In the foregoing chapters we have seen how the traditional and the Hunzagod Tibetan societies function. The geographical situation of Tibet is mountainous, and pose problems in providing good transport and communication facilities. Owing to this the cultivation is adopted to terrrain type. The Tibetan weather is cooler and accordingly the house design and drone types are made. There is less or moderate rain and so river water was used for cultivation. The less fertile and rugged land, and the traditional methods of cultivation were not able to feed the population. So Tibet had its own ways and means to control its population. To see that its population will remain at optimum level the society had adopted the institution of polyandry and lamaism. To support the subsistant state economy the land was shared only by the nobles and the commoners depended on them for every thing in life. In order to obtain adequate supply of labour force the serfs were attached to the land which they cultivated and their welfare was the obligation of the lords. With this security of land and serfs the lords not only paid
their taxes to the government properly but also took care of the visiting officials and also contributed towards the rites and rituals celebrated in monasteries. To maintain their status the lords collected taxes regularly and this made the commoners to work hard on the farm, rare cattle and go on trade.

Tibetans have a few remnant of Bon religion. They offer worships and food to supernatural beings thinking that they guide all the natural phenomena. In order to meet the heavy cost of ritual celebrations and festivals, these were arranged according to the ecological changes in a year. At times of need like drought, famine etc., they had ways and means to provide alternate means to the existing conditions. With their socio-economic and religious institutions and practices structured in the local manner, the Tibetans had lesser stresses and strains in making their living. Above all they had their own rationale explanations to offer for their problems. Now, as refugees all these have changed and this disturbed situation had brought lot of stress and strains in their life.

When the Tibetans fled to India, they thought that their stay in India was going to be short. They
chose to stay in India because they always held India as the land of Buddha and expected a friendly treatment here without any threat to their life and religion. Moreover the Dalai Lama had also fled to India and the traditional minded Tibetans were happy to be with him here. When it was realised that their stay in India is going to be much longer the Tibetans begin to face difficulties. Till the international relief agencies came forward to help them the Tibetans had a hard time in supporting themselves. When the Government of India decided to accept them as refugees and house them, they were shifted from Himalayan border area to the much permanent rehabilitation camps in different states of India. Naturally the first problems they faced were with regard to weather, food, language and so on. So the rehabilitating agencies took all possible steps to see that the refugees should adjust better within the given conditions. In the course of this the refugees faced a few new problems which were both socio-cultural and psychological in nature. The warm and uncomfortable weather of India prevented them from going out, and earn, though they were willing to work. The rehabilitating officials and Indian neighbours thought that Tibetans were lazy and the generous gifts and grants given have spoiled them. The Tibetans are hurt by such criticism.
A few Tibetan customs have created problems to the refugees. For example, while in Tibet the corpse of the dead were disposed-off as per the Buddhist belief; and in the way the deceased opted — burial, cremation or to be fed to animals. By becoming food to some animals they wanted to be of some help to others even after their death. Further by not leaving anything behind in this world the Tibetans got satisfaction that they will attain Nirvana. After coming to Lumbini the Tibetans faced lot of humiliation and problems in disposing-off their dead. The local people condemned the traditional practice of cutting the corps and feeding to birds, as a barbarious one. They are even successful in putting an end to this practice with the intervention of the Department of Public Health and the Police. As the result, a few traditional minded Tibetans who had already expressed their wish to dispose-off their body through feeding the birds and animals are facing psychological problems fearing that they will not attain Nirvana.

There are also problems regarding the celebration of Tibetan fairs and festivals. Change of seasons, and of
the harvest activity, change of residence by the Dalai Lama, etc., were marked with rituals and festivals while in Tibet. Those were again arranged in the ritual calendar in such a way that they came when the people had a lot of leisure time and money to go on pilgrimage, drink, dance and enjoy. Over here the Tibetan festivals and the local ecological conditions do not coincide at all. The Dalai Lama now never changes his residence according to changing seasons and the Tibetans also do not change their dress when summer or winter sets in since the changes in weather are minimal.

In Tibet people care more for ritual purity and pollution and non-violence. To guard ritual privacy they have constructed their houses with separate altar rooms and kept it closed for outsiders, who may pollute the objects and persons. The houses in Chandgod settlement are planned by Indian engineers and they have failed to take into account the dwellers’ background. The devout religious Tibetans have now kept aside the biggest room in the house for the altar and use the remaining space for other activities. Later, owing to scarcity of space they started using the altar room also for other activities. Now it is used for sleeping purposes even by the married
traditionally it is forbidden to use this room for non-religious purposes and more so to have sex. Since the kitchen room is not properly planned the varandah is now used for the cooking purpose. Owing to this all visitors to the family come through this place and pollute the kitchen and the food, and thereby embarrass the housewives. While in Tibet the Tibetans stored a large quantity of food grains and dried meat in separate and safer store rooms for winter months. Now they have to store these in the altar room or varandah. All these have made Tibetans feel guilty, helpless and insecure.

While in Tibet a large number of lamas and monks were invited for familial rites and rituals. They were fed with a variety of foods and also given costly gifts. Now owing to poverty only one or at the most two lamas are invited for such functions and cheap gifts are given. The food items prepared are also few. The length of the rituals has been also reduced considerably. By this the god fearing Tibetans are very much disturbed.

Now the lamas came in contact with the commoners very often since they live in the nearby villages. Owing to this contact the lamas get more worldly comforts here
and therefore many of them are dropping out of the monastic life. Owing to this the high lamas and a few religious minded persons are worried that their religion is degenerating.

The authority of the Tibetan village leaders and family heads has changed a lot. While in Tibet only the nobles were village heads and they were respected and obeyed because of their high birth and financial status. Here in Sandgod all are equal in terms of financial status. The village leaders are elected on the basis of their qualifications and in the democratic manner. Family heads in Tibet were always the eldest brothers and they enjoyed respect and obedience from their younger brothers. Now they have lost their status and powers. While in Tibet the polyandrous wife was met by other brothers only on the absence of the first husband from the village and that too with his consent. But now the presence of the eldest brother even in the house, will not bar other brothers to have sex with the wife. Now all are entitled for an equal quota of land and so enjoy enough financial freedom here.

In the Tibetan society, chöng has a ritual significance and it is offered to the deities and guests.
of hour. How it has been brewed commercially and sold along with the Tibetan arrack. This is because of the uncertain financial and social conditions. The new situations have made the Tibetans earn more and more money which they think is the easy means to get security in life. The demand for arrack inside and outside the settlement has made them interested in this trade even though it is forbidden to do so by the Buddhist religion by the law of the land. Another means used by the Tibetans, both by the lamas and the commoners, to earn extra money is by lending money or taking land on lease basis. Those who could not cultivate their quota of land owing to lack of funds, interest or man power, found it profitable to lease the land to the Tibetans who were interested in it. These persons were mostly peasants who even took lands on lease from the local people from neighbouring villages. By investing lot of money and working hard they have made lot of profit by that. Money lending is another profitable means to make extra money. By charging high rate of interest and mortgaging and leasing the borrowers land and property, these money lenders have made lot of money. Though both money lending and land leasing by both the commoners and the lamas were found even in Tibet we learn that the people were not
this money minded. Here, this change in them is due to refugee situation having no kin and community ties and they think money is their only security now.

Now let us view the situation from the anthropological approach. As it has been stated in the introductory chapter the study has three broader aims to achieve - to understand the cultural background of the Tibetans, to know how the adjustment takes place at individual and group level and the progress of rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees. To achieve these aims we had proposed five research question or hypothesis.

We know the calm Tibetan culture was disturbed and those who could not bear the new impact and interested in traditional order fled to India. The problems they faced during their transit situation and later in rehabilitation settlements were many and painful. The Tibetans no doubt have shown tremendous capacity to adopt to the new situation. Within a year or two of their coming to Handgod, most of the rehabilitation programmes such as new methods of cultivation, modern medicine, education, food, housing etc., were accepted by them and new monasteries and other religious places were built.
Through these as far as possible and Tibetan way of life was restored. Now one can see the Tibetans well settled. But we are of the opinion that the adjustment took place only in the material cultural level and the more deeper aspects remained untouched. Therefore as their financial position improved it is observed that the Tibetans begin to restore the old order. As a result now the dress pattern, food habits, etc., of the traditional Tibetan culture have been revived. Owing to this, today, we can see the Tibetans becoming more and more traditional in their outlook on life. This proves our first hypothesis.

The Tibetans who left everything owned behind in Tibet and fled to India to protect themselves and their religion, are keeping a high morale and are well organized. They hope to go back one day when the evil is over. Their only hope is the Dalai Lama in whom they have deep faith. This faith has made the refugees to retain their religion and religious practices intact. They also contribute money for the maintenance of the Dalai Lama and his government and pray for his well being. They always look forward to receive him in their settlement and listen to his advice. He is their only
hope and under whose leadership they hope to unite and organize their liberation movement and one day return to their holy land with him. So they are ready to do anything for him. Tibetans are again lucky because the Dalai Lama is the head of both their religion as well as of the state. Now the Dalai Lama and their religion are keeping their hope alive and with this hope they are living here. To some extent this has helped them to forget their stress and strain. This situation proves our second hypothesis, that the refugees have some one or some purpose to organise and raise their hope.

Our third hypothesis is also partially proved. The temporary nature of the Tibetans' stay in India has made a few rehabilitation programmes incomplete. The Tibetans say the houses in which they live now in Mundgod are not properly planned. But only a few of them who can afford, have attempted to build or even renovate the houses according to their taste. This is also true of their belief in polyandry. They say this type of marriage is not suitable here in India. But at the same time they marry girls who are much younger to them, and sometimes going out of the way they marry even their step daughters, so as to have a fraternal or non-fraternal
polyandry and thereby build up their socio-economic contacts when they go back to Tibet. Thinking in the same line the Tibetans have not invested on any of the stable properties and those property which cannot be taken back with them if they go back to Tibet. So we see that buying only the portable and more easily convertible goods such as watches, transistor radios, clothing, ornaments and so on. But at times more settled type of trends are also exhibited by the refugees through planting of fruit trees and constructing big somastries. But these are general programmes undertaken by the rehabilitating agencies and not by individual refugees. The refugees think that their stay is temporary and so they try to live for the present. So they calculate the gains and losses before they undertake any activity and always decide in favour of the things which bring them profit and quick results. We can see this type of a trend in the selling of farm shed manure by the Tibetans and making money. They could have as well used it to fertilize their own fields. But instead they use chemical fertilizers brought from the society on credit basis. When asked about these the Tibetans say that it involves lot of labour and money to transport and spread the farm shed manure. Instead if they use the chemical fertilizers it requires less labour and
moreover it is obtained on credit basis from the society and the loan is cleared only after the harvest season. The rehabilitating agencies also cannot do anything to remove the feeling nourished by the refugees. Because they also know that one day the Tibetans have to go back to their country and their job is only to make their stay a comfortable one and minimise their stresses and strains. To settle them well the refugees have to be first made to accept the host society as their permanent residence and then only the refugees have to be told about the facts. As long as they are treated as refugees and guests we cannot expect them to settle well.

It is only after coming to India that the Tibetans have become more mobile and have come to know of other Tibetans coming from different districts and provinces of Tibet and have learnt each other's way of life. Now irrespective of their background noble or serfs they have been settled in rows of houses and in a way this has brought greater understanding and unity among them. They also feel they are one group and have to fight together to meet the common problems they are facing. On the contrary we can also see the Tibetans establishing marital and financial relations with people
coming from their own village or district in Tibet so that when they go back to Tibet they will be of some help. This shows that the Tibetans have made adjustments keeping an eye on their future.

Our fourth hypothesis that the temporary nature of stay of refugees leaves a few rehabilitation programmes incomplete, has been also proved. Our findings show that the adjustment between the Tibetans and local communities is not very cordial. Adjustment between the two groups appears to be friendly and better. Our investigations show that inner and deeper opinions are not encouraging. First the Tibetans are not happy with the physical environmental conditions of Mundgod. Owing to its distance from Dharamsala and the Tibetan border, they never wanted to come to Mundgod and now never wish to continue to stay here. They make use of every opportunity to move towards North, either on employment or sweater business.

Secondly, the Tibetans earned the illwill of the local people from the day they were settled here sharing the already limited facilities such as cultivable land, village sites, and so on. When the refugees were given the deforested land and many other privileges facilities like bore wells, tractors, roads, hospitals,
school, electricity, etc., the local people who were
land-hungry and lacked many of these facilities, became
jealous of the Tibetans. Sensing this attitude of the
local population and also to develop friendly relation
between the two groups, the Karnataka Government released
some amount of land to the local people also. Unfortunately
most of the Indian beneficiaries were either petty
government officials or landless backward and depressed
caste people, and came from far-off villages. Since they
lived away from the land which was allotted to them
either they left the land fallow or gave it to the
Tibetans on lease basis. This made both the landless and
well-off in the villages around the Settlement to hate
the Tibetans further and thus the aim of the government
also remained not fulfilled.

Further the Tibetan custom such as polyandry,
feeding the dead to vultures, eating stale beef, etc.,
made the local people to develop a very bad opinion about
them. The Tibetans who could not work in the hot sun
and were also ignorant of local agricultural methods and
ecological conditions, when hired local people to work
in their farms and threshing ground, were thought to be
lazy. The local labourers who were hired by the Tibetans,
not only blackmailed the Tibetans for higher wages but
also cheated them in the work. A few stole paddy, maize, etc., from the Tibetan fields and threshing grounds. In general, the local population were very much jealous of the Tibetans for taking so much benefit from their government and they thought it is at their cost. When the government brought 20 points programme and later during the emergency period in 1976, the local people got an opportunity to express their anger openly towards the Tibetans. Using the new laws in force the loans taken from the Tibetans were not returned and the lands leased on long term were also taken back. It was estimated that the Tibetans lost about two lakh of rupees during that year itself.

Now arrangements are going on to settle another thousand refugees in the Settlement. The Karnataka Government which cannot give any more land to Tibetans, has asked the settlement authorities to reallocate the already given land and give a portion of it to the incoming refugees. To see the refugees are not hit by this land reduction a new and intensive cultivation programme has been proposed by the government. So an irrigation dam has been constructed to facilitate them to grow two to three crops in a year. To train the Tibetans in the intensive wet cultivation a programme
has been already started by the officials of the Settlement. But the Tibetans are worried because they have to share water of a small dam with the local people and they are worried this may spark some more conflicts. Therefore many of them are not happy with this new programme and some are openly sceptical about it. There are also some persons who feel that this is a plan to deprive them of the land already given to them.

Lack of restrictions on the movement of Tibetans and the local people also has created a few more problems, here at the Settlement. Local labourers and annual servants, businessmen, fruit and milk vendors have move about in the Settlement. Local people from neighbouring villages frequently visit the settlement for chāng and Tibetan made arrack. All these have created problems since many of these transactions are un-official and also anti-social. There are a few formal or official relations between the local people and to Tibetans. Indian patients are allowed to be x-rayed and use the ambulance van from the Tibetan settlement hospital for which they have to pay. Further a number of local people work in government and semi-government agencies in the Settlement. Our enquiries with these persons have revealed that they do not have any special training.
to work among the refugees. So like any other local
person, they too carry a bad opinion about the
Tibetans. A few felt that Indian government is wasting
money on the Tibetans when our own people are going
hungry and without shelter. The employees have
misunderstood the Tibetan attitude towards savings
and said the Tibetans were more interested in borrowing
money from the banks than depositing.

We can say there is very little approved
informal relation between the Tibetans and the local
people. The limited number of relations they have now
such as lending and borrowing of money, selling paddy
and maize, selling arrack, bribing the officials and so
on are illegal and anti-social. There are also
restrictions to establish donor ties between the two
groups since officially the two groups are supposed to
transact through the Society or the Banks and not
directly. So what little informal relations they have
has made them feel guilty rather than friendly and happy.

The Tibetans and Indians do not have any common
celebrations, beliefs, customs and manners. So inviting
the other group to partake in socio-religious
activities in their families is practically absent.
On the contrary, a few customs and beliefs have led to misunderstanding between the two groups. The Tibetans observe ritual purity of action and thought, whereas the Indians give more importance to the purity of body, mind, place and also touch. A lack of importance to these aspects in Tibetan culture has made the local people to consider them to be low. Moreover, on the basis of purity and pollution the Indian society is stratified into several endogamous castes and the division is rigid and permanent. Whereas the Tibetan social stratification is based on economic classes which are also hereditary in terms of pure and impure bones of nobles and commoners. The Indians just cannot accept the Tibetans who maintain that they belong to pure bone and at the same time eat non-vegetarian food and marry among the lower groups. All these have puzzled the Indians who follow the caste rules very rigidly.

A few informal social ties have been established by the Tibetan youth, who go with the local youth to cinemas, to hotels and in a few cases to have alcoholic drinks. They visit each other's houses to eat food on festivals and such other special occasions. A few exchange magazines and story books. Even here only...
the young men are involved and girls and older age
groups very rarely come together. Exhibiting the photos
of cinema stars in the house, listening to Indian film
songs, imitating the Indian and Western dress and hair
style by their youth has disturbed the Tibetans. The
Tibetans are much conscious of their cultural identity
and want to maintain it. They think that the Indians
are 'spoiling' their youth and are worried that it may
lead to loss of their culture. Therefore the aged
refugees do not approve this land of a social intercourse
and this has led to conflict between the two groups.
This proves our fifth and the last hypothesis.

The type of adjustment which has now taken
place between the Indians and the Tibetans has been
turned a progressive one by Balakshappa (1973:111).
But our contention is that the present adjustment has taken
place only on the material side. The settlement had a
tremendous contributions to make towards the innovation
of a variety of food crops, tools, fruit trees, use of
machines in agriculture, use of co-operative movement
for rural development and rural banking, bore wells,
water pumps and a variety of new food items in the area.
In turn the Tibetans also have learnt the local language,
local crop pattern, knowledge of local tools and
implements, clothing, education, banking, postal facilities and so on. In a way all this can be viewed as a contribution of the Settlement to the surrounding areas of Mundgod.

These are no doubt the indications of a progressive adjustment; in material aspects. In terms of more deeper and permanent aspects this adjustment is lacking. This, as we have already stated is due to the reluctant nature of the Tibetans themselves. One cannot blame them for this because the Tibetans try to maintain their identity so that when they go back to Tibet they may not be misfits in their mother land. More over they have fled from Tibet to guard and retain their tradition and religion of which they are proud of even in Mundgod.

To conclude we may mention that this is precisely happening because the stay of the Tibetans in India is temporary, and whatever little adjustment they have made in their culture is just to survive till they achieve their final goal i.e., freedom of Tibet. From this point of view the transplantation of Tibetans into Indian culture, with traditional ties is cordial, and has provided them proper environment to adjust and has also helped them to continue to survive. If the Tibetans
intend to transplant themselves completely they can establish more deeper relations with the host society and flow into the national streams.