assimilative stage.
Another important study highlighting the element of power in the inter-group relations is by Milton Gordon. On account of strong assertion of ethnicity in early 70's in Europe and America, he was compelled to revise his earlier formulation regarding the process of assimilation and had to incorporate the concepts of power, conflict and pluralism into a more general framework for the purposes of prediction of particular outcomes in majority-minority group relations. Moreover he also takes into account the accessibility of migrants to the system of economic rewards. For a comprehensive understanding of the issues involving majority-minority relations, he develops a construct which consists of four subvariables:

1. Type of assimilation: In this the major distinction is between cultural and structural assimilation on one end of the scale to complete pluralism on the other.

2. Degree of total assimilation: This variable would consist of an index combining scores for each subtype of assimilation viz: cultural structural marital and identificational are used.
3. **Degree of conflict:** Existing in the society between the majority and minority groups or between the minority among themselves.

4. **Degree of access to societal rewards:** Economical, political, institutional and so on – for the minority group or groups in comparison with the majority group. This is an equality dimension.

He further extrapolates some independent variables in the context of majority–minority relations under three rubrics: bio-social development variables, interaction process variables and societal variables. Societal variables includes collective – structures and phenomena pertaining to the demographic, ecological, institutional, valuational, cultural and stratificational features of a society.\(^{16}\)

Since societal variables constitutes the entire gamut of majority-minority relations, their further elaboration as done by Gordon becomes pertinent here.

Firstly, the societal variables include a cluster of demographic phenomena such as absolute

size of the majority and minority groups. Secondly, another cluster of societal variables consists of value consensus or dissensus between the majority and minority groups and specifies the particular areas where such consensus or dissensus exists. The third group of variables is made up of cultural differences between the majority and minority groups existing at the time of initial contact. The fourth set of variables is about the nature of ideologies such as racial, religious and ethnic groups present in the general population and concerns the degree of egalitarianism and humanitarianism present in these ideological systems and also the degree and type of assimilation or pluralism desired. A fifth major group of variables devolves around the distribution of power between majority and minority groups. The distribution of competitive power, political power and disruptive power quite clearly affects the outcome of majority-minority relations.

In the sixth set of variables, the degree of access to societal rewards (the equality-inequality dimension) available to the minority ethnic group-effects the degree of felt dissatisfaction of the group and thus affects the dynamics of social change which determine the outcome at any given time.
In the seventh set of variables, the political nature of the society with regard to the democratic-totalitarian scale or dimension should be recognised as an important variable for outcomes in intergroup relations. This variable interacts with the power variable, since its position determines whether ideological and value positions and their behavioural implications for ethnic group relations can be fought out in the legislative and public opinion areas by concerned citizens' groups or whether such decisions are made by a small group of rulers at the top and handed down and enforced by the concentrated power of governmental control in the hands of the totalitarian state.

Gordon further extrapolates the element of power and the type of government - the two variables most crucial for the outcome of majority - minority relations anywhere in the world. The first one which is related to power in propositional terms is given as below:

'Racist ideology pervading the majority group plus low degree of 'inside' minority ethnic power plus low degree of 'outside' minority ethnic power plus felt opportunity to enhance the self through economic means by massive
discrimination leads to low degree of access to societal rewards by the minority ethnic group ranging from second class citizenship to slavery plus minimal conflict'.

The second which relates to the type of government in propositional terms follows as such:

'Intermediate degree of racist ideology permeating the majority group plus low degree of 'inside' minority ethnic power plus low degree of 'outside' minority ethnic group power plus totalitarian government leads to low degree of access to societal rewards by the minority ethnic group, quick and intense mobilization of hatred toward the minority group at governmental will plus massive and quickly terminated conflict ranging in outcome to the point of 'expulsion or extermination'.

In his hypothesis for successful integration and identification for the minority group, which can emerge when the minority group has an intermediate degree of power less than that of majority so that it cannot disrupt the society completely but enough to levy strategic influence to protect its rights
in a democratic egalitarian pluralistic society.  

In Horowitz's opinion the key for successful amalgamation in ethnically divided society lies into superimposing new layers of identity upon old, without displacing the old levels. Only rarely and only over very long periods of time has amalgamation succeeded in producing so complete a fusion as to obliterate the component sub-group. Few states today can reproduce the degree of subordination coercion and pressure on the component groups which made the West Indian fusion possible. The brutality of the West Indian experience points to the high costs of assimilationists or more accurately, amalgamationist policies of 'nation building' in either the new states or the old.

In the context of majority-minority relations Merton highlights several variables which are not only crucial but are generic to minority situations. One of his theoretical formulation illustrating these relations is the self-fulfilling prophecy, wherein minorities are entrapped in a vicious cycle of discrimination.

created by the majority. He is concerned with the very creation of the cycle and the control it exerts on the minorities owing to the possession of power in the hands of dominants. It is they who define what an ideal minority ought to be. For this they prescribe a set of do's and don't's. This means putting the minority in a specific framework, which is what he calls the 'stereotypes'. The dominants in most of the situations want the 'stereotype minority' to adhere to the negative image which has been deliberately and purposely created for them. The minority individual who behaves in the approved mode of the dominant group is criticized for so doing. The same behaviour is defined differently by the dominant group, depending upon whether it is displayed by a member of their own group or a member of the minority group. What is virtue for the dominant group becomes vice in the eyes of the majority for the stereotyped minority. The circle of self-fulfilling prophecy he says, can be broken only by institutional control and a redefinition of situation (which is how minorities are defined) is the plausible hope.

By paying attention to the formation of stereotypes and the role of stereotypes in inter-group relations, Merton is able to take account of perceptions of the
groups concerned as important for the formation of minority consciousness. However, to study the pattern of interaction between the refugee community and the host society it is important to take note of the specific conditions under which these interactions take place. Amersfoort in his study of minority group formation in Netherlands delineates the crucial factors which contribute to assimilation or minority formation. From Amersfoort's study it is clear that in any attempt to grasp the relationship between refugees and the host society we should take note of pre-migration social structure and values of the refugees, as well as the policies adopted by the Government towards refugees. The desire to stay or return on the part of the migrant, economic opportunities open to the refugees and the power dimension in the relationship between the hosts and the refugees are some of the issues that the host society must take up. Further, we can also fruitfully borrow from Merton's framework which particularly refers to the stereotyping of the minority groups.

In his essay on social structure and anomie, Merton shows how the social structure poses problems of adaptation for individuals in the competitive opportunities offered to the members of the society. This he explains by evaluating the types of persons in the society. The first type of persons would pursue their goals through the means approved and sanctioned by the society. The second type of persons owing to preventive access to opportunities and of deprived background would pursue the goal but not through the approved institutionalized means. The third type of persons would both reject the goals and means to achieve them.\(^2\)

It is the second and the third category which concerns us here because Merton felt that one can see such behaviour more frequently in minority groups than in the dominant group. He finds an explanation in the differential accessibility to the means viz. Education, capital and so on far achieving the goals of dominant culture. This point also goes to prove Keller's point wherein refugees adopt unconventional means to achieve those economic goals on which the majority had not staked the claims so far.

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Merton's concept of anomie can also be used in a different way in inter-group relations. This is based upon the assumption that social upheavals creates conditions of anomie for some groups and the resultant migration therfrom is to escape from the anomie prevailing in the society. This type of migration thus can be called anomie migration. A refugee thus can be thought of a product of anomie.

The need for a comprehensive model which would not only take care of both the types of migration i.e. forced and voluntary but also the coping and adaptive mechanism employed by both the types of migrants had been felt for a long time. Toward this end, a modest attempt has been made in this direction to develop a model which assumes that with minor modifications it can be useful for studying both the types of migration i.e. forced and types of voluntary migration anywhere. The adaptation part in the model has been partially borrowed from Richmond and Goldlust and modified.

Figure No.13. (Please see next page)
A comprehensive analytical model to study various types of migration and the process of adaptation.
In the beginning of the model a rectangular shaped social system is shown which is further enveloped by another large rectangle and dissected from four sides. In each of the subsection are shown the forces and factors operating upon the social system. The cumulative effect of all these factors upon the social system creates such conditions which results into the flow of the migrants of both the type i.e. involuntary and voluntary.

The three upper subsections shows three type of factors viz., war and annexation, religious and political persecution and natural and man made catastrophes, which are all pervasive factors and have always resulted into mass upheaval and displacement forcing people to flee to safer pastures. People are forced to abandon their abodes for the sheer security of their lives. The cumulative as well as respective effect of all these factors results into the stream of people who are forced to migrate. The lower fourth subsection consists of economic factors in which the movement of migrants is in search of greener pastures in the distant future. The type of migration is both legal and illegal. In the (illegal migration comes) Cubans, boat people from Vietnam to U.S. and (a part of Bengalis from Bangladesh to India.) The stream
i.e. the legal migrants are normally full of adventure and hopeful of a better future in the promised land. The same can be said more or less for the illegal migrant also. There always need not be the economic reason but other than the economic could be more pressing ones too. For example, the desire to be with one's own people. Thus, the two streams of people would flow out one of which i.e. the legal type knows his destination. The other one which is illegal though knows his destination but does not possess the right papers. So in a way he too has to undergo the same as those of forced migrants have undergone and encounter various stages of uncertainties.

During the move both types of migrants i.e. forced and voluntary illegal type reach a point which is characterized as midway to nowhere. A pertinent question can be raised regarding the predecided destination choice of voluntary illegal migrant and by the same logic he should not face the situation of midway to nowhere as that of refugees. But this is not always the case with this type of migrant. Even if the destination is predecided their move is strewn with one or the other kinds of obstacles. To further cite examples of this type would be Russian jews wanting to
migrate to Israel, East Berliner trying to reach West Germany and the Mexican immigrants trying to reach America and the majority of Asians trying to migrate to Europe and United States in hope of lucrative jobs.

Thus, the mid-point which is characterized as midway to nowhere is a crucial juncture where both the types of migrants face an almost similar choice. (The choice is either to make it or else perish.) In case of voluntary illegal migrants, there remains a very little choice of returning and this option in the case of refugees is almost absent. (The refugees and the migrants at this stage keep on drifting in the hope of a suitable anchor.) This period is a period of total anomie for the refugees and the migrants, so much so one can say that they are the product of this. So at this juncture a kind of syndrome envelops both type of migrants. This is called Survival Syndrome i.e. a will to survive come what may. This will to survive is most powerful amongst refugees who have escaped holocausts at various points in their flight. The foremost question is survival and it afflicts all of them. It is here that they tend to plunge into any society, irrespective of the consequences.)
The adaptive mechanism follows the will to survive of the migrants both voluntary and involuntary. In this, the term 'adaptation' has been used in preference to that of 'assimilation'. The reason being that the term 'adaptation' has the advantage of not involving 'a-priori' value judgements concerning desirable outcomes. The convergence of an immigrant population over a period of time to a state of 'assimilation' with the indigenous population may be a special case of a certain type of adaptation, while the convergence of the members of a receiving society toward the characteristics of the migrant group may be another. A great deal may depend on the economic, political and even military power of the incoming population. In practice both processes may be at work and other changes including the greater differentiation and diversification of the social system as a consequence of migration may also occur.

Furthermore, in the adaptive mechanism, the proper adjustment and integration of any migrant community into the receiving society depends on three important factors. The first point which refers to premigrational characteristic and conditions meaning thereby social structural and economic set up of the migrants before migration. This would not only reflect
the world-view and a way of life of the migrants but would also indicate their predisposition toward change or preservation. In juxtaposition the first point in the receiving society refers to degree of industrialization and urbanization and demographic composition of the society which are referred to as situational determinants. The interplay between migrants pre-migrational characteristics and the situational determinants in the host society would determine the extent of adjustment and adaptation process. The second point refers to the ethnic identity of migrants as well as that of the members of the host society. This point is important since it can either make or mar the adaptation process of any immigrant community. For example, the blacks and browns would find it extremely difficult to identify and adjust themselves to the ethics, ethos and mores of white Anglo-Saxon community. The third point refers to the kind of political system to which immigrant community was used to and came from to the one prevailing in the receiving society. Since this aspect can have political bearings on international relations, the very acceptance of the refugees and immigrants depends a great deal on the kind of foreign relations existing between the migrant country and the receiving society. And also on the type of political
system existing between the migrants' country and the receiving country. For example, the migrants from communist countries to the democratic west might not get the acceptance of receiving country which is capitalistic and democratic oriented such as the case with Cuban and Vietnamese boat refugees trying to reach America.

Now I intend attempting the application and operationalization of the model in the Indian Context.

As is well known, Indian Society is (a plural society). So in a vast democratic society like ours, the mode of incorporation for several racial as well as ethnic group minorities is an egalitarian one. This means equality in terms of social, economic and political spheres amongst people is one of professed objectives of the states' policies. In such a multi socio-cultural milieu, it would not really matter if some different racial or refugee influx is there. This would amount to (one more group being added to the multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural system.) For instance, Sri-Lankan Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu and Panjabi refugees in Panjab as well as the Bengalis in West Bengal have not faced the problem of adaptation to that extent as those who are in the non-contiguous areas.
The problem of adaptation assumes an important dimension only when the refugees cannot be rehabilitated in their contiguous states. Outside their states, they are referred to as refugees (although no more technically speaking) or sometimes as outsiders. They have to undergo the turmoils and tribulations of adapting to an alien setting as any refugee community anywhere in the world has to do. That is why I have tried to look at the adaptation of the three communities from the perspective of both i.e. refugees as well as the members of the host society. In the case of Panjabis and Bengalis, I purposely selected those refugees which were outside their contiguous states. For Tibetan refugees too, I selected only those who were not in the vicinity of H.H. Dalai Lama's run and administered settlements, but those who are staying along with the members of Indian Society and are on their own. These refugees are in direct interaction with the members of the host society and are not insulated within the four walls of the settlements.

It is this interactional matrix in which refugees are directly interacting with the members of the host society that we can infer and observe the process of adaptation. So far the process has been looked purely from two perspective of the refugees, their coping strategies and adaptive patterns. But this in my opinion is fallacious and inadequate. For a
fuller comprehension of the process of adaptation we have to look at it from the perspective of both i.e. refugees as well as the members of host society. Only through this, we would be in a position to observe the extent of mutual reciprocity, ethnic coherence, intermingling and interpenetration of the three communities with the members of host society in the broader framework of adaptation.

In a nutshell, we can say that the success or failure of adaptation process for any-migrant community depends on the interplay and interaction of the three important characteristics of both the migrants as well as of the receiving society drawn in the model. Out of this interplay, will emerge the stage of mutual adaptation meaning thereby the philosophy of give and take which in turn would result into new socio-economic patterns, which bring about changes in the overall socio-cultural milieu of the host society.
(In order to understand the interaction between refugee communities and the host society, it is important to consider the nature of Indian Society.) Although many scholars have referred to Indian Society as a plural society, (pluralism in India is quite different from the pluralism of the west.) In the past, we had a secular tradition of live and let live for all the minorities in the country which is unlike the most of the plural societies who have different policies for different minorities. 

In the Indian society therefore the process of adaptation may take on a different pattern from hitherto understood process of adaptation for the refugees or migrant communities.

Recently Prof. T.K. Oomen in one of his article advocated against building a cultural mainstream which in the process would alienate the marginal or small groups numerically speaking. Instead, he wants multiple cultural 'centres' in which the desireable mode of adaptation for the cultural collectivities is to nurture,

Indian social structure is undergoing a significant change on account of Adult franchise, Parliamentary democracy and Protective discrimination for the oppressed castes. This has resulted into unleashing of hitherto trapped forces. One of the offshoots of this is that the marginals have started asserting themselves and they have deliberately sought to adopt values and life styles which are designed to challenge the groups who dominate over them. This plus the fact that there is diffused dominance gives scope for communities who are prepared to assert their identity and are prepared to use political means to gain their ends. Therefore in such a situation the refugees too get sufficient scope for expressing their identity and for gaining certain benefits by mobilising themselves and by exerting political pressure on the government.

Our study won't be complete if we do not recognise that Indian Society as a hierarchical society which is based on caste and its accompanying ritualistic

dimensions. Caste provides a principle for the location of different groups in society to retain and nurture their traditional exclusivism provided they accept the overall principles of hierarchy and seek to promote themselves in their own way by adopting strategies such as Sanskritization etc. In the caste system, the fundamental assumption is that the groups are likely to be different and that the tolerance of differential heterogeneity is a way of life. It is also pertinent to mention here that caste in theory is different than it is practised in different areas. This is on account of regional features which have an important bearing upon the way of life. The point I am trying to make is given this differentiation, a refugee or migrant community is supposed to conform adapt or adhere to what especially in the absence of a unified cultural structure. This brings us to the point that the adaptation of any group either refugee or migrants is not only situational but contextual too. A refugee community has done well in one context but has miserably failed in another. So the situational placement of the communities emerges as an important factor for the process of adaptation of different migrant or refugee communities in India.
India, has absorbed three diverse refugee streams in its short history since independence. The partition of the country in 1947 led to an exodus of 8,500,000 refugees from East and West Pakistan. Of these, 50,00,000 were from West Pakistan in the period 1947-48 and 35,00,000 refugees from East Pakistan in the period 1950-51. According to the census 1951, the total number of displaced persons in India in 1951 was 74,79,278. These figures, it is believed, understate the refugee inflow. In addition, the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959 also led to the inflow of additional 50,000 refugees led by the Dalai Lama since 1959.

It is to be borne in mind that all these refugees lost their homeland and were catapulted into an uncertain world. Murphy cautions that the refugees in India were unlike those from Europe to American shores or European Jews to Israel, people endowed with a great hope for a new life or people fulfilling an ancestral destiny of a religious community. The refugees in India were "more struggling sufferers trying to pull together the fragments of a lost life but unable to do so."


Unfortunately, very few studies exist of these refugee communities in India. To be precise there are three major studies one each for the three refugee communities in India.

Of these, two viz., Pakrasi's study of the Bengali refugees and Palakshappa's study of Tibetan refugees have been conducted from the sociological point of view. The third study conducted by Keller on the Panjabi refugees in India has been done from the psychological point of view.

Pakrasi's study was conducted keeping in view the following objectives:

i. How the displaced persons behaved to remain together in family level by inner kin bonds and in doing so, what structural modifications they had to accept within family units in post-migrational living?

ii. How far caste influence caused differentiations among the refugee migrants in their propensity for building up a new after migration disorganisations on family level in West Bengal?


27. Keller: op. cit.
In other words, Pakrasi was interested in studying how the traditional caste and kin bonds of refugees were affected by the trauma of partition and forced migration. His study also focused on the extent to which the refugee's occupational background supported them in reorganising their post migrational family life in West Bengal. Pakrasi used the field data collected immediately after the partition in 1948 by the Indian statistical Institute, Calcutta.

His analysis of West Bengal data led him to the following conclusions:

i. The refugees with the occupational background of trade, business and commerce, bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic professions reacted "more quickly and vividly in taking far reaching decisions in favour of migration.

ii. Those refugees whose occupational background was agriculture quickly settled down in rural habitats in consonance with their occupational background. However, a sizeable minority of them went to the cities of Calcutta and Howarah had proved to be a problem group there as They could not adjust themselves to miscellaneous non-agricultural avocations.
iii. The class of refugees who belonged to the occupational background of the trade and commerce mainly congregated in the cities in search of jobs. Those who belonged to the bureaucratic and other services preferred to migrate to the towns in West Bengal.

Pakrasi's study also reveal that crisis of partition and uprootment did not disrupt the institution of joint family. This he attributes to the persistence of the cultural norms related to the Hindu way of life and the strength of the caste system. Thus Pakrasi's study highlights the importance of Hindu Culture and Hindu way of life in explaining the minimal disruption of family life among refugees. He further stresses that unlike in the case of other social structures which are disrupted by crisis to individuate the human beings, the crisis of partition in Bengal maintained the existing social structure based on joint family and caste. This culturological explanation of Pakrasi's, however, does not take into account the more important and interesting issues namely success of refugees in adapting themselves to the new circumstances.

On the basis of a review of several studies quoted in Pakrasi's book itself it is apparent that those refugees who migrated to the cities of West Bengal found it extremely difficult to adjust themselves whereas those who settled down to agriculture in rural areas found it least difficult to rehabilitate themselves. If we match this fact to Pakrasi's analysis of occupational background of the migrants settled in the rural and urban areas, it becomes evident that the problem of adjustment was most acute in the case of refugees with the background of trade and commerce and minority of agriculturists to settle in cities of West Bengal. (Pakrasi is of the view that since a sizeable portion of displaced families continued to regard themselves even after 14 years of partition (at the time of study) as refugees they have not been able to 'assimilate themselves' into the mainstream of Bengali life. He seeks an explanation for this in social psychological factors, but he does not elaborate on this. While Pakrasi recognises that this lack of assimilation has something to do with governmental financial support to refugees, he regards the refugee problem as not an economic problem but a social psychological problem.)

Many observers of the refugee scene in India have commented on the lack of adjustment and assimilation
of Bengali refugees as compared to that of the Panjabi refugees, although both the refugee communities were mainly settled in states which were contiguous to the states from which they migrated. The Panjabi refugees were quick to adapt themselves and succeeded in agriculture, trade, commerce, and industries. The Bengali refugees, however, did not show this dynamism. There are several explanations offered. According to U. Bhaskar Rao, the East Bengali refugees were mainly agriculturists, the pressure on agricultural land in West Bengal had already reached such proportions that the resources one could mobilize for the relief of immigrants were negligible. The displaced persons in the West revealed a praiseworthy mobility; they were ready to spread themselves out over the whole country, as it was not so with the refugees from East Pakistan. They were reluctant to move beyond West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where they were largely concentrated. West Bengal naturally, had to afford asylum to by far the largest number, a burden for which it was ill-equipped.

Thus, while Pakrasi suggests that only those refugees who converged to the cities of West Bengal posed a problem in rehabilitation, Bhaskar Rao goes on to point out that because of the non-availability of land, even those Bengali refugees who were settled in agriculture proved to be a problem. While this statement of Bhaskar Rao is broadly true, it is interesting to study the problem of those Bengali refugees who were settled outside the state of West Bengal. The newspaper reports of the Mana Camp located near Raipur in M.P. and of Dandakaranya project in Orissa also indicate the lack of adaptation of the Bengali refugees. The Mana Camp according to Indian Express\(^\text{30}\) consists of 65,000 to 70,000 refugees who crossed over into India in the early 1960's from East Pakistan. These refugees have been deserting the camp in the hope of reaching Sunderbans of West Bengal where they feel they could be resettled in an environment which is familiar to the one they left behind. According to this newspaper report, the refugees miss the soil rich, rainfed, verdant environment of the 'Sonar Bangla'. In addition, this report

\(^{30}\) Indian Express, 20th June, 1975.
attributes the failures in adapting to the conditions in Mana Camp, to the habitual 'laziness' of the refugees bred by the fertile soil and fish laden waters of their 'Sonar Bangla'. Other newspaper reports on Mana Camp while commenting on the lathi charge and police action upon the refugees refer to the step-motherly attitude of the central and the concerned state governments regarding these refugees. According to the editorials in the Statesman the trouble in the Mana Camp was the result of accumulated indignation of 5.2 million people of East Pakistan. These editorials, speak of the discriminatory attitude of the central government towards Bengali refugees vis-a-vis Panjabi refugees. While the total expenditure on Panjabi refugees reported to have been 456 crores it was argued that only Rs.85 crores were spent on the Bengali refugees. Not only this, the Centre according to the editorials disowned the responsibility 14 years ago with a final grant of Rs.220 million. Even this amount was not properly spent. The ameliorative measures such as School facilities, low interest bearing loans and tax concessions to industrialists who employ refugees were piecemeal and tentative

31. The Statesman, Editorials of 11th, 14th September, 1974
leading to horrors of Mana refugees camp. Scortched earth, blazing canvas, endemic dysentry and no medicines to be had within miles speak of the rigours of existence of refugees in inhospitable tracts.

Another major effort to resettle Bengali refugees is the famous Dandakarnaya Project, where the forest area straddling two states namely M.P. and Orissa was cleared in 1958. According to a report in Patriot\textsuperscript{32} the project authority took up 1,37,000 displaced families of which 80,000 families consisting of 90,000 members were settled in 325 villages set up in this area. The Statesman report of 22nd October, 1977 points out that these settler's villages resemble a typically backward Indian village, complete with money-lenders, opportunists, and politicians who thrive on the misery and ignorance of common man. The settlers, the report says, have been reduced to an alien community viewing everything and everyone with distrust and pessimism. land and money were distributed, dams and highways built and priorities were determined arbitrarily and policies changed with persons leading to protest, agitations, police actions and political sloganeering.

It is alleged that the members of extension staff were mostly drawn from U.P. who had no idea as to how to tackle the problems peculiar to the laterite terrain with uncertain rainfall. Further, another report in Statesman published on 20th May, 1975\(^3\) points out that the refugees were the victims of political intrigues between the Centre and state governments. The Central government points out that the state government views the refugee problem in terms of its leverage against the central government. The central government charge is that the successive state administrations misused the funds allotted to the refugees, abused contracts for camp amenities and obliged influential political supporters under the pretext of land for redistribution, and regarded the refugee camp as a reservoir of willing manpower for election duties. The project officials on the other hand complain against the lethargy of the refugee themselves leading to a lack of success of these resettlement projects.

Recently, we have witnessed a massive exodus of Bengali refugees from Dandakaranya to the Sundarban.

areas. Inspite of having been settled in Dandakaranya for more than 15 years, the Bengali refugees have not been able to grow roots in their new homeland. There are various reasons to be accounted for this massive desertion from the Dandakaranya.

The obvious reasons are the rocky terrain, poor irrigation facilities, poor productivity along with the politics by vested interests at the expense of the poor refugees. Further the hostility between the local tribals and the refugees have contributed also to aggravate the situation. With the completion of Pteru dam project in Malkangiri zone for irrigation purposes, there has been a consistent effort to deprive the refugees of this potentially rich land by some vested interests. In other words, the extremely hard work the settlers had put in clearing and reclaiming land in this zone which was due to be rewarded in 1978 has been systematically sabotaged by the vested interests.34

The exodus is not quite spontaneous. DDA (Dandakaranya Development Authority) which was established in 1958 have been able to resettle 20,101 families on agriculture and 1,168 on other related jobs. Moreover, 1,202 local Adivasi families also have been absorbed in rehabilitation project. But more than 50,000 refugees have left Dandakaranya in the past few months all for the vaguely defined heaven of Sunderbans.

The accumulated indignation over the years of Bengali refugees and the feeling of desertion has got deeper roots in the terms of step-motherly attitude of the central and state governments. A cursory glance at the amount of money spent in terms of rehabilitation and compensation to Bengali refugees against their counterparts (West Pakistani refugees) would present a clear picture and would reveal the reasons for the miserable plight of Bengali refugees.

The amount of property with which the West Pakistani refugees have been compensated are as

follows: 70 lakh acres of land, nearly 7 lakh village houses, 302,300 urban houses, shops and industrial enterprises all abandoned by evacuee Muslims. The centre built at its own expense 2,21,000 urban houses and put them into the compensation pool. A parliamentary committee found that an investigation of only 78 claims, each of over Rs.1 lakh had disclosed that excess claims totalling Rs.1.19 crores had been made by the refugees concerned.  

Apart from all this, the Home Ministry set up a special cell to find employment for West Pakistani refugees in government offices and public sector undertakings. Upto 1964, the number of West Pakistan refugees given employment by the cell was 2,02,000. The Ministry's record shows that upto that time only 204 Bengali refugees had found employment in central government offices and public sector undertakings. Loans were given on a liberal scale to the West Pakistan refugees and set off against their compensation claims.

The Bengali refugees have not only not been given any compensation, they have been forced

36. Ibid. pp.18.
to live in camps on dole. Whatever rehabilitation expenditure has been incurred on them has been treated as interest - bearing loan advanced to them.

For the Bengali refugees, till March 31, 1977 the DDA has spent in 14 years almost Rs. 79 crores. This includes Rs. 23.5 crores on general development, Rs. 16 crores on Adivasi welfare and Rs. 38.5 crores on refugee rehabilitation. The other important factor for the maladaptation of Bengali refugees is that unlike their counterparts, they could not integrate with new surroundings. Even after 15 years of settlement, the invisible umbilical cord of his ancestral home (Bari) has been tugging on him. In response to a single emotive appeal, he is prepared to move lock, stock and barrel to an inhospitable marshy Land of the Sunderbans, nearer 'home'.

While the Bengali refugee problem attracted mainly the attention of sociologists and journalists a serious psychological study of the refugees had to wait for the analysis of Keller. Keller takes

37. Ibid. pp.1.

for his study, the successful adaptation of the Panjabi refugees in order to discover the psychological factors involved in the process. He is of the view that the refugees may tend to become parasitical and may lapse into an 'infantile dependent-state' as in the case of Bengali refugees if sufficient economic support of the host country is not available. The Bengali refugees, he points out, lapsed into the mentality of a frustrated infant to whom all is owing because pre-partition land arrangement and distribution of wealth in Bengal were such that the Bengali Hindu refugees could not be resettled on land as easily as his Western counterpart.

As has already been mentioned earlier that Keller, has shown that his thesis of invulnerability largely accounted for the successful adaptation of the Panjabi refugees. Invulnerability according to him induces the need for power which compels the refugees to take to business and other associated activities aggressively which finally results into synergy - a situation of competition between the refugees and non-refugees in which the former eventually succeeded.

Unlike Keller, Hazelhurst's study of a Panjabi town points to the fact that refugees' entrepreneurial success is related to their greater social mobility which he attributes partly to the influence of religious reform movements such as Arya Samaj and partly because partition has deemphasised already diminished importance attached to such elements of orthodoxy such as sub-caste distinctions and obeisance to Brahmins. Hence, freed from the traditional obligations and values which tied down the local merchant communities, the refugees could use unorthodox strategies for success in entrepreneurial activities. It is to be noted here that the refugees studied by Hazelhurst mainly belong to the trading and business class. Thus Hazelhurst's thesis comes close to the well known sociological theories which isolate the marginal man who, freed from the traditional values and obligations could strike out in new directions to become successful in the entrepreneurial field.

Thus the review on available literature on the Bengali and the Panjabi refugees lead us to conclude therefore that the former represent a case of unsuccessful adaptation while the latter represent a case of successful adaptation. Successful adaptation could be regarded as a situation when the refugees becomes self-reliant either individually or collectively and also loose their identity as refugees. Adaptation is unsuccessful when the refugees still regard themselves as aliens in the host society and continue to depend upon support from external agencies.

Unlike the Panjabi and Bengali refugees, the Tibetan refugees belong to a social and cultural order which is distinct from that of the host society. The Tibetan refugees came to India in March 1959 from Tibet along with the Dalai Lama, their spiritual, temporal and theocratic head. The Tibetan refugees who accompanied him in large numbers into exile in India and its neighbouring states of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim have now lived for more than a generation in their new surroundings. Their children have been born and educated without contact with their home-land depending solely on the memories
of older generations for their knowledge of the 'land of snows'. Since the present Chinese rulers of the Tibet have virtually sealed the country off from the outside world, only a handful of persons have in recent years been added to the original group of 50,000 which now has been estimated around 1,10,000, refugees.

Regarding the motives that made Tibetans leave their country, Palakshappa who interviewed a number of refugees in Mundgod Settlement in Karnataka state has mentioned the following: The first was that there was an acute feeling of anxiety about the future of Tibet and its people. They were apprehensive of the fact that their rich culture would lose its identity as Tibetans under communists. They would not be allowed to practice Buddhism. The second and more specific reason was that many Tibetans heard of the massacre of Tibetans on a large scale because they did not toe the line of communism. In addition, the Chinese were said to be coercing the Tibetans to take a bride or a groom from the Chinese. This measure was aimed at destroying their race of which the Tibetans are so proud. The fourth reason was the information that their spiritual

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leader the Dalai Lama had taken refuge in India. The fifth reason was that the Chinese had planned the annexation in such a way that the families were spilt among themselves. Thus the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese had created a sense of insecurity which drove them to emigrate.42

Like all other refugees, the Tibetan refugees have been confronted with two mutually contradictory pressures. If, on the one hand, they seek to keep alive the idea of return, they must somehow prevent their physical dispersion and, by their very plight, arouse the concern of the world, in the hope that political conditions can be changed in their favour. The frustration of these ambitions, however may lead to their abandonment or to their persistence as one of the world's unsolved problems, as has happened earlier with the Palestinian refugees. On the other hand, if the refugees willingly accept the generous contributions of relief agencies and by their own endeavours, succeed in rehabilitating themselves in their new homelands, they will inevitably be subject to pressures to assimilate or amalgamate with their host populations. To be sure, because

42. T.C. Palakshappa; op.cit. pp.16-17.
India is already a multi-cultural, multi-religious country the pressures to assimilate culturally (as distinct from politically) was expected to be minimal.

The fate of such refugee communities depends largely upon the calibre of their leadership. The Tibetan refugees, in this respect have been doubly fortunate. Not only did the Dalai Lama, their acknowledged leader succeed in escaping to India unharmed, but this took place when he was only twenty five years old. The continuity of leadership through him in the succeeding years has greatly assisted the consolidation of Tibetan community in exile.

The Dalai Lama is well aware of the dilemma/nourish the belief that the political circumstances may change before too long, so that he and his exiled followers will be able to return to Tibet. The Dalai Lama has not discouraged emigration to western countries, and has assiduously encouraged the majority of his supporters who remain in India to rehabilitate themselves in their new surroundings and to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Indian

government and the voluntary agencies to establish viable communities designed to become self-sufficient and self-sustaining. This policy has two obvious merits; first, it will ensure that the Tibetan refugee community as a whole remains intact gathered in sufficiently large groups to be able to maintain their own language and religion, and with Tibetan Schools Teaching the essentials of their heritage. Secondly, the economic support created will prevent the Tibetan from becoming a depressed and dependent minority, existing solely from the handouts of world community, which might so easily forget them, or ignore them in favour of more pressing claims elsewhere. The policy of self-sufficiency, however, runs the risk that the settlements might become too successful. In Karnatka, for example, strenuous efforts have been made to prevent a situation where less fortunate or industrious Indian groups be envious of the Tibetan achievements.44

According to the latest estimates of the Bureau of the Dalai Lama, there are approximately more than 1,10,000 refugees in India.44(a) The Ministry of Rehabilitation, however is not sure of such a number on account of the migratory nature of Tibetan refugees.

44. Ibid, pp.82-83.
44.(a) Tibetan Life in Exile, An Information Brochure, op.cit.p.3.
No accurate census has therefore been made and figures provided by the Bureau of Dalai Lama in India, have yet to be verified by Indian agencies. Thus, even if we take the estimate of the Bureau as accurate, we notice that the Tibetans form a trickle compared to the refugee streams from West Pakistan and East Pakistan.

The settlement of Tibetan refugees in India has not been an easy task. The Indian government tackled the problem sympathetically, and to some extent, a number of voluntary agencies also gave assistance. To start with, these agencies posed problems, in that each wanted to help according to its own predilection. Therefore, a coordinating agency, the central relief committee (India) was formed. It is generally agreed that the Tibetans were far less of a problem than the other refugees with the cooperation of the Dalai Lama they showed discipline, tolerance and endurance. Although most of the refugees were not agriculturists, but most of the rehabilitation schemes had an agricultural bias. It was not possible

to get agricultural land to suit the climatic needs of the Tibetans, who were used to living at great heights and in dry climate. With the cooperation of various state governments, some jungle areas were made available for the settlement of Tibetans. Agricultural settlements, combined with other subsidiary cottage industries, were gradually set up in Karnataka, Orissa, Arunachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. To start with, since all the settlers were not used to agriculture and particularly not in the hot climate of India, it looked like a losing battle.

In almost all the Tibetan Settlements, leadership is vested in the cooperative society, which is usually headed by the representative of the Dalai Lama assisted by many younger Tibetans who have graduated from the school system.

In most of the settlements, small irrigational schemes were evolved. Simple and cheap family huts were provided and in a short time the settlement became a collection of small Tibetan villages. Eventually many of the settlers became rich enough to build their own improved huts. Various facilities like bullocks, ploughs and a few tractors were provided, carpet-making centres were set-up as well as other
cottage industries. By tradition many Tibetan are good carpet weavers and from this source they earn a good income and foreign exchange.

While around more than twelve to fifteen thousand people thus found rehabilitation on land, most Tibetans resorted to other means for their livelihood with the assistance of the government of India. They set up big handicrafts centres for carpet weaving and production of other Tibetan handicrafts first then at Dalhousie in Himachal Pradesh and/elsewhere. The remainder initially found employment on road construction in the cool; hilly areas. With the passage of time they have also been shifted to various agricultural settlements or absorbed in handicraft centres. Besides many of them have left the settlements to venture out on their own.

It is noteworthy that the Tibetan refugees burst into the world scene in 1959. The very year designated by the United Nations as world refugee year. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees did not recognise the Tibetan exiles in India as refugees. The General Assembly of the U.N. therefore passed a resolution authorising the High Commissioner to
extend assistance to refugees who do not come within the competence of the United Nations and to use his good offices in the transmission of contributions designed to provide assistance to them. It was a clear realization that the refugee problem was a continuing one, and not be confined to the European sphere or limited to those refugees falling within the scope of the statute of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or the convention relating to the status of refugees.

Besides the Indian government bearing the expenses of settlement sources of relief aid mentioned in the 1961 reports were traced to some fourteen organisations and governments. These include the following: American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees (AECTR) Catholic Relief Service (CR); Church World Service (CWS); Committee on Relief and Gift Supplies (CORAGS); Cooperation for American Relief everywhere (CARE); Council of YMCA of India and Ceylon Refugee Section; Dr. Thomas Dooley Foundation, California.

47. General Assembly Resolution 1338 (XIV) 20th Nov. 1959 841 St Plenary Meeting General Assembly Official Records.
USA; Govt.of South Vietnam; Indian Red Cross Society (IRS); Junior Chamber International US (JCI); National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC); National Christian Council (NCC); Save the Children Fund, U.K. (SCF) and the Service Civil International (SCI).

Last, but not the least, this chapter will not be complete without giving an account of the Dalai Lama's administration in India which has played a significant role in the rehabilitation efforts. The Tibetan administration has been established with a view to take care of the Tibetan refugees in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim and at the same time preserve their separate entity. Although the new administration claims to be the Government of Tibet in exile the government of India has refused to acknowledge it as such. The new administration was decentralised into separate departments each with its own portfolio of responsibilities and administrative functions and with considerable freedom in day-to-day decision making, though still held together by the Kashag or the Cabinet in important matters of policy and general supervision. The administration of Dalai Lama is based at Dharmsala, Himachal Pradesh his
temporary headquarters and is made up of several bodies. The actual work of the administration is divided into the five departmental offices. They are:

i. The Council of Religious and Cultural Affairs of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

ii. The Home and Rehabilitation Office.

iii. The Council for Tibetan Education.

iv. Information and Publicity Office.


In addition to these five offices, there are the offices of Tibet in New York and Geneva, and the Bureau of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Delhi, all three of which came directly under the Kashag.

There is also the office of the charitable Trust of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Calcutta which manages the funds of the Tibetan government in exile and comes directly under the authority of His Holiness.\(^4\)

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From the above mentioned studies, the crucial factors that make for successful or unsuccessful adaptation of refugees are:

i. The amount and nature of governmental assistance to rehabilitate refugees.

ii. The elements of Social structure and Culture of the refugees prior to migration.

iii. Actual experiences of the refugees in the process of uprootment.

This way of identifying the factors responsible for adaptation however may lead us to view adaptation as a once-and-for-all process. But adaptation is a continuous-process. As we are well aware from Keller's study and that of Hazelhurst's that successful adaptation may itself lead to refugees becoming the envious target of his society. While such hostility may under certain circumstances lead to over-all development of the host society and changes the social structure and culture of refugees themselves, it is quiet conceivable that the hostility from the host society may adversely affect the refugees integration into the host society. This may be particularly the case if the social structure and culture of refugees is completely
alien to that of host society. In this context, it is relevant to study the process of adaptation of Tibetan refugees in the Indian Social and Cultural milieu since they belong to a different social and cultural order.

To analyse the process of adaptation at work in the case of these three refugee communities, it is essential to have an understanding of their economic, political and social life prior to their arrival in India.