 CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Anthropology, the science of man, is the most comprehensive of the academic disciplines dealing with mankind both in its physical, and socio-cultural aspects. Anthropologists have always aimed at scientific study of man in the greater understanding of ourselves, and our society. Social Anthropology concerns understanding, and explaining the diversity of human behaviour by a comparative study of the social relationships and processes over a wide range of societies. Anthropology also deals with the problems of social reform. Therefore Anthropology has also its active role in the administration, and welfare of the people it studies.

The first intensive application of modern anthropological concepts, and techniques to administrative problems of governments was introduced by colonial administrators, and in U.S.A. by Mr. John Collier, Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Applied anthropology, a new branch which came into existence, aims at: (1) the knowledge, and understanding of human
ecology, and environment, economic, and social
organisation, law, and government; (2) the development
of qualities to fit men to live in the modern world, such
as personal judgement and initiative, freedom from fear
and superstition, sympathy and understanding from
different points of view; (3) spiritual, and moral
development, belief in ethical ideals, and the habit
of acting upon them, with the duty to examine traditional
standards of behaviour and to modify them to suit to
new conditions (Nettroux, 1955:332).

A state document on native administration in
East Africa shows how current anthropological studies
can help to solve many problems of the natives. Barnett
(1956:10) says that 'the considerations by many involve
not only early investigation but also continuous study
of all the institutions of the native communities, in
order that the action taken from time to time by the
local governments should be based upon adequate
knowledge of habits, and customs'. Anthropology, as
a science, in the past, was more interested in studyin
the dead man rather than the living one. Presently,
this tendency has changed. Interest has increased in
studying many more cultures which were not found by
easy means, if many tribes in many more areas of the world.

The anthropologist's field of study is the society. He deals with the immaterial relations of claim, and obligation, right, and duty, superiority and subordination that exist among individuals. A few anthropologists who have given special attention to the study of social change, and its influences, describe their work by the adjective 'applied' (Fair, 1957:10-11). Anthropology also has given a central place to the study of culture contact phenomena. It studies the groups living in primitive isolation, and the changing society. It advocated a study of the culture, and the process of cultural assimilation, and the human problems involved in it.

It is laudable for an anthropologist, says Evans Pritchard (1946:94), to investigate practical problems possibly. If he does so he must realize that he is no longer acting within the anthropological field; he will be in the non-scientific field of administration. Sol Tax (loc. cit. Barnett, 1936:33-34) says, an anthropologist can become an administrator or
the other way round. If the anthropologist or the so called administrator pursues research in terms of scientific problems then he is doing anthropological study. If he pursues them in terms of social or practical problems then he is not doing anthropology. Leighton (1946:666) says, applied social sciences can well be the meeting place of both science and practice as in clinical research .... Moreover, social theories can be reduced to working hypotheses leading to predictions that are testable by observation of subsequent events. Through such a series of steps, science as well as the techniques of application can be advanced. Anthropologists can also help administrators as advisors, and consultants.

Firth says that anthropologist’s knowledge can be best utilized not in prescribing policies but in calling attention to the possibly unforeseen implications of the policies proposed by governments (loc. cit. Fair, 1961:14). Anthropologists with their specific training in handling smaller groups can study and deal with the problems of a village or a tribal community. They understand the problems not in terms of common factors applicable to the humanity in general but they can concentrate in terms of the culture and traditions
of the particular community and within itself. In addition, the anthropologist has developed special techniques to explore, and record the manifestations of the life of the people of a particular group of community, and the rules and standards of which may differ from any other community in general.

To an administrator the application of political, social and economic problems, and policies as the existing problems in the society means not only the early investigation of these but also a continuous study of all the institutions of the native communities in order that the action taken from time to time by the local governments should be based upon adequate knowledge of the native habits, and customs. So anthropology is an intellectual equipment of officers in all the levels of administrative services in at least some of the countries of the world.

In the course of their understanding of relation between environment, and man — the society and culture, anthropologists have studied the influence of geographical environment on man's culture. Men are found everywhere on the earth but they differ from one another in their
mode of living, art, literature, belief system, social institutions, food habits, customs, law and social control, values and outlook on life all of which can be termed in total as culture. Here we can quote Malinowski (1944:36), who says 'culture is the integral whole consisting of implements and consumer's goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs'. Malinowski views culture in terms of vast apparatus; partly material, partly human and partly spiritual by which the man is able to cope up with the concrete specific problems that face him. He further understands culture as a means for new needs, and new imperatives imposed on human behaviour. So any change in these aspects will naturally interest an Anthropologist.

Firth (1951:27) understands culture as the "given way of life". Culture emphasizes the components of accumulated resources, immaterial as well as material, which the people inherit, employ, transmute, add to and transmit. As we have already discussed there is a close relation between the cultures and the social systems of a society. So anthropologists would like to study the influence of changed culture or a broken culture or the social system or even its waning.
There is a close relation between culture, and the social system in a society. Radcliffe-Brown (1952:191), defines a social system as "the total structure of a society together with the totality of social usages in which that structure appears and on which it depends for its continued existence." To him social usages mean morals, law, etiquette, religion, government, education and every kind of social phenomena which is a part of the complex mechanism by which social structure exists and persists (Ibid:196). Thus Radcliffe-Brown specifies culture in terms of social relations existing in the total structure of a society. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:198) say, "culture is an interesting variable between human organism and environment." Culture, according to Radcliffe-Brown, Kroeber and Kluckhohn, is a process by which, in a given social group or social class, learned ways of thinking, feeling and acting are transmitted from person to person and from one generation to the other. This is however subjected to the environmental conditions.

Anthropologists also study how each, and every individual's life and personality is moulded by the culture in which he is born or lives; through
enculturation. Each and every individual is bound by the cultural patterns in which he lives by the process of socialization or enculturation. In this way an individual who is a product of his culture will not have any difficulty in making a comfortable living in it. He will have been taught to adapt to the socio-cultural environment through his participation in socio-cultural activities during the enculturation process. However, there is always a gradual and a slow cultural change going on owing to such factors as evolution, diffusion, assimilation, acculturation etc. Cultural change may be from within or by the factors affecting from outside.

An applied anthropologist is also concerned with the change which takes place in the society he is interested. From Z. Vogt (1969:555) gives three general factors that can influence change in a given culture: First, any change in the ecological niche occupied by a society brings cultural change. Such a change may occur as a result of either: (a) natural environmental change or (b) the migration of a society from one ecological niche to another. How cultural adaptations are always required for survival in case of such shifts in ecological niche. Secondly, any contact between
two societies with different cultural pattern influence change in both societies. The diffusion or borrowing of cultural elements that occur also brings culture change.

Thirdly, any change occurring within a society also brings change. Rogers (1969:3-5) refers change brought by three factors: Invention—the process by which new ideas are created or developed; Diffusion—the process by which new ideas are communicated through a given social system and consequence—the change occurring within the system as a result of the adoption or rejection of the innovations. Rogers (1969:5) further gives two processes of change: (a) immanent change, when invention takes place within a given social system with little or no external influence being exerted; (b) contact change, is of two types: (1) selective change, which occurs when outsiders unintentionally or spontaneously communicate a new idea to members of a social system, who in turn select those ideas they wish to adopt; and (2) directed contact change, caused by outsiders who on their own or as representatives of programs of planned change, introduce new ideas in order to achieve definite goals. The culture which is the integral whole of the
material world, the values and norms, the ideas, beliefs, practices and the customs are transmitted from one generation to the next by the process of enculturation and the new needs and imperatives are fulfilled by the means of culture, thus serving as an intervening variable between the organism and environment. Thus the culture, and the environmental factors are both interrelated, and stand in relation to one another. The culture from one environmental or the ecological set up varies depending on the needs and the means of that people. A change in the environment brings the change in the culture with adopting new modifications or imperatives in the original cultural form to satisfy the means of adjustment by the processes namely, evolution, diffusion, assimilation, acculturation, cultural integration, etc. Thus depending upon the type of changes in the environment cultural change is brought with a gradual or a sudden effect.

Cultural change can also be explained in terms of acculturation. The use of the term acculturation refers interchangeably to diffusion, assimilation, borrowing and others. Acculturation was first legitimised in 1936 by a committee of the American
Social Science Research Council as follows: "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (loc. cit. Keesing and Keesing, 1971:332). Malinowski (1961:1) remarks that culture change may be induced by factors and forces spontaneously arising within the community, or it may take place through the contact of different cultures by independent invention or by diffusion. Fortes (1936:55) says culture contact has to be regarded not as a transferance of elements from one culture to another but as a continuous process of interaction between groups of different culture".

Acculturation is the process by which the exchange of cultural elements takes place on both sides. The term however, is sometimes replaced by assimilation. Assimilation is that form of acculturation which results in groups of individuals wholly replacing the original culture by another (Reals, 1959:627-628).

With all these factors affecting a culture, bringing in the factors of gradual or a slow process
of cultural change, an individual either readily accepts the new cultural factors to balance the culture with the neighbouring one or himself to survive in his own ecological set-up. Here since the individual accepts them readily, he does not feel any type of stress or strain. But removing a portion of the group from its original world of culture and society will completely cut off its relations with the total culture from which it derived moral, social and spiritual inspirations and support. This results in the disruption of the morale of the group, and affects its normal working. The people thus dislocated are called *uprooted people*. These uprooted people are not mentally, and physically prepared to face new ecological set-up, with a new culture at the place of the refuge, and face considerable strain. The resettlement of such uprooted people, in a different world of culture is known as *cultural transplantation*. This cultural transplantation results in the cultural factors to be assimilated between the two cultures — the host and the guest cultures. The ratio of the flow of cultural factors or the elements may vary depending on the nature of the cultures standing at an ecological set-up and the dominant culture is more apt to give
more of its cultural elements to the recessive one and itself may accept less cultural factors in return from it. The migration of the people from one ecological niche to the other and transplanting them into another cultural set-up will bring many changes in their culture.

Now let us consider what is migration and what are its different types and how it is different from going as refugees. Migration is defined by Eisenstadt (1954:1) as "physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning of one social setting and entering another and different one". Another definition is given by Mangalam (1969:5), who says, migration is "a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity called migrants from one geographical location to another preceded by decision making on the part of the migrants — on the basis of hierarchically ordered set of values, or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants".

As there are different types of migrations there are several reasons for migration.
may be voluntary or non-voluntary. The former may take place owing to (1) ambition for better opportunities of job, (2) hope of better future for the children and mainly for better economic opportunities. Deijor (loc. cit., Jackson, 1989:14) says that migration involves a complete change and adjustment, readjustment of the community affiliations of an individual. In this way we can say a voluntary immigrant is one who chooses his future home. There are some factors like pulls from outside and pushes from within which makes him to leave his original set up. He will be the master of his decision and he will also have time to think about it. Hence he plans his departure and can dispose of his belongings and bid good-bye from his relatives, and friends. Sometimes it is only a temporary shift, from one culture to another. Above all he will be mentally prepared to face all the strains he will encounter in his new cultural setting.

The other group of migrants are the non-voluntary migrants. They are the refugees or the displaced persons. The people thus dislocated are called uprooted people, since they have been pulled out from the soil or culture into which they were born.
Under this class we can include people who are the victims of politics, religion, war or national catastrophe or we can also include the people disturbed by natural calamities who were temporarily or permanently removed and rehabilitated in some other setting. Added to these are the people affected by deforestation, construction of hydro-electric dams, etc., which also made people to leave their traditional homeland.

We can specify these dislocated people as displaced persons and refugees. The displaced persons will have more problems, losses, etc., which makes them different from the voluntary migrants. These displaced persons, for example, who are affected by the natural calamities, will have certainly lost their property, dearer and nearer ones and in most of the cases their traditional homeland also. Their rehabilitation, however, will be done in their own cultural context, and by their own people. The problems of the refugees on the other hand, will be still more special, complicated and interesting from the point of view of an anthropologist.

Following the usual national, and international legal norms the jurist's definition of an international
refugee will have two main elements: (a) they are persons or categories of persons who have left the territory, the state of which they were nationals and (b) the events preceding a person's becoming a refugee are connected with the relation between the state and also the nationals (Vermontant, 1953:ff). In the similar vein Saksena (1961:3) defines a refugee as — 'a person who would not like to migrate from his homeland but for reasons beyond his control, political, religious and economic, that might have rendered his life unbearable and unlivable'. We have to note the following things about the refugees: (i) They did not have their society and culture on their own like the immigrants, (ii) their place of origin and the practices of worship are disturbed and, (iii) their rehabilitation will be made in a different society and culture by receiving grants from different societies.

Sir John Rose Simpson (loc. cit. Saksena, 1961:2) described a refugee as one who "finds himself deprived of legal protection, and mutual support, the access to employment, and the measure of freedom of movement. The refugee is one who has left his country of regular residence as a result of political or the religious events in that country, is forced to take
refuge in another country. He can not return to his country of origin without a danger to his life or liberty as a result of the direct consequences of the existing conditions there."

The involuntary or the forced migration dislocates social life, splits families and disorganizes community life of refugees. Refugee migrants are always anxious about the safety of their relatives in the motherland. Many separated families do not know the fate of other kins and this leads to psychological problems. Sometimes this may lead to serious repercussions on their adjustment to the new culture and ecological setting.

Refugees, being a different group both culturally and socially are segregated from the host society for some time till they settle well socio-culturally and economically. Total acceptance of the 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 to others. Owing to scarcity of good food or earning opportunities inside the camp, the refugees may go out of the settlement and compete with the local people. Further their special status as refugees or foreigners may be misused by the local people or by themselves, for personal benefits. To avoid all these problems, the refugees may be asked to confine to a particular area. These restrictions, sometimes, may create psychological problems to the refugees.

Change in the climatic and ecological factors for the refugees owing to shift from their place of origin, may also bring problems in adjusting to the new climatic conditions, soil, water, food, and its quality and quantity, change in the quality of work, housing patterns and recreational facilities. This restricted life may lead to frustration and further
loss of their original culture. This disturbance may also destroy many of their original beliefs and culture. Their life in another culture may also become inefficient, demanding, and less creative.

Applied anthropologists also suggest ways and means for the assimilation of people to solve their miseries. These remedies will not be universally applicable and depend on the situation and people involved. Here we can take up Eisenstadt's indices of full absorption (1954:11-13). These are of three fold: (1) acculturation, i.e., the learning of new roles, norms and customs and the internationalization of these new patterns of behaviour; (2) personal adjustment so that there will be few or no indices of personal disorganization like delinquency, crime or mental illness; and; (3) institutional dispersion i.e., immigrants are not concentrated in one sector of the economic, political, ecological or cultural spheres and hence cease to have a separate identity within the new social structure. Gordon (1954:7) gives seven basic sub-processes in the assimilation of a group. They are: (1) change in cultural patterns; (2) complete entry into the social structure through the primary group relations with the host society; (3) inter-marriage;
(4) development of ethnicity with the host society; (5) a lack of discriminatory behaviour by the hosts to the new groups; and (7) lack of conflict with the host society. This results out of the adaptation of the host society and its culture resulting in the evolving of a new culture. Still the cultural pluralism allows for the preserving of communal identities.

For a refugee to move from one social system to another means acquiring training to enter into new network of groups, and norms. In the long run adjustment implies loss of new group identity since they may become indistinguishable from their hosts. This is accomplished through a process of increasing conformity to the latter's norms and cultural patterns. The extent to which the group will in fact become invisible depends not only on members of the group but also on the extent to which the host society demands complete conformity or tolerates differential cultural patterning.

Ultimately, the adoption of the cultural patterning by the refugee society leads to its adjustment
with the host society in the given cultural set-up. Entry of the refugee society into the economic system is often accompanied by considerable downward mobility. As refugees have little choice, they are forced to accept jobs at a lower status level than those they have been accustomed to. This downward mobility produces frustration and tends to show up in the other aspects of the migration. Entry in the social system of the host society by refugee is also one of the important factors. This may take place by the working situation with members of the host society, which may be limited to the formal, instrumental relationship, and may provide little overlap with the more informal spheres. Other criteria of adjustment that may have been used are knowledge of the host society's language, and culture, social relationship, membership in host groups, satisfaction with the host society and identification with and conformity to the norms and patterns of the host country, weakening of the traditional group patterns, adoption of membership in the host society in the form of practices like clothing, food habits, recreation etc. The immigrant has to learn the local language to gain a livelihood. He also has to adopt to few cultural, economic and geographical factors in the given cultural set up of the host society.
The removal of a portion of a society from its original world of culture, and rehabilitating it amidst a different culture brings many stresses and strains to its people. This is the situation under which the Tibetan refugees are living in Mundgod. Tibetans who belong to a different world of culture were forcibly sent out of their country. The action was more sudden in nature and the refugees were not prepared to face the drastic situation. This study aims at understanding the background of those Tibetan refugees, their rehabilitation, stresses and strains they face or faced as refugees in Mundgod.

Refugees and Society:

Man's story in large measure is the story of wanderings. Man migrated from one place to another in all the periods of time. Man is found to have been affected by the factors of pushes, and pulls at a certain region in which he lives forcing him to migrate from one place to another in search of better opportunities of life. When this movement becomes a forced one and a large scale one, it creates problems to the migrants as well as to their hosts. Moreover such a problem to a greater mass of human beings is viewed
as an international problem and world bodies such as League of Nations and later United Nations Organisation have done their best to solve the problem. The political history of the world has many such instances to its credit. Wars, racial and religious movements have left people who do not belong to the revolted group in danger. Here is a short history of such refugees and their rehabilitation.

Refugees Expelled by Political Authorities:

Between 1912 and 1923, Greece was continuously at war leading to many changes in the boundaries of Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia and other adjoining states, resulting into the expulsion of 1,000,000 Greek population to flee to Greece. It also led to a compulsory transfer to Greece of the surviving 1,000,000 Greeks in Asia Minor and also a compulsory transfer of the 3,000,000 strong Turkish minority in Greek Macedonia to Turkey.

During world war II and afterwards, many peoples in Eastern and Central Europe such as Bulgarians, Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Russians, White Russians, Germans, Poles, Hungarians and others, were
thus exchanged. In 1946, Hungary and Czechoslovakia agreed on a voluntary exchange of their respective ethnic minorities involving the transfer of 31,000 Magyars to Hungary and of 33,000 Slovaks to Czechoslovakia.

The refugees of politically motivated nature are occurring intermittently. The Russian revolution in October 1917, and the post revolutionary civil war resulted in the expulsion of 1,50,000 refugees, scattered throughout France, Germany, Poland and the Baltic states, parts of the Far East and the Balkan countries. More than a million Armenians fled from Turkish Asia Minor to Russia, the Middle East, the Balkan states and North and South America between 1915 and 1923. Following the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, about 2,03,000 Hungarians fled the country. Between 1945 and 1961 during the rule of communist regime a total of 3,70,000 political refugees from East Germany found asylum in West Germany.

When People's Republic of China was established in 1949 some 2,00,000 Chinese remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's army and civilians escaped to the island of Taiwan. The take over of Tibet by People's Republic of China in 1959 resulted in the flight to India, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal and Laos of 76,000 or more Tibetan refugees.
Many became refugees owing to religious and racial intolerance. In the 1930s, as a result of anti-Jewish policies, in all 4,00,000 Jewish refugees fled from Germany proper, Austria and Sudetenland. More than 50,000 Jewish refugees from Yemen were transported to Israel in 1949-50; 7,700 Jews of Aden fled to Israel; 1,25,000 Jewish refugees were lifted from Iraq to Israel in 1950-51. There are also many incidences of refugee movements caused by the partition of existing territorial entities. Nearly 1,05,00,000 German population were made to get away from Germany and were placed under Polish and Soviet administration. The 1,65,000 of ethnic Germans and 1,80,000 of Yugoslavian refugees were put in West and East Germany. The partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947, resulted in the two way flight of 1,80,00,000 Hindus from Pakistan and Muslims from India.

In 1921 Fridtjof Nansen of Norway was appointed by the League of Nations as High Commissioner for Russian and Armenian refugees and he devised a so-called League of Nations passport (Nansen passport), a travel document recognised by 53 states. After his death in 1930 the protection of refugees was entrusted by the League to Nansen International Office for Refugees.
established as an autonomous body in 1930. However, the efforts were fruitless owing to non-cooperation by various governments.

In 1932 a conference was called under the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, and formed an Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR). Even these efforts became fruitless. In 1943, a conference of 44 nations was called and a committee called United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was formed. In 1947 a new and nonpermanent specialized agency of the United Nations, the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) was created. It worked until 1952. While it was still housed in Europe, there were refugees to be rehabilitated. At the initiative of the United States a group of 16 nations met in Brussels in December, 1952 and set up the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM). By 1971 the number of sponsoring agencies reached to 31, and was successful to move 17,76,000 European refugees to resettlement countries. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established to ensure the legal and political protection to refugees, and to promote permanent solutions to their problems.
UNHCR is enabling the refugees to freely choose to return voluntarily to his country of origin, or to remain permanently in the country of first asylum or to settle in another country depending on the possibilities made available by governments. The United Nations General Assembly established two more relief agencies — the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) and United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA). There are also many non-governmental, and voluntary agencies working for the solution of refugees.

Besides, the relief activities, a number of researches have also been done to understand the problems the refugees and their rehabilitators face. Our study on the Tibetan refugees is one such attempt of fact finding. Anthropologists have already studied and helped successfully to rehabilitate uprooted people such as the Bikinis of Pacific. The exiled native of Bikini in the Marshall Islands (Barrett, 1953:151-154) faced many difficulties in adjusting and settling well in their new place of rehabilitation. An emergency investigation of its causes and recommendations for its relief by an anthropologist took place in the early 1948.
The study includes observations on the physiographic structure of the island, its water supply, its vegetation, and its food resources and their utilisation. Thus a detailed investigation was conducted on the community organisation, important personalities, work organisation, patterns of land use, the use of resources of the island and their utilisation, agricultural and livestock production, commercial activities and attitudes.

The study included the historical survey of events. The attitudes of the Bikinis towards the local population, and vice-versa were also studied. Emphasis was given to the study of the economic set-up of the Bikinis in the island depending upon the type of land they have been provided with, the agricultural operations carried out — traditional or the modern ones, size of land allotted to the individual families, the utilisation of their resources from their lands, etc.

Very recently a study of Mundgod Tibetans has been made by Palakshappa, an Indian Sociologist (1970). This study made using schedules and interview techniques, with the help of both Indian and Tibetan investigators, present both the inside and outside views of the problem.
Though this study is sociological and lacks depth, and details of the Tibetan society and culture, its stresses and strains faced by the refugees, it has its own contribution to make for our understanding of the refugees, their rehabilitation, aspirations and so on.

In the light of these and other studies made on refugees, voluntary migrants, displaced persons etc., this study of the Tibetan refugees settled in Mundgod is made.

METHODOLOGY

Aims of the Study:

The three broad aims of the study are to understand: (i) the cultural background of the Tibetans, (ii) the individual and group adjustment and (iii) the process of rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees at Mundgod and the problems involved in this. The uprooted people will have difficulties in adjusting to the new socio-cultural environment. Since this environmental adjustment brings many social, psychological and physical
problems, the aim will be to understand the stress and strain the Tibetan refugees are having in settling in the new environment. The Tibetans cannot adjust better to the new life as long as they are not received well by the local population. Further the Tibetans who look different racially and speak a different language may not freely mingle with the local population. In due course these situations may bring problems to the Tibetan as well as the local population. This type of situation is understood through studying the opinions and attitudes of the administrators, school teachers and the local population towards the refugees. Further the effect of the Indian culture on the refugees and the dynamics of social and cultural changes will be studied. Thus the acculturation in terms of intensity of contacts with alien cultures, factors affecting cultural receptivity, instances of culture borrowing, the modifications of introduced elements in their socio-cultural trends is studied.

Hypothesis

The study has the following hypothesis to test:

1. Any group disturbed in its physical or socio-cultural setting gains its normalcy as early as possible, and through adjustments.
(2) Uprooted group survives in their new home on some hope — faith or a leader, and this not only lessens their stress and strain but also unites them to achieve their goal.

(3) The rehabilitation personnel and programmes may be good, and effective but the temporary stay of the rehabilitated group makes the programme incomplete.

(4) The success of any transplantation programme depends upon the acceptance of refugees and the host population, and in Hundgod settlement this type of mutual acceptance is lacking.

(5) The change which occurs in the refugee group brings conflict between the younger and older age groups, because the old want to retain the traditional order and the young want to be away from that.

Scope of the Study:

The present study is confined to the "Bhetra refugees at Hundgod settlement. Here again to study the diverse populations is a difficult task. So the lame and infirm people are excluded from this study.
and only the common groups are selected. Here again, the problems involved in the socio-cultural, and religious fields are our focus of our study, especially in relationship with stresses and strains faced by the Tibetans. The Tandgod settlement was selected for our study for three reasons. First the settlement was nearer to our place of stay, and can be conveniently reached. Secondly the Tibetan population settled here has the appropriate size for the research capacities of one person. Thirdly the settlement was comparatively recent and the problems faced by the refugees were still visible.

The actual fieldwork to collect data needed, was conducted during the investigator's stay in the Settlement from November 1976 to March 1977 and from July 1977 to October 1977. However several brief visits were made earlier and after these stays, to the Settlement and the Tibetan Refugee Rehabilitation Scheme No. II (TRRS.II) office, to collect preliminary data. With these preliminary visits and the library reading a census schedule was prepared. During the first visit a house to house census was taken using this schedule. Simultaneously general information about the Tibetans
was collected when available and found essential. During the later visits a detailed study of the Tibetan society and culture was conducted with the help of depth interview schedule. Both the schedules were thoroughly pre-tested before use. The census schedule helped to get information on the religion, caste, and class status, economic and political status, size of the family, places from which they came from Tibet, the year they left Tibet, information regarding their stay in transit camps and so on. Suitable persons were also interviewed for general and particular information. A suitable number of case studies were also conducted to get deeper perspective of the situations faced by the refugees.

During the field work the researcher lived in the settlement taking up a room in one of the Tibetan villages. At first the representative of His Holiness Dalai Lama in the settlement, introduced him to a few Tibetan leaders, both religious and socio-political and requested them to help him in his work. After a few day's stay the researcher was able to acquaint with the people and their settlement. Later he also began to visit other villages. During his first visit to these villages he carried a letter of introduction from the
representative of H.H. the Dalai Lama to the village leaders. The earlier reactions of the Tibetans towards the researcher were of suspicion. Gradually they changed, and later they were proud of him since he proposed to eat, and live with them and understand their society and culture. By the time the actual census work was started he had the fullest cooperation from the Tibetans.

As an invitee the researcher visited Tibetan families to observe the religious ceremonies and festivals. There he observed the rituals they performed and also noted the significances of these rituals through key informants who knew Tibetan as well as English or Hindi. Many times he was forced to eat, drink and dance with them when he went to their houses to collect data. This type of a more personal relation helped him to establish a good rapport with the Tibetans. Apart from these a few surprise visits were also made by him to the families to note the actual situations and check his data.

After census taking the researcher returned to Dharwad to tabulate the data and also to give a break to his contacts with field. For tabulation he
used the coding and decoding technique. The data obtained from the census taking helped the researcher to prepare the schedule for depth interviewing of selected informants. The questions in it were on all walks of life both here and in Tibet.

For the depth interview twenty informants were selected giving equal representation to age, sex, class and provincial groups. Adequate care was taken to select informants depending upon their knowledge and contacts with outsiders. The schedule had 14 sections namely, settlement, social organization, leadership, economic organization, material culture, education, religion, health and hygiene, food and food habits, dress and ornaments, leisure and recreation, interaction with Indians and future; and 105 questions which were both open and close ended. In an average, it took six to eight hours in two or three sittings to interview an informant. The informants talked freely even though the information given by them was recorded and a few questions were asked to recollect their past life. The Tibetans by now have also learnt Hindi and Kannada and can converse fluently in the new tongues. The difficulty in the beginning was only with those
informants who know only Tibetan. For some time in the beginning the researcher took the help of an interpreter, a Tibetan, when he interviewed the older age sets. Within 2 to 3 months he could learn Tibetan language and converse with the Tibetans fluently in their own language, without the need of the interpreter. Extensive field notes were produced and this was essential since among many things, especially the Tibetan language was new to the researcher. The data thus collected is analysed and arranged along anthropological lines. The data is presented in an essay form with relevant tables, charts and cases to support the conclusions.