

Tibetans in India

A Case Study of Mundgod Tibetans

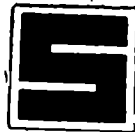
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With A Foreword by

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STERLING PUBLISHERS PVT LTD

AB/9 Safdarjang Enclave, New Delhi-110016

*A study financed by the Indian Council of Social Science Research,
New Delhi, the University Grants Committee (New Zealand) and the
University of Waikato (New Zealand) 1976.*

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First Edition 1978

Published by S.K. Ghai, Managing Director, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.,
AB/9, Safdarjang Enclave, New Delhi-110016

Printed at Sterling Printers, L-11, Green Park Extension, New Delhi-110016.

3/10/77-78

FOREWORD

The pleasure of introducing this study comes from many years of acquaintance with the author's interests in the domiciliary, occupational and ethno-interactory settlement of minorities in Australia, India and New Zealand. The present study is an account, obtained by field observational and survey data collection techniques, of what is going on in one of the several Tibetan refugee settlements scattered over the Indian subcontinent.

The Tibetans were among the refugees from the Chinese occupation of Tibet in the late 1950's. The Indian Government's generous acceptance of an obligation to settle them amidst its own abundant population involved for the Tibetans an adjustment to a different mode of livelihood and a dispersal of settlement that their own rugged homeland for centuries had not achieved. The study examines the process of settlement of a religiously and organisationally discrete minority on marginal arable land amidst a potentially hostile, jealous and land-hungry indigenous community. Those who settled near the town of Mundgod, in Karnataka State, were granted 5,000 acres of hastily cleared forest land surrounded on all sides by Hindu villages with whom a selected interaction developed.

As was the case with the Hutterites and other Christian, migratory, sect minorities, the Tibetans relied heavily on religious and familial practices to cement their internal cohesion. The religio-political attributes of traditional Tibetan society were re-introduced into the Mundgod settlement. Their very presence there, as seen both by themselves and their Hindu neighbours, was understood to be temporary—until their country was freed and they were enabled to return there. Featured prominently in the view they adopted of themselves was the retention of their identity and values.

The mode of initial settlement was planned by various foreign aid (Swiss, British and other), Tibetan, and Indian governmental agencies. Eleven villages, sited on hilltops and

rocky outcrops to conserve the cultivable soils, were planned to accommodate somewhat less than 4,000 people. Two of the eleven villages were set apart, in recognition of Buddhist sentiments, for the occupation of Lamas and monks in dormitory accommodation. A central hilltop was further set aside as a residence during the annual visit of the Dalai Lama and for prominent visitors. The settlers, arranged initially through predominantly monogamous family heads, were assigned arable land on a per capita basis up to a maximum of five acres per family. Their domicile in any of the nine villages was determined on a first-come-first-served basis and as houses were completed. Incipient tendencies to group together by tribal, clan or lineage identity became largely impracticable on the settlement. The increasingly democratic and universalistic character of recent political organisation on the settlement is attributable in part to the initial mode of domicile and selection. This mode also removed the landlord-tenant feature of traditional Tibet.

Unlike Christian migratory sects, the Tibetans were obliged to retain economic and administrative links to the Dalai Lama as titular, religious and political head of all Tibetan refugees. International and Indian aid was channelled through his office. Settlers recognised in the link the means to their greater ethnic identity and communication with other Tibetans during the dispersal. Central to the Mundgod settlement was the Tibetan Cooperative Society whose secretary was paid direct from the Dalai Lama, was recognised as his local representative, and who was responsible for the coordination of the settlement's lay collective activities. Juxtaposed to this secular administration was a Lama Cooperative. This celibate religious class was dedicated to serving the interests of Tibetan culture in general and in particular its perpetuation and enrichment. Returns from collectively tilled Lama land provided the monasteries, prayer halls and the symbolic ornamentation of religion.

The secretary of the Tibetan Cooperative mediates between the settlement on the one hand and local Indian villages, the State and National Governments of India on the other. Membership of the secular Cooperative is open to all Tibetan

males. It holds and maintains the community's tractors, vehicles, etc. supplied by outside aid missions or purchased locally by collective means. Elected village headmen, usually holding office for lengthy periods, link the households to the central administration of the Cooperative.

The availability of agricultural equipment to farm the settlement enabled the Tibetans to develop a crop of hybrid corn (jowar) unfamiliar to local Indian villagers. Interest in the new crop encouraged outside involvement. Concurrently, the local rice crop, requiring specialist techniques and a particular local plough for its cultivation, obliged the Tibetans to learn from their neighbours. Opportunities arose for Indian villagers to advise and demonstrate to Tibetans the skills they possessed. Mutual benefits from these exchanges lessened inter-ethnic suspicion, facilitated the learning of languages, and assuaged jealousies over the occupation of land.

Interaction soon extended beyond mutual advice. Dairy and meat-eating habits of Tibetans contrasted with the vegetarian preferences of Hindu villagers but the contrast itself offered advantages for trade. Individual, local and Mundgod market exchanges developed as settlers became able to grow personal and cooperative surpluses in both staples and kitchen-garden delicacies. The annual rainfall initially limited agriculture to a one crop per annum cycle but irrigation was becoming available by the mid-1970's. Barter was supplemented by cash transactions both on and off the settlement. The hot and humid climate debilitated Tibetans some of whom preferred to employ Indian villagers at seasonal peaks of agricultural activity. More recently, some money lending to Indians has involved individuals on both sides in fairly close contact with each other. Tibetan employment off the settlement was never extensive and met in the towns with some suspicion and difficulties with language. The settlement, provided with modern medical services, trade stores, commercial banks and up to date equipment, was far from unattractive to Tibetans of all ages. They were free to move within India as they chose, but apart from visiting other settlements their choice was unmistakably to remain on the settlement.

Though the Tibetans and their settlement provided

recognisable advantages to the Mundgod region—and the benefits accrued to both parties—there remained at the personal level a chasm between Buddhist and Hindu. It was more than being a case of the traditional Indian attitude of live and let live. It was not merely an effective application of the Tibetan determination to preserve a religious and cultural identity till their return home. They had, after all, left Tibet to preserve their right of self-determination in the face of external threats. The author's sensitive field work reveals the distance to have been derived from notions of personal identity, of purity and pollution that are carried in the mind and applied through the behaviour of individuals. Such notions become evident in personal practices that vary from ablutions to marriage. They are informal and subtle. Tibetans treat marriage as secular and contractual between families while Hindu values emphasise its sacredness and its religious qualities. Monogamy, polyandry and polygyny are acceptable Tibetan practices and the dissolution of marriage is a local, civil matter. Daily washing, anal ablutions, the polluting of food and the person by touching, the killing of snakes, and so on, constitute details of contrast that keep relations distant and formal. Personal conviction becomes the ground for the necessary separation of ethnic groups.

Entrenched though Tibetan culture appeared to be, the apparently growing differences between young and old could herald a change. In traditional Tibet the absence of formal schooling for all but an elite came to mean the Mundgod settlement was populated largely by illiterate adults. Formal educational facilities in the form of two primary and one secondary school were provided—largely through the World Children Welfare Fund. The primary schools were under the control of the Tibetan Cooperative Society and the high school financed and managed by the Government of India. In all somewhat over six hundred of the settlement population were attending school, but overwhelmingly at the primary level. Less than three per cent of the settlement population had moved to the secondary level and beyond. Qualifications obtained by the twenty-six Tibetan mechanics, teachers, nurses and welfare workers were obtained in India and overseas.

On the settlement, and also for Tibetan refugees generally, education is available to all irrespective of sex or position in traditional Tibet. The syllabus is also largely secular. Inevitably the younger generation has notions extending far beyond the culture bound limits of the settlement. It is increasingly exposed to universalistic concepts. The mobility of youth, geographically and occupationally, is already much greater than that of the preceding generation. Educated children speak Hindi, English and Tibetan. The threat to Tibetan identity as perceived from the isolationary perspective of the older generation is real. Youth takes advantage not only of non-settlement opportunities but bring back dangerous ideas into the settlement itself.

Though the processes of change may be thought from one perspective to have gone very far for the older generation of Tibetan settler since leaving home, from another perspective these processes may be seen as only just beginning. The Tibetans retained a central religious, educational and politico-administrative influence in the person and office of the Dalai Lama. They instituted essential means for retaining their identity in the Mundgod, and many other settlements after the dispersal. In these respects they differ organisationally from the Hutterite and many other Christian, communal refugee settlements. In comparative terms the issue as to whether or not their identity is preservable in the form required by the founding generation of settlers may hinge upon this link to the Dalai Lama. In the Hutterite case identity is left to the local people within the isolation of strictly closed relations to an alien and hostile world outside. Ideology and the discipline of the commune become unitary to its membership. In the Tibetan case many of the specialised and status attributes of Buddhism are retained in their traditional form on the settlement, but the isolation of the settlement is not carried over to the economic linkages of individuals. For example, Indian villagers were employed seasonally in agriculture, and Tibetans freely sought work outside. The scale of population inhabiting the settlement contrasts also with the few hundred members of an Hutterian broederhof.

The Mundgod settlement is seen by its current administration and the office of the Dalai Lama as the only means of survival until Tibet is again freed for their occupation. Yet already the processes of economic change for individuals within the settlement are far advanced, and the social changes are emerging within its youth. The gentle absorption of minorities into the greater mother India, that has typified the sub-continent for so many centuries, seems to be playing its part already in the affairs of Tibetan refugees.

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June 1977

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study was conducted during my sabbatical leave from the University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, from August 1974 to May 1975. In addition to providing leave during the period, the University kindly supported the work by providing airfares to India and a small research grant to cover local travel costs in the field. The Research Committee of the New Zealand University Grants Committee kindly provided a matching grant to cover travel costs in India. I express my sincere thanks. The Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi, granted finances to cover the costs of research assistants in the field, printing and other incidental expenses of fieldwork in Mundgod. I am grateful to the Council for the grant. However, the responsibility for the facts stated and the views expressed in this book is entirely mine.

Mr A.S. Hiremath and Mr Phenjok Nangal worked as research assistant and Tibetan assistant respectively. I sincerely thank both of them.

From the inception of the idea of a fieldwork study among Tibetans to the production of this book, Professor D.G. Bettison of the Sociology Department, University of Waikato, was very encouraging and went out of his way to arrange grants from the University and the University Grants Committee. I am also grateful to Mr Don Chapple for his careful editing of my original draft and for critical comment on the write-up.

While in India my activities were concentrated at Karnataka University, Dharwar (India). I thank sincerely Professor K. Chandrasekhria, Head, Department of Sociology, Karnataka University, for his help during my stay at Karnataka University. Finally, I thank the Mundgod Tibetans for their help and cooperation.

The typing and preparation of the manuscript was done by Mrs Linda Dalton and Miss Dale Tindall. I thank both of them sincerely.

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1

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

During my fieldwork (1966-1967) with the Siddhis of North Kanara I had heard about the proposed Tibetan settlements in Mundgod. At that time the Scheme was in its infancy; only the first phase of the Project (clearing of forest) had just then started. I was in Australia from 1968 till 1972 and did not hear anything further about the progress of the Tibetan settlements in Mundgod. But in 1972 while on holiday to India I went to these settlements. A fully fledged Tibetan community was in existence. Since I was due for sabbatical from the University of Waikato in 1974 I thought of doing research work with Tibetans in Mundgod. So when I returned to New Zealand at the end of my holidays in India I proposed the project to the University of Waikato which was readily approved.

There were several reasons for the selection of this project, and of these, two reasons were really dominant. First, my research interests throughout have been on adjustment patterns of minorities. From 1961-1968 while I was teaching at the Karnataka University I did work with the Siddhis of North Kanara, a minority peasant community in that part. For my Doctoral thesis at Monash University (Australia) I worked with the White Russians in Dandenong. And, after coming to New Zealand I worked with the Indian immigrants in Waikato. So the work with the Tibetan settlers in Mundgod was in line with my major research interest. The second reason was that I was curious to know how a most populous country in the world with limited resources views migrants. Perhaps at a later stage it

would be possible to generalise on such aspects of migrant situations. Moreover, India is a prime example of a country which has accepted migrants all through its history. Aryans were the first to migrate to India in 2000 B.C., then there were successive migrations. All of them brought with them their culture and implanted them in India and became part of India.

Migrations¹ of people from one area to another have taken place all around the world. There are several reasons for migrations. These reasons range from voluntary migration for economic reasons to that of more involuntary types of migration due to political reasons. These latter type migrants are called refugees. Encyclopaedia of Social Science (1968) defines refugee as : "All refugees have in common these characteristics : they are uprooted, they are homeless, and they lack national protection and status" and it goes further and says : "The refugee is an involuntary migrant, a victim of politics, war or national catastrophe...A refugee movement results when the tensions leading to migration are acute, that what at first seemed to be a voluntary movement becomes virtually compulsory" (page 362, F.D. Scott). Voluntary types of migrations do not usually carry the stigma associated with involuntary or forced migrations. Purely involuntary migrations became more common in the last 50-70 years; they are the offspring of the growth of nationalism and the nation states all around the world. Immediately after the First World War, there began within Europe, the most involuntary migration of Jews.² With Europe ravaged and divided, several thousands of Jews had to flee from their homes in search of security and safe lives. This type of migration also took place though much later in the day, in Asia, Africa and Latin America but it followed almost the same pattern as in the case of Europe. With the division, and the independence of India and Pakistan, started the greatest movement of people from one place to another in search of new homes. In the Middle East with the creation of a homeland, for the Jews

1. To write this section I have drawn heavily from Franklin D. Scott, *World Migration in Modern Times*, Prentice Hall, 1968.
2. Joseph B. Schectman, *Postwar Population Transfers in Europe 1945-1955*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967, Part I. Franklin D. Scott, *World Migration in Modern Times*, Prentice Hall, 1968.

started the migration of people from Palestine to neighbouring areas as refugees. In 1950 with the slow takeover of Tibet by the Chinese there began the migration of Tibetans to India, Nepal and Pakistan. Recently there were several waves of migrations from Indo-China.

All the above migrations have one common base, that is, the ideological differences between groups which lead to an upheaval in the society to which the groups belong, and, as a result the dissenters are constrained to flee for safety. In effect, they become 'stateless' persons. Understandably, such persons look for certain patterns in the place they normally select for the purpose of refuge. One, for example, is the freedom to practice what they believe, (religion, politics etc.). A second criterion is that of compatibility of culture or race. For instance, migrants from Eastern Europe selected neighbouring countries or migrated to more suitable places like the United States of America, Canada and in the recent years to Australia and New Zealand, whereas the Asian refugees had to select Asian countries, although they were accepted in small trickles into European society for a third or perhaps very important criterion—*political expediency*, i.e., migration to the country which sees fit to *accept* the migrants. Thus the Tibetan refugees saw fit to migrate to places where they would be accepted as equals (racially)—that is, other regions within Asia. This principle is exemplified again in Indo-China, where refugees from Cambodia, Vietnam have sought refuge in neighbouring Thailand, Laos etc., although the United States has taken a large proportion of the refugees from Vietnam on moral grounds.

There is a world of difference between the acceptance of refugees into Australia, New Zealand, Canada, United States of America, on the one hand, and Asia on the other. The countries other than Asia have enough resources and most of them are underpopulated. In their case, acceptance of migrants either as refugees or as free migrants is more a part of developmental programmes and hence the migration has a positive bearing on those societies. By contrast, Asia comprises the most populous nations in the world. The majority of these are peasant societies and they face unique problems of poverty and unemployment. The majority of Asian societies have a very

high man/land ratio and since most of them are peasant societies they suffer from acute shortage of land. Hence the acceptance of refugee migrants by Asian societies tends to add to the existing burden on their scarce resources. Such deterrents notwithstanding, if any Asian society accepts migrants, then it does so more on compassionate grounds than otherwise. For them to accept migrants and settle them on agricultural land, would mean denying something to their own people. The consequences of any such move on the part of any society in Asia can always lead to tensions.

Involuntary or forced migration dislocates social life, splits families, disorganises community life. Even in the case of voluntary or "free" migration there is the likelihood of families being separated and community life being disturbed but there are chances at some future time to restabilise and rejoin relatives in the familiar mode of chain migration. For the involuntary type of migration the chances of families coming together again are more remote. Refugee migrants are always anxious about the safety of their relatives in the motherland. Many separated families do not know the fate of the divided kin. This usually has serious repercussions on their adjustment in the new land.

The Study

The present study is about Tibetan settlers in the Mundgod region. They have been rehabilitated into Mundgod from transit camps in Northern India, an exercise which was designed to settle them to a new, permanent type of agrarian life.

The Tibetans were refugees who came to India in the wake of the takeover of Tibet in 1959 by the Chinese who had, it is believed, the sole purpose of political, economic and cultural integration of that land to greater China. The movement of Tibetans to India was *en masse* along with their spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. At first the incoming Tibetans were accommodated in transit camps set up on the border. Later they were moved into other areas. In the process of dispersal of the Tibetans to several places in India, Mundgod, a subdivision in Karnataka State in South India, was one of the places selected for the purpose. The Mundgod settlement happens to be the second of its kind to have been started in Karnataka State; the first

being Belikoppa near Mysore city. Later two other settlements were started; one near Peiriyapatana and another near Hunsur (both of which are quite near to Mysore city). There are several reasons for my selection of the Mundgod site. The main reason for the establishment of the rehabilitation scheme was to develop the North Kanara district and especially Mundgod taluk (subdivision of an administrative district). North Kanara is one of the sparsely populated districts in Karnataka State, and among the taluks Mundgod is the most underdeveloped. Though Mundgod is a taluk headquarters its population is almost equal to a big village in other parts of India. The area was also known for malaria and other diseases; hence, there was a need to develop the area. An attempt to settle Indian refugees from Pakistan was undertaken earlier. Originally, Sindhi refugees from Pakistan were settled in villages like *Indoor* and *Koppa*. But the Sindhis did not stay there long; they dispersed to other parts. So the selection of this site for the Tibetan migrants was a second attempt on the part of the central and the state governments to develop the place.

The Tibetan settlements are distinct from the Sindhi settlements of the past. The Sindhis are Hindus and at the time of their settlement, public awareness on the part of the local people in Mundgod was not strong, the settlements were therefore established without any risks of a cultural conflict. The Tibetan settlements, on the other hand, did cause a lot of controversy at least in the initial stages. In order to pacify local sentiment the governments provided lands concurrently to local Indian landless as well. Moreover the local people were told by the government that the Tibetans were going to stay there only temporarily, that is, till their country was liberated, and that when they leave, the entire area including the improvements, would be for the benefit of the local Indians.

The Tibetans, as refugees, brought with them a strong culture of their own. They are Buddhists and a very religious people. Moreover Tibet, being largely mountainous, was always a highly underdeveloped country. Till the arrival of the Chinese, for example, the Tibetans had very rudimentary type of agriculture, and that too was feasible only in a few parts of the country. Before Buddhism came to Tibet, *Bon* a Pagan religion was practised.

Slowly Buddhism replaced *Bon* religion but many of the old practices continued to be followed. In the spread of Buddhism several movements started which later became sects. Every sect had a monastery. Monastic life is one of the distinct features of the Buddhist religion. Buddhism came to Tibet from India with all the sacred scriptures. Tibet had big neighbours, India and China. There was always a close association between Tibet and China. The exchange of Buddhist scholars was an important aspect of this association. It was natural for the Tibetan way of life and culture to exhibit these contacts, though the Tibetans had developed many of their own unique qualities. In effect, these influences actually divided Tibet into different subculture areas. Of course, the physical environment and the nature of the terrain had a further diversive influence. That explains why the nomads of the mountains are so distinct from those living in level areas.

The Tibetan society is unique in its social structure. Tibet, for example, is one of the few areas where polyandry and polygyny is a way of life. Just as in many other neighbouring societies the Tibetan family and society is patriarchal. The woman is subordinate to the male. Even though the Tibetan society is traditional, there is a large measure of free mixing of sexes. This applies even to the youths. Kin ties are strong and come to the surface at key occasions such as marriage, death or in times of crises. Among Tibetans marriage is not sacred and hence the occasion of marriage is neither presided over by a priest nor are *mantras* chanted at the time of the ceremony. Unlike other Asian societies, no insignias are exchanged between the newly wed husband and wife among the Tibetans.

Tibetans do, however, have twin concepts of purity and pollution. According to their concepts the washing away of faeces by hand is polluting and therefore they do not normally clean their bottoms with water. Inside the house, the place where the figures of the Buddha and other gods are kept, is considered sacred; so no person wearing footwear is allowed to enter the inner sanctuary of the house.

Theoretical Framework

The present study looks at the adjustment patterns of Tibetans in Mundgod to the socio-cultural and physical conditions prevalent in the local area. The study looks at the levels of participation of Tibetans in the socio-cultural life of the local people. While looking at the participation of Tibetans in the life of the local area it is possible to understand the levels of and the mechanism of communication between the Tibetans and the host society. These processes show the *identity change* primarily of Tibetans (that is changes in how Tibetans see themselves) and secondarily of the host groups (that is how *their* view of themselves may be modified in situations of contact with the migrant group). Identity is both a psychological and sociological phenomenon. The majority of studies on identity is by social psychologists. Identity or identification is manifest in "...tendencies toward likeness, or sameness, or identity between an individual and some other object, person or group." The development of identity or identification links the individual with the object, individual or group. It creates relationships between the object, person or group with the individual concerned. It is only through such development that individuals communicate with the various objects around them. Emile Durkheim has illustrated clearly in his book, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, that the members of a group by identifying themselves with a physical object (totem) establish meaningful relationships with the members identifying with that object and through that they communicate with the supernatural object. Tamotsu Shibutani defines identity as "personal identity, that constitutes one's only tie with the rest of society; each person has status in a community only insofar as he can identify himself as a specific human being who belongs in a particular place."³ Sociologically speaking, identity refers to one's position in society. As pointed out by Shibutani the recognition of one's position is a primary criterion in communication between individuals and groups.

3. Shibutani, Tamotsu, *Society and Personality*, Prentice Hall, New York, 1961, Chapter 7, p. 220.

In any society the individuals are recognised by their roles and statuses. The recognition of each others' roles in society facilitates interaction. Muzafer Sherif explains that the importance of identification of individual members are anchored in group. A sense of loyalty and solidarity is generated in them as a natural process which manifests itself in actual behaviour.⁴ Identity invariably refers to the integrity and the solidarity of a group. The formation of a group and the development of identity refer to the levels of integration within the group and the integration of individuals within the group, in this case, the migrant group. G.A. Elmer rightly says "... as a group is formed, or as individuals become members of a group, the social process of integration is taking place. Besides the individual members of the group, the integration binds the social values and goals, the psychic characteristics, and the in-group symbols with which the individual members become identified. The social identification which evolves thus constitutes the basis of the group solidarity from which results observable, measurable behaviour."⁵

The phenomenon of identity or identification is specific to a society or to a situation even though certain (psychological) dimensions of the process appear to be general or universal. Any change in the situation means change or reorientation of one's identity. This may happen in rural-urban migration or moving from a smaller town to a metropolis in the modern world. In the modern world people are moving within their own country and also from society to society in search of better opportunities or in search of secure places. Whatever may be the reason for their migration they have to adjust to a new socio-cultural situation or physical environment. This involves acquiring new values, new roles and orientation to new symbols. All these processes involve identity change. One's adjustment to the new situation is measured by the levels of acquirement of these roles. The acquiring of new roles is not an easy process. It means resocialisation. An individual who is reared in a particular culture develops certain vested interests in that

4. Sherif, Muzafer, *An Outline of Social Psychology*, Harper and Brothers New York, 1948, p. 131.
5. Elmer, G.A., "Identification as a Social Concept," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 39, 1954, p. 105.

culture. The individual views the impinging of novel values suspiciously and in the first instance the person opposes them. Moreover, learning of new roles is frustrating to an individual since he considers the existing identity as his way of life. Hence the whole process is tedious and frustrating to the individual or group concerned and also to the host society.

The mode and the levels of identity change depend upon the orientation of the migrant group and of the host group. Studies on immigration in Australia show clearly that a particular immigrant community may adopt one or more identities according to the situation. An identity may be public as when the members of a group interact with the outside group or the host group and another may be private when the members of an immigrant group interact with themselves. Peter Medding⁶ in his book *From Assimilation to Group Survival* (1968) talks of two types of assimilation—one structural and the other behavioural. The so-called “structural assimilation” refers to the adaptation of institutions of the host group and behavioural assimilation shows itself in the way of life or life-styles shared with the host society. According to Peter Medding the Jews in Melbourne are structurally Jews in that they retain certain key institutions as Jews amongst themselves, whereas ‘behaviourally’ they are Australians, that is, in those ‘public’ situations where they interact with the host society. Thus the Jews in Australia have two identities. In the same way my study of “White Russians” in Dandenong (Australia)⁷ the subjects are trying to adopt these two different identities. As I pointed out in my study, the adaptation to two identities is much easier for the younger generation than for the old. The older generation feel frustrated and find it agonising to adopt two different identities. In the same way my study of “Indian Immigrants in Waikato” (New Zealand) show clearly the dynamics of these two identities. They have one identity (Indian) within the home and among themselves and a public one—that of the New Zealander. The acquiring of these two identities

6. Medding, P.Y., *From Assimilation to Group Survival*, Melbourne, 1968.

7. Palakshappa, T.C., “Group Dynamics and the Process of Assimilation : White Russian Community of Dandenong,” Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Monash University, 1971.

is much easier for the young than for the old. The young are socialised straight away into these two identities whereas the older people have to desocialise on the one hand and resocialise on the other to adopt the two identities—one 'public' and the other 'private'.

The Tibetans, just as the *Indians* in New Zealand, or Jews or White Russians in Australia face a situation of change. The Tibetans in Mundgod quite understandably owe it to themselves to practice, perpetuate and preserve the Tibetan way of life. From the point of view of Tibetans this is primary. But they live in the midst of Indians practising Hinduism. They have of necessity to communicate with Indian communities at various levels for which they have to acquire a new identity. Both the processes of preserving 'Tibetan identity' and the acquiring of new 'secular identity' are not an easy task. So the present study looks at the mechanisms that the Tibetans in Mundgod are employing to preserve their identity and it also examines the areas of change (change in identity). Apart from adapting themselves to the social and cultural life in the area, the Tibetans in Mundgod have also to acclimatise themselves to the new physical environment and this also means change in their identity.

Mode of Collection of Field Data

Collection of data from the field is often a critically important part of sociological and anthropological studies. These two disciplines have the unique task of dealing with human beings and their enquiries touch upon the most sensitive aspects of privations and deprivations of day to day human life. Thus to collect data of a personal nature from human beings requires tact and ingenuity. The anthropologists and sociologists must possess great imagination and show great respect for the styles of life of others. Nor is there a single foolproof way of collecting data from the field. The anthropologists and the sociologists will have thus to rely on their resourcefulness. The mode of collection of data will also be governed very largely by circumstance. There is absolutely no room for dogmatism. Whether the collection of data is in respect of a comparatively simpler community or more modern, urbanised

communities, the approach has to be pragmatic.

In order to decide as to what particular method should be adopted in the present study, a preliminary survey was conducted. The Tibetan villages were visited and tentative enquiries were made regarding the sensitive aspects of daily life. The Tibetans were all concerned about the use of a survey schedule. They were rather suspicious of the intentions behind the collection of data. So, as a strategy, certain informants selected at random were interviewed and information was collected concerning the pattern of life in Tibet, the relationships between Monastic order and common people, the organisation of Tibetan villages, relationship between Tibetans and Indians, family and marriage and neighbourhood relations. When this had been done the community was ready for the use of the schedule for the collection of basic data for statistical purposes.

At this stage, the questions in the schedule referred only to the non-sensitive aspects of their life. The non-sensitive called for factual, material information. Before it was printed the schedule was checked by those few Tibetans with whom I had the best contact. By way of further strategy, Tibetan school teachers and other educated people were selected to work on a part-time basis for getting the schedules filled. During interviews these people used the Tibetan language for communication. Hence the language problem did not hinder the schedule filling in any way.

Myself and a research assistant were always in the field accompanying the Tibetan investigators. As the interview proceeded we would put a few more questions to the respondents through the Tibetan investigators. The Tibetan investigators not only elicited information from the respondents but they explained the whole thing in detail with the help of their own knowledge. Many times they would explain to me what the respondent said and then say whether it is true or not. Thus the appointment of Tibetan field investigators served two important purposes.

The schedules were got filled by all the nine Tibetan villages. The household was taken as the unit of understanding and the head of the family was the chief informant. Whenever the interview was in progress in a household, attempts were made

to interview womenfolk and grown up children on the general things and on questions pertaining to them in the schedule. As a matter of strategy the two Lama villages were excluded for schedule purposes. The inhabitants of these villages live in dormitories which they share commonly and are attached to a monastery. For the same reason, an old people's dormitory was also excluded. However, general data regarding the Lama settlements and the old people's homes were collected.

Normally the Tibetan investigators used to carry a letter from the Dalai Lama's representative in the Mundgod settlement, Mr T.C. Thethong, addressed to the leader of each village. The village leader in turn, also used to send a representative.

The Tibetans' fear of the research and especially the schedule filling should be understood with reference to their past history. They had been subjected to all kinds of hardships in Tibet under the regime of the Chinese. It seems on several occasions the Chinese took information from Tibetans and used it against them. Moreover, most of the Tibetans still have relatives in Tibet. If by any chance their identity were to be known to the Chinese then, they feared, their relatives would be put to hardship. This kind of fear is peculiar not only to Tibetans but to all migrants who are in a similar position. White Russians in Australia, or other European refugees are some of the examples.

The Survey

Out of the official number of 884 families 869 families were covered by the survey, the rest were either not at home when the investigators went or were out of station on business or on other errands. In spite of these non-covered families the statistical picture does reflect a cross-section of society, as the Tibetans are in any case given more to stay as communities rather than as individuals. The following table shows the number of families, houses, persons and the *not found* cases in each village.

TABLE I

Showing the Houses, Families, Persons and *Not Found* Cases in Each Village

<i>Village No.</i>	<i>No. of Twin Houses</i>	<i>Total No. of Families</i>	<i>No. of Persons</i>		<i>Not Found</i>
			<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	
1	61	123	261	302	—
2	32	64	180	154	—
3	53	106	270	233	5
4	87	173	423	376	3
5	23	56	137	104	4
6	61	123	279	269	1
7	74	148	339	294	—
8	46	91	210	220	2
Total	437	884	2065	1918	15=869

The Tibetans in Mundgod come from four areas in Tibet. They are :

1. U-Stang = 778
2. Dothe = 57
3. Domey = 20
4. Dothe (S.E.) = 1

These names were recognised by the Tibetans and they use them whenever they talk about their place of residence in Tibet. After the takeover of Tibet in 1960 the Chinese reorganised the Tibetan areas and gave new names. According to the reorganisation, Tibet is now divided into six areas. This was the first step towards the Chinese attempts to integrate the land with China and to bring about changes in the identity of Tibetans. These new names are not recognised by the Tibetans in Mundgod. They feel that if they accept these names then they would be accepting the Tibetan occupation by the Chinese. For the Tibetans overseas the original names of the areas mean identity as Tibetans.

The three main areas which the Tibetans recognise are known to be articulate both culturally and socially. In this diversity the location of the areas are of utmost significance. The first area U-Stang is where Lhasa the capital of Tibet was

situated and it was there the Dalai Lama was stationed. This area was known for its educational activities. The Tibetan University was situated there. Moreover it was this region that first came under the Chinese influence. Dothe, in the centre of Tibet, and highly mountainous, was adjacent to China. The Khams staying in this region are a known warrior-class; only nomadic tribes used to inhabit these areas. Domey on the other hand was very near to India and Indian influence dominated the area. Most of the Tibetans from Domey knew Hindi before they migrated to India.

The Tibetans in Mundgod used to pursue different types of occupation. The following table shows the occupation of Tibetans (only of heads of families) in Mundgod.

TABLE 2
Showing Occupations Pursued by Heads of Tibetan Families
in Mundgod

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>
1.	Agriculture	461
2.	Nomadic Husbandry	302
3.	Nomadic Agriculture	40
4.	Business	17
5.	Lama (Monk, Priest)	13
6.	Personal Services (Cook etc.)	2
7.	Professionals	2
8.	Tradesmen (Blacksmith, Tailor and Handicraft)	6
		843

The above table is self explanatory. The majority of Tibetans in Mundgod came from either an agricultural or a husbandry background, so agriculture or dairying is the only thing for them. The presence of 13 Lamas or priests proves the fact that these Lamas in the process of migration had lost their monastery.

Now in India they cannot become members of any other monastery. So they stay in ordinary settlements. Usually the

Lamas stay with their brother's family to add to the lands of their respective families. If they stay in a Lamasery they will not become entitled to individual allotments of land since in an organisation of a Lama village, communal ownership is stressed.

The Tibetans belong to three different backgrounds: the agriculturists, nomads and the professionals. Agriculturists are those who cultivate land. Among agriculturists there are two types of people; the landowners, and the cultivators. The landowners were mostly the absentee landlords and depended exclusively on the rents from their lands. This particular group invariably identified itself with the landed aristocracy. Under the landlordship of this group one found tenant cultivators both small and large. In Tibet they used to secure lands on fixed rents and as the available land for cultivation per head was high, the cultivators enjoyed a fairly comfortable position. Since the cultivators did not have access to any other way of life either in Tibet or elsewhere they had accepted fully the then existing order.

Nomads are the next group whose main activity was dairying. In Tibet they used to live in small clusters (either clan or tribe) grazing cattles in common. They used to exchange their dairy produce with agriculture produce, thus establishing contact with the agriculturists.

Professionals are drawn from the Lhasa area. As a group they provide intellectual fulfilment to the Tibetan society.

The Tibetans in Mundgod belong to three religious sects. The names of the sects, and the number of families belonging to each is given below.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Names of the Sect</i>	<i>Number of Families</i>
1.	Sakya	95
2.	Gylukapa	449
3.	Nyimapa	95
4.	Kargyupa	154
5.	No particular sect	70
6.	Do not know	6
		869

History of Tibetan Migration and Rehabilitation

The Mundgod Tibetans are refugee migrants from Tibet. They came to India in the wake of the Chinese takeover of Tibet in 1959. Prior to 1959 there were several events which actually led to the final takeover by the Chinese. Geographically, Tibet is sandwiched between two big giants, viz., China and India. Though Tibet received its religion (Buddhism) from India, for reasons cultural and religious, it has had greater contact with China than with India. The relationships between China and Tibet were for the most part quite amicable and there were cultural and religious exchanges between the two countries for many centuries. Tibet in the 20th century was a land where religion dominated the lives of its people. As a result no attention was paid to develop a military or a political system which could secure the boundaries and organise the Tibetan life in a more systematic way. In the initial stages the Chinese takeover was so uneventful that the Tibetans were hardly aware of what had happened. The political takeover of Tibet was followed by a cultural takeover. The cultural takeover, involving the destruction of Tibetan religion, and its social institutions led to strong protests from the entire society. As part of the cultural takeover programme, the Chinese profaned and dishonoured the various religious symbols right in the presence of the Tibetan people. The commission of international jurists that investigated the situation in the 1960's saw clear evidence of the Chinese attempts to mutilate and then destroy the Tibetan religion and culture.⁸

An interview with the Tibetans in Mundgod indicated several reasons or motives for their migration. The first and more general was the feeling of acute anxiety about the future of Tibet and its people. They were afraid that they would not be allowed to remain as Tibetans, practising Buddhism and Tibetan culture. The second and more specific reason was that many Tibetans had heard about the atrocities committed by the Chinese in Lhasa, which the Chinese invaded first. Those Tibetans who did not adopt the Chinese communism were

8. Note : This is discussed in detail in *My Land and My People*, by the Dalai Lama of Tibet, McGraw Hill Book Company, London, 1962.

abused and beaten in public. Many of them were made to be beaten by their sons or wives. A third reason was that the Chinese were said to be obstructing the marriage of Tibetans with Tibetans; they were forced to take a bride or a groom from the Chinese. This measure was aimed at destroying their race of which the Tibetans are so proud. A fourth reason was the information that their spiritual leader the Dalai Lama had taken refuge in India. A fifth reason was that those who had more sheep or cows without the knowledge of the Chinese were caught by the Chinese and made to leave the place overnight in order to escape indignities and humiliation in front of their own village people. Reportedly, the Chinese used to hold meetings every day in the villages where all the villagers had to gather and confess their folly in front of all the people. Moreover they had to take the oath that they would work for the good of the community and never for the individual. If anyone broke this oath it led, when caught, to a public trial. Moreover the Chinese had planned the annexation in such a way that the communities and families were split among themselves. They used the children to "spy" upon the parents, the wife upon the husband. Thus the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese had created a sense of insecurity and this insecurity in their daily life was at the bottom of the Tibetan migration.

The Tibetans migrated to India in batches, some with families and others alone leaving some of their family members in Tibet. Most of these Tibetans had very pathetic and even harrowing tales to tell about their journey. Many had to walk in the night to avoid being sighted by the Chinese and did not take any food for eight to ten days till they reached the Indian border. At the Indian border they were provided with food and shelter at the transit camps set up along the Indo-Tibetan border. These transit camps were managed jointly by India and the staff of the Dalai Lama. As the Tibetan migration increased, more and more camps were set up to cater to the needs of the refugees. After ten days of stay in the transit camps the Tibetans were shifted to more permanent settlements not very far away from the transit camps. They were provided with work on construction sites close to their camps. Efforts were then made to settle them elsewhere on a permanent basis

wherever this was feasible. Among the first to migrate to India was the Dalai Lama himself and he was soon followed by more than 20,000 Tibetans in 1959 of which a little over 2000 were Lamas (monks) most of whom first settled in Buxa in West Bengal. In the years that followed the flow of refugees kept on swelling. Their present number is estimated to be 80,000. Some of them were able to settle on their own in Sikkim and other areas of the Indian Union particularly in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and the adjoining places. But a very large section had to be received by the Government of India and the charitable organisations at Misamari in Assam. They arrived in such large numbers and in such quick succession that the camp authorities could not cope with the growing situation. Naturally there was overcrowding and the conditions were far from satisfactory. Expeditious efforts were made to shift the refugees to other camps and settlements.

The Dalai Lama sent appeals for help to all the countries of the world. The response was very encouraging. Within no time, aid started pouring in, in the form of money, food, clothing and medicines.

The influx of increasing numbers of Tibetans caused much concern both to the Dalai Lama and the Government of India. As a first step the refugees were sorted out, and about 2,000 learned monks were sent to Dalhousie in Himachal Pradesh and Buxa Duar in West Bengal, where they could resume their spiritual discipline. Many of these monks are now resettled in other parts of India. There are 600 monks in Mundgod camp.

Many youths between the ages of 16 and 25 were settled in transit camps where they received training in crafts and mechanical trades. Many of the able-bodied refugees were provided jobs on road construction, mostly in Sikkim and Himachal Pradesh.

Further the Government of India made special appeals to other states in India to provide shelter to the Tibetan refugees. Three Indian states, Assam, Karnataka and Orissa responded to this call. These governments released lands at selected places for the settlement of Tibetans. The financial aid came from the Government of India, and overseas governments and

charitable organisations.

In the meantime another problem—that of the welfare and education of infants and very young children needed immediate attention. At the foothills of the Himalayas several schools were started. Initially the facilities were extended to 1000 children; now more than 3000 have been provided with educational facilities.

Most of the settlements established so far are agricultural with handicrafts as secondary vocations. Efforts were made to establish industrial settlements. These are found mostly in Himachal Pradesh, and they are :

1. Woollen mill—Vir (Kangra)
2. Limestone quarry (Kumrao)
3. Tea estate (Birand Satuum)
4. Hyderated lime plant (Satuum)
5. Fibre glass factory (Paonta)
6. Craft community (Kangra)

All the four settlements established in Karnataka are agricultural, with weaving and petty business as secondary occupations. The following are the settlements in the Karnataka state :

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Bylkoppe (near Mysore) | I TRR Settlement |
| 2. Mundgod Settlement | II TRR Settlement |
| 3. Cauvery Valley | III TRR Settlement |
| 4. Kollegal | IV TRR Settlement |

Background to Tibetan Settlement in Mundgod

Mundgod was selected as a site for Tibetan settlement for various reasons. In order to understand the reason for the selection of this site it is essential to look at the population, area under cultivation and area under forest. The population of Mundgod taluk (subdivision) is sparse and much of its land is still under forest. The following are the basic statistics of Mundgod Taluka as per 1971 census :

1. Area of the Taluka	668 sq kilometres
2. Population (1971 census)	44,444
3. Rainfall (average)	1,280 milimetres
4. Average altitude (M.S.L.)	548.79 metres
5. Cultivable area	10,448 hectares
6. Area under forest	55,600 hectares

According to the statistics nearly five times the cultivable area is still under forest. Thus the initial reason for the establishment of the Tibetan colony in Mundgod was to develop the area and bring more land under cultivation. This type of development was urgently needed since the natural resource was going waste. The land in the region is fairly fertile and the rain is quite moderate. It was difficult to settle Indians there because of the popular opinion that Mundgod and other surrounding areas were places of malaria. Thus the establishment of Tibetan settlement at Mundgod was intended to serve as an incentive to further settlement.

The other reasons were that the climate in Mundgod would be more suitable to Tibetans since it had fairly heavy rainfall for nearly six months in the year, and the winter was reasonably cold. Moreover, Mundgod is just 29 miles from Hubli, a major commercial and industrial area. According to the draft proposal sent by the Government of Karnataka to the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, the Mundgod area was known for its religious tolerance. The majority of the people staying in the region were Hindus but there were Muslims, Christians, and other minority religious groups also. All the groups lived in harmony with each other. Mundgod and its surroundings had never seen any religious conflict. Moreover several other groups like Keralites, Tamils, Sindhis and others had also settled there. All these groups work hard and they were at no time at loggerheads with one another. So the Tibetans, it was reckoned, would be welcomed in the region.

In July 1966, the Secretary to the Government of Karnataka Revenue Department forwarded a scheme for starting the II T.R.R. settlement at Mundgod, to the Ministry of External Affairs, Delhi. This scheme was finally approved in August 1967

but took retrospective effect from October 1966. The original estimates for the scheme was about Rs 20 million of which less than a quarter was to be contributed by the central government. This scheme was designed to meet the 'basic needs' of the refugees; it has since expanded during its implementation. More aid is being received from the foreign aid agencies so the final investment is likely to exceed Rs 25 million.

The Forest Department released about 2500 acres of land to the authorities after removing commercially useful timber. The first operation was to reclaim the land and this work was undertaken by the *Swiss Technical Cooperation*. This agency provided four bulldozers with all spare parts and accessories and appointed three agricultural officers and engineers. They were given the assistance of eight drivers and cleaners to operate the bulldozers. In the first stage the Swiss agency made available 1000 acres of land for cultivation. While clearing the area Tibetan labour was used. The reclamation of land consisted of four major operations :

1. Removal and burning of embedded tree stumps and roots.
2. Bulldozers levelling the ground.
3. Ploughing and harrowing of the land by tractors.
4. To prevent loss of top-soil within a couple of years, the bulldozers were used once again.

The land was thus made suitable for cultivation.

At first 200 families or 1000 Tibetans were brought to the Mundgod settlement. Half of these were the able-bodied who could bear the hardships of the initial stages of settlement. These people were accommodated in tents and used to work on the clearing of forest and reclamation. As the reclamation process went on more families were brought in to settle.

2

TRADITIONAL TIBETAN SOCIETY*

Geographical Setting

The unique geographical characteristics of Tibet had, until comparatively recently, ensured that knowledge of their equally unique social structure remains shrouded in mystery for the outside observer. Even so to fully appreciate the advantages and the handicaps the Tibetan migrants brought with them into India, a bird's eye view of the land, its people and their customs is necessary.

Tibet is an intermontane plateau. It is rimmed in the North by the Kun Lin range and in the South by the Himalayas. Both these ranges are joined in the West and called the Ladakh ranges. The Eastern boundary comprises rugged terrain with deep gorges. The Tibetan plateau was the result of the uplift of the surrounding mountains which are geologically young. The whole area could have been at one time a sea bed. A very large number of salt and brackish water lakes are found on this plateau. Kokanor, Tengrinor and Yamdroktso are some of the largest. The Manasarovar, which has a religious as well as secular significance for the people of India is situated in the

* Literature on Tibet lacks significantly the sociological and anthropological interpretation of Tibetan social institutions. The majority of studies are from social historians and their studies lack the depth of social and anthropological insight. Hence, in the present circumstances in order to provide background to the Mundgod Tibetans, whatever material available has been used. It is admitted that this study leaves many questions, especially on details of traditional Tibetan social organisation, unanswered.

West. Incidentally, Kokanor now lies beyond the political boundaries of Tibet.

This vast plateau of about 470,000 square miles, with an average altitude of about 16,000 feet above sea level, lies between 27° and 37° North latitude. This high altitude and fairly high latitude conspire to make it one of the coldest countries in the world. It lies at a distance of nearly a thousand miles from the sea in any direction. This makes the climate dry and extreme. The rainfall varies from about twenty centimetres in the North to about forty four centimetres in the South. Precipitation is partly in the form of snow and partly in rain.

The Tibetan plateau can broadly be divided into the following regions :

1. The northern plateau of Change Tang with an average altitude of 16,000 feet. A large part of it is occupied by brakish water lakes (Tso in Tibetan).
2. The western highlands called Nga Ri are the source of the river Indus and Sutlej.
3. The southern and central plateau is a land of valleys. The upper course of the Brahmaputra (known as Tsang-Po), with a number of tributaries, flows to the east for about 800 miles before turning to the south, and
4. The eastern plateau, known as kham, is the head waters of the great South-East Asian rivers Ewong Ho, Yangtze, Mekong and Salween.

The northern region is very cold and dry. The average rainfall is not more than twenty centimetres. The soil is frozen for nearly eight months in the year and during the other four it is dusty. Moss, lichens and sparce grass are the only vegetation. It is very thinly populated with a few nomads who make their regular rounds with their flocks.

The western region is less hostile and allows greater pastoral activity. It is the home of nomads and semi-nomads who keep large flocks of sheep and herds of yak and mules. There is some cultivation in the valleys of rivers.

Southern and central Tibet is fairly well populated. The average altitude is not more than 15,000 feet with valleys only

11,500 feet high. This comparatively low altitude and nearness to the tropics has made the climate sub-tropical. There are forests and woods with much useful timber such as birch, poplar, maple, walnut, oak and conifers. Agriculture and orchards are very common. Barely, buck wheat, and in some valleys some rice is cultivated. A variety of vegetables and fruits are grown. Most of the cities in Tibet including the capital Lhasa are situated here.

The eastern region is rugged and comparatively dry. It is famous for its warlike tribe, Khampas. Most of the trade with China passes through this region. The valleys are fertile and well watered. Agriculture and fruit gardening provide food and the pastures on the slopes support livestock.

Gold is found in fairly large areas. It was mostly collected from the surface in river basins. Precious and semi-precious stones are also found. The lakes are a source of an abundant supply of salt, soda, potash and borax. In recent years deposits of radio-active minerals have also been found. Silver, copper, lead and iron deposits exist in eastern Tibet. The Tibetans, however, believe that they invoke the wrath of God if they dig the mother earth deep.

Sheep, yak, mules are domesticated animals, but in the wide plateau they are also found in a wild state. A variety of deer including the famous mask deer, ducks and pheasants are common in some areas. Camels, buffaloes and pigs are also reared.

At present most of the trade of Tibet is with China. Before the Chinese invasion it was with India and Nepal. The most important imports are tea, tobacco, cotton and silk goods, sugar, rice, pottery and a few household articles and luxuries. The exports are hides, wool, borax and some handicrafts. Tibet is self-sufficient in food.

Two salient features emerge from this brief geographical survey. The Tibetan environment upon examination, is more varied and productive of various sub-cultures and life styles than has been commonly supposed. The Tibetan migrants to India reflect this variety. Secondly, the Tibetan environment, even with its regional variants, has always demanded a most rigorous and exacting adaptability on the part of its people and

such specialised adaptability is not usually associated with the kind of flexibility which Tibetan migrants to India have in fact demonstrated.

Traditional Social Structure

Before going into the organisation of Tibetan life in Mundgod it is essential to know the basis of their traditional life. In the case of all human communities it is on the basis of the past that their present is built. Institutions form the essential basis of their life in society.¹ The institutions are reoriented or recreated to serve the growing needs of individuals. The institutions relate individuals to situations. They provide form and content to the societal organisation.² By reconstructing the history of their institutions it is possible to reconstruct, very largely, the history of individuals. It is in this particular context that the discussion of traditional Tibetan society gains meaning. The trend of any particular society depends upon the existing institutions of that society. Adjustment into a new environment, either physical or social, demands changes in one's existing way of life since that way of life is adaptive to that environment.

Tibet is one country which remained untouched by Western civilisation until recently. It had very little contact with the outside world partly because of its situation and the difficult terrain. Hence they were able to develop their own peculiar institutional structure and their own way of life. The life in Tibet is not uniform throughout the length and breadth of the country; it varies from one area to another. I have already pointed out that Tibet can be divided into three cultural areas. All these three areas are inter-connected through a common secular and religious head—the Dalai Lama. The authority of the Dalai Lama extends³ over the whole of Tibet through district and village subdivisions. In theory the Dalai Lama is supreme but in reality these district and village divisions enjoy

1. Malinowski B., *Freedom and Civilisation*, Indiana University Press, second printing 1964, especially his chapter on "Freedom through Organisation."
2. *ibid.*
3. The writer uses the "ethnographic present tense" for convenience.

certain autonomy. These semi-autonomous units manage their own day to day affairs. The interpretation of laws is in the hands of the local people, the leader of the village.

At the village level the authority is vested in the headman of the village. The office of headman of the village in most parts of Tibet belonged to the local nobility mostly created during the Sakya period to strengthen the authority of the central government.⁴ The headman, as a spokesman of the village interprets the laws to the people. The functions of headman range from the peacekeeper to that of solicitor to the village. He also arranges loans to villagers from the district authorities.

From the level of the village the authority evolves to that of district level. The head of the district is another member of that nobility and is appointed by the Dalai Lama. In the more accessible areas of Tibet the authority of the district level official is more real than in the case of central Tibet where the snow falls throughout the year and it is very difficult to move about. In inclement circumstances the villages were completely left alone to operate without any interferences either from the district official or from the central Government except when the district official came to collect taxes.

The villages in Tibet are small consisting of 10 to 20 families, most of them patrilineally related. Each village has specified amounts of grazing land which others cannot use. Villages are inter-connected through networks of tribal and clan affiliations. A village forms the basic unit of the tribal or sub-tribal (clan) organisation. The village is the locus of a patrilineal clan and is hence exogamous. The position of the head of the village is hereditary and is usually the clansman who combines seniority with capability. The head of the village sits on the tribal council as the representative of a particular clan. The location of a village changes from time to time depending upon the availability of grazing land. Within the nomadic village cooperation appears to be an important thing. This arises out of the environment in which villages are situated. Robert B. Ekvall describes the cooperative nature of Tibetans as : "In the behaviour patterns of the members of the

4. C.W. Carsinelli and Robert Ekvall, *A Tibetan Principality*, Chapter 8, Cornell University Press, New York, 1969.

encampment there is much of cooperative effort, and assignment to and acceptance by individuals of responsibility for community interests. Herds are often combined; with each tent taking its turn in furnishing a herdsman. Careful compensations are made in such pooling of human resources; and when one tent is shorthanded, as a substitute for manpower, a mount, a weapon and/or food will be furnished. The assignment of responsibility for the safety and welfare of livestock or, in the instances of keeping guard or scouting at the time of moving, for the safety of the entire community, has nothing haphazard about it and the obligation is honoured most meticulously.”⁵ This cooperative aspect of the village extends to other fields at the tribal levels, especially regarding raids (raiding of food, livestock by other tribal groups or in the plains was a regular thing) and so on. “Mobilisation for offensive action generally takes place on the tribal level. The decision to go on a raid or take part in a campaign is made by the tribal council, by the chief or by council and chief acting in concert; and the orders or alert that it has been decided to *d Mag a Grodgos Gi* (soldier go necessary is) are issued by the chief...”⁶

The economy of Tibetan nomads consists of dairying and agriculture. These two things are pursued in different ways by these people. On the basis of mode of cultivation Downs and Ekvall divide nomads into three types: “The nomadic-pastoralists (*a Brog Pa* : literally “wild one”; or *a Brog Chen* : literally “wilds great”), semi-nomad-pastoralist (*Sa Ma a Brog* : literally “neither soil nor wilds”) and sedentary farmer (*Rong Ba* : literally “valley one” or *Yul Ba* : literally “country one”) are recognised in Tibetan social culture. The Tibetans have very short agricultural seasons. It is only in summer that they can grow anything. So the crops have to be those that can be grown in a short period—such as barley, wheat, mustard seed, potatoes, and turnips. The available land for cultivation for a village is limited and sufficient only for the members of the village. In most villages there is little or no scope for further

5. Robert B. Ekvall, “The Nomadic Pattern of Living Among the Tibetans as Preparation for War”, *American Anthropologist*, Volume 63, p. 1254, 1951.

6. *ibid.*, p. 1255.

expansion. The only way of increasing their income is by keeping cattle. Most families keep "door animals". These are goats, sheep, horses and milk cows.

There are other animals like yaks which are herded in distant pastures. Every villager would like to own yaks; it is his life ambition to own one. Most of the people that herd 'yak' have herds. So a family that boasts of owning such herds is not a 'sedentary farmer'. Instead such a family is referred to as 'semi-nomad'.⁷

The basis of any society is the family which is also the basis of the other institutions. In the case of the Tibetan society family and kinship may extend to the entire village. In Tibetan society the family is patriarchal and patrilineal and hence the authority is vested in the male and the descent is traced through the male. The male has supreme power over the property especially the herds.

It is very difficult to generalise about the type of family among Tibetans since the family is very much dictated by the economic system of the area that "...anything and everything is possible in Tibet in matters of marital arrangements, provided that it is suitable economically. Actually, that is what is principally sought after : an economic arrangement among marriage partners which will be the most advantageous for them all."⁸ There are two broad types of marriage (and hence, family) among them. They are polygamy and monogamy. Polygamy is further sub-divided into polyandry and polygyny. Among the Tibetans polyandry is the most common type of family. There are several reasons given for the existence of polyandry among them by travellers and anthropologists. However, polyandry among the Tibetans "...was strongly entrenched, protected by a generally accepted morality which maintained that it was a good system because it made for solidarity in the family and condemned jealousy as a luxury that could not be afforded."⁹

7. Robert B. Ekvall, *Fields on the Hoof*, Chapter 8, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Chicago, 1968.

8. H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, "The Tibetan Family System" in *Comparative Family Systems*, Chapter 10, pp. 78-79, M.N. Nimkoff (ed.), New York, 1965.

9. *ibid.*

H.R.H. Prince Peter goes further and explains his definition of the importance of polyandry to the Tibetans. He says "Polyandry is initially due, I believe, to the fact that certain peoples find themselves living in a difficult and insecure natural environment which imposes upon them a strenuous economic and social organisation. This necessarily takes the form of a very great interdependence between the men in the society who, in order to work fields or herds of animals, have to put the goods of the community before their own selfish individual aims...." The solidarity among the males has become an ideal.

There are several types of polyandrous marriages. They are : brothers marrying a single woman ; friends marrying a single woman; and, father and son sharing their second wife and stepmother respectively. According to the first type of polyandrous marriage the first brother marries a girl and all his brothers as they grow up consider his wife as their wife. This is the most common type of polyandrous marriage. Friends sharing a single woman is not so frequent as that of brothers sharing a single woman. Normally this type of marriage takes place when the person is the only son to his parents and needs someone to look after the land or herds. Two friends may then make a promise to each other that they will share the same woman. In this case the consent of the woman is needed beforehand. The third type of marriage (father and son sharing the stepmother) is not so common but takes place in certain situations, e.g., if the wife of a person dies at an early age and he has grown-up sons, he may then marry another woman which would lead to a conflicting situation, i.e., 'the father, his new bride and their subsequent children would be placed in direct competition with the sons and their brides and children.' Also the Tibetans believe that the presence of two new and unrelated brides in a family household, without the husband(s) of the younger bride being related to the elder by a son-mother relationship, was very likely to produce serious conflict and partition. An alternative which would solve this situation is for the father and sons to share a new bride.¹⁰

10. Melvyn, C. Goldstein, "Stratification Polyandry and Family Structure in Central Tibet", *South Western Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 27, p. 69, 1971.

Polyandrous types of marriage is economic in the sense that the property (land and livestock) should not be split and should remain within a particular unit. Moreover for life at such an altitude, utmost cooperation is needed to manage the economy. So the only way of doing it is through the establishment of common interest among the members and the institution of polyandry is a way of doing this. It is because of this that the family type varies from group to group.

The Tibetan society is divided into two types, the aristocracy and the commoner. Among the aristocracy, for the same reason, polyandry is common. The commoner is divided into two groups—*Treba* and *Du-Jung*. The marriage pattern among the *Treba* according to Goldstein is 'monomarital' with a 'monomarital' stem family. The monomarital principle recognises that in each generation of a *Treba* family one and only one marriage (which may still be polyandrous) can be contracted, the children of which are considered full family members with full jural rights. This particular pattern of marriage among them is due to the interest in maintaining their tenancy of lands. Polyandry is more common among the *Treba*. Among the *Du-Jung* however, monogamy and polygyny are prevalent. This is due to the 'absence of corporate family units'. The *Du-jung* gain 'access to land as individuals rather than as partners in family corporations; the importance of the family unit was greatly diminished.'

As regards the Tibetan form of polygyny (plural wives), normally, a man may, at first, take, as a second wife, a domestic servant or some such woman; then he marries her and establishes a separate tent next to his main tent. The next tent though small will be independent in all respects from the main one. It will have its own cattle, pasture land and other household wares. The children born to the second wife will inherit the property. The children belonging to the main tent do not have any right over the second tent's property and vice-versa. The day to day activities of each of the tents are managed by a single person. Normally acquiring a second woman is a matter of status. Only wealthy people can do so.

The role of women in the Tibetan society is very difficult to assess because of the lack of written material on this topic. The

main task of women is to manage the house, look after the children and comfort the husbands. It appears that they very rarely venture out of the village except when escorted by the husband, although sometimes they may go in groups to attend the religious mass. They do not have any subsidiary occupation except the weaving of carpets at home. A woman has certain privileges over her personal belongings like ornaments, clothing and animals given as gifts to her from parents; she has no right to dispose of these things without the formal consent of her husband, although the reverse also obtains.

The children in the traditional Tibetan family are brought up jointly (by all the husbands) under the close supervision of the family head. They grow up as members of a family with all familial fondness and affection. They are taught the family traditions. The children in turn show great respect to parents and other elders in the house. The children consider parents as gods and obey their commands scrupulously. In a close-knit family organisation the relations between parents and children are one of superordination and subordination. The children according to the Tibetan traditions should take permission of parents before doing anything. Any violation of parental authority would lead to severe punishment. The situation for children is such that they cannot escape the parental authority even if it were too excessive sometimes. In that circumstance the children have no alternatives to choose and hence they are compelled to accept the parental authority. It is because of this that in the past the Tibetan society did not have delinquency or premarital births. Among them the first son is to inherit the authority from parents, the second sons become monks and the rest work under the eldest son.

Tibetan Religion

To the Tibetans' religion forms the essential basis of life. The Tibetan society values religion as primary and all other aspects of society as secondary. Among them religion and politics are combined. The Dalai Lama is not only a spiritual leader but also the political head of Tibet. Because of this combination Tibet developed into the most explicit theocracy in the world. The majority of the Tibetans are Buddhists but there

are other religious groups as well : Hindus, Muslims, Bon and Christians. There is considerable religious tolerance, even though the Buddhists are in majority and the head of the dominant religion is also the head of the state. This tolerance arises out of their attitude to religion itself; Tibetan Buddhists believe in the freedom of worship and the Tibetan Buddhism is very broad in outlook.

Buddhism migrated to Tibet from India. Thus the Buddhism in Tibet is Mahayana Buddhism. Buddhism was introduced into Tibet by Bhrikuti a Nepalese prince and one of the queens of Song-Tsan Gampo, the last king of Tibet. Bhrikuti influenced the King, and through him his queen, to introduce Buddhism in Tibet. It is because of this that the Tibetan Buddhists worship her. She is the only female goddess among them. She is identified as 'reincarnation of *Tara* the Hindu Goddess'. The King accepted Buddhism and built the first Buddhist temple *Jo-Kong* in the centre of his newly founded capital *Lhasa*. As the King's greater interest lay in military expansion, the work of spreading Buddhism in Tibet was left to the later kings.

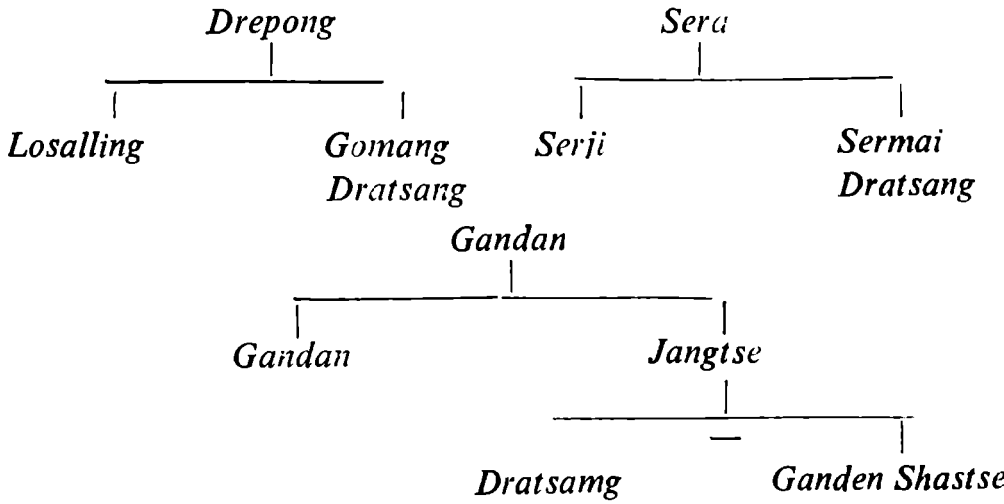
In the spread of Buddhism all over Tibet, several movements emerged. These movements vary in respect of interpretation of Buddhism and monastic organisation. These movements later became sects with their own monastic orders. In the process of the spread of Buddhism these several movements assimilated the practices of 'Bon' religion (original religion of Tibet). With such blending of religions the Tibetan Buddhism took on a new shape. It became articulate and original. That is why the Tibetans claim originality in their brand of Buddhism. In fact, this is how Buddhism is distinguished in each country wherever it spread, just as Hinduism provided the ideological framework to its practices which evolved according to local experience and interpretation. Thus certain ceremonies like death, marriage and initiation vary from one Buddhist country to another although they all share the same basic religious ideology.

Divination is one of the distinguishing features of Tibetan Buddhism. Divination has become part of the Tibetan culture. Divination refers to the Tibetan conception of life and a Tibetan always feels that "...divination as a means of tapping the

information which he feels must exist somewhere but which he has no other means of knowing.” Robert B. Ekvall¹¹ outlines two reasons for the significance of divination on Tibetan society. One is that divination was there in Tibet before the arrival of Buddhism. The second, that it had become legitimate after the establishment of Buddhism. During the period of the growth of Buddhism “much use was made of the so-called hidden treasures or ‘given prophecies’ and this built up the importance of the prophecy tradition”. The divination refers to various acts. These acts may be minor or, more complex and consequential. The smaller acts may be performed by most Tibetans (smaller acts may refer to throwing dices and predicting), the more complex refer to communication with spirits, forecasting the future and the curing of diseases. The latter class normally brings prestige to the community. Given are the sects that developed in Tibet.

1. *Nyinmapa* (810 A.D.) (red hat sect)
2. *Kargyut-pa* (1012 A.D.) (black hat sect)
3. *Sakyapa* (1034 A.D.) (name of the place)
4. *Gelukpa* (1357 A.D.) (yellow hat sect)

Out of these *Gelukpa* has three monasteries. They are *Drepong*, *Sera* and *Gandan* and all three are in central Tibet. *Gelukpa* was the founder of that sect and all the monasteries are named after their founder. These three monasteries are further subdivided as follows :



11. Robert B. Ekvall. “Some Aspects of Divination in Tibetan Society”, *Ethnology*, Vol. II, No. 1, January 1963.

Among these three monasteries Gandan monastery appears to be the most popular and the one to which most of the people owe their allegiance.

Among the four sects mentioned above, the first sect (*Gelukpa*) is more rigid in the practice of Buddhist religion. The rigidity is noticeable in respect of the discipline prescribed for monks. According to the prescriptions of this sect the Tibetans who accept this particular religious order either as monks or as Lamas are not allowed to marry, or, stay in ordinary settlements even for a very short period. The training is also severe and one has to take more vows to move higher in the religious hierarchy. By contrast, the other sects are relatively liberal and the Sakya sect is the freest of them all. It permits marriage to lesser monks and allows monks to stay in ordinary villages. Whatever may be the internal differences, all sects invariably emphasise the importance of monks and Lamas, and their right to obtain a livelihood from the pursuit of their religious duties. The religious duties consist of praying, reading holy scripts and enriching their religious knowledge. Ordinary Tibetans have to support the monastery with contributions. In Tibet it was the practice that a family would sponsor a monk and supply all the necessities required by him. Apart from this they have to make general contributions to the monastery. This responsibility of ordinary Tibetans includes not only the supply of produce to the monastery but also the supply of personnel by sending the middle son to the order.

Religious order is hierarchical and highly authoritarian. At the top of the system is the Dalai Lama who has sovereignty over not only his sect but also over all the sects. Under him are his tutors, one junior and another senior. These tutors, usually authorities on religion, taught the Dalai Lama in his younger years. The Dalai Lama consults them on all religious matters. Each monastery is headed by an Abbot. He is not only the head of the monastery but is also an authority on religious matters. All unresolved religious arguments are referred to him for final resolution. Under the Abbot there are five high Lamas to assist in the day to day organisation of the monastery. If the Abbot happens to die then the eldest among these five would succeed to the order with the formal confirmation by the

Dalai Lama. The status of other Lamas varies according to their religious attainments. The attainment refers to the number of oaths taken. There are two types of oaths. These are : i) bishu, who has taken the complete oath (250 vows to keep); and, ii) shamanarika, who has only 100 vows to keep.

One has to take at least 100 vows to achieve the status of Lamas. Along with the oaths one has to pass the religious tests. It seems very few monks attain the highest level since the tests are very rigorous. Hence many of them end up in the lower orders without reaching the status of Lama.

According to the Tibetan tradition the task of Lamas and monks* is to maintain the continuity of the religious order through observance of rituals and the offering of prayers. They also have to enlighten the Tibetans on the proper concept of life, the essence of Buddhism and the future of the Tibetan society.

Before Buddhism came to Tibet, the Tibetans believed in 'Bon', an animistic religion. There is no evidence to show the origin of Bon religion except that Tibet was called Bon. Originally the name referred to a particular tribe in Tibet called 'Bonpa'. When the Bonpa tribes welcomed Nyatri as their first king then the body of the existing practices of the people were recognised by the king as 'Bon' religion. It seems the Bonpa had the capacity to subdue demons through the offering of meat and alcohol to the evil ones. It also seems the Bonpas were invited to Iran and Turkey to subdue demons there. Thus the placating of demons was one of the important functions of the Bon religion. There are no authenticated documents regarding the early religion of Tibet except in the folklore. There were 'story tellers' and singers of riddles, perhaps of genealogies. Both the religions, Bon and Buddhism were presented by the story tellers in their narratives. According to them, 'Bon' was presented as the religion of men whereas 'Buddhism' was presented as the religion of gods. R.A. Stein comments thus on the evidence of the former : "... The few examples of 'religion of man' that have come down to us under this name are merely wise saws, told by the old men of the clan and always uttered in a poetic

* A Lama is one who has taken 150 vows and a monk is one who has only taken the minimal amount of vows.

style characterised by the use of metaphors, cliches and proverbial sayings. They also take into account religious beliefs, however, though without separating them from the code of social behaviour.”¹²

Since Buddhism was backed by the majority of rulers and the village chiefs, the proponents of the ‘Bon’ religion tried to secure the ‘Bon’ religion by emphasising its contradiction to Buddhism. Some of them became more aggressive and violent. R.A. Stein says “The blue-robed founder of Bonism, whether a historical figure or a composite archetype of Shaman leaders who sought to maintain the ancient beliefs and practices against encroachment by aggressive missionary Buddhism, carried a sword or dagger as the symbol of his primary function, which was to kill selected victims, not only animals but also human beings in propitiatory, burial, and divination rites.”¹³ The second form which the Bonism took was, according to Ekvall, “...the form of religious observance which is patently a wilful distortion or perversion of Buddhist ritual.”¹⁴

With the arrival of Buddhism the Bon religion was classified into three types. They were : white Bon (*Karpo*), similar to Buddhism; semi-white (*Bon Tata*), a combination; and, black (*Bon Nagpo*), animal sacrifice on every occasion.

Buddhism, on reaching Tibet from India, adapted itself to the local conditions. Many of the local rituals, ceremonies and conceptions were adopted by the Buddhists. Moreover, as we have noted, the original ‘Bon’ also underwent modifications consequent on the advent of Buddhism. Thus there grew a sort of interaction between the two religions adaptive to each others’ beliefs, and ways of life. Of course, Buddhism became more popular because it was backed by political power. Though the kings in Tibet accepted Buddhism, they never interfered with the practice of either ‘Bon’ religion or other religions. Buddhism accepted the Bon religion ceremonies of death, initiation and marriage. Some of the ceremonies were brought into Tibet from foreign countries, some, perhaps, were brought by ‘Bonpas’.

12. R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilisation*, London, 1972, pp. 192.

13. *ibid.*

14. *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

R.A. Stein points out: "It is known that in modern Tibet the dead are not buried, but exposed, cut up and eaten by vultures and dogs. Saints and high ecclesiastics are cremated or sometimes embalmed. whilst criminals are thrown into a river. However, burial was still practised in the 12th Century. And the custom of feeding the dead to birds seems distinctly Iranian."¹⁵

Economy

The Tibetan economy was partly a money economy and partly a barter economy. Most exchanges refer to the exchange of goods, services and land. Such exchanges are decided by the social structure and not on the basis of the market. Tibet is thus "a status economy rather than a market economy." This type of economy is not only peculiar to the villages but extends to the entire country. The taxes payable to the district head and through him to the Dalai Lama are paid in kind. The kind economy worked well among them since their trade was within themselves and there was very little to be sold outside Tibet.

The Tibetans' property consists of land, yaks, ornaments and household goods. They do make a distinction between private property and the property held by the family as a whole. The land, yaks and household goods belonging to the family are indivisible and no particular individual has any authority to dispose of these types of property. However, the head of the family has the authority to pledge property in exchange for money or things for the sake of the family. Although he can pledge goods and enter into a contract, he does so after consulting the other members. According to the Tibetan tradition women do not have absolute rights to family property except to the things she brings from her father's home and to whatever ornaments she receives from her husband at the time of marriage. Normally the father may give yaks, land and ornaments to the daughter at the time of her marriage and these she takes to her husband's house. Theoretically she can do whatever she wants as long as she has her husband's permission. But in reality the property will be under the jurisdiction of her husband. In case both husband and wife decide to separate she may

15. *ibid.*, pp. 202.

then take all the property she brought to the joint family.

It seems that in most areas of Tibet there were very few formal laws and that there was little need for them since the communities were very closeknit under the head of the village who had full control over the village at all times. Norbu says "There is little law and little need for it. The people lead such an open life that any disputes become immediately known to everyone and are quickly settled within the camp. Even arguments are rare, and crimes such as theft simply do not exist among the nomads. The headman, who is called *Gowa* in some areas and *Gorpan* in others, is always respected and chosen for his wisdom and his religious nature. He has no real authority, but people often go to him for advice. When the time comes to collect taxes, he sees that everyone contributes his share. He has to know exactly how many people are in his group and how many cattle they have, but above all he has to be absolutely honest. This is the quality the nomads value higher than everything else. It is the centre of their lives."¹⁶

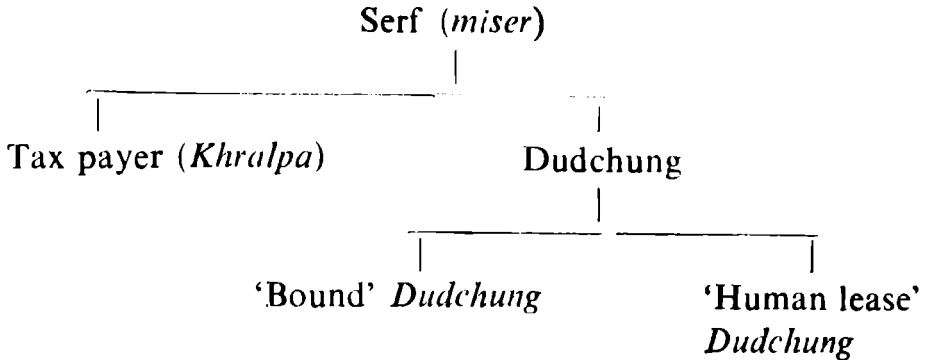
Stratification

In general the Tibetan society is stratified and feudalistic. As already explained there are only two classes : the aristocrats and the commoners. The aristocrats, apart from the Dalai Lama, are big landlords, officials in the army and civil administration. Land appears to be an important source of wealth. Ownership gives suzerainty over a piece of land, whether as a cultivator or otherwise. Yet all the land in Tibet 'belongs' ultimately to the Dalai Lama. From him the landlords receive certain amounts of land and pay rents to him. It may be that the Dalai Lama may give lands to certain people for their services as bodyguard or in the civil administration. These lands for all practical purposes, belong to the landlords. The number of Tibetans who own land is very limited and the bulk of the population are commoners without such ownership. Thus, this type of landholding established a sort of master/servant relationship in Tibet.

There are two major types of serfs in Tibet as indicated in

16. *ibid.* p. 75.

the diagram given below¹⁷



Theoretically the taxpayer/serf is more free than the other types of serfs but in reality social mobility is very limited for all serfs irrespective of their status. The system not only ties a serf to the land but also to a nobleman. There is only one way of moving outside this closed system and that is by entering into the religious order. And even there, an individual is bound to a system which is equally hierarchical. According to Tibetan informants in Mundgod it seems that the people had accepted the system since the land available was great and an individual could enjoy some fruits of his efforts even after paying all the customary dues to the nobility.

Of the major structural features of the traditional Tibetan society it is this class system (landlord and tenant) which has failed to survive in the Indian setting. As we shall see in the study of the Tibetans of Mundgod, the migrant society is more egalitarian. However, other important structural characteristics have survived. Thus we shall see the continuing significance of forms of local leadership based upon traditional criteria though the content has changed. We will also see the persistence of distinctly Tibetan forms of polygamy (notably polyandry) and even the reconstitution (partly, in the face of difficulties) of the Tibetan joint family. Above all we will note the continuing pervasiveness of the religious basis of the Tibetan society, in India, and even the maintenance of priestly orders. However, tribal affinities although still recognised have lost their original functions.

17. The diagram adapted from "Serfdom and Mobility : An examination of the Institution of 'Human Lease' in traditional Tibetan society", Melvyn C. Goldstein, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXX, No. 3, May 1971.

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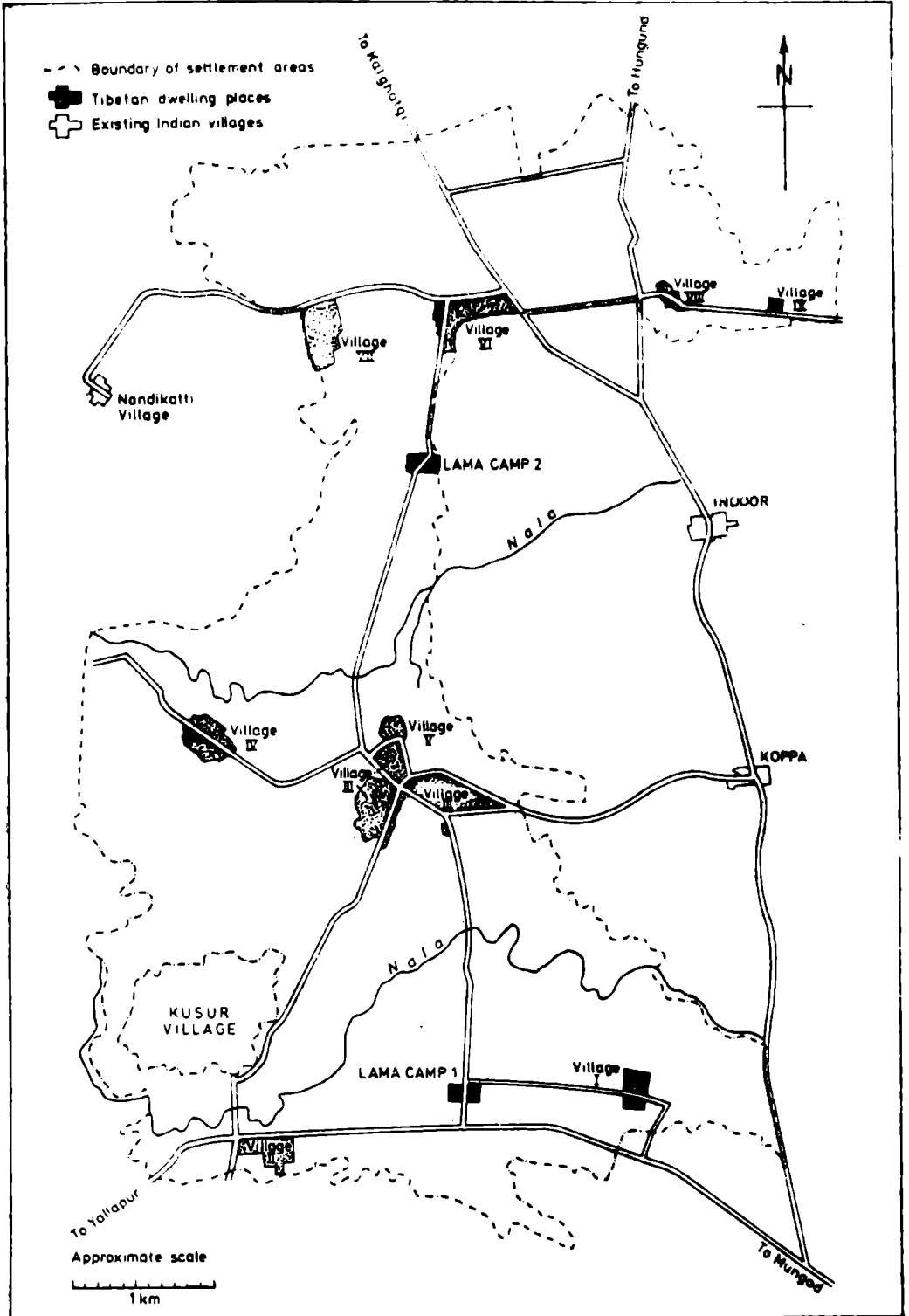
SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MUNDGOD TIBETANS

General Description and Organisation

Mundgod settlement is situated on a site of 5000 acres, about eight kilometres from Mundgod town on the Yellapur-Mundgod road. Before the location of the Tibetan settlements the entire area was a thick forest. The area was cleared especially for the Tibetan settlements. The detailed blueprint of the scheme was prepared by Mr. H. Luthi, head of the Swiss Technical and Agricultural Cooperative in India (Tibetan colonies), with the help of Mr Brewster (Tibetan Officer, National Christian Council of India), Mr Howard (Oxfam), Mr Brunetti and Mr Lent (of United States Aid), Mr T.V. Reddi (Divisional Commissioner, Government of Karnataka) and Mr T.C. Thethong, the Dalai Lama's representative as Secretary. While preparing the blueprint the social, cultural and other needs of the Tibetans were taken into consideration. The Dalai Lama's representative had a large say in the location and type of amenities to be provided. The purpose of resettlement would have stood defeated if the cultural and human needs of the Tibetans had not been taken fully into account. My discussion with Mr T.C. Thethong revealed that no vested interests, either of India or of any foreign country, were at work....

The Tibetans in Mundgod settlement live in eleven villages or camps. Out of these two are Lama villages and the rest are ordinary settlements. The dwelling sites were selected in such a way that there would not be any wastage of potential cultivable

SKETCH MAP OF TIBETAN SETTLEMENT AREAS IN MUNDGOD TALUKA, NORTH KANARA KARNATAKA STATE, INDIA; 1974



land; they are situated on hilltops or stony places where cultivation is difficult.

The Tibetan settlement does not stand alone in the region. It is bounded on all sides by Indian villages. The nearest villages are Koppa (800 metres), Indoor (3 kms), Gangarathi (1.6 km), Sidnoor (800 metres), Hungund (1.6 km) and Bommigatta (5.6 kms).

To the Tibetans Mundgod serves as the focal point of economic activity. Buying and selling of produces is done through the Mundgod market. However, for specialised and major purchases they have to visit Hubli.

For overall management the Government of India has set up a Tibetan Rehabilitation Office with an administrator of the rank of Assistant Commissioner. All the government funds intended for the Mundgod settlement are managed by this organisation, which has its office in Hubli. As far as my knowledge goes, there are no major problems connected with this aspect of administration.

The houses in ordinary villages are twin quarters and are arranged in rows of five to ten quarters with small alleys in between for communication. Each twin house has a small front garden and also a back garden. All settlements have water taps in each row. The water is supplied by borewells at regular intervals. All the villages except numbers six, seven, eight and nine have electricity. Efforts are underway to electrify the remaining villages.

The Lama villages are situated away from the other villages. The houses in Lama villages are big blocks or dormitories and in each block there are 20 Lamas. They have community taps and the water is supplied by borewells located in each village.

All villages are connected to each other through a network of motorable roads. The roads are all unmetalled and hence they became muddy during the monsoon (June to November), and dusty during summer.

At the centre-most Tibetan settlement which is on a hill overlooking all the other settlements, a palace for the Dalai Lama has been constructed. The Dalai Lama uses it when he visits the settlement once in a year on a routine tour of all Tibetan

settlements in the country. For most part of the year the palace remains unoccupied, but whenever distinguished visitors come to the settlement it is put to use by the visitors.

The office blocks, banks (two), mechanical workshop, school and post office are also situated in the central settlement at the bottom of the hill, where the palace is situated. Hence the palace is easily accessible to all the people concerned.

The centre of the 'nervous system' of the Mundgod Tibetan life is the Tibetan Cooperative Society in which all male heads of the settlements' households have the right of membership. At the head of the cooperative society is the representative of the Dalai Lama. He is designated as the *Secretary* and is paid directly by the Dalai Lama's office in Dharmashala. The Secretary acts as a link between the Mundgod settlement and Dharmashala (the headquarters of the Dalai Lama). The Secretary has the immediate responsibility of coordinating all the activities within Mundgod settlement. This includes both economic activity (planning crops, marketing etc.) and a degree of local political supervision. The Secretary has a small staff to assist him in his day to day duties; they are mainly Tibetans. The Secretary plays the role of a mediator between the community and the Indians surrounding Mundgod. The Tibetans' dealings with Indians in the surrounding districts are closely watched by the Secretary and his staff. This is directed towards establishing better contact with Indians and to create harmonious feelings between the two groups. The Secretary is also a link between the Mundgod settlement and the state and central governments. Moreover, all the foreign charitable organisations operate only through the cooperative society. Due to the pivotal role he has within the Mundgod settlement the Secretary, though a paid official, commands authority and in many respects he is considered as the king of the settlement. He can virtually command people within the settlement.

The Tibetan Cooperative Society possesses 27 tractors, two jeeps and a car for the use of the settlements. All the tractors and jeeps have been donated with spare parts by overseas donors (British and Swiss). In order to maintain these vehicles, a workshop has been donated by the Swiss Government. In the initial stages the Swiss Government had sent, for a period of two

years two Swiss technicians to train the Tibetans. Now that period is over and the workshop is managed solely by the Tibetans. The workshop, apart from maintaining their own vehicles, also undertakes odd jobs for local Indians. Recently the Tibetan Cooperative Society opened a small branch of their workshop in Mundgod town to cater to local needs at that end. (This would appear to have the important latent plan of preparing the Mundgod Tibetans for greater commerce with local Indian markets). It is also aimed at providing jobs for the workshop staff all through the year.

Each village has a leader, *Gambo*, answerable to the Secretary of the cooperative society. The village leader acts as a link between the village and the cooperative society. The village leader is elected by the people for a three years term. All the adult males (heads of each family in a settlement) constitute the electoral college. The village leader should possess the capacity to mobilise people towards goal achievement. Although a village leader holds office for a period of three years, in all the villages the leaders are usually re-elected. Some of them have held the office right from the time of their arrival in the settlements. The institution of the village leader is not something new. The Tibetans as we have noted, had village leaders in their homeland with almost the same functions. But after coming here the institution has become useful to them in the process of resettlement. When they fled from Tibet it seems most of them came with their village leaders. Even in the transit camps the village leader was powerful. He used to supervise the distribution of food and work to his villagers. When the Tibetans were settled into more permanent, either industrial or agricultural, settlements the heads of villages continued to play an important role. This is exemplified also in Mundgod.

Normally a village leader, does not get any extra benefit either from the cooperative society or the government. But the villagers, in order to take away the excess burden placed on him by the office, help him in his cultivation or give him some amount of agricultural produce at the end of the year as a token of their appreciation for his services.

The main task of a village leader is to safeguard peace and

harmony and promote better understanding between the villagers and the Indians in the surrounding areas. As pointed out earlier he acts as a link between the village and the Secretary (cooperative society). He receives messages from the Secretary's office and communicates them to his villagers. If the Secretary wants anything done he calls the village leader. The village leader also acts as a mediator between the village and the banks. He arranges short-term loans to his villagers during harvest and the sowing seasons. He makes note of the fertiliser needs of each farmer in his village and tries to arrange the supply through the cooperative society. It is his responsibility to see that the individuals remit repayments either to the bank or to the cooperative society regularly. As leader of the village it is his task to settle the disputes arising between the villagers or between husbands and wives. If there is anything that he cannot settle himself then he refers it to the cooperative society which after due investigation decides whether to hand the case over to the local (Indian civil) police or to punish the persons concerned themselves. For the sake of the prestige of the village very rarely are cases referred to authorities outside the village or handed over to the police.

The village leader is assisted by a group leader or leaders; the number in each village depending upon the size of a village. According to the procedure a group of families elect a group leader. The group leader holds the office for a year. Normally everyone within that group of families gets the chance as the office goes by rotation. Although in theory every group of families can elect a group leader (irrespective of regional or tribal affiliations), he invariably hails from the same area in Tibet or else belongs to the same tribe. Group leaders are subordinate to the village leader and are in constant touch with him. They report to the village leader the needs of those families of whom they are the representative. The village leader, if he receives any communication from the cooperative society to be passed on to the villagers, he calls all the group leaders and gives them the message and the group leaders in turn communicate it to those families whom they respectively represent. If there are any problems, they try to settle it among themselves; but such problems which they cannot settle

themselves are referred to the village leader for arbitration. Group leaders do not enjoy any special privileges in the village.

The Mundgod settlements have a committee consisting of all the village leaders and headed by the Secretary of the co-operative society. The committee looks into the problems of the entire settlement and discusses matters of organisation and development. Currently the committee is looking into the prospect of opening new opportunities for the Tibetans and to explore possibilities for secondary occupation. The need for secondary occupation has become important since agriculture keeps the Tibetans occupied only for six months in a year; the rest of the period they do nothing. Moreover, the expansion of further agriculture by sowing more land is not possible as there is no more land available. Considering the future of the settlers, there is need for secondary occupation. The committee members are arguing for a Tibetan carpet manufacturing industry. One village leader was claiming that it would keep at least 1000 Tibetans busy all through the year.

It will be seen that even though the Secretary of the Tibetan Cooperative Society is an administrator within the settlement and serves as a link between the settlement and the Dalai Lama and other agencies for the running of the day to day administration of the settlement and informing the general policy of the village, he depends very heavily on the village leaders. In effect, the village leaders serve as a check on any possible attempts at autocratic rule by the Secretary.

Rehabilitation is in its second year of extension (it was supposed to be completed by 1972). When the rehabilitation comes to an end and when the settlements become completely independent and self sustaining these Tibetan settlements will become as autonomous as any other village. When it becomes a unit by itself then there are possibilities for greater powers for village leaders.

The following summary gives the types of village leadership and its mode of election. It is interesting to note from the pattern described that leadership and its election is more free and democratic than it would have been in Tibet where considerations of kinship, clan and class were more dominant.

VILLAGE NO. I : Each leader is allotted a fixed number of houses. The tenure of the leader is for 6 months after which the next elected leader takes up the responsibility.

VILLAGE NO. II : This village follows the rotation order to elect group leaders. There is no fixed tenure as when one resigns the next in order takes up his place. The number of people under each leader varies.

VILLAGE NO. III : In this village the arrangement is very beneficial to both the leaders as well as the people. In return for their services the people help their leaders in their domestic work like cultivation, etc. The tenure for the group leader is one year after which another meeting is held in which the same leader may be re-appointed.

VILLAGE NO. IV : Group leaders are appointed by turn but the tenure of each leader depends on his resignation since they are not paid any emoluments.

VILLAGE NO. V : The appointment of a group leader is by turn. Male members from each twin quarter serve for a period of one month. But if there are two families, a male from each family serves for 15 days.

VILLAGE NO. VI : No information.

VILLAGE NO. VII : The number of people under each group leader varies as people themselves select their group leader and form their own group. As such the alignment of the people does not follow any systematic pattern.

VILLAGE NO. VIII : The appointment of group leaders is by term. A male from each family draws lots and fixes an order for the appointment of the leaders. The tenure is for 6 months. The alignment of people under each group leader is, however, uneven.

All the features described so far refer only to the ordinary Tibetan villages. The Lama villages, even though they are part of the Mundgod settlements as a whole, form a separate and distinct group within that whole. The Lama villages in Mundgod are the functional equivalent of the monastic community in Tibet. The organisation of the Lama villages, and their daily routine are different from those of the non-Lamas. Among the ordinary Tibetans the family forms the basic unit and

whatever they do will be towards the furtherance of their family life. But the Lamas strive to build up a solid Tibetan society; the efforts of every Tibetan Lama would be to contribute to the perpetuation, continuation and enrichment of the Tibetan society. Thus, common living is emphasised. In the Mundgod settlement every Lama has got a certain amount of land on lease. All this land has been pooled and is cultivated jointly. The income from the land goes towards meeting the day to day living expenses. The savings that accrue are contributed towards rebuilding and maintaining the religious basis which gives solidarity and permanence to the Tibetan society (this includes the material aspects—monasteries, prayer halls, preparation of holy scripts, etc.). The Lamas live in groups of twenty. The food is cooked commonly. Among them there is a strict division of work. There are two things which determine the roles of each Lama: one, is the position of the Lama within the religious hierarchy, and, second, is the physical capabilities of each Lama. The Lamas are divided into two groups: the Lamas and the Monks. Those who have achieved 150 *gunas* are called Lamas and those who have achieved below that are known as Monks. The Lamas dedicate themselves to reading scriptures, teaching the new monks and so on. While the Monks take part in general religious observance, they do not share the same kind of responsibilities as that of the Lamas in religious matters. Hence they perform only economic tasks. Those who cannot perform hardwork in the fields are assigned the work of food preparation.

Ranked above the Monks and the Lamas are the Abbots. Depending upon their age they are called junior or senior Abbots. They are the final authority on religion within a particular Lama village. For all secular things each Lama village has a cooperative society independent of the Tibetan Cooperative Society. The finances, buying and selling of goods are undertaken by the respective cooperative societies. At the head of the village cooperative society is a senior Lama (secretary). The Lama cooperative society has close relationships with the Tibetan Cooperative Society. The former receives all necessary specialist help from the latter, including the use of the machinery and equipment maintained by the Tibetan Cooperative

Society. The Lama cooperative societies like the regular Tibetan cooperatives, are linked directly to the Dalai Lama's office in Dharmashala.

For the services of the Tibetan community a full-fledged hospital with facilities for 40 has been set up by *MY RADA*.¹ For a period of two years all the cost of running the hospital was met by this charity organisation. Now the task of running the day to day business of the hospital has been taken over by the Tibetan Cooperative Society. The hospital employs one full-time doctor and four qualified nurses. It has an x-ray unit. At present the Tibetan patients have to buy medicines from Mundgod or Hubli but the Cooperative is moving in the direction of establishing a chemist shop attached to the hospital. Such a step would really go a long way in providing full medical care within the settlement. The hospital is situated close to villages No. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. For the benefit of the rest of the villages, i.e., 6, 7, 8 and 9 a health clinic with a nurse has been set up. The doctor visits the health clinic daily for two hours on each afternoon. Although the hospital is fully equipped, there is lack of specialist doctors, and therefore complicated cases are referred to Karnataka Medical College Hospital in Hubli.

The Cooperative Society runs two canteens, one in villages 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 and the other in 6, 7, 8 and 9 villages. The canteens cater both for the visitors and the Tibetan settlers.

At present the post office in Mundgod town serves the Tibetan settlements. The postal messenger from Mundgod post office delivers all mail for the settlement to the Cooperative Society. The Cooperative in turn delivers the mail to the respective village leaders and they in their turn deliver it to the parties concerned. The Tibetan settlement is moving in the direction of having a post office opened in their own colony. A post office building is complete and the regional post office has been approached to establish a post office.

The Tibetans have to go to Mundgod town for all (personal and household) buying and selling. In Mundgod town the

1 Mysore Resettlement and Development Agency. This is a semi-Government agency. A lot of foreign charity organisations have pledged funds for the Tibetans in Karnataka through this organisation.

Sandy (market) day is every Monday of the week, so the Tibetans go there on that particular day. The Tibetan Cooperative Society has constructed a small market yard and are approaching the government for a licence. When they get the licence for it, it would seem a step towards having a bazaar at their own door step.

In 1973 two banks opened their branches to the Tibetan settlement. One is the Syndicate Bank, owned and operated by the Government of India, the other is the Kanara District Co-operative Bank. They provide short term and long term loans to Tibetans who cannot, by law, own their own bank. According to the Secretary of the Tibetan Cooperative Society the establishment of these two banks has gone a long way towards easing the pressure on the Society as the Society had to provide the money for advances, etc.

The Tibetan settlement has a separate dormitory for the old and the invalid. The housing is provided by the charity organisations while the Government of India provides a running grant for its maintenance. In this scheme any person over the age of 60 and persons who may have physical disabilities are eligible for admission to the dormitory. The inmates receive two and a half kilos of rice, milk and small money for overhead costs. The domestic arrangement resembles that of the Lamas. They cook in common and 20 people share a house. They have small plots of land where they grow their own vegetables. Any excess is sold outside.

Education

In any society education is an important thing. It is important from the point of view of communication, social status and mobility. The following table (Table 3) shows the level of formal education and the number who have benefited by it in the Mundgod settlement.

It is clear from the table that there is a large number (2871) that never went to school. This is accompanied by a high rate of illiteracy among the Tibetans which is understandable, due to the non-availability of opportunities for formal education in Tibet itself. As pointed out earlier, the bulk of Mundgod Tibetans came from the hilly areas of Tibet. These areas were

TABLE 3
Showing Levels of Formal Education

<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Number</i>
Never went to school	2871
Still at school	639
Had only primary schooling	269
Had some high school	46
Completed high school	18
Possess vocational training	26
Total	3859

insular and self-sufficient. There was no need for formal education. After migrating to India, education became one of the major concerns. Hence more and more Tibetans are now going to school. This is clearly borne out by the fact that there are 639 Tibetans studying at school and only 269 (some of these may not have had the motive to further education or were deprived of necessary facilities in the transit camps and settlements) had given up after primary schooling. There are 26 that had had professional training as mechanics, teachers, nurses and social welfare workers. All these people were trained either in India or in foreign countries.

There are two primary schools and one secondary school. The first primary school is located in such a way that children from village No. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 could attend, and the second is situated in the midst of the next lot of villages. The primary school also takes the pre-schoolers. At the primary school three languages are used—Hindi, English and Tibetan. The primary schools are directly under the administrative control of the Tibetan Cooperative Society. The funds for establishing the schools and running them came from the World Children Welfare Fund. The schools also provide a midday meal for the children. The Tibetan settlement has a secondary school called the Central School for Tibetans. The Central School is financed and managed by the Government of India as part of its educational programme. The school courses are designed by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India. This secondary school curriculum is standardised for

all India central institutions. The curriculum consists of teaching of Hindi, English, Maths, Indian History, Parliamentary System in India, Indian Geography, Science and in a small way Tibetan History and Language. Thus the school serves as an important agent of socialisation into the Indian pattern. Students desirous to go beyond the secondary level would have to go to Dharmashala or Darjeeling where the Tibetans have much more facilities. Of course, for University education they would have to enter one of the Indian universities. The current objective of education however, is oriented towards adjustment to life within the Tibetan settlements rather than achieving integration of Tibetans into life and culture of the local areas that they may choose to settle in. The Karnataka education board have no hold over the education of the Tibetans. Kannada, the local language, is not taught. Thus the possibility of closer integration into the local scene is not being pursued through the current education system.

Education of the Tibetans in India evolved in peculiar circumstances. When the Tibetan camps were set up at several places in Northern India, the Tibetan society felt the need for establishing educational systems to cater to the needs of Tibetan children. A Tibetan Educational Society was founded under the chairmanship of the Dalai Lama. It was decided to start primary schools in each camp to teach English, Hindi and Tibetan to Tibetan children of both sexes. When the rehabilitation programme began the Tibetan education was taken over by the rehabilitation authority and became part of their programme. As a part of the rehabilitation programme the central schools were established. In all such central schools, the facilities were limited up to the 9th standard. If anyone wanted to go for higher education he or she would have to go to either Darjeeling or Simla where the Tibetans have boarding schools. One can receive a diploma in teacher training in a boarding school or enter a university and get a degree.

The Tibetan Educational Society has an important role to play in modernising the community and to create a new elite group. In Tibet itself such secular education was not possible for all the people. People living in interior parts of Tibet had little or no education. The educated people (educated in

religious literacy) had come largely from Lhasa area. But the new education is not only secular, it is open to all and provides equal opportunities for all. The Mundgod settlement contains people who were nomads with no education whatsoever. Now, the children of these people have the unique opportunity of receiving modern education. This would go a long way towards improving the status of these people within the Tibetan community itself and outside as well.

As part of the general educational programme for Tibetans, the Mundgod Tibetan society had a home science training school. It was started in 1972 but lasted for only two years. The finance for running the institute was given by a German charity organisation. The last batch graduated on 20-12-74. A glamorous ceremony marked the occasion. The home science students were trained in public hygiene, cooking (Indian), sewing and sanitation, and are expected to work in various Tibetan settlements in and around the country. They teach public hygiene, cooking and so on to individual families in settlements where they are posted. For the project, the Government of India had provided expertise. It had one agriculturally trained person, a nurse and an expert on cooking and sewing. The syllabus was drawn up by the regional home science economist. The effect of this programme on Tibetan society in India is yet to be seen.

Occupation, Land and Agriculture

The Mundgod Tibetans, being refugees, do not have a great choice in the selection of their occupations. Mundgod is essentially an agricultural settlement and all Tibetans are farmers by circumstance. Especially in the pursuit of primary occupation there is little room for innovation and choice except that one can be a better farmer than the others or may pick up the art of farming more easily. However, the experimentation and entrepreneurship become more evident only when we look at the subsidiary occupations.

The following table shows the type of subsidiary occupations and the number of Tibetans pursuing each of the occupations.

TABLE 4

Showing Types of Subsidiary Occupations and the Numbers Engaged Therein

<i>Type of Subsidiary Occupation</i>	<i>Labour on Forest & Elsewhere</i>	<i>Selling Sweaters</i>	<i>Work on Land</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Number	26	36	12	75	148

Out of the total of 867 informants (heads of households) only 148 indicated that they pursue subsidiary occupations. This limited number may be due to the environment in which they are placed. Mundgod and the surrounding areas do not offer a great scope for subsidiary occupations for the Tibetan population settled there. There are no industries; the only major agency which provides subsidiary occupation is the Forestry Department. In the surrounding area there are very good *Teak* plantations. So the Forestry Department, depending on its needs, employs people on daily wages to fell trees and prepare new ground for cultivation. It was only in 1965 that electricity was first used in Mundgod. Until then there were no saw mills. In 1969 two saw mills were established : one by the Forestry Department and the other by a private company. The employment opportunities at these two mills for Tibetans is not bright.

The only major provider of employment is agricultural land. While the chances of finding secondary employment are enormous for the Indians, it is much more difficult for the Tibetans. Even to get jobs in the forest is more difficult for the Tibetans because of the language problem and the difficulty of communication between them and the Indians. Over and above this, the local employers are not quite sure as to how the Tibetans would behave as labourers, hence there is a strong reluctance to employ them. So, it is understandable that only a limited number are employed in subsidiary occupations.

The following table shows the reasons for not taking up subsidiary occupations.

TABLE 5

Showing Reasons for not taking up Subsidiary Occupations

<i>Cannot find jobs in Mundgod</i>	<i>Did not attempt for personal reasons</i>	<i>Cannot find suitable jobs (other than in Mundgod)</i>	<i>Other reasons</i>	<i>Total</i>
98	91	131	17	337

For the second response (did not attempt for personal reasons) these people were either too shy to go out of the settlement or, looking at the persons who had tried for the job and had not been successful, they must not have tried at all. For the 131 in the third-choice (cannot find suitable jobs), they must have thought that they were not suitable for work in the forest. The 17 people under 'other reasons' were not quite sure why they could not or did not take up subsidiary occupations.

At present the Tibetan lands are rain fed. But an irrigation project about three miles from the settlement is being completed in *Bai change*. The main canals are already dug and there are only small canals to be dug to take water from the larger canal to the lands.

The land is allotted to individuals on the basis of 32 quanta per adult and 22 quanta to persons below the age of 16 (where those in both categories were born in Tibet) and up to the maximum of five acres per family. When the irrigation scheme operates the allotment of land will be reduced to 22 quanta per adult and 15 quanta per child up to the maximum of three acres per family. This redistribution will help in the rehabilitation of some more Tibetans (for there are many still in transit camps in Northern India including Sikkim). There are no provisions made for persons born in India. Several appeals are made to consider their case but so far nothing concrete has emerged. The Tibetans have also appealed against the proposed redistribution of land when irrigation begins to operate.

Clan and Tribal Affiliations

The allotment of houses, lands and villages was on the basis of first-come-first-served. The Tibetans when they were in

transit camps and also during the period of rehabilitation were organised into groups under a leader, this group leadership being based upon tribal affiliations. As houses were ready and the land cleared for cultivation the Tibetans were allowed to move in. The group leader used to arrange with the rehabilitation authorities for land and houses for his group. He used to get custody of certain houses and certain amounts of land in a village. All the members of the group sat together and worked out who should stay in which house and what part of land to cultivate. Through this process of settlement the Tibetans were able to overcome their frustration, loneliness and monotony of life in the new land. As the villages were fully settled new village leaders were selected.

There is a total of 133 tribes and sub-tribes (or clans) represented in the nine villages of Mundgod settlement. These have not been integrated into the organisational structure and have no functions in the new environment, although early in the history of Mundgod settlement certain groups sought to settle locally (as neighbours) on the basis of tribal affinity. Tribal identity is still recognised but perhaps more out of sentiment than for any other reason; likewise for clan or sub-tribal identity. The following table shows tribal affiliation (along with types of marriage) for some neighbouring families.

TABLE 6

Villagewise Distribution and Pattern of Settlement and Marriage Types

<i>Village Number</i>	<i>House Number</i>	<i>Tribes</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>	<i>Marriage Pattern</i>
1	2	3	4	5
I	1A to 1B	<i>Sungaba</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	2A to 4B	<i>Tedhey</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	5A to 6A	<i>Tedhey (2) Tholing (1)</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	6B	<i>Tholing</i>	<i>Domey</i>	W
	7A to 7A1	<i>Girkey (1) Tholing (1)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	7B	<i>Girkey</i>	<i>Domey</i>	U-M
	8A to 9A	<i>Chubu (2) Rawang (1) Sanya (1)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	9B	<i>Kongpo</i>	<i>Domey</i>	M
	10A to 11B	<i>Tholing, Dopa</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	P
	12A	<i>Tholing</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	W
	12A1	<i>Tedhey</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	12B	<i>Tholing</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	13A to 13B1	<i>Tholing (2) Kongpo (2)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	14A	<i>Tholing</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	W
	14B	<i>Tholing</i>	<i>Domey</i>	M
	15A and B	<i>Lhasa (1) Tedhey (1)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	
	16A	<i>Tedhey</i>	<i>Domey</i>	M
	16A1	<i>Kongpo</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	U-M
	16B to 17A	<i>Purrang (1) Changaba (1)</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
17A1	<i>Horba</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M	
17B	<i>Britse</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M	

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Villagewise Distribution and Pattern of Settlement and Marriage Types

1	2	3	4	5
	18A and B	<i>Tedhey</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	19A	<i>Kongpo</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	19B	<i>Kongpo</i>	<i>Domey</i>	M
	20A	<i>Sungba</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	W
	20A1	<i>Lhasa</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	20B-21A	<i>Tedhey</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	21A-35A	<i>Tedhey (14) Tholing (8) Girke (1)</i> <i>Purrang (10) Kinzgiem (1)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	P (M) all
	35B	<i>Derkeyi</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	36A to 42A1	<i>Purrang (6) Nirilim (2) Rutak (1)</i> <i>Tholing (3) Chomu (1)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	42B	<i>Kham</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	42A to 50A	<i>Purrang (4) Tholing (5) Zonga (1)</i> <i>Kongpo (1) Dawa (1) Tedhey (5)</i> <i>Sungpa (1) Churti (2)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	
	50B	<i>Tholing</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
II	1A and B	<i>T-sona (1)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	
	2A	<i>Tay</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	2B	<i>Garawa</i>	<i>Domey</i>	W
	3A to 12B	<i>Purrang (14) Yangdung (2) T-sona (1)</i> <i>Lhasa (1) Domo (1) Changba (2)</i> <i>Bong Pa (1)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Villagewise Distribution and Pattern of Settlement and Marriage Types

1	2	3	4	5
III	18B to 26B	<i>Dhari (2) Lobra (2) Tsona (3) Degung (2)</i> <i>Khurlung (2) Purrang (1) Gertsu (1)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	28A	—	<i>Domey</i>	—
	28B to 39A	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	39B	—	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	40A to 44B	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	45B	—	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	46A to 47A1	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	48A	—	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	48B to 50B	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
IV	1A	—	<i>Domey</i>	—
	1B	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	2A	—	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	2B to 4B1	KB Po	<i>U-Tsang</i>	Polyandrous (KB)
	5A	—	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	5B to 23A	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	2 Polyandrous
	23A	—	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	23B1-37A	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	3 Polyandrous
	37B	—	<i>Domey</i>	—
	38A and B	—	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	39A to 41B	<i>Chusi, Purrang (2), Shipky,</i> <i>Shungru (2) Bongpa</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Villagewise Distribution and Pattern of Settlement and Marriage Types

1	2	3	4	5
IV	41B1	<i>Derkhy</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	42A to 57A	<i>Shungru, Purrang, Derkhy, Shekar, Kungpo, U-pa, Gertsi, Topa, Ngari, Rungjung, Bongpa, Dartha, Lhasa, Dawa</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	1 Polyandrous
	57B	<i>Dungjung</i>	<i>Domey</i>	M
	58A to 74A	<i>Rungjung, Shipky, Ripkhyi, Sarking, Kuppa, Girtse, Ngari, Gerkyi</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	2 Polyandrous (<i>Ripkhy, Girtse</i>)
	74B	<i>Shipkyi</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	
	75A to 77A and B	<i>Gerkyi, Shipkyi, Gartho</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	1 Polyandrous
	78A	<i>Gerkyi</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	78B to 2A	<i>Changba, Shipkyi</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	
V	2B	—	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	3A to 4A	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	4B	—	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	5A to 7A	<i>Lhasa, Yangong, Tholing baba</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	7B	<i>Mangnam</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	8A to 9B	<i>Phari, Lhasa, Tholing, Kongo</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	10A+B to 11B	<i>Longo, Dirkey</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	12B to 19B	<i>Mangnam, Phari, Digung, Tholing, Lhasa</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	20A	<i>Amdo</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	21A to 28A	<i>Tholing, Dawa, Husa, Topa, Durang</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Villagewise Distribution and Pattern of Settlement and Marriage Types

1	2	3	4	5
VI	2A 2B to 23B	<i>Gayathong (Keydong)</i> <i>Phampo, Gayathong, (Keydeng), Yalchen,</i> <i>Kurrang, Lhasa, Gawa, Tedhey, Pothang,</i> <i>Lhobra, Tsona, Chang, Rongthue,</i> <i>Dherpgy, Chati, Papo, Gertse, Thingtse,</i> <i>Kuppa, Pharri Rapaya, Gawa, Bapa,</i> <i>Pembo, Kerrong, Tesre, Ngari, Baror,</i> <i>Mayang</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	24A	<i>Gertse</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	Polyandry —
	25A to 30 B	<i>Kuka, Qu, Sarang, baba Girtse, Gargue,</i> <i>Rangthoe, Repkyi, Purang, Teyak</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	
	31A	<i>Nangden (Bongthoema)</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	31B to 45B	<i>Rongmoe, Bakar, Baher, Tayak,</i> <i>Ram, Bopa, Gertse, Rawang, Sarkung,</i> <i>Kerong, Kupa, Ketong, Rijony, Lomu-</i> <i>Jekor : Phari, Makham, Kedong (qu)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	Polygamy (Ramong)
	45B1	<i>Amdo (Chuna)</i>	<i>Domey</i>	
	46A to 52A	<i>Dalpo, Kerong, Kongpo, Kedong, Danak</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	52B	<i>Lalung</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	53A	<i>Kedong (Malea)</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	53B	<i>Khan (Chamdo) (Kerong)</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	54B	—	<i>U-Tsang</i>	

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Villagewise Distribution and Pattern of Settlement and Marriage Types

1	2	3	4	5
VII	1A to 6A	<i>Gartsi, Bongla, Phari, Danak, Lalung, Phomo, Lunglam, Dingru</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	Polyandry
	6A	<i>Garkar</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	6B to 7B	<i>Darma, Kyinong, Makhim, Phari, Tsang</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	Polyandry
	8A	<i>Gawa</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	9A to 18A	<i>Phari, Pongrong, Gartsi, U-pa (Bongya) Kyirong, Yathu, Danak, Tashigong, Sarchung (Shipkyi) Chung, Rioche, Nangchen, Chaksho (Rawching), Phari, Usai, Domo</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	18A	<i>Karpinpa</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	18B to 19A	<i>Sakya, Zonga</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	19B	<i>Kigha</i>	<i>Domey</i>	—
	20A	<i>Shirong</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	20B	<i>Gojokham Ngapo</i>	<i>Dothe or Dorme</i>	—
	21A to 23B	<i>Garts, Lhara, Gerkyi</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	Polyandry
	23B	<i>Amdo (Kham)</i>	<i>Domey</i>	—
	24A to 29A	<i>Gerkyi, Chang Tong, Gerts, Domo, Tholing, Choscr, Rotak</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	29B	<i>Doyi</i>	<i>Domey</i>	—
	30A to 34B	<i>Gerkyi, Gargee, Kungrikopa, Chang Gerts, Borgpa</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Villagewise Distribution and Pattern of Settlement and Marriage Types

1	2	3	4	5
VIII	35A	<i>Amdo</i>	<i>Domy</i>	—
	35B	<i>Kham Kongo</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	36A to 48A	<i>Gerkyi, Bongpa, Girtse, Chang, Tholing, Rawang, Rithigang, Changtse, Lalung, Leathong, Saga, Thasa, Lakumba</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	1 Polyandry+
	48A1	<i>Lahara</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	2 Polyandry
	48B to 52B	<i>Saga, Girtse, Bokar, Gertse, Karlay</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	1 Polyandry
	53A	<i>Nuri</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	M
	53B to 54A	<i>Gertse, Sana</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	M
	54B	<i>Dogoe</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	55A to 60A	<i>Gerkyi, Bongpa, Todare, Rutou, Gertse, Nyir, Potirawa, Phari</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	Polyandry
	60B	<i>Gangtsi</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
IX	1A to 8B	<i>Gerkyi, Bongpa., Sangtsi, Ripkyi</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—
	9A	<i>Girkey</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	9B to 15B	<i>Girkey, Tsong, Shipkyi, Tingtsi, Rongthoe</i>		Polygamy
	16A+B to 17A1	<i>Veonjoua, Konchirapo, Gerkyi</i>	<i>Dothe</i>	—
	17B to 44B	<i>Veonjoka Kunchapapu, Gerky, Tingare, Rongthoe, Nargare, Thasa, Ringtopa, Rungjung, Sangje, Thingri, Shipkyi, Kongpo, Pheri, Topu, Jonga, Sarkung, Kurang, Quakoba, Sigetse, Nanang, Nanam, Zonga, Rithrgang</i>	<i>U-Tsang</i>	—

Sex Ratio and Marital Status

Among the Tibetans in Mundgod there is an imbalance in sex ratio : there are more males than females (2065 to 1918) out of the total population of 3983. The following table shows the age and sex distribution.

TABLE 7
Showing the age and sex distribution

<i>Age</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
0-14	649	611	1260
15-19	198	181	379
20-24	188	169	357
25-29	117	151	268
30-34	148	133	281
35-39	154	156	310
40-44	169	122	291
45-49	146	114	260
50-54	96	93	189
55-59	91	79	170
60 & above	109	109	218
Total	2065	1918	3983

This imbalance in favour of the males is present in all the age groups except in the 25-29 age group which, for some unexplained reasons, tilts in favour of the females. This could be significant because it affects the age of marriage and thus the chances of marriage for these girls. It may lead to some other problems also. Perhaps the overall sex imbalance in favour of the males may be one reason why the Tibetans practised polyandry. This of course will be discussed at length later in this study.

The following table shows the marital status of the Mundgod Tibetans (males only).

TABLE 8
Showing the Marital Status in Numbers

<i>Married</i>	<i>Unmarried</i>	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Separated</i>	<i>Total</i>
787	1123	66	7	15	1998

Note : 67 are unaccounted for

Among Tibetans several types of marriages are prevalent. The table below shows the types of marriage and the number. In all, 459 informants responded to this question.

TABLE 9
Showing Types of Marriages in Numbers

<i>Monogamy</i>	<i>Polyandry</i>	<i>Polygyny</i>	<i>Total</i>
430	22	7	459

Family Structure

The family among the Tibetans in Mundgod constitutes the basic structure of their society. It is through the family that they relate themselves to other forms of organisation. The family among them is part of the clan system. The Tibetan society is patrilineal and patrilocal. They practise with strict rigidity a clan exogamous type of marriage. In the process of migration and rehabilitation many clans have been disturbed. It was noticed during fieldwork that only a few families belonging to a single clan live close to each other and these do not marry among themselves. The number of families belonging to a clan is so small that it is not possible to revive in any form the clan organisation in Mundgod. Many resent that they are losing their clan identity but all are happy that they could remain as Tibetans.

In the absence of any clan organisation manifesting itself in the Mundgod colony the family is gaining greater importance in social and cultural fields. The family is geared to the task of preserving and perpetuating the Tibetan values in Mundgod. Nuclear family forms the common type of family; however there are a small number of joint families. The following table shows the type of family and number.

TABLE 10
Showing the Types of Families in Numbers

<i>Nuclear Family</i>	<i>Joint Family</i>	<i>No Response</i>	<i>Total</i>
633	47	159	869

The presence of a high number of nuclear families is partly dictated by the local conditions. This was arranged before migration to the Mundgod settlement. According to the rehabilitation rules the land was allotted .32 quanta per adult and .22 quanta per child, up to the maximum of five acres per family. So a Tibetan family would have suffered if it stuck to its original joint family. Hence, to take advantage of the situation the married sons, daughters and brothers registered as independent families. Along with the distribution of land, the allotment of dwellings also contributed significantly to the split of joint families. As pointed out earlier the houses are two room houses and facilities are shared among groups of houses. The allotment of the house was on the basis of a family. So they registered as independent families and got more space. Many families that split at the time of rehabilitation continue to live independently. But certain families, when they received land and a house, amalgamated their families into a joint one. Thus, 47 of the joint types originated in this way. (There are 159 who did not give any response to this question. Most of them were rather afraid to identify themselves either way).

The nuclear family consists of the husband, wife and unmarried children, the children being born either in India or in Tibet. Economically the nuclear family is completely independent. The members cultivate their piece of land and all the income they get goes to them only (there is no tax payment of any kind, and all other contributions, e.g., to Lamas, is voluntary). To many of these families certain material goods and money has come quite recently. The possession of material goods and money is changing the value system of these people especially the young. They prefer to spend money on material goods like radios, stainless steel utensils and costly furniture. They want to spend money on outings either to Mundgod or to Hubli. However, there are some who prefer to share the income among extra-nuclear kin than spend all by themselves. This is more noticeable among the older people who are not attracted to the material culture of India and whose main aim is to keep the older forms of life intact.

The joint families are those married persons who claim that they belong to a single family unit. When they received allotment

of land and houses they pooled both and formed a single family. At the head of such families is the eldest male. They pool whatever income they get both from the land and from other sources. Many of them expressed a view that by living together they can overcome the problem of space and shortage of manpower. According to them a two roomed house is quite inadequate for their living. A Tibetan family would normally have a separate kitchen, a prayer hall and living quarters. If they pool the space they can manage to have all these even if the house is overcrowded.

Structurally, the Tibetan family in Mundgod is patriarchal and authoritarian. Generally, within the family the eldest male is the head of the house and he is the co-ordinator in the joint family. All the members of the family must seek his permission before they do anything. The female roles and behaviour are strictly controlled by the head. Except in the case of helping her husband on the family farm a woman has to seek permission of the male head before going out of the settlement. The restrictions on movement alone are still strong, that is, not without being escorted either by the husband or by any other member of the family. A woman is not expected to dispose of her own property or grains in the house without the permission of the head.

Although the majority of Tibetan families in Mundgod still adhere to these traditional codes there is a small number of families who tend to overlook some of these things and allow greater freedom especially among the younger generation. Sometimes they allow females to go on their own to Mundgod for purchases, etc. In some of the houses where the husband is away at work or on an assignment outside the settlement then the wife takes the full responsibility of the house and agriculture.

In general the children show great respect for parents. They take permission of the mother or the father before going out of the house. Punishment is common among them. Very rarely parents complained of disobedience by their children. Most parents expressed the view that children are behaving as expected. Perhaps this type of behaviour is due to the well-knit family and settlement life in Mundgod. But several

parents did express their anxiety about the future. According to the Tibetan customs the marriages are arranged and the boy and girl are not expected to meet each other before marriage. This was possible when they were living in Tibet owing to the terrain and the close-knit clan organisation. In Mundgod settlement however, the mixing of sexes in the younger age group has increased with the result that premarriage pregnancies have correspondingly increased. Moreover now the boy and girl agree between themselves before they inform their parents. This, the Tibetan parents feel, is clear defiance of parental authority. In recent years the mobility of boys and girls from one settlement to another either for work or for education has increased. Many of them have independent incomes. This coupled with other factors has threatened the basis of Tibetan parental authority.

While many parents expressed anxiety about these things several among them realise the fact that life in a settlement is quite different. They recognise the fact that a settlement life is too restricted for the youngsters. Many attractive things like the cinema, market and other things are near to them now, than when they were in Tibet where the youngsters had no access to such diversions.

Three types of marriages are identified among the Mundgod Tibetans. They are the monogamy, polygyny and polyandrous types. Monogamy is practised by most people. According to information people coming from places near to Lhasa and other major cities and places near to India practise monogamy. Moreover, the majority of youngsters that are married in India are monogamous. Polygyny seems to be a rare thing in the Mundgod settlement. However there was only one case of it recorded in this study. Polyandrous types of marriage were more common, although no longer prevailing (only twenty two cases recorded in this study). Two types of polyandrous marriages were noticed : one was that in which brothers share a common wife and the second one in which friends share a single woman. According to the first type the eldest brother marries a girl; the younger brothers as they grow up share that woman. The property will be in the name of the family. The children are brought up by all the husbands. The children address all of

them as father. If anyone wants to get away from the system he could do so. When he decides to go out he has to find a new wife and he loses the right over the family property. There was only one case of the second type. It seems these two persons when they were young in Tibet promised to each other that they would share a wife. The first one married the present wife after coming to India. Somehow both of them met in the Mundgod settlement. The second one reminded the first of the promise they had made to each other. The first consulted his wife and she agreed to take the second person as a husband. Both of them pooled their property. They have three children and all of them take the name of the first husband.

Except in very few cases, such as the above, plural marriages in Mundgod were cemented before migration to India.

During fieldwork it was rather hard to identify the polyandrous marriages since the Tibetans have already become conscious of the difference between themselves and Indians. For fear of criticism they prefer to conceal these differences. The following table gives the results of the survey.

TABLE 11

Showing the Types of Marriages in Numbers

<i>Monogamy</i>	<i>Polyandry</i>	<i>Polygyny</i>	<i>Total</i>
430	22	7	459

Kin ties are another important aspect of a Tibetan's family life. In the process of migration and establishment some kin ties have been severed. Every Tibetan family has one story or the other to tell. Brothers were separated, children were separated from parents, close kin were separated. They are now trying to gather whatever ties that are left. In the Mundgod settlement there were several children (most of them now grown up) who had not been able to trace their real parents. Many older Tibetans are playing the role of godparents to them. As the years pass each considers the other as real parent or child. The survey also indicated that most of them

have relatives either in the same village or in other villages as shown in the table below.

TABLE 12
Showing Number of Relatives in same/other Village

<i>In the same Village</i>	<i>Other Villages</i>	<i>Total</i>
465	312	777

It was noticed that a man's brothers, parents, and cousins would normally be in the same village as he himself. Also, in other villages, he would have sisters, brothers-in-law and other relatives. It was noticed that kin (including affinal kin) visit each other quite frequently. They also help each other on the farm. Among them were some families whose husbands are serving in the Tibetan army. They come and visit their families once a year. During harvest, ploughing and weeding periods the brothers of the woman come and help her to work on the fields. Such help is provided even when one is sick.

With the dispersal of the Tibetans all over India it appears that strong kin ties based within a settlement are developing. Either old kin ties are strengthened or new ones are formed through new marriages. In all, there have been 288 marriages celebrated in the Mundgod settlement so far. Out of these 192 men have taken brides from the Mundgod settlement itself and 96 from the rest of India. This strong emphasis on Mundgod shows that other settlements are not easy to reach for an average Tibetan and therefore they lean heavily on their own settlement for purposes of marriage.

The Tibetan Home

The home in any culture constitutes an important aspect of identity of any group. It represents its value system and the adaptation to environment in which the group lives. The architectural design and internal decor of the house indicates the culture of that group. Materials used for the house building represent their environment.

The importance of the house as a common identity factor is not seen only among the modern societies but also among the

simpler ones. The people of the simpler societies, while constructing a house, relate themselves to the environment in which they live. The nearby forest or mountain may provide the material which they use in building the house. In India this is quite explicitly seen. In many parts of India bamboo and rice is grown in abundance. So many people use bamboo to build the house, and cover the roof with rice hay. On the coastal parts of India coconut is grown in abundance so those who have access to dried coconut leaves use them to make the roof. Most of the Indian communities are guided by the concept of purity and pollution. Certain parts of the house are invariably considered as sacred where people, other than their own group, are not allowed to enter. Thus the house to them represents their identity. A person, while arranging the house, shows his status in society apart from displaying things which represent his culture. This may take the form of exhibiting antiques, photos and other visible things.

The Tibetans also have a home concept of their own. For them the house is constructed by the rehabilitation authority on the basis of a general plan. Hence this part of the identity has been imposed on them. However, the uniqueness of the Tibetan houses is noticeable in respect of the internal arrangement of the house and the display of symbols of identity. According to the Tibetan value system the living room and the kitchen should be separate. The houses that are constructed by the rehabilitation authority are two bedroom houses; one they use for cooking and the other for sleeping. The kitchen is austere and utilitarian possessing little except for a few mud pots and aluminium utensils. Electricity is used only for lighting, but in the kitchen of all the houses there is a Tibetan teapot. This utensil, and the Tibetan manner of tea making, is a hallmark of their culture. The pot is a long bamboo thing; at one end there is a hammer to pound the tea. They boil the water and pour it into the tea pot, add tea leaves, and go on pounding. They finally add salt and butter to their tea. In some of the houses in the kitchen they hang dried meat, another distinctly Tibetan preference. The second room is used for sitting during the daytime and at night for sleeping. In all the houses the sitting room has a wooden pedestal nearly 75 centimetres high and 45 centimetres

wide which runs from one end of the room to the other. On that they have a photo of the Dalai Lama, a gold or silver statue of the Buddha, and the photo of the founder of the sect and 'Tara', the only goddess of the Tibetans. They also keep nine or eleven cuplets of uneven size filled with water, and a wick lamp is kept burning all through the day. In some of the houses the sitting room also contains the prayer wheel and a bundle of holy scripts. (It seems many people could not bring a prayer wheel from Tibet and they are hard to find in India.) The walls are covered with Tibetan paintings and in all the houses the floor in the sitting room is covered with Tibetan carpets. Visitors are entertained in the sitting room. At night, this room is also used for sleeping.

The discussion so far represents the traditional aspect of their identity and is true of the majority of the houses. However, there are tendencies towards an identity change in some ways, especially among the younger generation. The house of a mechanic in a Tibetan workshop or a sweater seller differ from that of the traditional home. In these houses the wooden pedestal where the religious objects are kept is reduced to the minimum and occupies a less prominent place, whereas material goods like the radio, steel furniture and photos of film stars are more noticeable.

Stratification

As already indicated, the Tibetan society in Tibet was highly stratified. There were two main classes—the nobility and the commoner. However, in the process of migration the society has become more homogeneous. According to information there are no class divisions in the Mundgod settlement. All the people that are settled in Mundgod were either nomadic husbandmen or agriculturists. They were not rich when in Tibet and hence many of them have not brought any wealth with them to claim any special status. All of them are dependent on the patronage of the government and charity agencies. So all of them initially started off with the same kind of advantage or disadvantage in Mundgod. However, there are some among them who are enterprising. Some of them undertake carpet-making and sell it to visitors to the settlement. A few among them seek

greater selling opportunities in nearby cities and make some extra money. Moreover some of them through sheer hard work on the land get more money and re-invest that money wisely on more land—taken on lease from local Indians. These people are emerging as a richer class among them. The arrangement of their houses is much better. Many of these people possess more material goods like the radio, fan, car and so on. They invariably have extensions to their existing house, and some of them have brought tapped water into their houses. It is doubtful whether these people have any special privileges in the Mundgod Tibetan society but this much is certain, that their fellow Tibetans are recognising the difference and are becoming aware of it more and more. The other factor which contributes to the emergence of difference is within the pattern of allotment of land. As pointed out earlier land is allotted .32 quanta per head, .22 per child, up to the maximum of five acres (children born in India are excluded). This maximum limit goes against the larger families.

The following table shows the size of family and the amount of land allotted.

TABLE 13

Showing in numbers the size of the family and the amount of land allotted to each

<i>Size of family</i>	<i>Amount of land allotted</i>				<i>Landless</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>.32 acres</i>	<i>1.5-2.5 acres</i>	<i>3.5-4.5 acres</i>	<i>5 acres</i>		
0-2	1	145	2	1		149
3-4		197	79	3		279
5-6		110	164	11		285
7-8		11	64	22		97
9-10		2	7	25		34
11-12		—		13		13
13 above		—				—
	1	465	316	75	2	869

The maximum is received by those who are allotted five acres with five to six members at home. These people are in a

better situation than others who have more people in the house with the same amount of land as others. There are 110 families with a family size of five to six children. These families are definitely in a disadvantageous situation economically. Many children in these families are born in India and hence they have no right to the allotment of land. They depend very heavily on charity from outside. (Along with poverty it seems that illness is also more prevalent among them). By contrast, the 145 families with two persons in them and an allotment of land just less than two acres, and the 197 families with three to four members in them and an allotment of 2.5 acres of land are in a better situation since there are not many children to look after and most of them (born in Tibet) are young and can work hard on the land. These people save much more than the others and the spirit of adventure is manifest more among these people.

More significant perhaps is the new phenomenon of families who benefit in prestige and in financial advantage through having some of their members educationally qualified and employed in one or the other social services. These families may be forming the nucleus of a new class among the Mundgod Tibetans.

Religious Order

I have already pointed out that the Lamas stay in two independent villages and constitute an independent administrative unit within the Mundgod settlement. In spite of this administrative independence the Lamas keep close relationship with the ordinary settlements and keep alive the Tibetan traditions and the Buddhist values among the ordinary Tibetans.

There are in all 600 Lamas and Monks in Mundgod settlement. Half of them live in Lama Village 1, and the other half live in Village No. 2. These Lamas are part of a huge contingent of 20,000 who migrated to India in one batch. These 600 Lamas were originally settled in Buxa in West Bengal. They were repatriated to Mundgod in 1969, but in common parlance the Lamas in Mundgod are still referred to as Buxa Lamas. Their repatriation was financed by a special grant from the *United Nations Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation* based

in Geneva. The Mundgod Lamas have achieved significant success in the re-establishment of the religious order through the efforts of the Lamas, ordinary Tibetans and the UN. They have constructed monasteries, prayer halls and religious schools in both the Lama villages.

In Lama Village No. 1, The Gylukpa sect has its monastery with a prayer hall and a school. And in Village No. 2, the Sakya sect has its monastery and prayer halls. The monastery is a very sacred place and no one is allowed to go in with shoes on and it is not open to the public except to special visitors. Inside the monastery they have a huge photograph of the Dalai Lama, a huge marble statue of Tara (the only female goddess), and the marble statue of the founder of that monastery on a wooden pedestal. On the pedestal they keep 11 or nine containers of different sizes in descending order filled with water, and a butter wick lamp is kept burning all the time. The monastery is completely decorated with red, yellow and green cloth. In the hall they spread wooden planks for seating the Lamas. The seating depends upon one's status in the religious order. The Abbot as head of the monastery sits next to the place where the Dalai Lama sits whenever he visits the settlement. The pedestal provided for the Abbot is much smaller than the pedestal provided for the Dalai Lama. In front of the Abbot and facing the pedestal where all the Gods are kept sit the high Lamas in seniority from right to left. Among them the incarnate Lama (the Tibetans believe in reincarnation of the dead Lama) gets a special place near to the Abbot even though he has not taken all the vows that have to be taken to become a Lama. In both the monasteries the Lama incarnates were under the age of ten. Normally the monastery is used for prayers on certain important occasions and for purposes of daily prayers the Lamas assemble in the prayer hall. However, the monastery is used by the high Lamas daily to print the holy scripts and so on.

Even in the prayer hall they have all the Gods that are kept in a monastery, except that the prayer hall is not treated as sacred as the monastery. According to the monastic rules every Lama and every Monk has to attend the daily prayers in the morning and in the evening in the prayer hall.

The first prayer is at 5.00 a.m. A bell rings for prayers around 4.00 a.m. then all of them wake up, wash themselves and get ready for prayers. People working in the kitchen keep water on the boil before they come to prayers. The prayers take about an hour. After prayers they have tea and *samba* (their staple diet *jowar* flour and sugar). Then the high Lamas assume teaching duties and lesser Lamas may go to the fields for work. Originally, when they were in Tibet, Lamas never used to undertake any secular duties. Since coming to Mundgod they have been forced to undertake secular duties. Just as the ordinary Tibetans the Lamas also receive .32 quanta of land for cultivation. All the land is managed by the Lama cooperative society. And there is strict division of labour. The duties of high Lamas and Lamas is to teach and learn the religious principles, whereas the able bodied monks are assigned tasks on the land. Some who cannot work on the land are assigned tasks in the kitchen and cleaning in the monastery and prayer hall.

Normally the young recruits will be assigned to a teacher, who is their Guru. From him they learn all the religious principles. The Tibetan Buddhism is highly liberal. According to practice the teaching takes on the form of a challenge and counter challenge between pairs. Normally a challenger will get up from his seat, explain the whole thing in the form of a challenge and at the end he claps to the person who is seated. When the seated person wants to accept the challenge then he has to stand up and do the same thing. Finally if the pair agree or disagree on certain issues they report to their Guru. The Guru finally decides and it is final.

These religious debates may also be held between monasteries. Normally they are held in February when they have no work in the fields. Four people from each settlement are selected and they challenge each other. Such meetings are presided over by the Abbots of both monasteries. These meetings are open to the public and most people from the Mundgod Tibetan settlements gather for the occasion. According to informants such debates are also held once a year between settlements. Selected Lamas come from other settlements, visit the Mundgod settlement and there a series of

religious debates between this settlements' Lamas and others takes place. When inter-settlement debates take place both the monasteries in the Mundgod settlement join together and provide a common front. (This is also a strong indication that the Tibetans are developing identity with the settlement in which they stay.)

Once a year the Dalai Lama visits the Mundgod settlement. When he visits the place, the settlers arrange for special prayers and teachings to the members of the settlement. Apart from the Dalai Lama, the Mundgod settlement is also visited by the senior tutor (*yong zin ling renpochi*) and the junior tutor (*yongzinrijang Renpochi*). (During 1974-75 they were in the Mundgod settlement between December and February.) During that period there were several sessions of common prayers and teachings. Lamas from other settlements in the Karnataka State held similar events. On one of the days they had special prayers for the liberation of Tibet from the Chinese. On the last day of their visit, the Lamas of both the villages had arranged special prayers for the safety and well-being of the tutors.

For the sake of the public, once a month on the full moon day a mass is held in front of the Dalai Lama's palace. It is presided over by Abbots of both the monasteries. All the members of the village after prayers confess their sins to them, and the Abbots pray for their pardon. On that day the children are initiated into the religious fold by the sprinkling of holy water upon them by the Abbots.

The Lamas have no responsibility over the *Stupa* which is open to everyone. The *Stupa* stands away from the Lama villages; every day several people go and turn the prayer wheels around the *Stupa*. The *Stupa* is supposed to be the place where the Buddha is buried and worship there is open to all.

The Lamas use a red gown and shave their heads completely. As long as they are within the settlement they should take the permission of their superiors in case they want to leave the settlement. Sometimes it is likely that they may be called by individual families to visit their house and pray for the safety of its members. When they are called they have to seek the permission of their Guru. Normally when they visit

families they get some money from them which they are permitted to use for themselves for any extra necessities.

The entry of a person to the religious order is voluntary and the quitting from the religious order by anyone who wants to enter the ordinary life is also free. A person loses membership in the order if he lies, steals or commits a crime. Persons in the religious order should abstain from eating meat.

Though there are strict restrictions on food and dress for the Lamas, they can use the ordinary dress when travelling and eat meat if it is expedient to do so.

We have thus examined the overt institutional pattern of life as it has been and is in the Mundgod settlement. We would now pass on to a more intensive examination of the more personal and dynamic aspects of its life.

4

PROCESS OF CHANGE

Youth and Changing Identity

The Tibetans in Mundgod can be significantly (if, broadly) divided into two categories; the old and the young. The old people were the people who decided to immigrate to India because of the unbearable conditions in Tibet. They have very strong stakes in the Tibetan society and culture. They are born and socialised in Tibet. They have only one identity and that is their Tibetan identity; while they were in Tibet they were not much exposed to outside influences. Now and then some Tibetans used to visit India and China for religious and business matters. Very few people from the West used to visit Tibet. Reasons for not coming in contact with the outside world was perhaps, the religiosity of the people, their illiteracy (all the educational institutions were concentrated only in the Lhasa area) and the geographical isolation.

The younger generation is, of course, also socialised into the Tibetan culture through the well-knit Tibetan settlements in India. But their isolation both in the physical and social sense is not complete. In other words, the younger generation is developing new identities which are wider and more cosmopolitan. All the younger children have access to modern education and live in a close proximity to the Indian contemporaries. The mobility of the youngsters, either for education or for occupation both in India and abroad, is immeasurably greater than for their migrant parents. In spite of all the worldly attractions the younger ones retain a strong attachment to Tibet. They are nevertheless much better equipped to think

beyond the framework of solely Tibetan culture and are free to choose between more widely varying alternatives in their behaviour.

From the point of view of the Tibetan community as a whole they have become Trojan horses. They are bringing in the value patterns from outside and inducting these into the community. Although the Tibetan communities are to some degree shielded against outside influences through physical isolation, this insulation is broken by the youngsters. (See next sub-section). The younger generation is trilingual, i.e., Hindi, Tibetan and English, whereas the older generation is either unilingual or bilingual. (Unilingual would be only Tibetan, and bilingual, Hindi and Tibetan). Even now the older people have only a working knowledge of Hindi.

The orientation of the younger generation and their involvement in non-Tibetan activities has generated serious anxieties in the older generation. The older generation feel that the younger generation may lose interest in the Tibetan society and culture. They view with suspicion any diversion from the traditional patterns of life as injurious to the way of life of the Tibetans. This is very well expressed in the statement made by a youth. "My parents are suspicious of me all the time. They take objection to my hair-dressing, cleaning habits and food. They think that I am becoming something other than Tibetan."

Life in a Tibetan settlement appears to be allright for the old people who have got what they want. But the discipline of religion and the daily acts of piety and moral attitudes in the life of the settlement are likely to generate a situation which may be intolerable for the youngsters especially those who have wider contact with the Indian communities and more knowledge of the world. Of course they return to the Tibetan settlement either for short periods or even for longer periods but the feelings and the frustrations remain. They are rather critical of life in the settlement, especially the sanitation and the housing conditions.

In the Mundgod settlement the land is the source of income for the majority of Tibetans. Since they do not have adequate irrigation facilities they have one crop a year. For raising one crop they have work on the land for only a few months in the

year, and the rest of the period they have practically nothing to do. Several of the youths tried to find jobs in Mundgod but for various reasons they were not able to. This has increased their sense of frustration. Many of them do not have proper remunerative jobs in the settlement and jobs outside of the colony are not easy to secure. This has added to the feeling of isolation of the younger generation.

The generation gap between the young and the old is increasing since the attitudes and values which serve to maintain the Tibetan identity are undergoing a change. Both the young and the old Tibetans are inward looking. They want to be nothing other than Tibetan. But the way in which each of the generations interprets its Tibetanness differs. The old people would like to re-establish the Tibetan society, so that if and when they go back to Tibet they could carry their culture back intact. But the youth want a change in the original Tibetan identity. They are in contact, as we shall see, with the Indian society much more than the older Tibetans. Many of the interesting and useful things which they notice among the Indians and others attract them and they want to adopt them and modernise the Tibetan society. This is very well illustrated in the following incident. A Tibetan boy was wearing shoulder length hair and all his relatives wanted him to cut it short. But on the other hand he was met with derogatory remarks from his friends (whose ages were between 16-22). They were of the opinion that keeping long hair or short had nothing to do with their freedom as Tibetans. If one keeps long hair one would not injure the claim on Tibet as his motherland. In other words it would not interfere with the Tibetan identity. But the parents take objection to it. The above instance indicates several things. One important aspect of it is the growing generation gap and the generational conflict, potential rather than seriously actual at this stage. Secondly, among the peer group, a conflict is growing between the conformists and the non-conformists. Thirdly these are signs of identity change, manifesting themselves in external behaviour.

Youth and Cultural Innovation

A survey was conducted to ascertain the orientation and the

impact of the youth on the Tibetan society in Mundgod. Youths in the age group of 16-25 were contacted in each village and the prepared schedule was given to them to fill in. In a few cases the research staff filled in the schedules. In all 130 youths were contacted and the information was collected from all of them. The following table shows the age distribution of the youths.

TABLE 14

Showing in numbers the age structure of youth (both sexes) between 16-25

<i>Age</i>	<i>No.</i>
16	17
17	19
18	32
19	23
20	22
21	19
22	9
23	13
24	4
25	22
	180

The age 16-25 was selected on the assumption that this age group would have greater accessibility to Indian society and they would show greater flexibility in their relationships with non-Tibetans because of their peculiar situation. This particular age group were either born in India or born in Tibet and migrated when they were very young. This particular age group entered schools in India. School in any society brings people together and exposes them to certain similar values. Whether or not the elders (parents) wanted their children, to be educated in this particular type of education, the children have been and will continue to be forced into it because of formal, uniform educational systems with very slight modifications at the regional level. Those above 25 years of age have

missed the schooling in India since they had passed schooling age when they migrated. They thus missed an important stage of contact with the host society. So the selection of the age group 16-25 was quite appropriate.

Out of 180 cases 107 are males and 73 are females. With such a fair representation of the sexes in the survey, both the survey and the conclusions are equally balanced and representative.

The youth come from different backgrounds and to a certain extent this is suggested in the table below which shows the occupational status of the youths.

TABLE 15

Showing in numbers the occupational status of youths

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>No.</i>
Agriculture	56
Household	35
Professional	27
Students	55
Others	7
Total	180

The educational level attained by the youths under survey is tabulated as follows.

TABLE 16

Showing in numbers the educational level of youth

Standard	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	Others	Nil	Total
Number	1	10	13	20	24	14	15	7	12	64	180

Out of 180 cases 64 do not have any formal education. Females form the majority among the uneducated. Among the Tibetans the first preference for formal education is always given to males whereas the girl's education has a low priority. According to the Tibetan custom the task of the female is to look after the household and raise the family. Out of 116 who

are educated 71 are male and 45 are female. Out of this number, 12 have training in some vocation (6 male and 5 female). The training includes teacher training, mechanic, technician, and others.

Regarding the place where these youths are educated the following table shows the place of education and the number.

TABLE 17

Showing the place of education and the number

Place	India	Foreign Countries	Tibet	Nil	Total
Number	113	3	Nil	64	180

It is clear from the table that the majority of them (113) have had education in India. Though these people are educated in India the financial support for their education still comes from foreign countries especially Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland. Normally someone in these countries sponsors a student. Under this sponsorship scheme the individual boy/girl gets regular remittances from the sponsor and this is sufficient to meet the boarding expenses, fees and pocket money. Those who have education in foreign countries are sponsored by charity organisations in foreign countries with a view to giving them special training so that when they return to India they may train some more people. Sometimes the sponsors may call the candidate whom they are supporting to their country for a few months for better training.

Language is an important aspect in communication. Knowing another's language puts an individual in an advantageous position over the ones who do not know. The more familiar a person is with a language and the more languages a person knows the greater the chances for establishing contact with others. Moreover, learning another language always means the possibility of acculturation because along with language one learns the value system and patterns of behaviour associated with the speakers of that language. The official language of India is Hindi and the local language is Kannada. So a person knowing *Hindi* and *Kannada* will have a greater capacity to

communicate with the host group.

TABLE 18

Showing in numbers the language known (reading and writing)
by youth

<i>Language known</i>	<i>No.</i>
Tibetan only	3
Hindi and Tibetan	65
Hindi and Tibetan and English	98
Other languages and Tibetan and Hindi	3
Total	180

There are only three who know only Tibetan and these people are housewives. There are 65 persons who know Tibetan and Hindi and 98 who know Tibetan, Hindi and English. So bilingualism and trilingualism is a rule. Those who know three languages have all been formally educated. At school these three languages are taught. Those who know Hindi and Tibetan learnt Hindi during their stay in Northern India in transit camps. It is significant that the Tibetans have not learnt *Kannada*, the local language. This fact has important implications for communication with the local people and is likely to keep the community socially and culturally distant from the local communities, although the younger Tibetans—versed in Hindi and English (per the school system)—and the young Indians can and do communicate.

The next schedule question refers to the length of stay (of the young) in the Mundgod settlement. For any sort of enduring impact on the Mundgod settlement by the youth they have to stay long enough for their influence to bring about a change. Persons normally coming for a short period may not develop the influence to bring about a significant change. Of course persons who are being educated outside the Mundgod settlement, and return to it for a vacation or for a short visit, will have prestige and will be looked upon by friends and relatives with

great respect and admiration since they are acquiring something which the others have not been able to. But when such persons start teaching things which run counter to what the rest have been practicing for a long time and which have almost become part of their life, then the residents may develop an attitude of 'we' and 'they'. These short-term visitors are then open to suspicion; people may become critical of them and say that the visitors stay outside and come only for a short period and tell them so many things as though they were ignorant. "What do these people know about our problems?" they exclaim. All of a sudden the prestige of the visitor (fellow Tibetan) disappears. And so the generation gap increases with this attitude. Most of the youths that come to stay in the Mundgod settlement after a stay elsewhere in India (either for a vacation or for other purposes) face this situation. The majority of them come when they have long summer holidays.

The following table shows the length of stay outside Mundgod of youths between the age 16-25 (excluding Mundgod town which is quite near and all the youths visit it quite often).

TABLE 19

Showing length of stay outside Mundgod

<i>Length of stay in months</i>	<i>No.</i>
1-2	17
3-4	19
5-6	90
7-8	30
9-10	7
11 and above	7
Total	180

The places they normally visit include Mundgod, Hubli-Dharwar, Bangalore, Delhi, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and places outside India. The following table shows the number of youths who visited the various places.

TABLE 20

Showing in number the places visited by youth both in India and abroad

<i>Places Visited</i>	<i>No.</i>
Abroad	3
Hubli-Dharwar	49
Places other than Hubli	77
No chance to visit	51
Total	180

The three youths who visited abroad had been to Denmark, Switzerland and Norway. They were there for the purpose of training as teacher, nurse and mechanic respectively. One of them has taken up the position of secretary to the Mundgod co-operative society. All of them have visited Mundgod. 126 have visited Hubli-Dharwar and 77 persons have had the opportunity to visit other places in India. The main reason for not visiting places outside Mundgod is not chance. The majority of these young people are housewives.

The following table shows the length of stay in the Mundgod settlement after the last visit outside.

TABLE 21

Showing length of stay in Mundgod after last visit outside

	<i>Length</i>	<i>No.</i>
Months	1-2	17
	3-4	20
	5-6	30
Years	1-2	30
	3-4	4
	5-6	2
	7 above	2
	Nil	75
Total		180

“Nil” refers to those (75 persons) who have not visited places outside Mundgod. Persons whose stay extends to only a few months were on a short visit to the settlement for a vacation at the time of fieldwork. Those that are staying for more than a year in Mundgod settlement are those who have returned permanently to the settlement after education or training outside.

Visiting outside the Mundgod settlement is important for cultural change. This applies both to the young and the old. But the impact varies according to age. The old, being concerned more with the preservice of Tibetan culture do not court outside influences. Their roles are clearly crystallised and there is strong opposition to change. The young in contrast, are enthusiastic in knowing and learning new things for their roles are still in the process of formation. So the youth are more susceptible to external influences, and their visits outside the settlement are more significant. Whenever they visit places outside Mundgod the type of contact and experiences they have in those places will be important factors in their acculturation. They will be observing the life style of others and also experiencing some of it themselves. A process of change, common to any rural-urban situation is here complicated by the Tibetan experience of an Indian society. The life in places other than Mundgod is a contrast in the sense that most of it is industrial, commercial or educational centres with a lot of modern amenities which do not exist either in Mundgod town or in their settlements. Whenever they visit some of those places they are forced to stay in boarding houses or hotels. During their visit to these places they go around the city, see films and visit good hotels. All the young people (in the survey) that visited places other than Mundgod did admit that they had occasions to experience and observe a new way of life. So they are exposed to alternative ways of life. India, by Western standards, is not a materialistic society. But in the post-independent period there is a significant change. New industries have sprung up. Hospitals and sanitation have improved quite significantly. The old colonial cities are changing. The attitudes of the people towards life is undergoing visible change. So the life in these places is in sharp contrast to life in the

Mundgod settlement where for the adult generation cultural change has been such a common experience. Some of the youth that had the opportunity to live in boarding houses with all the modern amenities have adopted that way of life. For most of them the new life has become their way of life. This may be an adoption of a new type of dress, use of toilets, bathrooms, well groomed hair and better sanitary conditions.

These people are constrained to return to the Mundgod settlement either for a short period or for a long period of time—since they have strong social links (kinship and friendship). The first thing that strikes them is the apparent inadequacies in Mundgod settlement compared to the life outside. Girls, visiting their parental home, may express their feelings in an indirect way. They may start cleaning the house, groom the hair of youngsters at home and keep the kitchen clean. For this many mothers express satisfaction. But sometimes the girls overdo it and start nagging mothers for not cleaning the house, for disturbing the things which they had set in order or for not dressing the children well. This the mothers invariably resent and resist. This is one area of actual generational gap and conflict.

Compared to the girls the boys are at a disadvantage. The girls can introduce new ways in the house as a sort of routine as most of them help their mothers to cook, look after the children and clean the house. Any sort of change they may introduce may be construed as part of their day-to-day duties. But for the boys the strategy must become one of suggestion. In the Tibetan society the role of the male is outside the house and his major role is that of the breadwinner. So the boys can only suggest; it is up to their male elders concerned either to accept or to reject the suggestion. The majority of the old people, being socialised into a patriarchal way of life, usually feel that these suggestions are a threat to their authority and their way of life. Even for those among them who are enlightened and realise the importance of these suggestions the implementation of them is rather difficult because of the material conditions in the Mundgod settlement, where personal earnings are usually absorbed in meeting day-to-day family needs. These suggestions may refer to drainage around the

house, toilet and bathroom, dress and food and so on.

The following table shows the items that the youths tried to introduce.

TABLE 22

Showing in number items introduced by youth

<i>Items</i>	<i>No.</i>
Dress	51
Food	26
Cleanliness	35
Dress, food and cleanliness	26
Other Items	29
Total	167

It is clear from the table above that 167 out of 180 youths responded to this question. Dress appears to be a major thing that the majority of the youth (51) have concentrated upon. Next is cleanliness (35). The Tibetans are used to heavy dress, suitable for a cold climate, and many still go about in their gumboots. But in South India the weather is much warmer and does not require the type of dress they were used to wear in Tibet. When the youth suggest innovations in dress it is not with the idea of conforming to the accepted Indian dress but rather to adopt the dress which would suit the new climatic conditions. This would involve a change in identity: not one of moving towards an Indian identity but towards a secular type of identity. (Lamas and Monks it should be noted, retain their traditional dress for its religious significance).

The second important suggestion is cleanliness, especially cleanliness inside the house and personal cleanliness. While they were in Tibet they never used to have a daily bath. They could go about without a daily bath in Tibet since the weather was cold throughout the year and they never used to sweat. Whereas in India, because of the heat, they sweat a lot and so they need to have a bath at least once a day. Food is another item which the youth suggest. When they talk about food they mean the way it is prepared and the ingredients. Most of the Tibetans

in Mundgod have been nomadic hence the food they were used to in Tibet was very simple, consisting of meat and Roti (made of barley or *jowar*). Meat in India is rather expensive. Indians are mostly vegetarian and if one is a non-vegetarian meat is still not on the menu every day. They use dal (pulses) everyday. Many of the youths are used to Indian type of food so they want their parents to adopt it.

Many youths are accustomed to Indian dal, curry, vegetables, dosa and other local and northern Indian preparations. Evidently the Indian food has variety and taste, and this is in contrast to the Tibetan food. Most of the Mundgod Tibetans were nomadic and were living at very high altitudes in central Tibet where it was rather hard to grow any vegetables. So dairy produce, meat and barley constituted their staple food. (They exchanged dairy produce for barley from low lying areas where it was grown). So even in Mundgod their food preferences are still simple. Since barley is not grown in the region the Tibetans have changed over to rice or *jowar* (maize). They prepare 'Samba' (Tibetan food) or Roti from *jowar* or rice. Along with this they drink tea. The Tibetan youth when they visit their settlements try to suggest the preparation of different foods, but, unlike the situation in dress, the adoption of new food habits is definitely a move towards Indian identity.

The following table shows the type of suggestions for innovation, and to whom it was made by the young people. A question was also put as to whom the suggestions were made and the type of suggestions.

It is clear from the table that most of the suggestions were made to friends, parents and neighbours. Out of 307 suggestions 128 are for parents, 94 for friends and 33 for neighbours. This clearly indicates that intimacy of contact is an important factor in making suggestions for cultural innovation. Regarding the items suggested, dress, food and cleanliness constitute the major items. Out of 128 suggestions made to parents, 27 refer to dress, 33 to food and 53 to cleanliness. And out of 94 suggestions made to friends, 34 refer to dress, 7 to food and 22 to cleanliness. Very few suggestions were made on child care or other items.

It is also clear that the most susceptible are the peer group

TABLE 23

Showing the cross tabulation of items suggested and persons to whom suggestions were made

<i>Items</i>	<i>Persons</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>Friends</i>	<i>Relatives</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Brothers & Sisters</i>	<i>Neighbours</i>	<i>Fellow villagers & Friends</i>	
Dress	34	1	27	3	2	4	71
Food	7	1	33	3	6	5	55
Cleanliness	22	1	53	—	7	6	89
Language	1	—	4	—	—	—	5
Cleanliness and dress	1	—	1	—	1	—	3
Childcare	5	—	—	—	5	5	15
Social conduct	7	3	2	—	1	2	15
Other Behaviour	17	3	9	—	11	14	54
Total	94	9	129	6	33	36	307

(friends). Out of 94 friends to whom the suggestions are made 55 accept them readily and try to practice the suggestions made by their friends. This is due to the level of relationship. They are all youths of the same age and some of them have grown up together. As a sort of courtesy they try to respond to the suggestions of friends. Of the 38 friends who rejected the suggestions, did so out of a feeling of superiority over others and not out of the feeling that their friends who had the opportunity to study and move outside the Mundgod settlement, feel that they are superior. Some of them rejected the suggestions outright without even attempting to experiment with the innovation. Some rejected the suggestions after consulting their other friends. Quite a few indicated that the suggestions made by their friends seemed good but for various reasons they had not been able to practice them. However these persons said they would do so at the earliest possible opportunity. It should be noted here that these peer group members, so long as they are within the Mundgod settlement, are still very much tied to the family and the settlement norms. Moreover most of the

Mundgod Tibetans have very limited economic means. So the peer group members face the difficulty from two sides. One of the familial and settlement norms and the other of economic constraints. To have better hygienic conditions or smarter clothes means money which so many of these youngsters do not have. Even if certain persons are in a position to afford the innovations, because of the constraints of the settlement life they are not necessarily in a position to adopt them.

Out of 128 parents to whom suggestions were made 58 accepted them readily whereas 64 rejected them outright and some of the parents are still to make up their minds. Those parents who accepted the suggestions from their own children may be considered as enlightened and oriented to the future. They see the value in these suggestions as good from the point of view of health and so on. Those who rejected the suggestions are those who are more insular and who tend to look back nostalgically to their life in Tibet and feel that their children are trying to dominate them. Moreover, these people feel that any change in their existing pattern of life means change in Tibetan identity. Thus these people not only suspect the suggestions coming from the youngsters but also suspect the youngsters themselves. With this the generational gap widens and the potential for conflict also increases.

There is evidence that the Tibetan youth, even when they accept certain things which they observe, they first evaluate within themselves the usefulness or unusefulness of the various things, whether material items or new ways of behaviour. The evaluation is made on the basis of themselves as Tibetans and the implication of the various things on the Tibetan identity. To that extent the Tibetan youth wherever they are, are still aware of their Tibetan identity.

The following table shows the number of things the youths rejected.

It is clear from the table that 131 persons out of 180 were able to reject certain cultural innovations (cultural innovations refer to religion, ways of life and the external behavioural patterns). This is clearly exemplified in women's dress. The girls, apart from school dress, do not seem to use sarees or other Indian dress. Even in respect of religion there seemed

TABLE 24

Showing in numbers the suggestions rejected by the youth

<i>Items</i>	No.
Dress	31
Food	25
Dress and Food	2
Cleanliness	33
Other Culture Life	131

to be not much of a change. They are strongly Buddhists though some of them may not have the same degree of interest in the associated religious ceremonies and rituals. In day-to-day behaviour a Tibetan would prefer to practice the Tibetan etiquettes rather than the Indian or others unless it is forced upon him, by circumstances, to do otherwise. There are 33 rejections concerning cleanliness. These people rejected the idea because they feel that living in a very restricted settlement they cannot practise just any habit which promotes cleanliness. However, they do realise the importance of it. It is the same with food; they may feel it is more practicable to continue with their own type of food. Dress is another important item; 31 rejected innovations in dress. But these they rejected because they felt that it may also be a threat to their identity.

However in order to clarify some of the matters outlined above a question was asked as to whether the practice of any part of other ways of life would interfere with the Tibetan identity. Only 22 felt that it would interfere whereas 14 expressed the view that it would not (170 answered the question). Those youth who felt that it would not interfere with their identity are of the view that they can still be Tibetan while practising some of the other ways of life. 'Being Tibetan', for them, refers to the consciousness of being Tibetan. The next question refers to the recognition of differences between themselves and others, i.e. their Indian neighbours. A question was asked as to whether they recognise any differences between themselves and others; only 22 said *yes* whereas 137 said *no*; the rest did not answer. It is possible that some of the 137 who said *no* do

not wish to admit the difference to themselves and therefore said *no*.

In any contact situation, involvement of members in each other's political, social, economic and religious life shows the levels of a mutual identification. This involvement does not happen automatically when two or more groups come together. But the type of involvement and the levels of participation depends upon the orientation of members to each other. This mutual orientation depends upon the basic cultural traits of each group including its degrees of social self-sufficiency and exclusiveness or otherwise. So the involvement is directly related to their integration. This is true not only of the old but of the youth as well. Perhaps the youth are more flexible than the old but basically they work on the same principle.

In order to ascertain the levels of contact and the involvement of the Tibetan youth with the youth in the Indian community, a question was asked about their friendship with Indians. Out of 180 interviewed, 34 indicated that they have Indian friends whereas the rest (146) said they do not have any Indian friends but have acquaintances. The majority of youth who indicated that they have Indian friends are at school or just out of the school, whereas those who said that they do not have any friends are residents of the Mundgod settlement. The Mundgod settlement is very insulated and there are very few opportunities for them to meet Indians either formally or informally. Hence the exclusiveness is imposed upon them rather than due to the operation of prejudice, or even of preference. During my stay in Mundgod I noticed that the Indian youth who worked in the Mundgod settlement had a good relationship with their Tibetan counterparts. Of the 34 Tibetans who said that they have Indian friends, 30 said that they are fully accepted by their Indian counterparts whereas only 4 said that the acceptance is not full. When they said that they are accepted by Indians they meant that there were no inhibitions in establishing friendship on equal levels. Those who said that the acceptance is not full meant that there was some hindrances from either side. However in order to see the depth of contact and involvement, questions were asked regarding mutual invitation to the homes of each other, either on formal or

informal occasions. Regarding the question on invitation to homes, of the 34 who said they have Indian friends only 28 had invited Indian friends to their homes while the rest (6) indicated that their Indian friends stayed far away and therefore they could not invite them to their homes. Regarding counter invitations by Indian friends, of the 34 Tibetan youths, 23 said that their Indian friends had invited them to their homes while the rest said that they had not been invited (and recorded no reason for their not being invited). The high number of mutual contacts among those who indicated that they have Indian friends shows clearly that given the opportunity it is possible that the involvement would increase.

Further, in order to ascertain the attitude of the Tibetan parents to such contacts with the Indian youth, a question was asked of the youth to ascertain the favourableness, or unfavourableness of parents' attitudes to their contacts. Only 12 said that their parents were favourable and 9 were said to be unfavourable, whereas the rest (13) indicated difficulty in assessing the parents' reaction. Finally, a question was posed to them as to whether they would marry Indians if the opportunity were to arise. Out of 180 Tibetan youths interviewed, 158 were against marrying Indians; one said that there was no opportunity so far for such a marriage, while 20 were already married (to fellow Tibetans) and hence they did not give any preference. This negative attitude to inter-marriage by the Tibetan youths indicates a commitment to the Tibetan identity. It is also true that even if the Tibetan youths were ready to marry Indians, Indians would not necessarily respond favourably since some of the Indian castes are perhaps as puritanical and as highly identity conscious.

5

HOST SOCIETY AND PATTERN OF ADJUSTMENT

The 'Inside' and 'Outside' Views

It is imperative on the part of any migrant community to establish contact with the local community when living in the midst of it. It is here that a community develops the consciousness of an 'inside view' versus the 'outside view'. The 'inside view' refers to the experience of and communication among themselves, to the exclusion of the outsider. 'Inside' activities do not require and do not invite the participation of the outsider. This is very much connected with a certain kind of self-identity as a Tibetan. The 'outside view' on the other hand refers to the participation of the Tibetans in the activities of the host society and vice-versa. This 'outside view' is essential for the survival of the group in the area, because to a considerable degree they are there on sufferance, depending on the goodwill of the local population, in the continuing cooperation of the Indian Government (both Central and State). This does not necessarily pose a threat to the maintenance of a Tibetan identity, although undoubtedly the kind of identity consistent with an 'outside view' will be different from that which is characteristic of an 'inside view'.

The Tibetans are very much conscious of the inside and the outside view because they are very much concerned with their identity. They had come to India mainly to preserve their social and cultural identity. Under the Chinese they feared that their identity as Tibetans was in danger. Naturally, they want to preserve their identity so that when they go back to

Tibet if and when they do they will be able to take the essential Tibetan social and cultural values with them. Therefore any relationship with the host society is measured with reference to this objective. All their institutions are oriented towards this selectivity. Hence, all their contacts with the host society and their participation in it should be viewed in respect of the above desire and hope.

Communication in Pursuit of Livelihood

The one and most important area of contact and participation in the host society is economic. The Tibetans were used to dairying and growing small amounts of barley during short summer periods, but in Mundgod they have to adapt themselves to a new agriculture for the climate in and around Mundgod favours cultivation of *jowar* (hybrid corn) and rice. They grow these two crops in surplus and a large part of it is being sold in the local market. The Tibetans, because they did not have knowledge of the local type of agriculture, had to solicit the help of the local Indians. When the Tibetan colony in Mundgod was established many local Indians showed them how to till the soil, sow the seeds, and so on. Even to this day Indians are employed by the Tibetans (by individual families) during sowing, weeding and harvest seasons. This is one important area of contact with the host society. This contact has in many respects helped towards a smoother relationship between the Tibetans and the Indians. On the one hand the Indians feel that their land has been given to some outsiders whereas on the other hand they feel satisfied that they (Indians) have benefited by the establishment of the Tibetan settlement. At least it provides the Indians with jobs continuously throughout the year which many of them did not have before.

The surplus produce which the Tibetans grow is sold in the local market where there is a good demand. Among them there are a few who act as brokers between the producer and the buyer and this is another part of a contact.

The local Mundgod market serves as a place where they sell their surplus agricultural produce and also as a place where they buy their daily, weekly or monthly provisions. The Tibetans it seems, have developed certain personal relations with the

Indian merchants there. That is why they go to a particular shop to buy their provisions.

A few Mundgod Tibetans have secondary occupations like selling sweaters, marketing Tibetan carpets and selling them in the local market. For this purpose they visit Bangalore, Hubli and other major cities in Karnataka State.

The Tibetans consume large amounts of dairy produce, especially butter and milk. They use butter for tea and to light butter lamps in front of the gods. They do not produce all the butter required for their needs so they buy quite a lot from the neighbouring Indian villagers. Every day the Indians bring milk to the Tibetan colony for selling. Some of the Tibetans obtain regular supplies from a particular person. Apart from the dairy produce they also buy vegetables, meat and fish from the Indians. In the local regions the fishermen from the coast have a barter arrangement with the agriculturists. According to this system the fishermen supply certain amounts of fish either on a monthly or a weekly basis to families in return for an agreed amount of agricultural produce during the harvest season. This system has been extended to the Tibetans in Mundgod settlement. This shows the confidence that these fishermen have in the Tibetans, and vice-versa.

The Tibetan colony has two banks. One, the Syndicate Bank and the other Kanara District Cooperative Bank. These banks provide loans and other facilities to the Tibetans. The bank staff have a good relationship with the Tibetans. The hospital, Central School and the Social Welfare Office are also staffed by Indians. This is another area of contact between the Tibetans and the Indians. All these people are well received by the Tibetans.

Until very recently an Agricultural and Social Welfare Institute was in operation to train the Tibetans as social workers. The finance for the institute came from a German charity organisation. The institute had three people on the staff; an agricultural specialist who was the Director, a trained nurse and the third a trained social worker. All of them were Indians and all of them had their quarters within the settlement.

Cultural Obstacles to Social Change

All the contacts so far discussed bring the Tibetans and the Indians into a formal or semi-formal relationship with each other. Yet these relationships provide potential ground for deeper and more meaningful relationships at a more informal level. However, from the enquiries made of the Indians and the Tibetans who are in contact with each other, the conclusion one draws is that very few cases have the relationships yet developed beyond the formal level.

The reasons for the lack of development of informal relations are deeper. They refer to the sensitive cultural and social factors. Cultural factors include religious beliefs and practices, ideas regarding purity, pollution and food habits. The Tibetans are Buddhists whereas the Indians are Hindus divided into several castes and subcastes. Buddhism stresses egalitarianism without any distinction of caste or class, (the priesthood could hardly be regarded as caste or class because of its norm of celibacy, communal property and service to the people). Among the Tibetans, marriage is not a sacred thing; it is purely a contract between two families and these are not presided over by the priest. Among the Hindus, on the other hand a marriage is sacred and it is celebrated amidst chanting of 'mantra' by the priest. Monogamy, polyandry and polygyny are practised among the Tibetans. Among the Indians monogamy is common and only in exceptional circumstances (barrenness or serious illness) is polygyny allowed. Among the Tibetans the marriage may be broken by applying to the head of the village, or, to the District Officer, whereas among the Hindus a marriage once performed cannot be broken except by death of one of the partners. Widow marriage is permitted among the Tibetans whereas it is forbidden by custom among the Hindus. Among the Tibetans the mixing of the two sexes is much more relaxed whereas among the Indians there are restrictions of the free mixing of sexes.

The next important cultural difference arises out of the concepts of purity and pollution. Both the Tibetans and the Indians observe purity and pollution; but the conception and the mode of observance of purity and pollution differs considerably.

The washing of the underportion with water after the daily toilet routine is not practised among the Tibetans. The conception is that touching the underportion pollutes the hand whereas among the Indians it is a must. Among the Tibetans, before one performs *pooja* (worship) to a god one need not have to have a bath whereas among the Hindus it is important to do so. Among the Tibetans there are no inhibitions regarding tasting of food from a pot whereas among the Hindus the tasting of food directly from the pot and putting it back leads to pollution.

Food is another important item. The majority of the Tibetans (excluding Lamas) are meat eaters, whereas the majority of the Hindus are vegetarians. Even if some Indians eat meat still there are inhibitions regarding beef eating whereas among the Tibetans there are no such inhibitions.

The Tibetan society, like the Indian society, is stratified on the basis of class, and land ownership appears to be a major dividing line between the classes. But these class distinctions among the Tibetans do not in any way impinge upon social intercourse. Marriage between members of two groups is permitted and is used as a means of social mobility among the nomads. The Indian society on the other hand is divided on the basis of castes and subcastes. Each caste and subcaste is endogamous and therefore intermarriage between castes is forbidden. The castes are hierarchical and highly stratified. There are restrictions on inter-dining and inter-communication. Castes of the higher strata do not inter-dine with the castes below them. Moreover, the castes are also divided on the basis of purity and pollution. To touch a higher caste by a lower caste (scheduled caste) leads to pollution. Such prejudices are totally absent among the Tibetans. In other words, inhibitions towards more intimate contact with the outside group (the Tibetans) comes through these (Indian) cultural factors. The Indian society has developed right from the very beginning the policy of live and let live. In any kind of meaningful relationship between the Tibetans and the Indians there is a need to find a reference group to whom the Tibetans can possibly identify. In the existing circumstances it is very difficult to find a group with whom the Tibetans could identify themselves because of the caste restrictions

of the Indians. Most of the higher castes are vegetarians with strict restrictions on inter-dining and inter-communication. The majority of castes in the middle range are either vegetarians or non-vegetarians; even if one is non-vegetarian, beef eating is forbidden on religious grounds. Obviously the Tibetans cannot identify any one of them because of these and other differences. Most of the lower castes are untouchable castes and they also have their own reservations about the outside group.

In short, no meaningful contact between the Indians and the Tibetans is taking place at the social level because of the vast gap between the two groups at the social and the cultural levels. The problem is made more difficult because of the Tibetan pride in their own culture. The Tibetans not only would like to preserve their own culture but would want to perpetuate it. Hence the chances of the Tibetan culture giving in to the pressure, even minimally appear to be very slight. Nor could a breakthrough in the near future be predicted.

Progress and Difficulties in Adaptation to Environment

Adjustment is a dynamic process. On one hand it refers to adaptation to the local environment (physical) and on the other to the social conditions. As pointed out earlier the Tibetans come from a very high altitude, and most of the year it is cold out there. In a cold climate only certain types of animals are common. A cold region like Tibet is free from snakes and other poisonous reptiles. Whereas in Mundgod, for most of the year, it is hot and humid; Mundgod is known for its snakes and other reptiles. So the process of adaptation starts from here. In the initial stages it was very difficult for them to adapt themselves to the hot and humid climate. At present they feel more at home. This is very well seen by their reports to those Tibetans who refused to come to Mundgod from the colder northern parts of India. They told me that they had written to their friends to come to Mundgod and have explained to them that it is not very difficult to get used to the hotter climate. Coming from a cold climate where sweating was almost nil, the Tibetans were not used to a daily bath. At present a lot of them have taken to the daily bath and the value of it. They are realising this gradually.

Most of the Mundgod Tibetans, being nomads, were used to very transitory types of settlement. They tended to move around a lot either for religious purposes or for other reasons whereas in the Mundgod settlement they are tied to a particular settlement. For the non-educated parent generation, especially the chances of finding jobs outside the Mundgod settlement are very limited. Therefore, the restrictions on mobility is imposed directly by the environment in which they live. However, they still express this behaviour through their constant visits to Mundgod town, or to Hubli. They will visit these places even for a small reason. Because of the vast distances between settlements in northern India, and the enormous costs involved, the mobility between settlements in other parts of India is very much limited. Moreover rehabilitation puts a sort of restriction on mobility. Once a person is rehabilitated then it is very difficult to move from that settlement. In the southern part of India there are no official restrictions on the movement of these people, either for pleasure or for other purposes ; they can move around as they wish. Whereas in the north, because of the situation of the Tibetan settlements in strategic and sensitive areas, it seems there are restrictions on their mobility.

Economically, the Tibetans have adjusted from dairying and simple agriculture to that of a more permanent and intensive cropping. Most of them have adapted and are adapting themselves to the new economy, especially the methods of cultivation and so on. Though agriculture in the Mundgod area is not greatly specialised, from the point of view of the Tibetans, it is definitely a change. Most of the agriculturists were used to shifting cultivation and hence the use of even simple agricultural tools was limited. In Mundgod the pattern of agriculture necessitates the use of more sophisticated tools. For maize cultivation, for example, the ploughing is done by the tractors. The cultivation of rice requires a different type of ploughing; one has to use the local plough. The use of the local plough requires training and many Tibetans have picked up the use of the plough. Manuring is another exercise. In Tibet they were not used to artificial manure whereas in Mundgod they have to use artificial manure. Most Tibetans are now

familiar with what is to be done for their crops and when it is to be done—tasks such as weeding, spraying, and so on. Now, within a short time, they feel confident that they can be good agriculturists. This is one of their suggestions to Tibetans who are still in transit camps, namely, that they can very easily learn agriculture. (One of their original fears, when they were given the choice to move to the Mundgod settlement, was that this would not be so.)

The other type of adaptation refers to the adjustment to local social conditions. In Tibet there were very few things to be sold or bought even if one had to use the barter method which was very effective and sufficient. But in Mundgod there is not much that the Tibetans can exchange among themselves. All produce the same kind of goods. This inevitably brings the community from its insulated settlement life to outside. In the beginning of their settlement it seems the local Indian petty businessman exploited them. Some of the Tibetans had brought with them small pieces of silver or gold. They used the silver or gold pieces to purchase provisions from the shops in Mundgod. The Indian merchants reportedly never used to give the appropriate value, and used to exploit the ignorance of the Tibetans. Sometimes, when the Tibetans go to the market with Indian rupees, the value of the goods is inflated. Moreover, the Tibetans never knew anything about the Indian metric measurement. Now they have learnt all the tricks and have mastered the local measurement and market value of the various goods. One Indian merchant was saying that “Tibetans are more intelligent than us. They go around various shops before purchasing and also bargain a lot.” Learning the local language (Kannada) is essential for a proper understanding of various local practices. The Tibetans have not learnt the local language very much but most of them can understand the measurements in the local language very well and have picked up a few words which are helpful in bargaining and so on. Now confidence is growing among them. I did not notice any sense of inferiority or constraints when seeing the Tibetans dealing with the Indians; it was, I felt, a competition between equals.

The Tibetans are poor by Western standards, but as poverty

is assessed in India they may be considered as moderately well off. The community has no beggars. They have support from the government and charity organisations. Some of them have made a little bit of money which they use for securing Indian lands on lease or to lend money on interest. This is one very good area where person to person contact has developed. The Tibetans visit the Indians for collecting the interest on the capital lent. And even Indians also know from whom they can get the loans. This clearly shows the growing confidence between the Indians and the Tibetans.

In Tibet the Tibetans were completely free from snakes, especially the poisonous ones like the cobra, viper, etc. In Mundgod however, there are plenty of snakes. There were quite a few deaths due to snake bites; the Tibetans have come to know that snakes in the local area are dangerous and they speak with utmost fear about them but they are reluctant to kill them. There are stories in Mundgod about the way the Tibetans treat snakes. They usually hold them by the neck and leave them in the nearby lake. When snakes (at least cobras) are in water they are not able to be venomous. The Tibetans have seen Indians killing snakes but are reluctant to kill them themselves. Moreover the Tibetans are very critical of the killing of snakes by the Indians. Whenever they talked about it they told me that the Indians are disobeying the religious laws by killing snakes, especially the cobra. This pity for snakes arises out of their religious beliefs. Ekvall says, "Religion is on the side of mercy, and the preachments of the faith are all against the infliction of suffering and the taking of life."¹ It seems that propaganda against killing was launched by the religious leaders. Prior to the spread of Buddhism in Tibet there used to be a good amount of killing not only of animals, but also of human beings. In any sort of feuds the religious leaders "come into each case as mediators, and the function of mediation is strengthened by all the persuasions and sanctions of religion, which is always on the side of peace."² This constant intervention by the religion and socialisation has helped foster pity for any kind of living

1. Ekvall, *op. cit.* p. 74.

2. *ibid.*, p. 75.

being. This attitude was quite understandable in Tibet but in Mundgod where they faced constant danger from the natural environment they could well be more realistic. I feel this may not be far off; just as the Tibetans adapted themselves to other ways they would slowly know how to deal with snakes.

The Contribution to the Wider Society

The Tibetans' contribution to the local area and to the nation is quite significant from the point of view of economy. Their contribution is both direct and indirect. It is already pointed out that the area where the Tibetans are settled was a wild forest and hence its value to the national economy was limited. But after the clearing of the forest for cultivation the contribution has increased quite significantly. The Tibetans cultivate rice and *jowar* (maize). The production of these two products are in such a quantity that sizeable proportions of it are sold to the local area. It is likely that these products would increase in the course of time when irrigation comes to the settlement. *Baichinge Dam* which is nearing completion, would irrigate the land. At present the Tibetans take one crop a year since their lands are only rain-fed. But when the dam is completed they can raise two crops a year and may also increase, with a constant supply of water, the productivity per crop.

The following table shows the extent of cultivation and annual productivity of settlement land, since it was broken in 1967.

The statistics given show only the amount of produce sold through the Tibetan Cooperative Society Ltd. Apart from this many Tibetans sell the agricultural produce independently in the local market whenever they need money. (It seems they get more money by selling in the open market than selling through the cooperative society). Hence the productivity is much higher than the official figure.

Apart from the two main crops mentioned they grow 'papaye' in their kitchen garden. A lot of it is being sold to the local market. This gives the Tibetans extra income.

Indirectly the establishment of the Tibetan settlement in Mundgod has stimulated a lot of activity in the area. Before

TABLE 25
Showing Statistics of Land Cultivation and the Total Amount of Produce per Year

Number	Year	Total Acreage Under Cultivation	Acreage of Maize	Yield* in Quintal	Acreage of Paddy	Yield* in Quintal
1	1968	782	782	5119.00	Nil	Nil
2	1969	1840	1840	12376.00	Nil	Nil
3	1970	2097	2061	13461.00	36	668.00
4	1971	3096	1650	18589.00	1386	10306.00
5	1972	3244	1765	21556.00	1479	1186.00
6	1973	3255	2250	18359.00	1005	9171.00
7	1974	3216	1608	16080.00	1698	12844.00

* 'Yield'—calculated from official selling (coop.) outlet and not actual yield

the establishment of a Tibetan colony only rice was grown and there never used to be any tube wells. The Tibetans for the first time grew *jowar* (maize) and this many Indians copied, and started growing. Many Indians are amazed that they could grow *jowar*. Seeing the Tibetans growing 'papaye' many Indians have also begun to grow the same.

Before the coming of the Tibetans to Mundgod the business in Mundgod town was in a slump. Except for one or two shops there were no other business houses. With the coming of the Tibetans, business has improved, the flow of money has increased. Several petty businessmen have grown more affluent. Hotels have improved. There used to be a single decent hotel in the town, but now there are quite a few. In Mundgod the flow of population (Government officials, businessmen and others) is such that more boarding and lodging houses are being constructed. Dairy farming has also gained importance in the region. As pointed out earlier the Tibetans consume a lot of butter, milk and cheese, and therefore the prices of these articles have gone up and several Indians who were not hitherto keeping cows or buffaloes at home now keep them and sell the products to the Tibetans. This has significantly improved the condition of many Indians living in the adjacent villages. The local area being underdeveloped, there were no industries or other types of activity to provide jobs for the landless labourers. Now, many Indians find employment on the Tibetan fields during sowing and harvest season. Many of the Indian workers who were working on the Tibetan fields expressed gratitude to the Tibetans. They were saying that their life is much better; at least now they could have two square meals a day.

The Government of India, the Karnataka State Government, and the foreign charity organisations, had to do something in order to pacify the local Indians. The Government of Karnataka apart from releasing the lands to the Tibetans, released land also to the local Indians. The amount of land released was in the order of 3,000 acres for the Indians. And the foreign charity organisations, along with contributing money towards digging of borewells for the Tibetans contributed also to the digging of borewells in Indian areas. Originally *Baichange dam* was con-

structed to irrigate Tibetan lands but later they changed the policy; now it also irrigates Indian lands. At least 1,400 acres belonging to the Indians will be irrigated in the near future.

All the above benefits have gone a long way in developing a more positive Indian attitude towards the Tibetans.

6

CONCLUSION

A Case of Progressive Adjustment

The aim of the present study was to understand the dynamics of migrant adjustment. Two tasks were clearly intended : one, the process whereby Tibetans preserve their original identity as Tibetans and the other, the process of change which involves the acquiring of a new identity or at least a significant modification of the old. It is clear from the preceding pages that the Tibetans are trying, in varying degrees according to age, education and other circumstances, to retain a Tibetan identity; yet concurrently they are acquiring a new identity (again to varying degrees in varying ways). In this process of preserving and acquiring a new identity they are constrained to make a distinction between *essentials* and *alternatives* in cultural beliefs and practices. For them the essentials are those that are central or pivotal to the Tibetan way of life, viz., religion, language and aspects of family life. The alternatives are those that do not significantly alter their basic identity and which are essential to living in the new socio-cultural environment. These refer to the means of livelihood and the acquiring of new political structures. In both the areas the Government of India and the State Government have been committed to cooperation without obstruction. Adaptation to new economic conditions is proceeding rapidly. The Tibetans have been quick to adapt themselves to the new pattern of agriculture. Although one cannot say that they have mastered all the techniques and

knowledge available in the local area, at least they have made considerable progress and there are no outstanding problems in this regard.

It is clear from the pattern and the process of settlement that the Tibetans are using the available resources to conserve as far as possible their Tibetan institutions and they are fairly successful in this direction. They have reestablished, intact, their religious institutions, and even the village organisation reinforces the Tibetan identity.

However, despite efforts to preserve a traditional identity, the rehabilitation process has imposed a new way of life, either directly or indirectly. The Tibetan community is not insulated completely from outside. The process of rehabilitation involved the Tibetans in several things they were unable to control. The Tibetan youth is exposed to a new value systems through new educational processes denied to the older Tibetans in Tibet. The Tibetan youth, more so than their parents, is meeting different people and is exposed to new ways of life. This is widening the gap between the older and the younger generation. A conflict between the generations is already imminent. The younger generation, like the older generation, is committed to the preservation of the Tibetan identity but the way in which each conceives of the Tibetan identity differs considerably. The young want a more secular Tibetan identity related more to the situation as they know it whereas the older generation want to retain the traditional. There is a conflict in the Mundgod settlement on this question. It is premature to say how this will be resolved, but the indications suggest a development towards the more secular type of identity.

This has created serious doubts about the future of Tibetan society among the old. To outsiders the old do not wish to express this anxiety but it is quite clearly perceptible in their attitudes. The older, parent generation could not be expected to feel completely secure or confident in the Indian environment. To a far greater extent than their children, they are aware of being strangers in an unfamiliar land. What security and what confidence they enjoy is necessarily grounded in a Tibetan world, life view, and social practice. They are thus committed to a degree of cultural conservatism which cannot have the

same meaning for their own children. Moreover this cultural conservatism is not only rooted in their Tibetan experience, and in the present state of exile among strangers, but also in the persistent belief that they will one day be able to return to their homeland. If this hope is not realistic, (and very few non-Tibetans would regard it as being so) then we may well ask the question, how valid is this wish of the older generation to retain a kind and a degree of Tibetan identity that is likely to be inconsistent not only with the preferences and aspirations of their young people but also with the progressive adjustment of the Tibetan enclave to the Indian society ?

The concept of *progressive adjustment* is important. The concept is not inconsistent with the retention of their unique cultural identity but the process demands a reaching out into the wider society and participation in its institutions – commercial, professional, administrative and political. In short, it implies social mobility or status gains. Already a proportion of the Tibetan youth in India is involved in this progressive adjustment. In doing so these people are almost certainly securing long-term benefits for their Tibetan expatriots. In all complex industrial societies in the modern world any minority group, whether based on colour, class, caste or distinct national origin, must, if it wishes to retain its distinct characteristics (or cannot help doing so) enhance such participation. But just as this younger generation cannot be expected to appreciate the underlying causes of their parents' ultra-conservatism so is the older generation not expected to appreciate the long-term implications of their children's novel experience and aspirations. It is the young rather than the old who are able to lay the foundations for the long-term security of the Tibetan communities on the Indian soil.

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