

# Chapter One

---

---



## **Chapter I**

### **Introduction:**

#### **1.1.Introducing the Theme in a Theoretical Context:**

The escape of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in the year 1959 along with hundreds of His fellow citizens following the Chinese occupation of Tibet resulted into a blooming Tibetan community in India and also in the neighbouring countries of Nepal and Bhutan from where they have now spread over the whole world. Since then, India, Nepal and Bhutan have granted political asylum to the Tibetan community. The gesture of these countries concerning Tibetans has developed deeper ties, having shared historical connections in terms of culture, history and religion. Presently, the Tibetan community has lived two generations or more in these countries. Their children have been born and educated in foreign soil dreaming of their original homeland on account of the experiences shared by their elderly.

The Indian government granted asylum to the Dalai Lama as an honored guest and extended every kind of help to His fellow citizens. With assistance of the various support groups from various foreign countries and the Government of India, Dalai Lama succeeded in establishing the Tibetan Government in Exile formally known as the Central Tibetan Administration or the CTA. As the highest administrative office of the Tibetans in Exile, CTA is responsible for the entire Tibetan community particularly those in exile. Nepal, being the buffer country between China and India, has served as second home and also a gateway to India for the Tibetans who escape to India. Thus, in the initial years of their arrival, both the countries paid off the responsibility of good neighbors to the Tibetans with whom they have historically shared multiple economic and political ties. Both the Governments have not only provided shelter but also helped re-establish them in exile. Today, these two countries hold the largest numbers of Tibetan refugees in the world. Bhutan also provided one flight route from Tibet to India but only few decided to settle there. In 1961, when India closed its northern borders to Bhutan owing to political tension with the People's Republic of China many Tibetans were forced to settle there. However, only about 4,000 were allowed to settle in Bhutan as per the decision taken in the meeting between the Indian political officer of Sikkim, Prime Minister of Bhutan and the representative of the Government of India and the CTA in Calcutta (Roemer, 2008). In the year 1973 there arose tensions between the Bhutanese government

and the Tibetan settlers there on grounds of- i) national consciousness in Bhutan, ii) Discontent over the native Bhutan over the privileges the Tibetans enjoyed iii) assassination of the king of Bhutan and iv) non- assimilative way of living. All these led to suspicion among the Bhutanese of the Tibetan. Hence, all the Tibetans were requested to take up Bhutanese citizenship or to be deported back to Tibet. Thus after many negotiations 2,300 Tibetan families took up the citizenship against the will of the country and remaining 4000 were resettled in India (Roemer, 2008).

In this dissertation an attempt has been made to give a comparative socio-economic profile of the Tibetans settled in both India and Nepal. An attempt has also been made to understand the refugees' policies of both the states determining their economic and political status in the context of the security and defence concerns of both the governments vis a vis China. Even though Tibetans are commonly referred to as refugees, in both the countries, their position is rather ambiguous, as none of the countries legally recognize them as such. Before going into discussion, let us see what the term refugee actually mean. For an understanding of the same there is a need to understand the connotation of certain terms which are Refugees, Diaspora and of course identity. These are explained in the following section before introducing the actual research questions.

Refugee influx following human displacement is a basic characteristic of Human civilization and common feature and consequence of a conflict within the society or a nation state. State buildings, ethnic and civil conflicts, state collapse and failure, and government persecution often lead to forced mass migration of people from one region to another and sometimes from one country to another. Migration whether forced or voluntary has always been a characteristic of individual and collective human behavior and is basic cause of refugee movement. A person becomes a refugee because of the circumstances which are beyond that persons' control (Ananthachari, 2001). A situation when he/ she is usually left with no option, but to flee from human right violations, socio-economic and political insecurity, generalized violence, civil war, or ethnic strife all leading to the fear of persecution and the threat to their life. Refugees in common perception are the people who flee their country under various circumstances and vulnerabilities for the fear of being politically victimized. They feel unsafe within their own homeland socially, economically and often politically that may cause threats to their lives and sustainability. In order to save their life, they flee their homeland and enter hospitable neighboring places or any other country, thereby becoming a

‘Refugee’. UNHCR defines Refugees as - *“A person who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country”*. It is this fear of persecution that differentiates a forced migrant from a voluntary one. Refugees are therefore forced migrants. But not all migrants are refugees. In other words the term ‘Refugee’ is applicable to the ones who have been forced to migrate as the result of ethnic and civil conflict, or due to the government persecution etc. for example, the Lhotshampas from Bhutan, Rohingyas from Myanmar and Tibetans from Tibet. The largest numbers of Refugees have so far been generated by the partition of India in 1947. The Refugees are different from the ‘Internally Displaced Persons’ (IDPS) who are the people forced to migrate from one state to another due to environmental disaster or a political turmoil in the state. But they remain within the international boundary of a particular state as different from the refugees who cross that boundary. Refugees are also different from ‘Immigrants’ who migrate from one place to another for better life opportunities like economic migrants; due to shortage of resources or for the desire of better lifestyle often compel the people from rural to urban areas. Their migration is voluntary and not under fear of persecution.

There are various challenges associated with ‘Refugees’, like those of Human security, Human Rights Violation and Identity discourse. Security as a notion is connected with themselves, the state and the legal residents. That is the reason why it becomes imperative for the host state to categorize them under the aforementioned title. Henceforth, this requires conscious handling, with due sensibility and also careful assessment for the sake of security. “Human security” means the protection of people from life threatening danger and fear, like war, or any physical harm. In modern sense of the term, Human Security also signifies the security of people from threats to life, including food security, health security and environmental security. Referring to this, Refugees are subject to various vulnerabilities like rape, torture, life threats, detention, human trafficking and many other inhuman acts. Moreover there exist a chance of being manipulated and be the victim of many vulnerabilities. Therefore there is a need of certain policies and laws which would guarantee their basic rights and secure their life, while taking refuge in other nations. The refugee influx and their settlement poses a fundamental threat to the civilians and humanitarian character of

asylum, creating serious concerns for refugees, host communities, local authorities and humanitarian workers (Mandal, 2001).

India is not a party to the 1951 Convention or its Protocol hence it need not abide by the treaty obligation regarding the refugees regulation, the two national's statutes governs the legal status of the Tibetans are Foreigners Act of 1946 and the Registration of Foreigners Act of 1939 which qualifies Tibetans simply as "Foreigners". It allows the government to regulate the movement of all the foreigners both into and within India and also obliges the foreigners to report to the Indian authorities. Tibetans are required to retain the Registration certificates. This status for six decades has created a dilemma among them over the issue of citizenship. As per the Section 3(1) of the Citizenship Act, all the Tibetans born in between January 26, 1950 and July 1, 1987 are citizen by birth.

Nepal too, is not party to the Convention of the United High Commissioners for Refugees. In Nepal, Tibetans are categorized into two groups- the ones who arrived before 1989 are entitled to reside in Nepal lawfully. The next category includes those who entered Nepal after 1959 and are still arriving. Of the second category Tibetans are not allowed to stay but are permitted to safe transmit through Nepal to India. This arrangement is made after the conclusion of The Gentlemen Agreement between the Nepal government and the UNHCR. Therefore in both the countries Tibetan refugees have different political status. But in India Tibetans are treated with much favoritism than in Nepal. These differences will be highlighted in the following chapters. The changing political dynamics between India, Nepal and China is determinable in the political sphere of South Asia. China is growing its influence in Nepal with many infrastructural investments. On the other hand, India has always fulfilled its role as a big brother to Nepal in all matters. China and India being the immediate neighbours have both cooperative and conflict relationship since the ancient times. Moreover, India and China being the big Asian giants have to maintain cordial relationship and mediate themselves. So in such a situation of changing political influences between these three countries; the political situation and status of the Tibetan Refugees is definitely going to be the matter of concern for Tibetan themselves and also to the concerned parties.

Year 2019 marked 60 years of exile for Tibetan refugees. This long journey of struggle and hardship did not erase the Tibetan spirit; the spirit of their culture, religion and tradition. In fact with time and need of the situation they have been able to keep intact their religion and

culture with much galore and enthusiasm in the process of being “Tibetan”. They practice and exhibit their culture and religion consciously in order to prove their nationalism and ethnic identity as ‘Tibetans’ to the world community. In the era of post-colonialism, the Tibetan Diaspora has been widely discussed and read all over the world. Various scholars and researchers have been studying and portraying how Tibet’s’ rich and unique culture are being destroyed by the Chinese in the name of modernization. And also the pattern in which the Tibetan refugees successfully got adapted and adjusted relentlessly in an unfamiliar soil worldwide. The plight of exiled Tibetans and the responsibility of Central Tibetan Administration to maintain a distinctive national identity are projected in Tibetan religious and cultural life amongst different societies in the outside World.

As such, Tibetan refugee as a national polity has escaped the incursion taking place in Tibet. It has been haunted yet at the same time been successfully rehabilitated in India and Nepal at first. After years of struggle; many have shifted to Switzerland, North America and other European countries as well. Tibetan refugees with their social, economic and political survival strategies in being “Tibetan” in the process of nation building in exile has very extraordinary history. To quote Dibyesh Anand “Both in rhetoric as well as in practices the Tibetan refugee community largely amounts the process of ‘sanskritization’ that affects most minority groups in contemporary world era (Anand D. , 2010). In spite of adaptation, the sense of being a refugee is affirmed among Tibetans’, their way of life, religion, culture and tradition which is reflected in a sense of patriotism for their ‘motherland’ in order to accentuate the desire of returning to “Free Tibet”.

Diaspora means the homogenous entity of geographically displaced people. According to Vertovac the term “Diaspora” is often applied to describe practically any population that is considered ‘de-territorialized’ or ‘transnational’. – that is which has originated in land other than that in which it currently resides, and whose social, economic, and political networks across the borders of nations-states or, indeed span of globe (Vertovec, 1997, p. 1). It is therefore clear that geographically, Diaspora involves a radical redefinition of a place. It is observed that, going back to the original land/motherland is a natural desire of many diasporians, and these natural desires may well become a perpetual and utopian longing (Sahoo & Maharaj, 2007).

The term ‘De-territorialized’ and ‘Transnational’ are applicable to the Tibetan refugees. The term ‘Diaspora’ is also applicable to term because they are dispersed throughout the world

without belonging to any specific territory. They are held together by common indicators as ethnic identity and collective aspiration to return to their original homeland “Tibet”. Tibetans have now become international. International because they have become global citizens. They are not restricted to any specific geographical boundaries like those of India, Nepal or Bhutan; rather they are spread all over the world. With the communication revolution; their interaction and connection with their community, both within and outside the World has increased. Many have developed interaction with their relatives in Tibet through various mediums of communication. All the news of Tibet is spread within a few minutes and people are able to react upon it in the host countries. Thus, greater the connectivity with their motherland; greater is the desire to pursue their ethnic identity and cultural heritage and a longing for their homeland. Another, The ‘collective memory’ and the ‘roots’ play a very important role in this context of Diaspora. In the case of Tibetans, the bitter memory of their elders make an impact in their lives till today and remains as the main driving force behind their motive of preserving and transmitting the ethnic, cultural and religious legacies to the succeeding generation.

There are certain attributes which have been noted by Steve Vertovac particularly in South Asian Diaspora.

Diaspora are said to be:

- a. Created as a result of voluntary or forced migration from one home location to at least two other countries.
- b. Consciously maintaining collective identity, which is often importantly sustained by reference to an ‘ethnic myth’ of common origin, historical experience, and some kind of tie to a geographical place?
- c. Institutionalising network of exchange and communication which transcend the borders of territorial states and create new communal organizations in place of settlements.
- d. Maintaining a variety of explicit and implicit ties with their homelands;
- e. Developing solidarity with co-ethnic members in others countries of settlement;
- f. inability or own unwillingness to be fully accepted by the host society thereby fostering feelings of alienation or exclusion, or superiority or other kind of difference (Vertovec, 1997, pp. 3-4)

Diasporic culture is understood as fossilized and replica of the original but they are actually modification of the original and this transition happens at the point when culture goes out of its traditional space into the new. The basic point remains that these diasporic cultures too are a manifestation of transformation or the change. As for in the case of Tibetans, it is important to keep in mind as pointed out by Anand that the term Diaspora denotes the process of flight, enforced migration, identity fragmentation and reconstruction, trans-nationalism and the goal of returning back to homeland. The sense of being a refugee is affirmed as patriotism in order to emphasize the desire of returning to Tibet (Anand D. , 2010).

Identity is important to understand diaspora and this is particularly true in case of Tibetans because despite their deep integration into the host society, they continue to uphold their Tibetan identity as the primary tool to define their characteristic traits as a 'Community'. Ethnic Identity is derived from factors like common language and geography which encounters the people who possess strong sense of identity. Identity is given rather than perceived. One should consider it as socially and politically constructed. Identity is always mobile and partly self- construction as categorized by others. Identity should be seen not as an outcome but as a creation. It is much fragmented, never particular but constructed across different discourse, practice and position. Applying this to the Tibetan case, one may see Tibetan identity as constituted by particular process. The Tibetan identity has been redefined as "Refugees" who aspire to go back to their homeland.

This dissertation seeks to study the process of the making and remaking of Tibetans ethnic identity by looking into their successful life in exile, their imagined homeland and their desperation to return back. At the same time Tibetan identity is fragile and in dilemma. Dilemma originates from the question of affiliation to the host countries through acquisition of citizenship. Are they Indian or Nepalese or citizens of any other country, foreigner or a refugee in true sense? Their identity is also fragile in a sense that they have intermingled with many cultures in their host nations resulting into adoption of hybrid cultures and practices. On the whole, Tibetan identity at present has become multi-layered. Therefore, it is important to study the changes in Tibetan culture, economic and social conditions and the political factors that define Tibetans as refugees.

Identity can be understood through various approaches such as Primordialist, Instrumentalist and Communitarian, etc. The primordialists like Clifford Geertz, Harold Isaacs and Van Dan Berghe emphasise the astrictive identities, ties of kingship, common history, collective

experiences etc, as influencing a persons' loyalty and behavior. They argue that ethnic or ascriptive identities are mobilized in modern era. In order to overcome the strain that modernity has created in the otherwise traditional and homogenous people.

One can study Tibetan history as involved in the deployment of the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming a Tibetan. Given the organization of imagined community of nations and given their cause in terms of nationalism as nationalism itself is a collective identity. Anthony Smith's characterizations of ethnic community are collective name, myth of common ancestry, a shared memory of rich ethno history, common culture, association with specific homeland and a sense of solidarity for significant sector of population (Smith A. D., 1989, p. 1). All these common identity elements are present in varying degree in the life of Tibetans. According to Dibyesh Anand the discourse of international human rights, democracy, decolonization and self-determination have allowed sophisticated articulation of national identity among Tibetans in exile. The Tibetan national imagination is a product process of strategies essentialism oriented towards the goal of reclaiming homeland (Anand D. , 2010).

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem:**

India and Nepal has provided home to the largest number of Tibetan refugees in the world. Both the countries have granted asylum to them from 1959 onwards, by leasing land and building settlement camps, health centres and schools in different parts of their country. The Tibetan Government in Exile or the Central Tibetan Administration is situated at Dharamsala in Himachal Pradesh which is the highest governing body of the entire Tibetan community in the world.

Tibetans in India and Nepal sustain their livelihood depending upon distinctive occupations like agriculture, small scale industries and small business ventures either with the assistance of the respective governments or with the cooperation of local traders. Socially, Tibetans have acquainted very well with the native people and adapted to the local. Situation is no dearth of literature on their lifestyles and population. The CTA prepares regular accounts of the conditions of the Tibetan refugees and comes up with new policies for their welfare. At the same time there are many academic accounts of their life as refugees. Even though these two types of literature broadly reflect the same picture there are certain discrepancies as understandable, the CTA is under certain compulsion to highlight the plight and difficulties

faced by them. The CTA presents a picture that is grim than those presented by academicians.

However in absence of specific policies on Refugees in both the countries; the policies and the treatment of Tibetans often vary in accordance with security and defence policies of the status. There are certain governmental rules and policies that govern the Tibetans in the host countries like retaining Refugee Registration Card is mandatory in both to prove their identity as 'Refugee'. In India, Tibetan refugees are given liberty of life, work and expression. The government of India has dealt with Tibetans soft handedly with the perks of economic opportunity, reservation in government institutes and jobs and many others facilities with some restrictions on political activities. In Nepal on the contrary, Tibetans have limited or almost nil access to facilities. Tibetans in Nepal are deprived of their basic rights to property, work, and even cultural expression. They are kept on constant policing, often violating their human rights to ensure no anti- Chinese activities be carried out by them in Nepal. Over years Nepal has been very callous with the Tibetans because of their pro-Chinese alignment. As a result, the Tibetans in Nepal have developed a sense of alienation, insecurity and uncertainty of life. In this dissertation an attempt has been made a comparative study of their socio economic condition in both the countries. The academic accounts as well as the account presented by the CTA are compared with data actually collected from the field.

Finally, the study of Tibetan refugees and Tibetans issues is bound to remain incomplete without an understanding of the politics concerning them since the political nexus between the three countries of India, Nepal and China that deeply impacts their status in the two host countries. The security concerns of both India and Nepal determine their relations with China and that in its term often determine the socio-economic and political status of the Tibetan refugees in these two countries. An attempt has been made in the dissertation to understand the Tibetan issue in these two countries in totality in context of the political developments.

Over the years, the Tibetan issue become extremely involves the issue of self determination, wider human rights debate and also politics of region. In fact it is the geo strategic location of Tibet that got it involved it in the politics of the region. Long before, the British Empire in India had realized the importance of Tibet as a buffer state between India and the other external powers on the north (Praag, 1987). In spite of being a closed country without any active political ambition it became a pawn in the tripartite political rivalries of the three empires of Britain, Russia and China. After India' independence, the Chinese take-over of

Tibet in 1959 has been seen as a strong strategic development, as a threat to South Asia players. Communist China not only decided to establish suzerainty over Tibet, but it was also the first step to move forward to the west with the opening gateway to India and other countries as well. Of late India in spite of the old issues of confrontation is trying to cultivate apparently good relation with China. These changing politics often impact on the status of the Tibetan Refugees.

India and China has border dispute in many areas. Not only India lost to China in 1962 war over the issue of Mc Mahon Line in the east there is dispute over Ladakh in the western front. Nor does China recognize Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of India (Das, 2009) and was critical of Sikkim's amalgamation with India in 1972. China's occupation of Tibet and particularly after 2008 Tibetan Uprising China started taking deep interest in Nepal. In spite of various economic engagements between India and Nepal from the year 1960 onwards Nepal started its sincere effort to develop stronger ties with China. Starting with 'One China Policy' Nepal began to sign numerous joint ventures with China from the 1980s onwards (Sharma, 2018). These economic and several other Chinese packages offered to Nepal are indeed designed to weaken India's grip of Nepal. At the same time China began to develop modern communication and transportation systems in Tibet with the construction of highways within and bridges across water bodies all across Tibet. All this is done with an objective to get an edge over India in the sphere of influence in the Himalayan region. Naturally, in this context, China looks towards India with distrust towards the presence Tibetans and particularly His Holiness Dalai Lama in India, the freedom they enjoy in India and the recognition the Dalai Lama enjoys in the World. The presence of Tibetans and the proximity of Nepal with India is also a cause of Chinese anxiety that the Tibetans could use both the countries to challenge China in their movement for freedom. This is a complex situation. Although, in both the countries, and particularly in India, Tibetan refugees are leading a satisfactory life, their status as refugees have been and will be constantly challenged by these complex issues of geo strategic considerations, security concerns and political ambitions of the three countries that determine the interrelationship between China and the host countries.

### 1.3.Literature Review:

Many books have been available on Tibetan history, culture, religious traditions. Several books and articles are also written about the Tibetans refugees and their adaptation to the new ambience. India -China relationship is also the subject matter of several books of Indian foreign policy and security concern. Every kind of association and distrust among the two giant neighbours are studied and discussed by various scholars all over the world. Similarly Nepal China relation has also received attention of scholars particularly in the context of changing political scenario of South Asia. Yet only few scholars have attempted to study the Tibetan refugees in the backdrop of political compulsion of the countries. in the following section of literature review I have discussed those books which are related to the topic under study. the huge number of books on Tibet and Tibetans in general have not been discussed<sup>1</sup>.

1. *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights, and Prospects in International Law* written by Micheal C. van Walt van Praag, 1987, is a total compilation of all historical facts culminating to the 1959 Chinese occupation of Tibet. Written with the objective of upholding and justifying the Tibetan point of view regarding the independent status of Tibet, Praag has pointed out in this book that the historical accounts are the proof that the communist claim of control over Tibet is based upon misinterpretation of the relationship between the two countries between the secular power holder and the religio-political power holder. Chinese claim over Tibet in the past and at present is to justify their act of imperialism. This book is the basic documentation of Tibet's claims of Independence vis a vis China.
2. There are handful of books available in the form of autobiography and biographies of the Dalai Lama written by himself and other authors, Among the autobiographies are to name few are '*My land and my People*', 1962, and '*Freedom in exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama*', 1991. The books, particularly the second one narrates the account of the flight from Tibet from His point of view, the initial years of struggle in India and then presents the inner struggle that allowed Him to master both the mysteries of Tibetan Buddhism and the brutal realities of Chinese communism. *The Dalai Lama: A*

---

<sup>1</sup> Full citations are given in the Bibliography.

*Biography* written by P.C. Marcello in 2012 is an updated biography that provides the curious and charming personality of the Dalai Lama as a boy and His wisdom as a man. This book reveals His life in childhood with his family and his education as well as His struggles for freedom in exile. *The Last Dalai Lama* is another book written by Micheal Harris Goodman, 1986. This book looks into how the Dalai Lama had been forced to escape his remote mountain kingdom and enter to the free world. After Mao's 'Peaceful Liberation' and 'democratic reform' in Tibet caused the Tibetan Uprising leading to brutal bloodshed of the Tibetans and the final escape of the Dalai Lama from the Tibet. It also gives details from of the rehabilitation process and several attempt of failed dialogue with the Chinese, Tibetans could not bargain with western powers on Tibet. Dalai Lama in absence of political power, military power and economic power, He hopes to return back to his lost nation with his faith on humanitarian determination in which he believes. Apart from giving a detailed description of his family and childhood, the book depicts a detailed account of Tibet under the Chinese since 1950s. All the biographies and the autobiographies narrate the history of Tibet and particularly the circumstances under which He was forced to leave the country.

*Portrait of a Dalai Lama: the Life and Times of the Great Thirteenth*, 1987 is written by Sir Charles Bell the great Tibetologist. This book is an account of compiled history, stories, facts and figures and conversation. Bell describes all aspects of Tibetan life, religion and politics. He presents a clear picture of Dalai Lama who worked for both military and political onslaughts from China, and struggled from outside world. The book concludes with a description of discovery and eventful enthronement of the new Dalai Lama, the Fourteenth, who guided his people with compassionate wisdom.

3. *The Uprooted Tibetans in India: A Sociological Study of Continuity and Change* by Girija Saklani 1985 is one of the earliest books on the Tibetan refugees. The book also presents the historical background of the relationship between China and Tibet along with the circumstances that led to Tibetan's influx into India. The author has also discussed the religion, culture and political life of Tibetans in Tibet and presented the changes that occurred after their migration into India along with the social conditions of Tibetans in India.

This book is very useful to understand the life and changes of Tibetans post-migration in India.

4. *The Tibetan Government in Exile- Politics at Large*, by Stephanie Roemer, 2008, it is an important book about the Tibetan Government in Exile. It provides a detailed structure of the CTA. Its political strategies have been presented with theoretical approaches. It discusses how since the establishment of CTA, The Dalai Lama has been using His diplomatic strategies to free His Homeland. Roemer has noted down every detailed accounts of the political mobilization of CTA and its organizations in influencing the worldwide support groups with the historical details.
5. *The Great Game in the Buddhist Himalayas: India and China's Quest for Strategic Dominance* by Phunchok Stobdam, 2019, is a book that represents several insights into the India-China, China-Tibet and India-Tibet relationship. China's Buddhist diplomacy is centered on Nepal and Bhutan, and the Indian regions of Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Ladakh which can be influenced by the Chinese diplomacy. Dalai Lama's tactic to win the confidence of third parties including Indian government and China is examined with careful observation. It has tried to assume how India and China try to deal with the Himalayas if the Tibetan issue remains unsolved. Will China India try to leverage the sectarian strife which would be intensified post-Dalai Lama World? This book is useful for understanding of the complexity of the Tibetan issue.
6. Dibyesh Anand in his book *Tibet A victim of Geopolitic*, 2009, highlights the ethnocentrism of IR and outlines a critical approach to the international informed by postcoloniality. After examining the treatment of representation within critical IR, its limitations are highlighted and the analyzed the politics of Tibet in its chapters.
7. *Tibetan Refugees in India- Education, Culture and Growing up in Exile* written by Mallica Mishra 2014, focuses on the process in which education shaped the political, economic and cultural dimension of the Tibetans. The Tibetans, in order to maintain their identity has to remain familiar with their history, culture and language and that is only possible through the education imparted to them from childhood. This book gives a detailed discussion of how the educational policy and curriculum have shaped in Tibetan schools

with support offered by the Indian government. The dilemmas and challenges in the educational policies and employment at the institutions for the community as a whole are also discussed at length. . She has also examined the geopolitical status of Tibet and the condition of rehabilitations with the use of primary data.

8. *Social Mobility and Change among Tibetan Refugees, 2005*, by Dr. Monu Rani Gupta, is an account of refugee community and its culture, language, self respect along with its challenges from an authoritarian and aggressive power like People's Republic of China. This book covers the entire tissues regarding Tibet and Chinese invasion, refugees, Tibetan family and marriage, women and society, religion, education, economy, polity, the democratic ideals.
9. *The Tibetan: Their life in Exile in India* by Mamta Desai & Manish Kumar Raha, 2011 is a study of social and economic changes along with the ecological adaptation among the Tibetan refugees. An attempt has been made by the authors to present the comparative analysis on the past and present socio-economic history of the Tibetans refugees in India. They point out two important issues related to economy and political status. Hence, Tibetans usually take up citizenship because of the reservation policy they will be able to find good jobs and in the higher post. Literacy rate among the Tibetan has been raised to 99% but still unemployment has been rampant because of their refugee status. This book has proved to be useful for the present community as a whole.
10. *Flight and Adaptation, Tibetan refugees in Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalaya, 1989*, a book by Tanka Bahadur Subba, it is based on the survey of around 80 household of Tibetan refugee in Kalimpong, Gangtok and Ravangla in South Sikkim and compared with the findings in other major Tibetan settlements in India, Bhutan and Nepal. This book reflects the factors that connect the Tibetan refugees to their host countries in regard to their race, culture, language and religion, their economic adaptation and income distribution. According to the author, the Tibetans future and socio-cultural adaptation will depend on whether they get themselves naturalized. If they do, then their social adaptation will be better, otherwise the situation might come when, the Tibetan refugees would be forming strong, politically well coordinated ethnic

groups. It adds a new dimension to the existing ethnic relation in areas where they have settled.

11. *Tibetan Refugees in India*, 2003 by Rajesh S. Kharat deals with a discussion on the concept of refugee, and the historical background of Tibetan refugees within China. It gives an account of Tibetan's survival and the assistance given to rehabilitate the massive influx of refugees by the government of India as well as implication for India as a host Nation. Lastly, it attempts to find out the status of various other refugees from different parts in general and India's stand on Tibetan refugees in particular.
12. *Tibetans in Nepal* written by Hari Prakash Jha, 1992 is one of the few books about the Tibetans in Nepal. It gives a detail study of the socio-economic aspects of the Tibetans refugees who had migrated to Nepal. He has presented a picture of how these Tibetans escaped Tibet and entered Nepal. At the beginning, Nepal government and the other voluntary organizations like Swiss Organization and Red Cross society in particular came forward with their resettlement and rehabilitation assistance in the different stages of Tibetan influx. He has emphasized on and taken into account the contribution made by Tibetan refugees to the Nepalese commerce and industries through carpet industry and other handicrafts.
13. *Tibetan women (then and now)* , 1990, is a book by Indra Majupuria which tries to bring into light the status and condition of Tibetan women in the past, present and future. The role of women in the preservation and promotion of religion and culture, preservation of distinct identity, social upliftment and creating awareness of Tibetan existence to the world at large have been reflected in this book. This is also based on research in Nepal.
14. *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora*, 2004, edited by Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus Von Welck, attempts to document the lives of members of the exiled Tibetan community in India and elsewhere. This book presents the refugee community highlighting its positive aspects of change of the cultural transformation of the Tibetans. Tibetans have been regarded as successful with the Dalai Lama's commitment to non-violence and His compassion that has made Him a universal figure. This book also describes the contribution of Jawaharlal and the Indian government to reestablish Tibetans. It also gives the complete history, religion and the complexity of Tibet's relationship with the

Mongols. The Tibetan community's struggle to preserve its cultural traits has been perceived as their preparation to return back Tibet.

15. *Rapprochement Across The Himalayas: Emerging Indo-China Relations in Post Cold War Period (1947-2003)* by Keshav Mishra 2004, is a book that has tried to see the India-China relationship from 1963 to 1991. It traces the background and ties in terms of bilateral, regional and international perspectives. It has also included the study on rapprochement policies of both the government till 1991 along with the relationship of two nations with the neighboring Asian countries. The international political scenario has been considered which affected the relationship between the two. It argues that the permutation and combinations of bilateral issues, regional context and dynamics of evolving global setting were major inputs in the overall Sino-Indian relationship.
16. Gautam Das's book *China Tibet India, The 1962 war and the strategic military future*, 2009, has been divided into three parts; first part summarizes the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. Second deals with history and analysis of 1962 war and an analysis of the conduct of the war on the Indian side and the third part reflects on the future aspect starting from the existing Sino-India diplomatic entente cordiale and examining China's growing military potential and its strategic military implication for India. He, on this book states that the China-India geo political relations have uneasiness because of the issue of Tibet. It lies at the heart of the Chinese claim to the entire Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, which it alleges as "Chinese territory occupied by India", which creates a major part of the unresolved boundary disputes between the two giant Asian countries. Further, he discusses that apart from border disputes there is continuing suspicion in China regarding India's attitude towards Tibet, mainly because of Dalai Lama's residence in India as a 'guest of India' and his many adherents, both Tibetans and Indians.
17. *Himalayan Frontiers of India, Historical, Geopolitical and Strategic perspectives*, edited by Keshav Mishra, 2004, provides a comprehensive analysis of geopolitical and strategic perspectives on the Himalayan frontiers of India. Drawing on detailed analysis by academicians and area specialist, it explains the development in and across the Himalayas and their implication for India. This book presents a view of India's trans- Himalayan trade and

cultural contacts with Central Asia through Kashmir and Ladakh and few papers also analyses the new strategic, political and economic challenges, stresses the need for India to devise a well- integrated policy imperatives. Professor, P. Stobdan, presents a fresh outlook on the linkage between the issues of Tibet, Tibetan refugees in India and the security of India's Himalayan frontiers. This book concludes with a chapter of Patney, Vinod, Former chief of the Air Staff, who has evaluated the role of science and technology, modern air surveillance and remote sensing as a means to ensure the security of India's Himalayan frontiers.

18. *Tibet and its History*, 1984 by Huge M. Richardson is a book based on complete history of Tibet and its people. It gives a brief account of geography, race, language, communication, government, economy, laws of Tibet and also education following the early religious king and coming of the Dalai Lama. This book also deals with the Tibetan relation with China along with border dispute and trade agreement leading up to communist invasion and the ensuing tragedy.
19. *The Tibetan frontier Question Curzon to the Colombo Conference*, 1982, by Fredric A. Greenhut II focuses on the development of Sino-Indian border disputes from the years of Lord Curzon's Indian Viceroyalty to the aftermath of the Colombo Conference. As per the records on border disputes, it makes clear that boundaries, for the most part were never been properly demarcated to the mutual satisfaction of the contracting parties. It seems that agreement on a mutually accepted border might have been two sovereign parties to the dispute- the government of India, the Government of China and the regime in de-facto control in Tibet.
20. Dawa Norbu in his book *Red Star over Tibet*, 1987, writes that Tibet in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has been mystified and politicized so much that the world at large is confused. This book is set in an autobiographical framework, which reveals the inside story of the historic development drawing vivid sketches of Tibetan life before and after Chinese occupation. According to the writer, the future of Tibet bound up with the state of Sino-Indian race between India and China.
21. *India's Foreign Policy- 1947- 92: Shadow and Substance*, 1994, by Harish Kapur is a book which analyses how India's foreign policy behavior has evoked since independence as well as the factors that contributed to this

evolution. The author identifies four major goals of Indian foreign policy- the quest for security, diplomacy for development, regional primacy and the search for an international role.

22. *The triangle India Nepal China- A study of treaty relations*, 1996, by S.C.Bhatt, is a book which seeks to look at the problem in the context of the treaty relation between India and Nepal as well as those between Nepal and China. In shaping Nepalese ties with India, the relation between Kathmandu and Beijing have always played a key role. Thus, this book focuses on this unique triangle between Nepal, China and India.
23. Ajay B. Agarwal's book entitled *India Tibet and China: The Role Nehru Played*, 2003, deals with the policy of Jawaharlal Nehru in respect of China and Tibet. It also deals with the Indo- Chinese border problem, which finally leads to the 1962 war between these two countries.
24. *Himalayan Frontiers of India- historical, geopolitical and strategic perspectives*, 2004 - edited by K. Warikoo provides a comprehensive analysis of historical, geopolitical and strategic perspective on the Himalayan frontiers of India. Drawing on detailed analyses by academics and area specialist, this book explains the development in and across the Himalayas and their implication for India.
25. Vatsala Shukla, in the book *India's Foreign policy in the new Millennium*, 2005, has summarized various connotation of power. India has a vast economic, political, and military interest of its own, over areas far beyond Asia. With its scientific and material resources, its size and strategic location, India is already an important member of the international community. This book focuses on post cold war global forces, globalization, nuclear-risation, hegemonic, economic diplomacy, women empowerment etc. it examines core values of India's foreign policy at national, regional and global levels.
26. *Engaging with the World- Critical Reflection on India's Foreign Policy*, 2005, edited by Rajan Harshe and K.M Seethi critically analyses the issues related to reforms and liberalization, regional cooperation, human, national and energy security and the overall strategy of India's foreign policy of India since independence.
27. Dennis Cusack in his book *Tibet's War of Peace*, 2008, provides the clear sense of where the question of Tibet stands today. It recognizes the real

difficulties and challenges faced by the Tibetans; it is upbeat about Tibet's future. It describes Tibet and its evolution, its philosophical foundation, and its political realities.

28. Raj Kumar Singh in his book *Global Dimension of Indo-Nepal Political*, 2009, gives an analytical account of India's relation with Nepal in reference world powers from the days of colonization to globalization. It covers a wide array of political aspects including policy formulation, implementation and analysis of attitude keeping in view the regional and global intricacies of the time.
29. *India's foreign policy in a changing world*, by V.P Dutt , analyses in depth the present international situation and the domestic interaction with it. It takes accounts of all twist and turn, the contradiction and the current and concurrent in international politics and recommends that India's foreign policy should be sensitive to the duality indeed the Triplet of the developing internal scenario.
30. Mohun Guruswamy & Zorawar Damlet Singh, *India China relation-The border issue and beyond*, 2009, according to this book, the greatest natural defensive line of northern India, the Himalayas separating Tibet from North east India is a barrier by tradition is impenetrable. Thus from Indian perspective, it can never be conceived that its frontiers with China are ever formalized. So it remain to be seen, however if political actors on both sides are able to muster the necessary will to resolve a dispute that has lasted for more than half a century.
31. *Unleashing the Vajra: Nepal's Journey between India and China* by Sujeev Shakya, 2019 is another book which outlines Nepal's history, starting from the Shah's rule to present government. It unfolds the history of Nepal to give deep insight of its journey to overcome the economic challenges within. The failure of government and the bureaucrats that resulted into national failure. It has highlighted Nepal's helpless economic dependency upon India and China. And suggested Nepal taking the advantage of the geographical position and the changing political scenario between the two nations, Nepal could be in an advantageous situation if it can take the advantage of the opportunity.

#### Articles and Reports:

1. *Tibet's Stateless Nationals II: Tibetans Refugees in India*, 2002, 2011 and 2016 are the reports prepared by Tibet Justice Centre. It is published year wise

as mentioned above. These reports are very important to understand the legal status and political conditions of Tibetan refugees in India. This report gives the background of Sino-Indian relations, Indian policy towards Tibetan refugees, continuity, change and the different stages of Tibetan influx in Indian soil. According to this report, Indian government did not grant “Dalai Lama” refugees status but simply regarded him as an ‘honoured guest’ since 1959 up till now. Following Him thousand of Tibetan refugees had fled Tibet and entered India both legally and illegally through Nepal. According their estimates, somewhere between 110,000 and 130,000 ethnic Tibetans resides in India today. This report also documents the legal status and the Indian law and informal policies that govern them, the relationship between these Tibetans refugees and local Indians living in proximity to them in terms of social, economic, political and other circumstances in India.

2. *Tibet’s Stateless Nationals: Tibetans Refugees in Nepal*, is a similar report about the refugees in Nepal. A report prepared by Tibet Justice Centre, June 2002, is a detailed account of Tibetan refugees in Nepal; their political, economic status and circumstances of Tibetan refugees in Nepal. It focuses on the two groups 1) those arrived in or before 1989, when Nepal ceased to permit newly arriving Tibetans to remain in Nepal, and 2) those who arrived and continue to arrive, after 1989. The report has also documented the refugees’ unwritten rights to remain in Nepal. They and their children live in an uneasy state of subsistence characterized by limited political and economic rights and an unidentified legal status. By providing detailed information on the Tibetan refugees in Nepal, Tibetan Justice Centre hope to clarify the circumstances for these refugees in Nepal and suggest politically feasible means to improve them. Above all, the circumstances highlighted by the reports reveal a pressing need for government, UNHCR and the international community to reexamine the current informal arrangement regarding their status and treatment in host countries and to work to provide them with a more durable solution. It highlights the fact that even through Tibetans aspire to returns to a free Tibet, most have become, and remain, stateless- Tibetans nationals. The world acknowledges neither the existence of their nations nor their right under international law to seek a more secure legal status.

3. *Tibet and India's Security, Himalayan Region, Refugees and Sino-Indian relation, 2012*, report prepared by Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi, is based on the field work and interaction with Tibetans and international scholars at the IDSA. According to this report, the Tibetan factor is inextricably linked with the Sino- Indian border dispute. With ongoing border dispute negotiation coupled with the various scenario in Tibet and institution of the Dalai Lama, there is an urgent need to study the aspect of Tibetans in exile on our national security. It reflects the influence and importance of Buddhism in the Himalayan belt which include Buddhism in China too. The report also examines the Chinese approach to the Tibet question and dwells on how much influence the monastic organization including the Dalai Lama's institution wield on the Sino- Indian border question including Tawang. This is an important document highlighting the security perspective that has been very little discussed by others publications.
4. "Chinese Strategic Thinking on Tibet and The Himalayan Region" 2008, an article by Dawa Norbu points out that Tibet has been of crucial importance to the dominant powers of South and East Asia in their respective calculation. At the turn of the century, it was the arena of the 'Great Britain, the Tsarist Russia and China. By 1950, when the two nationalist regimes had emerged in China and India, Tibet again became a matter of acute contention between the two nations. Since Nehru submitted to the Chinese demands by 1954 hoping that both parties would respect the Himalayas as the limits of each other political influence and defence perimeters, since then, much has happened in the Sino- Indian relations and Tibet has remained in the centre of all this. The article provides the backdrop of how Tibet's geostrategic importance had wielded the course of events between India and China and defence and security concerns.
5. An article written by Satish Kumar, entitled "China's Expanding Footprints in Nepal: Threat to India", highlights how China was least interested in Nepal till 1950s. But strategic design changed once China forcefully occupied Tibet. Since India – Nepal share an open border running through 20 districts of 5 Indian states the security perspectives have changed for both the countries after that. The Maoist forces in Nepal have played the China card to balance India. Rail and roads infrastructures in Tibet have created a route through

which China can move to India. So if Chinese wave continues unabated in Nepal, India might face multiple security threats in future.

6. “Chinese Nationalism and the Fate of Tibet: Implications of India and future scenarios” by Abanti Bhattacharya, is an article that gives an overall summary of suppression of Tibetans in China and the manner in which they fled into India and settled here. The Tibetan movement for safeguarding their identity, culture and political space has suffered as a result of Chinese nationalism and China’s Tibet policy. The fate of Tibetan nationalism to large extent, tied to the dynamics of the Sino- Indian relations and the course of the internal Tibetans politics and that of its relationship with the community in exile in the post- Dalai Lama era.
7. “India, China and Tibet: Fundamental perception from Dharamsala, Beijing, and New Delhi”, 2011 is one article written by B.R. Deepak, it provides some much overlooked perspective, perceptions and approaches from China, India and the Tibetans émigrés in India as regard the Tibet issue. These are formulated on the basis of the author’s interviews and enquire with the representatives of the Dalai Lama’s Tibetan Government in exile, the leaders of TYC, the representatives of students for a free Tibet, as well as the Tibetans émigrés in India and ordinary Indians. Besides, the paper also throws light on major differences and contradiction between India and China over Tibet issue, the future course of the Tibetan movement and explores the possibilities of establishing a mechanism between India and China on Tibet.
8. “Conflict and Cooperation in India- China Relation” 2012, is an article by J.K. Baral which highlights India- China relation with occasional signs of peace and cooperation , and it often afflicted by tension and mistrust. With potential to make big contribution to regional peace and development, these two Asian powers have by design or accident, themselves been the source of regional tension and insecurity. Besides their internal external powers would have significantly bearing on the equation and relations between them.
9. ‘Reappraisal of India’s Tibet Policy’ prepared by Foundation for Non-Violent Alternatives; an institute for developing peace studies 2013, is a study report on the Sino-Indian relations concerning the Dalai Lama and the Tibet issue, the border issue and India’s geopolitical ambition. It is a draft policy prepared

with the consultation of the experts from China and Tibet, armed forces and the civil servants.

10. International Campaign for Tibet's report on 'How China's influence impacts Tibetans in Nepal' 2009, points out that the first protest against Chinese rule on March 2008 made a huge impact upon Tibetans in Nepal. Chinese government stepped up to influence the Nepalese government and also the civil society in order to prevent pro-Tibetan protest in Nepal. They even tried to violate the *Gentlemen's Agreement* and adopted hard line strategy to curb the Tibetan voice. It further reads out that agreement to meet out Chinese demands by the Nepalese government would threaten the integrity of Nepalese democratic and legal institutions and might counter cultural and religious ties among the Himalayan people.
11. 'The Dangerous Crossing' published by International Campaign for Tibet, 2004 and 2011 Updates, is a detail report of Tibetans facing difficulties while crossing borders of Tibet to enter Nepal. It gives a thrilling adventurous story of Tibetans on the way to Nepal. They are subject to various mistreatments if they are caught or detained by the Nepalese police on the border. Tibetans have to face many hurdles while escaping Tibet. They are extorted, tortured, beaten up with weapon. Women are sexually harassed at gunpoint. All such incidents are documented in this report.
12. 'The Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile' published by Planning Commission, CTA 2009 is a thoroughly documented demographic report which presents the complete socio-economic condition of the Tibetan refugees in India, Nepal and Bhutan. The integrated plan prepared by Planning Commission of CTA had been implemented in the settlements so this report traces out how many Tibetans have benefitted by the CTA's development schemes and to how many have been deprived of their basic necessities of life. It was found that out of approximately 1,28, 014 Tibetans 94,203 lives in India, 13,514 in Nepal, 1,298 in Bhutan, 18,999 in rest of the World. in this dissertation we have used this document to understand the socio-economic condition of the Tibetan refugees and compared its conclusions with my personal observations and findings.

I have also consulted few Theses from the online sources like,

- i. 'Sino-Tibetan Relations 1990-2000': the Internationalization of the Tibetan Issue by Tsetan Dolkar, Philipps University, Marburg 2008. <https://archive.ub.uni-marburg.de>
- ii. 'The Boundaries of Identity: The Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Nationalism, and *Ris-med* (non-secretarian) Identity in the Tibetan Diaspora' by Elena Young, McGill University, Montreal, 2010. <https://jinajik.net>.
- ii. Political Activism Among Second Generation Tibetans in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Construction and Negotiation of Identity in Transnational Social Spaces by Sonam Nyanang, Ryerson University, Canada, 2016. <https://digital.library.ryerson.ca>

From the above literature survey, it has been clear that Chinese occupation of Tibet and Tibetan refugee problem is a subject of interest to many scholars worldwide and much work has been done on Tibet's history, religion, culture and government and life of the Dalai Lama. Tibet's relationship with China, Nepal and India and their complex relationship have also been written by various scholars. Tibetan's journey from Tibet and their successful adaptation including risk associated with it are also dealt with and recorded by scholars as well as by various organizations. India-China nexus on the border dispute and strategic alliance affecting their foreign relations and Nepal's accommodating policies have become an issue of interest among the scholars at present. But we could only find few books and articles on the life and the political status of Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal particularly in context of their political compulsion vis-a-vis China. No definite book explores much on the said subjects. Though, some reports and journals published by Tibet Justice Centre and Tibetan Government in Exile (CTA) give us some information about their condition in their host countries and also publicize their plans, programmes and project to uplift their condition in their host countries aiming to seize an international attention through it. But, it presents only one sided picture which may or may not be true to the ground reality. So here, in this study, we will attempt to study the actual socio-economic condition and the political affiliation of Tibetan refugees through field study in India and Nepal and fill this gap by comparing it with the reports of CTA. We will also try to focus the security issues involved with the presence of Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal and how it affects their status in the host countries.

#### **1.4. Research Objectives:**

1. What are the facilities or provisions provided to the Tibetans refugees by their host countries?
2. What are the provisions provided by India – Nepal governments to the Tibetan over the citizenship issue?
3. To study the reports prepared by Central Tibetan Administration and compare with the actual socio-economic condition of Tibetan refugees in the host countries.
4. What kinds of role do the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration plays in maintaining Tibetan people and their issue of autonomy?
5. To find out how much influence does the culture of host countries has affected the Tibetans. Has it lessen their aspiration to go back to Tibet?
6. To what extent do the political nexus between India, Nepal and China influence the political status of the Tibetan refugees in their host countries
7. To examine critically the political status of Tibetans in exile which contradict their claim as a refugees who dream returning back to their free homeland?

#### **1.5. Research Questions:**

1. To find out the status of Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal in terms of their socio-economic conditions and political affiliation?
2. What are the facilities or legal provisions provided to the Tibetans refugees by their host countries?
3. To see how much Dalai Lama and the CTA have been successful in integrating their citizens?
4. What kind of role do the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration play in maintaining Tibetan identity?
5. To examine how the relationship between three countries affect the political status of Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal.
6. To what extent does the political nexus between India, Nepal and China influence the political status of the Tibetan refugees in the host countries?
7. What kind of security threats may arise from the Tibetan issue to the host countries in Future?

## **1.6. Research Area**

My research is a comparative study of Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal. Therefore in India, I have selected Darjeeling and Kalimpong which are the nearest Tibetan settlements. Both Darjeeling and Kalimpong are in Himalayas with long history of contract with Tibet. The area I inhabited by a large numbers of Buddhist communities and the climate is also cold. All this made it easier for the Tibetans to settle there.

Next I have selected Manju-ka –tilla and Ladakh Buddha Vihara market in New Delhi and Chandragiri in Odisha. Delhi and Chandragiri are very different. Delhi is the capital of India, while, Chandragiri is in the heartland of the tribal area of Odisha. Delhi has better scope of business as well as education and vocational trainings while the settlement of Chandragiri is agricultural. Thus I selected these three regions completely different from each other so that I could make comparison of their situation under different circumstances.

In Nepal, my research areas are Jawalakhel Carpet center and its settlement and also in the surrounding of Syambhunath Temple. I have selected these places because Tibetan refugees are easy to identify here and also many Tibetans works as shopkeeper in the surroundings of the Syambhunath temple.

## **1.7. Research Methodology:**

This part of my work will discuss the methodology used to conduct this study. It is based both primary and secondary data. The primary data have been collected with the help of different research methods. I begin by discussing the qualitative methods that I have applied here because it allows in-depth analysis of the data. This approach is useful as it focuses on transnational processes and practices and identity construction of the Tibetans in Exile particularly among the Tibetan youth. A qualitative method employs the understanding of the topic more clearly through the uses of other research methods such as interview, narratives by the subjects and the observation by the researchers. This method has a significant value because it could not be generalized by the researcher. It is subjective. It facilitates the clear understanding on the research questions such as the Tibetan's life experiences in exile and the factors affecting them and their political discourse. Secondly I used the sampling method to get information from the participants from my particular field areas. First of all I used this method to choose the area of my study. Secondly I used this sampling method to choose my target group for my interview. My first target group was the old Tibetans who had fled Tibet

but unfortunately I met only five to six such persons. Second group was from the second generation who could explain me the past experiences in comparing to the present situation and help me relate in understanding the changes that occurred in their life. And lastly I targeted upon the youth, particularly the educated and ambitious ones with whom I could talk about their future plans, their ideas about Tibet autonomy and their experience as refugee their responsibility and commitment towards their country etc.

In addition, snowball sampling was used in this study as it is a technique to identify the potential subject on sensitive topic while doing research. This method was useful to me when my queries were difficult like the political affiliation and activism among the second generation Tibetans and beyond.

The Pre-structured questions were utilized while interacting with the participants and the interview was taken individually because the aim of the study was to ensure openness and trust with the researcher in order to get better response on the political issues. Apart from this general discussion was conducted with the target groups. This method was used particularly in Nepal for various security reasons. And lastly observation was used in understanding the social and economic conditions of the Tibetans in Nepal and Delhi.

The secondary source of my study includes an extensive study of books available on the Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal including their political assimilation and governmental policies. For the literary work, I used North Bengal University library, National Library of Calcutta, Jawaharlal Nehru University library and Tribhuvan University library in Nepal. The Tibetan library & archives in Dharamsala was also consulted. Since plenty of books relevant on my research area was not available. So I relied much on reports and articles written by different scholars available on the net. I referred to many pamphlets and reports collected from the Central Tibetan Administration in order to understand the CTA's role so that I could compare that with my findings.

### **1.8. Plan of the Study:**

I have arranged this thesis in six chapters including the summary and conclusion. In the first chapter "**Introduction**", I have introduced the theme in a theoretical perspective. This chapter will briefly highlight the terms Refugees, diasporas, identity etc and discuss the approaches that are suitable to study the Tibetan Refugees. It also includes my objectives of the study, the literature review and the research methodologies that I have used during my

course of study. The second chapter titled “**Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal: the Legal status, Social and the Political Traits**” is divided into two sections; I have presented the general information about the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and its Protocol and also the legal policies of India and Nepal for Refugees etc. Next portion includes a brief history of the Tibet with China that made Tibetans a Refugee. After that there is a briefing of assimilation and integration of Tibetan Refugees in the host countries and a short introduction of the Central Tibetan Administration with the criticisms. The third and fourth chapter is entirely based on fieldwork. The third chapter is “**Tibetan Refugees in India: their Socio-economic Condition and Political Status**” and the fourth chapter is “**Tibetan Refugees in Nepal: their Socioeconomic Condition and Political Status**. The fifth chapter “**A Comparative Account of Socio-economic Conditions of Tibetans in India and Nepal**” is a comparative outline of the social and economic conditions of Tibetans in India and Nepal based on the report prepared by the CTA demographic report and the data collected from the field work. The Last or sixth chapter discusses the relationship of India with China, Nepal and India and China and Nepal. This last chapter or Chapter V “**The Geopolitical nexus between India, China and Nepal and its impact on Tibetan Refugees**” includes the geopolitical importance of Tibet to the China, India and Nepal, the role of the host country plus the imbroglio and its impact on Tibetan Refugees. Last part of my dissertation is the summary of my findings and the conclusion. Last part of the thesis includes the bibliography and appendixes.

### **1.9. Limitations:**

My research work is based on intensive fieldwork where I had to encounter many problems while taking interview. In places such as Darjeeling and Delhi urban Tibetan settlement I had to face difficulties in convincing people and talk to them about their economic life and political affiliations. Due to busy schedule and others reasons people were very hesitant to open. In India, Tibetan people living in scattered community are very secretive about their political status. So, they were not ready to disclose their citizenship. And in Nepal, due to security reasons it was very difficult for me to bring them into confidence and extract information from them.