

**TIBETAN DIASPORA IN INDIA:  
A CASE STUDY OF DELHI**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**MISS. ANJU GURAWA**



**CENTRE FOR SOUTH, CENTRAL, SOUTH EAST ASIA AND  
SOUTH WEST PACIFIC STUDIES,  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI-110067**

**2003**



**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

*SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES*

**Centre for South, Central,  
South East Asia and South  
West Pacific Studies**

25<sup>th</sup> July 2003

**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, “**Tibetan Diaspora in India: A Case Study of Delhi**” submitted by **Miss. Anju Gurawa** is her own work and has not been submitted to any other University or institution or for any other diploma or degree.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

**SUPERVISOR**

**Centre for South, Central South East  
Asia and South West Pacific Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067**

**Prof. Uma Singh**

**CHAIRPERSON**

**Centre for South Central South East and  
South West Pacific Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067**

*DEDICATED  
TO MY*

*MAMMA  
AND  
PAPA JI*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*My intellectual debts are too numerous to be acknowledged individually. More tangibly I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dawa J. Norbu who has rendered constant help and invaluable guidance throughout. It has been a source of great inspiration to me throughout the period of this work, to be beneath the shade of Dr. Gang Nath Jha's extensive and highly esteemed scholarship. It is most gratifying to the researcher to remember how greatly it helped the cause of the work to be graced by frequent display of considerations and magnanimity by him even during the bout of serious illness.*

*I would like to thank the staff members of the JNU Library, Sapru House, American Centre Library (ACL), Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, Central Secretariat Library and British Council Library.*

*I am no less indebted to my friends Asgar, Jami, Faiz and Mr. Rajan who provided me with their invaluable suggestions for this work.*

*My special thanks goes to my brother Atul who boosted my moral throughout my work.*

*My gratitude goes to Mr. Kuldeep Singh who typed my dissertation with full cooperation.*

*Last but not the least, my gratitude goes to Mr. Surendra who provided me continuous support during this work.*

*MSS. ANJU GUPTA*

## **PREFACE**

This study is the report of a participatory-observation of Tibetans, who are residing in Delhi under refugee status. They were forced to flee in 1959 due to exhaustive political condition in Tibet. Delhi, being the heart of India, acted as a station for these migrants. They played a significant role to make their status even after decades in exile and dreamt to return to their homeland.

My purpose in the present study is to understand social, cultural and politico-economic status of Tibetans in Delhi. However, to do this I was obliged to consider the case of other Diasporas in India and the interaction of Tibetans with other local groups. While analysing the relationship of the Tibetans with each of these groups I have aimed at an overview of the structural integrity of the Tibetans to the local region.

This dissertation is divided in to four chapters with conclusion. The first chapter gives conceptual clarity of Diaspora and Tibetan settlement in Delhi with its geographical location.

Chapter second focuses on the various occupational deviations taken place since their arrival in Delhi.

Chapter third put forwards the political set up and local leadership with democratic norms of Tibetans in Delhi.

Chapter four is exclusively talking about the change and continuity in socio-cultural norms of Tibetans at Majnu-ka-Tila and Laddakh-Buddh-Vihar.

In the conclusion an attempt has been made to find out the future prospects of Tibetan Diaspora.

**MISS. ANJU GURAWA**

# CONTENTS

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

## PREFACE

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

1-11

1. Tibetan Identity: Basic elements
2. Settlements in Delhi
3. Ethnic Profile

## CHAPTER TWO

### Structure of Occupation

12-37

1. Meaning
2. Pattern of Occupation
3. Historical Perspective of Tibetan Economy
4. Occupational Structure of Tibetans in Delhi
  - A. Seasonal Garments Business
  - B. Hotel and Guest House Keepers
  - C. Eateries and General Store Keepers
  - D. Spice Sellers and Press Workers
  - E. Chang Sellers
5. Impact of the Occupation on the Social Structure and its Analysis

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Leadership, Local political set-up and network

38-66

1. Leadership: Meaning
2. Dimensions of Leadership
  - A. The Dalai Lama: An Institution
3. Democratisation Process of Tibetan community
  - A. The Regent (Gyal-tsab)
  - B. The council of regency
  - C. The council of ministers (Ka-Shag)
4. Local Political set up in Delhi:
  - A. Tibetan Welfare Office

- B. Tibetan Refugee Welfare Committee
  - C. Tibetan Youth Congress, Regional Working Committee
  - D. The Bureau of His Holiness The Dalai Lama
  - E. The Local People's Assembly
  - F. Tibetan Women's Association
  - G. Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His Holiness The Dalai Lama
  - H. Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace
  - I. Tibet House
5. Network and Communication in Delhi

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Continuity and Change in Tibetan Diaspora 67-91**

- 1. Meaning
- 2. Women's Position
  - A. Status
  - B. Social Condition of Tibetan Women
  - C. Political Condition of Tibetan Women in Delhi
  - D. Economic Condition of Tibetan women
- 3. Socio-Cultural Analysis
- 4. Social Stratification
- 5. Social Mobility in Tibetan Society
  - A. Vertical and Horizontal Mobility
  - B. Intragenerational and Intergenerational Mobility
- 6. Family and Marriage
- 7. Religion
- 8. Tibetan Festivals

### **CONCLUSION 92-94**

### **BIBLIOGRAPHY 95-101**

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Introduction**

**1-11**

1. Tibetan Identity: Basic elements
2. Settlements in Delhi
3. Ethnic Profile



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Tibetan Diaspora has attracted much attention in India and abroad in recent years. Etymologically, the term Diaspora is derived from Greek word Dias (scattered) and pora (people). Literally, the meaning of Diaspora is scattered people. It was originally mentioned in the context of Jews or Jewish communities scattered in exile outside Palestine. During the later half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, in fact it is being applied to dispersal of any ethnic group or community outside country of their origin. This term is often used today to describe, practically, any population that is considered deterritorialized or transnational, i. e., which originated in a land other than in which it currently resides. Hence, whose social, economic and political network cross the borders of nation states or indeed span the globe.

There are three applied meanings can be attached to the Tibetan Diaspora as a: 1) a social form, 2) type of consciousness and 3) mode of cultural production. Therefore, Diaspora has become loose reference and conflating categories such as immigrants, guest workers, ethnic and racial minorities as Siddis of Africa and expatriates and travelers. These three forms of Tibetan Diaspora is no doubt applicable to the residents of Majnu-Ka-Tila or Changpura and Laddakh-Buddh-Vihar near Inter State Bus Terminal. So, Diaspora as a social form is characterized by triadic relationship between globally dispersed yet collectively self identified ethnic

groups, territorial status and context where such groups reside and connected with the homeland from where their predecessors came. In terms of their numbers, the Diasporic population is growing and they play significant role in the life of the countries of their adoption as well as countries of their origin.

Therefore, sociological approaches relied heavily on human ecology and social demography; they created a space for the role of the community in the migration process. Thus, migration was viewed as both a cause and outcome of changes in local social organization. So, various approaches are being applied to migration and community analysis that can accommodate individuals self interest. These approaches also acknowledge that self-interest broadly defined is embedded in a variety of social, economic and political system from the household to the community and from the community to the higher levels of the aggregation. "Both the methodological individualism of neo-classical approaches and the legal positivism of bureaucrats have ignored the character of migration as a collective process based on the needs and strategies of families and communities."<sup>1</sup>

In the Tibetan refugee case, migration and social network are related reciprocally. The volume and direction of migration are affected by information ideas and resources embedded in network that link family, friends and neighbors across origin and distinctive communities.

---

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Castle, 'Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization', in Jeffrey G. Ritz ,(ed.), *International Migration Review*. (Centre for Migration Studies, vol. 36, no. 36) p. 1145.

“Social network also provide the casual pathways necessary for bringing power relations, family organization, inequality and gender into models of the determinants and the consequences of residential mobility. Although, most scholars agree that network membership increases that likelihood of migration, not all believe that social interaction among network membership is fundamental cause of migration. They contend persons are recruited into networks because they share common attributes and that's the likelihood of migration is increased by these attributes not by social interaction with fellow network members.”<sup>2</sup>

Basically, emigration of population, continuity and changes will be discussed here. Any process of emigration involves physical movement of people across the boundaries of their nation states. They invariably carry with them a socio-cultural baggage, which consists of, among other things as predefined social identity; a set of religious beliefs and practices; a framework of norms and kinship; food habits and dress, and above all, a language. They settle in the host society as immigrants and strive to maintain their relations with the kith and kin at the place of their origin. These immigrants become a permanent feature of the host society, once they acquire the placement, and their hopes for returning to their motherland gradually become stronger in the case of Tibetans.

In contrast to Tibetan Diaspora, the Hindu Diaspora and others such as Sikh, Christian etc. also manifest the third feature of Diaspora viz. mode

---

<sup>2</sup> A. D. Messey Palloni, Ubballos, K. Espinosa (et. al). “Social Capital and International Migration; A test using information on family network”, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 106. p. 1262-98.

of cultural reproduction, as it involves the production and reproduction of the transnational social and cultural phenomenon. The migrated people not only maintain their identity and consciousness, but also, intermingle with the host community and try to get incorporated within the social, cultural and religious features of that society.

The Indian hill town of Darjeeling bestowed a Tibetan population in mid-nineteenth century; but even after 1950, there were few Tibetans in exile. This situation suddenly changed after the failed uprising in Lhasa 1959. The flight of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, was a signal for tens of thousands to flee and took refuge in India. According to the records, large numbers of refugees left Tibet in the years of 1959-1963.

Today, the Tibetan Diaspora is increasing in number of population but on the basis of language, religion, economy and culture, they are closely connected, and despite all other spheres of changes, they are able to maintain their similarities of custom, religion, food, tradition, folklore, language and music. Although, there are new circumstances giving them lot of challenge to their identity, but it is very unique feature of Tibetan people that they have maintained their identity.

The immigrant carries with them their identity from their country of origin, culturally imagined rules and values which complicate the process of acculturation. So, they are primarily concerned with cultural reproduction or the process by which they seek to transmit their knowledge, values, beliefs, system and behavioral norms to the next generation.

Therefore, the deterritorialised groups such as immigrants dwell in imagined world. Nostalgia is the critical building material for the construction of such an imagined world, a new cultural space, inhabited by the diasporic individuals. The forced migration of Tibetan was, actually, the process of politico-social disturbance, but in India, they retain their customs and beliefs, in spite of being, adapting different dress and food habits. They have undergone a number of changes over a period of time, with a lot of space for their own values and traditions, which they have retained symbolically and reconstructed their identity.

Another important point to be noted in Tibetan Diaspora is that the presence of large scale women migrants. Generally, the migration is always male oriented, as in the case of Africans in India, where the noticeable absence of women migrants is further decreased. Since, most of them were taken as slaves to sell and purchase.

As trade across the culture in the long-term lead to the creation of trading Diaspora. The term trading Diaspora means the interrelated commercial network of a nation of interdependent society, but, specially dispersed communities. The actual mode of organization of trading Diaspora may vary widely from informal ties to the formal. During the medieval period, trade was one of the cultural and social carrier from India to Tibet but, other contexts were also proved more sustainable.

## 1. TIBETAN IDENTITY: BASIC ELEMENTS

The symbolism in Tibetan Buddhism and His Holiness the Dalai Lama acquired great respect in their society. As said earlier, that His religious position is unchallenged but the political and democratic values have access to the common people. Dharmshala has become the holy place for them and the secret elements are attached to it from those refugees who are whether in Delhi and all over world. Therefore the Dharmshala act as a nucleus of the cell.

Mahayana Buddhism being prominent feature of their life along with their ancestral cult carries very important significance, though the name of rituals in worship may be little different. The worship start in the morning but it generally goes for whole day with the turning of wheel. Thus the Mahayana sect of Buddhism is the common element among all the Tibetans and serves a line of communication at several levels. The first basic element of identity is gathering movement in spite a lot of difficulties keep them to share a platform, which serves as ionic bond to bind them. Practically, Tibetans in Majnu-ka-Tila are compounded with religion and cultural patronage.

But, the change is inevitable and it is a process by which, a society adjusts itself to new conditions. Thus, society is product and process; it exists and decay due to various factors, such as technological, environmental, political, social, economical and demographic. The forced

movement of Tibetans put them in a new politico-economic and social structure. It was a new ecology for them before coming to India. They were, basically, agrarian and pastoral society that was following a feudal politico-economic structure. In reverse, the host country had democratic and secular form of government. They were put to urban city like Delhi. Since, they were settled nearby busy areas, they explored new ways to earn their livelihood. Thus, the social organization was definitely affected and readjusted itself to the new circumstances, as they gradually asserted in the host country.

The social structure underwent various changes due to nature of migration process, and new socio-political and developed economic structure of host country. Further, the rate of mobility, in the context of Tibetans can be understood not in terms of industrial societies versus traditional societies, but through the degree of cultural differences between the strata are least silent and conversely, that mobility is most sharply restricted where the distinctive attributes of the hierarchical groups are most pronounced.

## **2. SETTLEMENTS IN DELHI**

Geographical distribution in context of migrating communities to the host countries implies the settlement of migrants. Thus, it implies the territorial area in which migrants settle them and its historical context. The

settlement at Majnu-Ka-Tila has three types of habitation. The first type is which are made of RCC (Reinforced Cement Concrete). They are also called Pacca Houses. The second types of houses are made out of RCC that has the plastic seat as roof. The wooden planks with the roof of bamboos with a thatched of plastic seats are of third type or they are also called tent houses. The second types houses are predominantly seen in the old Tibetan refugee camp. They are seen as poor men's heavenly abode.

The next highest concentration of Tibetan population is residing in Tibetan market near Inter State bus Terminal. But, the housing pattern is RCC based and wooden planks are seen not commonly. The local people who are residing near by Majnu-ka-Tila and Ladkah-Budh-Vihar are also influenced by the architecture and other housing pattern of these peoples. The contact on the basis of social political and religious phenomenon is greatly influencing the Dalit Sikh community and the change is noticeable in their day-to-day activities and they are very much aware above the Buddhist monasteries and the Dalai Lama, functioning of Government-in-Exile, the process of selection and local political network.

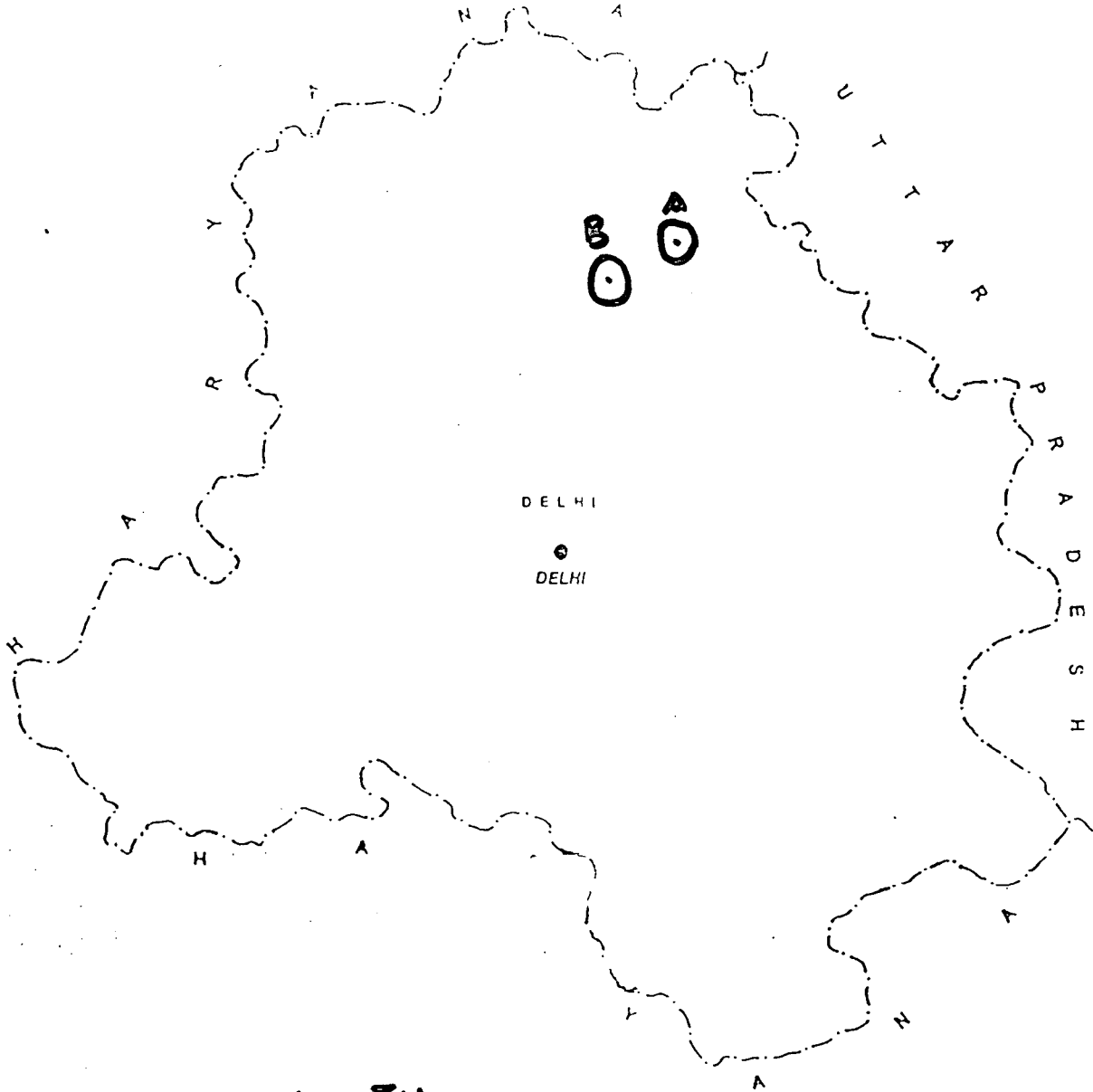
The geographical location of Majnu-ka-Tila and Ladkah-Budh-Vihar will be very much clear by the map given below and also colonies and population residing surrounding area.



Map

DELHI  
DISTRICT 1991

BOUNDARY :  
STATE / UNION TERRITORY .....  
UNION TERRITORY CAPITAL. ●



A. → Majnu-ka-Tila.

B. → Laddakh-Buddh-Vihar.

Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India copyright, 1993.

### 3. ETHNIC PROFILE

An ethnic group entertains a subjective belief in their common descent due to similarities of physical type or of customs or both or because of memories of colonization and migration. An objective blood relationship does not matter. A number of features are termed as hallmark of ethnicity (which is shared by members) such as: language, religion, food traditions and residential patterns.

“Ethnicity is intimately related to the evolution of nineteenth and twentieth century state system through the force of nationalism. Thus, it is idea of modern nationalism that predicts the most intensely politicized dynamics of ethnic “affiliation with its emphasis on ‘we’ and ‘they’”. Nationalism requires a primary political and territorial community the state with a common ethnic identity --- the nation.”<sup>3</sup>

“Since, social mobility reduced rigid class identity in Europe but the traditional, enshrined class distinctions were not yet institutionalized in the third world. The always-available ethnic identity presented itself as a convenient rallying point to be utilized as a political instrument for development gains. Ethnicity, therefore, has appeared as a political phenomenon, which has been no more disintegrative than has political party formation.”<sup>4</sup>

Thus, it is not poverty but prospects for advancement that enhances the use of ethnic identity. The ethnic consciousness of this form is at infant

---

<sup>3</sup> John F. Stack, Jr., *Ethnic Identities In a Transitional World*, 1981. p. 4

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, Dennis, Roenen Deve, *Ethnicity, Politics and Development*, (Lowarado; Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1986), p. 6

stage and it can be seen in the Tibetan diaspora. Basically, three types of interpretation are used to analyze ethnicity:

1. Cultural aspects of ethnic groups: acculturation into the mainstream of society leads to reduction of ethnic differences.
2. Social class and economic composition of ethnic groups: assertion on these lines can be seen among Tibetans of Delhi.
3. Structural networks and power of community.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Structure of Occupation

12-37

1. Meaning
2. Pattern of Occupation
3. Historical Perspective of Tibetan Economy
4. Occupational Structure of Tibetans in Delhi
  - A. Seasonal Garments Business
  - B. Hotel and Guest House Keepers
  - C. Eateries and General Store Keepers
  - D. Spice Sellers and Press Workers
  - E. Chang Sellers
5. Impact of the Occupation on the Social Structure and its Analysis

## CHAPTER TWO

# STRUCTURE OF OCCUPATION

### 1. MEANING

In every society the norms and values are preserved, apart from this, the economic pattern is also the basic phenomenon to determine the status of people. This status depends upon the economic development, the occupation and the distribution of resources among the work- force of the country. The basic fact is revealed by the criteria of structure where the maximum human energy is utilized. A.G.B rightly states: "In every progressive economy, there has been a steady shift of employment and investment from the essential 'primary' activities... to 'secondary' activities of all kinds and to a still greater into tertiary production".<sup>1</sup>

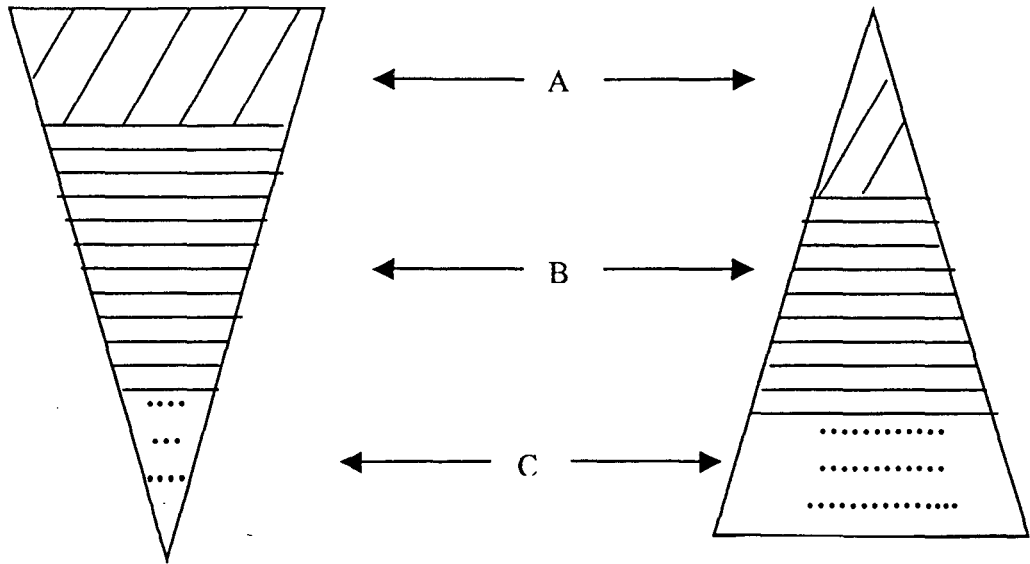
Therefore, the division indicates that basically maximum enhancement is carried by which sector and it is also the determining factor of the growth of economy.

The working force is the determining factor of the economic progress. The dependent population increases results and decreases the living standard of the country as a whole. For example with the help of pyramid cal distribution of population it is quite easy to understand the progress made by the society.

---

<sup>1</sup> Datt and Sundaram: *Indian Economy* (New Delhi: S. Chand and Company Ltd., 1998), p. 66.



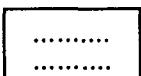
**Pattern of population and distribution**



Developed countries

Developing countries

**Indications**

- A  Age group: Above 60 years
- B  Working force: Age is between 18 to 59 years
- C  Children: 0 to 17 years, non-productive force

These are two diagrams: 1 and 2. The first diagram is showing the western pattern of population distribution, where the dependent segment on economy is very less. Children are very few in comparison with the old and young age group. The young group, from 18 to 59 years is the base of any economy because they stand for earning segment. Above 60 ages group is more; but they are not totally dependent due to the social mechanism. They

have their earning sources and they not only earn but also give economic support to the country.

The diagram 2 which is pyramidal represents the population distribution in developing countries just opposite in this context where children i.e. most consuming sector is maximum but who are in non-productive also. The earning section has to depart into two parts, so the savings and investment is negligible.

The pyramid one represents the western distribution of population, which signifies the developed economy, and developing countries pattern is vice versa.

## **2. PATTERN OF OCCUPATION**

Occupations cover many categories namely agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery etc. these are collectively known as 'primary' activities or industries. The primary criteria is given to them because, their products are essential or vital for human existence is basic source of them. The manufacturing industries, both small and large scale are known as Secondary; Tertiary sector includes transport, communication, banking, finance, and service sector.

Comparative economic pattern of the native society constitute change in economic pattern and the society manifests different occupations and establish new livelihood zones.

As far as the Tibetan diversification is concerned "Tibetans have a strict division of labour based on both sex and age. They also attach importance for any secondary occupation other than agriculture, which serves them as secondary sources of income. Men and women join hand and work hard to improve the economic standard of the family. Though the trend go for traditional occupation and getting easy paying jobs is increasing but they have agriculture as their primary source of family income. The later situation is found more among the families coming from peasant background. So men, women and children concentrate on farm activities. They used all the labour force they hand in the family. It is not noticed that on the contrary, extra hands from families of non-peasant background have joined Para Military services or are on business and trade to earn for the family.<sup>2</sup>

There is a close relationship between development of an economy on one hand and occupational structure on the other. 'Economic progress is generally associated with criterion distinct necessary and predictable changes in occupational structure Colin Clark also supports the views: "A

---

<sup>2</sup> A.V. Arkari, *Tibetans in India, The Uprooted People and Their Cultural Transplantation* (New Delli: Reliance Publishing House, 1999), p192.



high average land of real economic per hand is always associated with a high proportion of the working population engaged in tertiary industries... low real income per head is always associated with a low proportion of the working population engaged in tertiary production and a high percentage in primary production”.

A.G.B. Fisher reaches the same conclusion: in every progressive economy there had been a steady shift of employment and investment from the essential ‘primary activities’... to secondary activities of all kinds and to a still greater extent into tertiary production.

### **3. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF TIBETAN ECONOMY**

The rugged terrain, dominated by steep Mountain range the arid plateaus and spare natural resources are facts of Tibetan commodities therefore. The Tibetan economy is characterized by a stability and growth. Yak herds and sheep flocks have long played a vital role in the Tibetan economy. The herd’s men utilize the higher reaches of mountain valley and vast change. These are the common features of in economy. Apart from this the common belief in Tibet is that land belongs to the divine authority allocated the land to the monastery state and nobility. These institutions provide protection to commoners in return of their services and taxes.

"The way of life is different with separated cultural entity such as peasants, nomads/ herdsman, traders and artisans. Peasants form the 63% of population they lived in countryside Tibet lacks men to till the land. Owing to their practices of the polyandrous marriages and celibate life in monasteries and also due to a high death rate owing to here few and land therefore most of the land was 'left fallow'.<sup>3</sup>

"Despite the fact that land is poor and unproductive, there is enough food for all and even through life in the high plateau is hard and austere, there is a serenity and contentment parading the life of the individual and the community".<sup>4</sup> This reveals the self-contained fact of Tibetan economy.

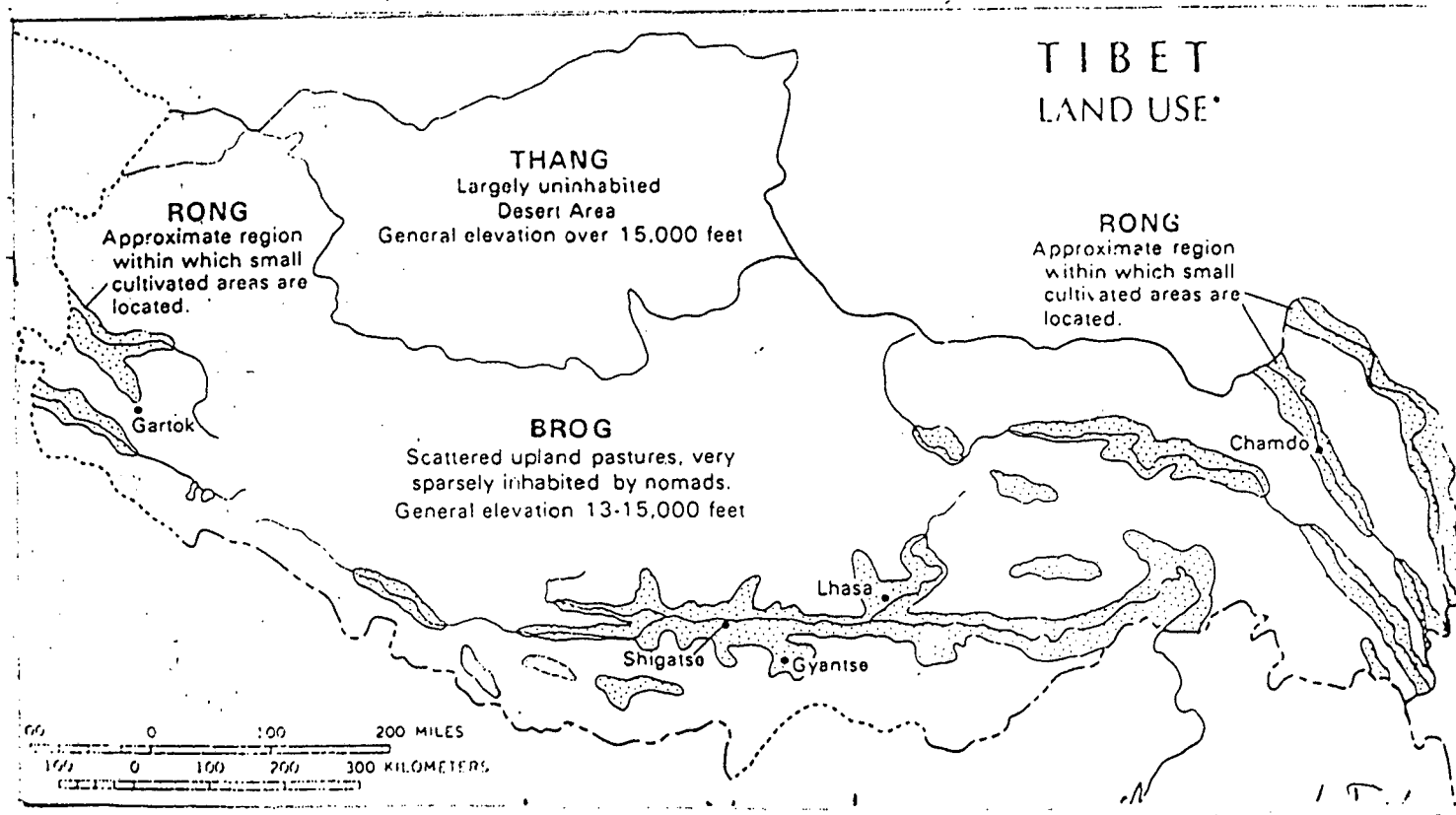
The map is showing the land use of Tibet in which western part contains cultivated area. Scattered upland pastures, with very sparsely inhabited by nomads is in the southern part. Thang and Rong are located in the northern and northwest part.

---

<sup>3</sup> Tibetan Review, Vol. 3, March 1968, p.6

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 6.

# MAP



Source: Pradyumna P. Karan, *The Changing of Tibet, The Impact of Chinese Communist Ideology on The Landscape* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976), p. 40

Girija Saklani adds the social factor in it and sums up in these words; “generally the economy of any society is analyzed as a part of sub-system within a larger social framework. Economic activities are taken as a part of the total system, but in the Tibetan context, as previously observed the ecosystem was fragmented in several lands of regional self-sufficiency”.<sup>5</sup>

The Tibetan monastic economy was also prosperous. The monastic segment in Tibet was very rich. It used to enjoy the revenues of enormous estates. Every monastery had its own dealer, who procured provisions and other necessities. One would hardly believe what enormous sums were spent on the upper three of the monasteries and their primates. The monasteries also got offerings from its followers in the shape of cash and kind such as yak, sheep, and goat, silver coins and butter are offered with full devotion. A large number of the people and government resources diverted towards monasteries.

According to report, the large monasteries also had fabulous hoards of wealth in form of statues, icons and relics made of costly metals, lamps of gold and silver, precious gems and stones and invaluable art treasures. This wealth did not come to any use at all. At least the common Tibetan did not enjoy any good acquiring from such hoards except for occasional sights. This wealth is never given to the poor people by the monastery at times of their need.

---

<sup>5</sup> Girija Saklani, *The Uprooted Tibetans in India* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1984) p. 210.

The administration of monasteries is autonomous in nature and the land, which is attached to the monasteries. The Herdsman constitutes the 20% of the population and move from place to place in search of food and shelter. According to weather change, during winter, the economic activities of shepherds include both food production and preservation whom who can use during the need.

Moreover, the peasants and nomads did not even own any property, but they get animal products such as meat, skin, ghee, cheese etc. Maximum trade was done from Lahsa because maximum route towards Ladakh and Kalimpong were joint by it so food products barley, wheat wool, yak-tail mask, deer horn, salt, medicinal herbs.

In the words of Norbu "there are the valley farmers and the mountain nomads; there are the traders whose caravans endlessly play back and forth, supplying such needs as the people cannot supply for themselves; and there is the monk-hood. The lay members of the government form a fifth division of the nobility. It is a small group; its members are often, but no means always wealthy."<sup>6</sup>

At times Tibet had also its national currency with coins of different denomination. Paper currency was also reported to have been a part of the

---

<sup>6</sup> Thublen Narbu, J. and Turnbull, Colin, *Tibet its History, Religion and People* (Calcutta: Allied Publishers, 1969), p. 49.

fiscal system. But in matters of trade with neighboring countries, foreign currency, for instance Indian and Nepalese currency, was also freely used.

Specially, in Tibetan boarder areas the periodic trade markets at different centers were always very big affairs of very great importance to the national economy of Tibet. Several such fairs were held in the border regions connected with Nepal, India, china and Bhutan etc.

Frequently combining business with religion, the Tibetan Tradesmen operated both within their national boundary and in other levels like India, which offered them the best scope for combining business with pilgrimage; for the Pilgrim peddlers to fill up the vacuum conducted the periodic trips. As per reports all these merchants and traders in large number used to collect good from both sides of the borders. The bridge communities on either side of the border greatly facilitated the functioning of the periodic trade.



#### 4. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TIBETANS IN DELHI

Today, the Tibetan refugees have not only achieved a fair degree of economic stability but they have developed some specific area of their business dealings also. Initially majority of refugees lacked any formal and technical specialty and business education. The basic fact behind was that the self-sufficient nature of Tibetan economy where most of the population depends upon agriculture and animal husbandry as means of livelihood. The subsidiary occupations were forestry hunting fortune telling, magic and

DISS  
304.80954  
G96 Ti  
TH11176

Na

21

PH-11176

herbal therapy etc. There were laborers as well. A privilege few were employed in government services and monastic establishment many of whom had grants of agriculture and had to pay some amount in cash.

Due to the various reasons the Tibetan population have maintained stability, which also leads to their stable economy. It was one of the contribution of the social practice of polyandry along with the climatic contribution is not less in its impact and due to the high altitude, cold beaten conditions and large tracts of land are uncultivable. Hence the subsistence level is promoted. River valleys proved to be best for farming where irrigation water was available in abundance. Barley was the main crop, rice and wheat also grown in a limited quantity. "The mineral content in the land is relatively unexplored. Since many rivers from Tibet like the Yangtze and the Indus contains gold sands, it is reasonable to expect Tibet to be rich in gold, iron, lead and coal mines have been found. However, in the absence of any systematic prospecting Tibet's mineral riches remains a subject for speculation".<sup>7</sup>

Moreover religion also played direct role in their dependency and unindustrialized nature. It helps some of the people to earn their livelihood through prayers and teachings, which become totally futile in new circumstances. Monks and Nuns handle the monasteries and affairs related to that. These monastery have great earnings, but the use of this offering

---

<sup>7</sup> Shen, Tsung- Lien and Liu, Shen-Chi, *Tibet and The Tibetans*, (California: Stamford University Press, 1953), p. 17.

consumed by upper strata of society which perform hardly any work, but have reservation on knowledge and cultural-capital as such in the Indian Varna system, where the highest religious priest a Brahmin have all rights of education and knowledge and rest of the society totally unaware about the knowledge based skill, which further lead the oppression and suppression of common mass. Sudras or Untouchables are the first victim of it in India.

In the absence of any specific skill, it was not possible to rehabilitate any substantial number of them in suitable jobs. The yet unresolved unemployment problem of India also created difficulties. The only alternative left was to put them in some unskilled jobs. Hence the refugees were initially sent to work in road building and construction projects on the Himalayan border. Tibetan refugees thus employed were paid wages according to the current wage rates of India. This was an ad hoc arrangement to be continued till through suitable rehabilitation programmes the refugees were engaged in this work. Later they were transferred to the settlements specifically meant for them.

Some of the settlements and construction project sites were in the Indian boarder areas adjoining, the Tibetan boundary also called the Hindu-Buddhist cultural contact zone, where the climate and terrain were favourable to the Tibetans. Ecology and also culturally these areas were not much different from the homeland of the refugees.

Along with the ecology and culture, economic transition was also made smooth. In different settlements different agricultural, industrial handicrafts sites were created. The multipurpose societies directly under the



Dalai Lama Trust employment in the Tibetan settlement made their livelihood easy and proper. Tibetan music, dance and Drama societies and individuals small scale societies and business enterprises carried most of employment opportunities.

According to 1976 figures from the home and rehabilitation office of Tibetan administration, Dharmashala, approximately 40 to 50 percent of the refugees had been settled in various agricultural fields and land settlements, 2.61% in handicrafts, 5.88 in industry, 3.32 in multipurpose societies and 0.11% under directly Dalai Lama's Trust\*.

An over all view of Tibetan economy in India is almost given in the above paragraphs, all their economic aspects in exile is quite clear, how there is also a great deal of shift from traditional system of occupation to specialization and more over category wise organized sector. Monks have renounced their monkhood and taken to different secular vocations, the specific focus is needed in Delhi's Tibetans and their occupational status. In early 60s when they came to India, initially few families launched to Delhi and stationed themselves at Laddakh-Buddh-Vihar (Buddhist Temple) Bela road, near Inter State Bus Terminal (I.S.B.T.), Delhi 110059. Gradually when number of settlers started growing, they were shifted to Majnu-Ka-Tila under the direction of Late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The place Majnu-Ka-Tila on which Tibetan refugee camp is situated is in the north district of Delhi near the River Yamuna. It runs Parallel to the national high way number 45. The settlement is scattered over an area of 11.7 acre. The settlement

---

\*Source: Field Work

divided into two part viz. old Tibetan refugee camp and New Tibetan refugee camp.

The old Tibetan refugee camp stretches over an area 10.1 acre of land and where as the new. Tibetan refugee camp covers on area of 1.6 acre of land. The New Tibetan refugee camp came into existence, when a part of the old Tibetan refugee camp adjoining to the national highway number 45 was demolished to widen the highway for the Asian games. Around 30 families were affected and where shifted to the present site and thus new refugee camp came into existence.\*

Tibetans in Delhi, at Majnu-Ka-Tila and Laddakh-Buddh-Vihar, are closely knitted through their religion. They move in and out of place with in a set of a season. During winter, the population at Majnu-Ka-Tila rises up to 4000 to 5000 and during summer it reduces. Delhi being the capital city of India offers a large range of scope to earn their livelihood. Hence, out of total population at Majnu-Ka-Tila at least 60% are in earning category. Now the conditions are changing drastically but when in the beginning they were shifted to Majnu-Ka-Tila their economic conditions was very poor and hardly they were able to earn to support their families, it can be clarify more with the help of this Table:

---

\*Source: Field Work

TABLE: 1

**SOURCE OF FAMILY INCOME ACCORDING TO THE PROFESSIONAL  
DISTRIBUTION IN MAJNU-KA-TILA**

S. No.	Profession	Income	Percentage of population engaged
1	Change seller	2000-1500	50%
2.	Seasonal garments and cosmetic sellers	2000-2800	28%
3.	Eateries and general stores	3000-2500	6%
4.	Motels and guest houses	4000-7000	15%
5.	Spice-sellers	1000-1200	1%

\*Source: Field Work

This table is clearly indicating that the maximum number of population was engaged in Chang selling. Basically Tibetans who came to Delhi were unskilled and unable to do another job due to climatic condition. Delhi being very hot during summer made their life very difficult. But they used to drink their traditional drink Chang and it is made of wheat and barley. As soon as local community came to know about this drink the demand increased for selling very fast and Tibetans took it as an advantage and at large level they started to manufacture it. Later the whole Majnu-Ka-Tila became famous as Changpura our in local people. Still locality near by it know this place as

Changpura by this name. And its quite clear, that maximum at least 50% population was engaged in Chang production.

The next profession, which was adopted by them, was seasonal garment selling. Being from cold country they have specialization in woolen knitting, and winter garment. At least, 28 percent of population engaged in it.

Infact, things have changed drastically in and Tibetan refugees witnessed it very first. It is very easy to observe that quite a significant number of them have taken to cottage industry, woolen garments and carpets, and have been pursuing the line with amendable expertise and organizational skill in it. The sale of hand woven carpet has shown a steady upward trend is in great demand all over Delhi. These items are sold on industrial small group or co-operative basis. In this context a noticeable change in economic pattern is seen.

Further, this kind of business have been expanded and extended many fold by the enterprising Tibetan refugees. It is a common sight in the winter near Red Fort that Tibetan sellers are packed with either superior or inferior qualities knitwear manufactured in Ludhiyana (Punjab). Apart from this, the, Laddakh-Buddh-Vihar, which have strong hold of selling jeans plus all types of clothes is flooded with all type of woolen quality. The reason behind is that the Tibetan knitwear is that of the fine quality with pure wool. It

has been estimated that Delhi alone over 4000 Tibetans gather every winter to carry on briskly the woolen garments.”<sup>8</sup>

Additionally the economic rehabilitation of the refugees in Delhi and their coming closer to the Indian people has been greatly propounded. Catering and running of Restaurants are also popular and much resorted to for their cuisine. Investigations revealed the fact that the prices were found to be relatively cheap though the upkeep and standard of cleanliness left much to be desired. It was also founded that the eating-houses in many cases in temporary sheds or tents, supply not only the Tibetan and Chinese dishes such as Mo-Mo, Thukpa but also various other eateries.

This along with the fact signifies that Tibetan females folk are also employed in these establishments and pursuing the work in normal way, almost as a part of their household work.

In the Indian situation and particularly metropolitan city like Delhi, there is evidences to the huts of food, commonly known as ‘Dhabas’. In this category, many of Tibetans eating and drinking houses are unlicensed and unauthorized. In some cases Delhi government machinery noticed the matter and took steps to close down these Dhabas. But it was found that selling of these Dhabas has meant loss of livelihood to a large number of Tibetan families. Virtually, four to five families on the earring of each such

---

<sup>8</sup> “*Tibetan Review*”, vol. VIII, No. 22. Feb 1973, New Delhi, p. 5.

Dhabas depended because most of these eating joints cater to lower segment of the society.

On the whole, Tibetans have successfully form a self-sufficient economy into a competitive market and have adjusted to the new situation. They have learned new skills in business and opened many new areas for them and a great majority of them have improved their learning standard comparison to what prevailed in the old feudalistic structure where the people were exposed to various type of economic exploitation.

The Tibetan refugees in Delhi have a feeling that those who have migrated from Tibet are better of from these who are in Tibet. It is very significant that the younger generation, which is a strong critic of Tibetan leadership, favored new educational system, progressive economic structure and open and just opportunistic circumstances. This indeed is an ideological change.

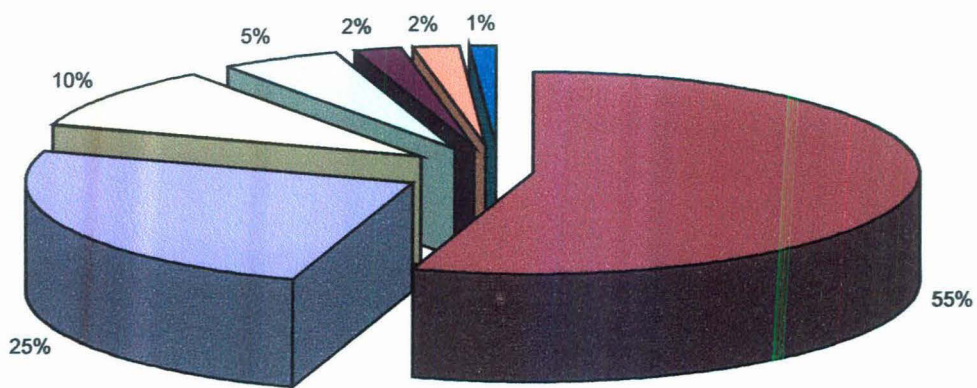
The factor responsible for change in attitude includes, cultural differences in the new set-up and the ways in which new forces are stirring in the traditional life of the Tibetan exiled society. In Tibet land and livestock along with gold and silver which main criteria for measuring economic status. Another factor was that the traditional economic life was familiar and based on a network of obligations. But in Delhi, the old idea of co-operative effort is replaced by the acquisition of new skills both general and technical.

Capitalization and acquisition of personal property is the rising trend. The economic well-being is now measured in the terms of increased income and possession of the goods of comforts.

In fact, the economic profile of changing Tibetan society is that of a gradual shift from preoccupation with otherworldliness to a conscious pursuit of worldliness. There is a constant effort for economic betterment for raising low income and acquiring better goods and services and gaining all ground of prosperity. This desire of getting high living standard drastically cut the population of Chang selling which is now not considered as reputed business which was badly needed at a particular time. The shifting from Chang and cosmetic selling to the woolen and seasonal garments plus Hotels and Guesthouse business.

The changing phenomenon can best be represented through this circular diagram.

**The diagram is showing the percentage wise distribution of different criteria of occupation \***



\* Source: Field Work



## **A. SEASONAL GARMENT'S BUSINESS**

Around 55 percent of the population is earning their livelihood by selling seasonal garments and specifically in woolen garments in the Tibetan Market, seasonal market near Red Fort and on the footpaths of all over Delhi. They represent the form of highly mobile proportion of the population. They do garments business in Delhi during winter season and migrate to high altitude place during summer to earn their livelihood. This segment of Tibetans is quite well off economically. Or it can be concluded that they represent above average standard.

## **B. HOTELS AND GUEST HOUSES KEEPERS**

The owners of Hotels and Guest House keepers form highest income group. Tibetans prefer to stay in their own community as they flock over here to stay and feel safe and it gives them homely environment due to same culture interaction becomes quite easy and since now all the communications are available and people like it.

The other very positive aspect regarding this profession is that some time local people also like to stay in the Tibetan Hotels because of the upkeep and facilities and the food like Momo and Thukpa is quite popular in Indian Community. Ultimately, this is benefiting the Tibetan earning source. An observation reveals that people carrying Hotels and Guest House are in well to do conditions in comparison to other.

## **C. EATERIES AND GENERAL STORE KEEPERS**

Ten percent of the population is engaged in running eateries and General stores. All the eateries sell Tibetan and Chinese food, which are

non-spicy. The Dhabas and stalls are included in it. The Chinese noodles are generally preferred from these eateries by Indian population. The General stores are the smaller shops generally caring by women. Infact when any body walk on the road before Changpura the sight is so common that before every house small shelves are kept and things which are used in every day life are kept. It is easy that women who carry these shops earn not much but sufficient enough.

#### **D. SPECIE SELLERS AND PRESS WORKERS**

This group is included in low-income group. The income generated by them can only sustain their soul and body together. Only 2% of the population of the camp is engaged in these activities. The youth work in printing press as proofreaders in Tibetan press and manage to earn in between 2000 to 3000 Rs. The spice sellers are amongst the poorest among poor. They have to travel all over Delhi and sometime out of Delhi. According to weather they carry their work. Generally four months of monsoon are for rest because of rain and obstacles in transportation they cannot carry it smoothly.

#### **E. CHANG SELLER**

Chang is home made light drink of Tibetans. It is prepared either from barley, millet or rice. It contains small amount of intoxicant any alcoholic amount is not added but it is fermented through yeast. This business was up to 60 percent when Tibetans took shelter in Majnu-Ka-Tila but later on due to

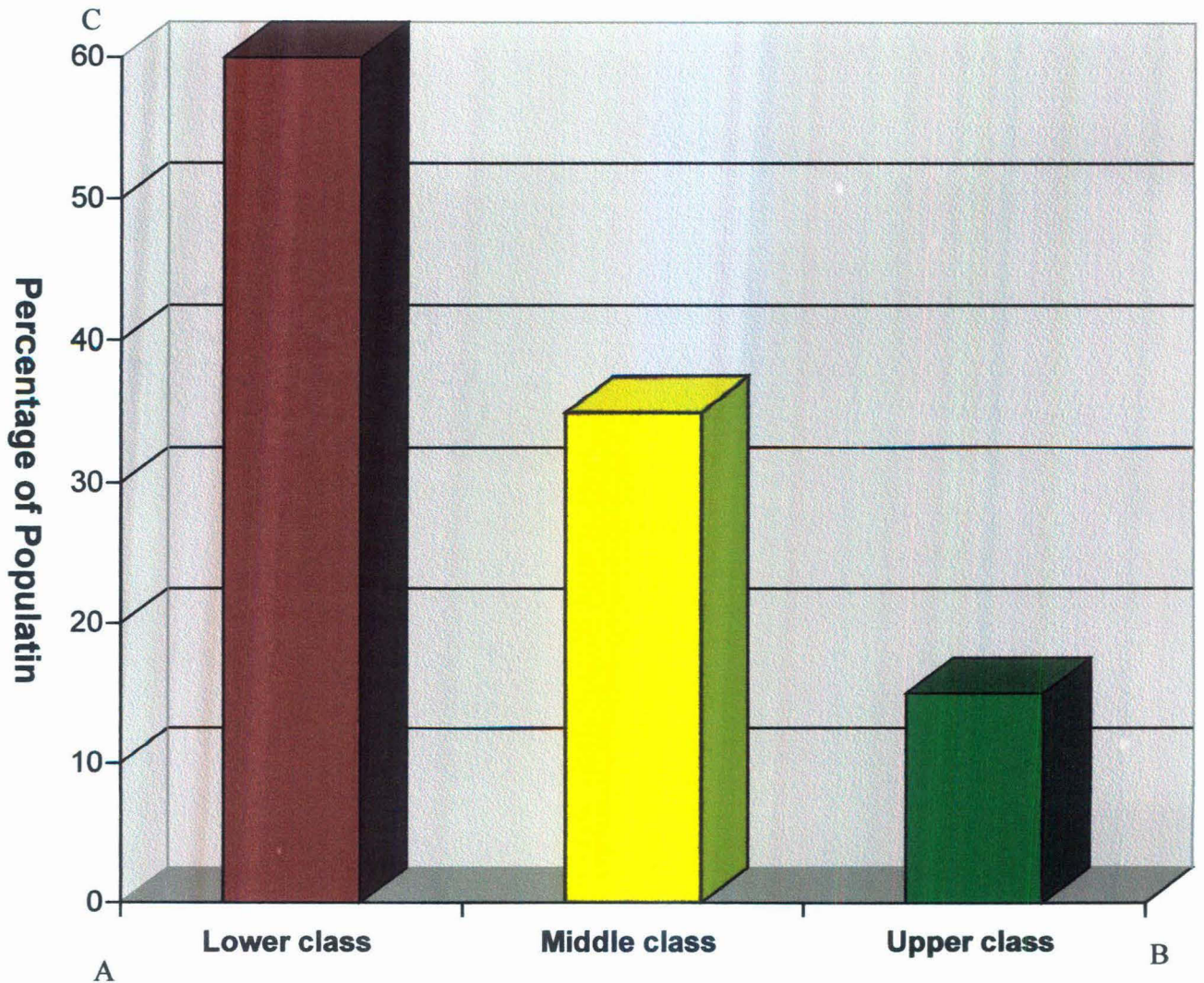
some untoward incidents a ban was put on Chang sellers by Delhi government. Moreover these days this profession is not considered very prestigious in Tibetans themselves. But for self-consumption or few selling still it is produced so the percentage has come drastically as 50 to 5 percent.

There are two criteria left for the Tibetan earnings working in hotels and cooks. Actually who are expert in cooking prefer to work in hotels as cook because it gives them good income as well as no special skill is needed. But they do get much and able to maintain their families.

Atleast, two percent population is not engaged in specific areas as they do keep change according to need and time. But it can be said that compare to other settlements in other parts of country, Tibetans in Delhi maintain their high standard as Laddakh-Buddh-Vihar Market is the best sample where they have settled shops and regular customers as well as good earning.

There is no significant employment in primary and secondary sector occupation in Delhi. Infact all production and manufacturing is taking place in Himachal Pradesh and other North Eastern settlements. For example carpet making woolen knitting and other precious stone and decorative items are manufactured out of Delhi. Those people who are representing high standard of living are basically engaged in Hotel industry and clothe selling, where they have specific market and regular income.

### Living Standard of Tibetans in Delhi\*



\*Source: Field Work

The line AC is representing percentage of population and class as are shown on the base (AB). Approximately hundred percent Tibetan population is residing in Delhi is taken as a sample and on the basis of their earning occupation and expenditure is shown in the diagram.

Those who are selling these days or spice sellers, working in hotels are generally naming lowering income and so represent lower strata of society. Generally these are domestic works and carried by women. But in younger generation the recent trend is that they are going abroad in search of better livelihood and better standard of life opportunities took place. The point to be noted here is that a positive role of the desirable activities were promoted for economic growth as well as egalitarian pattern of distribution. For this the objectives were set in different forms:<sup>9</sup>

- (a) Reduction in the concentration of economic power.
- (b) Reduction in the relative disparities in earnings.
- (c) Reduction in the relative disparities in income and consumers expenditure.
- (d) Reduction or eradication under of absolute poverty.

## **5. IMPACT OF THE OCCUPATION ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION AND ITS ANALYSIS**

In any community the public expenditure and investment serving all depend upon the growth of economy and particularly in the trade, and services. Tibetan community after taking shelter in Delhi tried hard to come

---

<sup>9</sup> Uma Kapila, *Indian Economy since Independence* (Academic Foundation 1995), p. 346.

out of economic disparities. But the compulsion comes in Indian context that they have to settle their placement in the globalized era.

The role of changing technology structural context in demographic planning proved a supportive ladder to grow up sizeable increase in income and deviation from low land to standard side. Large expansion of employment and opportunities were utilized and more distribution was taken place.

There are various factors, which gave different dimensions to the economy of these refugees. And, the changing economic scenario, trade and its role in new business policy marked the significant growth.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **The Leadership, Local political set-up and network**

**38-66**

1. Leadership: Meaning
2. Dimensions of Leadership
  - A. The Dalai Lama: An Institution
3. Democratisation Process of Tibetan community
  - A. The Regent (Gyal-tsab)
  - B. The council of regency
  - C. The council of ministers (Ka-Shag)
4. Local Political set up in Delhi:
  - A. Tibetan Welfare Office
  - B. Tibetan Refugee Welfare Committee
  - C. Tibetan Youth Congress, Regional Working Committee
  - D. The Bureau of His Holiness The Dalai Lama
  - E. The Local People's Assembly
  - F. Tibetan Women's Association
  - G. Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His Holiness The Dalai Lama
  - H. Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace
  - I. Tibet House
5. Network and Communication in Delhi

# CHAPTER THREE

## LEADERSHIP, LOCAL POLITICAL SET-UP AND NETWORK

### 1. LEADERSHIP: MEANING

“Leadership is a concept most often used in the study of small groups or complex organisations. It refers to a set of social process directing the productive activities of a threat, maintaining groups cohesion and so forth. It may also refers to individuals performing leadership roles, as when reference is made to ‘the leadership’ a group or organisation. There are often multiple leadership roles within a small group and different situation often make different types of leaders more effective.”<sup>1</sup>Therefore, leadership is also attached with individual qualities and most individuals occupying leadership roles exhibits such as intelligence, dominance, extroversion and talkativeness.

Leaders are not born but made, this argument has the sociological perspective so, and this is in fact the impact of personality traits on the emerging situations, factors and tasks. Further, the study reveals that the social factors like a gender age, race, education, occupation and religions status all affect the choice of leader by group. Moreover, task oriented leadership and structural leadership affect up to the extent i.e. if a group

---

<sup>1</sup> Edgar F. Borgatta, Marie L. Borgatta; *Encyclopaedia of Sociology*, Vol. 3 (New York: Macmillian Publishing Company, 1984), p. 1086



member who is expert in mechanic work, naturally he will receive more votes as a leader if the task is something related to mechanic field.

“Leadership roles are heavily influenced by the type of task, by the communication patterns imposed by spatial or technological factors and by group size.”<sup>2</sup> Whether, the circumstances are formal or extra, leader gets the attention, the variations can be according to the situation, as Fielder also argues that leaders who stress task competition rather than groups moral will be more effective because the outcome will display the effectiveness and success in the terms of quantity.

The organisation which is highly structured and having various dimension in religious, cultural, political, economical and education in such situations most of the factors create more favourable opportunities for leaders because decision making is another facet of leadership. Sometimes, executives are hired to make decisions for the institution, but sociologists have found that effective organisation usually provide circumstances to flourish successful leaders.

Hence, without effective leadership and social movements may remain nothing more than a bubble. This makes the leadership favoured in secular and democratic countries following developing patterns.

Max Weber noted “there are three types of ‘legitimate authority’ in social and economic organisations. The first rests on charismatic qualities of the leader as an individual, the social involves patriarchal or traditional

---

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 1087.

principles and the third is leadership by formal rules.”<sup>3</sup> These three aspects of Weber truly represents the His Holiness The Dalai Lama’s leadership in Tibetan context. Where the personality factor, “The Dalai Lama, symbol of Temporal and spiritual power, was the head of ecclesiastic and the secular state. He is the one now considered as the early presence of *Chenrezi*- patron of Tibet and embodiment of compassion. He was personally chosen by the early Lamato carry out his mission of salvation.”<sup>4</sup>

Thus, he upholds the ancient traditions that affirm his periodical descent to the land of snows for the specific purposes of watching over the spiritual destinies of its inhabitants. As a *changchup sempa* (Bodhisattva) and one of the most highly worshipped in Mahayana Buddhism, renounces the opportunity of vanishing into indefinable nirvana. By taking human form and under going birth, death and all other vicissitudes mankind is subject to, he may illumine with words and example, the creatures he protects. By this, he shiftily leads them to that state of spiritual perfection which provides them paradise or liberation within the bounds of their ability, *Karmas*, patriarchal involvement and charismatic qualities of individual personality is accounted. Further, Simmel and Weber give diversity in the particular part of needed area.

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 1086

<sup>4</sup> A. V. Arakeri, op. cit. ,p.223

## 2. DIMENSIONS OF LEADERSHIP

Basically, the sociological aspect of leadership is the *proper* way to exercise of power, in which the group, the organisation and the community collectively work. This exercise of power may be addressed to any or all of three very general and much related functions; as establishing the goals, purposes or objectives of the community. The emphasis is always given on the community because it enables the empirical investigation.

Schmidt states "the relation of leadership arises only where a group follows an individual from free choice and not under command or coercion and, secondly not in response to blind ideas but on positive and more or less rational grounds".<sup>5</sup>

The concept of leadership is changing according to social changes. Now, Weber's concept is proven classical. Because the contemporary sociological process which is operationally feasible as well as theoretically meaningful. The organisations in the modern urban societies require administrative expertise to play leadership role along with diplomatic qualities. So, the achievements replaces as the basis for political achievements.

In traditional Tibetan society, religious and spiritual leaders the Dalai Lama is religious head only, but in the present phenomenon the democratic form of government is sustained by him and he is the

---

<sup>5</sup> Richard Schmidt, *Encyclopaedia of Social Science Leadership*, Vol. 9 (New York: Macmillian Publishing House, 1933) p.282

executive leader who exercise broad political process. So, the politico-religious leadership in person of Dalai Lama.

Finally, the subject of leadership and executive behaviour in general should draw the increasing attention of social scientists. "The gap between the significance of executive behaviour and current explanatory methods calls for greater research attention. The wider use of aggregate data about executives in various systems has not seriously begun. If executive centralization is the trend, it must be carefully analysed, so that its process and consequences are better understood."<sup>6</sup>

#### **A. THE DALAI LAMA: AN INSTITUTION**

Tibet is considered the centre for Buddhist monks and ministries, and religion played a major role in Tibetan History. Both the Mahayana and Tantrayana form developed their own religious philosophy and disseminated Dharma, the teaching of Buddha. The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet took place step by step at all different times and by different teachers. It was government and administration that Buddhist monasteries and religious institutions were supported.

The theme of Karma had so much influence that it almost neutralized army in Tibet and Traditional Tibetans were averse to modern practices and vehemently opposed any change in their life style. Thus, the traditional Tibetan society was based on the system of Buddhist hierarchy

---

<sup>6</sup> Lester G. Scligman G. *The Presidential office and the president as party leader law and contemporary problems* (1956,) p. 724.

with maximum percentage of population living as commonness. The maximum resources of the country are in control of one-fourth population.

The condition before Chinese occupation, the establishment of Tibet used to be divided into two branches (1) Religious and (2) Secular affairs; and His Holiness, the Dalai Lama as the head of both. Since 1758, the institution of Dalai Lama has impinged upon the lives of Tibetans in many ways.

Lama Gedun Dub (1391 –1475), the first Dalai Lama, suggested the discovery of his rebirth. The first two Dalai Lamas were wholly religious personalities, discoursing on Buddhism and founding monasteries. The third Dalai Lama visited the Mongols. The fourth Dalai Lama was a Mongol prince. The combining of religious and political authority manifested with the fifth Dalai Lama. During his move from the Depung Monastery to the Potola in 1649, the Dalai Lama as an institution assumed its dimension as the world has known it. He represents in one person the headship of the Church and the state in Tibet. Thus, by blending the religious and political character of the institution he made it the symbol of the state.

The importance of the institution of the Dalai Lama in the context of the politics of central Asia of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is evident from the forces that shaped the political development of Tibetan then. The Dalai Lama, being religion –political head, serves as chain of unity which binds the Tibetans all over the world to the Tibetans culture, thus encouraging the elements of identity in Tibetans which serves as an ionic bond to bind all its elements in the compound. Though, the political systems

under the Dalai Lama, in the past, had the features of medievalism and feudalism along with their concomitant colour and darkness. It provided no scope for modernization, for development of political, economic and social infrastructure in and outside Tibet. It did not allow Tibet's exposure to the outside world and dimensions for intentional relations. This was the limitation of time, which could not be trespassed by anyone there. But, the importance of the Dalai Lama can be understood in the best manner, if one understand the African Dispora in India. The African in India were brought under the forced movement. Mainly, they were taken as slaves from the East African coast and were sold by both Arabs and Europeans. They were employed as domestics slaves and in other non-productive occupation. But they lacked the culture of remaining political–economically and socially united. Therefore the African lacked the ionic bond, which could bind the elements with in the compound saving it from various oxidation and reduction reactions. Thus, over a period of time they were assimilated in the local culture. The local culture incorporated only the elite siddis in the society's good position while the majority of them have been accommodated in the categories of untouchable (now called Dalits). It is in a larger extent a result of absence of socio-political head or social network, which could prosper within economic development and thus, could cherish African values and norms to reinforce socio-politico unity.

It means that the Dalai Lama as the institution, in the context of above statement, served a great job for the Tibetan as it provided them a symbol around which, they can organize themselves and unite. Though, the

institution had its own limitation *due* to the time and space. But, the present Dalai Lama had, time and again, reiterated that he is a *simple* monk and not a God.

But, even then, the Dalai Lama as the temporal head of Tibetans has successfully internationalised the cause of Tibetans. His efforts for peace all over the world and others socio-cultural programmes launched act as a messenger of love. There the Dalai Lama in a way created a sympathetic image of Tibetan all over the world and the people gather more support for Tibetan. The enlightened vision of Dalai Lama under the both Tibetan and modern education values, represent him as a religious-cum-rational-man, who does not believe in something because it is being followed for over a period of time. The kind of government set up by the Dalai Lama in exile represent the vision of Dalai Lama for a democratic set up. He is not interested in the theocratic set up of the government and ready to cut the religious connections of the state but gradually. The Government In Exile at Dharmshala in Himachal Pradesh represents the unique understanding of him, as he has totally set up government machinery under the guidance of modern education. He sees present with the eyes of present. He believes that the Tibetans should get expose to all the new forces of modernity.

Though, the religion exercise powerful control over social control and nobody can challenge the sanctity of the religion. But even, then, the institution under the new leadership has shown the dynamism and various reforms have been taken place to give a new outlook to the political authority. Though, radical changes will not be acceptable to the Tibetan. The

Tibetans society, even the present generation though more open to modern ideas and values but cannot adventure to have a totally radical change. This is evident from the fact that though they have accepted modern ideas, with varying degrees, not a single example was found where somebody would have followed extreme changes. Moreover, in the present context, though it is necessary to democratise the institution of Dalai Lama, for the over all progressive and democratisation of Tibetan, but till that the Dalai Lama, as institution should carry on the agenda of the championing the cause of Tibetans, which is otherwise impossible, as without this institution they will scatter like a family under war leading to the crisis of identity.

The institution serves as a powerful element of identity among the Tibetans. The Tibetans easily gets surrounded around the symbol and thus always able to ensure each other's support; unite and fight for their rights. The role of Dalai Lama is widely noticed in every sphere of life.

When in 1950 China took complete territorial and administrative control over Tibet region in order to liberate the Tibetan people from imperialist influences and re-unite the country, Tibetan spiritual and religious leader took asylum in India and garlanded his population in one administrative unit. Thus, the respect for Karma tended to emphasise and practises in their life style.

There are four sects in Tibet excluding the indigenous religion Bon: *Nyingurp*, *Kagyudpa*, *Sakyapa* & *Gelukpa*. The Dalai Lama belongs to the Gelukpa sect. Tsongkhapea founded this new sect commonly known as the yellow hat sect. In the fourteenth century, a Mongol chief conferred



the Title Dalai Lama, which means 'ocean of wisdom', on the third incarnation of his leading discipline. It is Chenrezi, the Buddha of mercy that chooses to reborn again and again for the benefit of others in accordance with the traditional in Mahayana Buddhism.

"Among the Dalai Lama, the fifth and the thirteenth are entitled great Dalai Lamas by the Tibetans. The sixth Dalai Lama showed little interest in temporal responsibilities and was more inclined towards poetry and love. After the death of eighth, other Dalai Lamas died before attaining their maturity and like the eleventh and twelfth Dalai Lama died soon after being enthroned. Generally, it can be said that regencies were time of maintaining the status quo."<sup>7</sup>

### **3. DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF TIBETAN COMMUNITY**

"Tibetan historical records have survived from the seventh century A.D. onward where the nomadic tribes populated Tibet as early as the second century B.C."<sup>8</sup> But the records were not available and it is the reason for apprehension that the most incorporated society was off screen on global scenario. The other reason was due to the lack of political freedom, Tibetans were not interested to contest in affairs related to it because they were very busy with their every day earning which is being crucial for their survival. It is very much true that common people needed economic rights rather than political fantasy.

---

<sup>7</sup> A Richardson, *Tibet and its History* (Boston: Shambala Publication, 1984), p. 67

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 67-69.

Democratisation of political system itself came from Greek society, which include political freedom, concept and meaning. The real meaning of democracy began to exist since the nineteenth century. The liberal political set-up attacked the absolute power of the state; consequently, practical democracy became a dream. Nevertheless, according to J.S. Mill and Rousseau, lack of socio-economic power limited political participation of civilization in democratic states. Similarly, Robert Dahl asserted that continuing responsiveness of government to the preferences of its citizens considerable as political equals as a key characteristic of a democracy.

In case of Tibetan Government in Exile, the Dalai Lama enjoys absolute power to take decisions and to issue commands. Because he exercises a good deal of influence and is recognized as well as highly revered authority for every Tibetan. The leadership is not based on the will of electorate but by dint of being a Buddhist leader. The political authority of the Dalai Lama remains unquestioned. The political leadership with authoritarian power can indeed lead into road to democracy, for instance transition of Taiwan to democracy was based on the principle that economical development is an essential factor in the process of democratisation.

Although, Tibet had lot of cultural links with her neighbouring countries but she maintained not only her own individuality in matters of religion and but also in polity. The structure of the Tibetan political and social institutions was naturally based on the Buddhist philosophy. Infact,

religion also served as the base of social and cultural life of Tibetans, this is the reason Tibet was remained as the land of religion.

"Before the 1950 the office of the Regent (Desi) was the principal office of the government. He governed the country at the time the Dalai Lama had yet to be discovered and grow to maturity. The regent was chosen by the national assembly from among the incarnate Lamas of the four monasteries in and near Lhasa. He exercised great authority but unlike the Dalai Lama, he was responsible to the assembly. The monastic institutions especially three Pillars monasteries near Lhasa had great influence in the assembly and could use this to choose a regent of their liking. It was, generally, felt that the Dalai Lama alone was competent to make drastic administrative or political changes and as a result the periods of regency in Tibetan history were periods of stagnation and corruption."<sup>9</sup>

"Chief or prime minister was the next in rank. The thirteenth Dalai Lama created this office in 1926 to serve as a link between him and the council of ministers. However, the title prime minister is somewhat misleading as the position on that he did not include chairing cabinet sessions but rather acting as a liaison between the cabinet and the Dalai Lama."<sup>10</sup>

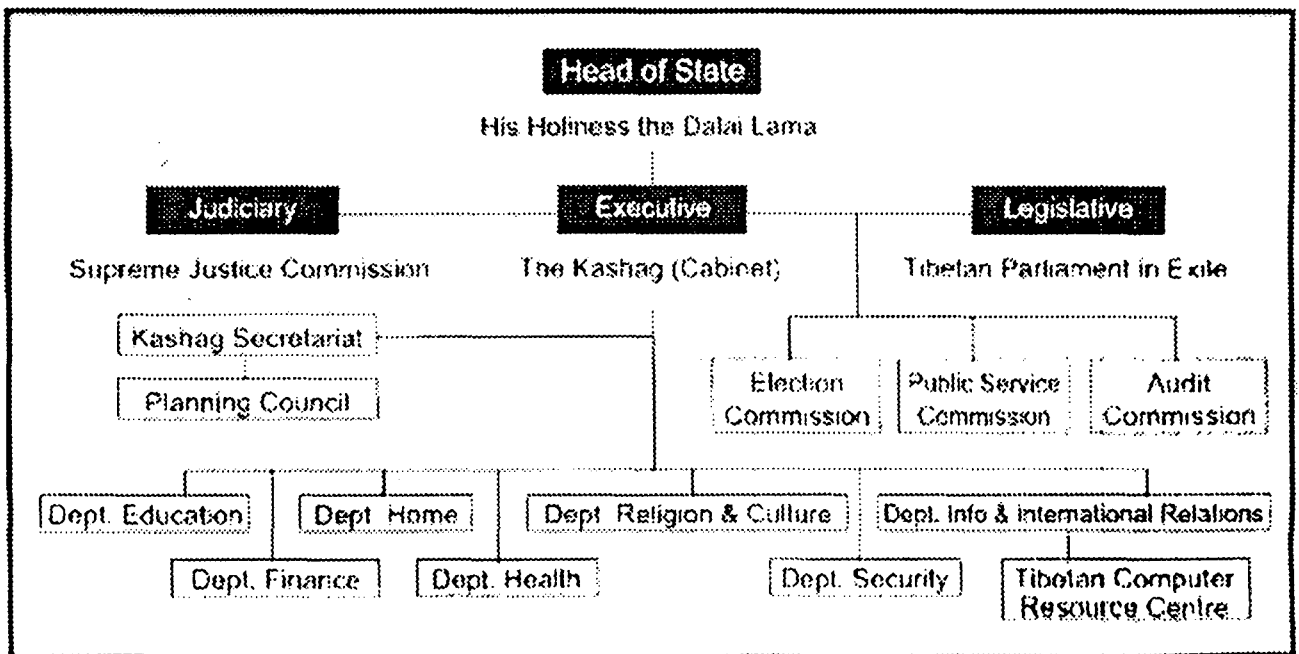
---

<sup>9</sup> Ram Rahul, *The Government and Politics of Tibet* (New Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1969), p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> Franz, Michael, *Rule By Incarnation* (Colorado: Colorado West Press, 1982), p. 51.

Below Dalai Lama, the Tibetan state administration is divided into four levels viz. central, province, District and village. As shown in the table.

TABLE \*



\*Source: Field Work

## **A. THE REGENT (GYAL-TSAB)**

The foundation of the *Gyal-tsab* is already given that he ruled as deputy of Dalai Lama during the minority of Dalai Lama. And the fifth Dalai Lama Sonam chopel conferred the title Desi in 1642.

The first person to become the regent was De-mo-ni-ga-wang jam-pal. Since, 1875 national assembly appointed the regents. The basic criteria for it is that he should be from high class incarnated Lama of one of the three Lama series; Dre-pung, Se-Ra and Gan-Dan med by ka-shag or council of minister with consultation of council regent is search for the nation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama under article 36(a) the council or regency shall have no right to alienate any part of territory of the state or centre.

## **B. THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY**

If Tibetan supreme justice commission has decided that the council of regency must exercise the execution functions of Dalai Lama and till that Dalai Lama has assumed or retained his position as head of the Tibetan religious supreme of in Tibet or government in exile. Then, the council of regency exercise executive power and authority during such period as soon as the Dalai Lama regain responsibility as the head of Tibetan government then the power of execution remained with him. But before that, a resolution is approved by the assembly to restore the power. In such condition council of regency is suspended.

Though, each level had certain amount of administrative independence, it was ultimately controlled by the next higher authority and finally the Dalai Lama.

### **C. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (KA-SHAG)**

“Ka-Shag was the principle executive body of the Tibetan government. It usually consisted of three lay ministers (Kalons) and one high ranking monk who were treated as the senior member. The Dalai Lama or the regent (Gyal-Tsab) appointed the ministers . The Ka-Shag has power over the internal administration of the country in matters related to polity, revenue and justice. It functions as the court of justice and the high court of appeal for lay Tibetans. In all matters of highest importance, one could appeal directly to Dalai Lama.”<sup>11</sup>

However, it had no actual legislative function or control over the executive, the T Songdu or national assembly played an important part in policy and matter of significance. Such as Tibet’s relations with China, if the assembly were summoned to give its opinion, the Dalai Lama would pay attention to the view of it, rather than those of councillor of ministers.

The head of the monastic administration (Chikyab Khempoor lord Chamberlain) served as the link between the Dalai Lama and monastic councils as well as the head of Dalai Lama’s house hold. He had direct access to the Dalai Lama at almost any time, which made him.

---

<sup>11</sup> Rama Rahul , op. cit., pp. 26-27.

"In Tibet, all land belonged to the state from which the nobility and the monasteries held large estate. Features of these lands holding system have been called feudal, and short description will be made here as it explains the actions taken in exile."<sup>12</sup> The nobility hold large estates from the state and in return set one member of the family to serve as government official and the nobles' families also paid revenues to the state usually in product of various kinds. "These estates were hereditary from father to son. A nobleman exercised rights of taxation and justice over the peasants who were working on his lands and the latter had to contribute dues in money, kind and labour."<sup>13</sup>

"The monasteries that also held large estates were exempted from taxes and made their return by prayers and rites for the welfare of the state."<sup>14</sup> "In addition, the government allotted land directly to the peasants who paid taxes and services."<sup>15</sup>

#### 4. LOCAL POLITICAL SET-UP AND NETWORK IN DELHI:

The Tibetan refugees in Delhi have undergone a quick process of politicisation. For a people to whom politics was a forbidden subject, the same has become a hot favourite. Their experience out of Tibet has helped them to discover their own shortcomings. The respondents, time

---

<sup>12</sup> His Chang-Haw and Kao Yuan-mei, *Tibet leaps forward* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1977) p.21

<sup>13</sup> Roy Burman, *Bring Religion and politics in Tibet* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi 1979) p.39.

<sup>14</sup> Hugh W. Richardson, *Tibet and its history* (Boston: Sharmkala Publications 1984), p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> Tsung-Lien Shen, and shen-chi Liu, *Tibet and The Tibetans* (Standardford: Standardford University Press, 1953), p. 104.

and again, spoke in dear terms about their confined, narrow exist now back in Tibet. This did not allow any kind of questions about the prevalent political structure. Most of them admitted that in their traditional society in Tibet, politics was a game of the selected few. The masses were always divorced from the system of politics and there were no questions from masses. But, with the changes in exile the administration and political affairs are their every day events. There is greater streamlining of activities and quicker disposal of work, both of which reflect that a new sense of urgency and responsibility has come to the higher as well as the lower functionaries.

It comes under the Executive and legislative, head quarters in Dharmsala Himachal Pradesh. "Dharmsala, which has become a holy city to the Tibetans on account of its began the hallowed abode of their God-King, and which is also the seat of 'The Tibetan Government In-Exile', was plunged in deep gloom. When the ominous news spread fast all over the Tibetans refugees that they could hardly reconcile themselves to it. The refugees all over India went into prayers and devoted themselves to the counting of beads and reciting the *mani-mantra*, 'Om Mani Padam Hum Hni' (oh! jewel of creation is in the lotus!), in order to earn through virtue of karma and to ensure their precious stay amidst them for a long time to come".<sup>16</sup>

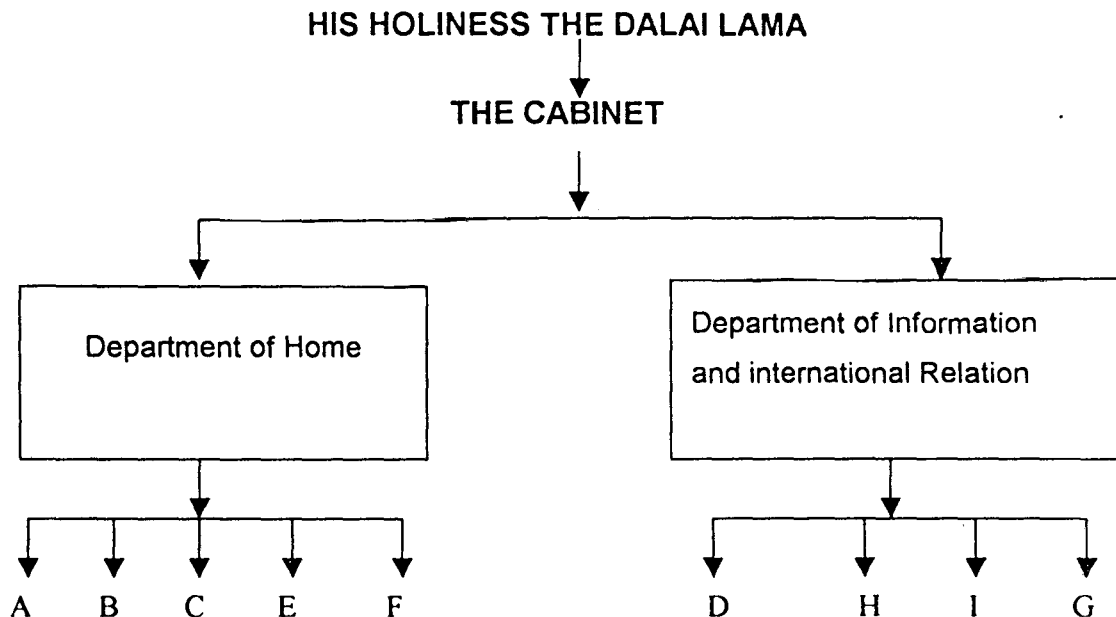
Majnu-ka-Tila, being the widest settlement of Tibetans in Delhi is systemised with various institutions such as The Welfare Office, Central

---

<sup>16</sup> Girja Saklani, op. cit., p. 274.



Tibetan Relief Committee and Tibetan Settlement, which come under home department. The subordination of the offices is shown as follows\*.



#### A. TIBETAN WELFARE OFFICE

Tibetan welfare Office is under the supervision of Department of Home; Tibetan Administration of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, Gangchen Kyishong, post office Dharmasala-17625, district Kangra, Himachal Pradesh.

Tibetan welfare officer, who is either directly appointed by the Department of Home as per request of the local people or elected by the public of that place, manages the Tibetan Welfare Office. The Tibetan welfare officer works as a conduit for the government in exile and its people, and the welfare of subjects under its jurisdiction. The Tibetan

---

\*Source: Field Work

Welfare Officer is responsible for the upliftment of the community and its functions in consultation with the local leaders of the community.

Tibetan Welfare Office at the Maju-ka-Tila is chaired by Mr. Sonam Choephal Shosur and is an appointee of the Department of Home. The Tibetan Welfare Officer in Delhi is situated in the heart of Tibetan refugee camp. (Tibetan Samyelina colony, New Aruna Nagar, Majnu-Ka-Tila, New Delhi- 110054, Tel 23936814 Fax: 3939369)

The Tibetan welfare office in Delhi looks after the welfare and political activities of the Tibetans in Delhi. The poor and needy people are helped by finding sponsors and by giving subsidy periodically. It operates Bank account with Punjab nation Bank at Mall Road, New Delhi and the account number is: 31142. The account of Tibetan welfare office is yearly audited by the office of the Auditor General, Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Gangchen Kyishong, P.O. Dharmasala-176215, District Kangra (Himachal Pradesh) and reports of the audit is sent to all the concerned departments.

## **B. TIBETAN REFUGEE WELFARE COMMITTEE**

The Tibetan Refugee welfare committee was constituted in October 1986. This is a sister organisation of the Tibetan welfare office. The committee comprises: The Tibetan welfare officer; the Executive Camp leaders, the executive members of Local People's Assembly,

Tibetan Freedom Movement, Tibetans Women's Association and Teacher Parent's Association.

The activities carried out by this committee are to secure long felt basic needs of the community and to solve problems faced by the community. All the members are elected once in three years except the Tibetan welfare officer.

The committee also looks after the health problems of the community. The members actively participate in creating health awareness programmes and in the educational aspects of the school. The Tibetan Refugee Welfare Committee is affiliated to the Department of Health, Central Tibetan administration of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama and all the foreign contributions towards the health of the community is done through the Department of Health as they have the foreign exchange regulation act (FERA) facility.

### **C. TIBETAN YOUTH CONGRESS, REGIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE**

It is my personal observation that Tibetan youths are very different compared to their elders. They are now living in the society, which is changing fast and upholds equality and democracy. They have attached to the new values instead of traditional values of Tibetan society. As they are now put in different culture, they are adopting new ways of living. They work for welfare of their community whether it is scattered in all over

Delhi and concentrated to Tibetan market and Majnu-Ka-Tila. They are with firm feeling that the fundamentals of their traditional culture and society with its religion should not be disintegrated, irrespective the adoption of few useful innovations. The Tibetan youths are also interested in learning from the outside world. They keep vigil on the all-political activities of Indian government regarding their interest. Now, the prime minister helped and studied by the Tibetan congress people.

In Delhi, the Tibetan Youth congress Regional Working Committee have the official positions viz., President, Vice-President Secretary, Cashier and Sports-in-charge. It should be mentioned here that Tibetan youth all over India meet in Sikkim every year and discuss about their problems and possible ways and means to achieve independence of Tibet.

The Delhi Office of Tibetan Youth congress regional working committee has many plans and programmes like sanitation, teaching the Tibetan youth, health, hygiene, providing the poor with financial assistance, educating people against alcoholism and gambling.

Moreover, youngsters are protected from falling in to bad habits, conducting adult education programmes, making Tibetans to understand the local situation, starting small scale economic projects and teachings the values and modern methods of employment. They also arrange for the staging of Tibetan Traditional dramas, dances, and songs, so that, the people will be in touch with the traditional culture and values of their society.

#### **D. THE BUREAU OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA**

It comes under the department of Information and International Relations, the Central Tibetan Administration Dharmasala (H.P.), India. The assignments, which are given to the Bureau office, are:

- A. Management of Tibetan Day school.
- B. Dispensary / Clinic.
- C. Issues related to Information, Chronology of Contemporary Events.
- D. Issues related with initiatives of negotiation.
- E. Diasporic issues of Delhi.

The Tibetan Day School is imparting education upto VIII standard. It has also got a Crech, where working mother leave their children during working hours. At present, there are approximately 250 students and around 50 are in the primary level. The students are provided mid-day meal with a little assistance of Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resources Development of Education and Government of India and from Tibetans Snow Lion Friendship Society, Japan. The overall in charge of the administrative parts lay with the school administrator and the educational part lies with the headmaster. The staffs consist of twenty persons engaged for the administrative and educational aspects of the school. At least, five members staff is paid their salaries by Central Tibetan school administration. The rest of the salaries of the staff are born by the school.

Mr. Swan Honer is running the Dispensary after the taking over by the Department of Health. The funds for this project are channelised through Department of Health and the management it is handled by Bureau office, Delhi.

#### **E. LOCAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY**

It works under the Tibetan welfare office. Generally, these people, locally elected, take local problems into consideration. Basically, local assembly solves the day-to-day affairs. All the matters are taken to the welfare officer and then the decisions are taken.

#### **F. TIBETAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION**

The office is located in the Majnu-Ka-Tila. The educated and active women are holding this office. They place their problems related to employment, health and administration to the concern departments; sometimes they conduct demonstration regarding Tibetan freedom struggle. It shows the awareness of the women participants and their fellow women.

#### **G. FOUNDATION FOR UNIVERSAL RESPONSIBILITY OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA,**

The foundation for universal responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama was established with Noble Peace Prize. It promotes universal

responsibility in a manner that respects and encourages a diversity of beliefs and practices; promotes and devises strategies to transform form this commitment into an instrument of social change and for personal happiness.

The foundation brings together people of different faith creeds, professions and nationalities. To the Dalai Lama, it represents a reaching out beyond his role as the pre-eminent Buddhist monk and transcends the political agenda of Tibet.

The head quarters of the foundation are located in Dharamasala, where the Dalai Lama resides; its executive office is in Delhi. The foundation seeks to extend its activities and initiatives to benefit people in all parts of the world.

## **H. WOMEN IN SECURITY CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND PEACE**

Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace are carried by Foundation for Universal Responsibility, which comes under direct His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Wiscomp is committed to promote national regional and global leadership of Asian women in the areas of peace, security and regional cooperation and to provide the context for the development of their expertise and skill for non-violent engagement and conflict negotiation. From their current position of invisibility in security and international

affairs, women will be supported to become not only more visible to increase their participation and from networks, so that their role in multi-track diplomacy processes in the south Asian region is strengthened.

Wiscomp believes there is an urgent need for an alternative discourse on issues of security and conflict management. It seeks to empower new voices and to shift the balance to favour a more people oriented and gender based approach, which respects diversity.

Wiscomp is engineering security programmes, scholar of Peace Fellowships the Mentor Programmes, the symposium and Regional Workshop. The office is situated in India Habitat Centre, Lodi Road New Delhi-110003.

## **I. TIBET HOUSE**

Tibet house was established in 1965 by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, for the purpose of preserving the unique cultural heritage of Tibet at a time when it faced extinction in its homeland, as well as for providing a centre for Tibetan and Buddhist studies. Tibet house was the first of its kind in the world and now, about three decades after its inception, has come to be recognized a significant manifestation its original purpose.

Hence, the current emphasis is on inter-cultural and inter-religious dialogue, ecological responsibility from a Buddhist perspective and the contribution towards a deeper international understanding.



## **I. Museum**

This is one of the two physical sets of Tibet House with the library. It serves the invaluable role of preserving and conserving variety of old and rare art objects of Tibet including over 200 *thangka* paintings, about 200 gilded bronze, copper, brass, black stone and sandal wood statues as well as other religious artefacts, initial implements and objects of war and house hold use and jewellery.

This preservation assumes critical importance at a time when wide spread, sometimes unscrupulous commercial transitions are not only scattering but also diluting the quality of this extraordinary heritage detrimental to future generations.

## **II. Library**

The library has a sizeable collection of important books and manuscripts. At the end of 1994 there were well over 1500 books in English and good amount of books are on Tibetan culture and Buddhism. The library intends to properly catalogue all Tibetan books prepare bibliography one specific subjects and provide the facilities of photocopying and microfilm reading.

### **III. Research and publications**

Tibet house has published a number of important texts on religion, philosophy, history and other aspects of Tibetan culture. The Encyclopaedia Tibetica vol. 1 to 37 is the most voluminous Tibetan publication and an English publication entitled The Sambhota series has been initiated.

The Tibet house bulletin, is a biannually that reaches to friends all over the world. Occasional publications such as books, booklets and pamphlets discussing or detailing different aspects of Tibetan culture are brought out regularly by Tibetan house the one very prominent factor is also working behind the wider audiences of Tibetan house is of its location which next to India Habitat Centre. Lodi road, where all International and cultural events are taking place every day.

### **5. NETWORK AND COMMUNICATION IN DELHI**

The whole community being refugee does not have any particular social network. But, Delhi being capital city of India, provided good transport and communication facilities.

### **I. Telephone and Fax:**

About 30% of the families in this camp (Majnu-ka-Tila) have the Telephone facilities. The charges are charged as per rule of Indian telephone exchange department. There is a fax service in the camp. The benefits are taken by the residing community.

### **II. Postal Service:**

The nearest post office is about two kilometres from the camp. The general post office is about 3 ½ kms. The government postman delivers all the incoming mail.

### **III. Transportation:**

#### **Roadways:**

The camp has come up beside national highway no. 45. Due to this reason, Rickshaws, Buses, Taxis and scooters are easily available. For local bus people have to go to Khyber Pass, which is not very far, and Inter-State Bus Terminal is about three kilometres from the camp. Being located on ring road it's quite easy to reach anywhere.

**Railways:**

The old Delhi Railways station is about 5 kilometres from the Chang-pura. Where, New Delhi Railway station is also not far of reach. The Hazarat Nizam-ud-din railway station is about 12 kilometres from here.

**Airways:**

The International Indira Gandhi Air Port is about thirty-two kilometres. The Palam Air Port is about 28 km, but due to the availability of taxis travelling anywhere is not a difficult task.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Continuity and Change in Tibetan Diaspora

67-91

1. Meaning
2. Women's Position
  - A. Status
  - B. Social Condition of Tibetan Women
  - C. Political Condition of Tibetan Women in Delhi
  - D. Economic Condition of Tibetan women
3. Socio-Cultural Analysis
4. Social Stratification
5. Social Mobility in Tibetan Society
  - A. Vertical and Horizontal Mobility
  - B. Intragenerational and Intergenerational Mobility
6. Family and Marriage
7. Religion
8. Tibetan Festivals

## CHAPTER FOUR

# CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN TIBETAN DIASPORA

### 1. MEANING

Change and continuity is a process, takes place in all societies in different time and space. There are two different schools of thought to visualize a society.

Firstly, Modern Functionalism views society as a social system of interrelated and interdependent parts. This system seeks equilibrium or balance. Therefore, when this stability is disturbed or society is mal-integrated, change occurs. Secondly, Karl Marx emphasis that the technology and the economy play major causative role and the perspective is known as social conflict. Marx argued that in Industrialist and Capitalist societies' social class develop from a group's relationship to the means of production. As one class exploits other tensions arise. But the revaluation results in Change. Thus a society undergoes the significant modification, which is responsible for continuing the process with change. So, there are various factors responsible for the change and internal contradictions within the system prevailing now and making way for the new changes and continuity.

"The term social change, by general agreement among sociologists. refers to the change which occurs in the social structure societies. It presupposes an evolutionary process, a change from a simple stage to a

complex and better stage, an upward movement process. It further presupposes progress, thus giving this phenomenon, almost a technological twist. But, a change may either be an improvement of a *status quo*, or retrogression to the ante *status quo*. It may even show signs of social pathology".<sup>1</sup>

The phenomenon is applied to all humanity and an every country. "Within the past century the people of India have been strongly affected by the worldwide tides of social change as a result of the establishment of British rule in India, impact of industrialization, urbanization, education and occupational differentiation is evident by changes in the family structure and functions".<sup>2</sup>

The process of social change in Tibetan also has elements of accommodation with host society, where they minimized the conflicting situation. "Accommodation in the state or the process to adjustment to a conflict situation in which overt expression of hostility are avoided and certain compensatory advantages, economic, social or psychological, are gained by both sides, while leaving the source of conflict unresolved and allowing the structural inequalities giving rise to minority subordination to persist"<sup>3</sup>

If historically we analyze the ancient period, it is quite clear that industrialization not only changed the mode of production but also the values

---

<sup>1</sup> Eric O. Ayisi, *An Introduction To The Study of African Culture* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publisher, 1992), p.96.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Parimal Kumar Roy, *The Indian Family Change and Persistence* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2000) p.3

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, G. Duncan (e.d.), *A New Dictionary of Sociology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), p.1

and culture of the whole world. This is the big fact that tool and tradition have the greater correlation with human psychic. That is why we see that it is the change in almost centuries, concerning human evolution.

Tibet, being absolutely traditional society now with the forces of modernization and interaction is passing through an important phase of change. The social mobility in this context assumes a crucial significance, and through it, process of social change can be focused. The intensity of the impact could be judged from the fact that Tibet was the most traditional society, while in exile, the Tibetan refugees for the first time got exposure to the modern democratic values.

In the case of Changpura residents, they have striven hard to keep some of their old customs and conventions in a perceptible manner. They have shown a degree of resistance to the 'shocks' of the change caused by modernization, in which they have to cope.

## **2. WOMENS POSITION**

### **A. STATUS**

Status is the most elusive phenomenon in the society. The current literature defines it as the position that a person holds in the performance of his/her role in the society. The significance and importance of the women's position never diminishes, the reason behind is that with time and space the basic attitude of people change. Tibetan women in Delhi are undergoing change particularly in the socio-economic context. Further, Jigme & Turn



Bull defines: "The whole concept of status and hierarchy in Tibet also depends upon our religious attitude and can only be understood with that in mind. Social status is acquired according to various qualities such as moral character, intellectual capacity, religious devotion and age".<sup>4</sup>

## **B. SOCIAL CONDITION OF TIBETAN WOMEN**

The important indicator of the social setup and structure of any community is the position of women in that particular society. In view of this, the social standing and privileges of the Tibetan womanhood will be discussed here.' The observations on the status and position of women in Tibetan Society are also often at variance with one another. There are equally reliable sources revealing that the honor and dignity associated with Tibetan womanhood and the male-female equality, as may be seen from the fact that women were not debarred from holding high government posts and full social liberty. In this context, "the elements to be emphasized are nature and type of marriages in Tibetan society; male and female relationship in the family and outside family. In the study of social condition, the interaction between husband and wife, father and daughter brother and sister depicts the actual picture of betterment."<sup>5</sup>

In the Tibet, the women's social condition varied according to the family occupation, her age and whether she is a mother or mother-in-law. If it is so, then she enjoys higher status and prestige. A girl in family is regarded

---

<sup>4</sup> Thubten Jigme Norbu and Colin M. Turnbull, *TIBET* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969,) p.324

<sup>5</sup> Purnavanand Swami, *Exploration in Tibet* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1950.)p81

as very precious and an object of love and care. She is given all freedom and chances to grow as a fully developed human.

There is no social stigma attached to her, there is no concept of virginity and therefore the women never suffer from trauma of rape which is indirectly outcome of virginity and chastity. These social conditions give her full freedom to choose her sex partner and carry her life with full freedom.

In order to understand the kind, degree and nature of change, it has been found useful to adopt Raymond Firth's Concept of organizational change and Ogburn's concept of cultural lag. According to Firth, any theoretical framework for the analysis of change in social condition must be concerned with what happens to social structure. Further, distinction should be made between organizational changes as it does not alter the basic relations as does the structural change.

Structural change is seen in migrated women in Delhi. Manju-Ka-Tila, being the epicenter of northern settlement in India, reveals some of the facts regarding this. The survey regarding the sex ratio was done and that was 52:48. There are absolutely no instances of female Infanticide and foeticide. Being an egalitarian society, new baby and mother is given due importance.

If the long and short details of women life and condition are discussed then the conclusion will be very pleasing. Because in Tibet, women's social position is high enough in choosing occupation, taking part in cultural activities, religion and every sphere of life. Their way of dressing, and

moreover, having children and husband all is her own choice. She is not bounded with social dignity and prestige. This is also reflected in Ladakh-Budh-Vihar market or better known as Tibetans Market, where girls are wearing latest fashionable dresses, hair style and free to go any where to mix with anybody. Majnu-Ka-Tila being little more congestive but the change in dress style is quite evident. They wear Shalwar-Kamiz, some times Sarees and more other different dresses, as they want.

### **C. POLITICAL CONDITION OF TIBETAN WOMEN IN DELHI**

Women's organizations have been a recognized as a part of anti-colonial struggles throughout Asia. The Middle East and Africa since early this century. It can be argued that Tibetan women became part of tradition when they hold their first demonstration in Lahasa in March 1959. More formally with the establishment in exile in 1904, Tibetan women associations are going on.

In Delhi, the Tibetan women freedom struggle movement is well-organized association. They have every concern with the right and activities in Delhi regarding freedom movement of Tibet and they very actively participate in changing political circumstances. Most of the time, they collect their fellow women and demonstrate regarding their needs. Women being economically sound and active take part in all related organizations. Politically, they have their well kit area and perform active participation.

#### D. ECONOMIC CONDITION OF TIBETAN WOMEN

"Tibetan women are free from seclusion and the male manage shops and engage in small retail business. Their men-folk take charge of commercial dealings which necessitate long and often arduous journeys"<sup>6</sup> "The Tibetan society was of an interwoven type in which an agriculturist was not exclusively an agriculturist throughout but at times engage in business .In this respect, women are considered to be as good agriculturist, business handler or even administrator."<sup>7</sup> Prior to the Chinese occupation, Tibet's economy, though essentially self-contained, presented a structure based upon a peasant-feudal economy.

But the economic structure was never homogeneous due to the natural conditions those were different in different regions. The main occupation of the valley was farming; inhabitants of mountains lived a nomadic life. There was a trading class, moving with their Caravans as per the dynamics of demand and supply. The monk-hood in itself organized as a class, the lay members of the government formed another division of the population.

Therefore, pastoral people played an important role and importance of women increases. They had their own grazing pastures and raised animals. So "The wide spread application of economic standards also expresses itself in the Tibetan conceptualization of their society and of their status".<sup>8</sup> This

---

<sup>6</sup> Morais, Frank. *The Revolt in Tibet* (London: Sterling publishers Ltd,1966), p.43.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Nimri Ajiz, *Tibetan frontier Families: Reflection of Three Generations from D'ing-ri* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1978.), p.118.

status is also depends on woolen and cottage industry. In this, Tibetan women's are almost busy when they are free from agricultural work.

The next economic resource is Tibetan rugs and the carpet industry. These are still very popular in western world and in carpet making women have mastery. The making of ornaments, Buddha's Images, portable stones, mini cylinders, musical instruments, mini semi precious stones, Khala (scarf's), hand printed religious books, amulets, wooden cups and other ritual objects are the main productive items which are produced and sold in Manju-Ka-Tila. Tibetans in Delhi have settled themselves in the changed condition from agriculture to market and business or sedentary work.

The best example of their self-sufficient economic source is Tibetan market near Inter State Bus Terminal (I.S.B.T). It is known for its clothes selling and all other type of woolen clothes, bags or even day-to-day usuries. The main striking feature which I personally noticed in this market during my visit, that almost 80% shops are carried by women and other capital markets. It shows that they are freely taking part in economic activities. And, anyone can feel in this women friendly atmosphere and one feels at home.

The Red Fort's nearby area during winter becomes the exclusive source for people to buy their winter wearing. In this market women do all management. Tibetan women are extraordinary driving force and full of energy. They are hard working, confident and experts in all business terms.\*

---

\* Source: Field Work

In Manju-Ka-Tila or otherwise known as Chang-pura among local people, the principal earning source of women is carpet weaving, due to the lack of education, these women are doing unskilled works. They sell sweaters and other knitting woolen items. The local people prefer to buy things because of warmth and reasonable prices of these woolen items.

Delhi, being the capital of India and with good economic infrastructure, such as transportation, the hotel and restaurant industry and communication network provides the best facility to the business groups. Their income increase during winter that time maximum Tibetans from all over India prefer to stay in Tibetans hotels, as it gives them familiar food and environment. The women, being an expert in hotel management, run these hotels very efficiently.

So finally it can be summarized that the Tibetan women in exile are totally independent economically. They are more successful in business and trade and comfortably move around far and near with their woolen and other merchandise. A woman earning more than her husband or running the house with her single income does not bring any shame or social insult to the man or the family but they encourage women; nor does her husband or other patriarch grab her income. It shows that Tibetan women in real term enjoy every type of freedom without struggle hard to get herself free from social dogmas which are generally attached to the developing countries and no social stigma is attached to her.

### 3. SOCIO – CULTURAL ANALYSIS

Culture and Society have close connection with each other. Therefore, culture is a product of society and society functions in it. In other words, society is a network of social relationships and culture makes it go on. So it's a way of life.

Generally, cultural change refers to the many ways in which society changes its pattern. The internal factors such as new inventions may lead to an increased food production and supply; this will directly lead to population growth or external factors such as conquest by another society.

For the social analysis, women also played important role in "Tibetan economy, Tibetan women are free from seclusion and many of them manage shops and engage in small retail business, while their men-folk take charge of the commercial dealings which necessitate long and often arduous journey."<sup>10</sup>

Most of the Tibetan women in Delhi, whose traditional profession was Agriculture, after coming to Delhi, they adopted trade and continued to be traders of course with certain variations. The nature of economic activities performed by women in Manju-Ka-Tila (Chang-pura) is unskilled jobs, handicrafts, households manufacture, largely woolen garments and carpets. The Tibetan women manage Tibetan restaurants. This is due to the fact that Tibetans are hard working and their women folk also work as hard as man,

---

<sup>10</sup> Barbara Nimri Ajiz, op. cit., 1978, Page 118

and the next natural fact is that, capital provided natural environment for business.

The migration of one population with their ethnic, cultural, geographic identities can bring or influence change to other given or host culture. Generally, there are three factors can influence change these are as follows:

- (A) Any change in the ecological niche occupied by a society, influences alternate change, it can be either due to environmental or natural change or
- (B) The migration of a society, from one ecological niche to another (in the case of Tibetan refugees in Delhi and in India).
- (C) Any contact between two societies, their different culture, patterns influence change in both the societies above mentioned three factors are very much visible in Tibetan social stratification and their mobility with the host country.

#### **4. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION:**

##### ***Type of Tibetan Society***

Social stratification is generally taken as an index to the social inequalities to which people in the society are subjected. In other words, social hierarchy / stratification includes ranking patterns like super ordination and subordination in which some individuals and groups are rated higher than the other. In Tibetan society, as it used to be, two factors – possession



of land and religious status were the main base of the socio-economic gradations and stratification. So, this pattern is basically on the basis of property. i.e. land, that an individual and the family have and the religious status owned. But mostly, the privileges through ownership of land or holding of government post were determined on the basis of tradition.

The distribution of land and other properties, gradation of Tibetan land owners and feudal orders, Richardson who discussed these manners in detail and concluded as: "Society in Tibet was divided strictly into upper and lower classes nobles and ordinary man, by a clearly defined gradation in which everybody knew his proper place....."<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, Richardson gives his own view on the aspect of social relationship: "the land owner was a kind of patriarchal head of a household and, inspite of customary differences shows him by his subordinates there are no gulf fixed between them. In such a society, the idea of payment by services was normal and the services like all other relations between government landlord and peasant were governed by customs."<sup>11</sup> The Tibetan social system was characterized by two seeming contradictory principles at one level, there was the tribal group solidarity; at the other level there was a distinctly marked hierarchical structure with at least four distinct classes and divisions namely:

1. In ecclesiastical and secular group: the feudal over lords.
2. Those who have large land ownership.

---

<sup>10</sup> Girija Saklani, op. cit., 167.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 167

3. The agriculturalists, peasants, potters or labor class will be included into professionals or workers.
4. Unclean workers such as butchers, hunters, blacksmiths and
5. Disposers of the dead.

Moreover, in Tibetan traditional society, there were also courses open to an individual to upgrade his/her social strata. He could gain this end through his personal virtues. There is a Tibetan saying also "If you have ability (of a ruler) the lions throne is not seeded off."<sup>12</sup>

In the previous section, the Tibetan social hierarchy was discussed but the circumstances are totally changed in exile. The endogamous and exogamous barriers are broken. The fact is that the question before the Tibetan community in Delhi is to maintain their existence in new geo-political and socio-cultural environment. So, the rigidity, which was followed in Tibet does not exist in exile. It is very striking that in Tibet there are three classes of commoners as, "The *mi-ser* group, almost 90% of population is large enough to distinguish. There are three different economic classes, agriculturalist (*dr'ong-pa*) traders (*tsong-pg*) and itinerants (*d'u-ch'ung*), who works as share croppers and artisans".<sup>13</sup>

But, this sub distinction is almost negligible in Tibetans in Delhi. The basic factor which is working with full force is that being in the developed and urban area, the social differences are generally not practiced and, moreover,

---

<sup>12</sup> Dava Narbu, "*Red star over Tibet*" (London: Collins St James place, 1974) p. 191

<sup>13</sup> Barbara Mimri Aziz, op.cit. pp.120-121

their occupation, life style and circumstances do not permit them to follow the same pattern.

If the Tibetans of Delhi are compared with Mundgod (South India) or Dharmshala (Himachal Pradesh), the striking distinction will come as these places reflect the agrarian nature of their society. But residents of Chung-Pura/Majnu-ka-Tila at the junk of change, and not only change but also the radical change and social stratification is quite evident.

## **5. SOCIAL MOBILITY IN TIBETAN SOCIETY**

It refers to movement (or lack of movement) by an individual or group of people from one social role to another. The social mobility is an important element of social interaction and an integration of the strength of stratification and potential for social change in society.

The quality of life is indicated by a social group and of the extent to which social democracy is present in a society. It generally involves two basic elements one is the position, i.e. the present group of an individual and the second, motion. i.e. the direction and distances the subject travels. The Tibetan society in exile, particularly in Delhi being the metropolitan-city, has undergone a lot of changes due to forces of modernity. Thus, the social mobility is quite visible among the Tibetans in Delhi. A person belonging to lower strata can achieve the highest position among Tibetans in exile.

## **A. VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL MOBILITY**

Change in social position are generally refers as either vertical or horizontal mobility. The vertical mobility indicates individual or group movement either up or down in the social hierarchy. The later involves movement from one social rank to another social position equivalent status. Sorokin defines it as vertical mobility has a establishing effect in that it provides motivations to the lower orders which keep them from disrupting the prevailing system; high rate of social mobility acts as a safety valve releasing the pressure of discontented lower class.

Tibetan society purely demonstrates these mobility. In traditional Tibetan society, vertical mobility is hardly seen or it is not common, because Monks and Feudal lords are subjected to it. But in exile, the circumstances have made changes in the social structure making the horizontal as well as vertical mobility quite flexible. Due to which all the bonds and rigidities cannot be followed in exile. The question arises here have the existence and identity in this context; Tibetans are smart enough to understand the need of the hour.

## **B. INTER GENERATIONAL AND INTERAGENERATIONAL MOBILITY**

'The former refers to the social mobility of the family over time, such as the ability of the coming generation to join a class different from that of present or previous generations. Instead of this, the Intra generational mobility of an individual through that of the persons life time as measured against the social movement of the individuals age cohort'

## 6. FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

The family of Tibetans in exile constitutes the basic structure of their society in Delhi. It is through the family that thousands of Tibetans are related to each other in the form of an organization. The family among them is a part of the clan system. In Tibet, over past three centuries or so, and in early Tibet-at least in the royal family-three form of marriages are in countered. First, monogamy, seems to be relevant in Amdo, and is fairly widespread elsewhere, although, perhaps a relatively recent phenomenon. Polygamy, is the second form of marriage, is confined to the rich and the nobility for the early chiefs and kings. The political means to bind and expand the territory was the basic motto behind it. The principle of joint possession by the group often asserts itself. But the characteristic form of marriage seems to be polyandry. It is practiced everywhere by cultivators, herdsmen and masses of Tibet from years and years.

"Discussing the system of polyandry as prevalent in Tibet, Rahul Sanskritayan, the noted Indian Tibetologist, has pointed out that due to sharing of the same wife by all the brothers population in Tibet did not increase and there was never any population explosion. Further he also mentions that in case there were no sons and daughters in the family the son-in-law become the heir apparent, and his children kept the family name alive. From his personal observations, he cited the case of a particular Tibetan village there work sixteen families and due to the prevailing custom of polyandry the population of the village remained stationary for years

together. Even, the property of families which was never divided for generations got accumulated with the passage of time".<sup>14</sup>

So, the common form of polyandry is four or five brothers marrying one wife but in practice a woman may marry several unrelated males, or else she may after marrying a single husband, pursue him to agree to others. But, the norm is generally in family, if in other cases friends share one wife, they are regarded as sworn brother cousins (spun-zla). The hierarchic principle of primogeniture intervenes, however, for it is the eldest brother who choose the wife, the ceremony in the marriage will be held single time only. Later, other brothers join the marriage and become '*ipsc facto*' the husband.

The offspring of these allies will be counted to the eldest brother and he will be addressed as father, rest of the young brothers will be called as 'uncle'. The group is bound up with its dwelling place. Some time, the younger brother become the reason for its break, he brings his own wife and does not join the group, in such case he loose the right over the elder brother's wife and property. The property is never divided, as it is the norm in Tibet that property is always a group property not an individual. Barbara Nimri Aziz discusses this practice of polyandry in Tibet in her book *Tibetan Frontier Families*; she gives the relevant data regarding the practice of various forms of polyandry. There are six form of polyandry according to her<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Rahul Sanskratayan, *Meri Jevan Yatra* (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 953), p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Barbara Nimri Aziz op. cit., p.139.

1. Fraternal polyandry	80
2. So Ronal Polyandry	14
3. Unrelated Males	2
4. Unrelated females	2
5. Father and son sharing one wife	8
6. Mother and daughter sharing one husband	8

Above analysis shows that the maximum practiced is fraternal polyandry, which is among brothers. The minimum number is unrelated male sharing wife. The fact behind is that the emotional bond work together. This is custom in Tibet, which is infact a close society and they are away from modern, democratic and progressive ideas. But, due to the Chinese invasion, Tibetans took refuge in India and a good number is in Delhi. The settlement of Tibetans are Chung-Pura/Majnu-Ka-Tiala and Ladhak-Budh-Vihar.

The maximum number of Tibetans is in Majnu-Ka-Tila, now the great change can is seen. It's my personal observation that their every aspect of life is greatly influenced by host culture / customs. Tibetans now are at Majnu-Ka-Tila can be divided into two categories; the old and the young or those who born and brought up in Indian environment. The older, who decided to flee from their own motherland, they have very strong stakes on Tibetan society and culture. They are born and socialized in Tibet. They have only one identity, that is, Tibetan identity but their offspring are getting

full interaction with local culture and exposure in an urban capital city are developing with new identity or change or more cosmopolitan views.

All these young children have access to modern secular education and in a close proximity to the local people Indian contemporaries' mobility. They know three languages very properly, Tibetan English but the orientation of the younger generation and their involvement in non-Tibetan activities, which is inevitable the bone of contention. Because the older people think that they (young) will forget Tibet and their suspicion regarding dress, food habits and religion is continue.

The great change, which is going regarding the marriage custom and other norms, related to it. The young generation is very much of the opinion that the new customs and cultural values should be attached with Tibetan traditional values. In many instances I met that one young boy wearing latest fashionable jeans and having long hair and all his relatives neighbors elders forced him to cut his hair but he explains that hair whether long or short doesn't have anything to do with the freedom of his country; its something which comes from inside or heart. Most of the people whom I interviewed between the ages of 16-25, and tried to know their view about marriage, they first of all were not ready to speak or give their opinion because of suspicion but finally spoke. They all rejected polyandry and said that its some thing derogatory in present circumstances and each one want to practice monogamy.

They argue that being in economically developed and urban city, most of them are doing business and individual profession, which requires



changes in the existing norms and values. It reflects the impression of their friends of host country. When they talk to their friends who are Indians, they cannot imagine marrying like this, they also revealed that they would have greater accessibility to Indian society and they would show greater flexibility in their relationship. This wave of change is due to change in occupational structure, moreover, the education level of young people, the knowledge of languages and traveling abroad are the positive factors to improve the identify of Tibetans. The change is from within and without regarding family and marriage. My samples that are properly conscious about their past and present are following the individual family system. It's both influenced by endogamous as well as exogamous practices. Basically, the age group between 16-25 years shows that they want to change norms with the basic identify of being a Tibet.

## **7. RELIGION:**

The institutionalized form of religion is rather a way of life in Tibet. Tibetan cosmology revolves around religion. The domination of religion in Tibetan life is absolutely inevitable. This, further, relates to the cosmic and sacred order to the universe, which is a practice common to all established religion. For centuries, this regularity continued till 1951 as Communist China launched a massive armed action and annexed Tibet, thus, the religious system was threatened. Another important aspect about the traditional Tibet is that lamaistic institutions are properly systematized and organized, and it also have political dimension. The Tibetan religion assimilated many non

Buddhist beliefs and got its unique form, but the very first form is called Bon religion, whose followers were called Bonpas; secondly, there was a whole body of partially animistic and magical beliefs and customs belonging to the indigenous traditions i.e., the name less religion but generally confused with the Bon religion.

Tibetan Buddhism absorbed the two older and less articulated religious traditions these are *Nagarjunas' Madyamika karika and Yogachara of Asangi*. The first carry more weight and the lay person generally doesn't take participation in sermons but their faith is respected. Tibetan Buddhism is more a way of life, in this way the Tibetan Tradition affirms that the person who fully adhered to the Buddhist faith is basically a good citizen.

The religious hierarchy is very prevalent in Tibet. The monastic organizations had one of the cardinal features in the well-demarcated hierarchy. "Lamaism is the central characteristic of Tibetan Buddhism, lamas are considered the spiritual gurus and wife of chief lama is an incarnation in this context, we may quote stein's observations "Like the nobles, the monasteries supply the government with officials (both civil and military) and their dignitaries receive titles in accordance with the hierarchical scale on the other hand social classes are maintained inside and the monasteries private property's allowed there and can be increased by private trade or private fees for performance of rites. The rich monks owned property and have poor Monks for servants."<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> R.A. Stein. *Tibetan Civilization* (Faber and Faber Limited, 1972), p 140.

Apparently with in a short period of time, Tibetans in exile have succeeded in creating the religious environment, which is distinctly heirs as monastic establishment has been the most essential feature of Tibetan religion in India.

In Delhi Laddakh-Buddha-Vihar where Tibetan refugees have got much needed environment have secured their religious ties. In this Context, it can be well appreciated, why one of the changes that disturb many of them is the declining religiosity of younger generation, which they feel is becoming 'individualistic' and 'materialistic'.

The most continuing factor is that most of the natural Vi's, marriage, death, birth are more an integral part of Buddhism is to be followed here properly. The butter oil lamps and incense are burnt in the Laddakh -Buddh-Vihar and offerings are made to Tripple gems i.e. Buddha, Sangha and Dhamma. Even in Majnu-Ka-Tila. The Tharchock (prayer mags), bearing different colors and embossed with Buddhist prayers, flying all often on trees, poles houses or hill tops are the symbols of Buddhist settlement for local people.

Change in some vital aspects of the traditional order was seen, when I, personally, saw that lamas were (In Majnu-Ka-Tila) playing cards and mixing with young boys and behaving like an ordinary Tibetans, but the distinctive factor was their head shaved and dressing. The young boys and girls, who are largely engaged in selling jeans woolen clothes and wooden things are of the opinion that their religious order should be changed. They

want to follow the modified Buddhism, where no compulsion and regulation be followed.

So, all the contacts so far discussed, brings the Tibetans and Indians in a formal or semi formal relationship with each other, yet, these relationships provide potential ground for deeper and more meaningful relations. There are some contrasts and conflicts but finally assimilation gives the new product to these castes and sub castes residing near by (Chung-pura / Majnu-Ka-Tila) have great influence of Buddhism and equality in their sexes.

The concept of progressive adjustment can be used here because commercial, professional, religious and political principalities increased in exile and social mobility and status is gained. These places reflects a break from the past and a new social satisfaction have resulted which differ from the past. But the residents of Chang-pura / Majnu-ka-Tila are at the junk of change with continuity.

## **8. TIBETAN FESTIVALS**

New Year of Tibetans is known as *Losar*, which is celebrated on varying dates in February to March. For a foreigner it is very difficult to understand the Tibetan calendar and it is impossible to work out a conversion table between month and day, and the western month and day in any one year. The first difficulty is that the lunar year is suppose to consist of twelve thirty days. So an extra month is added Avery third year and put in any where among twelve months that is considered auspicious for a

particular year, The next difficulty is that there are three hundred and fifty four days in the lunar year, not three hundred and sixty. So certain days have to be left out and there are squares on the calendars with no number but only the word *chad* (cut off). That day of month does not exist. Also, to avoid unlucky days some dates happen twice and one finds number repeated in two consecutive squares to mak up for *Chads* elsewhere in the year. There is no nomenclature for Tibetan months they have only numbers. But the seven days of week are called after the sun, moon and five visible planets, as in the rest. The peasants liked to name their children after the day of birth, for example Posang (Monday) and Dolma, if a girl was born on Monday.

"The hours of the day and night are also named after the twelve animals.

Midnight – mouse, Mid-day – Horse

Midnight – Ox, After Mid-day – Sheep

Dawn – Tiger, After Noon – Monkey

After dawn – Hare, Evening – Bird

Sunrise – Dragon, Sunset – Dog

Forenoon – Snake After dark – Hog"<sup>17</sup>

Very thoroughly all cleanings are done, every glass is wiped properly about two weeks a head, barley and wheat were sown in pots to decorate the altar and by *Losar* they had grown four or five inches and looked

---

<sup>17</sup> Rinchen Dolma ,Taing Daughter of Tibet (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Private Limited, 1970), p. 129.

beautifully green and fresh. Tsamp flour and wheat offerings were put in special designed wooden boxes, with two compartments; bowl of Chang is also put. The head of a sheep, decorated with coloured butter to mark the new year, on last day of old year everybody pray to expel all evil form the house and ritual dance is organized at Potola Palace and other monasteries.

On the third or fourth day of the New Year *Monlam* began. This festival celebrated the lord Buddha's victory over the Malicious Spirits who tempted him during his meditation. Over twenty thousand monks came to Lahsa from all the near by monasteries, including the three greatest monasteries of Tibet Gander, Dreping and Sera. All the religious restrictions are but on people as no women was allowed as without full costume and headdress at public place, public wells were kept very clean. All monks appeared four times a day going to the Jokhang, and at a certain times no monks were supposed to be on the streets.

*Monlam* is greatly respected by people and many people visit Lahsa from neighboring parps and countries.

Immediately after *Monlam* very holy lamas performed speual rits for many days to abolish evil and on a Ukraine day they burnt *tormas* (lone – shaped rits gious sweets) and cast them out to earpl all malicious sprits who might harm the religious or the county people.

**CONCLUSION**

**92-94**

## CONCLUSION

*Tibetan settlement in Delhi* means under scattered category. It means it was under temporary settlement for those refugees who came from boarder areas of Indian states like Arunachal Pradesh, Laddakh and Himachal Pradesh. Initially, they stationed themselves at Laddakh-Buddh-Vihar, Bela Road near Inter State Bus Terminus (I.S.B.T.) New Delhi. Gradually number of settler started growing, therefore, they were shifted to Majnu- ka-Tila in 1964 under the direction of prim minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

In the beginning their occupational structural-was based on traditional earning but gradually they developed their unique economic pattern. They penetrated themselves in the seasonal garment business but other earning sources such as hotels, guesthouses, general stores were willingly accepted along with spice selling. Their woman folk being more active and hard worker brought theme on high pedestal of earning and which finally helped them to improve their living standard.

New circumstances forced them to adopt new way of living and accommodate democratic secular values in their political structure over the traditional feudal and religious stratification. With full enthusiasm and eagerness they accepted the new political set up and linked themselves all



over Globe. Smooth functioning of government-in-exile is the best demonstration of it.

Deviation proved to be more dynamic in the case of Tibetan Diaspora. As they faced all the challenges to their identity but being versatile and mobile in their base they maintained their unique identity with all-powerful values.

Identity plays the most significant role to the Diasporic community. The concept of Diaspora falls flat to the ground with identity like a balloon without *hydrogen*. It serves as an ionic bond which combines the various diverse elements in the community against the reduction the oxidation process. This cohesiveness provided under the culture always use constructively the heat produced for the further development. The cultural context removes the obstacles to the reinforcement of identity like removing friction from the machine by oiling leading to the smooth functioning. It becomes very difficult for the community to maintain there cohesiveness for commonness to assert political, social and economically. As the water breaks the bond among the various bonded compound, the dominant culture of the host country always tries to play a dissolving role so that various rearrangements can take place giving rise to new compounds. This kind of rearrangement of various elements of compound can be been in the case of Africans in India who came during medieval period but like the effect of dissolving water on the compound, the elements of Africans in India were

forced to reorient leading to the loss of identity and their culture, which has removed them from the history.

In contrast the Tibetans historical and cultural values with religious teachings saved against the side effects of modernity and preserved norms and values determined their unique profile in the modern world. Progressive economy, systematic speculation, religious profile, democratic political system with egalitarian social norm is related vocabulary of Tibetan Diaspora. Tibetans have the strong sense to return their mother land- "The Tibet."

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**95-101**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Interaction with the Tibetan people residing at Majnu-Ka-Tila, Laddakh Budh Vihar (Tibetan market) was done. Tibet House, the office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and other places were visited. First hand information's were collected.

### BOOKS

Alam, Jayanti, *Tibetan Society In Exile* (Delhi: Raj Publications, 2000).

Arakeri, A. V., *Tibetans in India : t he Uprooted people and Their cultural transplantation* ( New Delhi: Reliance Publicatin, 1999).

Bell, Charles, *Tibet: Past and Present* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

Bhattacharjea, Ajit, *Tibetans In Exile: The Democratic Vision* (New Delhi: Har Anand Publication, 994).

Burman, Bina Roy, *Religion and Politics in Tibet* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1979).

Cassinelli, C.W., *Tibetan Principality: The Political System of Sakya* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1969).

Chechtman, J. B., *The Refugees in the World, Displacement and Integration* (New York: Chicago University Press, 1963).

Epstein, Israel, *Tibet Transformed* (Beijing: New World, 1983).

Francke, A *History, Fiklore and Culture of Tibet* (New Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1979).

Furen, Wang and Wenging, Suo, *High Lights of Tibetan History* (Beijing: New World Press, 1984).

Gosh, Suchitra, *Tibet in Sino-Indian Relation* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Ltd., 1977).

Grunfeld, A. Tom, *The Making of Modern Tibet* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Grenerd, F., *Tibet: The Country and its Inhabitants*. Trs. by A Teixeira De Matlos (Delhi: Casomo Publication, 1974).

Holdich, Thomas, *Tibet, The Mysterious* (London: Alston Rivers, 1908).

Hope, Simpson, *The Refugee Problem* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939)

Hsi Chang-Hao, *Tibet Leaps Forward* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1977).

Jigmei, Ngapa Ngawana, *Tibet* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981).

Kumar, Anand (ed.), *Tibet: A Source Book*. (New Delhi, Radiant Publisher, 1995).

-----, *Tibet Mukti Andolan Aur Bharat* (New Delhi: Shahitya Sahakar, 1994).

Landor, A Henry Savage, *Tibet and Nepal: Political Cultural Geographical and Historical* (New Delhi: Light and Lite, 1975).

Lowie, Robert H., *Social organizations*, (London: Routledge and Company, 1950)

Macdonald, David, *Tibet* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945).

Macgregor, John, *Tibet: A Chronicle of Exploitation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970).

Majupuria, Indra, *Tibetan Women: Then and Now* (Banglore: Craftsman Press, 1990).

Morais, Frank, *The Revolt in Tibet* (London: Sterling Publishers Ltd., 1966).

Mehra, Puruhotam, *Tibetan Polity, 1904-37, The Conflict Between 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and the 9<sup>th</sup> Panchen: A Case-Study* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976).

Meluyn, C. Gldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet 1913-1951* (New York: University of California Press, 1989).

Michael, Franz H., *Rule By Incarnation, Tibetan Buddhism and Its Role in Society and State* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1982).

Migot, Andre, *Tibetan Marches*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957).

Murphy, Dervla, *Tibetan Foothold*, (London: John Murray, 1968).

Narbo, Dawa, *The Red Star Over Tibet* (London: Sterling Publishes Pvt, 1974).

-----, *Tibet: The Road Ahead* (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers India, 1997).

Nimri Aziz, Barbara, *Tibetan Frontier Families: Reflections of Three Generations from D'ing-Ri* (New Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1978).

Norbu, Thubten Jigme, *Tibet is My Country, Thubten Jigme, Norbu as told to Heinrich Harrer*, Trs. Edward Fitzgerald (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1960).

Palakshappa, T.C., *Tibetans in India: A Case study of Mundgod Tibetans* (New Delhi: Stealing publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1976).

Panigrahi D. N., (ed) *Economy in Society and politics in modern India* (New Delhi: Vikas publication, 1985).

Paul, Gilbert, *Terrorism, Security and Nationality. An Introductory Study Applied political philosophy* (New York: Routedge Publishers, 1994).

Pradyumna, Karan, *The Changing Face Of Tibet* (Kentuky: University Press, 1976).

Preez, Peter du. *The Politics Of Identity* (Oxford: Basil Black well Publishers, 1980)

Rayaporal, Aparna, *Negotiating Identities: Women in The Indian Diaspora* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Richardson, H. E, *Tibet And Its History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

- Saklani Girija, *The Uprooted Tibetan In India, A Sociological Study of Continuity and Change* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications Press, 1984)
- Shen, Tsung, *Tibet and The Tibetans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953).
- Shen, Tsung-Lieu and Liu, Shen-Chi, *Tibet and the Tibetans* (California: Stanford University Press, 1952).
- Sierksma, F., *Tibets Terrifying Deities: Sex and Aggression in Religious Acculturation* (Rutland: Charles E Tuttle Co., 1966).
- Smith, Warren W., *A History of Tibetan Nationalism and Sino-Tibetan Relations* (New Delhi: West View Press, 1996).
- Stein, R.A., *Tibetan Civilization* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).
- Su, Wenming, *Tibet: Today and Yesterday* (Beijing: Beijing Review, 1983).
- Tucci, Guisepe, Tr., *Tibetan Folk Songs From Gyanstse and Western Tibet* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1966).
- Tucci, Guisepe, *Tibet: Land of Snows* (Calcutta: oxford & IBH., 1967).
- Tvcci, Giv Seppe, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Roma: Libreria Dello State, 1949).
- Vaurie, Charles, *Tibet and its Birds* (London: Wtiherby, 1972).
- Waddell, L. Austine, *Tibetan Buddhism: With its Mystic cults, Symbolism and Mythology, and in its Relation to Indian Buddhism* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972).
- Weber Max, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Tr. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Free Press, 1964).



## ARTICLES

Goodwill-Gill, Guys, "Refugees: Challenges to Protection", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring 2001, pp 130-142.

Hanwah, Janet, "Refugee Students at College and University: Improving Access and Support", *International Review of Education*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 1999, pp. 153-66.

Kolas, Ashild, "Tibetan Nationalism: The Politics of Religion", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 33, No. 1, February 1996, pp. 51-66.

Nair, Ravi, "Refugee Protection in South Asia", *Journal of International Affaris*, Vol. 51, No. 1, Summer 1997, pp. 201-20.

Singh, Sawran, "Dalai Lama's Religious Diplomacy", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 20, No. 3, June 1997, pp. 503-06.

Studban, P., "Tibet and the Institution of Dalai Lama", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 20, No. 5, August. 1997, pp. 699-715.

Sundari, S and Geetha N., "Migration: A Gender Perspective", *IAASI Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 2, October-December 2000, pp. 111-32.

## NEWSPAPERS / MAGAZINES / JOURNALS

Economic and political weekly

Employment Newspaper

Frontline

Outlook

The Hindu

Tibet

Tibetan Review

Tibetan Welfare Office, North Delhi, Majnu-Ka-Tila

Tibetan Youth College, Pitampura

Times of India

World Focus

