CHAPTER – 1
INTRODUCTION

For many centuries, Tibet remained a secluded and inaccessible country. After the communist revolution of China, the Chinese challenged the independent status of Tibet and claimed it as a territory of the Mainland China. In 1949, the Chinese encroached upon Tibet, and amidst much bloodshed and violence tried to introduce changes in the lives of people by imposing an alien culture in the name of modernisation (Avedon, 1984: 37). There were both ideological and economic reasons for the Chinese invasion of Tibet, other than the large unpopulated landmass of Tibet was an ideal place for colonisation by an overpopulated mainland China. The Chinese population could be settled there along with this they would be able to tap the natural resources and economic prosperity of as yet ‘backward’ state (Karan, 1976: 18).

The ideological reason lies in the Chinese concept of self-determination. The Chinese view their homeland as the center of the world, and seek the return to Chinese motherland all territories that lie along its border. Tibet happened to be one such area. These considerations led Chinese to invade Tibet in 1959 (ibid.: 15). The fear of persecution and threat to their life led to flight of 80,000 Tibetans to India and neighbouring countries of Nepal and Bhutan.

Being refugees, the Tibetans received large-scale support and financial help from Germany, France, America and Canada. The interaction with the outside world has placed community in the context of the global policies. At the same time, one cannot discount the local conditions in the determination of the Tibetan identity in exile. Thus, the local and the global factors both determine the content of Tibetan cultural identity in exile.
The case of any refugee population is a complex process involving loss and regeneration. A sudden displacement of any population causes considerable loss as there is limited time and opportunity to carry goods and materials and to convert the immovable into cash money by settings them. The problem is further compounded of they are thrown into an alien (in cultural, racial, linguistic and religious terms) situation. Thus case was with the case of Tibetans in India. Facing threat to their life from Chinese occupation, about 80,000 Tibetans fled their country and took asylum in India in 1959 (Saklani, 1984: 13). Because of this, rapid adjustment had to be made in the new place. Many aspects of their life were called into question, including socio-economic status, social system and its continuity and change.

The present study is focused to examine the dynamics of the Tibetan community through the question of continuity and change among Tibetans in exile. I have chosen the concepts of continuity and change because of the place it occupies in anthropology. Anthropologists have been interested in the question of continuity and change from the very beginning. One can state with some exaggeration that anthropology as a discipline has cantered on the twir concept of continuity and change. Anthropology has been centered with the question of origin of biological, socio-cultural differences that can be used to clarify and categorize others and situate a community in the context of the others.

Since the 1970s, an interest in the concept of group identity took a manifest form with the emergence of the concept of ethnicity. Ronald Cohen (1978: 379) wrote in his review article that the concept of ethnicity was earlier subsumed under the rubrics of ‘culture’ or ‘cultural’. Cohen clearly showed that there is a increasing use of the
category of ethnicity to explain and understand culture or behaviour of the members of a society. Human beings are born in a society. The process of growing up is as much about biological growth and development as is social development. The prours of enculturation inculcates the rules of behaviour. These rules of behaviour are not intransigent. There is reflexivity and independence from the structural constraints in human action in interpreting the rules of behaviour. The human being is a cultural product, at the same time human action is not solely dependent on culture other than culture ‘bio-psychological’ factors are also important. Culture provides certain basic orientations that structure the behavioural environment. How does this orientation work? This orientation helps us in interpreting events. It is conceptual framework for location and action, ability for moral appraisal, a sense of continuity. With this orientation, individuals with their respective reflexive selves engage and relate to other human beings in society. Thus, human action is at a conjunction of culturally constituted milieu, situation – specific and embodied experience. In the process of relating to other human beings the reflexive self also modifies and brings forth new rules of behaviour. To use Berger and Luckmann’s (1997: 61) phrase, ‘if man is a social product, society is also human product’. Human action has an element of flexibility. The dynamics of the community is best studied in this interaction of structure and action, and continuity and change is the most fertile ground to examine this interaction.

**CONCEPTS AND THEORY: SOME RELEVANT ISSUES**

Social change is an incontestable feature of cultural reality. It is another thing that its pace varies from age to age, culture to culture, and from one area of culture to that of another. For a variety of reasons the pace of social change has been rather slow in earlier
cultures. With the decline of authoritarianism and religion and with the rise of science, technology and industry, with the attendant of fast means of communication and travel, the process of social change has been accelerated (Vasudeva, 1976:2).

Not in all societies is social change equally controlled. In some cultures it comes about when people are hardly prepared for it or even conscious of its significance. Since it brings in its train new ways of life threatening the old ones, it constitutes quite a problem to a mass of people who are pitch forked in a certain way of life. If, therefore, a radical social change is imposed on or sweeps a culture, the people are likely to become tension ridden, for they cannot readily adjust themselves to the new patterns. That is why perhaps, “Societies revere the old and fear the new or the unknown. The history of attempts at a repression of ideas is a long one. Its pages are dotted with figures of martyrs, inquisitors, features, fanatics and bearers of false witness” (Farchild, 1934).

The definition of social change vary as some confine its scope to only changes in social relationship, while others extend it to changes in material as well as non – material culture. Maclver and Page (1952:511) point out, “our direct concern as sociologists is with social relationships. It is the change in these, which alone we shall regard as social change. Social change is therefore a distinct thing from cultural or civilization change”. They further clarify that while cultural and civilization changes endure for some time after the process is complete, the change in social relationship is not enduring. For example, the product of a machine endures even after the machine has been scrapped. Similarly, some of remembered and handed down from generation to generation. But an institution or a class system is a product that endures only during the process that creates it. If people
no longer observe a custom, the custom no longer exists in a given society. Gillin and Gillin (1954: 561-62). Have defined social change as a "variation from the accepted modes of life, whether due to alteration in geographical conditions, in cultural equipments, composition of the population, or ideologies and whether brought about by diffusion or invention with in the group". The modes of life include the norms, values, religious beliefs, the methods of cultivating the ground, hunting, fishing, securing land, protecting the crops and animals, etc. which are for the purpose of satisfying the “interests” or needs of the members of or have a relationship to their behaviour. According to Wilbert E. Moore “Social change is the significant alteration of social structure (that is, of patterns of social action and interactions), including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values, and cultural product and symbols” (1967:3).

Researchers have reported different factors of change in human societies. Gillin and Gillin have mentioned among factors of change the psychological, physical, biological, cultural, the personality factor, war etc. Maclver and Page have specified three important factors of change, i.e. biophysical, technological, and cultural. However, we can divide these factors into five broad categories, i.e. physical, psychological, biological, technological, and cultural. Many thinkers have held that, technological factor in the primary factor in expanding social and cultural change of the society. The biological factors may bring changes through intermixture of races and increase or decrease of population; the psychological factors through imitation of customs and mores which may not be an exact copy as of the previous generation or through competition, conflict, etc.; the physical factors through natural calamities or exhaustion of soil; technological factors
through inventions and new techniques, and the cultural factors through change in ideas, beliefs attitudes etc. (Madan, 1979:5). In the case of Tibetan refugees in India the factors like, technological factors, biological factors, psychological factors and cultural factors played important role to bring social change.

Becker (1957) pointed out that any social system might be viewed as occupying some position along a continuum varying from maximum reluctance to change. He even goes to the extent of asserting that a society may run the risk of extinguishing itself by preventing change or, on the contrary, may extinguish itself in pursuit of change. In other words, both maximum reluctance to change and maximum readiness to change are suicidal; no society can survive under either conditions. Survival depends upon some flexible approach, which takes into account the situation that arises when factors inducing or necessitating changes are operating. Such change-inducing factors may arise from within or from without. In a broad way it may be asserted on the basis of the anthropological and sociological data available, that more primitive societies are more reluctant to change while the more modern societies are more ready to change. To put it in another way, the simpler societies are more reluctant to change while the more complex societies have in-built mechanisms, as it were, to change (Kuppuswamy, 1957:7).

THE REFUGEE

According to Saksena (1961:2), a refugee is one who “finds him deprived of legal protection, and mutual support, the access employment, and measure of freedom of movement”. The refugee is one who has left his country of regular residence as a result of political or religious events in that country is forced to take refuge in another country of origin without a danger to his life or liberty as a result of the
direct consequences of the existing conditions here. Refugees, being a different groups both culturally and society are segregated from the host society for some time till they settle well socio-culturally and economically. Total acceptance of refugees by the hosts is also very much essential in any rehabilitation programme. Sometimes refugees may be placed under restrictions not to go out of their settlement for earning, trading etc., so that they will not directly come in contact with the host society. This may be essential for internal security. The refugees, not being the citizens, are treated as aliens and asked to follow certain rules and regulations applicable to any other foreigner. This is because anti-national elements may take advantage of the situation and create problems with regard to the security of the host country. Secondly the refugees may come in direct contact with the local population and create some problems to themselves as well as others (Arakeri, 1998:9).

One of the major problems to study any refugee group is to comparison with another refugee group. For example it may be seen between Palestinian and the Tibetan case, the two current refugee problems through apparently similar, very significantly vary in many ways. The goals and methods adopted are expected to influence significantly the process of intra group change as well as of interaction with the culture of the host countries. At another level the distance between two interacting cultures relatively speaking is much wider in the case of the Tibetan refugees than the Palestinian. No two-refugee group has same problem. The cases and situational elements of each such problem are different from another. However there are some characters of refugees, which are common in all. These are:
(1) They are forced to stay out from their own country because of some conditions.

(2) They are forced to stay out from their own country because of politics, war or natural catastrophe and have been forced out of their habitat by forces and circumstances over which they had no effective or decisive control.

(3) Refugees are uprooted homeless and lack national protection and status.

The different problems of refugees have existed at all times in some form or other. It is product of several forces, most prominently of enlarged international conflicts and violence's, such as the world wars, independent struggle of the colonial people, reorganization of the boundaries of the nation-states, intensification of ideological differences, international power-politics, racism etc. the refugees not only in the form their of people displaces from their habitat by natural calamities but also in the political senses, e.g. as victims of the clannish wars, have existed from the early dawn of history. But the present refugee problem has to be distinguished from the refugee problems of the earlier times because of its much-enlarged orbit, variety of causes, political complexities and almost interminably wide range of problem solving efforts. Change in the climatic and ecological factors which forced to refugees from their original place, may also bring problems in adjusting to the new climatic conditions.

Studies of cross-cultural interaction show that in the long run on account of the processes of adjustment and assimilation as well as through increasing uniformity to the host country's social norms and cultural patterns there is loss of group visibility. The limits of such a loss of visibility would significantly depend on the size of the refugee group and the degree of conformity demanded by the host country. In
such situations where the host culture is fairly unstructured and heterogeneous, the refugee group tends to conform to the norms of appropriate class or reference group with which it identifies.

There are two issues that confront any migrant community in a plural society (Berry, 1984: 14).

1) Whether one should maintain one's own distinction?
2) Desirability of inter-ethnic with the larger society is of value and should be sought.

The first issue pertains to maintenance and development of ethnic distinctiveness in a society. It must be decided whether one's own cultural identity and customs are of value and should be retained.

The second involves the desirability of inter-ethnic contact, deciding whether relations with the larger society are of value and should be sought. These essentially are questions of attitude and value and may be responded to on a continuous scale from positive to negative. For conceptual purpose, they can be treated as dichotomous yes or no decisions. Based on these propositions, Berry (ibid. 14) hypothesized four possible situations, as shown in the table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Four strategies as a function of two issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposition 1</th>
<th>Proposition 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationship with other groups?</td>
<td>Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristic?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITIVE (Yes)</td>
<td>POSITIVE (Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE (No)</td>
<td>NEGATIVE (No)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>Marginalisation</td>
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Source: (Berry, 1984:14)

If answers to both the prepositions are positive, it is expected that in such a situation there is simultaneous maintenance of cultural
identity as well as the movement to become an integral part of the wider society. It can lead to the ‘melting pot’ concept in some cases, during which there is a synthesis of new identity.

- If the response to the first preposition is positive and the second is negative, a possibility towards assimilation is expected. In the long run, there could be relinquishing of one’s cultural identity and cultural movement towards the larger society.

- If the response to the first proposition is negative and the second variable positive, reparation or segregation can be expected. In this case, the possibility is that the traditional cultural identity will be strength and, as the relationship with the larger society is limited and restricted.

- If the response is negative for both the proposition one may expect a weakening of traditional ethnic identity and a state of marginalisation. In the long run, there is every possibility of extinction and fragmentation of the group.

Thus, there are possibilities of weakening, strengthening, transforming and maintenance of cultural identity in a plural society. The four processes could also occur simultaneously. Certain aspects may be weakened with a strengthening of certain other aspects, transformation in some others and centimeters in other.

This clear-cut ‘rational model’ to understand ethnicity has one limitation as human behaviour does not always procured in a rational mode. The tradition, stricture, politics, domain of habit or habitués (Bourdieu, 1972:72) all impinge consciously or unconsciously on human behaviour. This is more so in the case of Tibetans because maintenance of a distractive Tibetan identity is an important goal of exile.
Based on the above discussions we can outline four factors that influenced the Tibetan society.

1) The first factor happens to be historical. History in this contest refers to the ‘constructed past through selective borrowing’. It may be fictional and subjective. What it refers to is the selective borrowing and projection of facts from the past to justify the present situation in exile.

2) The second factor is the impact of the process of adaptation in the new place. Adaptation entails interaction, adjustment and accommodation. The adaptive stress due to the adaptive strategy affects the continuity of their social system in exile.

3) The third factor is the impact of global politics and the popularity of the Tibetan issue in America and western countries.

4) The last factor is the causes of origin of the Tibetan exile, i.e. to pressure the Tibetan tradition and culture. Therefore there is a conscious attempt on the part of the Tibetans to maintain their Tibetanness.

These factors have both negative and positive aspects. In Merton’s (1957: 54), term they can be positive or negative reference factors. When they act as positive reference factors, they are the objects of imitation, the group tins to emulate them. As a negative reference factor, they are objects of repulsion. The group projects itself in opposition or contradiction to them.

The discussion leads us to review the opinions of the older and the younger generations of migrant Tibetans who are passing through an ongoing process of social change in India. It would be interesting, to understand the perception and the attitudes of the migrants towards
their concepts of tradition and modernisation. An attempt has been made in this thesis to examine the theoretical perspectives of social anthropology towards an understanding of continuity of tradition and change. The twin concept of tradition and modernisation has been deliberated upon in the following pages.

In the anthropological literature a tradition conveys carriers meanings. Anthropologists interpret tradition as “a time-honoured custom.” It often highlights the “pre conquest or pre colonial past,” (Shanklin, 1981:4). In social and cultural anthropology, one of the major views of tradition is derived from the literature of the social sciences representing the passive idea of tradition and the other designate as the active, indigenous force, mentioned in ethnographic literature. The active and passive uses of the term tradition have existed side by side in anthropology for many decades. Shanklin (1931) has reviewed two meanings and uses of tradition have already been mentioned in the anthropological literature by many precedents. Williams (1976) has defined “tradition as an active process in which beliefs are handed down from father to son and require only two generations to become tradition.” As a passive process it is viewed as stultifying force which enforces homogeneity in culture. The writings of Durkheim, Tonnies, Weber and Marx reveal the passive use of the term tradition which overshadowed the active use of the concept tradition in anthropology.

Redfield (1960) posits himself responsible for bringing about passive notions of tradition into anthropology. It is argued that he used “tradition in two ways, both analytic: (1) as a general classificatory term denoting two interacting levels within civilizations, the great and little tracitions; and (2) as a component of the fork – urban continuum”
(Shanklin, 1981). Shanklin while analysing Radfield’s contribution to the idea of tradition, lists the following:

1. Tradition is a force in preventing change, growth, and creativity, i.e. acts as a storage drive.
2. Tradition will disappear or be eradicated by modernity and rational choice, characteristics of urban environments.
3. Tradition promotes internal solidarity,
4. Tradition is an irrational, emotional response;

The classical view of passive traditionalist is responsible for promoting the motion of tradition as an antithesis to modernism. They presume that the tradition makes society static and acts as deterrent to social change. They are unable to comprehend the view that tradition can sustain themselves as potent forces along with changing trends introduced by modernism and the so-called scientific rational accomplment.

Redfield (1950) has provided another significant contribution whereby he distinguished between societal structure and cultural structure. Despite the differences of perceptions on passive view of tradition taken by Redfield, the importance of cultural structure can make an important contribution towards the understanding of the processes of social change in any society. Without going into details of an ongoing controversy of the predominance of one over the other, this theoretical premise is accepted as an important heuristic tool.

The “societal structure” rests on a network of social relations connecting different kinds of communities over a period of time. The structure exists on different network of various institutions like marriage, family, kinship, religion, economy and politics etc. It is also well known that a civilised culture is formed with the gradual incorporation of foreign elements over a long period of time without
The transitional state of the immigrant Tibetans in India is alike to the interactions between religion and economic activity which Weber mentioned working among the early Puritan industrial capitalists. Though the “compromise formation” differs between European and Indian context as seventeenth century cultural parameters of Europeans differ from those of Twentieth century India but the process of adaptation in both the cases is similar (Weber, 1958, 1964). A number of studies on social change have thorn that a symbiotic relationship between the traditional and modern develops to cater to the needs of a population. The present study also envisages similar position. There is a paucity of data and analysis in the area of research...
relating to continuity and change in the context of India. Any venture in this direction amounts to starting a new field of study. Some interesting materials relating to these studies, however, raised many issues but it does not claim to answer an important question - namely whether continuing modernisation in exile in the form of science and modern education and other factors would transform the traditional ideologies among the Tibetans in exile. Two diametrically opposed answers may be highlighted to this question. Firstly, that continuous exposure in exile with the non-Tibetans for more than four decades has brought a partial or total transformation of traditional ideologies and overall cultural topography especially among the younger generations who are born in exile. This includes food habits, life styles, religious beliefs, and rituals with modern ideologies. The second answer, on the contrary, asserted that such a transformation of tradition could not occur among the immigrant Tibetans in India because their cultural identity as Tibetans would necessarily obstruct the acceptance and the progress of modernisation in the face of their desire to pressure their cultural heritage.

Marx has commented that tradition loses its hold with past with the completion of modernisation process (Shanklin, 1981). Shanklin (1981) has explained tradition transmitted by the old people as an intermediary state between the present and the past. Durkheim (1951) predicts that people would lose their tradition with the absorption of cultural attributes into the modern, urban world. The above-mentioned theoretical construct needs detailed analysis in the context of present study.

In modernisation theory, tradition is an important component. Shanklin (1981) reexamined the uses of tradition and suggests the ways of reformulations of tradition by ethnic groups whose ideology
has close relation to the traditional part. The definition of traditionalism holds no scientific ground, the term is defined as a continuous timeless norm, justified or dominated by mythology or myth and transmitted with tradition. On the other hand, the term modernity represents a pause or a transformation in the process of continuity. Contemporary Expression of traditionalism can differentiate the concept more precisely. Balandier (1970) has analysed three kinds of such expressions among Munda and Oraon tribes in India. Firstly, he conforms ‘fundamental traditionalism’ to projection of traditional values at the social cultural level, irrespective of its link with modernity. Usually various changes manifest themselves within the system but the system as a whole is preserved. Secondly, he argues that in the process of modernisation, traditional models of socio-cultural institutions in the tribal societies have been transformed to accommodate certain innovative values, which he labels as ‘formal traditionalism’, and thirdly, a new phenomenon of ‘pseudo traditionalism’ becomes apparent when modified tradition confronts with modern values and realities (c.f. Mukhopadhyay).

Recent literature is more prone to establish a new theory of modernisation after having expressed apathy towards traditional and modern typological societies and culture. Contemporary typology is not based on empirical attributes and generalisations of societies, rather it accommodates constructed ideal values and norms of societies. Modern and traditional dichotomy is used empirically by the researchers with statistical manifestation or in terms of lists of traditional and modern attributes according to the need of the countries. The contemporary theory of modernisation shows proximity with generally recognised theory of social change rather than the dichotomous presentation of tradition verses modern. The contemporary theory surpasses the classical connotation of traditional and modern societies.
One of the reasons of why I chose the Tibetan community is because of their displaced situation. Accordingly to United Nations Human Right Report (1995-96), there are about 3,68,500 political refugees in India, which include people from Afghanistan, Myanmar, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and ethers. I have chosen to work on Tibetans in India for the following reasons:

1) They have been in India since long time i.e. since 1959 and have been able to establish a community in exile.

2) Their population is sufficiently large in number, so as to conduct a research study on the continuity and change in exile.

3) Wherever the Tibetans in India are their community is not isolated from the local population. The process of interaction is essential to the study of continuity and change of this community.

4) A stable and strong community that the Tibetans have can lend itself to a structural analysis.

5) One of the reasons for the exodus of Tibetans was that they wanted to maintain their ‘Tibetanness’, which was threatened under the Chinese occupation. Such conscious attempt provides an added dimension to understand their continuity and change in exile.

Tibetans constitute a community that is regarded as deeply religious. His Holmes the Dalai Lama, is the religious authority and is also the political head of the community. As religion plays an important role in structuring human behaviour, the Tibetans provide an ideal situation to cinder stand their ethnic identity.
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Until the advent of scientific method and rise of social sciences, social problems were not very much recognized, and occasionally taken for granted. Now the time has come when both in the developing and developed countries there is a greater need of studying in social changes in different communities. Cormarck (1961) did research on Indian college and University students conscious awareness and attitude towards social change related to “traditional Indian” becoming “modern”. Kuppuswamy and Mehta (1968) discussed about the transformation of Indian society from traditional to modern. Vasudeva (1976) studied the “analysis of attitudes and personality of postgraduate students towards social change i.e. conservatism-relativism. Kuthiala (1973) discussed the movement of Indian villages from tradition to modernity. Moor (1987) discussed the social change in its various aspects has received a disproportionate amount of published attention over the last several years. He discussed about the difficulties in the modernization of newly developing countries. Bryce (1959) discussed about social and cultural change dealing with the diverse social forces and processes through which socio-cultural systems undergo modification or transformation. Vago (1989) discussed the factors that stimulate or hinder the acceptance of change in a cross-cultural-context, and it emphasizes unintended consequences and costs of both planned and unplanned change. Pandey (1988) in his modernization and social change discussed about “modern society” and macro-structural transformation that comprise the social modernization. Sathyamurthy (1994) edited the book “State and Nation in context of social change” in which he tried to strike out a
new path and close gape between empirical observation on the one hand, and theoretical analysis and understanding of dynamic political process on the other. Llauer(1995) in his perspectives of social change described that social change elicits some kind of response, for change, it is both inescapable and consequential in our lives. Shakya(1999) in "the dragon in the land of snows" studied the historical relation between China and Tibet is analogous to two overlapping circles much of the debate has been concerned with the definition or denial of this overlap. Bell (1968) has studied history and politics of Tibet in his book “Tibet” past and present. Tsering(1990) associated with young Buddhist association has discussed all about a chilling account of China’s horrendous crimes in Tibet and the suffering of Tibetan people. Tsengli (1960) in “Tibet”, Today and Yesterday has studied the status of Tibet was defined at certain times, while left in a vague state at others. Kadian(1999) in his book “Tibet” India and China has focused the relationship between the India, Tibet and China. Mukhopadhyay (1992) in her research work studied in detail about Tibetan culture and traditional system of medicine in India. Palakshappa (1978) in his study in “Tibetans in India” described the Tibetan social structure and their culture in India. Saklani (1984) studied the in-depth study of Tibetans in India in his book ‘The uprooted Tibetans in India’. The uprooted Tibetans in India is a study of unprecedented movement of a whole culture under Traumatic circumstances and consequential social change among the Tibetan refugees in India. Arakeri (1998), in Tibetan refugees settled in south India studied the land and culture of Tibet, problems faced by the refugees while they were on flight, in transit camps and finally in the
rehabilitation settlements. Selosoernardjan (1962) studied the social, economic and political change in hub area of the Indonesian revolution in his book social changes in Jogjakarta. Thomas C Cochran (1972) studied social change in Industrial society in twentieth-century America. In his study he formed two things: first, argue for acceptance by historian of a behavioral science approach to social change, and second, to apply such an approach to an interpretation of the history of the United States in the twentieth century. Jacques Vernant (1953) who was commissioned by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for the survey of the position of the refugees under his mandate. In the resultant report he presented his 'case studies' covering several countries, under three sections: an introduction to the general refugee problem, their economic and social conditions and their legal status. He declared that his task is more 'to describe and explain facts than to propose solutions'. Garner Murphy (1953) focuses his study particularly on the social and psychological dimensions of the refugee condition in relevance to Indian situation. Stephen L. Keller (1975) attempted to delineate some of the more enduring consequences of trauma of partition in an attempt to see how individual traits, taken in the mass, have consequences on the economic, political and social systems. He approaches the problems by examining how refugees saw their own experiences. He has tried to integrate their view with analytical work by psychologists who have studied the refugees.
OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT STUDY

1) To analyse the various changes in their family and kinship structure, marriage system and other social aspects of Tibetan community after their migration into this area.

2) To analyse the interplay of demographic, technological, economic, political and cultural factors in the Tibetan society.

3) To analyse the impact of non-Tibetan communities on the migrated Tibetans on different aspects of social life.

4) To analyse the different forces that have accelerated the pace of social changes in this community.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

1) Whether the traditional structure of value, ritual, belief, overall cultural pattern have any manifestation of innovation by rejecting the existence of cultural traditions, as there would be a sequential structure among the immigrant Tibetans.

2) It is expected that education and occupational mobility would have a direct impact on immigrant Tibetans. Occupational mobility would promote weakening of old and traditional values and norms that the younger generation would be more open towards acceptance of change and incorporation of new values and ethos.

3) The migrated Tibetans in these areas somehow loosing their traditional social system as it existed in Tibet.

4) There is a correlation of modern education with political and social awareness among Tibetans in exile.

5) The surrounding cultural environment of the numerically more dominant local communities affects a small proportion...
of immigrant population. There is a likelihood of strong influence of local population on the migrated Tibetans on certain aspects of way of living.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Nature and sources of data: This study is primarily based on primary empirical data although it has relied on secondary data also for certain other general information regarding uprooted Tibetans in studied area.

Primary data: In terms of aims and objectives of the study we needed information all the earlier movements of Tibetan people, their occupational history, their traditional social system, causes of movements and so on. Such information was not readily available in any of the secondary sources of information. As such it was necessary for us to generate such primary data from the field by contacting these people personally. Accordingly the primary data of this study was collected by means of an intensive field investigation carried out at a micro-level.

Secondary data: However, data on certain other (general) aspects of study was readily available in some secondary sources. Thus for secondary sources of data the following literature was consulted and utilized in the study. These are census reports, Tibetan demographic survey, literature on Tibetan history, religion, culture and its social system, records of the Tibetan administration, Tibetan monthly journals, Tibetan magazines, Information on Tibetan refugees in the foreign registration records, historical documents on Indo-Tibetan relation, printed books, booklets, published articles by research and other scholars and anthropological journals. Accordingly, the information needed for particulars of their community, was gathered from the secondary sources.
Universe of the present study: In the study of continuity and change I have selected two locations i.e. McLeod Ganj (Dharamsala) in Kangra district and different Tibetan settlements in district Kullu. According to Tibetan Demographic Survey (TDS) 1998, there are 86149 Tibetan settlements in India. Tibetan migrants mostly populate these Tibetan settlements in Himachal Pradesh. The Tibetan population in above said pockets is 8694 and 1934 respectively.

After having decided about the field or the universe of study, it was necessary for me to decide upon the actual method of doing fieldwork. Following the method of simple random sampling carried out the actual process of selecting the migrant families. The researcher selected a total sample of 200 and 103 Tibetan families from Dharamsala and district Kullu respectively, so the total sample was 303 families.

Tools of data collection: The objective of the study motivated the investigator to conduct an empirical investigation based on fieldwork. Traditional anthropological techniques, namely observation, interviews were conducted as primary tools of data collection. Also these were supported by schedules (partly structured and partly unstructured) for collecting the general opinion and attitudes on various variables related to the theme of the present study. To know more about these uprooted people, case studies of these families were also conducted.

Data analysis: For quantitative data analysis appropriate statistical tests (e.g. percentage, central tendency) were resorted to. Also different forms of graphical representation (e.g. graph, bar diagram etc.) Were used to depict data for better understandings.

THE FIELDWORK

A culture is mired in meanings, all so well entangled which to naked eye appears like a plain text. An ethnographic description is like
a prism: It refracts the culture and first 'impregnates' it with meanings. In the second step, through various ways (methodology), the ethnographer tries to uncover this meaning, and finally, interprets this meaning. In this work I have endeavored to be a humble researcher of the Tibetan refugees in India. I have utilised a host of methods in understanding the problem. Through observations, informal interactions, interviews, I have inquired into the meanings and values Tibetans and those surrounding them, attach to various aspects of their life. My interest in the community rose since my school time because I had many Tibetan friends in Kullu, we used to play together and sometimes I used to visit their houses and the monastery in Manali with them. At Manali there is a big Buddhist monastery and I hac, with my Tibetan friends, attended their fairs and festivals especially Losar (New Year celebration). Also I used to take fancy to many items being sold in the adjacent Tibetan market. This initial interest was further strengthened in the light of suitability of the community for my research problem I had proposed to study.

A scientific investigation requires a most cordial relation with the informants. The place of research, dialects, and culture everything may be known to begin with, both to the researcher, as well as to the informants. Frequently in the field the informants were hesitant to unfold the facts to a stranger, even when he claimed himself to be a researcher and promised anonymity and confidentiality. Besides innumerable barriers such as shyness, ego, fear, apprehension, had to be conquered and eliminated. The language problem for communication was negligible which was sorted out with the help of a suitable interpreter. To overcome the difficulty of initial introduction to these people and to collect the necessary information in depth,
introductory letters were also collected from the concerned university in Chandigarh and from concerned Tibetan authorities.

In spite of all these precautions and official assurances the people of the studied areas initially viewed the investigator with suspicion. It was essential to establish a rapport with the people of sample population to evade their apprehension and to build a congenial atmosphere for having an open discussion.

The fieldwork for the present study was conducted at McLeod Gang (Dharamsala) and various Tibetan settlements in district Kullu (Manali, Patlikuhl and 15 Mile Camp) in Himachal Pradesh. The fieldwork in Kullu district was conducted from September 2000 to December 2001 and in Dharamsala from February 2002 to September 2002. The Tibetans settled in Kullu and McLeod Ganj had different sets of problems. In district Kullu some of the Tibetan youths were known to me since long time because myself belong to Kullu Township. On the other hand the Tibetan settlement in McLeod Ganj was totally new for me.

During investigation general instructions to be followed by researcher maintaining informal social relation with the informants. The informants of the present study are those who have been migrated from their homeland and are struggling to survive in a foreign environment, which is everything new for them.

In the beginning I had to struggle to mix up with Tibetans. It is because Tibetans are known for not interacting with outsiders. They thought that if the facts are disclosed to outsider it could create some problems to them. The main reason of not disclosing the facts is that Chinese could get these informations. At Kullu one of the old aged respondent asked me whether I was a Chinese spy. I convinced him, after much effort that I am a University student and wish to know about
them and the difficulties and problems faced by their community. These Tibetans thought that their identity could create problem for their relatives in Tibet. So it was observed that Tibetans always try to keep secrets about their facts.

First time in September 2000 when I met Tibetan welfare officer Miss Tsamchee Chakhang at Dhobi (Kullu) she directly refused to give any information about Tibetans. But later on I told her that I am a local resident of Kullu and is pursuing doing research work on the Tibetans in exile. After my repeated visits and requests she finally agreed to help me as much as possible. Later on she even provided much important information about Tibetans in Kullu town and the surrounding areas.

In the beginning during my fieldwork the language for communication was a problem. Very few members of older generation of Tibetans know Hindi or English; they were used to speak in their own language only. To overcome this problem one of my Tibetan friend, Mr. Tenzin accompanied me during my data collection. He is a Graduate from, Panjab University, Chandigarh and was known to me for a long time. Also during the fieldwork some times. I stayed for two to three days with a family, to whom I was a welcome guest, only to get maximum information. On several occasions of a family would offer me to have a meal with them. My respondents had often served their traditional (salted) tea. What I observed, while taking meals with them, that, their menu was much like the Indian food. Rice and Chapati with some vegetable curry. One day when I was conducting my fieldwork at Patikuhl, which is about 30 km. from Kullu, I met one of local Tibetan families where some members of the family were drinking chhang (Tibetan wine). I sat with them and started informal conversation with them. Suddenly one man offered me to have chhang when I politely
refused to drink it, they felt unhappy and was reluctant to respond positively to my queries. I was in a dilemma and thought that unless I join them in their drink session or have a sip of the drink, my purpose of visiting them would be defeated. So, I accepted their offer and took a few sips of *chang*, which I found to be sour in taste. That act of mine really helped me in seeking favourable response from the group.

Sometimes direct conversation with the respondent, either in Hindi or in Tibetan language, made the discussion mere congenial. A knowledge of Preliminary Tibetan languages in a tradition a way and accelerated the confidence building process and familiarity with the respondents.

Yet the fieldwork in McLeod Ganj (Dharamsala) presented a different set of problems. Before initiating the data collection at McLeod Ganj I met Mr. Norzang, the then president of Tibetan Students Association, Chandigarh, and also other Tibetan students in Chandigarh. As most of these Tibetan Students stay in sector 15, of Chandigarh, I was able to meet them almost daily. Of particular help were those students who belonged to McLeod Ganj. In my interaction with these Tibetan students my aim was to elicit as much information on the Tibetan settlements people of McLeod Ganj as possible through informal discussions. My fieldwork in McLeod Ganj (Dharamsala) was greatly helped by Mr. Norzang who gave me references and addresses of persons whom I could contact and seek their local help. Subsequently I met most of them and found their cooperation as great help.

One of my friends, Mr. Sunil Bodh, who did his graduation from Dharamsala College, also accompanied me on initial few days of my fieldwork. One of the problems was of getting a suitable accommodation, because I did not have enough money as other foreign researcher had. Fortunately, per chance, I happened to meet
at the Main marker of Dharamshala town, one of my senior schoolboys Mr. Baghat Bodh. He was working in a bank in the town and was staying there for last one year. He offered me to stay with him. So, my problem of a suitable and affordable accommodation was sorted out I stayed with him during the entire period of my fieldwork.

During early days of my fieldwork I visited various important places like library of Tibetan works and Achieves, central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Tibetan Medical Center (*Men-Tsu-khang*), Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR), Planning council, Namgyal Monastery and Nechung monastery. After visiting these offices and meeting those Tibetans who are working in these offices I gathered much relevant information relating to my research problem. During these visits I made good relationship with the librarian of Tibetan works and Archives Mr. Pema Yeshi, Dr. Kunchuk of Planning Council and Miss. Decchen of Tibetans Children’s Village, upper Mcleod Ganj who is a computer instructor there.

By visiting McLeod Ganj and surrounding areas where the Tibetan settlements are located several times I tried to make my presence familiar to the inhabitants of the area so that I am not treated with suspicion and treated as an intruder. On the very first day of formal data collection I met one of the Tibetan shopkeeper whose reference was given to me by Mr. Norzang. Initially, he refused to talk to me. On my repeated request and appeal, he finally agreed on one condition nowhere should I disclose his or his address in my thesis.

Liberian Mr. Pema Yeshi who also did his post graduation from Panjab University also helped me a lot about literature work. I used to start my research work daily by going to Tibetan library till one P.M. Then after having lunch in *Dhaba*, which is near to library. I started my fieldwork going to different households till eight to nine in the evening.
Some times it took two to three days to study one family only. Wherever I was need of interpreter Decchen came with me and tried to help as much as possible. What I observed during fieldwork filed work in McLeod Ganj is that Tibetans are educated and well mannered than in Kullu. Here people were aware of those who come here to study or research work. On the other hand in Kullu area people were least aware of all these things. Second thing I have observed that Tibetans respond well to foreigner researcher than Indian. In my case I was also facing the same problem but later on visiting them many times it was solved.