Theoretical Background
The previous chapter was introductory which put forward the statement of problem, aims and objectives, major hypothesis, data sources and methodology, introduction to study area, scope and limitations and organizational frame work. McLeod Ganj, the capital of Tibetan Government in exile for last five decades has been the centre of International Politics and the study tries to analyze the spatio-temporal changes taking place at McLeod Ganj.

The present chapter focuses on theoretical background highlighting the concept of social space, its evolution in India, Social and Transnational space as planning unit, the concept of transnational space, transnationalism in India and its consequences in McLeod Ganj.

2.1 CONCEPT OF SOCIAL SPACE

For long, Geography remained a subject of curiosity and voyages and geographers were explorers and surveyors. In this open field, geographers very often appear ambitious and crazy too. If not crazy, what else they can be when they fondly claim that Geography is the mother of all sciences (or studies?). The discipline itself has traditionally been vaguely defined as the study of human beings with reference to Earth. Concepts of space have now become really the focal point of Geography, and locations, distances and interactions have become the building blocks for theories in Geography. Geographic space may be a physical or quantitative construct. In titled sense, geographic space refers to an extent of area occupied by physical reality or activity.

Space is not an empirical but formal and classificatory concept. It is a frame for the physical components of actions and a grammalogue for problems and possibilities related to the performance of action in the physical world.

Globalization has however, turned most societies upside down. Horizontal linkages seem dominant in most societies today. This forms a basis
for the spatial science aspect of geography. Relative space (the location of and
distance between, difference phenomena in the structure) became the focus of investigation.

If there is no human being, what is the need for Geographic space? Only
the presence of human beings brings meaning or sense to Geographic space. Human beings for various reasons live in groups, in social groups and not as individuals in isolation. As said objects they are raised in cultural environment characterized by a set of values, morals, beliefs, traditions and goals.

Social geography is a sub-division of human geography and the pace of its development is very slow. The slow development of the field is because of its early identification with environmental determinism. The reasons for its being obscured in the past do not mean that this discipline has no potential in being developed into one parallel with economic, political or population geography.

The concept of social space was first used by the famous sociologist, Emile Dukheim, who identified what he called, “Social Morphology” which evolved purely as a result of group interaction independent of the physical environment.

Traditionally, geography has taken a special interest in space. We accept the idea that due to interactions between human groups within a community and between members of the community and their physical environment there must have been created a social “milieus” or the “personality” of the area, or one which may be called the social environment. Following this, the meaning of space to the occupants must have a special connotation, a special connotation which is related to the perception of space by the occupants. According to Sorre, social space has the three geographic characteristics of shape, localization and division as any geographical space in general. As noted by Buttimer, social space also represents a network of special relations like for
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e.g., an economic or a geodetic space, but different in nature and dimension in
that the unique features of a social space arise from its psychic components. The characteristics of any social space are, therefore, largely determined by the
perception of space held by particular social groups.

Social space can also be viewed as a synthesis of real and perceived
dimensions of space. The perceived (subjective) components of space is
embodied in the distribution of fundamental social groups, for instance
religious, ethnic or social groups while the real (objective) component is the
concrete natural geographic setting.

Another scholar who contributed to socio geographic studies by using
the concept of social space is Chombart de Lauwe. His conception of an urban
social space as a hierarchy of spaces ranging from the familial space to the
regional social space reminds one of Christallers Central Place Theory. Within
the hierarchy of space, groups live, move and interact. At the base, where the
social interaction is at the domestic level, is what he termed “familial space”.
Beyond the domestic level of social interaction comes next the “neighbourhood
space” in which the network of relation embraced daily and local movements.
The “economic space” was referred to the space which encompasses a number
of employment centres.

“Space” may take many different significations of which, however, two
are paramount for human geography. Space as a part of the world with specific
characteristics and with activities located in or on it and space as a frame of
reference, used to locate and thereby order the relations among persons, things,
activities and immaterial items. Space is a constitutive element of the
reproduction of the social and is not something external to the social.

Scientists and philosophers conceive of space in manifold ways and
operate with a variety of notions of space. So do all people in their everyday
practices. Within the heterogeneity of academic approaches to space (e.g.
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Crang and Thrift, (2000); Curry, (1996); Marisch and Herber, (2002); Miggelbrink, (2002); Reichert, (1996); Simonson, (1996); laterlen, (1995) one may distinguish between two particular perspectives, which imply two different ideal -types of space:

1) What one might call the traditional or mainstream understanding of space in social sciences and humanities, takes space as a part of the surface of the earth. Space is regarded as an object that has structures, facture and qualities and on which or in which activities and events may take place.

2) From point of view, space allows locating items; it is a frame of reference that provides a variety of positions. This space is a cognitive scheme with which observers constitute objects and their qualities.

Space as object and space as locational scheme embody two basic representational epistemological functions; the first notion denotes a set of related entities and it is a bearer of qualities. The function of the second notion is to offer possibilities of distinction.

When geographers refer to space they often fail to distinguish strictly between space as an object beside others an space as a basic locational scheme. If geographers want to rely on space or on spatiality as a foundational concept for their discipline- in analogy to “time” for history it is to their advantage to operate with a notion of space as locational scheme and to be very explicit about it.

Thrift claims that space is the outcome of series of highly problematic temporary settlements that deride and connect things up into different kinds of collectives which are slowly provided with the means which render them durable and sustainable.

Zierhofer (1932) says that traditional geography took space as a container, as a cause and as a consequence of activities, if human geography is
supposed to be a real human or social science, it has to develop its theory focusing in human activities; instead of focusing as space.

In general, social theory conceives of the social as a self constituted and quite autonomous sphere. Because space is so often paralleled with corporeality in the first instance, the social and the spatial are treated like two related but specifically independent spheres. While in some form space is always given to the society first, social activities take place in space and thereby shape it. Taking space as a frame of reference that informs and guides activities, however, implies giving up the traditional separation of society and space.

On one hand, spaces as ordering schemes inform and structure interactions among human beings and with their environment – spaces these constitute society. On the other hand, all interactions are cognitive processes, which reproduce or alter the involved ordering schemes – society thus constitutes spaces.

When the traditional understanding is social science and geography was that social life takes place is space, the question is now how spaces come into existence through social life. This requires an answer which has to be more and something else than a history of notions of space or of spatial imaginations. The answer offered here radicalizes the contingency of space by regarding space as a constitutive element of the reproduction of the social without placing it outside the social.

State and Space in Modernity

Spaces inform actions: But at the same time they are also outcomes of actions. Although granting all forms of interactions a constitutive role for spaces, their contributions and their influence may vary considerably. Moreover, although social life is basically a global network, within this network some institutions
are co-ordinating activities in their interior and by limiting exchange with their environment. Like no other institution, the state is constructed and equipped to determine frame conditions for other institutions.

By operating with certain spaces, the state and its administrative bodies constitute many entities. These spaces not only constitute hierarchical and functional orders, but also the items that fill these orders with life.

The state creates spaces for certain purposes only one of which is to let social life take place in a physical space in order to control it.

Hence, it may be concluded that "space" is an expression with a broad spectrum of meanings and functions. With respect to human geography, however, two of them are of paramount importance: space as a part of the world that has specific features and in which certain activities take place; and space as a frame of reference to locate persons, activities and other entities.

2.2 EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL SPACE IN INDIA

Perhaps India is one of the ideal federal states with multi-sub-social, religious, tribal, casteist, linguistic and dialectical groups for that offer interesting and challenging themes and issues for in-depth studies in social geography. Along with these diversities, Indian population is at large rural, agricultural, traditional, conservative and poor.

The concept of social space started in India in 1970's but then the social geographic studies were a part of regional geography, human geography, settlement geography, urban geography or even cultural geography. These studies emphasized on village or urban morphological characteristics and analyzed social areas based on religion, caste, occupation and socio-economic classes. The other studies were on caste based artisans and their role in society, caste and social interaction and relative particularly with reference to marriage alliances. The religious caste and linguistic groups are expressed in their social
organization and well reflected in the spatial pattern of rural settlements and urban development in India. The systematic study of the levels of education by rural-urban, male-female, religious, caste and tribal groups have been made by several geographers. (Sopher, (1980); Gosal, (1982); Gopal Krishan, (1977); Madusudan Rao, (1980); Dutta, (1982); Bahadur and Ahmad (1981); Khandekar, (1980); Dhanpal and Ahmad; K.N. Singh, (1993)).

The factorial ecology of Calcutta has been studied on the basis of residential differentiation of the urban population (Berry, (1969)). Caste and urban house type (Hirt, (1982)), traditional methods of medicine (Bhardwaj, (1975)), role of education in the process of social change (Bhatnagar, (1972)) have been studies. The other important current themes in social geography are social infrastructure facilities, their locational pattern and analysis, levels of living and well being, nutrition, health, behaviour, disease pattern and environmental factors, tribal medicine, health care, delivery systems, level of education in the process of industrialization, social tension, conflicts, violence and crime, social transformation issues and problems.

Race is one of the major global biological characteristics of population to understand the regional societies. The contemporary ethnic distributions, evidence of blood groups on the racial composition of India’s population were studied by Mehdi Raza (1977, 1975, 1999) Parishbaroppathi (1892) published a paper on changes in the social and religious customs and practices of Syrian Christians due to spread of modern ideology mainly through education. Susan visvanetha (1999) in her book, The Christianity of Kerala made an attempt to understand the practice of Christianity in small neighbourhood in Kottyam. She explored how Christians perceive the past to which they are inextricably bound by their identity. Susan Beayly (1989) studied the social space of Muslims and Christians in south Indian society. In study describes the social and religious practices and the changes brought out by the Portuguese and British intervention.
The organization of space in tribal regions can be seen as a manifestation of the ways of adaptation to the environmental setting as determined by the historical process of traditional habitats and living in a homogenous clean with kinship groups; Over the time and as a result of their hamlets acquired the character of a monolithic tribal core region. The placement of tribes in spatial segments may be an outcome of a social history of contract, confrontation and contestation between the ethnically differentiated tribes and between them who hasten the process of their displacement from the river valleys in the course of the colonization of the riverine tracts.

The society is made up of elements down from diverse origins. Within the population of India are subsumed tribes no- lees than there hundred ethnically differentiated communities-caste groups, language and religious groups displaying striping cultures. There are differences in racial stands and ethnic and cultural identities are strongly defined. Almost all religions from tribal forms of animism and totemism to Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Sikhism have their followers in different proportions. The social diversity is perhaps the most powerful manifestation of Indian identity.

The social groups in the diverse ethnic origins, representing social stocks from proto australoids and Mongoloids to the different branches of the Mediterranean’s western Bachycephelic groups and the Nordics, found a place for themselves at different points of time adapting themselves to the different ecological niches offered by the physiographic and the climatic setting of the subcontinent. There are strongly defined tribal identities based on ethnic origins. The tribal population includes within its folds hundreds of large and small ethnic groups from the Santhals, Gonds and Bhils to the Mundas, Oraons, characterized by heterogeneity of a very high order. Their geographic patterning in the Indian space in itself posed serious problems in the administration of tribal affairs.
The Indian society is changing fast in terms of its characteristics due to internal policies and processes and also on account of our increased international participation. The internal policies include agrarian reforms, population and urbanization, privatization, globalization and modernization through technological charges. These have influenced the living conditions, attitude, behaviour, value system of people including the type of family and intra and inter family relations. The technological revolution especially in transportation and communication has brought in the changes in the nature, mode and intensity of interaction and relation. The concept of physics distance and social distance have changed drastically and need to be reviewed. The influence of information technology on attitude. The influence of information technology on attitude, behaviour and value system needs to be understood. The new social order is emerging on account of industrialization, migration, urbanization, modernization and globalization process.

The traditional familialism has given way to careerism and more so to consumerism and in the process the family type, size, occupation, income, values, norms and social structure have changed radically due to the widespread introduction of user friendly technology.

Certain studies have been carried out in India on social space. Karthik Rao and Cavale in September, 2010 have studied the social space in the local trains of Mumbai. The study named as Transit as a social space includes that air-conditioning transit is a wasteful avoidable expenditure that adds little to the comfort of the commuter and that city planners should instead seek to reduce crowding in transit by increasing the frequency of the service. He has explained the way in which the commuters travel during the peak hours in the morning. One compartment carries all; Gujratis, Tamils Uttar Pradesh’s, Marathis and from other corners of the country. They all make space for each other on their laps and have their breakfast together. They unwrap their contribution in the cramped space of the compartment. The groups pass their
hour agreeably, telling jokes, playing cards or singing or sometimes with castanets on their fingers. They sing nationalistic and anti-Muslim songs very well. There are others who specialize in Bhajans and call-and response chanting. The trains just seem to be a hive of industry. Women sell various articles and others who chop vegetables for the family dinner they are going to cook immediately on reaching home. Hence these spaces can be defined as spaces of social interaction.

Another study was carried out on the space of social enterprise in India. According to this study this social enterprise space is alive and well in India. The study refers to the Sankalp Forum hosted by Intellecap in Mumbai. This forum focused on the “Four 5 & of social Enterprise” i.e. Social, small, sustainable & scale Sankalp was not a typical conference it was also a social enterprise investment forum.

One more study was carried on the outcasts in India. It was about creating new spaces for social outcasts in India. In a small but significant departure from tradition, dalit women, sex workers and transgender are being engaged in managing restaurants and coffee shops in India. Considered as untouchables and social outcasts, these groups are now presented with opportunities to try out new professions.

It was discovered that food is a good livelihood option that managed to take on a political character, serving as a means to make a statement, empower the disempowered and make a huge difference to the lives of the people in particular especially the outcasts.

If we work among or even merely read the reports on the currents status of adivasis, dalits, sanitation workers or street children they seem pretty bleak and hopeless. Nevertheless, change has happened. A project was started with the young girls from the Safai Karamchari community, the ones at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. In Ahmedabad, it was decided that only the young girls
from this particular community will be allowed to be new cooks in the office canteen and anyone who harbours feelings of untouchability, notions of impunity should not work in the office or in the social sector. This instilled an idea of providing social space in general to the ones from the backward classes.

Similarly the caste barriers were broken in the La Boulangeri School in Chennai where the dalit boys were trained the French way. Today their products are bought by five – star hotels and Chennai’s more discerning frodies. The job went so well that these boys were invited to bake and cook in Paris for the French! Hence its evident from the above studies that social space does exist in India and its changing with the new trends and developments taking place across the social sector.

2.3 SOCIAL AND TRANSNATIONAL SPACE-AS A PLANNING UNIT

Space is constituted out of social selection. Socially produced spaces are referred to as ‘spatiality’ and ‘the production of space’ is a social process rooted in the same problem as the making of history. Social relations and individual actions and space in turn rebound back on social relations. Socially produces space assumes a relativist understanding of space in which the relative positions of actors matter.

In recent decades, space in general and relativist understandings of space in particular have become important concepts in the social sciences beyond the discipline of geography and new relativist concepts of space have been developed. The concept of ‘space of flows is important and the term was coined because today sour societies are fundamentally made of flows exchanged through network of organizations and institutions. The concept of the ‘space of flows’ hints at the increased inter connectivity between places and a large number of density of global flows and questions the importance of territorial boundaries such as those of nation states.
Migration is one of the most consequential special behaviour of individuals and it provides an excellent demonstration of the changing uses and the social construction of space.

Transnational social spaces are configurations of social practices, artifacts and symbol systems that span different geographic spaces in at least two nation states without constituting a new different ‘deterritorialized’ nation state. The transnational spaces created by migrants and their in are physically manifest in geographic space. Transnationalism is a social movement grown out of the heightened interconnectivity between people and the loosening of boundaries between countries. It can also be defined as an economic process that involves the global reorganization of the production process, in which various stages of the production of any product can occur in various countries. The proponents of transnationalism seek to facilitate the flow of people, ideas and goods between regions. It also designates a recent shift in migration patterns.

Transnational social spaces do not have to be shared by the entirety of the members of population groups residing within or moving through the territories of sovereign states. Neither do they necessarily form spatial bases for collective identities nor are they in need of an established hierarchy.

Foremost among the many difficulties that transnational social spaces offer to social scientists, is the challenge that these entities pose to some of the more fundamental assumptions on which social science work rests. Transnational social spaces do not support institutions that can generate data, thereby obfuscating if not straightforwardly obstructing social science analysis. Still it is considered that transnationalism is directly linked to development through various networks. Development is embedded in networks that extend across space and time. Transnational development networks are geographically extensive e.g. London The Hague, Nairobi and Kenyon villages are also
institutional in that they connect the governments, non-profit making organizations, sport clubs, student movements, political parties, religious orders and village governance structures. The assemblage of ideas, commitments, social relationships and institutions in these networks change over time and in different contexts. The language of networks and flows can be helpful for conceptualizing development more specifically development geography. The development networks might be useful for exploring social relations and interactions over time and across space.

A new approach in Transnationalism called New Transnational social spaces has emerged recently. Everyday life and social structures increasingly span long distances and several places. Following the major globalization debates of the last few decades, transnationalism is now one of the most important and promising approaches at the beginning of the twenty first century. Transnationalism maintains a global view, but allows for empirical analysis of coherent social, political, economic and cultural phenomena that span different “Container Societies”. It permits the re-entry of social groups and social movements in the efforts to explain the ongoing changes which people, institutions and countries are experiencing today.

The focus on transnational social spaces represents a macro-embedded, meso and micro level approach. New Transnational Social Spaces conceptualizes the contemporary relationship between the social and the spatial which was emerged with new communication and transportation technologies, alongside the massive transnational movement of people. Terms such as globalization, virtual reality, cyber space or tele-management indicate that the reciprocal exclusivity of geographic and social space is changing in two ways: first, different social spaces with no previous geographic overlap or relationship to one another can become stacked” within one and the same geographic space; second; one social space can now expand over several geographic spaces.
Transnational social spaces are local, durable and dense configurations of social practices, systems of symbols and artifacts that span places in different countries. This important cutting edge volume brings together completely up-to-date theoretical and empirical research, focusing on international migration and international business. It reveals new social and political challenges for social scientists as well as for politicians and other professional practitioners.

Transnational mobility also leads to the production of spaces of knowledge. These movements of academics shape the production and dissemination of knowledge and thus the geographies of contemporary knowledge economies. A complex relationship between knowledge production and spatial movements can be explored by looking at the ways in which geographical patterns, motivations for and outcomes of transnational academic mobility vary among different countries.

Transnational academic mobility is not only shaped by a variety of inferences that constitute society, academia and the individual but also by varying spatial relations of different research practices which help to explain different cultures of academic mobility and collaboration. The responses of researches from different countries expose some of the ways in which national research contexts provide different settings for academic work and mobility. They reveal that cultural and geographical proximity and distance continue to shape international academic exchange and enable the identification of different national academic cultures around the globe that are also influenced by large socio economic disparities.

**2.4 CONCEPT OF TRAN NATIONAL SPACE**

Scholars of migration and migrant adaptation have increasingly used the term 'trans nationalism to describe the experience of international migrants in the last decade of the 20th century. According to three pioneers in trans
nationalism studies, Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton-Blance, “transnationalism is a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities.. Create social fields that cross national boundaries.”

Migrant trans-nationalism is a complex phenomenon which varies from community to community and over time. Typologies of transnational flows and their regularity and intensity provide tools to compare different transnational communities. An understanding of the spatial organization of trans nationalism provides another powerful tool for comparisons between different communities.

Migration, as one of the most consequential special behaviour of individuals, provides an excellent demonstration of the changing uses and the social construction of space. In the past, migration was largely conceptualized as a bi polar relation between sending and receiving countries and the post-migration situation was perceived as being localized in the new country of residence. The existence of trans-national communities however, implies that, after the initial movement, trans-national spaces are created between migrants and their kin that transcend the boundaries of nation-states.

Trans-national social spaces are ‘configurations of social practices, artifacts and symbol systems that span different geographic spaces in at least two nation-states without constituting a new different ‘deterritorialised’ nation-state.

The trans-national spaces created by migrants and their kin are physically manifest in geographic space. Migrant trans-national spaces are constituted by nodes that are fixed or anchored places in networks and by flows between these nodes. The three main types of nodes are cultural hearth, new centre and diasporic node.
The Social and the Spatial In-Migrant Trans-Nationalism

Trans-national space are constructed through the agency of migrants and their kin. In turn, trans-national spaces affect people’s lives. Distance is important. Social relations between members of a transnational community in two neighbouring countries tend to be closer than between those living in different continents. Other factors have to be considered including access to technologies, economic means of migrants and their kin and the need for particular kinds of contracts. Thus, relative distance within trans-national spaces shapes social relations.

Another example illustrating how trans-national spaces shape social relations is the manner in which difference in rank within the hierarchy of diasporic nodes translate into power difference between people who are associated with these nodes. Social and the spatial must be considered together in the study of trans-national phenomenon.

Studies of trans-nationalism make the important claim that ‘migrants’ lives be understood in terms of trans-national, not national or even bi-national frame. While a trans-national perspective is needed to study migration and migrant adaptation adequately, the research suggests that an understanding of the spatial dimension of trans-nationalism provides an important tool for comparing different communities and for developing a typology of trans-national spaces.

The main characteristic of trans-national space is that they are dynamic. A node, for instance, can increase its importance in the trans-national networks of a particular migrant community if the community increases in number or wealth, both of which will result in increased links between this particular node and other nodes.
2.5 TRANSNATIONALISM IN INDIA:

Though in India the case of transnationalism is not very prominent, yet certain studies have been conducted in this sphere too. These have been quoted as under:

1) Imagined Mobility: Migration and Transnationalism among Indian Students in Australia.

This dissertation examines what it means to be both international student and migrant at the same time. In the past decade Asian, and in particular Indian, students have found their way to Australia to continue their higher education there. Australia is extremely competitive in luring international students to its universities and considers the business of selling/offering higher education an industry by itself. Australia's Education Industry even ranks in third place in terms of export. Yet this industry is not all about students. As I show in detail, for many Indian students coming to Australia it's the first step towards Australian permanent residency. I analyze the reasons for this in light of changing Indian middle class perceptions on their place in India as well as in a global playground. The dissertation critiques current understandings of migration and transnationalism in terms of its lack to properly deal with personal lifestyles and the way people imagine and are able to imagine a life beyond their own country's borders. Commercial entrepreneurs in both India and Australia have started to understand this as well, because of which the whole business of offering international education to Asian/Indian students has not only become about education but also about migration, and even more remarkably: about offering an opening into a global lifestyle which is often modeled on that of Indians who have already managed to more or less permanently leave India and live the kind of transnational lives that earlier studies dealt with. This dissertation, thus, looks at how transnational lives are imagined, started, triggered and also become commercial commodities to be offered and sold in a globalized market place.
(Michiel Baas, 1956)

2) "Toxic Transnationalism: How Globalization Affects the Indian Womens Movement" : While much of the literature on globalization and the womens movement has been celebratory, I argue in this paper that over the past thirty years, the transnational links of the Indian womens movement have proved toxic. Drawing on interviews with activists in India I argue that they are linked to global feminists through the flow of ideas and the flow of aid money. The latter constrains the degree of flexibility and responsiveness of Indian womens NGOs towards women on the ground in exchange for financial support. In terms of ideas, the focus during the 1990s on violence against women and today on sexuality at the global level of feminist discourse has led to a turn away from issues of economic redistribution which Indian feminists identify as their most pressing issue. The paper combines a structural analysis of the organizational forms of Indian feminism with interviews about activist priorities to uncover the pathways by which transnational links undermine the vitality and relevance of the womens movement in India. Finally, I raise some questions about how transnational networks of activism can best navigate the politics within in order to maximize their efficacity on the wider world.

3) Meridians:

Year 2000 was the "crowning" glory for India. Miss Indias walked away with the triple honors of Miss World, Miss Universe, and Miss Asia-Pacific. Three young women did India proud, pronounced the arrival of India on the global stage, showing the world that India was a modern and progressive nation. India had recently liberalized through capitalism and consumerism, and now with these victories through culture and morality, India could stake a claim to the pie of transnationalism. India was a country to contend with. On the local/national/international scene, three young women were setting standards of womanhood and desirability for millions of young girls and women in India and the rest of Asia. A "collective" (comprising the political,
social, and capitalist institutions) that was redefining femininity, woman's status, and women's identity was negotiating standards of modernity and values of acceptability, success, citizenship, and nationhood. Miss India’s are nationally honored and make the front page of national dailies, sashayed and crowned, standing side by side with the beaming leaders of the country. They are in the same league as those "brave patriotic men" who gave their lives at Kargil (location of the Indo-Pak war in 1999). In fact, if the Kargil war had not delivered national pride as expected, the crowning of Indian women as Miss World and Miss Universe more than compensated for it. Beauty queens in India are given the same "respect" and glamorous coverage as Indian cricket players! For Indian women, the crowning of these queens reaffirms femininity and nationhood as sportsmen and military service reassert masculinity for men. Both sets of gendered behavior bring honor and recognition to the individual and their nation.

The focus is not only on the imaging of beauty queens as symbols of national pride but also on their contribution to the gendering of the Indian nation.


4) The Allure of the Transnational: Notes on some aspects of the Political Economy of Water in India:

Over the past decade, environmental and social justice activists have increasingly focused their attentions and energies on the privatization of water resources around the globe. Many of the debates and oppositional struggles surrounding this issue have focused on what has been termed the "corporate theft" of water resources. Opposition to transnational corporations like Suez, Vivendi, The Coca-Cola Company, among others, has focused on a range of issues from privatization and price gouging to bottling groundwater and environmental contamination. In this article, the focus is on one small struggle
for water rights in Plachimada, Kerala, India. Plachimada is used as an example to argue that corporate control of resources in India must be located and analyzed within a framework that is not restricted to neoliberal globalization and transnational corporations. Author suggests that the struggle of communities like Plachimada should be analyzed as part of the unfolding agrarian crisis in India. Corporate and government strategies to privatize water, along with other goods and services, have especially had a devastating effect on peasants and farmers in rural India and provide new avenues for the reconfigurations of intra- and interclass conflicts between and across the rural–urban divide in neoliberal India. As academics and activists, we face the important task of combining "old" and "new" conceptual or theoretical and political concerns as we confront the exigencies and emergencies wrought by neoliberal globalization.

(Ananthakrishnan Aiyer, 1972)

5) Between Global Flows and Local Dams: Indigenousness, Locality, and the Transnational Sphere in Jharkhand, India:

A critical examination of the transnational discourse of indigeneity in the context of adivasi or indigenous peoples' political struggles in India contrasts two Indian indigenous political movements: the "transnational" imaginary of the Indian Council for Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, which is the central organization representing India's indigenous peoples at the United Nations, and the "local" imaginary of the Koel-Karo movement, one of several adivasi movements against displacement that mark the Indian political landscape today. Given that these transnational and very local imaginaries both work in relation to different domains of governmentality, I question why a transnational governmentality involving indigenous peoples produces a static and essentialized discourse of indigeneity that inadvertently undermines local initiatives like Koel-Karo. Rural adivasi populations redeploy elements of colonial and nation-state governmentality forged in relation to them in ways
that demonstrate a remarkable flexibility in the imagination of indigeneity. As the neoliberal regime in India has, with a terrifying intensity, contributed to the displacement of adivasis, the question of indigeneity as adivasi identity has to address these different histories of governmentality, the modalities of the politics they have precipitated, and other ways of articulating "local" adivasi movements with transnational alliances. This examination of indigeneity in India concludes by problematizing some of the ways in which contemporary academic discourse has interpreted "governmentality" in relation to subaltern movements.

2.6 TRANS-NATIONALISM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN MCLEODGANJ & ITS ENVIRONS

Looking forward into the mid twenty first century, demographers forecast dramatic increases in cultural diversity in the general population of the United States. Globalization, transnationalism and immigration have had an impact on both the diversity of our patient population and on those who provide care for them. Countries of the global north increasingly rely on the Global South for health care workers to supplement their workforce shortages. The health care workers have immigrated in large numbers to meet the labour shortage in the United States. The forces of globalization, immigration and transnationalism will contribute to and shape its diversity.

Globalizations is a complex phenomenon which includes increased human interconnected ness facilitated by new information technologies and huge volumes of trade, capital, people and cutters flowing across national borders and an increasingly integrated global economy. Globalization can be experienced as structural forces impinging on our daily lives such as the creation of new spaces connectivity between locales and also as ideological resources.

Transnationalism is a term used in different way but the author will limit it to the way it is used in immigration studies as a specific form of globalization. Transnationalism refers to “the processes by which immigrants
forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement”. Many immigrants are living in what are called “transnational social fields” through which they keep constant contract with their countries of origin.

The family arena may be the most important factor related to transnational ties. Because the immigrant is often the embodiment of an entire family’s dreams of getting someone “to the other side” the family left behind may have expectations for financial support and immigration sponsorship consequently, many immigrants from transnational households with portions of their families in the sending countries. The immigrant may depend on family members in their country of origin for the care and socialization of children, finding from appropriate marriage partners on in the care of older parents as them send financial remittances to support such efforts. These transnational links affect people differently if they are actually traveling between sites, if they stay in one site but engage people and resources in their countries of origin, or if they never moved. Regardless, research shows that their lives are affected by the transnational practices of others in their communities.

Are transnational ties so powerful that they are a whole new way of reproducing communities & cultures? Or will such transnational ties be maintained by the second & future generations? While it is difficult to give definitive answers to these questions my research on Indian immigrants suggests important possibilities for the future of transnationalism, both in the near and distant futures. In the short term, access to resources may be what keeps the immigrant and second generations tied to the home country. In the long term, an expanded mix of elements may determine the level of dependence that future generations will place on transnational ties for source of identity & support. These elements include the level of racism and anti-immigrant tendencies in the host society coupled with the level of support from the sending state and the strength of immigrant institutions and practices such as transnational arranged marriage.
The quantity and strength of transnational ties depends on factors such as the context of immigration, the geographic proximity of the country of origin, legislative frameworks regarding movement and status and the infrastructure established in the respective immigrant communities to facilitate ties, such as media, travel and other transnational services that allow even the less affluent members to engage in transnational practices. Transnational practices are often formed and facilitated at the communal level and become much more than individuals maintaining ties. Rather, transnational practices link immigrants to a "community of meaning", a community based on shared histories and values that spans both populations. In the face of dynamic changes brought about by immigration and settlement, the transnational community of meaning becomes the points of reference for most immigrants where they gauge the extent of their progress and make states claims that can be understood by peers.

It is important to note that not all immigrants develop transnational practices and when they do, it may be only in certain spheres, depending upon circumstances

Globalization and the Nation State:

"The nation state, a complete modern political form, is on its last legs".

Multiple scholars have been predicting the end of the era of the nation-state. Globalization is making the nation state too little for dealing with big problems and too big for dealing with little problems, globalization further challenges the nations of "banded cultures and notions of national citizenship. Nation states are because of migration flows no longer 'one people, one state'. Argues in his book "The end of the Nation-State" that the nation state and the future of democracy is coming to an end because of the transition from the former "institutional" to the coming "imperial age; which goes hand in hand with the contemporary globalizing world."
If the importance of the nation state is diminishing, then why are there still new national identities resurrecting? There is a clear resurgence of new forms of ethno religious nationalism surfacing in today’s sea of post nationality. The nation state might have lost a lot of its power, but it is still the most dominant way to ensure social cohesion and it is still only the nation state that can claim territory.

In a globalized world, people, news, money indeed everything seems to travel fast. Globalization enables ideologies to spread over the entire world, and thus enables people to learn and adopt other ways of highlighting their struggles. The spread of ideologies ensures that more and more people around the world get the lean the language of international politics. This is why it might be possible that in the future even more people will start to argue their struggle through the concept of nationalism. In this vision, it is globalization which feeds into nationalism.

One nation in the fourth world, the Tibetan nation, is one of those resurrecting new nationalisms. Tibetans started to present their case to the world in terms of nationalism. They have adopted a way of translating their struggle through nationalism as a modern phenomenon. The need to present one’s own community as a nation is a contemporary phenomenon. It is modern since contemporary expressions of Tibetaness are more a product of the processes of modernization, colonialism and displacement than of some historical notion.

And it is on this group of people and this nation that the study will focus on. The fieldwork for this thesis for my Ph.D has been conducted amongst the Tibetans in a large Tibetan settlement in North India; Dharamsala McLeod Ganj.

Before we move further the thesis, highlights why the Tibetans are, according to me, a part of the fourth world and why they started to express their struggle through the language of nationalism.
China claims that Tibet is a part of China, and that China has had control over Tibet since the Yuan Dynasty. China considers that as a province, as a region within the peoples’ Republic of China. The Tibetans in exile claim that Tibet is an independent country occupied by China. One of the main disputes b/w the supporters and the opponents of Tibetan independence is about the status of Tibet before 1950 especially in the period between 1912 & 1950 which would prove the fact that Tibet used to be an independent country.

**China's Human Development in Tibet**

The concept of human development is explained on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), both as a process of widening people's choices and the level of their achieved well-being. The Human Development Index (HDI) measures the average achievement of a country in basic human capabilities. The HDI indicates whether people lead a strong and healthy life, are educated and knowledgeable and enjoy a decent standard of living.

In 1997, the Chinese Government issued its National Report on Sustainable Development, which made it clear that the Chinese government defined "sustainable development" as that level of development that would support booming China's growth rates. The report states: "In China's Agenda 21, rapid economic development is regarded as indispensable for poverty eradication, enhancement of people's livelihood, and strengthening of overall national strength."

In his essay entitled "Development as Freedom", the renowned economist Amartya Sen, has required development to be free from major sources of unfreedom like poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states. He refutes the "the lee thesis" which claimed authoritarian politics actually helping economic growth.
Poverty of Development

The Human Development Report 1997 identified three indicators of the Human Poverty Index (HPI) as survival, knowledge and a decent standard of living. Amei Zhang in an article on "Poverty Alleviation in China; Commitment, Policies and Expenditures" in 1993 defined poverty as income poverty and human poverty. The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has defined poverty as a "human condition characterised by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living another civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights."

The area of cultivated land in the "TAR" is only slightly larger than that of the city-province of Beijing, 'only 0.28 percent of the total national cultivated land, despite the fact that the "TAR" constitutes almost 13 percent of the total national area. Agriculture has traditionally been the foundation of the Tibetan economy. Pastoral nomadism (Tib:drokpa), grain farming (Tib:shingpa) and semi-nomadism (Tib: samadrok) are the three major forms of occupation in Tibet. Farmers are mainly concentrated in the valleys while pastoral and semi nomads are found on plateaus and mountains.

Livelihood: Discriminatory

The right to livelihood is the fundamental rights of people to fulfilling, dignified work or other sources of subsistence, including access to land and productive resources, and to basic labour protection.

In contrast to the provisions on paper, China's effort to provide protection at the implementation level has been extremely lacking. The PRC fails to recognize the right of Tibetans to self-determination and their right to freely pursue economic, social and cultural development. Secondly, the state-imposed development policies have not involved local participation and have not considered local concerns. Thirdly, the population transfer program has had
immense impact on the livelihoods of Tibetans in terms of marginalisation, discrimination and denial of opportunities at both rural and urban level.

China publishes many statistics on the number of schools and hospitals, but they conceal the actual experiences of pupils and patients. Statistics on the number of buildings and employees in these institutions tell us nothing about the quality of services provided, the cost to users, or the qualifications of those providing the services. When one looks more closely at quality, qualifications, budgets and the crucial question of who pays, a very different picture emerges." It is clear that the economic development in Tibet cannot be judged by looking only at official statistics of GNP and GDP growth or some other indicators of overall economic expression.

Livelihood

Over 80 percent of Tibetans sustain their living in agriculture and nomadic pastoralism. Crops such as barley, wheat, peas, and rapeseed are cultivated, while nomads herd yaks, sheep and goats. Since large concentration of population in Tibet is engaged in labour intensive agriculture, it is concerning that the large-scale developments in Tibet have not benefited the Tibetans and their livelihood. It can be attributed to both policy failure and denial of local participation in policy-making decisions.

An American anthropologist, Melvyn Goldstein, and other international social scientists have written that the Tibetan traditional livestock management system was a time-tested model, sophisticated, and developed enough to ensure viable and sustainable management of marginal pastures. The New Rangeland Management (NRM) doctrine states that the nomads know better than urban elites how to maintain both productivity and permanence in lands that cannot be intensively used without great damage. But in China NRM is unknown, thus honouring of nomadic knowledge is unheard of, with respect for customary custodianship of the rangelands unheeded.
The nomadic way of life is an essential part of Tibetan identity. The government's policy of forced sedentarisation of nomads not only denies a large sector of the Tibetan community their livelihood but also threatens Tibet's environment through the opening up of lands for mining.

Nomadic life has been a prominent way of life and people have been sustained on the nomad life over many generations in Golog. At present the nomads in Golog are facing lots of hardship in their livelihood. In 2003, the Chinese authorities set up a new Supervision Division in Golog region to supervise the grassland of the nomadic region. The Division formulated two new rules which was announced across various counties in the region. The first rule stipulates that each member of the family is entitled to own only five livestock and those having more than five will be fined 500 yuan each for every additional livestock. The second rule emphasised that it is compulsory for every family to fence the land allocated to them. The new policy affects the poor families a lot as they cannot afford to fence the entire land due to high cost. Every 1000-meter length offence cost 7000 Chinese Yuan. The ruling is unjustified as it affects the Tibetan farmers and nomads.

In addition the Chinese government has imposed a minimum tax of 1500 yuan inclusive of grass, land and water tax from each family. The head of the Agriculture Division had warned that if a person fails to pay the tax, the person would be held in the local peoples’ court and the fine would be doubled every year on non-payment. As a result, almost all the families are facing severe livelihood problem and sell off their livestock to clear the tax burden.

Golog these days is reeling under heavy water and fodder scarcity to feed livestock. Families grazing their livestock in other farms land were charged 10 Chinese Yuan for a horse, 5 Yuan for a cattle and 3 yuan for a sheep on a daily basis. In order to meet the family daily expenses due to continued problem faced by the nomadic families, I started collecting Yartsa Gunbhu (a medicinal plant) and others to earn additional income for the family during summer season. But we were told to pay tax amounting to 1500 Yuan to
the Township and County authorities from our hard earned income. Unable to bear the constant repression and the negative policies that uproot the very existence of nomadic culture and subsistence, I escaped into exile.

**Urban Livelihood**

The Tibetan population in the urban areas of "TAR" constitutes a little over 15-20 percent. While Tibet's rural sector suffers, Tibetans in the urban areas face increasing unemployment, marginalisation and discrimination in all spheres of life. The dominant use of Chinese in business and the government bars the Tibetans from accessing equal opportunities alongside the Chinese migrants.

The People's Republic of China is bound itself to "recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work" including fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, safe and healthy working conditions, and reasonable limitation of working hours plus paid holidays. The Chinese Constitution declares that citizens of the PRC have the right as well as the duty to work and that all citizens be treated equally.

Nevertheless, Tibetans have to compete with Chinese migrants who enjoy preferential treatment. The use of household registration system (Ch: hukou) and flexible work arrangements for Han Chinese professionals coming from China have restricted rural Tibetans from seeking and accessing fully the opportunities available in urban areas. Additionally, urban oriented growth relying on economic reform and opening up has led to growing income disparities between urban and rural as well as between Han immigrants and Tibetan residents.

The influx of Han immigrants to the Tibetan plateau has resulted in lower priority for Tibetan skills training and capacity building. Tibetans have been excluded from the most skilled and semi-skilled job opportunities that offer higher wages and the possibility to rise above the poverty line. Rather,
they have been relegated to the least skilled and lowest paid work. The labour market issue raises the point access to and control over urban economic growth that discrimination in Tibet is to a large extent played out in the access to and control over the urban growth poles of the economy.

Tibetans are given lower wages than their Chinese counterparts and are sometimes subjected to humiliating treatments. Kunsang Tenphel, a 19-year-old farmer from Chamdo Prefecture reported to TCHRD.

At the age of ten, my father and I found a manual work at a building construction site. Each of us earned a paltry sum of 25 yuan a day for working from dawn to dusk. We were even forced to wash dirty clothes of the Chinese workers and were beaten up with bamboo stick if not washed properly. We argued with the building owner over wage differences in comparison with our Chinese counterpart for performing the same job where Chinese worker earns 60 yuan a day.

Education policy in Tibet is predominated by the use of Chinese language at both the official and commercial level. Many of the businesses and enterprises in Tibet are Chinese and state controlled, and thus implicit preference for Chinese labourers is often shown. Clearly, discrimination in language and education hampers full participation of Tibetans in the economy outside the traditional activities. These are in violation of principles of equity and non-discrimination in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to which China has committed through ratification.

A number of Tibetan women from rural areas working as prostitutes has increased considerably in "TAR". The rise in prostitution is a direct result of unemployment and poverty as well as existing development projects that have widened income disparities between rural and urban areas. The ill effects of prostitution in terms of increasing HIV and other sexually transmitted disease are well known.
It is reported that in some areas of Tibet, the level of employment is only as high as 40%. Despite huge claims of having developed Tibet through Western Development Strategy and other development projects, the Tibetans have hardly enjoyed the fruits of development. Tibetans have neither the economic resources nor the education to compete for new jobs and positions that the WDS has created.

The provision of article 14 of the 1986 Compulsory Education Law, according to which teachers should be committed to the cause of sociologist education, further reinforces the idea of a “patriotic education” that legitimizes the use of ideology in the teaching system.

It appears that education in the “TAR” is not directed to the free and full development of the Tibetan Children’s personality, talents and mental physical abilities. Instead, it becomes a tool that the central government can use to ensure political stability and ethnic unity within the region. In order to achieve these goals, education policies continue to target the young generations of Tibetans, undertaking their identity through a biased representation of Tibetan History, a denial of their culture and traditions, and the relegation of Tibetan as a second-rate language.

In practice, Tibetan students rarely receive any lessons on their culture or history. They are not allowed to honor any Tibetan holidays except for the Tibetan New Year, and are forced to celebrate Chinese holidays. They are also forbidden to wear Tibetan clothes at school.

The biased teaching of Tibetan History and the denial of Tibetan culture and traditions by the education system in Tibet represent a violation of the legal obligations that China has undertaken by ratifying the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). In relation to article 13(2) of the ICESCR, China has obligations to respect, protect and fulfill each of the “essential features” (availability, accessibility, acceptability, acceptability, adaptability) of the right to education. “Acceptability” means that
the form and substance of education, including curricula and teaching methods, have to be acceptable to the students. China has clearly failed to fulfill the acceptability of education, as it has not taken positive measures to ensure that education is culturally appropriate for Tibetan children, further depriving them of a genuine knowledge of their history, culture and traditions.

Among the factors that could help explain such a low level of access to compulsory education among the children in the “TAR” is that there are undoubtly the financial obstacles that parents often have to face in order to secure basic education for their children.

Article 10 of the 1986 People’s Republic of China’s Compulsory Education Law proclaims that the state shall not charge tuition for students receiving compulsory education. However, the realization of a compulsory education that is free to all in Tibet has not yet been achieved.

As the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Ms. Katarina Tomasevski, stated, compulsory education has not been free in China. Although she did not specify whether she was including the “TAR” in her assessment on the freedom of compulsory education in China, the evidence collected by TCHRD suggests that Ms. Tomasevski’s statement can certainly apply to the school system in the “TAR”.

School fees and other out-of-pocket costs that prevent families from sending their children to school represent a clear obstacle towards the realization of the accessibility of education. This is in contrast with China’s legal obligations stemming from the ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which, at article 13(2) declares that “primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all” and that “Secondary education in its different forms, [.....] shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education”.

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Against the principle set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which, at article 13, proclaims that “everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own”, the Chinese authorities impose upon Tibetans severe restrictions to their freedom of movement, making it nearly impossible for them to travel outside China to receive education in Tibetan Schools in exile. Nevertheless, Tibetan children continue to risk their lives fleeing Tibet in search for an education that preserves their language, culture, history and traditions. Since the early ’80s well over 7,000 children have risked everything to journey across the Himalayas in the hope that they will receive in exile the kind of education that they have been denied back home. Between January and August 2004, 2,416 new refugees have reached the Tibetan Reception Centre in Dharamsala. Of these refugees, children under the age of 13 constitute 20.98%, while youth between the age of 14 and 25 constitute 40.23%. Therefore, young Tibetan refugees account for 61.21% of the total number of new escapees into India in eight months. In the month of September, 238 new Tibetan refugees arrival in Dharamshala. 81.93% of whom were below the age of 25. The total number of Tibetan refugees who arrived at the Tibetan reception center from 1991 until June 2004 was 43,634,59.74% of which were below the age of 25.

It is unquestionable that over the last eight years the Chinese government has allocated considerable amount of resources aimed at improving the education system in Tibet. Increased budgetary expenditure on education for “minority nationalities” has been greatly emphasized by the Chinese Government in its initial report submitted to the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR). However, no mention is made of any concrete measure adopted by the authorities with a view to integrating minority rights into their educational policies.

China’s report is clearly reflective of the Government’s one-dimensional approach to the realization of the right to education in Tibet. The Chinese Government seems to fail to understand that spending on education, although
necessary, is not sufficient to ensure that Tibetan children fully enjoy their right to receive an education that respects and preserves the Tibetan culture and identity.

**Civil and Political Rights**

China has chosen not to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which it signed on October 5, 1998, claiming that in a developing country like China-economic, social and cultural rights of the people are more important than Civil and Political rights. Therefore, it ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

China continues to use all available diplomatic means to scrutiny of its human record. On the question of human rights, Beijing prefers bi-lateral dialogues to multi-lateral dialogues as its able to put pressure on one country than many at a time. At the China-EU Seminar on the ratification of the ICCPR in June 2004, China’s representatives promised to take the responsible attitude to study the ICCPR and create the conditions for the early ratification of the covenant.

**Prominent Cases of Arbitrary Detention in Tibet**

**Gedhun Choekyi Nyima**

Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the Dalai Lama recognized 11th Panchen Lama of Tibet, who will be 16 years old on 25 April 2005 has been missing from public view for 9 years in a row now. On May 17th 1995, the six-year-old Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, his parents and brother were taken to Nagchu Airport in Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "Tibet Autonomous Region" by a party of security police and have never been seen since then. The People's Republic of China has admitted to holding the Panchen Lama "for his own safety". China Ambassador Wu Jian to UN in Geneva told that, "He has been put under the protection of the government at the request of his parents."
Many UN representatives, government delegations, NGOs and individuals worldwide have expressed concern over the Panchen Lama's continued detention at every given opportunity, and called for the Chinese authorities to allow access to the boy by an independent body acceptable to the Chinese government and Tibetans to verify his health and living conditions. The former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, also had requested access to the Panchen Lama. Beijing authorities have continued to deny access to the boy stating that he was well and growing up as any normal healthy child of his age.

**Trulku Tenzin Delek**

On April 7th 2002, Chinese authorities arrested Trulku Tenzin Delek, a prominent religious figure from Lithang County in Sichuan Province. Trulku was charged with alleged involvement in a series of bomb blast incidents that occurred in Kardze "Tibet Autonomous Prefecture" in 2001.

On December 2nd 2002, the Kardze Intermediate People's Court convicted Trulku Tenzin Delek and his disciple Lobsang Dhondup and sentenced them to death. However, Trulku Tenzin Delek was granted a two-year suspension, while Lobsang Dhondup was executed on January 26th 2003. Trulku Tenzin Delek was known for his social welfare and environmental activities and professed allegiance to the Dalai Lama. It is believed that his rising popularity resulted in Chinese concerns that he might politically influence the local public opinion.

**Jigme Gyatso**

Jigme Gyatso, a former monk from Gaden monastery, is originally from Kersul district in Amdo. In 1985, he came to India and sought an audience with the Dalai Lama. Jigme stayed for a year in Drepung Gomang Monastery in South India and later returned to Tibet where he joined Gaden Monastery. On March 30th 1996, he was arrested on alleged charges of "political activities" and subsequently sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment.
Chadrel Rinpoche

Chadrel Rinpoche is the former abbot of Tashi Lhunpo monastery, and Chairman of the Search Committee for the reincarnation of the 11th Panchen Lama. Chadrel Rinpoche and his assistant Champa Chungla disappeared from Chengdu Airport in Sichuan Province on May 14th 1995. On April 21st 1997, the Shigatse Intermediate People's court sentenced Chadrel Rinpoche to six years of imprisonment. He was charged with "plotting to split the country" and "leaking state secrets". He was accused of working for and assisting the Dalai Lama in the search for the 11th Panchen Lama. Although his sentence ended on May 13th 2001 following the completion of a six-year prison term, it is believed that he is now kept under house arrest. There is no additional information on his exact whereabouts in Shigatse, or on his state of health.

Jampa Chungla

Jampa Chungla, 56-year-old former assistant of Chadrel Rinpoche, was arrested in 1995 for his participation in the search committee of the 11th Panchen Lama. He was sentenced to a four-year prison term and to a two-year deprivation of political rights. He continues to be held in custody even after the completion of his original four-year prison term.

Lobsang Tenzin

Lobsang was arrested on March 11th 1988 for participating in a pro-independence demonstration against the Chinese rule at the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa. He was accused of involvement in the death of a People's Army Police officer during the demonstration. On January 19th 1989, Lobsang Tenzin was sentenced to death with a two-year suspension. As a result of international pressure, Lobsang Tenzin's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in March 1991.

Restricting freedom of movement

In practice, China makes it difficult for Tibetans wanting to leave Tibet to acquire legal travel documents. Therefore, every year many Tibetans try to
flee their homeland to seek freedom of religious practice in monasteries or to join educational institutions set up by the Tibetan government in exile in India without the right papers.

On their journey across the Himalayan passes Tibetans not only face hunger, dehydration, injuries, snow-blindness, and frostbite while fleeing but also risk arrest at the numerous police checkpoints along the route. Moreover, arrest by Nepalese authorities and deportation back to the Chinese border leaves Tibetans extremely vulnerable.

Nevertheless, monks and nuns returning from monasteries in India are not the only Tibetans victims of persecution, as the Chinese authorities routinely target students retuning to Tibet after completing their education abroad.

Tibetans returning from India are often kept in custody by Chinese authorities in detention centers located at the Nepal-Tibet border. It is quite common for detainees to undergo interrogation sessions that can include beatings and other forms of physical punishment.

Due to the difficulties in collecting timely information on human rights violations, in some cases reports of arrests and detentions reach TCHRD only after a prisoner has completed his/her sentence and escapes into exile.

**Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign**

A point of contention for Beijing is what is seen as the issue of Tibetans' "split loyalty' towards the Dalai Lama and the Chinese authority. The Chinese authorities intensified their official anti-Dalai Lama stand during the policies of Fourth Session of the Sixth Regional People's Congress held on 24 May 1996, where they stated that the Dalai Lama is the 'chief villain who must be publicly exposed and criticized..stripping away his cloak of being a 'religious leader'.

Moreover, the restrictions of religious freedom in Tibet are being implemented in a two-prong strategy. The first being to force Tibetans
Theoretical Background

particularly monks and nuns, to adhere to a five point denunciation, wherein they must state that the Dalai Lama is a traitor and splittist, while also forcing them to agree to the historical unity of Tibet as having always been a part of China. Next, monks and nuns must recognize the Chinese appointed Panchen Lama; and finally they must declare their personal opposition to separatism. The Chinese authorities also banned all Tibetans from possessing the Dalai Lama's portraits/photos, praying for his well being, invoking his name, observing his birth day celebrations or showing any expression of faith and loyalty to his historical stature.

Overall, it is apparent that a great challenge for Chinese leaders is winning the hearts and minds of Tibetan people in their favor. Since, the communist state runs on the absolute loyalty and allegiance to the State, it is natural that the stature of Dalai Lama in the hearts of Tibetan people is taken as a point of concern to the PRC's legitimacy over their rule in Tibet. Thus, one of the main concerns in China's battle over Tibet has been dealing with the spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama and his political stature in the world community. Clearly, this year religious repression under the banner of "patriotic re-education" continues to be very high.

Human Rights and Democracy in Tibet

TCHRD has made certain observations that go contrary to the statements above, from research and information gathered from Tibet. TCHRD firmly believes that the focus of the impact of the Covenant must be on the ground and on how far individuals and groups like the Tibetans are able to enjoy the rights guaranteed in the Covenant or have the freedom to express their opinions without fear of reprisals.

Denial of economic, social and cultural rights, such as the right to receive education in one's own mother tongue, as well as policies and projects that involve forced evictions, often affect large sections of the population. Human rights cannot be fully realized unless and until people whose rights are
The Chinese governmental policies in Tibet claimed to be for the benefit of the local Tibetan population. On the contrary, there are serious concerns with regard to the protection of Tibetans as a people. Although development is happening and bringing some results, the underlying political significance attached to economic growth and progress of Tibet, prevents the benefits of development from trickling down to the Tibetan people.

Furthermore, international governments and multinational companies in a rush to invest in the developmental projects in Tibet are largely failing to consider the needs and interests of the local Tibetan population. This has considerably contributed to the decline in the growth of the Tibetans' standard of living.

The United Nations (UN) has defined the right to development as a "universal and inalienable right and an integral part of fundamental human rights law". It views development as a process in which "fulfillment of civil and political rights and the freedom to participate in both the decision making processes and the enjoyment of the fruits of development in all spheres." Right to Development (RTD) places the human being at the center of development. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has defined "development" as a "comprehensive process directed towards the full realisation of all human rights and fundamental freedoms’.

The Right to Development belongs fundamentally to all peoples, and originates in their right to self-determination. Article 1.2 of the 1986 UN
Theoretical Background

Declaration on the Right to Development (UNDRD) guarantees the "full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination", which includes the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources" based on the principles of equity, justice, meaningful participation. In a 1986 speech to the UN General Assembly, Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian has said, "the two covenants International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)) have played a positive role in realising the purposes and principles of the UN Charter concerning respect for human rights. The Chinese government has consistently supported these purposes and principles". Both these covenants stipulate the right to self-determination.

The Third Work Forum on Tibet held in 1994 put forward key strategic policies on accelerating Tibet's development and safeguarding social stability. Hence, the forum is considered as the starting point and a new milestone for Tibet's development.

The recurrent theme in Beijing's discourse on Tibet has been its "developmental" and "beneficial" role in Tibet. Often, the Chinese government has attempted to negate criticism of its human rights record by asserting that the Tibetan people have benefited as a result of the development policies implemented by Beijing authorities. Through its policies and propaganda, constitutional guarantees and international legal provisions to which it has committed, Beijing claims to accelerate economic and social development and to ensure equal right to development for its citizens. However, TCHRD research, corroborated by refugee testimonies and other research materials on Tibet, confirms a pattern of the violation of the right to development of the Tibetan people. While China claims to prioritise economic rights for its people, it has failed to employ rights-based and need-based approach to development in Tibet.
The violation of Tibetans' right to development occurs in the context of a calculated failure to apply real autonomy in the region where effective Tibetan participation is denied and policy-making power at all levels are not devolved. Secondly, China's economic and development policy in Tibet is laden with stability concerns. Thirdly, Beijing has opted for a top-down approach with regard to its development policy and implementation mechanism. Fourthly, instead of being the main beneficiaries of China's development, the majority of Tibetans have remained marginalized and discriminated against in all spheres of life.

The Western Development Strategy (WDS) launched in June 1999 pledges more effort to develop western parts of the country. The key projects include building the Qinghai-Tibet railway; transmitting electricity and natural gas from western areas to the east; protecting natural forests, grasslands and rivers; promoting elementary, occupational and higher education; fostering specialized farming; setting up mining bases; building tourist facilities with local characteristics; improving infrastructure in large cities; and expanding the wide-band digital transmission network.

The developmental role of the Chinese Government in Tibetan regions violates many of its international legal commitments. Tibetans have found themselves pauperized by the regional development strategies antagonistic to many of the needs of the region. Furthermore, the broad principles of the current economic strategy, intensified under the 1999 Western Development Strategy perpetuate many of the structural features that have led most Tibetans into their current poverty trap. Of additional concern is the fact that the Chinese government is seeking out foreign aid and investment to support various elements of its current strategies.

Large-scale development in Tibet, more specifically the Western Development Strategy has rarely benefited local Tibetans. Money spent on Western Development generally has supported non-Tibetan businesses and Han
Chinese immigrants or builds unproductive infrastructure and aids in resource extraction. New highways, dams, mineshafts, and wellheads funnel natural resources out of Tibet and bring tens of thousands of non-Tibetans in to work on such projects, leaving a legacy of environmental harm and social dislocation that falls most heavily on its inhabitants.

It is the human development of the Tibetan people that is most needed, rather than the development of resources. As the so-called economic growth circumvents majority of the Tibetans, the growth is concentrated on the state sector or on "hard infrastructures" such as trade, transport, services, and government and communist party administration. The productive sectors like agriculture, mining and industry, are stagnant or growing much slower than the economy in general. Therefore, since over 80 percent of the Tibetan population is nomads and farmers they have been marginalized from the economic growth. This has resulted in inequalities between urban and rural population and in the urban areas between Han immigrants and Tibetan population.

The real situation in Tibet, in terms of socio-economic conditions and eradication of poverty, has been diluted through exaggerated claims of economic development and falsified figures of prosperity. Gyaltsen Norbu, the former "TAR" Chairman, said in 1997, "We should do away with this unhealthy trends in boasting and exaggeration and hiding the truth from the higher levels in the work of aiding the poor", Hence, the government's denial, censorship and falsification of facts violate people's right to know (Ch: zhiqing quang) and further impedes in presenting the actual situation to the world?

Therefore, the development policies in Tibet has failed to benefit the Tibetans and this failure has originated from several areas: economics are viewed and used as political control; contradiction between official provisions and actual implementation; the use of a top-down development approach; urban-oriented rapid growth strategies resulting in income inequality; population transfer programs causing marginalisation and discrimination of the Tibetan population;
denial of meaningful local participation, disregard of local interests in the
development process and exaggeration of the actual situation through
questionable figures.

It is not only the fact that Tibet used to be self governing, independent
nation in history that supports the claim for an autonomous or even
independent Tibet. The simple fact that Tibetan us and it roots differs a lot
from Chinese culture above supports this claim, “cultural preservation” has
therefore become one of the main concerns of the Tibetan exiles. “The
differences between Tibetan civilization and Chinese civilization are vast. The
Tibetan and Chinese languages are mutually incomprehensible. Moreover, the
religion differs considerably. Both Buddhist religious have different roots, and
“Tibetan and Chinese canons of Buddhist scriptures Vary considerably.” It is
because of all these reasons that Tibetan exiles want to become their own
nation state, want to distinguish themselves from their “occupying force”.

2.7 A CRITICAL ANALYSIS :

McLeod Ganj; the heart of the Tibetan Diaspora

Since their exile, the Tibetan dispora has been trying to create ‘nation’
‘State’ through multiple nation building policies. The fact that they try to create
this through nationalism linked they try to a country ‘Out of their reach’ is
something that raises the curiosity in exploring it further. McLeod Ganj is the
beating heart of Tibetan Nationalism; this is the place where the agglomeration
of Tibetans outside of Tibet Live is where the residence of his Holiness the
Dalai Lama, the spiritual and political leader of the Tibetans, is situated and it
is the home town of the Tibetan government in exile. Subsequently every year
it attracts thousands of Buddhist pilgrims and tourists affiliated with the
Tibetan cause and literally dozens of Tibetan NGO’s are located here.
“Frequently it is referred to as “Little Lhasa”, Dharamshala has become the
centre of Tibetan diasporic geographic”.

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The big division that is expected to encounter, the division between different political standpoints; those who want to fight for an independent Tibet and those who want to negotiate toward an autonomous Tibet.” A cultural compromise entrails a certain way of defining the borders between us and them.” The process of social closure can lead to the establishment of ethnic groups, nations, social classes and so on”. A cultural compromise emerges whom the actors sharing a communicative space can agree that certain values are valuable and that certain modes of classifying the social world make sense. On the contemporary world/Society, nationalism is seen as the most important form of cultural compromise.

**Division in exile**

It was observed in one of the party’s being held at most central place in town, McLeod’s, the most popular hangout place of McLeod going amongst Indians, Tibetans and tourists alike that the enter crowd was divided over three tables, prominently apart from each other. The groups stay divided, with no mingling yet known to each other. During my fieldwork in McLeod going it was a visible encounter with regination. It was strong the find out that the Tibetans I exile are further sub-divided according to their regions. These regions still have a strong influence on new, especially amongst the new comes. Its like the people of one region help each other out. If someone is not doing well, people from the same region feel that they should help him. Also in the government in exile there is a strong regionalism. People in the government in exile only give jobs to others from their region. In exiled communities today there are still under currents of regional divisiveness. People in exile can only vote for the representatives who originate from the same province of Tibet as they do.

In McLeod going, the prior affiliations are still visible in daily life. Lots of restaurants and tea shops in McLeod going are owned by ‘Amdos and therefore mainly visited by Amdos. Most of the places mainly seem to attract
people who originate from the same place or province as the owner and/or its staff. Same new restaurants even seem to only attract new arrivals where other restaurants proudly display that their restaurant is run by ‘exile-brother’ and therefore attracts the ‘exile-born’ youth. It might not seem surprising that several stereotypes have come to the surface in the exiled community. Stereotypes make it possible to divide the social world into kinds of people and they provide simple criteria for such a classification. They give the individual the impression that he or she understands society and stereotypes are crucial in defining the boundaries of one’s own group. Within the exile community there are same steady stereotypes:

- **Khampas** (people from kham); criminal, harsh businessmen, and to rip you off, fighters.

- **Amdos** (people from Amdo); poor long, irresponsible, partying, jobless, dreaming of going to the west.

- **Lhasal U-Tsing**; up-right, looking down on people from Kham and Amdo, city people, always get the best jobs, to decent.

- **New comers**: animals, no manners, dirty, uncivilized stupid.

- **Exile-born**: stuck up, better established, lost their votes, not Tibetan any more, Indian.

The fact that these stereotypes seem to be persistent throughout the time being in exile seems to make the nationalist project more and more problematic. The actual interethnic relations may very well diverge from the stereotypes as they that there may be a discrepancy between what people say and what they do.
Theoretical Background

2.8 REFERENCES


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