TIBETAN IDENTITY AND ITS COMMODIFICATION IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION, 1990-2000

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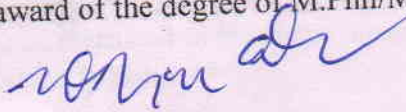
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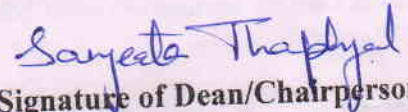
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PREFACE

Being a student who had learnt Political Science in her graduation and International Relations in her post-graduation. Having the exposure to these areas gave me chance to explore and interpret the identities of Tibetans. This dissertation is mainly focussed upon how Globalisation can change how people perceive their identity and culture. The development of this topic was not one night process. Before coming to this conclusion that I want to work on this, attention had been given to other areas as well such as the importance of souvenirs for tourists, but after delving into the literature. Conclusion was taken that all round and comprehensive study will do the justice to the complex nature of identity alteration and formation.

Tibet is an interesting region to study. As it is not a new country but a very ancient region, which has its unique place throughout history. From the sense of being inaccessible to the point of being the hub of spiritual awakening. Tibet being the epitome of mysticism and spiritual place also provides an interesting picture how the diaspora has helped in the propagating the image of Tibet all over the world.

This study also busts one myth about Tibetans that they are backward. Coming chapters explains how the younger generation has successfully adopted their past and learning the technology and modern knowledge, they have successfully proven that culture can coexist with modernity.

This study not only focusses on achievements of Tibetan people but also highlights the challenges they must face in the era of modernisation and globalisation. Also, the interference of Chinese authorities and migration of Han Chinese population has increased the challenge even more.

The study of identity formation is done based on primary sources available in the form of data and resources provided by international organisation such as UNESCO, UNGA different reports and surveys done by NGOs and religious and cultural groups. The secondary resources in the form of case studies and research done by scholars and researchers have been crucial in understanding and conceptualising the culture, society, and its relationship with Tibetan people.

The historical and cultural understanding of the region provided by different scholars was very crucial for understanding the culture of identity commodification and alteration in the region and competition by Han population.

(NEHA SINGH)

CONTENT

Abbreviations

CTA   China tourism Agency

 EU   European Union

ILO   International Labour Organisation

LPG   Liberalisation Privatisation Globalisation

NGO   Non- governmental Organisation

PRC   People's Republic of China

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO United Nations educational, scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNGA United Nations General Assembly

WHO   World Health Organisation

Introduction

Tibet has always been a very contesting place from a very long time. With no proper boundaries and demarcations, physiological aspects of Tibet have remained confusing to lot of people. But one thing in which there is no question about Tibet is its cultural richness. Tibet has always been the home for the amalgamation of ideas and beliefs. From the earliest times when Buddhism reached Tibet it was adopted in a new manner. And now in India from where Buddhism originated it has ceased to be in formal organizational role, whereas Tibet is known worldwide for its uniqueness of the Buddhism. Tibet is situated on the highest region of the world; this physiographical aspect also makes Tibet a center of interest among people.

Tibet is world's highest region and is abode to some of the world's tallest mountains and is home to the highest mountain Mt. Everest. Tibet has very harsh climate and very harsh living conditions. Tibet has an incredibly old cultural history which has seen its own shares of ups and downs. Tibetan kingdom emerged in seventh century however there had been the fall of kingdom which resulted in the division into many small territories. From earlier times there was the control of either Mongol or Chinese government on Tibet administration. Some parts enjoyed relative independence than other parts like eastern parts of Kham and Amdo (Sichuan and Qinghai). In 1912 there was a revolution called Xinhai revolution which was against the Qing Empire and resultantly, soldiers of Qing dynasty were accompanied out of the Tibet region. And this region acknowledged its independence subsequently in the year 1913. Later Tibet asserted its power and acquired western region of Xikang, China. Till 1951 this province enjoyed its independence, but post the battle of Chamdo, Tibet was forced to integrate into People's Republic of China and the earlier Tibetan government was thrown out after the failed uprising. Today China enjoys the control of Tibet as the Tibet autonomous region whereas the eastern region such as Sichuan and Qinghai enjoy the status of independent administrative units. There has been incidents of uprising and revolts and many arrests have been made which makes it even clear that political background of Tibet has seen difficulties.

1.1 Economy of Tibet

Coming to economy of Tibet it consists of subsistence agriculture but there has been recent shift in economy also as there is tourism industry which is growing at rapid scale. Main religions which are practiced in Tibet are Tibetan Buddhism, there is Bon religion which was indigenous religion of Tibet and due to its presence, and Buddhism faced resistance while entering in Tibet. There are other minorities also such as Tibetan Muslims and Tibetan Christians. With the China opening of Tibet for Chinese and for the world, there has been surge of Han Chinese in Tibet. In cultural aspect main dominance in Tibet culture is of Tibetan Buddhism. Primary influence in art, culture, dance, music, and various festivals of the region can be seen influenced from Tibetan Buddhism. Yet architecture reflects Indian and Chinese influence. Staple foods consumed here are yak meat, butter tea and barley which also reflects the harsh frigid conditions of this region.

As it is evident that Tibet is culturally rich and with the spread of Buddhism all over the world it has gained all the more recognition. Another reason of Tibet being culturally extremely attractive is when Chinese government entered and gained controlled of Tibet it wanted to materialize the cultural richness of Tibet. So, it opened Tibet for the purpose of tourism. And Tibet being located at such beautiful, picturesque location and being the propagator of Tibetan Buddhism attracted the visitors from all over the world. And with the coming of globalization this practice of tourism multiplied manifold. Tourists from all over the world visit Tibet in search of ancient Tibetan Buddhism. They perceive it in many forms be it some material objects such as flags, mala, robes, painting etc. for them these material objects became the symbols of Buddhism or the material souvenir symbolizes Tibetan culture for them. So, with the advent of globalization Tibetan culture got commoditized.

Tourism sector in Tibet is marked by various visuals such as bright prayer flags hanging from roof tops. Entire streets are covered in those colorful flags. Main buildings which are characteristic such as red and white paint and Tibetan architecture which is clearly depicter of Tibetan culture. Some other visuals which mark the vibrant nature of culturally rich Tibet are pilgrims can be easily spotted from all parts of Tibet even some international pilgrims they walk the Kora or a circular path around the monastery having prayer wheels or prayer beads in their hands chanting mantra, by doing this they are gaining positive karma. Such is the

usual scenes in tourist areas in Tibet where locals are going about doing their usual practices and rituals and tourists spectating it as something they have recently discovered. Tibet as commonly considered is not homogeneously populated region. There is believer of various faiths co-existing together.

For example, not only Tibetan but Han Chinese, westerners, South Asian minorities, and Muslim population all such ethnicities can be easily found in Barkhor market of Lhasa, everyone has their own plans. As tourists' westerners are found, whereas Tibetans can be spotted on Pilgrimage, or they could be spotted doing things "what they have been thought about by tourists." Han Chinese population has become a part of Tibet in two ways, as Han Chinese tourists come and go along with season and some of the Han Chinese migrants have settled in Tibet itself, they work here as migrant workers. Some other ethnic groups belonging from Southeast Asia also have settled in Tibet following the instructions from People's Republic of China (PRC) {Halper 2014}.

This paper focuses upon the implication of globalization on Tibet and its identity and how it has led to its commodification in the wake of the decade post 1990 till 2010. This paper also investigates how the unplanned migration of Han Chinese population has further increased the persisting problems of Native Tibetans in terms for competing livelihoods and reassertion and protection of their identity and culture.

This paper aims to focus on the developments in Tibet regarding globalization focusing on the time of post 1990s as this was the time when cold war ended thus new concepts like globalization started getting pace globally also in the immediate neighborhood of Tibet. Really soon the impact of globalization started appearing in Tibetan society. By this time roads and highways which were the part of China's development policy in Tibet also came at the point of completion thus further helping in the commuting of tourists. Tibet was opened by China for the world for the purpose of tourism in 1979 with the liberalization. Post 1990 there was a boom in tourism sector as people were being eager to experience so called exotic place. For Indians also with LPG (liberalization, privatization, and globalization) dying economy got revived and with more dispensing money in hand they also wanted to experience and visit holy places in Tibet which are Kailash Mansarovar. Thus, overall, the period of post 1990s brought the more tourists to Tibet.

The impact of globalization has been such that Tibetan culture' is recreated as a sought-after commodity among tourists. This paper aims to analyze the socio-economic impacts of tourism, delving into who is reaping the benefits economically, simultaneously considering the political implications of the ruling power and the ways in which tourism is linked to the reaffirmation in ethnic identity. This research further goes on to examine the spatial re-imagining forced by the development of tourism, and questions whether a tourist destination inescapably becomes a 'pseudo-community' for the visited. It further deals with the questions that tourists while visiting the region come with certain expectations of witnessing the pristine landscape -words through which they were marketed. For them, the expectations are of experiencing pure undiluted Tibetan culture. In words of Ben Hillman, since the gates have opened for non-Tibetan migrants resulting in the changing of the nature of Tibetan towns the threat perception is on the rise that Tibetan culture is under attack.

Often tourists have indefinite distinction of being the target of mockery for everyone. Tourism studies mostly have been started from the notion that tourism is inherently evil as it leads to cultural degradation. This wailing of the destruction caused due to tourism on culture could be easily pursued back from post second world war. The story is quite familiar once a natural and pristine place away from the west after the arrival of tourism that purity and authenticity got commoditized and spoiled. In short, tourism has gotten a bad reputation of being demonized, homogenized, and internalized simultaneously.

Claude Levi Strauss in his work Tristes Tropiques stated- "travel books and travelers [contemporary tourists] serve only to 'preserve the illusion of something that no longer exists' genuine travel has been replaced by movement through a 'monoculture' in a fruitless search for 'vanished reality'." (Levi Strauss, (1972); 39-40)

Supporters of cultural involution stand on the side stating cultural tourism can lead to renewal of local interests in traditional cultural forms, hence double benefit of cultural bonds getting strengthened and local actors getting material advantages. (cf. McKean, 1989(1977))

On the other hand, proponents who are arguing that tourism has led to cultural erosion. They have warned against diminution of products of artistic quality and traditions because of surge

in tourists' demands. They argue that tourism inescapably will lead to cultural commodification.

Their arguments are that tourism may lead to promotion of restated curiosity in traditional arts and indigenous and cultural social practices amidst local artists and craftsmen, tourist purchases are drove by enthusiasm to have a mark, rather than having genuine interest in cultural beliefs or traditions. (Wall and Mathison, 1982: 165-9)

Such expectation of tourists from local artists and their imagination of being in a place which is so pristine, untouched has led people to dress and behave accordingly. And thus this 'becoming other,' is a direct outcome of the commodification and objectification of both ethnicity and culture. This can be the explanation of mass consumption of identity objects which can be termed as merchandise by both local insiders and touristic outsiders. Local insider's view can be clearly seen as distorted due to the tourists' expectations (Linnekin, 1997; 216-17)

When monetary value is assigned in traditions and ritual it becomes valueless for local people. They will be inclined towards behaving in certain manner which is going to give them advantage.

A situation can be imagined when all cultures will be taken over by monoculture, motivated by the process of 'Disneyfication' and 'McDonaldization,' where everything will be transformed into a big theme park and resultantly authentic travel experience will become inevitably impossible. (Liska and Cf Liska, 1997; 97-101)

There have been many other downsides of rapid globalization and commodification of identities and cultures. Globalization might have led to development in field of economy and strengthening of local cultures but there are some social evils which have been spurred such as drug overuse and addiction, pollution, crime, prostitution, reduction in social stability as well as there has been a rapid growth in 'consumer culture' and 'capitalist values.' (Mc Laren; 28)

Researchers also talk about how tourism resulted in impacting local indigenous culture, language that suggest not merely destruction but even passivity. In short, when local cultures meet secular west, they are presupposed to get transformed that too it gets worsened. (B Hitchcock et all, 1993; eight; Wood, 1993:63)

What is the final result is rather a difficult situation which always portrays both portrayal by late Walker Percy where he said that this would remain an attainable desire for a completely experienced 'it'.(1976;54) and also Levi Strauss's hunt for a vanished reality; the more involvement of local residents in tourism will be, the less genuinely in their cultural practices will be and thus they become even less desirable as they are nothing but mere objects for tourists.(Bruner, 1995; 224) in other words, as 'they' (inhabitants) become more like 'us' (tourists), our longing for them gets diminished.

"Tourism as cannibal ultimately consumes itself" (cf Mac Cannel, 1994).

The role of tourism in commodification of culture and identity goes unnoticed in the process of commodification.

Economists and theorists describing commodities and their economic value vary in their opinions. According to Adam Smith who seeks to establish to quantify value, which is not tangled to religion, defined that foundation of economic values is determined by productive labor. In his words, "labor was the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities." (Smith, 1909; 36)

Smith differentiates b/w natural value and market value.

Commodity analysis given by Marx with respect to tourism can be seen everywhere. Everything can be sold taking the form of commodity even culture and identity.

1.2 Identity as a concept

To start with the concept of identity let us talk about the basic definition given by Turner and Henri Tajfel's social identity theory which explains person's group affiliation impacts his idea of self. A person does not belong to a particular group at a time, but rather multiple groups hence possess multiple ideas or concept of selves and identities which is the result of his association with multiple groups. That person behaves differently in separate groups because of varied nature groups. Groups might include family, religion they practice, their neighborhood they reside are such examples of groups.

Identity as a concept possess multiple definitions given by many sociologists at various times. Other definition is given by Stryker, where he talks about role identities. He says, "An identity is a set of meanings attached to roles individuals occupy in the social structure), groups they identify with and belong to (group identities), and unique ways in which they see themselves" (person identities) (Burke & Stets, 2009 0). Burke and stets talks about identity as a form of acceptance, the acceptance can be societal or cultural. They say individuals respond within a group when they see themselves reflecting upon in a person's identity or role.

Other definition is given by McCall and Simmons where they talk about the main role of identities formed under the influence of hierarchy. "An identity is a set of meanings attached to roles individuals occupy in the social structure (Stryker [1980] 2002) (role identities), groups they identify with and belong to (group identities), and unique ways in which they see themselves (person identities) (Burke & Stets, 2009)."

"Meanings are individuals' responses when they reflect upon themselves in a role, social, or person identity (Burke & Stets, 2009)."

For example, a woman's sense of morality comes into picture when she sees how principled she is from the standard of society, when she thinks of herself as worker, she realizes how efficient she is, and when she thinks about herself, she thinks how reliable she is. All these things are not generating in isolation. This identification theory comes after identity verification. Meaning of Identity verification refers to the situation when individuals identify that other are also perceiving them as they perceive themselves.

The concept given by McCall and Simmons of "prominence hierarchy" was to denote how identities are organized. Identities are ranked according to the prominence they have in the life of an individual. It marks their values and desires and how they wanted to be perceived by others. More noticeable an identity is, the greater impact it will have in any situation. The prominence of an identity is influenced by several factors. Where the support is greater, where the rewards in the form of intrinsic and extrinsic ones are greater an individual is more committed to that identity.

So, contextualizing it in Tibetan culture and identity case one can say that in the era of globalization where the identity is influenced by so many outside factors be it modernization, be it westernized education or be it the presence of Chinese authority, the identity of native Tibetans is under the threat of getting diluted. Earlier when they used to identify themselves as religious beings as the prominence of religion in their lives were the most dominant, today the situation seems to be altering and the conclusion can be drawn that Chinese influence act as major force dilution of the native identity of Tibetans as Chinese is hegemonic power in Tibetan plateau.

Apart from identity this paper also discusses about commodification. Before delving further into commodification, it is important to have clarity over the concept. Commodification as a concept came into existence with the origin of capitalist system. Capitalist system lies on the pillars of capital accumulation, voluntary exchange, private property, wage labor, competitive markets, and a price system. Essentially telling that everything in the world comes with the price tag, even the things which earlier could not be imagined to be sold in the markets. For example, beliefs, ideas, religion, natural beauty, water. With the advent of capitalism everything seems to be appearing in the markets to be sold.

1.3. Definition of commodification

Formal definition of commodification explains in a capitalist mode of economic system, Commodification can be explained as the conversion of goods, ideas, services, and even people into mere commodities or entities of trade. A commodity can be known as , according to Arjun Appadurai, is "anything intended for exchange," or any article having economic value.

Commodification is repeatedly criticized on the basis that there are some things which should not to be treated as commodities for example education, water, data, knowledge, information animal life and human life. There are many forms of commodification. Slavery is one form of commodification, this can be termed as "commodification of people". Gøsta Esping Andersen describes that people are 'turned into objects' or commodified when they sell their labor in the market to business.

Other form of commodification is "cultural commodification." The definition given in dictionary of commodification is to turn something into an article to be used for commercial purpose. In context of tourism, commodification is termed as using a place's cultural artifacts and its culture to excerpt large enough revenue to support portion of that area's economy (Fiaux).

Where the popular culture impacts native culture and here in case of Tibet, the coming wave of globalization and mass migration of Han Chinese population the native culture of Tibet seems to be diluting. Han Chinese population seems to be competing with the native people in all the spheres of life. Be it government jobs or be it the traditional markets. And even being the Chinese, they enjoy even more advantages as the national language is mandarin, so they get the official positions more easily as compared to native Tibetans who are not that well versed in Mandarin.

American feminist Bell Hooks and author (Gloria Jean Watkins) describes cultural commodification as "eating the other". She means that cultural expressions be it revolutionary or postmodern, can be easily traded to dominant culture. She also goes on to explain that native culture gets diluted because of the image portrayal that their traditions and customs are primitive and thus need to be upgraded. "Any messages of social change are not marketed for their messages but used as a mechanism to acquire a piece of the "primitive". Any interests in past historical culture always have a modern twist."

"The Marxist understanding of *commodity* is distinct from its meaning in business. Commodity played a key role throughout Karl Marx's work; he considered it a cell-form of capitalism and a key starting point for an analysis of this politico-economic system. Marx extensively

criticized the social impact of commodification under the name commodity fetishism and alienation."

Marx stands against the commodification as according to him this is the starting point of capitalism. When the non-materialistic things started to get the price tags and started to be sold and purchased that is when the commodification kicks in.

1.4 Definition of Globalization

Today in the era of globalization where the entire world seems to be a small community, constantly in touch and rapid exchange of things, ideas the native culture of anyplace is bound to get affected. Same is the case with Tibet. With the coming of China in the region and then globalization the native culture of Tibet is getting further diluted. Globalization is described by many economists explaining the different multifaceted meanings.

"Globalization is an overly complex term. It is used very broadly by economists, sociologists, and politicians to explain the mechanisms that are leading to a more and more interconnected world. Globalization refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society" (Albrow, 1990: 9).

Ritzer, in his book "Modern Sociological Theory" describes globalization as a "Spread of worldwide practices, relations, consciousness and organization of social life" arguing that everyone worldwide has been affected by the impacts of globalization.

In the book *Global Transformations*, David Held states:

Globalization in its basic form refers to speeding up, deepening, widening of global connections but it requires further explanation. Globalization can be at par with national, local, or even regional. At one end of the range economic and social networks lie which are concerned with national and local basis and on the other end economic and social networks lie which develop global and regional interactions.

"Globalization can refer to those spatial-temporal processes of change which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents. Without reference to such expansive spatial connections, there can be no clear or coherent formulation of this term. A satisfactory definition of globalization must capture each of these elements: extensity (stretching), intensity, velocity and impact." These lines aptly capture the essence of globalization where it states that globalization is ever moving concept.

James states that embodied globalization which includes movement of human beings it can be understood as the oldest and most dominant form of globalization. Other form which is "agency extended globalization" it includes people or the agents representing different agencies, organization, institution, and polities. Third form "object extended globalization" it includes movement of objects and commodities for main purpose of exchange. There is a new form of globalization which includes transmission of knowledge, ideas, information, images across the world and this form of globalization are "world-space disembodied globalization" he goes on to state that currently this is the most dominant system of globalization.

James embraces that such series of differences gives an understanding of how, in today's era, the greatest embodied form of globalization for example the movement of migrants and refugees have been gradually restricted, whereas the greatest disembodied forms for example the movement of financial codes and instruments are now the most decontrolled. Globalization can also help in creation of less repulsive community to new culture and ideas.

There is another form of globalization which is, Cultural globalization it denotes to the communication of meanings, values, and ideas all over the world in a way as to spread and strengthen social relations. This method is mainly marked by the shared consumption of traditions cultures that are dispersed by the popular culture media, international travel and mainly internet. This has further intensified the processes of exchange.

This circulation and exchange of culture has helped in further strengthening of social relations among countries across the regional and national borders. This exchange and strengthening are not limited to material level. It has led to creation of common norms, ideas, and knowledge

with which nowadays people identify their collective and individual identities. It has helped in increasing level of interconnectedness among varied cultures and populations.

Cultural Globalization can be understood as the progressively occurring process where people's needs, and behaviors are coming in global conformism.

Another impact of Cultural globalization is it may lead to Cultural Imperialism. Cultural imperialism is described as the influence and dominance that a culture partakes on other culture. The epicenter of attention in cultural globalization has been on the influence and dominance of cultural identities as we as values of western culture over other cultures. It has vast impact ranging from hybridization to polarization till even homogenization.

In case of Tibet, cultural globalization is the most dominant form of globalization.

With the spread of globalization in Tibet during 1990s and increasing interest of China in this region began to raise some of the problems which were unknown earlier. Such as there will be dilution of the authenticity of traditions and culture of Tibet. As Hillman points out state led development which was started in 1980s started showing results in 1990s. There was development in all spheres. As investments started pouring into Tibet, several high paying jobs started opening in Tibet which resulted in migration of non-Tibetans into Tibet. There were rapid developments in communication and transportation also coupled with high government policies for leisure and consumer spending. This all led to increasing in tourism sector. Tourism also led to generalization of idea about the place and native Tibetan people. Tibet was idealized as a place of spiritual and natural purity. Which was only half truth. With the increase in migration, Place was highly dominated by Han Chinese as they were wealthy thus, they had more power.

1.5 Tibetan identity and survival of its culture

The path of Tibetan history is not linear. It has witnessed the many aspects of different civilization like Mongolia, Buddhism from India and the very recent coming of China. Tibet has retained the Buddhism it got from India whereas Buddhism as an organized religion has ceased to exist in India. Tibet has had many years to combine the influences and to form into

a unique culmination of political and religious system. With the coming of China in the Tibet modern Tibetan cultural identity has suffered from the strong disintegrative influences which obviously includes trauma of loss of independence. There are few categories of these influences such as Chinese colonialism and policies for Chinese minorities' which are trying to bring socialism and thirdly modernization which also includes the impact of globalization, communication, media, and tourism. With the exit of the Dalai Lama and the downfall of the traditional Tibetan government in 1959, China gets the free pass and thus started attempting transformation of Tibetan society based on techniques and doctrines of socialism. In the period of 1950-1970, traditional Tibetan culture was pressured for the reformation. There were many changes introduced in political, economic sphere such as in division of people based on economic class. Also, Tibetan language was also attempted to simplify, they tried to do it by removing of honorifics. They also de-emphasized the schools of Tibetan language to favor Chinese. Buddhism was also tried to remove both in the terms of physical and spiritual forms.

But in the year 1979, new Chinese government accepted its failure in Tibet and accepted that economic condition is worse now than ever. Chinese government also suffered great loss in investment and mining sector. Thus, policy of liberalization was adopted and with the liberalization there were many arenas were opened. Tourism being one of the arenas, it had opened the doors for both economic benefits and some detrimental effects. Chinese opened Tibetan culture selectively for the tourists so the aspects which were non harmful or innocuous plus attractive to tourists were opened and other aspects were prohibited. With tourism and globalization came the new systems of social entertainment like films and television which were completely new for Tibetan households. Thus, there were some disruptions in traditional Tibetan households.

When in 1979 situations changed for better for Tibetans, the survival of Tibetan culture and identity surprised the observers, especially the Chinese. When the certain aspects of practice of religion was allowed for individuals, the dedication of young and old people towards the religion seems unaffected. Personal beliefs and even though organized form of religion was prohibited, Tibetans initiated the revival and rebuilding of their cultural identity and heritage. The credit for the outstanding preserving and revival of Tibetan culture and identity goes to the profound philosophy of their culture and goes to the Tibetan diaspora in India and in distinct

parts of the world. Tibetan diaspora has intentionally kept the Tibetan tradition alive and visible in the people's eye. Tibetans has been presented with abrupt and sudden changes. 7Such as they used to follow traditional and feudal practices and with the advent of Chinese hey were forced to follow socialist society in short order.

Another problem faced by Tibetan's face is that many "traditional" societies are trying to acclimatize to speedily changing scenarios. Dawa Norbu in his book China's Tibet Policy also talks about the changes coming post uprising of 1979. While tracing the history from as early as 624 AD he also talks about the role played by major powers be it America, India, or China in relation with Tibet and also their strategic interests in the region.

1.6 Globalization and Tibetan culture and identity

Tibet as everybody acknowledges is steeped in centuries old, Buddhist traditions. With the coming of China and growing globalization Tibetans today face hard choices as they fight to hold on to their unique identity without getting left behind in the world's especially China's rush toward modernity. Decisions range from very small to very significant ones such as whether children should focus on their Tibetan language or the mandarin language which is national language at school or other mundane decisions such as what clothes to wear, books to read or music to listen. Chinese presence in the region has caused many threats to Tibetan identity. Also, with every passing year after the fleeing Tibetan spiritual leader Dalai Lama and his chances of returning seems to be getting even lesser. Tibetan come to realize that they have to be practical now. Tibetan people are presented with many difficulties if they try to stick to their native identity. As mandarin is now the national language all exams and jobs require mandarin so Tibetan either must learn the mandarin or to lose out in jobs.

There is some positive side also where traditional Tibetan food and clothing is losing out, other aspects of Tibetan culture and identity such as music and literature are enjoying a renaissance flourishing despite of clampdown of government. This generation which is fluent in mandarin also realizing the importance of Tibetan literature. Tibetan diaspora is also playing a positive role in spreading of Tibetan culture all over the world.

The literature review shows serious gaps in the available literature on Tibetan Identity. As the focus is either only on Tibetan identity or on the role of modernization on Tibetan culture. For the region like Tibet which plays vital role in the assessment of the role of globalization in traditional society literature is limited. Furthermore, the role played by diaspora in spreading the Tibetan culture or keeping the age-old tradition is adequate. In fact, the literature does not assess or examine the phenomenon like tourism and globalization in spreading of Tibetan culture. One may find that after liberalization, Tibet has revived and reformed the Buddhism even though practice of religion is banned. This is all done to keep the Tibetan identity alive. With the globalization some aspects are flourishing also, which has been not focused upon. A proper assessment of how the globalization is impacting Tibetan identity in contemporary era is not done. This study will try to fill such gaps to understand the whole subject in proper manner.

Due to its strategic location Tibet has always been important for the world. Its geographical proximity to China has had a massive impact on the administration and economy of Tibet. Tibet has been culturally related to India as Buddhism emerged in India and from India it travelled or reached to Tibet. And after reaching Tibet Buddhism has adopted or evolved into completely different form. Now Tibet culture and Tibetan Buddhism is synonymous. This asserts the importance of having its own cultural significance for Tibet. Tibet being steeped into the roots of Buddhism practices which are centuries old finds it really challenging to cope up with the ever-changing world which is the result of economic liberalization which occurred in 1979, but even more so the result of ever developing concept of globalization. Globalization has changed the face of earth. Earlier some things which were possible in imaginations only are turning into realities. Tibet was an isolated landmass with the globalization everyone know now that it is beautiful. Thus, there is increasing visitors every year to Tibet. This increase in tourism has posed as both boon and bane for Tibetans. While on one side it helps with the economy, tourism in fact is important for the GDP of Tibet as it is second most important sector after the agricultural sector. Tourism also helps in flourishing of the Tibetan identity. There lie some drawbacks of tourism also. With the increasing tourism popularized by the globalization Tibetan culture has been reduced to mere materialistic objects or souvenirs. Now when tourists visit Tibet, they carry a perception of experiencing authenticity of Tibetan culture, which for them resides in flags, malas, robes. This has led to commodification of Tibetan culture.

Commodification has its benefits but in case of tourism, authentic experiences are kept above everything. It helps in both ways for tourists as well as for indigenous culture. More authentic the culture is more accurate understanding will be developed in tourists. Tourists can help in promoting of the place's economy especially developing countries will get more benefit from tourist's experiences. (Rothman)

The rationale of this study lies into the fact that in Tibet, the tourism sector after the agriculture sector, is the second most important contributor to the economy. Thus, there is need to have a proper assessment of role played by globalization and tourism in forming of Tibetan identity. Tibet's tourism in recent years has extended rapidly, especially post accomplishment of Qingzang Railway in July 2006. There has been explosion in the number tourists. Tibet received 2.5 million tourists in 2006 which also includes 150,000 foreigners. This tells the importance of rise of tourism.

1.7. Literature review

The review of the literature for the proposed study is discussed under the following themes:

a) Concept of cultural identity

b) Concept of commodification

c) Concept of globalization and its impacts.

1.8 Research questions

1. What are the significance of Buddhism in the lives of Tibetans? And what role does it play in their identity formation.

2. How has the Tibetan identity been impacted by the globalization?

3. Does globalization has led to the commodification of Tibetan culture?

4. What are the socio-economic impacts of tourism on the lives of native Tibetan population?

1.9. Hypotheses

1. Globalization has led to the commodification of traditional Tibetan identity in the contemporary era.

2. Problems faced by native Tibetan population is the result of unplanned government sponsored migration of Han Chinese population.

1.10. Research methods

This research is qualitative research which focuses on examining the impact of globalization on the Tibetan identity. An analytical study will be carried out to assess the impact of the tourism and overall impact of globalization which has led to the commodification of Tibetan identity.

The research will use primary sources such as official reports by governments, reports, and documents by international organizations such as United Nations Development Programme, International Labor Organization, and private sectors. The secondary sources would include existing literature such as books, journal articles, news report etc.

The proposed study will be arranged in five chapters.

1.11. Chapter description

Chapter 1: Introduction

As this chapter has given an overview of the main subjects besides highlighting the boom in tourism sector in Tibet and thus the commodification of Tibetan culture and identity. First chapter deals with the Tibet as a region, its prominence in terms of its location and culture. It also briefly explains the historical evolution of this region. Location of Tibet and the role played by the tradition and culture in formation of its distinctive identity is further elaborated. It also describes various theories given by sociologists, economists to explain the scenario as how globalization has led to the commodification of Tibetan identity and culture.

Chapter 2. Role of Buddhism in the formation of Tibetan identity

Second chapter will provide the role played by Tibetan Buddhism in the formation of distinct cultural identity in the global space and this distinctiveness is attracting people all over the world to visit Tibet. Chapter traces how Buddhism emerged in Tibet and how it has impacted the lives of Tibetan people. Chapter also deals with revolution which occurred in Tibet and how it carved out lives of Tibetan people. Main emphasis of this chapter is how during history Buddhism has travelled and how from the time it has reached into Tibet i.e.7th century the lives of indigenous people who were earlier the follower of Bon religion shifted to this religion and thus their culture, tradition also changed.

Chapter 3. Diaspora

After that Role of diaspora, tourism and souvenirs in identity assertion/formation has been discussed extensively. It discusses how the term diaspora carries multiple meanings which ranges from refugee till the meaning which has poetic meaning to itself. Historical events which resulted in the formation of diaspora are explained. This chapter further bursts the idea that diaspora is a backward population which lacks skill and education. Tibetan diaspora is so well organized. They have carried with themselves the tradition, culture wherever they have been to, and they have been able to monetize on that. With the help of countless examples, it is tried to explain that how Tibetan people are utilizing their skills and earning their livelihoods in

foreign countries. This chapter has focused on role played by Tibetan diaspora and even the souvenirs apart from Tibetan Buddhism in creating the distinctiveness of Tibetan cultural identity.

Chapter 4

Assessment of the identity formation and its impact on Tibet

Fourth chapter discusses how globalization has proven to be double edged sword for the Tibetan people. On one hand they are benefitting from the much-gained popularity of their culture but on the other hand there is huge income gap between the people who can make money such as realtors and people who are indigenous to the place. There is also dilution of the culture because of the exposure to so many new things. This chapter also deals with the point that how globalization has led to the dilution of the culture and threatened the survival of indigenous people. Following that assessment of the identity formation and its impact on Tibet has also been discussed in detail where it will assess how in the era of globalization the identity of Tibet is forming. Whether the identity is vanishing, commodifying, or reasserting.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Last chapter is concluding chapter which will summarize and conclude the study and findings and address the limitations of the study. This chapter also gives te perspective of the presence of China in the region has made it inevitable that globalization will penetrate the remotest regions of Tibet. Presence of Han population has given unprecedented competition to the indigenous population making them even helpless in the matter of earning livelihood. How tourism has led to the reassertion of diluting culture to stay relevant as tourists are attracted with the idea of pristine and religious Tibet. It will also evaluate the validity of the stated hypotheses.

<center>**Chapter 2**</center>

<center>**Role of Buddhism in the formation of Tibetan identity**</center>

2.1 Buddhism and its birth in Tibet

Buddhism as a religion may be new as compared to other religions of the world. But the impact it has over the people, countries, and their relationship with each other is immeasurable. This chapter will trace the Buddhism, its birth and how from the very beginning it has impacted lives in Tibet and how the fate of Tibet has travelled from legitimacy only based on militarily strongest to creating new criteria of gaining legitimacy. Buddhist revolution in Tibet plays a vital role in charting out the social order. Buddhism from the very origin has changed the social order of the state wherever it has reached. Buddhism has always propagated a sense of peace and order wherever it has been traveling to. Due to the Buddhist influence, the bilateral relations among countries were made more stable and organised. Whenever one talks about the Tibet, it can be either Buddhism or how people are living their lives in Tibet. Buddhism has remained synonymous to Tibet and its lifestyles.

Tracing back how Buddhism arrived Tibet and what role it has been playing in transformation of Tibet's society. Dawa Norbu has made an observation about the rulers of Manchu, Qing, Mongol, and Tibetan empires. He had analysed how they differ in the order and manner of their rule and what relations they used to share.

There was power dynamics between them and the manner of exercising their dominance was almost similar except in the case about Tibet. They exercised power through dominance. Tribute relations and to some extreme level direct political intervention. Another observation which can be made is wherever Buddhism was involved the level of interaction was mild and organised. Because they thought people following Buddhism as religion and way of life would not be in mental space for power struggle. Thus, there was more of tribute paying ritual. For example, Tibet experienced much organised method of domination under Manchu (Qing) and Mongol (Yuan) dynasties. This may tell that some of the political domination

resulted from Nobel intentions. One thing common among these dynasties was both has Bud5dhist influences, was also established. One thing remarkable happened in their rule- neither Manchu- Gelugpa rule which was for three hundred years nor Mongol- Sakya rule which was for 85 years experienced significant protests or peasant revolts in Tibet. This might majorly have to do with the legitimacy enjoyed by the Lamas. Due to lamas, which were the result of Buddhism, the political and social outlay was so different and peaceful that the relations between countries were tranquil. This relative peace and stability which prevailed during the Sakya Lama and Dalai Lama's rule clearly indicated the amount of legitimacy enjoyed by Lamas. In modern words, the political structures and popular culture were congruent despite the incongruous political and economic disparities. Another example how conversion into Buddhism lead to complete change in outlook and power structure was how earlier Mongols posed a great threat to China's security but later with the conversion the threat got reduced. Even in the Manchu dynasty they maintained the closer relation with lamas and with their help they maintained indirect form of rule.

2.1.1 Transition phases of Buddhism in Tibet

Buddhism from very earlier times has helped Tibet to be on different footing than others. Earlier it helped in indirect rule through the legitimacy enjoyed by lamas and gradually with the Buddhist revolution (840s-1240s). Buddhism which used to be practiced and propagated by Lamas and in emperor's family got penetrated the lives of the common masses.

Although the transition was not that easy as the last Bstan Lang Dharma (838-42) put a ban on Buddhism and even persecuted the members of the Sangha leading to the virtual disappearance of Buddhism for 70-80 years from eastern and central Tibet. It survived only in the extreme western and eastern corners of the country Ngari and Amdo were the only places where it could survive. It tells how sometimes geographical factor can play even a bigger role in shaping the man's destiny. These border locations are far away from the central Tibet where the persecution was least effective. It not only ensured the survival of Buddhism, but it also helped in the establishment of minor Buddhist kingdoms namely Gusileo Kingdom in Amdo and Guge Kingdom in Ngari. When Tibetan disintegration was occurring, these kingdoms because of their frontier locations enjoyed fruitful, sustained cultural contacts with Buddhist civilisations neighbouring them. Which are in the case of Ngari North Indian

Princely states and in the case of Amdo the Xixia. Amdo as a leading Buddhist centre was able to revive an even spread Buddhism in remote areas of eastern Tibet, it also initiated reinforced and established a Buddhist Impact over Xixia and maintained a more regular ties.

 The Xixia state was a believer in Buddhism, and Tibetan Buddhism was enjoying the popularity then. During the second period various Buddhist sects were rising and Xixia was able to maintain some ties with some of Buddhist sects. Earlier the interest in Buddhism during the Bstan period it was confined to court and royalty. It's spread among the common people such as nomads and peasants, who were primarily Bon believers was restricted due to political reasons. However, the change occurred, and disintegration happened when Lang Dharma was murdered in 842, it resulted into the change that Buddhism no longer remained courtly interest and moved into larger public fervour. Reason behind such substantial change can be traced that after the years of war during the period of Bstan rule, people were tired of the violence and hence were looking for peace. And Buddhism was providing that. Buddhism as a religion and way of life always promoted peace in life. Buddhism kept on spreading and it went through various phases. During the time between 978-1247, formation of four sects of Buddhism took place. And throughout the Buddhist transformation period which lasted around one hundred years. Many Indian Buddhist scholars and pandits visited Tibet and they were not accompanied by Indian sepoys. As they did not feel the need of it. Buddhist history somewhere indicates that this spread of Buddhism which occurred from India to Tibet was free from armed intervention or even any political ideology. It signified that it was a cultural transaction and diffusion without any political content.

2.2 Importance of Buddhism in Tibetan identity

Buddhism was introduced in seventh century and till date it has continued to inform Tibetan lifestyle. It is quite impossible to talk about Tibet without mentioning Buddhism. Buddhist literature and traditions continue in shaping and reshaping of Tibetan identity. Scripts have also played as being the influencing figures in cultural and spiritual education for children for many generations especially for the four main traditions of Tibetan Buddhism- Nyingma, Sakya, Kagyu, and Gelug; each sect has a different lineage of teachers and history. Tibetan language has been given a special position and is considered sacred language because it has stored one of the richest Buddhist historical literatures in the world. Tibetan literature has

always been the source of attraction for scholars as it has a very wide scope to expound and to study. Although most Tibetans are Buddhist, there are Tibetan Christians and Tibetan Muslims as well. Even though being in minority Tibetan Muslims have peacefully coexisted with Buddhist majority historically. And have actively contributed to the development of Tibetan literature and culture especially in the domain of music.

They have also contributed to the preservation of Lhasa dialect that too in its untainted form. Even when they had to flee from Tibet, Tibetan Muslims in Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Kashmir have retained the dialect in its purest form. Before Chinese occupied Tibet, Tibetans had the freedom of enjoying religious liberty and freedom. The role played by the religion and language was huge in the formation of Tibetan National Identify, social cohesion and socio-communication system. These play the most key role in the identity formation and national unity for the people living in exile. Up until Chinese had occupied Tibet, Tibet had enjoyed the status of being a free state. Ernest Gellner who is a prominent scholar in the study of nationalism and nations talks about cultural homogeneity that it led to the invention of nations and consequently produced nationalism. Hence, it is not astounding that Tibetan language and Tibetan Buddhism forms the basic pillars in the making of Tibet as a nation as the homogeneity in the population binds the nation together. Likewise, common religion and culture amongst the people living in exile have resulted in the formation of ethno national diaspora.

Tibetan Buddhism is a form or subset of Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhism unique in its way thus it has many distinctive features. To understand the reason behind this distinctiveness there is a need to pay attention to specific environment of Tibetan plateau also there is a need to pay heed to the people who had been living here and how they have formed the societies in which they are residing that too in such challenging location. Buddhism is not just a religion in Tibet in fact, it has become integral part of Tibet Society, identity, and way of life. There is no denying the fact that Bon religion has remained another variant of Tibetan Buddhism. In terms of population following religion most of them usually follow it – Buddhism leaving very a smaller number of people who follow Islam.

People of Tibet has mostly remained autonomous leaving the time of Mongol and Manchu rulers controlling Tibet. In 1949, China started controlling parts of Tibet and thus, started

controlling cultural and religious aspect of it. While the Dalai Lama escaped from Tibet, he took the culture and religion with himself to India. Meanwhile the suppression of culture was taking place in Tibet, as China was forcibly controlling all aspects of life in Tibet in the name of Cultural Revolution. During that time Tibetan Buddhism was flourishing in other parts of globe such as Mongolia.

2.3 Tibetan society and its features

Let us take a look at how the Tibet society was historically. Tibetan society is majorly divided among two components i.e., farmers also known as agriculturalist and nomadic herders also known as pastoralists. One thing in common in these components is Tibetan Buddhist religion, Tibetan language, and its culture features. When observed it becomes clear that agriculturalists were present here from always and nomadic type of lifestyle came post Manchu and Mongol people. Tibetan society has the characteristics of being communal in nature. As the terrain and weather is very harsh and thus there is uncertainty about life, people try to help each other as much as possible. So, Tibetan Society has been called 'feudal' which is somewhere misleading in formal terms as well as in picture. Because feudalism in Europe was different than feudalism in Tibet. And feudalism by term explains that society is not really the case. Disputes are solved through mediation.

Buddhism in India was propagated in Urban Centres with artisans, merchants, city dwelling population as being the first supporters. Gradually, Buddhism started vanishing from rural India. Buddhism in Tibet Started or promoted by the emperor and his family.

There is established fact that Tibet had both the options of either choosing Buddhism of China or of India. Tibet chose Indian style of Buddhism. India is the Birthplace of Buddhism. Buddhism in Tibet however have been derived primarily from India. While adopting the Buddhism, Tibet moulded it into local than state patronage. Buddhism in Tibet was adopted locally as the life of people in Tibet is communal, where they live together sharing all aspects of life, be it celebration and be it some sort of misfortune. Buddhism in India as seen today has its own historical trajectory. India nowadays is known as 'Hindu land,' but this Hinduism is rather a recent development in history of India. Hinduism as a religious tradition which is based on Vedic and Brahmanical teachings. Buddhism and Jainism was patronised by the

Mauryan regime. All the religions were however centred in heartland and thus could not penetrate into village. Religion in villages was concerned with local gods and spirits which gradually assimilated to major Hindu deities.

2.4 Phases of Buddhist diffusion in Tibet

2.4.1 Phase one of diffusion

Seventh to twelfth centuries was the most crucial time period of the expansion of Buddhism into Tibet which formerly also called the first dissemination/diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (Tib. bstan be sgna dar). There are diverse types of Buddhism which are adopted in various parts of the word. First division is known as 'Hinayana' also known as 'lesser vehicles' schools, in the contemporary time it is known as 'Theravada Buddhism' and it is mainly dominant in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka. Other division which is Mahayana or 'great Vehicle' School, which is represented by rest of the countries following Buddhism that includes China, Japan, Mongolia, Korea, Bhutan, and Tibet including Trans Himalayan greater Tibet regions as well. Third division which is Tantric/Vajrayana Buddhism can be seen primarily practicing and following in Tibet and in Japan, Nepal, Cambodia, and Indonesia.

There has been a debate where scholars argue that in 19th and early 20th C, there have been decline historically from scientific and rational doctrine, through using irrational belief system and mystification followed in Mahayana.

Through this there was the gradual shift to corruption in decadence and sexual immorality followed in Tantric Buddhism. All religion has gradually shifted towards decadence but this somewhere untrue in the case of Buddhism for sure. Buddhism has always consisted of both views, be it mystical and be it rational. In case of Buddhism mystical or visionary elements and rationalism are inseparable elements.

Visionary mind in Buddhism comes from insights that it was always believed that true knowledge does not come to unaided human or ordinary people. These insights are different to attain which can be accessed only by inner purification that too for a lengthy period.

Buddhahood is associated with enlightenment. Also, knowledge in terms of Buddhahood does not mean only the presence of cognitive and intellectual intelligence. It is the knowledge of being totally grounded in mind and body of the practitioner. Buddhism talks about the importance of being a Buddha to understand what a Buddha does. And being Buddha included radical transformations of the physical and emotional basis of one's existence.

The transformation to Buddha hood involves various steps but the steps vary in different branches of Buddhism. Tibet as discussed earlier was delivered from India. But this export was not in single unproblematic form. The diffusion or transfer was more complex, and it occurred in lengthy period of time. Tibetans used to travel to India in small groups or as individuals, sometimes they were sponsored by local rulers to bring back the Buddhist teachings, Thus, in this transfer or travelling this is certain that uniform teaching was not brought back. These were distinct types of teachings such as Tantric, non-tantric that were involved in the transmission process. This transmission occurred in two phases.

According to Tibetan Historians, first phase of this propagation is known as, the Ngadar or early diffusion. First phase stayed till collapse of the Tibetan empire in 9th Century. First dissemination also known as Snga Dar phase started with the reign of Tibetan King named Sonsten Gampo (618-649), he established the Tibetan empire. He helped in the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. He married Chinese Buddhist princess named Wangcheng. She came to Tibet with a statue of Sakyamuni Buddha. He also married a Nepalese Princess named Bhrikuti. His impression in the spread of Buddhism was so vast that by second half of eighth century he came to be known as an embodiment of the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara. There was a huge influence of Indian, Nepalese, and Chinese in the spread of Buddhism. End of the eighth century saw the establishment of Buddhism as the official religion of state and the king Trisong Detsen (755-797) played a key role in that. He invited various Indian Buddhist scholars to his court. Indian masters such as Padmasambhava (8th c) and Santaraksita (725-788) are the ones to whom Tibetan Buddhist trace their spiritual roots. According to Tibetan tradition Padmasambhava played a very important role in Tibetan literary history. He wrote many important scriptures and some of them he hid to be found by future Tetons; these scriptures are known as Terma, meaning treasures and they hold a significant place in Ngyingma School. There was influence from South India and Kashmir in shaping of Tibetan Buddhism.

9th and 10th century were the 'era of fragmentation' as the influence which Buddhism was enjoying started declining. It began under the King Langfarma (836-842) and his death was followed by the collapse of Tibetan empire. Rebellions started happening and this period also saw the rising of regional wards.

2.4.2 Phase two of diffusion

The second phase of dissemination of Buddhism started with a political upheaval. Main source to fund Buddhism also vanished. In the western part of Tibet, the interest persisted strongly. According to accounts of Tsenpo Khore, by the end of tenth century, Guge the king of the western kingdom gave up the authority to become a Buddhist monk and named as Yeshe O through ordination. He intended to revive the Buddhism in Tibet and for this purpose he sent twenty-one bright Tibetan monks to India and Kashmir to study. He also started scholarship to support study of Buddhism in Tibet. All the monks died in India except for two. Those two became prominent translators and scholars. Their names were Lekbe Sherao and Rinchen Sangpo, they returned to Tibet in 978 and had brought some Indian scholars along them. This very event is known as 'second dissemination' (Phyi dar or pronounced as "Chidar") of Buddhism in Tibet, there were other factors also which played a greater role. The most important figure of this period was Rinchen Sangpo. He oversaw the translation of many Sanskrit tantras and sutras with their vast commentaries. He visited India thrice and spent around seventeen years. He worked hard, visiting from teacher to teacher, receiving oral instructions and initiations and obtaining copies of Buddhist texts. He brought along this literary work with himself back to Tibet and this activity played an important role in Buddhist renaissance.

This Buddhist renaissance existed till the time there was Muslim invasion in Northern India, which resulted in cutting off the Tibetans from Indian mainland and form the text of Northeast India. Although from the 13th century, when the contact from the outside world also includes Buddhist centre of Nepal and China was not completely cut off, Buddhism in Tibet developed on its own way its traditions or teaching lineage and material which reached Tibet in those two phases.

The Bon tradition which is supposed to exist pre-Buddhist times in Tibet also had a fair share of complexity attached to it. Bon tradition also believed to have its indigenous roots not from Tibet. It was believed to travel from Tazik or Olmo Lungring which is situated west to the Tibet. And that was transmitted and incorporated through kingdom of Shanshung which is in present day Western Tibet. This part was included into the Tibetan empire around mid-seventh century.

3.3. New changes in Buddhism

Early thirteenth century which was also the end of the latter period or Chidar period, main components of Tibetan Buddhism which are known today were mainly in the place such as monks and monasteries, reincarnate lamas, the hereditary even the scholarly traditions that were taken from Indian Buddhism.it is also said that other practices such as traditions of yogic practice were although born in India it was later augmented and practised and developed in Tibet by Tibetan practitioners. Rule of Mongol dynasty also helped in further development of Tibetan Buddhism as Mongol overlordship helped in gaining of political power and influences of lamas. In fact, Tibetan lamas became viceroys in Mongol rule in Tibet.

The newest component of Tibetan Buddhism was the Gelugpa Tradition. Gelugpa tradition although being the newest part it carries considerable amount of importance. Gelugpa was founded by lama Tsongkapa with his students. Even the first Dalai Lama, Lama Gedundrup was from the Gelugpa tradition. The Gelugpa tradition is the combination of monastic and ascetic emphasis of Kadampa along with some elements of tantric practice and philosophical teaching and Kagyupa and Sakyapa schools. This combination has finally resulted into a new synthesis and thus it is most accepted and dominant school in Tibetan Society. Gelugpa tradition laid importance on the Celibate monkhood. This type of Tibetan Buddhism was also supported by Manchu rulers of China and followed by Mongolian Buddhists. Although Gelugpa tradition was the single largest tradition and had close associations with Lhasa government, but it did not mean that it had the complete following. Ethnically Tibetans did not follow it, as it was mentioned earlier also that Tibet had always been a stateless, diverse society where the communication in and around the country had been quite slow and difficult.

It can be understood as an overstatement that Tibet has always been isolated before 20th century. Tibetans were traders. They had to travel outside the Tibet and in this process, they used to gather information about those countries as information is vital for trade. Tibetans had quite detailed understanding of neighbouring countries and they also had quite unsure image of Europe. But overall, their knowledge of outside world was more than the world had about Tibet. It is safe to say that until 19th century Tibet had connection with outside the world on its own terms. Foreign powers as they had very little information about people in Tibet and thus it did not affect or impact the lives of Tibetan people much. But things started changing drastically in early twentieth century when British military started expedition in central Tibet and due to more intervening followed by Manchu rulers. This led to direct Chinese rule in Eastern Tibet which resulted into uprising and Chinese intervention. Due to the uprising Dalai Lama and his followers fled to India and other parts of the world. Manchu government fell in Tibet due to the uprising and Peace treaty was signed. Due to these local rulers were restored, they were regarded as they were under the Chinese Sovereignty. Some other parts such as outer Tibet were regarded as controlled under the control of Dalai Lama's government it was under the name of Tibet Autonomous region. There was little control of China until 1949.

3.4. Tibetan Buddhism in 20th century

While the control of China was reducing in Tibet, Dalai Lama's government was attempting in the modernisation of these state. Modernisation included the setting up basic healthcare system, also introduction of some elements western style education, even the setting up army. Sadly, all these attempts stopped with the demise of Dalai Lama in year 1933. The death of Dalai Lama presented China with an opportunity and in year 1950-51 Tibet was invaded by Chinese army and it led to imposition of Seventeen-point Agreement on the government. This agreement in theory presented some sort of autonomy but, it made the Chinese rule even more aggressive and oppressive. Resistance to this oppressive regime resulted in large scale revolt and this led to the escape of Lamas and Dalai Lama, even some monks and members belonged to the Tibetan administration and ordinary Tibetan people to Nepal and India post 1959.

Since 1959, regions where Tibetan people resided within the Chinese state although was given autonomous status formally, but it was completely under the Chinese control. The Cultural Revolution which began in Tibet in year 1965, led to the large-scale demolition of Tibetan monasteries, even the persecution of monks, Lamas and other religions followers and practitioners.

There was little liberation and relative tolerance which happened when secretary of Chinese party i.e.HU Yaobang visited in 1980. But this was short-lived as a violent uprising in 1987 in Lhasa led to further violent suppression, which led to the even tighter control over Tibet by Chinese state. There has been some progress as the demolition monasteries have been rebuilt but with the foreign funding, but all regions' activities remained closely observed and controlled in area of Tibet Autonomous region.

Since, there have been continuous presence and control of China over Tibet since the 1950s and 1960s. Chinese style of development including educational and Chinese health system, even the infrastructural development and even other aspects of modernism of China have influenced Tibetan Buddhism.

When we think about Tibetan nationality, Buddhism strikes our thoughts first. Native Tibetan identity was mostly regional in nature. Tibetans were conscious of themselves. That means that their identities were not really known to them as nation or state, they were grounded locally, they have regional identities. While they had common set of culture, common written languages but their dialects varied.

As their identities were local and regional, they were linked with common cults of households and local duties, and they also had common holy places. They worshipped their environment and surroundings. Thus, spirit essence or the land was thought of as connecting link among them. Tibetan people primarily were nature worshipper by nature and this thing was taken as advantage by aristocratic families. As they claimed that they are the descendent of local mountain gods.

Tibetan identity in pre-modern era was essentially stateless, pastoralists, centralized and agriculturalist. They had no idea of nationality and state. Tibetan people used to worship

nature essentially and thus advent of Buddhism did not change believe or Buddhism in Tibet was accepted in such a manner that it become interwoven part of their belief system. Households forms the building blocks of Tibetan communities. The continuation of the households with time holds immense importance.

Tibetan Buddhism can be aptly termed as adaptable and versatile religion. It exists in various different cultural, social, and even ecological contents, within Chinese controlled – Tibetan regions of the Himalayas and also spread further by Tibetan Diaspora all over the globe.

In Tibet which still has influence of China. People who follow Tibetan Buddhism have to live a difficult life which still seems far from getting over. Even the mass destruction laid by Chinese troops of Buddhist monasteries and of cultural revolution, also forceful disrobing of religions leaders and monks, a lot of them were kept in prisons and many of them were kept in prisons and many of them were tortured and killed. All these things happened although some 30 years ago, but the psychological damage cannot be reversed. It seems even farfetched when the tolerance level of the government ruling i.e., PRC has even reduced towards religious autonomy and political freedom.

The fleeing of senior leaders of Tibetan Buddhism. Without thousands of followers and monks into exile in the year 1959, had even worse effect on the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism. With their departure the teaching of elevated level of Buddhism was impacted adversely, though they tried to continue wherever they reached. The continuation was slow and challenging process as it required re-establishment. Tibetan Buddhism has been successful in re-adapting itself in this demanding situation also. It is a noticeable feature of Buddhism it had outward going orientation, as it is based on lamas, Monks to gather disciples to impart knowledge and to gather disciples to impart knowledge and to gather new sources to support.

This can be seen in historical accounts of Buddhism that there had been gradual expansion of Tibetan Buddhism through borders and border areas of east, South and Northeast of Tibet. There was progressive conversion of masses or rather most of the Mongol people to Tibetan Buddhism, mainly from 13th century onwards. Gradually, Manchu rulers hailed from China were also influenced by Tibetan Buddhism. They although found the linkage of Manchu

regime to Buddhism in fictional stories of their deity Manjushree, nonetheless this helped in garnering their support in favour of Tibetan Buddhism. Manchu regime built many Tibetan Buddhist temples. Manchu emperors helped in spread of Tibetan Buddhism even till now.

Tibetan lamas found many followers from Han Chinese population in the period of 1920's to 1930's. This interaction of Chinese people and their interest in Tibetan Buddhism helped in the revival of this region. Over the last 50 years, Tibetan people who had to flee away from Tibet from the considerable number of Tibetan Diasporas all over the globe. They are scattered, varied, and have reached many parts of the world which is increasingly being globalised.

Tibetan Buddhism in contemporary era is well established religion not only in Tibet itself but in neighbouring countries like Mongolia, Nepal and even among various communities all over the world. Tibetan Buddhism has acquired many different faces/roles all over the world. For some Tibetan Buddhism is to set a new belief system to rely upon, for some it lays a new lifestyle and for some it presents as a face of opposition. In People's Republic of China, Tibetan Buddhism can be the synonymous of the opposition of Chinese cultural hegemony an even Chinese rule. Nuns and Monks who followed Tibetan Buddhism forms the face of forefront of the protests who are standing against oppressive Chinese rule. And Dalai Lama is the biggest icon of the Tibetan Buddhism also became the preeminent face of Tibetan freedom. Post the period of suppression in the name of Cultural Revolution. The PRC government had to follow a relaxation policy, but they did it in partial manner, where they imposed strict quotas on the number of Nuns and Monks. And strict control over the Tibetan Buddhist institutions monasteries and they even supervised the activities closely. This oppressive behaviour presented Tibetan people with new set of opportunities. They tried to make Tibetan Buddhism in creative way, such as Kempo Jigphun organised religious movement in north-eastern part of Tibet which was pastoralist and was successful in influencing them.

Even Dalai Lama used his towering personality in propagation of Tibetan Buddhism. He used this fame and worked towards negotiation with China. He has used his presence in some way or other in the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism. Apart from China, Tibetan Buddhism has been able to reach other parts of the world too, that too successfully. Some of them are near

Tibet. Such as parts of South Asia, these parts were essentially and traditionally said to be Tibetan in culture. These areas include Lahaul, Ladakh and Spiti, Darjeeling Hills and Sikkim, some parts of Arunachal Pradesh in India, some parts of Northern Nepal and even the state of Bhutan. Kathmandu Valley has a strong presence of Tibetan people and culture and slowly it has also become the major centre of Gelugpa traditions and it has strong cultural links with Tibet.

There has been transmission of Tibetan culture very recently even to some places where there was not much influence of this culture. Such as there was setting up of Tibetan refugee settlement in Dharamshala where many religions monasteries and communities were setup. And even in Southern India agricultural setup were established for Tibetan refugees. This also led in transmission of Tibetan Buddhism. Not only to neighbouring countries. Tibetan diaspora is present in other parts of the world, and they form substantial communities in Switzerland, Canada, the USA, and many other countries around the world. Hence, religious institutions and Tibetan monasteries from an integral part of cultural underpinned the lives of Tibetan Diaspora.

Apart from the transmission of Tibetan Buddhism to its neighbouring countries and transmission through its diaspora. Tibetan Buddhism also had spread over among the non-Tibetan people in long course of Tibetan history. Those people are Mongolian population from Mongolians People Republic, Former Soviet Union in Buryatia Kalmykia even in People's Republic of China as well as neighbouring Turkic groups such as Tuva people. The presence of senior Lamas and especially Dalai Lama has helped in the revival of Tibetan Buddhism which had been suppressed from long-time.

It was seen at global level, firstly the presence of many senior Tibetan Lamas in India and Nepal post 1959 and many western travellers who had been travelling to these regions, has resulted in the ever-increasing popularity of lamas and thus they are invited to western countries. On both types of visits such as for teaching purposes and even for the establishment of permanent centres of Tibetan Buddhism. The first Tibetan Monasteries which were established in western world were in Europe and North America that too in late 1960's. Their establishment helped in fuelling of global interest into Tibetan Buddhism. There are some places such as Rikon in Switzerland, they were primarily setup to help and

relocate refuge population. They were and even now supported by non-Tibetan followers of Tibetan Buddhist Lams. By now the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism has even reached a point where many senior Lamas are even permanently residing or may be visiting very frequently to teach or even to form retreat centres and to form Dharma Centres in many western countries. Not only in the west but near back home similar network of centres has sprung up. Even the Chinese communities of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Singapore. Tibetan Buddhism has been used by the west in various other ways such as setting up of transpersonal schools of psychology. Tibetan Buddhism is gaining popularity among western scholars mainly because of the philosophical material usually in relation with Tibetan Lamas.

Tibetan Buddhism has also acted as a way of retreat for west. There are substantial numbers of western and Asian students who have deeply engaged in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. They take retreats that may be for three days, three months of even three years. Not only retreats they are often so moved by the tradition that they learn to speak, read, and even translate the Tibetan language. And later they get authorised by their Tibetan gurus to act as lamas. There has been increasing trend of the establishing more traditional centres in the west for learning about Tibetan Buddhist tradition. What is even more fascinating is the transfer or the exchange of tradition is not one way, there is mutual exchange of traditions among Tibetan Lamas and western scholars. Although the situation seems uncertain in Tibet itself but this ever-growing popularity at the global level with the help of diaspora and new global community presents that Tibetan Buddhism is at increasing level.

Dalai Lama has also played a significant role in making of presence of Tibetan Buddhist tradition at global level. He is himself as spiritual leader has taken many initiatives in teaching tours all over the world. He has also taken series of Kalachakra and other elements, this has led into growing interests among westerners and non-Tibetans, so much so they are even getting drawn towards Tibetan tantric practice and spiritual leader has not doubt successfully garnered support for Tibetan cause, but he has also been able to generate genuine interest about the tradition/global presence. Hence, the religion which was known too little around the year 1950's to the outside world. Except there were stereotypes and superficial misrepresentations. Now, the same tradition has become as vital part of global religion and has touched so many lives in untold ways.

Tibetan Buddhism has played a vital role in defining the identity of Tibetan people. Indigenous people in very small proportion might follow some other religion too but Tibetan Buddhism has touched their lives also. This is not overstatement to mention that Tibetan identity is known as synonymous to Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan Lamas and even ordinary Tibetans have faced harsh situations in the past, but by holding on to the belief system of Buddhism they learnt to hold on to their lives even in complex conditions. Despite all the traumas, Tibetan Buddhism has stood tall and has firmly established in various situations and contexts all over the world and has become significant inseparable part of global religious and spiritual life. The success and love it has received so far only suggests that in coming times it is going to continue to be a significant part of the global society and culture for the years coming ahead.

Chapter 3

Diaspora

3.1 Diaspora and its meaning

"Identity is always mobile and processual, partly self-construction, partly categorisation by others, panly a condition, a status, a label, a weapon, a shield, a fund of memories, et cetera. It is a creolised aggregate composed through bricolage." - Liisa Malkki, Citizens of Humanity.

The term diaspora is used to denote to populations that have been detached from within political borders or from their original geographic centre by another group of people, and they are then categorised by a strong and frequently romanticised collective memory of an idea that they will return to their motherland that is no longer. They also share the common belief that they have the best interests of the community and homeland and simultaneously they consciously preserve their culture and ethnicity. They make the conscious and continuous decision of reassessing and construction of their identities in new environment on the collective as well as on an individual level.

Diaspora term much like 'refugee,' or 'exile,' or 'migrant,' carries a conceptual and a semantic space heavily infused with a certain kind of feeling; it carries firmly imageries of, longing, exile, loss as well as powerlessness, and, with such a poetic value, the word feels almost sweet. But our focus in this paper remains on various roles played by diaspora in representation of the Tibet in the world. Diaspora helps in bringing the attention to the culture, ethnicity of the world which was almost absent. There has been some criticism with the notion of romanticism being attached to diaspora side-lining the actual issue faced by the people back home. But this needs to be considered that by attracting the attention of the world toward the Tibet, be it through the identity, culture, and exoticism; gradually other problems will be presented in front of them.

Diaspora word is originally derived from a Greek word diaspeirō where Dia refers to over and speiro refers to scatter or sow. Classic example of diaspora are Jews and Greeks. To put it in simple manner it means dispersal of the people from its native land. Gabriel Sheffer widens the definition and divides it into two category modern diaspora and ethno national diaspora. The term ethno diaspora aptly fits the category of Tibetan people living in exile because of the fact they had to flee from their country to protect themselves when there was Chinese repression in 1959. Gabriel Sheffer defined it in the following manner:

"An ethno-national Diaspora is a social-political formation, created as a result of either voluntary or forced migration, whose members regard themselves as of the same ethno-national origin and who permanently reside as minorities in one or several host countries."

There are many fascinating cultural groups and one among them are diaspora communities, and these have lately attracted academic attention from various viewpoints. Diaspora term has been conceptualised in various manner, although characteristically it denotes to those who were enforced to live in exile due to oppression in their motherlands. These people claim strong affinity to their homelands and their strong bonds with their history, religion, culture, and customs and mainly they experience strong desire and longing of getting back to their native places. Nevertheless, they try to preserve their culture, identity, and practices, simultaneously they can very well adapt to the host society. One such case can be seen in Tibetan people who are forced to live in exile. To describe ethnic identity is a difficult task as it is a multifaceted phenomenon which is usually negotiated and constructed to form the idea of a nation-state. And once it is formed it takes up the primary space in the process of making the individual. There have been multiple circumstances which led to the formation of Tibetan identity living in exile and such formations occur at both levels collective as well as individual. According to G. Sheffer, there are two criteria for differentiating between many existing ethno-national Diaspora: firstly, their age and secondly, the status of their corresponding homelands. He says that these two criteria significantly influence the — behaviour, structures, and strategies of these beings.

One lakh Tibetan refugees in Nepal and India have been the receiver of financial support from the Western countries to maintain identity and institutions in exile. Refugees have justified to this help by comparing it with patron client relationship also known as *mchodyon*,

which has historical connotation where it was it was not only the responsibility of common Buddhist to protect and maintain monasteries but also to maintain an ideal relationship between outside world and Tibet. Thus, for them this outside support is quite symbolic in such sense.

Western countries which are proactively providing financial aid end has become a new patron of the department people and its government in exile. Although the countries have not kept in mind as the donation being an active way of fuelling nationalism, but it is being perceived like such even when western tourist visits such refugee places such as Dharamshala in India or even Kathmandu in Nepal they are interpreted a sbyin-bdag or bestowers of gift, as they play a role in maintaining patron client relationship. Steps such as supporting and even listening to or showing interest and concern in Tibetan culture is interpreted as debit and nationalism.

 "Deliberately maintaining refugee status in exile rather than assimilating into the host society is an ideal usually equated with patriotism in diaspora communities. Tibetan exiles have political incentives to retain legal refugee status in South Asia"

3.2. Historical events of identity formation

Before delving into the diaspora and the role played by them, let us focus first on the historical events which led to such identity formation. Tibetan civilisation is believed to be very old some people claim that it is as old as two millennia. It is also extensively believed that the origin of Tibetan race traces back to the mating of Bodhisattva monkey an ogress Ma Drag Sinmo and Pha Trelgen Changchup Sempa in central Tibet at Yarlung Valley. This divine theory of origination is based upon the Buddhist narratives. This myth is connected with the formation of Tibetan identity. There is no doubt about the fact that Tibetan identity is strongly associated with Buddhism and Buddhism has a strong influence in the representation of Tibetan history. The three supreme kings of Tibet are also recognised for their dedication towards spiritual leadership and encouraging of Buddhism in Tibet in which they took the help of Indian Buddhist scholars and philosophers. Tibetans also take the pride

in constructing their cultural identity through the Buddhist chronicles of their land, origination of their race, literature, leadership, ritual practices, architecture, and language. Thus, Tibet is conceived as a culturally homogeneous nation.

It is more than 50 years now that Tibetan people were compelled to seek asylum in foreign country. They had to leave their homeland for exile in other countries, followed steadily by fellow Tibetan compatriots, prepared to embrace the life of refuge. For many people, the traumatic experience was already enough to decide to exit and live the life of exile along with the hardships-it had to offer. In early days Tibetans were indeed lucky-as they got to receive support and tremendous help from the people and government of India. Initially they were provided with necessary shelter and food but in longer term they were offered lands as well to create settlements-as well as they were provided with administrative expertise which was much required to establish such societies and communities. They even helped in settling of schools and other such facilities for children. International communities and their members also came up to help and provide generous support to them. In fact, early sixties many members of their community especially the school children were aided and helped by the voluntary western agencies.

However, some of the Tibetans are of the view that the purpose of coming and living into exile was more than merely surviving physically. In Tibet they were faced with grave threats to their identity. Their rich, unique, and ancient cultural heritage was faced with impending destruction and their lives, their monastic institutions, social structure, the repositories of their culture and education was turned upside down. Thus, the task who were in exile was not only to tell the world as to what was happening in Tibet and appealing for help to stop it but also equally important to preserve their traditions-as best as they could. Over the decades, they have achieved considerable success, they have created stable settlements with cultural and religious institutions and medical facilities. In the nunneries and monasteries of all their spiritual traditions, training and educational programmes have been resumed and at many places extended and improved. Some monasteries which were previously associated with only rituals have now introduced courses in philosophy to provide monks with integrated perspective on their practice. Even in philosophical training has been provided to nuns who has no access to such facilities before. Many monastic institutions also give their students some knowledge on modern subjects. Not only academic knowledge students are provided

with artistic skills such as painting, wood carving, metal work and even sacred dance traditions that have survived and are also being passed on to new generations. Tibetan community in exile have taken significant steps in introducing democracy and modern administration.

In 1959, if people heard of Tibet at all, they would be very confused about the culture, way of life and religion. Today, due to diaspora there is much better understanding of Tibetan culture and even appreciation of the value it possesses throughout the World. Throughout their struggle and difficulties, they faced as refugees, diaspora tried to hold on to the rights, freedom, and welfare of their approximately six million fellow women and countrymen in their minds. They believe that a very important aspect of being human is creativity and to be able to put that creativity into use, people need to be free. People living in exile have been able to experience that freedom and even as refugees they have learned its value. They are free to speak out or express the Tibetan cause and even able to draw attention to the cause-to their homeland.

The dispersion of Tibetan cultural groups steadily formed the worldwide communication network keeping the Dharamshala at the centre. This is a pivotal location as from here, Tibetan politicians try to project and maintain a self-professed homogeneous culture which does not only include language and religion but also traditional crafts, arts and even performing traditions. The same diaspora network plays the role of passageway in the transportation of goods across boundaries and borders which has created a loosely held global movement of commodities. For example, in India this market of goods can be seen flourishing, the network and infrastructure of the movement of these goods has taken its position in various markets of India. Tibetan diaspora and Tibetan governmental representatives know Tibetans should adapt in their host countries if they want to succeed. Hence, the strategy of "limited acculturation" has established so that people living abroad can continue to practice their cultural traditional practices, meanwhile adjusting in the local places too. But till the balance seems to be difficult to attain. Reports of sociological studies conducted over Tibetan diaspora reflects that Tibetan people often face difficulties in negotiation of their multiple identities. Resultantly the pure Tibetan culture has suffered. Hence, they have decided to revive their cultural traditional practices. Cooperative schools and centres have been opened in Tibetan establishments globally to preserve and even to

reintroduce craft tradition, religious instruction, language and performing arts. Religion plays the most key role in holding this community together globally. Belief in the religion i.e., Buddhism and in the Dalai Lama provide the unity which was necessary to maintain "proto-nationalism" within the dispersed global society. Of course, there are many spatial and temporal factors which keep on having the effect on the Tibetan culture globally, hence the challenge is to witness what other forms of revival will come. As Tibetan traditions have gained the position of being expressively ethnic in nature it is intricately woven with ethnicity and identity. Thus, arts, literature, crafts and performing traditions both secular and sacred position at the crossroads. There is also decline in the artistic products as the trained people who used to make them have gone into other forms of jobs and employment. This is the case because there is less compensation or rewards financially for their work in western world. As demands have reduced these people make such artisanal items occasionally. This decline poses the threat to their culture and ethnicity. Although there are certain exceptions too. As Tibetan people can utilise their artisanal talent in some different manner. As it is evident in the essay work of Klieger, Calkowski, Huber and Schrempf. For instance, Kamm Phuntsok, who is a Tibetan painter staying in Australia. He has innovatively combined art form of traditional Tibetan techniques with Aboriginal themes to produce a saleable style that suits the taste of Australian people interested in arts and aesthetics. Another example is of a Tibetan flute player, named Nawang Khechog, who combines traditional Tibetan flute playing with hymn singing, pan pipes didgeridoo, and various other wind instruments to attract the rewarding audience who are interested in New and innovative music, but simultaneously there are some Tibetan artists who consciously are resisting the syncretistic leanings of this transnational culture as they are trying to preserve "tradition" and want to keep it away from any kind of influence of the host societies. In Europe and North America similar initiatives to revive the tradition and Tibetan artists can be seen. Governments are also initiating in this direction by giving recognition to such talents.

For example, in USA the Folk Arts Apprenticeship Project has funded the Karma Sherap from Salt Lake City to impart the training to weave the rug to young Tibetan refugees. Other instance - ford foundation has called the opera artist from the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA) in Dharamshala, India to stay at American colleges and high schools for some time conducting workshops for Tibetan and non -Tibetan community members. The overall outcome has been the gradual revitalization of these traditions. Presence of diaspora

community has resulted into the fluidity of aesthetic style and redefinition of artistic canons. Another example is from New Mexico where a Tibetan craftsman runs a workshop to make furniture at American Home Furnishing which is a renowned showroom. Further, knowledge of working on stones is very well utilised by a stone mason from Tibet who used to make stupas to restore masonry work on the statues of state park lands in Massachusetts. These are few of the examples where Tibetan diaspora are adapting to new cultural environment without foregoing their own knowledge and talents they learnt in their homeland.

In South Asia, the scenario differs. Here a huge bulk of crafted items which are used by Tibetans or for the export purpose are produced in training centres and cooperatives. Main idea behind this is to revive the art and to provide livelihood for the needy employed Tibetan people living in Nepal, India, and Bhutan. These centres serve the dual role of revival centres and as creative lifeline for the people living in exile. When observed clearly the ratio between the creative centres and inhabitation sites, a very clear picture can be seen showing the utmost importance of socio-economic role played by the craft production in the indo Tibetan exiled community. Even in Nepal such craft centre plays as key role socially and economically. Some of the arts and crafts centres are the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamshala , Tibetan Handicraft Charity trust Organization and Tashi Jong Tibetan Craft Community Centre in Delhi, The Lower Tibetan Children's Village Arts and Crafts Centre in McLeod Ganj , the Crafts Complex at the Norbulingka Institute and the Tashi Jong Tibetan Craft Community Centre, also there are many arts and crafts centres in Kathmandu valley and in south India .They produce a wide array of Tibetan goods. Items vary from a range of textiles which includes woven cotton aprons, seat covers, appliqué work and woollen rugs to jewellery, painting and ceramics. Such items are socioeconomically important and possess histories of their own. It will be a mistake to assume that role of arts and crafts production is merely economic, being made for the international tourist trade alone. On the opposite side, many of the objects carry a highly symbolic worth in the culture that fosters their production. These places serve as the centres to propagate the Diaspora arts.

There have been many theories given by philosophers such as Heidegger 1958; Bachelard 1961, and psychologists Zwingmann 1961; Hallowell 1977 and even geographers such as

Tuan 1975, 1991 all pointing out in one direction stating that idea of a place plays elementary role in human orientation. Additionally, theorists of diaspora reinforce on the importance of the place as an inspired key to imagination and organising principle. Even though the exiled Tibetan live in a "deterritorialized" place, this fact that they may never be able to go back home creates even strong yearning for the native country. The formation of an imaginary homeland in their beliefs act to fill up the gap in the lives of refugees and migrants. Hence, the yearning for the homeland acts a therapeutic for those who may know deep down that they will never be able to return. To put it differently, this longing replaces the actual the actual repatriation, permitting the individual to stay loyal towards a "stateless society". There is a difference between Tibetans who are living in exile and other people who are displaced such as Afghans. Tibetans do not portray horrific scenes of struggle in their commoditized products even though Tibetan children arts have presented some graphic content of political oppression, but they have produced this artwork in school projects of Mussoorie and Dharamshala. Reason behind this non-violent depiction can be traced back to the fact of their belief in Buddhism. Yet conventional Tibetan arts depict the displacement in elusive way which might not get notices in first glance. Diaspora plays a very important role in keeping the Tibet in the notice of everyone. They do it in quite different variety. They have formed even the genre of music which is based on the notion of rang bstan or freedom, depicting the fervent desire to return back to homeland. Not only songs, but this metaphor can also be seen in material traditional culture too. The period post 1991 has seen a drastic transformation in arts in plastic arts. Cotton textiles and woollen rugs also are gradually reflecting the longing for the homeland. Weavers are adopting a clever way to achieve this; they are incorporating motifs of architecture and geography and national and religious symbols into their products.

Some other unique methods include production of rugs of the Potala Palace in Lhasa. Also, performing arts are utilising the image of Potala palace as the backdrop of the stage for the opera performances. Using of the imagery of iconic Potala Palace serves dual purpose. It invokes the feeling of yearning as well as it has gained much popularity due to tourism. In fact, Tibetan diaspora all over the world uses the wall hanging of Potala Palace in their homes. Along with extensive use of the image of Potala palace. Last decade has also witnessed the popularity gained by Kalachakra mandalas which is created for foreign clienteles. Other thing which has gained immense popularity are Tibetan flags. Due to their popularity and lack of income, the making of national flags which are intricately sewn has

become a social as well as aesthetic activity. Other thing which has gained popularity these days are ethnic dolls which are clothed in regional costumes usually produced by monks. Main purpose behind these dolls is to pose as constant reminder to refugees of their homeland and their traditions. Although ironically these dolls are not popular indigenously rather, they have gained popularity among tourists. Very few dolls can be seen in the homes of Tibetan diaspora staying in India. The main idea behind promotion of such craft is to purposefully keep the homeland at the core of migrant discourse. The promotion and production of such items serves another purpose also that is to draw attention of foreign sympathizers towards the dominion of traditional crafts. There is also the argument that formation of such identity into the minds of people is a dialectic process which has been done for the mutual benefit of the guests and hosts. There has been a term given to this process called "reconstructed ethnicity" formed by Dean McCannell (1984).

Conservative ideas may suggest that holding onto the past may create hindrances in adjusting to host countries. One would say that this "nostalgia from the past" would hamper the social change and acculturation. But from the above examples this can be clearly deduced that change is indeed inevitable, contemporary style of arts and crafts are coming up mirroring this change. In fact, the idea of keeping the notion of the place live is creative and clear outcome of being displaced. Various spatial and temporal factors play significant role in altering the images of homeland. Even for the diaspora who are living outside of Indian subcontinent the rate of adjustment is even more drastic change in artistic style. Example of such altered sense of art can be seen from the Thangka painting painted by a Tibetan painter in Santa fe in which he drew a bodhisattva meditating on Himalaya on one peak and on another peak Santa riding his reindeer on a sleigh. Such form of cultural encounter is getting very common these days. Such paintings are symbol of blending of east and western culture. Such hybridised piece of art is signalling towards the fact that despite diaspora being displaced from their homeland are not letting go the very ideas and cultures they followed back home. And meanwhile assimilating to the new cultural environment. Marcia Calkowski signals that construction of culture in exile is not unidirectional, it is a dialectic process which includes the interaction of groups. Meg McLagan refers to this as a "confrontation of representations." She talks about that culture is the result of collaboration of culture and in this case is involves Tibetan, Chinese and western culture. This has resulted into the "self-conscious objectification of culture" as described by McLagan and Calkowski. Mclagan also

goes to the extent that putting the culture on display in keeping the new context is new mode of representation.

According to Tibetan Administration, the number of Tibetan diasporas falls in the category of 1, 28,016. Other Tibetans live as national minorities meaning their land has been incorporated into a larger state through the process of colonisation. Largest group of Tibetan diaspora lives in India with the total number of 94,203. This information is based on 2010 census, many of them were born and raised in India.

3.3. Waves of Tibetan diaspora formation

It is said that Tibetan diaspora was shaped in three different waves. First wave took place between 1959 and 1960 when the spiritual leader Dalai Lama had to flee from Tibet. About 8000035 Tibetans followed him to India through Himalayas. This wave continued till 1960s which kept on adding more numbers to the exiled group. Resolution from UN i.e., United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1723 (XVI) of 20 December 1961 is an important document which shows the difficulties of the Tibetan diaspora it shows that ever increasing number of Tibetan refugees moving to India is itself an indication of the exploitation were taking place in Tibetan soil.

Next wave occurred in 1980s when liberalisation was introduced in Tibetan economy to increase trade and tourism under Deng Xiao Ping. Tibetans flee this time to avoid Chinese repression. Their fleeing added to already vast number of exiled communities in India.

Third waves occurred in early 2000s, when around 3500-4000 Tibetans arrived in India. The number of Tibetan Diasporas in India itself rose to 200837. However, when the uprising took place China restricted the movement of Tibetan people to India. Since then, the number has seen a drastic decline. The second and third waves were quite distinct in the sense that these waves brought young Tibetans to India. This youth Tibetans then attended schools which were set up for Tibetans in exile. They took so much of risk to see their spiritual guru Dalai Lama in Dharamshala.

Diaspora is not formed by people only; organisations and institutions play a very important role in its formation. Main institution of the Tibetan diaspora in India and other places is the central Tibetan administration which has the legitimacy of being democratically and popularly elected government in exile. It is the most important and de facto organisation which has the aim of the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees, and restoration of their happiness and freedom in Tibet. This is legally unrecognised but is very popularly recognised government which operates within the sovereign boundaries of India. It consists of legislature i.e., Tibetan Parliament in exile, executive known as Kashag, and judiciary known as Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission and seven governmental departments who perform various functions like states for its diaspora. Such functions are educational, health and welfare services for Tibetans living in India and Nepal. Other works like information services and propaganda aimed at international communities; a voluntary tax system; organising parliamentary elections and setting up of quasi embassies abroad. This administration is established by Dalai Lama in 1960, it is the single institution in exile which is bringing Tibetan diaspora together under one umbrella.

3.4. Characteristics of Tibetan diaspora

Diaspora are usually seen as the quite contradictory to the idea of nation states. Diaspora has been associated with hostile term because they are seen as a challenge which has the possibility of weakening of the foundations of nation state. Explanation behind this belief lies in the fact that they were forced to flee and leave their homeland. Therefore, there is the feeling that they might show their wrath. Also, the feeling of attachment towards the host countries developed also poses threat to the loyalty for the nation state they belonged originally. Tibetan diaspora is the prime factor behind the Tibetan nationalism movement. Until the chines occupied Tibet, Tibetan nationalism did not carry much of importance for them. When they were forced to flee then they developed the feeling of loyalty towards their homeland. Dibyesh Anand put is accurately that "Tibetan nationalism is a post-exilic phenomenon." That is why is it common to see that more radical nationalist thoughts mostly come from nationalist Tibetan diaspora. Tibetan diaspora is not merely nationalist, there are multiple other roles played by them such as spiritual and environmental. These principles are inspired by Buddhism, the way they lead their lives and love for natural beauty of their mother land all these feelings can be seen in diaspora too. It should be kept in mind that Tibet

is haven for various rare and precious species of fauna, flora, and harbours major rivers. The richness in terms of resources is the main reason behind the Chinese interest in Tibet.

3.5.1. Forced emigration

The study of diaspora and the role played by them are gaining popularity these days. Diaspora as a discourse is used to be attached with negative connotation. Mainly because the origination of diaspora is painful for the people who were forced to leave their homeland. Tibetan diaspora is also a similar example of the painful emigration. Although the Chinese did not ask Dalai Lama to leave but their coercive state policies compelled him to do so. As stated, his exile was further followed by enormous number of Tibetans into India and its neighbouring countries. The main factor behind this can is highly accommodative behaviour of Chinese and they were especially hostile towards the religious establishments. Tibetans give utmost importance to their religion and culture and to preserve it they can take drastic measures thus they are likely to extend their stay on foreign soil.

3.5.2. Integration and Assimilation in exile

Usually when minorities are forced into exile they must let go of their culture and traditions to assimilate into new environment. But Tibetan diaspora stands apart in this scenario as they have succeeded in in preserving their culture and traditions even in foreign soil. Dibyesh Anand identifies that main reason behind this phenomenon can be attributed to the internal dynamics of Diaspora community. Keeping the refugee status instead of accepting the citizenship is perceived as highly patriotic. This step also comes at a price. This decision of retention of the refugee status affects the upward mobility of Tibetan community as they cannot access to property and such other rights. Klieger argues that Tibetans living in exile have been able to attain the status of being refugee by moving the whole community in exile to client category. He emphasises that Tibetan ness is preserved by following oppositional process of negotiation of identity in relation to benefactors or outsiders.

The Department of Religion which was later renamed to Department of Religion and Culture was opened in 1960 and has acquired the most prestigious role within the CTA. The role played by department of religion and culture are supervision of works aimed at preserving,

promotion and revival of the cultural and religious heritages which is depleting. The focus is to preserve and promote language and Tibetan Buddhism with around three hundred nunneries and monasteries in Bhutan, India, and Nepal. Not only monasteries, but this department also plays the role of guarding many non-monastic institutions which performs in promoting Tibetan Buddhism, cultural heritage etc. however there are some arguments against the quality of authenticity of the religious practices followed in these non-monastic establishments. There is sharp decline in the language spoken and written especially among the young diasporas. They are nowadays using the mixture of various languages such as English, Hindi and Tibetan. There is also a fear that the quality of the Buddhism will get affected because of the commercialisation impact of the tradition and culture. And department of religion knows that this might impact the image thus it tries very hard to preserve it by reaching out to various places to uphold the authenticity. The role played by department of education is also commendable it does not only teach Tibetan children living in exile, rather it focuses on the retaining of the ethnic identity through preservation of Tibetan culture and language. The best part is that this preservation of culture does not make them unemployable. That is why they try to achieve the best combination of modern and tradition by providing that type of education. They believe that by following this twin object this will benefit the children living in exile as they will be exposed to both the thongs at the same time modern knowledge and traditional knowledge which will help them to survive in globalised world. But the result has been disappointing even with the overall increase in literacy rate. The students are becoming jack of all master of none in the sense that they are neither good at modern knowledge nor in traditional one. They are more of generalist than being specialist. Main function of the home department is to look at the status of settlements of Tibetan refugees in India and to oversee that they are living the decent lives. Department of home is accredited with the success that the people living in exile are scattered but all of them are following the common principle of nationalism and are maintaining their identities and all of them seem quite happy with the role performed by the department. Main objectives of the department are to create vibrant and self-sufficient communities which are proficient enough to practice and preserve their cultural values and ethos. The CTA can deliver quite good social services, welfare system is also appreciated by many, literacy rate is as high as 82.4%, people are earning well, and elderly care is also provided.

There is also the concept of Green Book in which all the Tibetans living in exile maintain the record of their Tibetan national identity. They do it by registering themselves with the CTA by getting a personal document issued. It serves the dual purpose of keeping the politically recognised as well as this document serves important role as being the future passport to Tibet. This document will come in handy in claiming of Tibetan citizenship.

This document is not purely symbolic in nature of Tibetan citizenship it also upholds the idea of unity and identity. Thus, verification and prescription of the Green Book is main legitimising character of CTA.

3.6. The Dalai Lama

Finally, the most important as well unique character in Tibetan diaspora is the Dalai Lama or the spiritual leader of Tibetans. The role played by this towering figure is undeniable. He has played a very crucial role and is popularly recognised for his work among the Tibetans living in exile and back in the homeland. He is one the most popular spiritual figure in today's era and is respected all over the world. His role as the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism id to focus on the spirituality and universalistic human values. He not only does this, additionally he is capable in the depiction cause of Tibet justifiable that too in this framework of universalistic framework. Although some have criticised him for the same. For some it may seem like a superficial cause that he engages in this linkage of politics with religion but if seen or observed closely it will show that this is the humane and just cause and is moral one. For example, Tibetans have never resorted to violent methods like other diaspora to achieve freedom, they act within compassionate and moral framework as they were taught by their spiritual leader, Dalai Lama. Dalai Lamas role is preaching. He acts as the uniting figure of politics and religion without resorting to violent methods. He is also a symbol of unity and strength for Tibetans in exile as he also gives them the hope of being loyal toward the homeland. Nowak concludes- "the Dalai Lama acts as a summarizing symbol for the Tibetan Diaspora, where he is now revered as —neither wholly transcendent (and thereby out of this world) nor wholly immanent (enmeshed in temporalities like the rest of us), but an ambiguous symbol imbued with the qualities of both." This dependence on Dalai Lama of the diaspora as one figure gives much required cohesiveness, simultaneously it poses the question of uncertainty post demise of the present Dalai Lama.

He is also linked to Tibetan Buddhist narratives which depict Tibet on extraordinary lines symbolising Tibet as a divine land of Buddha, land of Buddha of the great compassion who is also known as Chenrezig. Both Potala palace and the Dalai Lama are the symbols of socio-political identity for the Tibetans. Dalai Lama had won the noble peace prize in 1989 for his extraordinary non-violent Tibetan freedom struggle, in the preservation of their language and religion which act as the fundamental describing characteristics of Tibetan identity. The lingering problem for the people living in exile are their dependence for the guidance on the Dalai Lama. For his compassion, his vision and charisma. China is aware of this fact. It knows that hoe important is Dalai Lama in the unification of Tibetans living across the globe and thus is seen engaged in propaganda war which claims that the incarnation of Dalai Lama will be controlled by the communist party. This may not seem threatening to some people but if paid attention the underlying problem might be seen that gradually it may engage in defamation of Tibetan culture. Dalai Lama responded by stating that the decision of reincarnation of the next Dalai Lama rests with the Tibetan population. And even if they decide that there will be no reincarnation then the office of the Dalai Lama will end with him only as the last Dalai Lama. This statement gives the clear indication of the centrality and importance of him as a uniting figure of Tibetan culture.

3.6. Summary

The Tibetan community living in exile is one of the most successful and resilient refugee groups in the world. The Tibetan people who are credited with living at least two hundred years secluded on 'roof of the world' with merely rare contact and interaction with other cultures and societies, have in exile been able to perform for remarkable feats.

First, Tibetans individually and even their families stand on their own feet-in economic terms and they can support themselves very well.

Second, a school system has been built up, which has been able to transform an illiterate society into a completely literate society that too within two generations.

Third, people living in exile have successfully preserved and propagated the cultural identity all over the world.

Finally, his holiness the fourteenth Dalai lama, the temporal and spiritual leader of the Tibetans, introduced democratic values and reduced his own power and authority step by step, e.g., Prime Minister of government in exile in the year 2001 was no longer appointed by the Dalai Lama, but he was directly elected by Tibetan Diaspora.

To sum up, we can clearly list the uniting factors such as the de-facto government, separate schools, settlements and unifying leadership all these make Tibetan diaspora quite unique. Being a stateless Diaspora, these factors play a very important role in linking them back to their homeland and preserving their identity. Also, these features are impermanent, mainly when the question arises that what will happen if the Dalai Lama and the government in exile does not continue to exist.

Chapter 4

Assessment of the identity formation and its impact on Tibet

4.1 Cultural representation

With the increase in tourism although there was certain form of economic independence for the people of Tibet, but it did not give them self-determination in case of political aspect, tourism in fact led to increased animosity among Han Chinese and Tibetans. Tourism consumers and even promoters need to understand their ethical responsibility that what impact they have on Tibetan society.

There have been various arguments regarding the pros and cons of tourism. Arguments such as tourism industry might turn the exotic or natural culture into mere commodities and people into mere "objects" for tourist "consumption." And if this keeps happening for long then it will lead to turning the encounters which were novel in nature into just a form of routine both for guest and hosts. Cultural representation will become very far away from the reality of everyday life.

Tourism places breaks burden ecologically on fragile natural resource system. Governments of other countries such as Bhutan and Nepal have put very strict policies regarding the foreigner vising tribal people and places. There is a valid fear that tourism might lead to deterioration of artistic and native traditions, unmanageable and rapid culture change, and abuse of environment and even loss and assimilation of traditional and cultural identity.

Conversely, there are some analysts who have noted some positive aspects to the tourism and the presence of outsiders or tourists in any place. There have been instances of the revival of exotic culture because of the presence of tourists. Marginal societies have benefitted economically with the arrival of tourists which has further helped them in strengthening their identity and group solidarity.

Tourism could be termed as contributing factor in the rise of nationalism, Tibet economic reforms which took place in late 1970s era, it led to the development of tourism. This tourism led to the exposure of Tibetans who were repressed from long time, they responded or revolted back by expressing extreme nationalistic sentiments. Chinese government perceived tourist the cause of the "splittist" tendency of native Tibetans on the other hand for native people tourists or foreigners served as the source of western boundless support for the empowerment and making them self-sufficient.

With the increase in tourism in Tibet, Tibetan culture have reduced to being just an object, and thus there is a constant effort of preservation. The commodification has reached to that extent that it is now being priced, packed, and even sold like fast food, building lots. The warmth of Tibetan people is now commodified as room service as the tourism sector is keeping on the expansion spree. Other aspects of tourism are massive adaptations in the distribution of power and wealth which is a consequential result of tourism this thing can be understood as a parallel threat to destructive altercation in the local culture. The culture now has been conveniently appropriated into tourism packages by culture brokers just to amplify the markets. This thing has gotten so deep that no one even the ones who started this feel even remotely responsible.

The cultural commodification of any place leads to two main problems one of which is the huge gap in wealth and power and the other problem is the changes caused to indigenous culture. The appropriateness creates the threat to the original culture. This argument is propagated by Greenwood, he says that this first problem is quite visible in the case of Tibet. There are clear visible gaps in income wealth and power and moreover the gap is widening. The people who are benefiting are getting paid handsomely but poor have nothing to gain. Although there are few opportunities for people who do not have capital to invest but who have capital for them opportunities are immense. Other issues which are worth mentioning are the newer challenges such adapting to new lifestyles, income patterns and livelihood. Also, the tension to access resources plus the competition for getting the opportunities adds to the further misery.

4.2 Tourism and its marketing in globalised world

The critique of "cultural packaging" where the argument is that tourism has created a new demand for ethnic culture, where there are new things which are getting marketed in the name of culture. Tourism has not commodified new products but the things which were commoditised earlier too but are getting marketed at the larger scale due to globalisation.

Another point which is as compelling is overlooked consequence of commodification which robs people of the very meaning of their existence. Tourists prefer the exoticism in other words a return to the nature. They do not prefer modernisation. Thus, foreign tourists will visit this area in majority as other areas are getting modernised. Pilgrimage is also going to play a crucial role in attracting tourists. Because pilgrimage helps in boosting of 'traditional 'identity of any place. In Tibet, pilgrimage is going to get focus as it plays a key role in portraying what Tibet is known for all over the globe which is spirituality, pilgrimage, and everything religious. That is why Tibet itself is getting adorned in such a way where everything seems religious. For instance, everything starting from a post card to even the name of cafe's there is some mention of holy, heavenly, spiritual etc. which clearly lays down them as identifying factors. Every business opening in the area is using some symbols such as Kalachakra, Bodhi eyes etc. so to depict the spiritual aspects. They are even adapting the mandalas as the part of their interior decoration. All the big hotels are trying to build stupas in their compounds. There is a cultural centre also which is been made along the Bita Road. This temple is called as non-sectarian one thus it has the statues and images of deities from all main schools of Buddhism.

People from outside considers Tibetan culture as mysterious and completely unique from their own culture. Shangri-La and Sambhala have gotten a new reputation now, as a holy and unique place. There are many things which have been said about such fantasy places. One of them is people believed that nature and man can live harmoniously here. This thought only excites people and they get eager to witness it. Some people who are visiting this place know that before liberation situation was bit different. There were slaves and slave owners. Now they want to see the Tibetan identity and culture itself. They wanted to see the culture as they are curious.

One thing which adds up to the attraction of Tibet is its inaccessibility and remoteness. Tibet has remained inaccessible for everyone for so long that now when people are getting the chance of visiting it, they want to touch upon all the aspects of its beauty. Now they can get the chance to witness the mystic aura also the adventure lovers are inclined towards it as they get the chance to reach to peaks which are among the highest peak of the world. Another thing which is unique in Tibetan way is the peaks are not made for summit, these peaks are pious for Tibetans, they are pilgrimage routes. Also, there are many nomadic people and devout pilgrims on the path, thus making the whole experience of trekking even more fulfilling.

The commodification of Tibetan culture is a prevalent one in this globalised era. Due to the influx of tourists in such a large number and they get really attracted with the aesthetics of Tibetan monasteries. Monasteries, temples, and streets are mainly adorned by some auspicious symbols. Those symbols are of immense importance to Tibetan culture.

Bag packers who love adventure sports, also love to trek in tiger leaping gorge. This is a popular activity among them. Although there have been some accidents in the gorge, but this does not make it any less popular among them. Mountain climbing is loved by adventurists. Teams from countries like Japan, United States, and China have tried several times to reach to the summit of Khava Karpo Mountain but failed miserably. This adds on to the inaccessibility of this area.

Apart from the exotic location its colourful culture, songs, music also makes Tibet popular among travellers. Tibetan culture is also mainly associated with Tibetan Buddhism. Every aspect of it being given importance in the sense that it can be monetised. Religious symbols were used even in wall decoration on the walls of shopping centre which was set up by the government of the country. At the entrance there is a big painting of Kalachakra monogram. Inside the shopping centre along with the modern café and water fountains there are cashier machines with all the latest facilities. Another thing which is prevalent these days are many shop owners, or hotel owners or guest house owners build stupa either at the outside or at the nearest hilltop. As stupa shows the spirituality.

The reinvention of the area as Tibetan has led to the reinterpretation of the meaning of being Tibetan. There are some areas which have become even more Tibetan in worldly sense than ever before. This marketing of the culture has led to the reinterpretation of the identity as to how Tibetan view themselves. It has perpetuated in such a manner that they are not representing their true selves trying to show how different they are from the Han Chinese population living along them in Tibet. Tourist who visits Tibet come with a certain notion of Tibetan ness and that is what they wish to witness. But Tibet is getting crowded day per day, filled with modern shops, karaoke bars, and hoardings. The development of tourism in Tibet has led to the growth of infrastructure. To accommodate the influx of large number of people. And this infrastructural expansion has led to certain issues as well among the inhabitants and government. Thus, ruining the natural state of it. Tourists who wish to witness the true Tibet then must go to remote places particularly to remote villages, monasteries which are situated little far in other words where the intervention of people is the least.

4.3. Paradoxical nature of tourism

Here comes the inherent contradiction because when tourists are demanding for a natural place to visit, and state is keen on developing the area. This act is defeating the whole purpose of it. Thus, contradictions prevail as tourists want authentic Tibetan and Tibetans want modern Tibet. People living in the west are in love with the Tibet, they are in the love with the idea of untouched Tibet, or the place which is starkly different from the hustling bustling cities from where they belong. But in the world of globalisation, this expectation is little unrealistic because people in Tibet also need some advancements be it economic or technological.

The tourists visiting the Tibet are attracted towards the idea of purity and spirituality of the inhabitants there. For them minority villages are tightly knit and harmoniously organised community, where the native inhabitants are close to each other and nature. This characteristic identifies as dream escape for them. The Tibet they want to witness is anti-consumerist, romantic one as contrast to the increasing marketization and urbanisation. Thus, making tourist pilgrims serves the purpose as pilgrim can easily cater to the alternative to portrayal of tourist as consumer. Pilgrim tourism serves the purpose of strengthening of tourist identity. Thus, the pseudo communities which are constructed for pilgrim tourism are religious communities.

This approach is more pragmatic one. Authenticity here is simply a question of whether the representation and the fulfilment of essential requirements such as sanctification of images. It cannot be said against what people get is fake, they are in fact getting exactly what they desired for. Thus, the question of authenticity is kept at second step, and the good intent takes up the fore ground and the purpose it serves which is the promotion of Tibetan Buddhist culture. Good intention was given as the reason even for the requisition of monks. They also defended by saying that Buddhism is the religion which belongs to entire world. This place is a window for the resident community to the world. It helps in the development of the local resident community which is why it is justifiable. But if the sole aim was to make money, then it would not have been justifiable.

Tourism entrepreneurs very well are aware that otherworldly image which has been imprinted in the minds of people can be used as it has the potential of attracting tourists, as these are the images which are portrayed to draw new tourists. The image on which they focus appeals to most tourists; a natural paradise, an unspoilt spiritual harbour where native people live very harmoniously. Such market certainly comprises of cultural commodification, but it also gives images that residents of Tibet react to new senses of identity, and re construct the place here they are living.

Expansion of tourism westward poses an interesting set of challenges for ethnic identity and its formation. On the one hand, tourism acts as a force for combining national unity. But expansion in the case of infrastructure and markets, domestic tourism gives a vehicle to discover the boundaries of the nation and thus tame the border in other words a civilising mission which aims to bring the people living at the periphery into the nation. Ethnic tourism sometimes led to reinforcement of ethnic hierarchies. Taken from the theories of orientalism, tourism leads to the exploitation of ethnic minorities in the hands of elites who oversee the capital. Ethnic minorities only perform their cultural role which in a way reinforces their backward and inferior status.

A number of studies have shown that many novels, books, and films do depict that ethnic minorities in which Tibetans are included as primitive ones in comparison to more civilised Han Chinese population. Tibet, no doubt is a place of spiritual purity and natural beauty which has replaced the images such as uncleanness and backwardness, this also gives the new middle

class of China who are looking for an escape from the constant congestion and competition of their busy urban working lives.

As people start visiting Tibet for its distinctive culture, town started to rebuild themselves according to the present-day interpretation of Tibetan culture. All structures even the ones already made were redesigned to follow the new building code which was grey bricks and window frames which are painted slope that is inwards at the top which is usually seen in the local farmhouses.

Here comes the question that this tourism driven shangrilafication is misguiding. Some people may answer it that it is merely the form of manufactured authenticity which is nothing but just a way to conform to the tourists' expectations and reinforcing Tibetan's backwardness and quaintness. This approach sometimes leads to the assumption that there would be loss of agency on the parts of ethnic minorities as they would not be able to reinvent their ethnic identities and cultural heritage. Ethnic minorities can sometimes overlook the potential tourism contains in the process of enhancement of local agency. There are multiple opportunities for

Tibetans to maximise the advantage in the process of reproduction of their cultural identity even in its most commoditized form. There are few people who are beginning to understand this commodification in the era of globalisation process. And by adapting this they are trying to move in the ladder of hierarchy. Other examples which can be sighted easily are promotion of idealised image of Tibet which can be easily seen in photographic exhibition, marketing literature related to tourism, cultural performances which are performed on the stage of newly constructed cultural centre. Often tourism is one such thing which incentives the revitalisation and rediscovery of cultural resources and keeps on providing the resources too. Today anything unique which has even the remotest link to Tibetan culture fetches the good price in market. The local maker who used to make traditional knives is now one of the richest people of the region. Other regional local artists who used to make traditional pots and whose pottery was replaced by cheaply made factory pots, but with this boom their work has started getting recognition and suddenly they are in huge demand. Which is promoting young generation to incline towards learning these traditional techniques.

4.4. Socio-political impact of commercialisation

Though entering the Tibet is not an easy task, but Chinese visitors can visit in very easily and the number is on the all-time high. By the estimates of Chinese government about twenty-three million people will enter the region of having only 3.2 million in permanent population. With the opening of train route this decade has seen the eleven times increase in the tourists' numbers. And the country is made ready for them on their visit. Zhaxigang which is a Tibetan village in the southern eastern part of the country have been completely bulldozed and replaced by houses which are made by Chinese real estate developers. They are replicas of the houses which were there earlier. And the people have been compensated for their loss and have been provided new accommodation. Nearby restaurants are managed and owned by Han Chinese population.

Investment in Tibet is on the rise by Chinese government to promote tourism enthusiastically. It refers tourism as the fundamental pillar to revive the economy also hoping to make Tibet world class holiday destination. Tourism already has a fair share of one fifth in the economy of Tibetan autonomous region. It has also helped in the creation of 320,000 jobs and is significantly helping in raising the growth rates. But critics are of the opinion that due this development indigenous culture is being destroyed, holy sites are visited overwhelmingly by tourists, and which is leading to destruction of environment. The criticism is even till the extent that Elliot Sperling who is a professor at Indiana University says that China has a very narrow and materialistic view of Tibet, and the excessive interference may lead to turning some parts into a "Lama Disneyland."

Professor Christiaan Klieger has compared the changes occurring in Tibet to the changes happened in United States where US treated its native areas as a thing which can be present for human consumption. Professor gave the observation that "They are commodifying the native people," she stated, "bringing them out as an ethnic display for the consumption of people back east." There is also the concern that if the people from mainland China kept coming at the same rate there will be the time when the population of Tibet will become even more marginalised.

There are counter arguments which say that tourism benefits the Tibetan people in a way that some people are in the favour of the commercialisation as according to them when the economic status of the people will increase it will lead in the more careful preservation of the

cultural heritage. Critics however argue that Tibetans are not really consulted while making such changes thus are not empowered in any manner.

Now coming to micro level and the socio-political impact of commercialisation of the Tibetan culture. There is huge participation from the Tibetan ethnics as they are actively participating in the process and consequently new shops are opening in the Amdo region of Tibet. They have also realised that this is sustainable and lucrative source of income too. There are observations that there many distinct groups which are included in this pursuit as there are people who-are selling as well as there are people who are manufacturing these goods. Central governments have also realised the importance of the culture in the world market thus it has actively participated in the process of planning, promotion and encouraging the market for the Tibetan goods.

There is further the concern related to Buddhist objects that objects which are made have distinction between them. As the artists make different objects for insiders and outsiders, while making objects for insiders they make it more intricately as to preserve the authenticity. There is also a set of makers who feel that making things at such a large scale is affecting the ideal of Buddhism as in Buddhism the sale and purchasing of religious object was looked down upon. Graburn has pointed out that tourists' art is a way of the maintenance and projection of certain identity. There is a distinction between the kind of art that is made for outsiders which is known as tourist art and the art which is made for internal consumption this art is usually vulnerable to the change and thus excluded for the purpose of commercialisation. Graburn has also pointed out that outsider's demand for certain types of objects then traditional artists start making such goods. Then he takes the countless examples from all over the world where in the Hispanic southwest, there was a huge demand for the masks and statues in various parts of Africa. Other examples are bark paintings from Australia, they were very famous among the tourists and thus local sellers started making them at large scale. Indigenous people are at the subordinate position but by choosing what to make exclusively for tourists and by carefully maintaining the distinction between the goods designed for local usage and goods for commercial purpose they are reasserting their rights as over the religious and cultural production at marketplace.

There was a prohibition on selling and purchasing of religious Buddhist objects but with the advent of Chinese in Tibet has brought such a change that the commercial dealings has become

the everyday phenomenon of commercial environment. So, the contemporary scenario hardly can tell that there was ever prohibition of buying and selling of religious goods. There are textual statements which proscribe the sale of religious Buddhist objects specifically paintings, statues, religious texts- and it has a long history behind it. Tracing back to India many centuries before the Buddhism even entered Tibetan the eight centuries. Although when it travelled to China such narration also changed but when we trace the reason for such prohibition, the possible explanation could be that such religious objects were u considered as the property of the three jewels which are Sangha, Dharma, and the Buddha. Another moral angle behind this is buying and selling of them can be reduced to wrongfully stealing, appropriating, and selling this property. Another theme which is reflected in the prohibitions of the selling of religious goods revolves around the notion of wrongfully earning of livelihood and immoral behaviour. By which sale of religious objects is considered as the violation of the intended purpose and sacrality of the objects. While there are two logics given which stands behind the logic of proscription of Buddhist objects. Both the doctrines follow their own logics and reasoning behind this banning. First doctrine follows early Indian proscription where early Vinaya texts which contain the disciplinary codes for the monasteries and monks, it had the serious prohibition of selling the property that belonged to three jewels as an infringement which should be avoided at any costs as it has very serious negative implications. Rules related to uses and division of monastic properties clearly prohibit the personal uses of the things which belongs to Sangha, dharma, and Buddha. Scholars who have been working on the various vinayas have recognised that the Buddha was regarded property owner, that the Buddha was regarded property owner, which is represented by the stupa and by the portrayal of his image. Sangha maintains very strict rules with respect to the misuse or usage of this property and the property under the control of the Sangha. Ownership right at that time were noticeably divided in a Mulasarvastivadin monastery, property belonged to the dharma, to the Buddha or to the community. The description for the usage of the property were very neatly laid down and thus the usage of the property could not be transferred to another purpose or unit. This tripartite division of property rights or it was recognised by all Vinayas.

4.5. Priceless Buddha images

The earliest narrative of telling the pricelessness of Buddha image can be taken from the story which goes back to India which is about two Indian kings, and it also tells that the first ever painting of Buddha was during Buddha's own lifetime. The story goes as when the king Utrayana who was the king of Roruka, Sgra Sgrogs in the friendship symbolism gave King Bimbisara who was then king of Magadha, a very precious jewel or jewelled armour. Bimbisara called the gift as priceless, it was not only very beautiful it also contained healing properties. He was despaired that he could not reciprocate the gift he had received, he then consulted Buddha, who then suggested that he should send him Utrayana an image of him- the Buddha. The artist who was trying to capture Buddha on canvass were so enchanted by his radiance that they had to paint from his reflection. Some narratives tell that the artist painted from the reflection in pond, and some narratives suggest that Buddha projected himself on canvass. Eventually the best picture was selected and sent to Utrayana. Story also tells that when the painting was gifted to Utrayana, when he opened it, he was awestruck and his positive karmic prints got awakened, he then perceived the truth and achieved sainthood or arhatship. While the story has been told various times and for various purposes in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, which also includes one perception as how by only seeing the image of Buddha one can remove the bad accumulated karma. Another fundamental narrative is the notion which tells that representation of the Buddha surpasses all the worldly value. Such is the values and heritage which Tibet received from India regarding the Buddhism, their sacred object, and the importance of their value. This heritage shows up in various manner that too in repeated ways reiterating upon the pricelessness of Tibetan culture. There are various texts also which condemn attaching materialistic value to Buddhist objects. Although a lot of the information is anecdotal in its nature, but contrastingly in the path literature or Lamrim, there is systematic treatments in the more formal clarifications of the refuge principles or skyabs'gro and preliminary practices or sngon'gro. Explicitly, such statements are found in the accounts of how one who took the refuge in three jewels should respect the representations. When taken together, both these types of statements- those which are purely doctrinal and those which are narrative in nature how tells the parameters of Tibetans understanding of this topic. While the prohibited statements which are related to the sale of Buddhist religious goods in the Tibetan literature are not very consistent at every point, but the literature as whole do reveal that there were prohibitions across the schools and teaching lineages and the remarkable continuous appearance the period of millennium. There might be differences in opinions on some things, but this topic has shown that there is consensus that selling Buddhist objects in general attracts negative energy. This continuity is somewhere reflective of the fact that such statements are

related with the refuge principles and thus is a very important part of the ethical pillar of all Tibetan Buddhist practice. It also reflects that traditional Tibetan place maintains all set of vows which are bodhisattva, the pratimoksha and Vajrayana vows they are considered as "stages of path," which is a philosophical synthesis that has occurred in Tibet from the eleventh century onwards, and this is reflected even in the lamrin literature, begins mainly with Atisa. One who believed Vajrayana was also expected to maintain the training's related with refuge principles, bodhisattva vows and pratimoksha vows. Hence, obedience to the refuge vows, which contains the proscription against the selling of religious objects were as pertinent to the unconventional yet as they were for the scholar monk. Now considering the perceptions of monks, merchants, and painters in the sale of Buddhist goods, although the assigning of religious goods still mainly happens in the amdo region, which is open and direct ready to sale marketplace for average visitors. In terms of thangka paintings, the situation differs from the past, now one can directly enters a gallery or thangka store, select an image which is displayed on the wall, ask for the price, pay and take it back home with himself. This way he can very easily purchase an iconographical correct thangka painting in a moment. This demonstrates as what many painters term as "new" way of painting- which is creating thangka paintings without being ordered to do so beforehand for the external market. Nevertheless, beneath the level which seems like purely machine like entrepreneurial beneath this lies a whole different religious negotiation which occurs at distinct levels. The prohibitions against the selling of religious goods have not disappeared they continue to exist in different forms. The proscriptions keep on playing a role in their day-to-day business activities. Some Tibetan merchants defend their business choices by saying that they only deal in ritual objects such as doejes, bowls, drums, bells etc. So that negative karma can be avoided which can be attracted by selling statues and thangka paintings. On the other hand, Tibetans who do sell the thangka paintings and statues defend their position by saying that prohibitions are not as rigid as they appear initially. For merchants and painters and even for some monks the underlining question did not surround the sale of religious objects but how one sold them. For them, the intention and how one would treat the objects matter more. For them whether the object would be used in meritorious or demeritorious activity was crucial to know. Although if observed closely the views of Tibetans regarding the selling of religious goods were at times varied, at times took different emphases and even can be called as ambiguous. For majority of people the negativity traditionally was attached to selling of goods without having any concrete reasoning to support for them it was a prohibited activity. Traditional painters support their argument in favour of selling the objects as a part of their spreading of merit through the process of spreading painting

in distinct parts of the world. They also support that by merely having the sight of Buddha or bodhisattva was potentially transformative and spiritually beneficial. This perspective is very well supported by religious texts and was raised by painters to back their participation in the commercial and external markets. Even the painters who sold thangka paintings which were pre-made perceived their work as unproblematic, as it served as the main source of their livelihood. And they are entitling to earn living from the work they are good at.

The impact of selling and Buddhist objects has led to clear shifting of moral dimensions among the people of Tibet. The commodification in the Amdo region and people who sell religious objects for a living is on the rise. Even articles flaunting the commercial importance of thangka paintings can be spotted easily in the Chinese mainstream media. The Rebkong culture mainly because of its rich cultural and artistic heritage is now an indispensable spot-on tourist's route. Government also is playing and key role in promoting these thangka paintings by organising sponsored exhibitions which keeps on attracting the painters and buyers, painters who are interested in building their reputations and even the buyers who are attracted by the beauty of thangka and also, they are aware of the vast scope of investment in the value of art form. These developments clearly indicate that Tibetans' commodification of their culture and religious objects has given Tibetans with a respected financial resource in an atmosphere of little opportunities, it has contributed to the preservation of Tibetan culture in general terms and Tibetan arts and aesthetics in particular term. It has also helped in the strengthening the Tibetan community, acting as a binding force which has brought together Tibetans and helped them moved towards a common goal of pursuing their own interests. This point also tells that commodification of Tibetan culture and objects conveys with it some advantages and helps in empowerment of Tibetans both at the individual as well as collective level.

Another impact of the commodification is in the transformation of traditional and long held religious meanings and practices and the values attached with the religious objects and their exchange also with the traditional notions of Tibetan Buddhist identity. In Tibetan case, this must be kept in mind that sale of religious objects carries with itself important practical outcomes that helps to sustain Tibetan culture, it should also recognise that this commercialisation comes at a cost. As what is being transformed is not the only way of exchanging of religious objects. What is being transformed is a perception of relating with such objects hence, a way of experiencing and seeing the world. Such transformations must be

counted among the effects of the commodification of the culture and religious objects in Tibet, as they signify profound historical shifts in practice and in thinking. The commodification of religious goods which is creation of opportunity, preservation of culture and reinforcement of community, there is slight doubt that the sale of Buddhist objects is contributing to the number of outcomes which are significant. There has been an argument that the commodification has led to democratisation of the culture, but it is also criticised or challenged by the statements that before Cultural Revolution common families and nomads used to have thangka paintings and it has indeed provided people with the opportunity to earn the livelihood. This is even more valuable for the people in Amdo which has always remained marginalised be it economically or be it in the education sector. This field has also served as a viable alternative and complementing to the more labour-intensive work of herding and farming. The commercialisation of Thangka paintings and their subsequent rise in the prices has led to the betterment in the standard of living of the people and painters. Much of this business is no doubt is the result of the initiative taken by the central government's introduction and promotion of ethnic tourism. But the much popularity that the thangka paintings are receiving are the result of eroticisation of Tibetan culture and identity which was led by tourism and discourse. The rise in prices of thangka paintings is driven by their high demand among the wealthy Han Chinese. Some statistics reveal that revenue generated by the Rebkong art in 2013 exceeded 300million yuan which is equivalent to $49 million, and the annual salary for each craftsman is as high as twenty thousand.

Tourism is one of the largest industries in the world and it is expected that this dominance is going to maintain till the middle of the twenty first century. In the year 1985 worldwide tourism and its expenditures were around $ 1,800 billion. Over 125 countries have estimated tourism as major industry and one third of those countries it is a leading industry, it is the top earner of foreign exchange and very important source of development.

The debates on cultural changes on tourism gives very unique set of issues which are rarely placed in appropriate historical context. Anthropological view tells that tourism plunder its host area by bringing modernity to it. Many anthropologists have argued that any place can remain in tourism term important if it can maintain the primitive allure it possessed.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Easing of travel restriction and its positive impact on Tibet

In 1984 when Chinese government is the travel restrictions it lasts many of last tourist to local people as it now had less authority over how tourist will travel and with home, they will interact surprisingly there were substantial number of tourists who wanted to visit those Tibetan parts of it which had less interference by Chinese government/occupation. By the period of late 1980's Tibetan people started representing themselves as different, as they wanted to show w the difference between themselves and Chinese occupants. Earlier Chinese always tried to show the Tibetans and their tradition as fundamentally "superstitious." Gradually when tourists started visiting Tibet, this arguments by Chinese became indefensible as visitors did not leave even a single chance of interacting with residents. In Marxist fashion, Chinese government gave the reason of such material advancement and progress was the incorporation of Tibet back into the motherland.

However, this strategy had not worked well as the number of increasing tourists wanted to visit the imagined Tibet or the imagined image of "Shangri-la" where it has wildlife of nomadic, yeti, yak, and the images of flying lamas.

When restrictions got removed, private tourism industry started thriving. As state's control got eased over labour industry. The result of this was freedom of movement was granted to inhabitants with greater ease of owning semiprivate and private enterprises. Local entrepreneurs got the chance of owning small shops, travel agencies and small hotels which all catered to tourists and visitors. Many initiatives were taken such as Tibetan guides formed small group which catered to visitors in visiting/ visits of nomadic encampments, isolated monasteries, and expedition to sacred places as distant as Mt Kailash and some rafting places. Excursions on the back of horses and yak were among popular ones. There have been various influences from South Asian region such as Nepal.

This development at grassroot level was inspired by success in Himalayan southern slopes. Tibetan had always been a leading producer of rugs. Also, also South Asian tourism has gained much significance, and, in this aspect, it is very much dominated by Tibetans. Be it in refugee form or long established native Tibetan speaking Sherpas. This current market is very high in demanding intimacy end reality. Tourist marketing which earlier was limited to bus tours end tracking two more intimate contact where tourist get more chance to contact to interact with native culture.

From 1980s when Chinese provided liberty, Tibetans refugees were free to visit their native homes without having the fear of being repatriate. The ease of restriction with respect to tourism and travel helped in further expansion of tourist market to refugee entrepreneurs and a broad-based promoter of tourism. By late 1980s refugee were returning in large numbers back to Tibet mostly for prolonged visits it also encouraged employment opportunities in tourism market of Tibet. (Klieger 1989: Liker & Klieger 1988)

Tibetan refugees who got the chance to be fluent in English language and they had better skills of dealing with foreign tourist in meeting their demands and expectations, search English educated Tibetans who are high in demand by tomorrow operators. common business goals such as more sale and expansion of tourism business helped in reuniting of this extended Tibetan refugee community and native Tibetans by coming together in his community of home Tibetans and refugees successfully established a competitive and viable alternative to Chinese promoted tourism. There were many benefits of visitors to choose this locally given option as the prices offered by these people were much cheaper end these people were able to deliver the expectations by providing native experiences for the tourists who visited Tibet for adventure and ethnic expectations.

This rapid growth in tourism help in providing economic independence to the people. It helped young refugees who saw the opportunities of employment in tourism sector which God east of trade restrictions and travel restrictions. Native people and refugees were free to establish any new enterprise. However, such free ideas Word gradually met with certain friction from the conservative establishments. The departure of young refugees from settlements in South Asia had impacted adversely on the unity of refugee community. Many suspicions grew asking questions of patriotism as refugees we are moving back and forth; various questions were raised

regarding their motives. Some critics suggested the advancement in tourism, Tibet would be able to tackle double aged problem such as Chinas interest in Tibet and economic dependency faced by many Tibetan natives. Chinese officials also became very and equally suspicious of the fact that by gaining economic self-sufficiency Tibetan nationalism movement can arise. Communist Party would not tolerate the loss of political control that too because of economic liberalization. Thus, Chinese reacted by imposing decision to eliminate independent tourism. Tourism has always been a very significant factor in keeping up with traditional cultural identities it provides ideological and economic stimuli in assertion of nationalism. it also provided ethnic inhabitants a certain sense of ideological leaning for their homeland. Tourists who visited Tibet visit for their search of legendary land of lamas, this strong perspective also helped in strengthening of their own beliefs and in upholding of their identity and culture.

Tourism in Tibet which earlier was tagged as the destructive agent for the culture and tradition of Tibet, had an intentionally became an agency of proliferation and re imagination of culture and tradition. What is needed at this time the most is an approach of sustainable maintenance of tourism sector. Environment common native people and their preserved cultural traditions should be kept in mind. This sustainable approach is desirable for economic and financial reasons as well. It should be kept in mind the tourism might be road to modernization, but this route should always be taken carefully without being insensible to traditions, culture, and ecology.

Tibet is one of the rarest places in the world, whose mere mention is enough to arise so many notions of tranquillity, peace, and a sense of utopia. No wonder that it has created the sense of excitement and curiosity among the people all over the world. This utopian image or cultural exaggeration sometimes leads to the misrepresentation as authentic Tibetan culture. Images are fabricated, myths are formed and thus the true nature of Tibetan people is lost in such misperceptions.

First among those are the stories formed and propagated by natives and tourists. In the era of globalisation where news travel so fast, creating such image is not a challenging task also. In recent years, the utopian vision of Tibet so that increased tourists can be attracted towards the region. By promoting the Tibetan culture, Chinese government is trying to achieve dual

advantages. First, it is attempting to display to the world that it allows Tibetan people to live according to their choice and practice their culture and religion.

Tibet's authority of asserting its values, traditions, culture, and religion is undermined because of the presence of China. Chinese are against the propagation of Tibet's religion. But due to globalisation China is trying to encash the cultural richness that Tibet possesses. China has tapped the spiritual peace and physical beauty aspect of the Tibet. Now the Tibet's spirituality and physical beauty has become the selling point for the tourists abroad.

As stated by Louisa Schein

"The suppressions of the Cultural Revolution, then combined with the perceived emptiness of imported culture from abroad, seem to have left a void at the core of Chinese ethno-nationalism, leading individual and state producers to turn minority cultures as reservoirs of still extant authenticity. This undertaking romanticised the primitive and traditions the distinctive and the colourful, while it essentialised and crystallised those features of other held to be intrinsic and tied to the past" (Schein 1997, p 72)

5.2 Han population and competition posed by them

China with the Han population which has migrated to Tibet has taken up a lot of space and resources leaving inhabitants of Tibet with less resources. Han population has occupied a central stage in the Lhasa village which is the most important place for Tibet's commerce. They have set up shops giving stiff competition to native people. Han population is occupying the similar kind of occupation that Tibetan inhabitants used to practice, and which was the sole source of earning bread for them. Also, the presence of Han population is creating a new environment for the inhabitants as han population is educated in new language and government job positions are also acquired by them only. Thus, creating a difficult scenario for the Tibetan inhabitants. They are forced to choose among difficult choices which is to give up their traditions and language and adopt new culture which is more prevalent.

But with time when tourism is becoming one of the primary sources of income and plays the vital role in Tibet's economy Tibetan inhabitants are getting even more confused as to leave

the traditions or to continue practicing them as those traditions and cultures are the reason that they are gaining importance.

When a traveller visits Tibet, the images which are engraved in their minds are oriental ones. How the Tibetan natives and tourists reassert the image of the oriental Tibet.

"this 'becoming other,' a direct outcome of the objectification and commodification of both culture and ethnicity, is said to explain the contemporary mass consumption of identity merchandise by both touristic outsiders and local insiders whose view of themselves is thereby distorted by the tourist gaze." (Shepherd, 2002, p.185)

Such example of commodification can be seen in the instance where Chinese government has directed to villagers and tourists of Bang-na to what a traditional village of Tibet should look like, it takes away the authority from the inhabitants of showcasing their livelihood in a more representative and fluid manner. It does not mean that Tibetan people should not share their religious and traditional culture with the tourists and visitors to the area; but the problem lies that how the culture is packaged into 'folk village' and that package is sold at a price which strips away the nature of cultural exchange which could occur genuinely between Tibetans and tourists. Another example of such commodification in the globalisation era and the false promotion of Tibetan culture can be seen in nightlife of Lhasa. A common scene which can be spotted in Lhasa is foreigner looking for 'Tibet,' is the dance clubs and Karaoke bars or nangmas. Striking part about such bars are that mostly people who visit such night clubs are not foreigners but residents of Lhasa. These clubs have modern setting where native Tibetans dressed in the traditional attire sing 'national' songs on stage. And stage has the setting where giant screen project landscapes scenes behind them. The people who visit these clubs occasionally join or even get up to dance. Many visitors or foreigners who witness this feel that this is the largest parody of the Tibetans culture that could exist.

The fact that this thing is denounced by foreigners shows that how much such cultural exposition is least understood by people and especially the modern-day complexities. The complexity arises especially when the inhabitants are bound under the utter confusion how to represent themselves. As in to display themselves as folk villages to show the "authentic" Tibetan ritual or to live life as they are living in globalised era which is full of technology and

other cultural influences imported from west. The main difference lies between the folk villages and nightclubs is that villages are solely created for economic benefit and night clubs are the natural outcome of economic development in globalised commodified era and the modern culture of Lhasa. This juxtaposition of folk villages and Nangmas presents a confusing picture and raises questions such as which is more authentic and accurate picture of Tibet. The night club or nangmas or the picture of folk village. In words of VIncanne Adams, "what does it mean in terms of defining modernist to have westerners decry karaoke bars as a sign of the 'losses of Tibet, and at the same time to have some Tibetans frequenting them on regular basis?" (Adams, 1996, p-514)

The more significant aspect to observe is not to decide which one is more authentic form but why tourist and the government chose to publicise and represent one over the other using it as a tool to increase economic development in the region. Since 1990s there have been robust trails from Chinese governments to increase the level of development in Tibet. By expanding electricity, transportation, sanitation and other innovation, the Chinese governments to increase the level of development in Tibetan region. In past few years Chinese government is focussing upon bolstering the Tibet's tourism industry, infrastructure and investment under its initiative which is known as 'Go west movement.' With this plan party aims to bring more national and foreign investment into western China and parts like Qinghai and Yunnan region and Sichuan province and more robust investment in Tibet autonomous region. All these regions are heavily populated by native Tibetans. This programme was announced in the year 1999 and was solidified in 2001. Motive behind this plan was said to be an altruistic one, Go West Movement plans to achieve satisfactory development in parts of China and Tibet. Officials gave the statement that they have planned to implement policies which would lead to social stability, economic prosperity, beautiful landscapes, and ethnic unity. Important aspect behind this planning is to give a better quality of life to average Tibetan Inhabitants. However, with such situations of international development, Tibetan people are not often consulted about their opinions.

Situation can be drawn like how west treated China. Now, same thing is being done to Tibet. It is fascinating to note that on one hand Tibetans are called as barbaric and backward and on the other hand they are being popularised as culturally rich people and tourists are being attracted with same notion.

Chinese people who are lacking the job opportunities are moving into Tibet. This migration is further promoted by Chinese authorities as they are excluded from the fees or surcharge from Chinese government. Hence, they are getting doubly benefitted which is encouraging them even more for the migration. Resultantly, Tibet is about to witness influx of Chinese population.

5.3 Urbanisation and its impact on tourism

Urbanisation in Tibet has motivated many Tibetans who earlier were living in rural areas to shift to Tibetan cities in non-agricultural jobs. To do so they sell their ancestral properties to land developers who are building infrastructure to attract migrating population in Tibet. Many social welfare schemes are also offered exclusively to Chinese population to promote the migration into Tibet. Also, many Tibetans from rural areas are shifted to towns through government sponsored resettlement policy where Tibetans involved in pastoral occupation who were scattered with their herds all over valleys and mountains are forced to move to fenced and compact towns. The movement of these rural population issues controlled in the name of social stability and development. They are being forced to being caged into grid lines. This sudden shift from pastoral and nomadic life to cities has led to the problem of unemployment in Tibet when conducted interview with the natives about the resettlement, they complained that in the name of globalisation they have been deprived of the jobs they used to practice from so long as well as they are unable to get new jobs too because of rising competition.

The rapid increase in tourism due to the globalisation has led to greater number of tourists to visit Tibet and it has brought millions Han Chinese to shift to Tibet and to do business there. Resultantly, cities have gone through major demographic change and strong Chinese cultural influence can also be seen.

With the introduction of new education system where Chinese authorities gave the reason of better education to even the remotest located students to get enrolled. Main emphasis of new education system was to introduce Chinese language as main medium of instruction in schools and to make education secular.

Result of this education system has been that youth nowadays are educated in a manner that serves states agenda of development, it has shaped the demographic in a manner where they prioritise commodity production and material development over cultural affinity.

Although Tibetan language and Buddhism being deeply engraved in their traditional culture, the current generation subscribe to new state education system. They find Tibetan language and Buddhism deeply engraved in their traditional culture; the current generation subscribe to new state education system. They find Tibetan language and Buddhism of being of little or no help in the era globalisation.

5.4 Problems led by modernisation and globalization

Modernisation and globalisation have also led to unfamiliar problems in Tibet. As with time modernisation is taking serious steps. As the construction of railway is taking place at a very fast pace. The railway has connected remote place which earlier were not possible. It has led to the connection of railway from Lhasa to Qinghai province. Some of the harshest and remote terrains crossing the Himalayas and plateau of Tibet which have the coldest and harshest temperature in the world. Part of the reason with the assigned mystification of Tibet is its inaccessibility. More construction of railway will open it up more and make it more accessible which will take away the status of mystique it holds for the visitors and tourists. However, if the number of visitors and tourists keep on increasing, it will result in the culture being restricted to museums, books, and folk villages.

For Tibetans, the actual reality of their identity lies in between the two poles of being willing accomplice in the manipulation their culture of being helpless victim.

In words of Adam, "karaoke {nangmas} may in fact be an indicator of how important it is to not efface modernity but to acquire, participate in and benefit from modernity rather than be oppressed by it." (Adams, 1996p 537)

The reason that Tibetan inhabitant's welcome economic development is that they are also the consumers in the era of modernisation and globalisation. They also use cellular phones, watch television, and also use other material goods. For that they need economic investment to

survive as they have less source of income to boost their economy. In Bang-na village when they were asked about the reason as why they agreed to participate in such rapid and blatant false exposition of their traditional culture, they responded that they get sizeable amount of admission fees, and they need money to improve the infrastructure and overall status of their lives through electricity, installation of roads and other such modern amenities. It is also an interesting fact how certain aspects of cultural truth of Tibet is moulded and stretched and what is the role of tourists in promoting that image. Some say that such commodification of Tibetan Culture is a negative result of human curiosity when only one part of image of Tibet is shown to tourists and visitors and not the full picture, Chinese are objectifying the culture of Tibet and it seeks to improve its image in international community and tourists consider that image as true.

Tibetan people had always been very proud of their culture and tradition. When asked, the reply of Tibetan people about the uniqueness of their identity or what is "Tibetan identity" according to them. Most common answer received was "love and compassion" is the most fundamental and basic quality of Tibetan identity which differentiates them from other ethnic groups.

One of the Tibetan monks said/answered- "Tibet is the land recognised as the domain of the Buddha called Bodhisattva Avlokiteshwara {Buddha of great compassion}, the people of Tibet have always been very compassionate and loving." When asked if it is important for Tibetans to be Buddhist so to have distinctive character of Tibetan. Monk replied, "of course, Tibetans must have religious faith, because we are the possessors of compassion and loving kindness, and it is our religion that made us to possess them." Even the students who claim themselves of being secular also accepted that loving, kindness and compassion is very important aspect of Tibetan identity and culture.

Since, this was qualitative research and sources acquired were reports published by government, and international organisation such as UNDP, ILO, and various private sectors. And other sources included secondary sources such as journal articles, books, and news report etc. Tibet being inaccessible for visit and research purpose, visit the site could not have been possible. Thus, limitation of study can be said that direct interaction with native people was not possible. There could have more insights into their lives.

Stated hypotheses have proven to be verified and valid. Stating that due to globalisation traditional Tibetan identity has been commodified is proven to be correct. Tibetan identity indeed has been put out in the arena, and things which are very close to their identity such as the religion they practice, clothes they wear, type of lifestyle they live have been kept out as mere commodity which can be easily bought or sold or even experienced in exchange of money. This increase in commodification of Tibetan identity and culture has attracted Han Chinese people to migrate into Tibet in search of opportunities. Thus, this unplanned migration has laid the burden on the resources which were already limited, depriving of native Tibetans of the sole livelihood they could earn. Hence, second hypotheses are also seen to be verified or justified.

Globalisation has proven to be double edged sword for native Tibetan population. On one hand they are also getting to experience things which they did not even know existed. They are also getting new sources of revenue which became possible due to terrorism. Tibet is getting urbanised and modern education has also been introduced which is making younger population who were only involved in religious studies. Youth now has become more aware of the opportunities available everywhere which became possible due to globalisation.

But on the other hand, this influx of tourists and their demand to visit the pristine Tibet which they had imagined has created a problem. Since, they want to witness untouched Tibet with all the traditional culture, they had not acknowledged that with such greater number of tourists visiting Tibet, the sustenance of that pure, untouched Tibet is quite impossible. Thus, to meet their requirements Tibetan native people must portray their Tibetan Ness even when they do not want to.

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Appendix

Table of content

Historic Ensemble of the Potala Palace, Lhasa (China) (C 707ter)

Year of inscription on the World Heritage List Inscription: 1994, Extensions: 2000, 2001

Criteria (i), (iv), (vi)

Year(s) of inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger N/A

Previous Committee Decisions see page https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/707/documents/

International Assistance

Requests approved: 0

Total amount approved: USD 0

For details, see page http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/707/assistance/

UNESCO Extra-budgetary Funds

N/A

Previous monitoring missions

March 2001: ICOMOS Monitoring mission; April 2003: UNESCO/ICOMOS expert mission; May 2005:
Joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring mission; April 2015: Joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS/ICCROM Reactive Monitoring mission; April 2019: Joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS/ICCROM Reactive Monitoring mission

Factors affecting the property identified in previous reports

   • Major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure (Expansion of tourism-related facilities in and adjacent to the boundary of the property)

   • Ground transport infrastructure (Negative impact of the rehabilitation projects on the protection of the traditional urban tissue of the historic centre)

   • Deliberate destruction of heritage

   • Housing (Uncontrolled urban development in and adjacent to the boundary of the property)

   • Fire (Fire damage to the Jokhang Temple Monastery in February 2018)

   • Localised utilities (Potential impacts of proposed television tower)

- Ritual / spiritual / religious and associative uses (Visitor experience for pilgrims and tourists)

Illustrative material see page https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/707/

Current conservation issues

A joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS/ICCROM Reactive Monitoring mission visited the property on 814 April 2019, and the mission report is available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/707/documents/. Subsequently, the State Party submitted a state of conservation report on 9 December 2019, which is also available at the link above. The State Party's report notably provides the following information:

• Following the fire accident at Jokhang Temple Monastery, on 17 February 2018, the State Party initiated a rapid response mechanism. A detailed damage assessment did not reveal any significant damage to the physical attributes that carry the property's Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). A repair plan to ensure the safety and stability of the monastery was developed and implemented, and risk prevention and security control measures have also been developed to prevent such incidents in the future. An underground fire protection pond has been constructed without changes to the overall landscaping of the area;

• To prevent inappropriate developments and the demolition of historic buildings, the State Party has been preparing conservation plans of the three component parts of the property as requested by the World Heritage Committed in Decision **40 COM 7B.31**. Drafts of the plans have been completed and are undergoing expert review;

• Local artisans and traditional techniques are employed for the maintenance and periodic painting and cleaning of the walls of the property. The State Party has constituted a team of qualified Tibetan artisans to oversee the process;

• The State Party has implemented measures to improve visitor management, enhance visitor experience and reduce risks to the property. These include an online ticketing system, separating visitation times for pilgrims and tourists, and capping the number of tourists at any given time;

• The existing television tower was constructed in 1985 before the inscription of property. Local authorities plan to deliberate on the feasibility and necessity of re-location of the tower in the context of revision of the overall planning of Lhasa City;

• Other measures aimed at better protection and management of the cultural property include strict implementation of regulations, capacity building for improved management, digital documentation and establishment of monitoring and early warning systems;

• The stele in front of the Jokhang Temple Monastery were deteriorating, and a decision was made that the best way to protect them was through the construction of protective pavilions. An abstract of the Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) for the pavilions was submitted to the World Heritage Centre in May 2020, following the construction of the pavilions.

In June 2020, the State Party provided information on the construction of protective shelters around three stelae located in front of the Jokhang Temple Monastery and fire protection measures, which had been requested by the World Heritage Centre by a letter of 25 May 2020. ICOMOS provided a technical review of the new stele pavilions and advised that they have a negative impact on the cultural setting and cultural context of the Jokhang Temple Monastery and that alternative solutions should be considered. The State Party responded in February 2021, and further advice has been provided, but this matter remains unresolved. This technical review also considered the new fire protection pond and pilgrim and tourism management in the Jokhang Temple plaza.

Analysis and Conclusions of the World Heritage Centre, ICOMOS and ICCROM

The 2019 Reactive Monitoring mission concluded that the general state of conservation within the Potala Palace, Jokhang Temple Monastery and Norbulingka is relatively good and confirmed that the 2018 fire did not affect the whole of the structures, art, or belief system of the Jokhang Temple, and the overall impact on the authenticity and integrity of the temple was minimal. The State Party has undertaken various appreciable measures aimed at emergency stabilization, damage assessment, subsequent repair, and fire prevention and security control measures to prevent such disasters in the future, which should be welcomed. The reconstruction of the Ventilation Chamber and its golden roof at the Jokhang Temple Monastery has been made to relatively good standards of workmanship and tolerance. Modest changes have been made to the Ventilation Chamber to improve the safety of the building by mitigating the risk of fire. The area most severely impacted by the fire dates primarily to the period of major reconstruction in the 1980s. The OUV of Jokhang Temple

Monastery is unchanged as a result of the fire and subsequent restoration efforts, as ascertained by the 2019 mission.

There is concern about the construction of the protective pavilions to cover the stelae in the immediate vicinity of the Jokhang Temple. The State Party has responded to ICOMOS' technical review and received further advice, but this matter remains unresolved. It is recommended that the Committee regret that the plans and HIA were not submitted to the World Heritage Centre for review prior to the construction of these pavilions. Noting the State Party's indication that the stelae have been in their current position for hundreds of years, it would nevertheless be appropriate to pursue measures to reduce the size of the protective structures to a minimum and to re-design them to be less visually prominent and less historically confusing. It is therefore recommended that the Committee request the State Party to explore alternative solutions in accordance with the advice provided in ICOMOS' technical review, and to submit a full HIA, prepared in accordance with the 2011 *ICOMOS Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments for Cultural World Heritage Properties*, for review by the Advisory Bodies prior to implementation of the revised designs.

Efforts by the State Party towards the completion of conservation plans for the three component parts of the property are ongoing, but it is increasingly urgent that these be submitted to the World Heritage Centre for review by the Advisory Bodies, prior to their formal adoption and implementation. The State Party's report includes maps of the three component parts and their buffer zones, but some refinement may be necessary, as the buffer zone of Norbulingka seems to cut through buildings in a somewhat haphazard manner. The State Party should reconsider this buffer zone so that it conforms more clearly to identifiable landmarks. In particular, as recommended by the 2019 mission, the maps contained in these conservation plans should clarify the buffer zones of the property and the regulations, which will apply to the buffer zones. As requested by the World Heritage Centre in its letter of October 2020, the State Party should submit a proposal for a boundary clarification for the property, including maps of the component sites and their buffer zones, as soon as possible.

Efforts have been made to protect the intangible cultural heritage associated with the living traditions of pilgrims, such as capping tourist numbers during the high season. There is still concern that the living heritage traditions at the property remain at risk, as confirmed by the 2019 mission, and more attention is needed to safeguard these important attributes of the property. In accordance with the ICOMOS' technical review, the State Party should be encouraged to manage the Jokhang Temple plaza so that pilgrims can bow and visit the

shrine in a sacred atmosphere, respectful of the cultural setting and integrity, and traverse from the plaza entrance to the temple while praying without being disturbed by tourists. In regard to the television tower, the 2019 mission was advised that plans are underway to demolish the existing tower, once a new tower located at the eastern end of the city becomes operational. The mission recommended that an HIA be conducted, in line with the 2011 ICOMOS Guidance, to determine potential impacts of the new television tower on the OUV of the property and avoid any negative impact.

Draft Decision: 44 COM 7B.20

The World Heritage Committee,

1. *Having examined* Document WHC/21/44.COM/7B.Add,

2. *Recalling* Decision **42 COM 7B.2** *adopted at its 42nd session (Manama, 2018),*

3. *Notes with satisfaction the conclusion of the April 2019 Reactive Monitoring mission that there was no significant negative impact on the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of*

    the property resulting from the 17 February 2018 fire at Jokhang Temple, welcomes the State Party's efforts to undertake response, recovery and prevention initiatives following the fire, and requests the State Party to implement fully the recommendations of the Reactive Monitoring mission;

4. *Regrets that pavilions were erected close to the Jokhang Temple Monastery to protect three historic stelae prior to the submission of plans and a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA), despite the provisions of Paragraph 172 of the* Operational Guidelines*, expresses concern that these may have a negative effect on the cultural setting and context of the Jokhang Temple Monastery, and also requests the State Party to explore alternative solutions in accordance with the advice provided by ICOMOS and to submit a full HIA, prepared in accordance with the 2011* ICOMOS Guidance on HIA for Cultural World Heritage Properties*, for review by the Advisory Bodies, prior to the implementation of any revised design;*

5. *Notes* the ongoing work to complete the three conservation plans for the three component parts of the property, but *reiterates its request* to submit these as soon as possible to the World Heritage Centre for review by the Advisory Bodies, prior to formal adoption and implementation;

6. *Also notes* the submission of three maps with property boundaries and buffer zones, but *further requests* re-examination and adjustment of the buffer zone of Norbulingka so that it conforms more clearly to identifiable landmarks, and clarify the buffer zones of the property and the regulations, which will apply to the buffer zones along with the submission of a proposal for a boundary clarification for the property as soon as possible;

7. *Expresses its appreciation* to the State Party for its commitment towards the protection of the intangible heritage attributes of the property, but *requests furthermore* that more work be carried out to ensure that sufficient attention is given to safeguarding these important attributes and that the Jokhang Temple plaza be managed so that pilgrims can bow and visit the shrine in a sacred atmosphere, respectful of the cultural setting and integrity, and can traverse from the plaza entrance to the temple while praying without being disturbed by tourists;

8. *Commends* the efforts of the State Party with regard to the possible demolition of the existing television tower once a new tower on the eastern edge of the city is completed, but *urges* it to prepare an HIA for the new tower as a matter of priority, in accordance with the 2011 ICOMOS Guidance, to ensure that it does not have any negative impact on the OUV of the property;

9. *Finally requests* the State Party to submit to the World Heritage Centre, by **1 December 2022**, an updated report on the state of conservation of the property and the implementation of the above, for examination by the World Heritage Committee at its 46th session in 2023.