Chapter 4

LOCALIZATION OF TIBETANS IN DELHI

1. MEANING OF LOCALIZATION

The Tibetan Diaspora in Delhi transcends various concepts of Social Sciences, such as Heterogeneity, Hybridity, Assimilation and Marginalization etc. with reference to the grafting of Tibetan socio-cultural organizations in Delhi. The formalized structure of Tibetan Diaspora in Delhi reflects transitory phase in its socio cultural pattern. The term localization can be used (with limitations) to understand the outcome of socio-cultural interaction between two different structures i.e., Tibetans and Delhites.

The term localization can be defined in various ways such as determination of the locality of an object to adopt products for non-native environment etc. In Taiwan, the term localization is used to emphasize the importance of Taiwanese culture. Further in social science the term is used to emphasize on local small scale or exclusive cultural aspects and systems as opposed to larger, inclusive systems.

In this chapter, the term localization has been used to conceptualize the process of adoption followed by Tibetan Diaspora in Delhi. For the last forty seven years, Tibetans in Delhi have undergone a phase of contradictions and multi directions. The contradictions and multi-directions are inherent in the organization of Tibetan Diaspora, on the one hand, and organizations of Delhi,
on the other hand. In this context, the concept of localization reflects both inclusive and exclusive tendencies of Tibetans. The Tibetans in Delhi have undergone the process of restructuring contradictory to each other from above and below.

2. CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE CONCEPT LOCALIZATION

The concept of localization refers to the process of adaptation of local, politics, economic and social tendencies to sustain the formalized Tibetan Diaspora. On the other hand, Naik \(^1\) and T.C. Palakshappa \(^2\) described acculturation, assimilations and negative assimilation respectively in the case of African Diaspora in India.

The localization of Tibetan Diaspora in Delhi can be periodised:

(1) The Pre-1990s period.

(2) The Post-1990s period.

The periodisation has been done on two grounds: first, the pre 1990s period reflects the migrated generation of Tibetans and adjustment in the new socio-cultural environment of Delhi. Further, the period maintains transformation in the local set up of Delhi on a gradual pace. Second, the post 1990s period represents radical transformation at both the level i.e. Tibetan Diaspora and local set up.

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3. LOCALIZATION IN PRE-1990S PERIOD

(i) Immigration of Tibetans and India’s foreign relations with China

In the beginning, the Tibetans were temporarily settled at Ladakh Budh Vihar (Buddhist temple), near Inter State Bus Terminal New Delhi-54. Over a period of time, this settlement expanded as forced movement of Tibetans continued from Tibet. Due to this reason, the Tibetans were shifted to Majnu-Ka-Tilla in 1964. The Tibetans were provided socio-economic means of survival under the dynamic leadership of Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Gyaneshwar Chaturvedi has analyzed the stages of Nehru’s response to Tibetan problem, he argues, “Both B. R. Ambedkar, the leader of lower castes himself a convert to Buddhism and Ram Manohar Lohia, the socialist politician stand by Tibet. The battle for the freedom of India, they felt had to be fought against China despite Chinese protest and provocations. Indian public opinion left the government with no option but to give sanctuary to the Tibetans. Moreover, Nehru was devoid of sympathy for the Tibetan as intellectually, he was close to Buddhist rationalism; he empathies with freedom and dignity of a small and peaceful ethnic community.3

The emigration of Tibetans in India created political crisis with reference to foreign relations with China. The Xinhua News Agency described the forced migration of Tibetans as a conspiracy against China. The Indian

government tried to convince China that India had no role in forced migration of Tibetans. As India is mother land of Buddhism, the masses favoured shelter for the Tibetans in India.

The Indian government faced critical problems due to Panchsheel agreement between India and China on April 29, 1954. The Panchsheel agreement was a trade pact between China and India to facilitate bilateral trade in Tibet. The Panchsheel agreement includes two sections: first the preamble and second, the content. The title of the agreement recognized Tibetan as a Region of China (Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibetan region of China and India). P.C. Marcello states, “Nehru’s rational was adherence to five principles of co-existence memorandum of 1 to 54, a trade agreement between China and India, which proclaimed India’s acceptance of Tibet as a part of China. Using it as a policy, Nehru made it clear that India would not take Tibet’s side against China. Nehru told the Dalai Lama that he asked too much and needed to realize that India was a poor developing country. However, we agreed to send the Tibetan refugees to road change in northern India, higher up and to make the arrangements as soon as possible.”

Dhundub Gyalpo says, “The Panchsheel agreement epitomizes the fiasco of Hindi – Chini Bhai-Bhai claimour. In this agreement, India recognized Tibet as a part of China, infact, as a mark of goodwill, India also gave up all her extra territorial rights in Tibet, but, failed to settle Indo- Tibetan

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border. And by forfeiting Tibet, India, thus forfeited the thousand years of a buffer state that key of Chinese imperial aspiration on leash”.  

Thus, Tibetans in India were welcomed primarily by the masses and secondarily by government of India. The Indian masses provided basic facilities to the Tibetan refugee camps. P.C. Marcello argues “In India two camps were organized for the refugee one at Misamari and other at Buxa duar a former British prisoner of near camp in West Bengal. The Indian people join in procuring food, medical supplies and clothing for the refugees.”

(ii) Tibetan settlement in Delhi

The place Majnu –ka-tilla is very important in Indian History. It covers the visit of the most prominent saints of India such as Guru Nanak, Guru Hargovind etc. It has been said that during the reign of Sultan Sikander Lodi, a kind hearted fakir used to stay on the banks of river Yamuna. He was called Manju. Over a period of time, he became famous. Finally, he was enlightened by Baba Nanak. Henceforth, the hermitage site of Majnu became Majnu –Ka-Tilla. The people of this area reside with the legacy of kindness and sacrifice. Today, Manu-ka-Tilla includes the biggest Tibetan settlement of Delhi.

The Tibetans settlements are clustered into four parts:

1. Tibetan settlement at Majnu-Ka-Tilla

2. Tibetan settlement at ladakh Budh Vihar

3. Tibetan settlement at Rohini

4. Tibetan Population scattered in new Delhi.”

The establishment of settlement was solution of one problem, but the Diaspora had to struggle with a number of limitations to survive in the host country. Carolin Alfonso and Kokot put forward their ideas, “The process of identity formation never occurs outside socio-political and cultural context. They are not mere reflection of a free play of independent actors—they always require an opposite the other on to which the image of self is projected in the case of Diaspora the matter seams even more complex. The members of Diaspora communities are confronted with a multitude of others towards whom quite different designs of identity may be presented be it the nation states of residence and their different requirements, globally dispersed communities of the same Diaspora or the demands on a symbolic or a political / economic) of what is considered their true home land.”

The first and foremost problem according Braudelian structure was geographical adjustment. The geography of Tibet created a social-cultural formation emphasizing more and more on socio-cultural brotherhood. In the absence of concrete material gains, the pastoral society evolved unique way of living.

“Tibet is a vast and beautiful country it is bounded on the three sides by some of the highest mountains in the world the Rugged Karakorams and

Ladakh Mountains in the west, the wild and remote Chang Tang ranges to the North, and the great rock barrier of the Himalayas that runs for two thousand and four hundred kilometers along Tibet’s southern border. No wonder Tibet has been called the “Roof of the world’, for the average height of land is around 4500 meter. In the past, Tibet’s encircling mountains name acted like a kind of Fortress. The conquering armies were dismayed by the soaring mountains precipices the biter hinds and sound and the absence of roads. 

Even in the east, where, land is lower the country is rugged and barren and the distances are enormous it is over 1200 km from the capital Lhasa to the Chinese frontier. This was one of the reasons why the life of many people remained so little change for hundred of year”, says Christopher Gibb. On the other hand, New Delhi offered totally different and unknown trajectory because the industry based society of Delhi was one of the most forward society of India. The process of urbanization created multilevel problems with development.

Further, the importance and relevance of family as an institution was totally different in Tibet and New Delhi. Though, the Tibetan Diasporic settlement in Himachal, Karnataka and other agriculture based areas are comfortable. The norms and values of socio-cultural formation are quite adjustable. Even in the contemporary period, the Tibetan and African Diaspora

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9 Christopher Gibb, the Dalai Lama I the leader of the exiled people of Tibet and Patient worker for world peace walford: orient longman pvt. Ltd. 1990), page 9.
in Uttara Kannada is very well placed. Though, the concept of assimilation and acculturation is beyond the organization of Tibetan Diaspora.

According to Social Science, the family is a basic unit of reproduction biologically, socially or in both ways. The family helps to look children socially and plays crucial role in acculturation and socialization. The typology of family can be categorized into four areas depending upon relations between parents and children, relations between spouses or on both:

a) Patrifocal
b) Matrifocal
c) Consanguinean and
d) Congual

Rama Krishna Mukharjee says, “The formulation of social structure varies according to the selection of the context and the content variables employed to distinguish humans, among perhaps all living creatures, have long periods of childhood and old age, two stages in life when they are oblige to depend on others. Therefore, family is a primordial human group associated with many involuntary groupings of larger dimensions and variable counter to which an individual is affiliated at birth: Kinship, claim tribe, ethnicity, etc.”

Further, Mukherjee says, “This is not a matter of observation or of any crime deduction. Now, while the social structure is deductible the social

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process are wither do not observe nor deducible the process operate insidiously in society for the formation and changed social structure. Therefore, they can only be inferred with rejection variable formulation of the social structure"\textsuperscript{11}

Further, the family is influenced and shaped by other social institutions such as state, religion, kinship etc. The term state represents the body of institutions that possess the authority to govern a society. It also makes the rules and regulations and maintains sovereignty. The emergence of modern state has totally restructured the social relations of production as the state and society dialectally interact upon each other.

Moreover, religion shapes and reshapes the institution of family and religion functions as an ideology as well as institution. In the case of Tibetan Diaspora, the impact of religion and religious structure is very powerful; another powerful social institution is kinship. It is the basic principal of organizing individuals into social groups, roles and categories Schneider says, "The two sides of kinship their biological model (whether real or presumptive putative or fictive) and the social relationship (the rights the duties, privileges, roles and statuses) stand in a hierarchical relationship to each other for the biological defines the system to which social is attached and is, thus, logically prior to the later"\textsuperscript{12}

Williams argues, "Some times this term has been used to describe a biological relationship between individuals. On the other occasions, the term

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid, p. 17.
has been used to describe certain kinds of social behavior between individuals or especially language terms some people use when dealing with other in social situations. Today, cultural anthropologists recognize that infect kinship refers to all three kinds of behavior by humans."^{13}

The first phase of localization placed numerous asymmetrical trajectories to Tibetan Diaspora. First of all, the Tibetan social formation was placed in a trajectory which did not care for the joint families. Though, the Buddhism served the most powerful tool for the social acceptance of Tibetans in New Delhi. The Diaspora was not an alien to a layman. But, the various practices of pastoral were quite different from industry based capital of India.

Grunfield describes pre-1959 Tibet as feudal, "Tibetans were ruled by an unusual form of feudal theocracy that was both centralized in a government in Lhasa headed by a man outside of Tibet, the Dalai Lama and also decentralized giving local control to the countless monastic and aristocratic estates. At the top of social structure was the Dalai Lama who was both the secular and ecclesiastical rulers of Tibet. Then, the mallgerba or aristocratic lords numbering any where from 150 to 300 families have been given second status. These families could be arranged in four distinct groupings. The most exclusive were the Debon or families descended from ancient kingdom of

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^{13} Thomas Rhys Williams, Cultural Anthropology (London: Prentice Mall International Ltd. 1990), P. 256.
They were followed loosely by the yab-shi or families descended from previous Dalai Lamas.”

Further, the Tibetan women enjoyed comparatively freedom than Indian Women. Jayanti Alam observes, “Gender equality observed in this society is unbelievable unique and can serve as a model for any society. This is the reason why I developed immense interest in this kind of investigation/book”. Further, the socialization of Tibetans Diaspora followed two trajectories: The elite Tibetans were settled inside the settlement and whereas, the poor Tibetans were on the peripheral and outer side of the settlement. Though, the Diaspora identity overshadows the economic divisions but even than it exists.

(iii) Pastoral to Business Community

The Tibetan Diaspora in Delhi has undergone a phase of grafting till 1990s. The Tibetan society found itself in a fix as the social structure and culture faced immediate problem of legitimacy .The legitimacy in Tibet was provided by geo-economic condition whereas in Delhi, Tibetan society required legitimacy from local people ,Indians. It was a very complex situation. On the one hand, the Tibetan Diaspora gradually consolidated under the leadership of Dalai Lama into a state in exile; on the other hand, the society grappled every second to adjust in a new socio cultural climate. The Indian government had provided land to Tibetans in Arunachal Pradesh, Himachal, Karnataka, and Delhi. The settlement in Arunachal, Himachal and Karnataka

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comparatively offered similar economy. But, the Tibetans of Delhi were totally put into a melting pot. Delhi is a melting point which produces a hybridized Delhi walla culture.

The survey shows that the Tibetan family institution had to undergo immediate transformation. As Indian society practiced bigamy, thus, Tibetan society faced negative remarks and appreciation from Indians. Further, Tibetans at Majnu-Ka-Tilla and ISBT were required to follow a trade as an occupation to survive. Thus, Tibetans were gradually transformed from a pastoral society to petty business community. The Indian government had provided space for Tibetan market at a free of cost/concessional rates.

As result, the Tibetan society followed six types of occupations:

1. **Hotel Management**

The upper section of Tibetan society gradually managed to follow a more profitable and respected business. Delhi was being utilized by the Tibetans for politico-social networking. The incoming and outgoing of Tibetan due to winter and summer seasons immediately required a space for lodging. Initially, Tenzin says, Tibetan used houses as a part time guest house. The 1970's and 80's forced the resourceful Tibetans to construct full fledged lodging houses. Further, Tibetans provided Chinese / Tibetans food which become a picnic dish for the Indians. The nearness of settlement to university of Delhi made it a hot spot for enjoyment. Hence, the resourceful Tibetan opened restaurant, hotels or restaurant cum hotels.
II. Shopkeepers

As Indian government provided shops at ISBT at concessional rates, the Tibetans started business of woolen and wool made garments. It was a continuity of business carried by Tibetans in Tibet. The concessional rent of shops provided enough space for Tibetan to sell material at cheap rates. Due to pastoral socio-cultural practices, the Tibetans followed business with Truthfulness and without bargaining. Sonam recalls that Tibetan shopkeeper will never call one back if he/she is not satisfied with the rates. Further, Tibetan women managed shops whereas male used to procure wool and other items from places like Ludhiana.

Apart from this, petty shopkeepers emerged within the settlement to supply items required by the residence for day to day life. These shops were for multiple purpose but by 1980’s these shopkeepers were gradually specializing in specific items, not only this 1980s witnessed emerging market of Tibetan artifacts. The gradual localization of Tibetans had created soft corner for the Tibetans. The universal acceptance of Dalai Lama had created space for Tibetan artifacts with structure of Indian superstition. The Tibetan artifacts such as bags, embroidery, key ring, garlands, laughing Buddha, etc., were accepted for beautification happiness etc.

The most widely accepted Tibetan commodity was Chhang. Chhang is a traditional light drink made up from millet barley or rice. It is fermented through yeast. In fact, Chhang became the most cheap and reliable drink for the
Delhites. The poor Tibetans used home as home-cum-pub structure. A glass of chhang could be obtained at the rate of 2 or 5 Rs. Further, the selling of Chhang also created space for spicy Tibetans food such as momos, Thukpa etc. As a result, the outer side of Tibetan settlement at Majnu-Ka-Tilla was transformed into a chhang market. The chhang market was also gradually misread by the anti-social element. The chhang market has not been transformed into a organized market of wine.

III. Seasonal Businessman

The competition for survival forced a segment of Tibetan to involve into shifting business according to season. This included woolen garments, wool, cosmetic items etc. It required these Tibetans to travel in various parts of the country. As a result, Tibetan market in Chora Bazaar, Jaipur has become a permanent feature. According to survey, Jaipurias identify them as Nepalis.

IV. Labourers

The poorest segment of Tibetan society were forced to function as laborers in various hotels, construction etc. The gradual emerging protest from neighborhood and government against chhang selling forced Tibetans to follow different occupations. The marginalized segment of Tibetans could not adjust in the economic crisis, thus, accepted all types of occupation. Though, the organized nature of Tibetan Diaspora has put a check to get involved into anti-social activities
guests as we had never tasted that kind of food before and this was my first encounter with Chinese food though technically speaking it was Tibetan Food".18

Tibetan welfare office project says that 6% of the populations are engaged in running eateries and general stores. All the eateries sell Tibetan and Chinese foods which are non-spicy. The good restaurants and general stores earn anything from 3000 to 5000 per month. Further, the Tibetan Diaspora also opted for garment and cosmetic business. But, the social and cultural trajectories of local set up created bifurcation into the arena of business.

Thus, Delhi offers multiple levels of survival to the immigrants. First of all, Tibetan people chose Delhi as a platform to convey their problem to Indian and world. Hence, the Tibetan settlements continuously become area of migration and immigration of Tibetans inside and outside India. The upper section of Tibetan Diaspora shifted to more productive and respected business whereas the lower section remained and the change selling. Over a period of time the social stratification increased manifold within the covering of Diasporic identity.

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4. THE POST-1990 PERIOD (PERIOD OF GLOBALIZATION)

(i) Meaning of Globalization

The process of globalization made Tibetan Diaspora to enter into a new phase of localization. This process of localization is primarily started due to globalization. The globalization has intensified people to people contact all over the world. The world is no more unknown palace. The transformation of world into a global village has created two implications: Firstly, it has reduced the restriction of state over physical and ideological mobility. Secondly, it has expanded arena of people to people contact.

The globalization has aligned with the generational shift in Tibetan Diaspora. The new generation perceives host country differently. It is a combination of home and host. Most of these Tibetans have not seen Tibet but have been conveyed by the Diasporic network. It does not mean that Tibet is not related to them. Tibet is very much deep in their heart, but, the return- cum-liberation programme is gradually fading away. Their aspirations are gradually begin restricted to liberation.

(ii) Family and Kinship

The transformation of Tibetans from pastoral to business community had simultaneous implications on the institution of family system. The city provided innumerable space for the emergence of individualism and privacy. The modernity had pleased to opt for nuclear family. Further, the new
economic structure transformed the Kinship and other social practice. The last 47 years has witnessed emergence of many small household within the settlement. It used also established policy of two children in Tibetan society by late 80’s. The city provided latest medical facility leading increase in life expectancy.

The period of 80’s and 90’s created serious crisis in Tibetan Diaspora in Delhi. The increasing individualism and urge for privacy had relocated the value of Buddhism and Tibet. It means the context of these two aspects had been radically undergoing transformation. Buddhism becomes a part of life rather than the part of life. The role of divine intervention has decreased whereas the dependence on human endeavor has increased manifold. The religious institution and network is sought more and more for worldly affairs. It is also possible due to continuous emphasis of Dalai Lama on Democracy Article (3) of constitution says, “It shall be the duty of the Government of Tibet to adhere strictly to the Universal Declaration of human rights and to promote the moral and material welfare of the people of Tibetan.

(iii) Transformation from Business Community to Service Class

The posts 1990s have radically started transforming the Tibetan Diaspora from business community to service class. Unlike in 1970 and 80’s, the young Tibetan generation wants to achieve higher education. Further, the young generation is shifting to professional courses of higher education. It is due to this reason that 250 residents of Tibetan settlement have opted for Indian
citizenship. The Tibetan community needs to accept the citizenship of India to enjoy various opportunity of service class provided by the Indian government.

Further, the elite Tibetan’s have started sending children to non-Tibetan schools. The gradual shift at both primary secondary and higher education level to non-Tibetan educational institutions will shape Tibetan Diaspora into a Tibetan Delhi Walla Identity. It is due to this reason, Tibetan Diaspora in Delhi can be called Dilli walla Tibetan Diaspora.

(iv) Transformation from Refugees to Political Class

The most remarkable transformation in Tibetan Diaspora with reference to localization can be understood in context of their political status in India. It has been product of last 47 years, the acceptance of citizenship of India by 250 Tibetans in Delhi, reflects socio-cultural churning within the Diaspora resulting into the complete learning of modernity and globalization.

Esha Roys reports, “A small but significant section of Tibetan refugees will get for the first time in the forthcoming MCD poll... voting rights have been granted to only 250 of them who have accepted Indian citizenship... the first time official votes are primarily from Tibetan dominated Majnu-Ka-Tilla. The election commission office disclosed that the number of official voters at the Manju- Ka- Tilla settlement is not more than 250 voters sources within the
Tibetan community revealed that most of the 2000 residents living in the colony will be voting.”

Further, Esha says, “Fifty five year karma Chopel airs the community’s views, he has been living in India for over 35 years now. Both, he and his cousin Gangphis Tangza are running a travel agency. Chopel lives with his wife and son, who go to a school, in Dehradun. Both brothers have applied for voters identity cards.”

This transformation can be analyzed from the perspective of problems faced by Diaspora in Delhi for the last 47 years. Delhi is undergoing radical transformation to build up globally competitive infrastructure, thus, the government has planned various projects of development such as flyovers, metro tracks express highways etc. Delhi Development Authority has already sent letters to slum dwellers within 300m range of the Yamuna River. It is part of larger project aimed by the government to beautify Yamuna River. Further, the globalization, privatization and liberalization is pushing Tibetans to adopt cosmopolitan way of life in Delhi. Even, the Indians from various parts of country are forced to leave ethnic regionwise culture to adjust in the knowledge based economy.

It implies that Tibetans are adapting to the development of global patterns. It has crafted modernity and post-modernity within the foundation of pastoral culture. As a result, the Delhi walla Tibetan has agreed to loose

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20 Ibid, p.1
various rubrics of Diaspora. It has retained, though, institutionalized Diasporic structure, some symbols and liberation of Tibet as the final battles before getting assimilated.

5. **TBETAN YOUTH, EDUCATION AND AWARENESS**

Tibetan youth has emerged as the most powerful section of civil society. It has been institutionalized in the form of Tibetan Youth Congress. The Dalai Lama founded this organization in 1970 in Dharmshala. It is a worldwide organization having membership of more than 20,000. The founding members of Tibetan Youth Congress were Tenzin Geyche Tethong, Sonam Topgyal, Lodi G. Gyari, Tenzin N. Tethong. It has seventy eight branches in various countries such as India, Bhutan, Nepal, Norway, Japan, Taiwan, Australia Canada, USA and Europe (Switzerland). The aims and objectives of organization are

1. To dedicate oneself to the task of serving one's country and people under the guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Spiritual and Temporal Ruler of Tibet.

2. To promote and protect national unity and integrity by giving up all distinctions based on religion, regionalism or status.

3. To work for the preservation and promotion of religion and Tibet's unique culture and traditions.

4. To struggle for the total independence of Tibet even at the cost of one's life.
The organization has contributed intellectually by publishing various documents such as Tibet: The Facts (TYBA) 1984/86/90, Tibetan Habitat (Destruction of the Human Environment), Religious Persecution in Tibet 1995 etc. The list of publication by Tibetan Youth Congress has been given in Appendix section.

The growing awareness about knowledge has led to emergence of various websites of Tibetan issue. This emergence of various websites on the one hand helps to reinforce the Disaporic bond among Tibetans, whereas, on the other hand, allow Tibetans to localize fearlessly alongwith fighting for the cause of liberation of Tibet. The survey shows a shift in the nature of Diaspora. The territorialized Tibetan Diaspora is getting transformed into de-territorialized Tibetan Diaspora. Though, this tendency is still at a minority level in this Diaspora but not insignificant.

The younger Tibetan generation of Delhi has also undergone transformation on the issue of monk hood this transformation become more evident during the field survey of Mundgod (Karnataka) and Delhi. It implies that the aspiration and vision of young generation in Delhi and other parts of India differs. This difference is primarily due to nature of organization of metropolitan cities. The metropolitan cities provide uncontrolled space for localization. The survey reveals that, the new Tibetan generation joins non-Tibetans students as friends and also marriages can take place. Although, the old generation still discourage these kinds of social relations as these are considered against retaining of Diasporic identity.
The post-1990s has also created a situation of job crisis in the Indian market; the economy is being liberalized, privatized and globalized. As a result, the nature of job is also changing. Today, the economy is based on knowledge. Hence, the knowledge sector has emerged as the hot market. Due to this reason, the mindset of Tibetan generation to get educated in the school own by central Tibetan administration is changing. Further, the growth of population has forced the Tibetans to join private and public institute of India.

Over a period of time, 24 Tibetan students have joined Technical Institutions run by Indian Government. Further, the Tibetan Welfare Office has no concrete data regarding Tibetan students enrolled in various Indian higher educational institutions. Dr. Norbu had also analyzed the lack of higher studies institutions among Tibetans. Thus, the increasing rate of enrolment in Indian higher studies institution is offering the Tibetans students a space for localization / assimilation. For example, a Tibetan stays in Jhelum Hostel Jawaharlal Nehru University. He gets a lot of space for socio cultural assimilation. The university is a microcosm of Indian society. It represents each and every part of Indian states.

The new Tibetan generation feels incompatible with the economic structure of old Tibetan generation. Though, the young Tibetan generation is not a monolithic, it clearly reflects the social stratification. The poor have-not young Tibetan generation is forced to follow the ancestral means of occupation. Further, the monk hood is gradually loosing socio economic control over Tibetan society. Thus, it is also loosing as a hot sector for the young Tibetan
generation in Delhi. The resourceful young Tibetan generation is gradually picking up with the socio economic structure of people of plains. The art of maintaining and improving is gradually overcoming the satisfying and not to accumulate tendency of Tibetan society.

On the whole, globalization is rebuilding new identities at all levels of the world. The breaking and rebuilding of identity in the contemporary world is making many elements useful / useless in this context religion as guiding force for the Tibetan society is undergoing transformation. The religion works as bread and butter for the human society in hilly area whereas in the plain areas religion has emerged as the best saleable / purchasable commodity of the market.

Tibetan Buddhism for the old and new generation has different context to understand, the young and urban Tibetan generation pays respects to Tibetan Buddhism and the Dalai from the bottom of heart, but, as the Dalai Lama himself advocated establishment of democratic and secular state, the religion is being gradually separated from the government in exile. The Dalai Lama has totally removed his powers of finally approving the election Tibetan people's deputies. Thus, the new Tibetan young generation is facing two democratic and secular processes from above and below. Yet, this democratic and secular processes are also aimed for the liberation of Tibet. Hence the Tibetan Diaspora in Delhi from 1989 to 2000 has witnessed process of localization.
The post 1990s period has witnessed large-scale migration of students from North Eastern region as well as hilly areas in the D.U. Jamia and Jawaharlal Nehru University. Further, Indian government has provided reservation and scholarships to the Tibetan students in order to provide means of development.

Thus, The Tibetan society has witnessed many difficulties and opportunities in post-1959 period. In the case of Delhi, the society got tremendous support from people and government but, the nomadic based socio-cultural patterns had to work hard to understand the rubrics of modernity. The post-1990 period of Tibetan Diaspora has aligned, simultaneously, with two elements firstly, globalization and secondly, new generation of Tibetan Diaspora. But, the institutionalized nature of Tibetan Diaspora has permitted the society for localization only.