

Chapter I

1 Introduction:

It is more than sixty years that the first batch of Tibetan refugees has taken shelter in India. They have been followed by many more. They are settled in different parts of India and basically engaged in different entrepreneurial activities. The Indian government has established a number of "settlements" for the Tibetan population, where they have managed to establish economic independence. They have a Government-in-Exile or Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), functional in Dharamsala since 1960, originally headed by the Dalai Lama, the set up was elected Parliament but he stepped down from political post in 2011, however he continues to be religious head. 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. These are the two countries where most of the Tibetans are settled.

The political status of the Tibetans is somewhat anomalous. Commonly regarded as 'refugees', they are not given that status either by the government of India or Nepal but just regarded as foreigners. This subjects them to several restrictions in daily lives as well as in international travelling. Subsequently there is observed a tendency among them to go for Indian citizenship. This is definitely one challenge faced by the youths- to solve their economic hardship by adopting Indian citizenship yet maintain their Tibetan identity.

In this dissertation we have focussed on the Tibetan refugees, basically the youths in the Eastern Himalayas, particularly Darjeeling, Sikkim and Nepal. We have also tried to make an attempt to examine their relation with the local populace. An effort has been made to understand the political awareness, socio-economic background and educational status of young Tibetans residing in these areas.

1.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Issues:

Refugee problem is a common problem in human history. There has always been a flow of persecuted and dislocated people from different parts of the world who have fled their home land seeking refuge and a new life in another society, culture and polity. People take recourse to this step only when they are left with no other option to escape from threat and danger, hunger and persecution. This happens in course of wars, communal violence, political upheavals and even persecution by the state itself. Recognising the enormity and dimensions of the problem, the United Nations General Assembly created the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees in 1950 by its Resolution 428(v). The United Nations High Commission for Refugees, commonly known as the UNHCR began its operation on 1st January 1951. The Commission defines ‘refugees’ in the following words : -“ *A person who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of 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*” and goes on to explain that “*All persons in need, regardless of their immigration status, share certain human rights under the international law and proclaims discrimination on the grounds of national origin and provides that all persons shall enjoy the right,*” “*to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum for persecution.*”(United Nation 1951 Refugee Convention)

Asia, due to political upheavals and instability in different corners of the continent has become the largest refugee generating continent with 41 per cent of the total refugee population of the world. The region of South Asia in particular hosts the fourth largest concentration of refugees in the world. The partition of India in 1947 accompanied by communal riots and other predicaments generated a huge number of refugees. In addition, India even in the post colonial years has become the home of many from the neighbouring countries. Thus, in addition to the Bengalis who were uprooted as a result of partition in 1947, there are the Afghans, Bhutanese, Iraqis, Iranians and Ceylonese among others. Among the various refugee communities who have made India their home are the Tibetans who, numbering around a lakh are scattered over different parts of India both in and outside settlements set up by the Government for them. These Tibetan refugees are the subject matter of dissertation.

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 favouritism than in Nepal.

However, it needs to be clarified that India is not a party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol. India's international obligations towards the refugees are derived from sources like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights applicable to both citizens and non citizens. All these international treaties have been ratified or adopted by India and it also accepted fundamental principles of Refugees Law. Therefore there is no specific status for 'refugees' all of them are regarded as "foreigners". Though they are free to work and own property in India, they do not enjoy the same rights as the Indian citizens. The Foreigners Act of 1946 and the Registration of Foreigners Act of 1939 which classifies Tibetans as "Foreigners" are the two national statutes that control the legal status of the Tibetans in India. It gives the government the authority to control foreigners' travel into and out of India and requires them to register with Indian authorities. Tibetans are required to retain the Registration certificates. This status for more than 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.

The term "**Diaspora**" refers to the collective term for persons who have been forcibly relocated. These populations are characterized by factors such as collective memory of an idea of returning to a homeland, awareness of shared ethnic background and culture, active preservation of culture and political & social alienation from the host country. They are further marked by continuous and intentional construction and reassessment of identit(ies) in the context of the new environment, on the individual and collective levels (Anand, 2003). Vertovac claims that the word "Diaspora" is frequently used to refer to almost any population that is regarded as

"transnational" or "de-territorialized." - that is, which has its origins in a different country than its present home and whose social, economic, and political networks transcend national boundaries as well as the boundaries of the entire world (Vertovec, 1997). The Tibetan refugees can be regarded as falling under the categories of "transnational" and "de-territorialized." Since they are scattered around the globe and do not belong to any particular region, the word "Diaspora" is equally appropriate. Common markers such as ethnic identification and the shared desire to return to their ancestral homeland which is Tibet, bind them together. Tibetans today are found all over the world so in that sense they are now world citizens. They are dispersed throughout the world as opposed to being confined to any one region, as is the case with India, Nepal, or Bhutan.

In the **Review Diaspora**, edited by Kachig Tololyan, William Safran, one of the earliest contributors, expresses the opinion that the term "Diaspora" can be viewed as a "metaphoric designation" that can refer to a variety of people, including political exiles and expatriates. In his essays (1991 & 1999), Safran defines the Diasporas as follows:

- a. that are dispersed from a original "center" to at least two "peripheral" places;
- b. that maintain a "memory," vision or myth about their original homeland;
- c. that "believe they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host country;"
- d. that see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return when the time is right;
- e. that are committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland, and;
- f. of which the group's consciousness and solidarity are "importantly defined" by this continuing relationships with the homeland.

Many typologies were put forth in the 1990s in an effort to understand and describe the Diasporas. For instance, Alain Medam proposed a typology based on the degree of coherence and dynamism of the Diaspora organization in his work "Diaspora / Diasporas, Archétype et typologie" (Medam, 1993). Michel Bruneau argues that the Diasporic organization should serve as the foundation for the typology. He distinguished between three main categories of Diasporas,

1. The Diasporas of entrepreneurship (such as Chinese or Lebanese),
2. The Diasporas of religion (such as Greeks or Jews),
3. The Diasporas of politics (such as Palestinians and Tibetans) (Bruneau, 1995).

It is essential to remember that, as Anand has pointed out, the term "Diaspora" refers to the process of flight, forced migration, identity reconstruction and fragmentation, transnationalism,

and the desire to return to one's native country in the case of the Tibetan people. In order to highlight the wish to return to Tibet, the feeling of being a refugee is ascertained as patriotism (Anand, 2010).

There is no universally accepted definition of **Youth** which has always presented a challenge for research. Mayssoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock argue that: [...] the concept of youth, like all social identities, is a social construction, and both its scope and meaning are continually changing. Youth is not biologically given or determined: rather, its duration in the lives of individuals may be said to be shorter or longer, and it's social, cultural and political salience as a stage of life and category of identity may be stronger or weaker in different times and places (Sukarieh and Tannock, 2015). The authors present the idea that perceptions of youth are shaped by various social and cultural elements, vary geographically and are vulnerable to boundary blurring. Karl Mannheim in his famous book *The Problem of Generation* writes about the unity of generations. He highlights the fact that common historical experiences and events can bind people of similar ages. If we use Mannheim methodology, youth in the Diaspora can be studied within the context of general immigrant generations where speaking with second generations of migrants is a strategy that is frequently used.

The study of Tibetan youths is important as a significant portion of the exiled Tibetan population is rather young and most of them have been raised in exile from birth. It would be interesting to know as to how they are adopting to the Indian way of life yet maintaining their Tibetan identity and also about their educational and economic achievements.

1.2 Challenges and Issues before the Refugee Community:

Though India had a long history of cultural interaction with Tibet it was in 1959, that following the Tibetan uprising against the Chinese that the Tibetan religious leader and head of the traditional government of Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama took refuge in India. He was followed by over 80,000 of his countrymen. Even though India did not openly protest against the Chinese takeover of Tibet – a problem not solved as yet – India provided them the asylum on humanitarian grounds, allowed Dalai Lama to set up CTA i.e. the Tibetan Government in Exile and also provided them with all kinds of assistance to set up the settlements and even schools for the refugee children. The initial years were hard for them as many failed to cope up with the new climate and new lifestyle and succumbed to tropical diseases and heat. India helped them to

preserve and perpetuate their culture and traditions, while at the same time enabling them to become self-sufficient in livelihoods. In course of time assistance was provided by many other foreign governments and international organisations as well. In course of time the Tibetans not only overcame the initial hardship but settled down in different parts of India, the largest settlements being in Karnataka in the South. They are found along the entire Himalayan belt and along with them Tibetan Buddhism has also spread to different parts of India.

The Tibetans have set up a full-fledged government in exile where they have tried to introduce some democratic elements. For addition several organisations and institutions have been set up in Dharamsala. The library and archives are intended to preserve the cultural heritage of Tibet. While organisation like Tibetan Women Association and Tibetan Youth Congress are intended to bring all the Tibetan refugees under their fold and carry on their political awareness and ethnic identity pass on to the younger generations.

Today there are around 85 Tibetan schools throughout India, Nepal and Bhutan. About 70% of school aged children attend school. Centres for preservation, perpetuation and propagation of Tibetan culture and traditions in different fields of skills and learning were also set up. These included carpet weaving, wood and metal carving and sculpture, performing arts, thanka paintings, Tibetan medicine etc. Primary Health Care centres exist in almost all the Tibetan refugee communities. Monasteries and nunneries have been established to revive religious education and traditions. In short, the Tibetans have been able to keep alive what was totally destroyed and sinocised inside Tibet. Credit for the success of Tibetan community at Dharamsala and elsewhere goes to democratic vision, foresight and leadership of His Holiness Dalai Lama. Today, the issue of Tibetan is well now internationally. While the influx of Chinese population endangers the culture and identity of the Tibetan people in Tibet, those at Dharamsala continue to work for a peaceful settlement.

Tibetan refugee community in exile is considered as one of the most successful refugee communities in the world. They have managed to rebuild their lives in completely alien environment achieving almost total economic self-reliance. Tibetan administration in exile has succeeded in rehabilitating the refugees in cohesive society creating an environment where Tibetans have been able to preserve their age long rich cultural heritage and identity. "In that sense Tibetans who fled to India are not ordinary refugees. They have taken refuge not as

individuals alone, but rather as a national polity that has escaped the destruction taking place in Tibet and has sought and been given the protective mantle of a neighbouring friendly country. (Franz, 1985) In India, Tibetan Refugees not only have flourished under the protection and support of their Government in Exile but have transformed and developed into an active agent of the modern world. In India there are 39 major and minor settlements for the refugees. These settlements are divided into Agricultural based, Handicraft based and Cluster communities. In India around 94,203 (2009, CTA Demographic survey of Tibetans in Exiles) Tibetan Refugees reside in these settlements. There are many who reside outside the settlements as scattered and cluster communities. A considerable number are settled abroad and even a considerable number of youths move outside India for various reasons.

Even though some Tibetan refugees are there in neighbouring Nepal and Bhutan as well, they are far from enjoying the kind of freedom and assistance as they are enjoying in India. In fact the treatment meted out to these refugees in the host states is determined by the larger questions of the particular state's strategic and geo political considerations and foreign policy priorities particularly in relation to China. Economic rehabilitation as well as maintaining the ethnic and cultural identity and of course the political consciousness is the major challenges before them. While they enjoy enough freedom in India, the closeness between Nepal and China makes their challenges even harder.

1.3 Literature Review:

Literature survey is method through which one can get a clear vision about the scope of work to be done on the chosen topic. An overall idea about the existing literature helps one to identify the further scope of work on a particular topic. A review and analysis of existing literature related to the topic of study is made here. As Tibetology has emerged as a distinct discipline over the years, Tibetan history, philosophy, polity and refugee problems constitute a huge volume of literature. The abrupt disruption and transition of one of the most tradition bound and closed societies of the world are a matter of immense academic interest to social scientists. Further, ideological divisions in the world have also made the Tibetan Refugees a subject of great

controversy since 1959-60 and have provoked many to write on the various aspects of the Tibetan Refugees problems.

Here follows a short description of some relevant books and articles:

1.3.1 Books on Tibet and its History:

Charles Bell (1928) in his book, *The People of Tibet* provides us a good account of Tibet's history and location. He observes the culture and way of life of the Tibetan people. He tries to illustrate the social life of the Tibetan, position of women in society etc. His book on the people, religion and life of 13th Dalai Lama are still valued for an understanding of Tibetan society. He is one of the pioneering figures whose work on Tibetans gives us a good account of Tibet's early history, religion, people etc. Some of his works are *Portrait of a Dalai Lama: the life and times of the Great Thirteen*, *Tibet: Past and Present*, *The Religion of Tibet*.

George N Patterson's (1960) book *Revolt in Tibet* was written just after the exile of Dalai Lama and his followers towards India. The book deals with the relations and occupational history between Tibet and China. It also gives us an idea about the formation of Tibetan traditional government. The author has thoroughly discussed about the causes of revolt, why the revolt took place and the flight of Dalai Lama.

Franz Michael's (1982) book *Rule by Incarnation*, is basically a study of the traditional government in Tibet headed by Dalai Lama and the monks at various levels of administration. It also contains discussions about the economy of the country. The book throws light on the social structures, class system and land relations that existed in Tibet before the Chinese takeover.

Hugh Edward Richardson (1984) book, *Tibet and its History* is a complete history of Tibet and its people. It also provides brief account of geography, race, language, government, economy, laws of Tibet and also deals with education following the early religious king and coming of Dalai Lama.

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. In this book, Praag argues that historical accounts prove that the communist claim of control over Tibet is based on a misinterpretation of the relationship

between the two countries between the secular power holder and the religio-political power holder. The book was written with the intention of supporting and justifying the Tibetan point of view regarding the independent status of Tibet.

SD Muni & Lok Raj Baral (1996) in their book *Refugees and Regional Security in South Asia* had talked about what defines a refugee, the existence of refugees in South Asia, the causes of the current generation of refugees, the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees there, and the effect they have on their host nation. Unfortunately, the South Asian refugee policy and the background of Tibetan refugees were not covered in this book.

Dr. N. Subramanya (2004) in his book, *The Human Rights and Refugees* examines Tibetan refugees in India with special references to human rights and refugee context. The author has conducted research on Tibetan refugees residing in four Karnataka state settlements. According to him, national and international organizations have not given the Tibet issue the necessary consideration or action. He has also looked into the current state of Tibetans' human rights in Tibet. The author defends the nonviolent approach to the Tibetan liberation movement as a worthy means of resolving the Tibet conflict with China.

1.3.2 Books on Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal:

Girija Saklani's (1984) *The Uprooted Tibetans in India*. It is one of the earliest books on the theme. The author has begun with a theoretical discussion about the conception of the term refugee and explained her methodology of work at length. She has dealt with the social institutions like family, marriage, religion, economy and hierarchy. She describes the traditional Tibetan political structure and its changing form and also the rehabilitation and resettlement process and problems of the Tibetan refugees in India.

His Holiness the **Dalai Lama** himself has penned down an account of His life in his autobiography **(1962) *My Land and My People*** where he has told the history of shocking subjugation of Tibetan people by the Chinese government. Later, he also wrote his second autobiography **(1990) *Freedom in Exile*** which gives us good account of this period of Tibetan history. He describes the hardship faced by the Tibetans in India and how he, being their head of

government in exile tried his best to rehabilitate them through his negotiations with J. L. Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India.

Tanka B Subba (1990) in his book, *Flight and Adaptation: Tibetan Refugees in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalaya* specifically is about the Tibetan refugees who are settled in Darjeeling and Sikkim region of India. This book reflects those factors that led to subsequent changes in their occupational pattern, their traditional society and economy and to what extent Tibetan refugees have been able to adapt with their modern ways of life. His main theme is the adaptation of Tibetans and he measured the degree of their adaptation in terms of social skill, occupation and income.

A book by **Indra Majupuria's (1990) *Tibetan Women (then and now)*** seeks to shed light on Tibetan women's position and circumstances in the past, present, and future. This book highlights the importance of women in preserving and advancing religion and culture, maintaining individual identities, uplifting society, and bringing attention to the existence of Tibetans to a global audience. This also has research from Nepal as a basis.

Dr. Hari Bansh Jha's (1992) *Tibetans in Nepal* gives us an exhaustive study of the socio economic aspect of the condition of Tibetan refugees who migrated to Nepal. Based on the scientific survey, the work presents a graphic account of the socio economic status of Tibetan refugees in Nepal through different stages of their resettlements. It also emphasises the contribution made by these refugees to the Nepalese commerce and industrial scene.

Rajesh S Karat (2003) in his book, *Tibetan Refugees in India* gives us an account of the Tibetan survivals and also historical back ground of the flight of the Tibetan refugees and the assistance given to rehabilitate the massive influx of refugees by the government of India.

Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus von Welck (ed.), work of *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora, (2004)* comprises scholarly articles on Tibet-related topics, some of which were contributed by Tibetan scholars living in exile. There are a lot of pro-Tibet arguments in this study which aims to persuade readers of the need of finding a quick solution to the Tibet problem.

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.

Mamta Desai and Manish Kr Raha (2011) in their book, *The Tibetan: Their Life in Exile in India* is based on social and economic change among the Tibetan refugees. The authors have tried to make a comparative analysis in regard to past and present socio political history of Tibetan refugees. The book discusses the Tibetan refugees in India as a whole and their adaptation in this country.

One important book that focuses on the specific issue of educational policy of the CTA is that by **Mallica Mishra (2014)** *Tibetan Refugees in India: Education, Culture and Growing up in Exile* in which has tried to understand this refugee community and its sheer socio-cultural and economic resilience and their survival in the midst of exile. The book recognizes the dilemmas that community grapples with in trying to achieve a balance between 'tradition' and 'modernity' in education and the strategies it has sought to deal with the issue. She has also tried to highlight the importance and key role played by education among Tibetan Refugees to protect and preserve their tradition as well as engage with the modernity. There are detailed discussions about the syllabus particularly that of languages followed in the Tibetan schools.

"In Diasporic Lands: Tibetan Refugees and their Transformation since the Exodus", a book by **Sudeep Basu (2018)**, is based on the author's ethnographic fieldwork in Darjeeling, West Bengal, which dealt with the emerging culture of Tibetan refugees living in the context of a foreign host town. This book examines the ways in which refugees negotiate their "belonging" in a foreign nation over time, redefining and changing places and identities in the process. Additionally, the book examines how the refugee-host dynamic functions in such a scenario, with the "hosts" being Indians, Nepalis, and "Bhutia" Tibetans.

Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora, 2004, edited by **Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus Von Welck**, have documented 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. This book also details Jawaharlal's and the

Indian government's roles in helping the Tibetan people rebuild themselves. The comprehensive history, religious beliefs, and intricate ties between Tibet and the Mongols are also provided. The fight to maintain the cultural characteristics of the Tibetan community has been seen as a step towards their return to Tibet.

1.3.3 Some Relevant Articles:

Peter J Karthak (1991) in his article titled, *“A Persona Look at the Tibetan Exiles”* has described the problems faced by the Tibetans residing outside Tibet and the extent and aspects of un-Tibetan influence on them.

Tsering Palzor in his article, *“Current Situation of Tibetan Refugees in Exile”* has tried to give a brief account on the historical background of the Tibetan refugees and its government and administration as well as CTA's organizational structure, moreover, he has discussed about Tibetan settlement in exile, demography of Tibetan population, their challenges, socio-economic conditions and new refugees.

J T Shovel (1998) in his article, *“Adjustment and Assimilation”* highlights the process of adjustment and assimilation of the new comers in the host country. For the study of refugees and its settlements, it is a very useful document. The writer has opined that own social structure and culture may create problems if there is a different picture at the new settlement.

Louise W Holborn (1998) in his article, refugees *“World Problem”* deals with the problems of refugees globally. He has pointed out that this universal problem arose during the two world wars. He has used the term “International Migration” for the refugees. The writer has also briefed the responsibility of United Nations High Commission for Refugees from 1944 to 1966.

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. 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.

“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. The story recounts the exciting and daring journey of Tibetan explorers 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.

Amal Roy’s (2011), *The Socio-Economic Life of The Tibetan Refugees: A Study in Darjeeling and Sikkim Region* article had tried to highlight that how Tibetan refugees are adjusted with the new social-cultural arena, the routes of migration and settlement of Tibetan refugees, rehabilitation and adjustment of Tibetan refugees socio-cultural life and changes in the economic condition of Tibetan refugees.

Claudia Artiles (2012) in her article ***Tibetan Refugees Rights and Services in India*** highlights the lack of a national legal framework for refugees. But when the Tibetan refugee flow increased in 1959, India gave them official asylum as well as a Registration Certificate (RC), which enables them to make use of all of India's other citizenship rights, with the exception of the ability to vote and hold employment in an Indian government office.

Yeshi Choedon (2018) in her article ***The Unintended Consequences of India’s Policy on Citizenship for Tibetan Refugees*** provides a brief overview of the Tibetan refugees in India and the difficulties they have travelling abroad and the issues they face with regard to unemployment.

1.4 Research Gap:

Traditionally almost the entire Himalayan belt has acted as the contact point between India and Tibet. As a result of geographical proximity and also the cultural affinities many Tibetan settlements (both official and scattered) have sprung up in the mountain region spreading over both the eastern and western Himalayas. Though there are many books and articles on Tibetan Refugees in general, research works on the Tibetans in the mountain regions are comparatively

few. There are some monographs on the Tibetans of Dehradun and also articles on Dharamsala no doubt but the Tibetans in the Eastern Himalayas have received comparatively less attention from the scholars so far. There are, as in the Western Himalayas, many Tibetans settled in the Eastern Himalayas as well spreading from Nepal in the west to Arunachal Pradesh in the East. This also includes Sikkim and Darjeeling. The books by T.B. Subba and S. Basu are of course exceptions.

There is a gap of work on the Tibetan youths. While the available literature deals with the problems initially faced by the refugees and their lifestyle in general here is hardly any work that analyses the economic status and lifestyles of the youths who are third generation refugees. Born and brought up in India most of these youths are third generation refugees. They are already well adapted with Indian climate and life style. Yet it is out of their political compulsion that they stick to their status as refugees. Even those who opt for Indian citizenship continue to maintain solidarity with the refugee community. There are not many research works on the Tibetan youths and on how they are maintaining their particular refugee identity in India even after such a long period of stay in India.

Work on the status on Tibetan refugees in Nepal is on the whole insufficient due to international political reasons. Nepal's policy is being guide by China. Due to Chinese pressure Nepal does not allow uninterrupted filed work among Tibetan refugee and scholarly publications on them is comparatively low.

1.5 Focus area of the proposed study

The theme of the proposed dissertation is the Tibetan refugees in the Eastern Himalayas. In Eastern Himalayas we have selected the two districts of Darjeeling and Kalimpong on state of West Bengal and the adjacent state of Sikkim. The condition of the Tibetan refugees of these regions will be compared with that in Nepal but data about Nepal will be collected from secondary sources.

1.5.1 Nepal:

The cultural relationship between Nepal and Tibet is age old. The first step in this relation came through Buddhism around the first half of 7th century A.D. Nepal played an important role in the development of Buddhism and the Buddhist heritage in Tibet from very beginning. Nepal and Tibet were also culturally bound together through royal marriage. The first Licchavi King, Amsuvarma, married his daughter Bhrikuti to the ruler of Tibet, King Songsten Gampo. It is believed that she played a significant role in spreading and developing Buddhism in Tibet. Licchavi period is known as the golden time for Buddhism.

Coming to the more modern period, when the expansionist policy pursued by the Chinese Government from 1949-1959 resulted in the internal displacement of over millions of Tibetan citizens. Majority of these uprooted people took refuge in India but also a considerable number of Tibetans took refuge in Nepal. The trend has set in even before the actual Lhasa uprising i.e. in the 1950's but major inflow in Nepal occurred after 1959. The then King Mahendra of Nepal opened Nepalese borders for Tibetan refugees, asylum was granted to all Tibetans irrespective of their social status. Refugee camps were built along the mountain passes that linked Nepal and Tibet. Till the mid 1980's, the Nepalese Government welcomed Tibetan Refugees with open hand as they were not perceived as a threat to Nepalese diplomatic relations with China. From 1989 onwards owing to Chinese pressure, Nepal embarked upon a stricter border control policy. From this period onwards, Tibetans in Nepal have been subjected to a number of problems, the most important of these being the lack of documentation. This denies them the legal right of education and employment. Earlier, the Tibetan Refugees were granted Refugee Cards (RC) by Nepalese Government to enable them to access basic amenities, but after 1989 they do not have any legal status as refugees, nor have access to the protection of their Human Rights. Beyond the economic and political factors that impact the lives, Tibetans experience a second tier of challenges brought by substantial and increasing Chinese influence on the Nepal state. Chinese coverage of almost all aspects of Nepali authority-from government, to political parties and media creates intense pressure of Tibetan population.

1.5.2 Darjeeling and Kalimpong:

As for the Indian parts of Eastern Himalayas, Tibetans had a long connection with Darjeeling district. They are settled in considerable number in both Darjeeling and Kalimpong towns and their relation with these places have a long history. The mountain passes of Jelep La and Nathula were the gateways to India and Kalimpong, after its annexation with Darjeeling district after 1865, developed as a flourishing market for Tibetan wool and other items of trade. The route through Jelep La was used by many who wanted to visit India for purposes other than trade. Some of the Tibetan traders owned houses in Kalimpong where they stayed occasionally. Their children were also put in some missionary schools. With the uprising in Lhasa in 1959, when many Tibetans escaped and took refuge in various parts of India a considerable number of them came to Darjeeling and Kalimpong. Tibetan Refugees of Darjeeling mostly live in Tibetan Refugee Self Help Centre maintained by Government in Exile. There is also a small settlement in Sonada in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling. There are some more that prefer to live outside the settlements and are engaged in some kind of business, and other kinds of enterprises. Many Tibetans can be found living outside the settlements in Darjeeling and their life style is quite different from those in the Centre because Tibetans living in the settlements are living in the Tibetan atmosphere and it's easy for them to maintain their cultural practices. As compared to Tibetans living in settlement and Tibetans living outside, we could easily find that the Tibetans living outside settlements are much more economically sound.

Kalimpong is another town in eastern Himalayas where Tibetan refugees are many in number. As we mentioned above, Kalimpong and Tibet share a long history of trade and commerce between them through Jelep-la Pass. After 1959, Kalimpong became home to many Tibetan Refugees who have taken asylum in India. In 1965, Tibetan Refugee Settlement was established in Kalimpong and since then Kalimpong is well known place for Tibetan Refugees. In Kalimpong there is Tibetan Welfare Office for official administration as well as some associations like Tibetan Youth Congress, Tibetan Women's Association. There is also a school i.e. Central School for Tibetans now Sambhota Tibetan School and a Tibetan Medicine Centre. There are some Tibetan monasteries as well and the atmosphere of certain parts of the town is very Tibetan.

1.5.3 Sikkim:

Sikkim is a small land locked state of the Indian Union and used to be the immediate neighbour of Tibet. Sikkim and Tibet shared an age old relation between them. Sikkim had deep religious and cultural bonding with Tibet. In fact it was due to Tibetan lamas only that Sikkim emerged as a state in the mid seventeenth century and the Bhutias, the ruling community of Sikkim till 1974 were also people of Tibetan origin. The state religion of Sikkim also used to be Buddhism. Trade and Commerce and all other kinds of interaction used to be carried on regularly between the two states regularly through the Nathu-la pass. So, Sikkim, though small in size has given asylum to many Tibetan Refugees. Tibetan Refugees are sparsely scattered across Sikkim one settlement being in Ravang la. Tibetan Welfare Society Office, which was established in 1975, is situated in Gangtok, capital of Sikkim, look after the socio-economic needs of the Tibetans residing in all over the state. "In Sikkim one of the settlements was established as late as 1980. The inhabitants of some settlements like Kunpheling in Ravangla were brought from elsewhere but most of the settlements had evolved spontaneously. The refugees living in the settlements supported by the Dharamsala administration were mostly those who had been unsuccessful in establishing themselves privately mainly due to lack of capital" (Subba 1990).

All these states and regions belonging to the Eastern Himalayas share a common bond created by their proximity to Tibet. Due to this geographical fact, they have become the natural choice of a considerable number of Tibetan Refugees for settlement. But as we mentioned above, the Tibet policy of the states, particularly of Nepal and Bhutan has changed over time due to their political compulsions. As a result the rights and status of the Tibetan refugees are being challenged due to the host country's relationship with China. The status of the refugees and the opportunities offered to them vary from country to country as a result of their foreign policy compulsions. This will be one aspect of our proposed dissertation. While describing the socio economic profile of the refugees in these particular states we have to place them in the context of the foreign policy compulsions of those particular states as that shapes the status of the refugees in these states.

Even when the state adopts different strategies for the upliftment of the refugees, the implementation of these plans is not always wholesome. In spite of educational facilities, lack of job opportunity after education is said to be one common problem faced by the youths. We propose to examine this aspect as well.

Tibetan culture is fighting to hold on its own in the battle with modernity. While they have to equip themselves with modern education and professions to survive in the modern world they also share the responsibility to keep their traditional culture alive in the young generation who do not have a proper homeland. Tibetan youths like all others are exposed to a culture that promotes the personal pursuit of wealth and well being, sometimes even at the cost of tradition and religious practices. Tibetan Youths or students are faced with the challenges of working out how to straddle the culture and values of their past with the opportunities and prospects of the future. Forces of globalization are exposing them to a westernized way of life, yet their very identity as refugees under the Government in exile is a reminder of their responsibility to keep their traditional values and lifestyle alive and pass it on to the next generation. These two apparently contradictory elements therefore interact to shape the Tibetan youth's identities. Tibetan youths are often identified as the ones with the responsibility to ensure the survival of Tibetan culture, language and tradition. Of course the CTA lays down the guidelines and creates the conditions through their educational and political policies but it is not rare to see a Tibetan youth outside the Tibetan settlements often feeling marginalized in an environment where he is strongly outnumbered.

Understanding of the Tibetan society remains incomplete without a reference to the two organisations of Tibetan Women's Association and the Tibetan Youth Congress. Both the organisations are NGOs with their headquarters in Dharamsala and branches in all the settlements and areas where the Tibetans are living in both in and outside India. One of its basic objectives is to unite the youths in a common struggle for the restoration of complete independence of Tibet. It also strives to preserve the national culture and indulges in several cultural, social and educational activities with the aim to enhance developmental activities in the Tibetan society.

The Tibetan Women's Association is also a NGO that basically works among and for the Tibetan women and creates international awareness about the plight of their sisters in Tibet. Their activities actually serves the dual purpose of empowering the women as well as serving the nationalist cause by bringing the critical issues of environmental and human rights challenges faced by the Tibetans in their homeland(tibetanwomen.org.aims-objectives)

In addition to these two organisations, many more support groups for Tibet have been formed worldwide in more than 40 countries. Even in schools and colleges students for Free Tibet has been organised to support the Tibetan issue.

In this dissertation we propose to look into the activities of these organisations among the Tibetans in Eastern Himalayas. How freely have these organisations been able to carry out their activities in Nepal? How active are these organization among the Tibetan youths in this region with regard to the dissemination of information among the Tibetan Community? These are some of the questions that we propose to answer through this dissertation. The membership pattern and activities of these organisations would give some idea about the level of political consciousness among the Tibetan youths in this region.

1.6 Objectives of the study:

1. To understand the educational, economic and occupational status of the Tibetan youths. To explain the role and policy etc. of the CTA in setting up their education system in order to maintain their Tibetan identity.
2. To understand the extent to which the Tibetans youths have maintained their political awareness and how much interest they take in participating in the activities of their two organizations of TYC and TWA.
3. To highlight the Sino-Nepal political relations and understand how it has impacted the legal and political status of the refugees in Nepal.
4. To understand inter community relation between the Tibetans and the local communities in both Indian Himalayas and Nepal.

1.7 Research questions:

1. What is the living condition of Tibetan Refugees in the Eastern Himalayas?
2. What is the state of education and occupation among the Tibetan youths in the Eastern Himalayas?
3. What are government policies of India and Nepal in regard to Tibetan refugees?

4. What is the level of political awareness and participation among the Tibetan youths in regard to TYC and TWA in Eastern Himalayas?
5. What are the legal and political challenges faced by Tibetan refugees in Nepal?
6. How is the relation between the Tibetans and the other local communities?

1.8 Methodology:

A research method is a way of collecting and analyzing data. **Redman** and **Mory** (1923) define research as a “*Systematic effort to gain new knowledge*”. The term research refers to the systematic method consisting of enunciating the problem, formulating the hypothesis, collecting the facts or data, analyzing the facts and reaching certain conclusion either in the form of solution towards the concerned problem or in the certain generalization for same theoretical formulation (**Kothari, C. R**, 2010).

1.9 Strategy of inquiry:

Strategies of inquiry are types of Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed methods design or models that provide specific direction for procedure in a research design. Thus, the researcher not only select a Qualitative, Quantitative or Mixed methods study to conduct, the inquirer also decides on a type of study within these three choices. The following definitions of the Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed method design are taken from the book of **John W. Cresswell** (2009), “*Research Design-Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed method approaches*” Third Edition:

1.9.1 Qualitative Research: is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participants setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in those forms of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning and the importance of rendering the complexity of condition.

1.9.2 Quantitative Research: is a means of testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables in turn, can be measured, typically in instrument,

so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedure. The final written report has a set structure consisting of introduction, literature and theory, methods, result and discussion. Like qualitative researcher, those who engage in this form of inquiry have assumptions about testing theories deductively, building in protection against bias, controlling for alternative explanations and being able to generalize and replicate the findings.

1.9.3 Mixed Method Research: is an approach to inquiry that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms. It involves philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches and mixing of both the approaches in a study. Thus, it is more than simply collecting and analyzing both kinds of data; it also involves the use of both approaches in tandem so that the overall strength of a study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative approach.

For the said research study qualitative method will predominate. However quantitative will also be utilized.

1.10 Methods of Inquiry:

Data for this proposed research work will be collected through both secondary and primary sources. As we have mentioned above, literature on Tibet and its people is huge. There are many books, journal articles and international reports available on the subject. These will be collected from the library. All the departments of the CTA have their own publications with socio-economic data about the refugee community. These reports are available online. Information regarding the educational institutes, curriculum and enrolment has been collected through different school offices and through discussion with the concerned authorities and students.

Data regarding Tibetan youths has been collected through intensive field work as well as secondary sources. While actual field work may not be permitted in the Tibetan settlements of Nepal, there is no such restriction in India. Hence data of Tibetans in Nepal have been collected through secondary sources particularly from international publications as well as reports of the CTA. Field work and personal discussions with the Tibetan youths have been carried out using semi-structured interview schedule in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Sikkim, both from inside and outside the settlements in these places. The non Tibetan local community members were

consulted for their perception about the Tibetans. The intensive fields study was done with the help of the following tools:

1. Data collection:
 - a. Sampling (Random/Snowball)
 - b. Interview (Semi-structured)
 - c. Observation.
2. Data Analysis.

The sample size is 150 respondents in total of which 30 respondents were taken into from Darjeeling Centre, 30 from Darjeeling Scattered Tibetan community, 30 from Kalimpong Town, 30 from Ravangla settlement in Sikkim and 30 from Gangtok (Scattered community). The sample technique of this study is both Purposive as well as Simple Random sampling. Purposive sampling because for this study only Tibetan refugees is selected from the both Tibetan settlement area as well as scattered and it is be based on Simple random sampling because the respondents which is selected for the study have been random wise. On scattered community snowball sampling was used.

I have divided my dissertation into five chapters including summary and conclusion. **Chapter I** is my **Introduction** where I have discussed some conceptual and theoretical issues. It also includes my objective, literature reviews and methodology that I have used in course of my research work.

Chapter II is “**Overview of Tibetans in India and Nepal: in Settlements & in Scattered Communities**”. This chapter highlights the historical account of the regions contact with Tibetan and the circumstances under which they arrived in the region. I have also incorporated policy of Indian Governments and facilities that are given to Tibetan refugees in India. I have provided some detailed account of Tibetan refugees of Nepal through secondary data and have also incorporated Gentlemen’s Agreement between Nepal and UNHCR which plays important role regarding Tibetan refugees using Nepal as transit point.

Chapter III is “**Education and Occupation among Tibetan Youths: Opportunities and Challenges**” it looks into the educational and occupational patterns among Tibetan youths of my study area from settlement as well as scattered Tibetan communities. The data has been presented in form of Pie chart. On section regarding Nepal I have given accounts of Jawalakhel Tibetan Settlement and Pokhara Tibetan Settlement using secondary means. The chapter also contains CTA’s policies and principles.

Chapter IV is “**Political Awareness and Participation: Tibetan Youth Congress and Tibetan Women Association**”. It includes some accounts regarding Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) and Tibetan Women Association (TWA). Middle Approach Way of His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been included in this chapter. This chapter also discuss about challenges faced by Tibetan refugees of Nepal and some extracts from Memorandum which was submitted to the Government of Nepal through Tibetan Refugee Welfare Office in year 2011. The data has been collected through field work and presented using Bar diagram.

Chapter V is “**Tibetan Refugees and Other Communities: Relations and Interaction**” I have discussed briefly about some factors that have contributed to some tension between Tibetan refugees and ethnic group of host nation in different parts of India with which the Tibetans have old historical contacts and affinities. I have also included factors that have played important part in life of Tibetans for integration in host society of my study area.

The last **Chapter VI** contains some case studies while the summary and final conclusions have been presented at the end.

1.11 Limitations:

Though based on field studies and personal interactions, the work, I feel is not far of some limitations. It was difficult to convince people to talk about underlying conflicts between them and Tibetans. It is true that there was not apparent conflict but we could certainly feel some underlined tensions arising out of economic rivalry as the local often feel jealous of the Tibetans who were doing well economically in the business in Darjeeling.

Citizenship was another issue that the Tibetans did not want to discuss about. Taking of Indian citizenship and maintaining both Tibetan identity and citizenship is common among those living outside the settlements but they often wanted to maintain secrecy about it.

On economic front Tibetans were more or less tight-lipped about some financial help that they are receiving from their relatives from abroad. They were also hesitant to disclose the benefits they were availing from having both Indian as well as Tibetan citizenship.