CHAPTER - 1
INTRODUCTION
Since 1959, after Chinese invasion the immigrant Tibetan community in India have migrated from their native land, Tibet, and are residing in various settlements in different parts of the country. Their religious and orthodox approach to life and propensity to preserve the culture and traditional medical system is related to their isolated existence in Tibet from the rest of the world. Since their migration to India, Indian Government has provided them land, congenial in location to them at high altitude along with other facilities in all the rehabilitated centres. It deserves mention that Indian Government has taken several measures for their welfare, and has closely monitored their health and other needs. Immigrant Tibetans in most of the settlements in India are by and large availing facilities provided by the allopathic system of medicine.

What is the impact of these measures on them, after more than three decades of their inception? Have these measures been able to provide them a status in the host country at par with the rest of the population? How far have they been able to succeed to overcome their ecological, sociological, cognitive and political problems with the help of these measures? Are these medical benefits reaching evenly in all the rehabilitation centres in India or are exclusive to specific settlements? These are the fundamental issues in understanding the problems of migrant
Tibetans in India, who are basically devout and religious people. Religion is of paramount importance in their life including the traditional Tibetan medical system.

It may be appropriated to review the opinion 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 attitudes of the migrants towards the acceptance of modern as well as traditional Tibetan medicine also.

This perspective will be viewed by the conceptual analysis of the terms like tradition, modernisation. Subsequently, an attempt will be made to examine the theoretical trends of the medical anthropology and world view of traditional medicine considering the status of contemporary traditional Tibetan medicine, in general and of the immigrant Tibetans, in particular. The focus of the present study, its objectives, hypotheses for testing will be discussed in the following chapters.

Before discussing various aspects of the problem in detail, it is pertinent to discuss some of the basic concepts related to the problem under study. The important aspects considered include the concept of tradition, modernisation and important issues relating to medical anthropology and global traditional medicine.

**CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

In the anthropological literature a tradition
conveys various meanings. Anthropologists interpret tradition as "a time-honoured custom". It often highlights the "preconquest or precolonial past", (Shanklin, 1981). In social and cultural anthropology, one of the major views of tradition is derived from the theoretical literature of the social sciences representing the passive idea of tradition and the other designate as the active, indigenous force, mentioned in the ethnographic literature.

The active and passive uses of the term tradition have existed side by side in anthropology for many decades. Shanklin (1981) has reviewed two meanings and uses of tradition, as a passive analytical construct and as an active indigenous force. The active and passive 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 traditions". As a passive process it is viewed as stultifying force which enforces homogeneity in culture. The writings of Durkheim, Marx, Tönnies and Weber reveal the passive use of the term tradition which overshadowed the active use of the concept tradition in anthropology.

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) classified the historical definition of culture laying emphasis on social heritage or tradition utilised as the social and the biological heritage of human beings. The drawback of the
implications of the definitions is that the human beings are the creators and manipulators of culture not the carriers only. From the perspective of cultural history and ethnology, Kroeber (1963) interprets that every human culture is a composite form of historical growth which develops by borrowing most of the elements from other cultures. He finds incorporation of ideas, standards and substyles of different cultures during its period of growth. Culture tends to organise and increase its capacity of assimilation with gradual incorporation of new elements. Kroeber (1963) mentions growth tendencies in cases of art and science is one of his essays, "periodization", where he has depicted the mode of stylistic change. Due to rapid means of communication network contemporary people are not under the domain of one style at a time but have incorporated a number of "international pool of styles" in a life time.

Kroeber's observations on total transformation of cultural styles and patterns with the new elements manifest in the form of new phenmomenon. He predicts that in the past, total transformation of particular cultures did progress very slowly, as they were protected or isolated from other cultures. But due to increasing exposure of culture contacts interflow of cultural elements and acceleration is noted not only in specific styles but on total life styles of contemporary human beings.

Redfield (1960) posists 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 traditions; and (2) as a component of the folk-urban continuum" (Shanklin, 1981). Shanklin while analysing Redfield'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 device;"
2. tradition is an irrational, emotional response;
3. tradition promotes internal solidarity;
4. tradition will disappear or be eradicated by modernity and rational choice, characteristics of urban environments" (Shanklin, 1981).

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

Redfield (1956) 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 the 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 kinds of communities by network of various institutions like marriage, kinship, economy, trade, religion, 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 losing its essential cultural elements. The progress of this process not only consider the societal and cultural structure of a civilisation but also highlight the rate of encountering the imbibed characters from other cultures. The "cultural structure" manifests in the form of cultural traditions means conglomeration of ideas and its products. In this regards, the cultural structure is dependent on the societal structure. According to Redfield's theory social networks in "societal structure" function as an organised means for communicating and transmitting various components of civilisation's tradition from one generation to the next.
Considering the kind of societal structure and the content of culture of the cultural structure, the rates and results of interaction between traditions vary from one civilisation to the other. In the initial phase, the tradition develops indigenously from precivilised local cultures, gradually it becomes systematised and later on incorporates cultural elements from other cultures and civilisations.

In this regard it is essential to frame a conceptual model with the partial combination of Kroeber's as well as Redfield's notions. It is important to take note given by Singer (1972) "Their models were, of course, developed in relation to ongoing research, including that in India".

The transitional state of the immigrant Tibetans in India is alike the interactions between religion and economic activity which Weber mentioned among the early Puritan industrial capitalists. Though the "compromise formation" differs between European and Indian contexts 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). Number of studies on social change have shown that a symbiotic relationship between the traditional and modern develops to cater to the needs of the population. The present study also envisages similar position. This study acknowledges the limitations of studying the processes of change in their entirety but has tried to bring about
assemblance in these two important arenas of investigations.

There is paucity of data and analysis in the area of research relating to cultural transmission and the study of tradition and modernity in the context of India. Any venture in this direction amounts to starting a new field of study. Some interesting material relating to studies on cultural traditions deserve mention. The book *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India* by M.N. Srinivas (1952) and a symposium on "Traditional India: Structure and Change" edited by Milton Singer (1958, 1959) in the *Journal of American Folklore* highlight different parameters of transmission of cultural traditions in the context of India.

The study, 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, modern education, revival in health and hygiene would totally transform the traditional ideologies among the immigrant 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 three decades has brought a partial or total transformation of traditional ideologies and overall cultural topography specially among the younger generations who are born in exile this includes the life styles, food habits, religious beliefs, rituals with modern and scientific 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 preserve their cultural heritage. A third, compromise position attempted to reconcile the first and second positions by asserting that "traditional" culture among the immigrant Tibetans would not modernise in India until they had eliminated their traditional institutions, beliefs and values. The studies on traditional societies in India as projected in Gunnar Myrdal's *Asian Drama* argues in this respect (Myrdal, 1968).

Marx has commented that tradition loses its hold with past with the completion of modernisation process, (Shanklin, 1981). By designating traditionalism as part of nonrational, mechanical solidarity, Durkheim (1893) has emphasised the contrast between tradition and rationality. Shanklin (1981) has explained tradition transmitted by the old people as an intermediary state between the present and the past (Durkheim, 1964). Tönnies believes tradition as an unthinking emotional reaction (Tönnies, 1963). Durkheim predicts that people would lose their tradition with the absorption of cultural attributes into the modern, urban world (Durkheim, 1951). The above mentioned theoretical constuct needs detail analysis in the context of the 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 past. The definition of traditionalism holds no scientific ground, the term is defined as a continuous timeless norms, 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 protection of traditional values at the social and 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.

Balandier (1970) has observed the existence of dualism among the Munda and Oraon tribes. He found that the intrinsic values are being governed by the existing
tradition and modernity functions with extrinsic values through the external forces and agents in keeping with the world view. Traditional elements survive in a modified or manipulated form in each community without eliminating tradition as a whole (Myrdal, 1964). Tradition and modernity, when viewed in terms of a dichotomy theory does not integrate the ancient and the contemporary assimilated values. Modernity or modern values get traditionalised by the process of gradual absorption and incorporation within the existing system (Sharma 1990). Viewed in the perspective of this model, Tibetan culture possesses a long growth profile in which influence of other culture is prominent. The cultural patterns have modified several times without changing the continuation of total cultural pattern.

It is important to raise a question whether traditional beliefs, practices, rituals and customs welcome the process of modernisation or modernisation inherently hinder cultural traditions. The present study envisages that traditional institutions, religious beliefs and medical traditions of the Tibetans are compatible with the modern and scientific ideologies and are constantly being blend with the successive generations in India to carry on an innovovative programme of medical technology.

According to the prediction of Singer (1972) the adoption of modern lifestyle by the persons of upper strata
in urban and industrial centres manifest itself only in the formal working set up of that country. They actively preserve their traditional lifestyles in informal domestic sphere with many modifications. He comments that modern innovations do not obstruct or destroy the traditional institutions or create any major conflicts in spite of a variety of structural and cultural adaptations on traditional attributes due to industrialisation.

The contemporary research in the light of this view stands as an evidence that in the process of modernisation the foreign influences inevitably have changed the apparent outlook of culture and society in India while preserving the basic structural network and pattern. Due to the flexibility and richness in Indian culture, new innovations sometimes fail to change the identity of Indians. It is being observed that some aspects of cultural traditions exist with modern innovations among the Indians. Singer's adaptive strategies also support the same connotation. In the adaptive strategies, Singer (1972) envisages that the essential core of any culture is always maintained as such; total transformation or complete modernisation of the core elements may occur only with sudden absorption of new innovative elements, by letting down of traditional elements and with technical modernisation.

Though it is not relevant to review various adaptive parameters related to industrial and urban centres and modern life style highlighted in other studies but similar
adaptive strategies may be used in the present study to analyse the adaptive parameters prevalent among the immigrant Tibetans in India.

Recent literature is more prone to establish a new theory of modernisation after having expressed an apathy towards traditional and modern typological societies and culture. Contemporary typology is not based on empirical attributes and the generalisations of societies, rather it accommodates ideal constructed 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 cultural change rather than the dichotomous presentation of tradition versus modern. The contemporary theory surpasses the classical connotation of traditional and modern societies and apparently manifest the cultural diffusion and cultural evolution amidst the culture and society.

The theory of cultural change in the cross-cultural context highlights certain parameters as discussed below:

It is important to differentiate between assimilation and cultural pluralism. Assimilation is defined as an advanced social process that occurs due to the development of attitude, action, mental processes with
common interest and goals between assimilated groups in a society. Individuals or groups having diverse cultural backgrounds when they come into contact with each other, create significant modification in cultural pattern and custom in the process of assimilation. In traditional anthropology, the migrant or recessive communities do not assimilate themselves in the dominant cultural stream. The concept of cultural pluralism accepts the plurality of various cultures and ethnic identities. This does not visualise a situation of perpetual conflict but describes a state of coexistence of distinctive communities and cultural groups.

In this context it is relevant to mention about the concept of acculturation as discussed in anthropology. Acculturation is a two-way process, where societies of different cultures are closely and relatively permanently in contact and both the cultures are modified to some extent. In the cross-cultural context the term is used to interpret all kinds and degrees of cultural change. The migrants may have totally lost their cultural patterns in the receiving culture. The process of acculturation may be explained in stages:

1. Close and continuous contact between people enables them to be acquainted with each other's cultural elements.
2. Immigrants interact with a different cultures.
3. At the end of the process, it is difficult to
identity apparently the origins of the cultural elements and patterns in the society.

The immigrants with an alien culture interact with the groups having quite different culture. The initial phase of interaction is accommodation. Both the groups begin to borrow and reject some elements from the culture of each other. The immigrants try to adjust first in the strange land and to achieve status among the groups with the dominant culture. Economic adjustment is necessary to adjust with the situation. It may be achieved in spite of social isolation and attachment to the traditional norms and values. The immigrants may be provided accommodation, get employed in special establishment but they require resocialisation into a new set of norms. The immigrants prefer to live in a community where they can converse in their own language, practise cultural institutions with the familiar associations. The criterion of adjustment is a two-way process. The important indicators of adjustment manifest in the host country's language, culture, pattern of interaction and the life style. The adoption of these external symbols weaken the traditional patterns of the immigrants in the pursuits of food habits, clothing, recreation etc. This theoretical connotation will be analysed in the present context.
RELEVANT ISSUES RELATING TO THE PROBLEM UNDER STUDY

The aim of the present study is to explore various factors which cause deviation from the tradition to become what may be called modern. It is designed to study how present day occupation, economic condition, modern education mass media, culture contact are becoming vehicle for changing attitude and converting traditional ideologies. For this purpose this study concentrates upon the immigrant Tibetans in particular those who are residing in Himachal Pradesh.

1. Socio-economic status and therapeutic approach

To draw empirical generalisations and to study any changes that may have occurred in cultural configurations of immigrant Tibetans in India, the following parameters are being considered.

- the age of respondents,
- place of origin,
- age at migration
- duration of migration within the first generation (When respondent himself is the first migrant to India),
- duration of stay at a place of residence
- size of the family
- marital status
- age at marriage
- educational background
- occupational status (any change in India)
- level of income per month (both from respondent's present occupation and total family income),
- frequency of movements due to occupation,
- choice of therapy (modern medicine and traditional Tibetan medicine),
- available medical facility from private doctor, hospital, traditional medical practitioner, clinic (private/hospital) will be analysed among the immigrant Tibetans.

1. The primary objective of the study is to evaluate the impact of ecological variations, on therapeutic attitude.
2. Due to psychological factors, changes that have come about in people's perception towards disease spectra.
3. To analyse the impact of modern Western system of education and mass media on health management in four settlements in Himachal Pradesh.

II Impact of modernisation among the immigrant Tibetans in the perspective of culture and medicine.

The most important variable under examination, with reference to continuity and change, is the factor of modernisation. The term modernisation is specifically viewed in the context of traditional medicine with specific
Some important questions posed in the thesis are:

1. How does a society accommodate novelties and innovations having traditional values? Here it is expected that education and occupational mobility would have a direct impact on immigrant Tibetans.

2. How does a society progress having strong sense of identification with the traditional values?

3. What is the correlation between occupational mobility and culture contact?

4. Whether the traditional structure of value, ritual, belief, overall culture pattern have any manifestation of innovation by rejecting the existence of cultural traditions as there would be a sequential adaptive adjustment in the traditional structure among the immigrant Tibetans. The expectation is that the immigrant Tibetans especially the older generation would have a stronger tendency towards the rejection of innovation. On the other had it would be the tendency of adaptive attitude among the young generation.

5. The extent to which immigrant Tibetans residing in four settlements in Himachal Pradesh are aware of the various advancements in modern
medical science and the preventive measures requiring the health and disease in India. The purpose is to find out whether the extent of awareness of the above mentioned factors differ among immigrant Tibetans in four settlements. Various technological development in modern medicine includes various clinical investigations like x-ray, blood culture, urine, sputum, faeces and the others which are the common and basic parameters. The preventive measures include immunisation of the children and the pregnant women, family planning, vaccine against any epidemic, cleanliness, hygiene, nutrition, proper diet, and other precautionary measures necessary for maintaining a good health.

6. The extent to which the facilities of traditional and modern medicine are available in the above mentioned four settlements. Here the expectation is that the greater the degree of awareness towards modern medical science, higher would be the level of utilisation of the same.

III Occupational mobility of younger generation and its impact on therapeutic approach

The assumption in this study is that occupational mobility would be a stimulant among the immigrant Tibetans
especially those in the younger generation for accepting modern values, norms and modern medical system in India. Further, there are certain associated variables with modernisation like duration of stay in the host country and the duration of migration which moderate the rate and pace of modernisation. There is a great paucity of research in exploring the relationship of the associated variables of modernisation with occupational mobility and its impact on therapeutic approach. Present study seeks to explore some of the dimensions which are lacking in the existing studies on migration.

Does the frequent movement due to their occupation shows any relationship to the acceptance of modernity? It is hypothesised that:

Occupational mobility would promote rejection of old and traditional values and norms and that the younger generation would be more open towards acceptance of change and incorporation of new values and ethos.

In this context few more questions would be raised:

1. Correlation of occupational mobility to modernity.
2. The relationship between the duration of stay in the host country and acceptance of values and tradition of other cultures.
3. Loss of tradition due to prolonged culture contact.
4. Correlation of modern education with political
and social awareness.

5. Level of educational awareness and its relation to acceptance of modern system of medicine.

6. Promotion of education, fear of traditional cultural alienation.

It is proposed at the outset that the family size and total income of the family has a relation to therapeutic approach:

a) Small family size (having 2 to 3 children) with moderate amount of income would avail best therapeutic facilities.

IV Transitional phase and paradoxical approach

The socio-economic status, modern education, religious and traditional ideologies are important variables, which have a direct relation with various aspects of transitional phase.

1. The conservative immigrant Tibetans having stronger feelings and attachment to the traditional ideologies would initially reject the modern therapy.

2. Greater desire to avail of modern system of medicine vis-a-vis traditional system of Tibetan medicine depends upon seriousness of the disease.

3. Intense desire to protect traditional Tibetan medicine as an important cultural heritage and
as symbolic of ethnic identity.

After a preliminary investigation on above mentioned parameters, that exhibit the emerging scenerio of cultural configuration among the migrant Tibetans, four settlements in Himachal Pradesh were purposively selected for the present study. Some other parameters were also taken into consideration for the sampling of the studied areas which include Tibetan settlements at Dharamsala, Kulu, Manali and Dolanji.

1. Dharamsala: The choice of this settlement is governed by the facts that the area not only represents the temporary headquarter of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and main Tibetan Administrative unit in exile but also the place is considered as the nucleus of traditional Tibetans culture and its indigenous medical system in India.

2. Kulu: The migrant Tibetans with considerably poor socio-economic condition, having no facilities of water, medical, housing, sanitation reside in this urban, tourist spot. In view of the opportunities that this locale provided for culture contact, it was considered an ideal settlement for surveying perceptions and attitudes towards continuity and change.

3. Manali: The immigrant Tibetans in Manali belong to better socio-economic condition than the Kulu valley settlements, avail the privileges of traditional Tibetan medical facility through a small clinic and that of
allopathic medicine through private doctor or community health worker. They were selected to exhibit their orientation on therapeutic attitude and preservation of traditional culture.

4. Dolanji: This settlement was selected to evaluate any difference of attitude between Bonpos (the followers of Lord Shenrab Mibo, *gshenrab mi-bo*, approximately 1 percent of the total immigrant Tibetans) and Buddhists (the followers of Sakyamuni Buddha, majority of Tibetans) on preservation of traditional Tibetan culture and medical system in India. Moreover, there is no provision for availing proper treatment either through traditional Tibetan medicine or allopathic medicine in the settlement itself which also represents a significant criterion to support the selection of this settlement.

Thus after selection of the studied areas for this study, the selection of the households were done following a random sampling method from a list of approximate household units collected from the representative of each settlement.

**Sampling method**

Simple random sampling method was followed. Random sampling denotes, "Where every unit of the universe has an equal chance of being selected into the sample" (Kraus and Miller 1974).
Sample population

As per the Information Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Dharamsala, there are sixty-six settlements in India. Four settlements in Himachal Pradesh were selected for detailed investigation.

UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY

The present study is aimed at exploring the status of traditional culture and medical system among the immigrant Tibetans in four different settlements at Dharamsala, Kulu, Manali and Dolanji (near Solan) in Himachal Pradesh in India.

The location and topography of the settlements

Dharamsala: For a lavish display of natural scenery having snowclad Dhauladhar range, just above the famous Kangra Valley, it is one of the popular tourist spot that attracts Western and Indian tourists and also serves as a famous pilgrimage centre of the Tibetans. The high altitude between 1250 and 1982 metres and the cool weather contribute towards the creation of environment congenial to the Tibetans. In the month of June the maximum temperature goes up to 38°C and minimum temperature goes below zero in the month of January. Annual rainfall varies between 290 and 380 millimetres. It is accessible from Chandigarh by either a combination of rail (via Pathankot) or by direct inter-
1. Palace of His Holiness the Dalai Lama
2. Central Cathedral (Main Temple)
3. Namgyal Monastery
4. Buddhist School of Dialectics
5. Tibetan Nunnery
6. McLeod Ganj
7. Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts
8. Dal Lake
9. Tibetan Children's Village (SOS Village)
10. TCV Handicraft Training Centre
11. Delek Hospital
12. Central Tibetan Secretariat
13. Library of Tibetan Works and Archives
14. Nechung Monastery/State Oracle Monastery
15. Tibetan Medical Institute & Astro Medical College
16. Tibetan Cultural Printing Press
17. Kotwali Bazaar (Lower Dharamsala)
18. Bus Station
19. District Civil Hospital
20. Police Station
21. Main Post & Telegraph Office
state bus services. An ordinary bus takes nearly nine hours to reach Dharamsala from Chandigarh (Map 1B).

The immigrant Tibetans are scattered both on lower as well as upper Dharamsala. Many of them run restaurants, curio shops and hotels. The upper Dharamsala, commonly known as McLeod Ganj, is the highest seat of the immigrant Tibetans in India where His Holiness the Dalai Lama has set up his Government-in-exile. There is post office and a market place, known as Kotwali Bazaar. The main post office is situated in lower Dharamsala. A growing number of Tibetan hotels, restaurants have come up in lower Dharamsala, amidst the inhabitants of Himachal Pradesh. The place has attracted majority of the migrant Tibetans numbering nearly 7000 of which approximately 5000 is static and 2000 is mobile.

Kulu: The Kulu valley extends on either side of the river Beas. Though small in size it is enchanting, having glens, meadows and streams of the mighty Himalayas. It is a pleasant summer resort for tourists. Situated on the national highway, the headquarters of the district, serves as the heart of the valley. It leads to the Rohtang Pass, having an altitude of 1,219 metres i.e., 4,000 feet approximately. The maximum temperature shows 40°C during summer and minimum zero degree Celsius in winter. Average rainfall is recorded as 100 centimetres per annum. Regular bus services cover the distance of 259 km from Kulu to
Manali: It is 40 kilometres from Kulu and it is well connected by a motorable metalled road. The ostentation of pinnacles and ridges adds to the picturesque scenario of the area. In winter the top of the hillside is flanked in white. At the lower region, silver streaks of water, evergreen pine, terraced fields and orchards add to its beauty. The climate is very cold, the minimum temperature declares below 0°C, in winter. Annual rainfall as recorded shows 178 centimetres. Having being located at an altitude of 6,000 feet it is cool and pleasant in summer, with the maximum temperature rising upto 25°C at the most (Map 1D).

Dolanji: The location of the settlement is in an isolated one, away from the town of Solan in Himachal Pradesh. The settlement is known as Bon-po settlement which is connected with unmetalled road of 4 kilometres to Ochghat i.e. the nearest bus stop, from where the bus for Solan is available. The bus service from Ochghat to Solan (10 kilometres away) is infrequent. The climate is cool and pleasant throughout the year having maximum temperature almost 40°C in summer and minimum of 0°C in winter. The altitude of the Dolanji settlement is around 4,000 feet. No record of rainfall is available, however as per description there is good rainfall especially during rainy season (Map 1E).
1. Monastery, 2. Tibetan Settlement,
3. Branch of Delek Hospital, 4. Terrace Cultivation and
5. Stream
METHODOLOGY

The objective of the study implored the investigator to conduct an empirical investigation based on theoretical premise of a diachronic study of traditional indigenous medicine through a critical analysis of historical events and recollection and reminiscence of the immigrant Tibetans.

Traditional anthropological techniques, namely observations and interviews were selected as primary tools for data collection supported by schedule and case studies. Interview schedules (partly structured and partly unstructured) were used to collect the opinions and attitudes on various parameters related to continuity and change of traditional institutions as well as to highlight the actual structure of orientation. Lack of any preliminary information from the population under study, and in the absence of pilot survey, it becomes necessary to have number of unstructured questions. This also helped in bringing forth a large amount of qualitative data which constitutes the hallmark of analysis being followed in the proceeding chapters.

The schedule for Tibetans Buddhist Medical practitioners *Emchi* and the schedule for monks/nuns conversant with ritualistic therapy served as instruments that generated the data on traditional Tibetans medical system. These schedules were structured in such a manner that these could cover not only the self introduction of the...
respondents but also revealed the mode of the healing management, and overall status of traditional Tibetan medical system including the suggestion for further improvement in this regard.

The other schedule which was used for every household was the key tool use to collect information not only on the traditional and contemporary socio-cultural institutions but it also focused on the frequency and duration of ailments, choice of treatment, pattern of recovery, perception towards the causation of ailments, total expenditure including their opinion and suggestions. Many unstructured questions were posed to each member of the household for them to express their personal comments freely on various parameters.

An interview guide was used to collect information from the officials dealing with Tibetan affairs namely representatives, teachers, Abbots of monasteries, principals of the Tibetan schools, Tibetan respondents in allopathic medical set up generated data on changing traditional patterns among the migrants Tibetans in India. In addition, a panoramic view of change as manifested among the younger generation of migrant Tibetans especially the youths who were observed with the purpose of constructing an emerging profile of the Tibetans. Some case studies were also taken into account to throw some light on available information as well as to record first hand information regarding changing
attributes. The data thus generated are scrutinised in subsequent chapters for a panoramic view of changes that might have occurred among the migrant Tibetans in the past thirty years.

**ESTABLISHMENT OF RAPPORT**

The art of establishing rapport is of prime importance in the success of any empirical anthropological investigation relying on the field work. It helps a researcher to dig out all the pertinent clues which he/she is craving for. There are no specific guidelines for a proper rapport establishment in the field. General instructions to be followed by a researcher include maintaining informal, social relation with the informants, participate in any functions informally. Incentives, in kind may be offered at times.

A scientific investigation require a most cordial relation with the informants. The place of research, dialects, culture -- everything may be unknown 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 annonymity and confidentiality. Besides, innumerable barriers such as shyness, ego, dignity, fear, apprehension, superiority or inferiority complex, feeling of strangeness had to be
conquered and eliminated

The problem of rapport establishment posed the biggest hurdle. The informants of the present study are uprooted from their homeland and are struggling to survive in a foreign environment consisting of new ecological cultural and economic set up. It is known that Tibetans are apprehensive of disclosing facts to an outsider. They purposely try to avoid any possible interaction with non-Tibetans. There may be two reasons behind it. It is feared that the Chinese may collect the information from the Tibetans and misuse them. Moreover, their identity may create problem for their relatives in Tibet who were left behind during Chinese invasion. So it was observed that the Tibetans authorities also were initially reluctant to provide the actual figures of the migrant Tibetan population in each settlement in India. In addition, it was difficult to collect information from the monasteries of the studied areas which maintained a strict vigil on the entrance of an unknown non-Tibetan especially if it happens to be a female.

In fact, in comparison to these problems, 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 sample 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. In Dharamsala first permission letter was sought from the office of the Tibetans Youth Congress to contact and collect information from the migrant Tibetans living in McLeod Ganj. The concerned office provided an interpreter, well acquainted with the people of the locality. He disclosed the intention of the present study along with the introduction in each household which took almost an hour. In spite of all these, one Tibetan goldsmith straightway refused to cooperate having an apprehension of encountering an income tax personnel. In some houses sweets were presented to the children. Barring a few houses, most of the respondents paid honour and respect and offered either Tibetan salted tea or Indian tea with snacks. Sometimes direct conversation with the respondents either in Hindi or in Tibetan language made the discussion more congenial. Preliminary self knowledge of Tibetan language helped to reciprocate greetings in a traditional way and generated confidence and familiarity with the respondents. Sometimes the rapport with the respondents became so intense and emotional that the respondents broke down, often recollecting the traditional
glory of their ancient civilisation as it existed in Tibet. As most of the respondents were pre-occupied with their seasonal business of selling woollen garments, attempts were made to contact them at their convenience.

To collect information in detail several visits were arranged at the beginning of summer months and the terminal months of winter in the subsequent two years. In Dharamsala, to collect the statistics on vital events such as birth, marriage and death, a permission letter was also collected from the Secretary of the Tibetan Government-in-exile. As that did not suffice the purpose, further permission was sought from the Principals of the Tibetan schools, Abbots of various monasteries, and from incharge of the concerned hospitals, Tibetan medical clinics etc.

Kulu: The total strength of the inhabitants in the settlement was 128. No reservation was observed regarding self-introduction. The respondents were conversant in Hindi dialect, they exhibited promptness in expressing their problem related to inadequate economic resources. The female respondents were despondent while narrating their traditional gaiety of their marriage in Tibet. In course of interview it was noticed that they had a rational way of settling their community disputes.

During the field work, interviews were also conducted in the market place of the Tibetan settlement. It is a small ground surrounded by few stalls selling general
merchandise which includes woollen garments, cosmetics, imitation jewelleries etc. The first visit was not so cordial and informal like the subsequent visits. A number of visits were required to make the self aquaintance with the Tibetan shopkeepers.

Manali: At the onset of fieldwork in Dharamsala an introductory letter was collected from the Secretary of Home Affairs, Youth Congress in Dharamsala to carry out the field study in Manali. But those were not sufficient as the population of the Tibetans was quite significant in number i.e. around 900. In Manali the Representative of the settlement holds the post as the incharge of Tibetan Welfare office by rotation, who is an appointed person of the Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala. To establish a rapport with the Welfare officer the introductory letter, as mentioned above, was used to obtain favour from him. The officer provided a Tibetan person as an interpreter, who being involved in business of woollen garments has picked up the colloquial Hindi very well. The first interview was conducted with the Head-master of TCV (Tibetan Children's Village) school. The subsequent interviews were also held in the same school to collect necessary information in detail from the teachers and students of different age group who have or had any experience of major/minor ailments and the mode of treatment availed by them. All of them cooperated well to provide information in detail. During their lunch time, the interview was conducted with other
members of the community. It was most difficult to establish some kind of a rapport with the monks of the monasteries in the studied areas. Being a female investigator it posed the biggest hurdle to seek co-operation from the monks who are basically introvert in nature. The presence of a male interpreter was essential to overcome the problem of investigation in the restricted areas, such as monasteries. However cooperation was enjoyed from the respective monasteries, nunneries, Buddhists dialectic school including Patlikul residential TCV school on the Kulu-Manali Highway.

To conclude, the interview in the Tibetan market place where most of the stalls of woollen garments were in rows, the problem of rapport establishment was solved by a person previously known to the investigator. He was a bonafide person of Lahul and was one of the stall owners as well as conversant in Tibetan and Hindi. The discussion was most cordial and informal because the said person convinced others about the purpose of the visit.

Dolanji: It is essential to mention that the study was conducted in the Dolanji settlement including the Bonpo monastery, enjoying a homely atmosphere throughout. This was feasible because of the recommendation given by my Tibetan teacher of the Panjab University, Chandigarh. The Abbot of the Bonpo monastery, who is the incharge of the concerned Dolanji settlement, holds a respectable position among the
Tibetans. He has shown keen interest in the present study, provided a vehicle, an interpreter and all sorts of facilities as required for the field work.

Thus, purposively, the study was intended with a view to presenting the patterns and processes of change in the migrant Tibetan community rather than to formalise into any specific structural feature of the community. While presenting the nature of interaction between the two interacting cultures a brief historical survey of the migration with a special reference to Tibetan historical events in the distant past need to be discussed in the context of the problem under study.